

Institute of Sport History
German Sport University Cologne

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In making (a united?) Africa?
The role of the African Games in the formation of African identity, 1965-1995

Doctoral thesis accepted for the degree

Doktor der Sportwissenschaft

by

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Cologne (2024)

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Date of disputation: 28.01.2025

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I further declare that I complied with the actual "Guidelines of Qualified Scientific Work" of the German Sport University Cologne.



.....
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29th April 2025

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I thank God for the grace to see me through this beautiful journey. It is a privilege to have tread this path and fulfil my childhood dreams of accomplishing an academic feat and contribute to the understanding of African sport history.

To Prof. Stephan Wassong, thank you for your guidance, patience and trust. I once told a friend: “ich habe einen echten Doktorvater der sich für mein ganzes Leben interessiert”. It has been a journey at the German Sport University from my masters, and I remain grateful to all the lecturers, colleagues, friends, and roommates that have impacted me in and outside the beautiful city of Cologne.

I am indebted to the team at ICSSPE for the support to combine this project with a full-time job. First to Detlef Dumon, Patrick Stolpmann, the Development Committee, and the Executive Board for constant encouragement on this project.

Spirituality plays a key role in what holds my life together even in the toughest of moments. Special thanks to Rev. Peter and Paul Lopez for watching me through critical stages in my life. To Pastor Alain Kamgang and the brethren in Berlin, it has been a short and powerfully transformative engagement with the God of Zacharias Tanee Fomum. Thank you!

To my mom, Jainaba Camara, may the Lord continue to keep you and grant you the grace to celebrate this achievement. To my Camara brothers and sisters, I thank you for pushing me to my limits by looking up to me. Unfortunately, Dad Soto Camara left us for eternity with just months left to these festive times.

To my beautiful wife, Jessica Camara, thank you for coming into my life in this eventful year. You have been a blessing.

All I have met in my life have been beautiful people from all over the world, and a friend once told me: “Pascal, you are lucky.” Thanks to everyone who has contributed to this luck.

ABSTRACT

This study has explored the history of Pan-African identity formation in the African Games. In February 1964, representatives of French-speaking African countries met in Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo) to discuss how to transform the then Community Games into an exclusively African event the following year. The games, which were founded and evolved in a deeply Pan-African structure were set up to support the social fabric of post-independence new nation-states. Though the games have been referenced in academic literature, there is no definitive exploration of the evolution of African identity through the various renditions of the games. Hermeneutic theory and methodology has been used to understand and interpret Pan-Africanism through the African and non-African based archival material from the AUSC Archive in Yaoundé and IOC Archive in Lausanne. The results have demonstrated that the six renditions held between 1965 and 1995 in different countries and regions of the continent revealed different understanding and interpretations of African identity. Additionally, the forms of government, between military and civilian regimes, deeply influenced the approach and depth of involvement of public and social organisations in the execution of the African Games. Sport, and the African Games in particular, serves as a strong in-group identity mediator. Pan-African identity remains a high-level concept that requires the engagement of local structures and the adoption of a bottom-up approach. Pan-Africanism understanding has been expanded through this study and its contribution to sport, and the African Games as well as to the African Union's Agenda 2060 of the "the Africa we want".

ABSTRACT – DEUTSCH

Diese Dissertation untersucht die Geschichte der panafrikanischen Identitätsbildung bei den Afrikanischen Spielen. Im Februar 1964 trafen sich Vertreter französischsprachiger afrikanischer Länder in Brazzaville (Republik Kongo), um darüber zu diskutieren, wie die Community Games im darauffolgenden Jahr in eine ausschließlich afrikanische Veranstaltung umgewandelt werden könnten. Die Spiele, die in einer zutiefst panafrikanischen Struktur gegründet und weiterentwickelt wurden, sollten das soziale Gefüge der neuen Nationalstaaten nach der Unabhängigkeit unterstützen. Obwohl in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur auf die panafrikanischen Spiele Bezug genommen wird, gibt es keine explizite Untersuchung der Entwicklung der afrikanischen Identität in den verschiedenen Ausgaben der Spiele. Diese Dissertation nutzt die Theorie und Methodik der Hermeneutik, um den Panafrikanismus anhand des afrikanischen und nicht-afrikanischen Archivmaterials aus dem AUSC-Archiv in Yaoundé und dem IOC-Archiv in Lausanne zu verstehen und zu interpretieren. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die sieben Ausgaben, die zwischen 1965 und 1995 in verschiedenen Ländern und Regionen des Kontinents stattfanden, unterschiedliche Verständnisse und Interpretationen der afrikanischen Identität offenbarten. Außerdem zeigte sich, dass die Regierungsformen von zivilen bis zu militärischen Regimen großen Einfluss auf die Herangehensweise und die Beteiligung öffentlicher und sozialer Organisationen an der Durchführung der Afrikanischen Spiele. Sport im Allgemeinen und besonders die Afrikanischen Spiele fungieren als starker Identitätsvermittler der in-group. Die panafrikanische Identität bleibt ein Konzept, dass die Einbeziehung lokaler Strukturen und die Anwendung eines Bottom-up-Ansatzes erfordern würde. Diese Dissertation erweitert das Verständnis des Panafrikanismus im Sport und den potenziellen Beitrag des Sports und der Afrikanischen Spiele zur Agenda 2060 der Afrikanischen Union für „das Afrika, das wir wollen“.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Table of Content.....	vii
Abbreviation.....	x
1. Introduction.....	12
1.1 Overview.....	12
1.2 State of Research.....	15
1.3 Relevance and Research Problem.....	17
1.4 Methodological Approach.....	25
1.5 Structure of the Work.....	27
2. Historical Overview of the African Games in the Context of Pan-Africanism....	29
2.1 A New World-Making.....	29
2.2 Modern Sport, a Tool for Resistance and World-Making.....	31
2.3 The French Community Games.....	33
2.4 Games of the New Emerging Forces.....	35
2.5 Influence of International Organisations.....	37
2.6 February 1964: The Seed of the Pan-African Sports Contest.....	38
2.7 The Quest for Nation-Building.....	41
2.8 Synthesis.....	43
3. Brazzaville 1965: “African Games by and for Africans”.....	46
3.1 The Nation-State.....	46
3.2 The Republic of Congo.....	47
3.3 The First African Games.....	50
3.4 Brazzaville 1965.....	56
3.5 Synthesis.....	59

4. Bamako 1969: The Games that never were.....	63
4.1 The Foundation of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.....	63
4.2 The structure of the SCSA.....	67
4.3 In Search of an African Sport Model.....	71
4.4 Bamako 1969.....	74
4.5 The Coup D'état of 1968.....	77
4.6 Synthesis.....	78
5. Lagos 1973: The Humanitarian African Games.....	80
5.1 The Host of the Second All-Africa Games.....	80
5.2 Biafra War: General Gowon and the All-Africa Games.....	82
5.3 Lagos 1973.....	86
5.4 Synthesis.....	91
6. Algiers 1978: The Games of "Friendship" before Competition.....	95
6.1 Algeria, a Meeting Point of African Solidarity.....	95
6.2 African-led Boycott of the Montreal 1976 Olympic Games.....	97
6.3 President Boumédiène: Algerian Nationalism and Pan-Africanism.....	100
6.4 Racism, Boycotts and Withdrawals in the African Games.....	103
6.5 Algiers 1978.....	106
6.6 Synthesis.....	108
7. Nairobi 1987: A Flop in the African Games.....	112
7.1 Ten Years of Silence to the Fourth African Games.....	112
7.2 Branding Kenya Through the African Games.....	114
7.3 Nairobi 1987.....	117
7.4 China Positioned in African Games Diplomacy.....	121
7.5 Synthesis.....	122
8. Cairo 1991: The Games of African and Arab Renaissance.....	125

8.1 Egypt and SCSA Struggle to Stabilise the Games.....	125
8.2 Egypt Positions itself towards African Renaissance.....	127
8.3 Cairo 1991.....	131
8.4 Synthesis.....	132
9. Harare 1995: The Emergence of a United African Sport Structure.....	135
9.1 The Games of African Solidarity.....	135
9.2 Welcome Brother South Africa to the African Games.....	140
9.3 Harare 1995.....	141
9.4 Synthesis.....	142
10 Future Perspectives.....	144
10.1 The African Games as a Pan-African Project.....	144
10.2 Future Research Perspectives.....	146
10.3 African Games in Practice.....	147
End Notes.....	149
References.....	174
Archival Sources.....	183
Appendices.....	192

ABBREVIATIONS

AASC – Association of African Sports Confederations
AIPS – Association Internationale de la Presse Sportive
AMU – Arab Maghreb Union
ANOCA – Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa
AU – African Union
AUSC – African Union Sport Council
CAF – Confederation of African Football
CAMS – Conference of African Union Ministers of Sport
CFS – Comité Fédéral Sportif
CONFESJES – La Conférence des Ministres de la Jeunesse et des Sports de la Francophonie
EAC – East African Community
ECCAS – Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States
EU – European Union
FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FLN – Front de Libération Nationale
FOM – French Overseas Ministry
GFA – Ghana Football Association
GANEFO – Games of the New Emerging Forces
HCJS – Haut-Commissaire de Jeunesse et Sport
IAAF – International Association of Athletics Federations
ICSSPE – International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education
IOC – International Olympic Committee
ISL – International Sports and Leisure Co
LOC – Local Organising Committee
MNR – National Movement of the Revolution
NAM – Non-Aligned Movement
NFA – Nigerian Football Association
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation
NMR – National Movement of the Revolution
NOC – National Olympic Committee
OAU – Organization of African Unity

RTA – Algerian Broadcasting and Television
SADC – Southern African Development Community
SAN-ROC – South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAPE – Society for Ambiance Makers and Elegant People
SCSA – Supreme Council for Sport in Africa
TANU – Tanganyika African National Union
UN – United Nations
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNRTOA – Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa
USA – United States of America
YMCA – Young Men’s Christian Association

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

African identity, nationalism, and modern ethnicity was bequeathed to Africa by Arab invasion, European colonial rule, and the Pan-African movement.¹ The assertion that Europe's greatest service to Africa was not Western civilisation or Christianity but the gift of African identity. This was further consolidated by African nationalists and leaders of the independence movements in the 1950s and 1960s. The Pan-African Movements, which originated in the diaspora and gained momentum on the African continent after World War II, were based on the principle of fostering a deeper consciousness of African identity and subsequently uniting the continent. African Nationalists and leaders of an independence movement felt the shared fate of being colonised and forced to accept settlers who represented colonial powers. This fear of colonisation served as a reason that heralded a movement of liberation.

The African continent, it was considered, felt the sense that all Africans have a spiritual affinity with each other and that, having suffered together in the past, they would march together into a new and brighter future, in freedom. President Kwame Nkrumah's (1957-1966) insistence that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of the continent emphasised the need to unite the entire continent. Most of the Pan-African nationalists, therefore, saw the 'urgent' need to co-ordinate and intensify unity as an historic duty to unconditionally free the Africans from foreign domination. Researchers² argue that Pan-Africanism that was initiated by Africans and those of African descent in the diaspora have a racial Eurocentric tone. The movement for African liberation in the late 1950s should rather be called Pan-African Nationalism based on the form it adopted. The Eurocentric definition of who is an African has mainly been categorised by birth, lineage and land.³ There is a clear distinction, however, of the categorisation of who an African is by Pan-African Nationalism. The geographical boundary of the continent was what defined the boundary of who is an African and who is not. The people of African descent (now diaspora) and their settlers were considered by the colonisers. Little consideration was given to the new category of Africans. The Pan-African Nationalists' definition of an African, other than geographical delineation, maintained the racial definition of an African from the initial Diaspora movement.

Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, after their independence from Britain in 1957, spearheaded other Pan-Africanists in the formation of supranational entity in the quest for the

United States of Africa. He hosted a conference of eight independent states (Accra, 1958) and two years later, spearheaded another conference in Addis Ababa with the participation of 15 states. The subsequent Conference of Independent African Heads of State was held in Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963 with participation of 32 states that led to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the institutionalisation of Pan-Africanism or African identity.⁴ The formation of the OAU strengthened the efforts to universalise the nation-state and consolidate the triumph over European imperialism. Additionally, the quest for positive in-group distinctiveness as Africans was intended to produce virtual consensus or homogeneity of attitudes, opinions and behaviours among all African states and its citizens in contrast to the non-Africans. This was evident to distinguish who was to be called an African.⁵ The focus of consolidating African identity, unity and the subsequent goal of a United States of Africa, shifted to an all-geographical African responsibility, including the Maghreb region. Though the Pan-Africanists sustained the oratory of Eurocentric Pan-Africanism, the structures established and the approaches for unity were uniquely employed in this context.

The resolutions adopted following the establishment of the OAU in 1963 clearly established the fundamental pillars on which the organisation was expected to be supported to achieve the stated aims of consolidating continental unity as one people.⁶ All independent movements were invited to coordinate efforts and establish common fronts of actions to strengthen the effectiveness of the actions on the continent. Activities and training opportunities for young people in all sectors of life were to play key roles in this awakening of young people. In effect, the decolonising structures⁷, like the OAU, were intended to re-ordering of global geopolitics premised on domination-free and egalitarian international order where Africa and its individual nation-states were free from European imperialism. The evidence of egalitarian international order of the nation-states was self-determination⁸ of each of the individual independent African nations.

In the early stages of OAU efforts to divide the continent into regions that would support the subsequent formation of the continental state, it was not devoid of controversies. These divisions led to the emergence of three ideological blocs on the African continents, divided between the *Casablanca Group* (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Egypt, Morocco and Algeria) that advocated for a radical and full continental integration; the *Monrovia Group* (Nigeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Togo, Somalia and Sudan) that proposed a more moderate alternative to unification undertaken in incremental steps; and the *Brazzaville Group* (Francophone countries led by Senegal and Ivory Coast) remained tied to the interests of

colonial powers, especially France.⁹ The leadership styles adopted by some of the political Pan-African leaders in their countries further made the quest for African unity challenging. Among them were Elder Tradition – Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978); Warrior Tradition – Idi Aminn (1971-1979); Sage Tradition – Julius Nyerere (1961-1985), all with monarchical tendency built around charisma and personality cult. Also among them were the Internationalists – Leopold Sedar Senghore (1960-1980); Pan-Africanists – Kwame Nkrumah (1960-1966) and the Nationalists – Ahmed Saikou Touray (1958-1984).¹⁰

The controversies surrounding the division of the continent from different ideological standpoints and leadership styles, consensus was eventually negotiated.¹¹ Some of the regional blocks had been in existence before the establishment of the OAU, and its efforts to trickle down common African identity through the regions, countries and the citizens was evidenced. One such regional block was the East African Community (EAC) which was initially based on a Customs union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917. Tanzania joined in 1927. The union was based on four key pillars involving customs union, monetary union, common market, and political federation for its five member countries. The Treaty of Lagos in 1975 complimented previous efforts and led to the formation of an Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The organization today has 15 member countries. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was established during a development coordinating conference in 1980 and formally a development community in 1992 with 16 member countries. The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) with 11 member countries was established in 1983. Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) which was comprised of five Northern African countries was formed in 1989 in Marrakech (Morocco).¹²

Regionalism is a key integrative element in the concept of Pan-Africanism. African nationalists' leaders used it to counter challenges they faced in convincing other leaders of the continent relative to the feasibility of African unity. The formation or in-cooperation of the regional blocks into the structures of the OAU was premised on the premise that if the consciousness of African identity could contribute to deepening regional integration, then the success of regional integration should, in turn, impact the consolidation of an African identity.¹³ The national, regional, and continental structures that were formed intended to consolidate the attachment to an African identity and stimulate a fluid shift of in-group loyalties from the centre to the periphery and vice versa.

Regarding strengthening inter-African cooperation and raising social standards of the African citizens, the constitutive meeting of the OAU in 1963 considered the need to strengthen cooperation among African States in the labour and social fields as this could

contribute to the realisation of a strong sense of solidarity amongst the people. To this effect, the OAU laid down six key programmes under social and labour to strengthen the African geographical proximity and inter-state identity. The six key programmes included (1) Exchange of labour and social legislation; (2) establishment of African Youth Organisation; (3) Organisation of African Scout Union and annual continental jamboree; (4) Organisation of an annual African Sports Games; (5) Organisation of vocational training courses in which African workers will participate; and the (6) establishment of an African Trade Union.¹⁴ Sport, therefore, was to serve as one of the non-governmental (horizontal) and lower-level (vertical) subsidiary institutions through games to consolidate the transnational African identity consciousness to the masses.

This is also reflected in subsequent positions of the OAU (and now the African Union) (AU) in sport. In a study focused on an African Union government towards the United States of Africa commissioned by the AU in 2006, background information made reference to the key pillars of the Pan-African Movement which were also embedded in the founding principles of the OAU.¹⁵ Shared historical and cultural values, collective self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and political freedom are the key pillars that sustain and connect African states and citizens. Sport was expected to play a vital role in demonstrating the strength of African unity to the world as well as promote unity among Africans. Sport was to “strengthen African participation in world sport bodies and events and promote a *Union flag*.”¹⁶ The Agenda 2063, adopted by the AU in 2015, followed this same line of thinking asserting that Africa would take charge of its global narrative to ensure reflection of continental realities and Africa’s position in the world. Agenda 2063 is a shared framework among institutions on the continent as a continuation of the post-colonial Pan-African drive for world-making, unity, self-determination, freedom, progress, and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance.¹⁷

1.2 State of Research

Research on the construction of African identity through the Pan-Africanist spectrum has had wide academic scrutiny. Using transnational identity variables, Babatunde Fagbayibo explored the interface between African identity and social integration.¹⁸ Lack of empirical data on transnational identification was found; a concerned state of awareness by the citizenry because of minimal civil society participation in the integration process, and lack of key integrative benefits such as free movement within borders, continues to hamper AU efforts. It was emphasised that the need for data on transnational identity in Africa is apparent; a need

to encourage participation of civil society in the integration process, and the provision of key integrative benefits as a key to boost sustained African integration and identity are needed.¹⁹

Using mixed method and racial-cultural state identity analytical approaches, Tamura (2011) analysed the institutionalisation and ideological influence of the AU-led integration processes in specific communities on the continent and the diaspora.²⁰ It has been argued by academics that the bases of African identity or Pan-Africanism are premised on two main tenets: racial-cultural affinity and geographical connectedness. Today's Pan-African movement is in a transition stage from the preceding exclusively racial activism to a racially unbiased political integration process and identifies humanitarianism and democratic regionalism as the two main emerging trends in the movement. This notwithstanding, the diaspora still maintained a Black racially focused movement for social justice and human rights.²¹ On the other hand, Guevara, critically analysed the Mytho-reality Complexity of the Azanian Nation and how the current ethnic constructions developed on the African continent. He argued that the cultural upholders of national phenomena and economic advocates of state system are the constituents of ethnicity and the nation-state in colonial and post-colonial African politics. Furthermore, the implication for maintaining pre- and post-independence pseudo-nationalistic states was the disintegration of the once ethno-national cultural community, the Bantu Ethiopians who comprised the Azanian nation into what is today tribes and nations that are representative of the African continent.²²

These cited authors are among a host of divergent academic viewpoints on the meaning and constitution of Pan-Africanism and whether it contributes to unifying the African continent and its people. It is, therefore, important to understand how people identify with institutions to achieve the individual goal of being identified as Africans and how institutions identify with individuals to achieve and express positive in-group attributions. For this work, Pan-Africanism is considered as a political and cultural phenomenon that regards Africa and Africans (those residing in the geographical space) as a unit and, therefore, requires integration efforts to assert its cultural pride and challenge the global political, economic and social order as it exists.²³ Though the racial identity with Black African origin still constitutes a major understanding of Pan-Africanism, the institutional structures of the Neo-Pan-African Movement have included a wide range of stakeholders within and about the member states. Some researchers argue that States' foreign policies are part of a larger system of approaches that links states based on geographical proximity, cultural affinity, and produce a sense of identity across many spheres of the societies.²⁴ What remained evident during the

decolonisation period was the quest to assert self-determination of the newly independent African states as a joint force in the world-making process.²⁵

1.3 Relevance and Research Problem

The African Games fits within the context of what some researchers determine as Mega Sport Event based on size, reach, investment, and media exposure. Its coalition of beneficiaries include sport organisations, sport federations, government institutions, sections of the media, and social organisations.²⁶ Justifications for the organisation of the African Games based on economic improvement, urban re-generation, national pride/feel-good factor, increased participation in physical activity and sport, and international prestige and soft power tool are like those expressed by other organisations, countries, and host cities. The definition and criteria of what makes a sport event in the developing countries is based on the analysis and interpretation by Western media via a Western understanding of what emerging states seek to achieve through hosting of such events. This approach fails to acknowledge the emerging states' "alternative" interpretation of modernities with their available structures.²⁷ If mediatisation is to be the main criterion to measure the scale of a sport event in academia, the African Games could fall short of being considered a mega sport event, as the scale of its media outreach has mainly been African national print and broadcasting media agencies.²⁸ Concurrently, the African Games serve as a soft power tool to communicate identities based on the assumption by the Pan-African Nationalists of the need to consolidate the perceived similarity between all Africans. The games, therefore, provide an opportunity for the reproduction of shared core African sporting norms and values at an international stage and connect the citizens of all member states. The games are perceived as a profession of "collective effervescence" or the sense of "we-ness" by emotionally-laden citizens, either as athletes, officials or spectators.²⁹ There is limited knowledge on the use of multisport events like the African Games to deepen Pan-Africanism as a world-making project, self-determination or regionalism on the continent.

The in-cooperation of traditional African games as a core element of the games serve as a form of "identity essentialisation" by giving old African traditions, beliefs, practices its relevance or revive it. The African cultures, it is believed, embodies cultural mobilities that could be transported to global political traffic and exert some African geo-political power in sport through the games. Host countries and cities would, therefore, be expected to establish lineages of African identity and develop heritage-conservation tourism as part of nationalism cultural activities that will in turn deepen the consciousness of Africanness through the host

city culture. The games are a stage where contradicting transnational country-specific identities melt and African identity emerges through the “articulation” of cultural discourses by a network of actors (music, film, food, costumes, etc.) to the African and global audience. The combination of the network of natives and the network of professionals is to produce the template of the desired African culture.³⁰

The delivery of mega sport events is possessed by a city and a country with exerted authority, territory, and rights. One the critiques of host cities and mega sport events involves mega sport events that are designed to enrich the elite who have privileged access to public information and facilities. The ticketing system of mega sport events divides the citizenry between privileged (those who can afford to pay and access) and ordinary (those who cannot or depend on institutional support) at the expense of the local economy. Marginalised local groups have no concrete measures. Mega events, in general, provide and emphasise existence for host cities in an international sphere. In consultation with the game’s rights holders, the city gains status through the invitation of high profile dignitaries and designs scope and mode of accessibility of the events.³¹ In as much as mega sport events provide opportunities for connectivity to the city, country and continent, it also abates the transforming and dismantling of local structures (media, markets, private institutions, infrastructure, government entities, etc.) within its framework. The stages of a mega event include host selection, preparation of games, as well as a post games period that contribute to the transformation of the local setup.³² The state and city employ public resources for soft power positions in global geopolitics and, to some extent, results into government administrative malpractices.³³

To this effect, there has been considerable investigation about the legacy of mega sport events, but there remains a considerable gap with regard to Africa, with the exception of ex-ante (before the event) and ex-post (after the event) research on the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa.³⁴ Studies on the history of African sport has not really being exhaustive, though researchers have examined the historical development of football, country specific development of sport, and the evolution of the Olympism on the continent.³⁵ With regard to the African Games, few investigators have traced Pierre de Coubertin and the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) quest for “sport to conquer Africa” through the attempt to host the African Games and establish structures in Egypt and Algeria between 1910 and 1930.³⁶ Studies have been conducted on the historical development of the then all-French colony Community Games until its last edition in 1960 in the height of decolonisation struggle and how that strengthen unity among the French colonies in Africa.³⁷ Furthermore, the struggle between the IOC and Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) in their efforts to exert

soft-power control over Africa during the First African Games in 1965 have also been researched.³⁸

With regard to the host cities, only works on the infrastructural legacy of the 1999 African Games in Johannesburg (South Africa) and the legacy of the games in the host city and the contribution of China towards the 2011 African Games in Maputo (Mozambique) have been published.³⁹ These academic enquiries do not cover the preceding editions of the games and their legacies in different facets. It is evident that there is a considerable lack of published literature on historical development of the Africa Games in various times and cities as well as how the development is understood in the context of African identity to consolidate continental unity. The Academic bias towards study of the history of sport in Africa has resulted in a limited knowledge on the role of the continent and African Games in shaping global sport geopolitics.⁴⁰

Transnational identity formation in African sport has mainly focussed on assessing the geopolitical role of African nations in relation to certain circumstances or issues. The influence of GANEFO on Africa in its quest for a Third World transnational identity formation through sport stimulates an inquiry into the African context.⁴¹ The original BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) have used sport to exert influence in global geopolitics of recent through the hosting of mega sport events.⁴² Territorial similarities do not necessarily translate into shared feelings of common identities. This distinction is demonstrated through the Mediterranean Games on how its territorial identification does not reflect its reality as compared to other ethno-cultural identity games like the Pan-Arab Games.⁴³ On the other hand, the documented historical development of the Pan-Arab Games in the building of Arab transnational identity provides a benchmark to embark on an academic enquiry in the African context.⁴⁴ This demonstrates a considerable void of knowledge on how Africans on the continent mobilised to use sport as a tool for self-determination, regionalism, Pan-Africanism, and established an egalitarian world order. In addition, it remains to be understood how sport officials exploit the political power of sport and how African nationalists' exploits sport events on the continent and Pan-African sport organisations to consolidate Pan-Africanism.

In all the previous academic inquiries into transnational identity formation through sport and mega sport events, it remains evident there is a need for a similar enquiry into the African context through the African Games. How the games have served Pan-African agenda as a transnational identity formation or manifestation platform, also remains to be addressed. The African Games are a melting pot of in-group differences (the sub-groups of the main

group category) and in-Africa profiling prejudices scene. The influence of political ideological differences in the development of the games and conflicting approaches of host cities between promoting elite sport or sport for all in Africa also require detailed academic enquiry. The African Games continue to serve as opportunities for cities to direct development of cultural facilities as part of wider projects of reorganising urban spaces.⁴⁵ How the different host cities of the African Games engage other agents (of cultural production and diffusion) in the context of African identity and the resultant effects of these engagements in the host cities have remained unclear. The form and extent of the involvement of agents such as schools, cultural groups, and political organisations to improve cultural infrastructure as well as culturally empower disadvantaged groups under the shared affinity of being African provides a deeper understanding of the role of social groups in identity formation.

Furthermore, an exploration of a Pan-African model of economic revenue sources to fund the games in the city context also provides an alternative on how developing countries could leverage sport events. It is also important to understand the structures created by the host cities of the games with regard to leaning on personalities, or adjust sports structures, shift priorities within the context of Pan-Africanism. Background justifications for cities to bid for the African Games relative to African identity are among themes that remain to be explored in academia. Other in-country or city measures in favour or against the African Games and how those reflect on the development of the Pan-African model of socio-political integration are yet to be investigated.

The role of the private sector in consolidation of African identity through the games, remain a challenge for contemporary sport event hosts. It is important to differentiate between context, policy, and action outcomes in trying to explain emerging patterns in city sport policies, especially with regard to sport events. Consequently, local political context, leaders, and structural context are affected by the political changes and approaches to development in terms of location, technology, industry and cultural diffusion. The host cities were to embody and exemplify specific features of Africanness in their heritage and structures, and the African Games should, therefore, serve as a cultural event that engrains this feature in the collective memory of other Africans and the rest of the world and its stakeholders. The contribution of the private sector to city branding plays a significant role to the host cities of the African Games. Place-identity, in this case the host city, embodies a set of “objects” with meanings associated with their specific cultural African landscapes. The Africans could draw on this in their construction of and or solidify their individual and collective identities before, during,

and after the games.⁴⁶ Urban settlements are the ideal space considered as the mechanism suitable to regenerate cultural meaning and memory of the games.⁴⁷

The African Games provide a platform for African countries to consolidate their politics of resistance, and the notion of African identity be deeply engrained into the foundation on which the African Games develops under the direction of the then OAU and now AU.⁴⁸ Though much literature had linked the political rhetoric of 2010 World Cup in South Africa with respect to supporting “...the realization of the African renaissance objectives...” as engendering a continent-wide legacy, the event has no direct link to the AU efforts to this regard.⁴⁹ Sport events remain a fundamental tool for the realisation of this. However, the extent to which the rhetoric of African renaissance has been imparted on the African youth through the games remain unexplored from diverse academic disciplines.

Technology in the African Games is an imported (modern) colonial good accommodated into local African cultures and context. In the context of mega sport events, the use of modern technology is associated with progressive traits such as pragmatism, entrepreneurship, technical know-how, and is mostly contradictorily ascribed to the “colonial” Europeans and the West in general. Modern sport and sport events are an expression of social class hierarchies in different contexts. From hindsight, it could be argued that modern sport depicts African subjugation to Europeanised dominant hierarchies. Football, for example, is run by elites with Western-developed training methods and scientific forms of strategy ascribed as the global standards of its expression. Sport, through the treatment of African athletes, exposes stereotyped of Black, unintelligent, rough, bad, other qualities ascribed to Africa.⁵⁰ The contextualisation of Western knowledge and technology on the continent could highlight diverse interpretation of sport and sport events.

This enquiry, therefore, provides an opportunity to decipher Africa’s understanding, use, and interpretation of certain concepts in its pursuit to consolidate African identity through the African Games. The Pan-African model of sport and the mega sport events are deeply rooted in the Olympic model which develops within a European socio-cultural framework. Additionally, modern host cities and countries of mega sport events frame hospitality norms based on Western cultural practices as compared to the African understanding of hospitality. The emergence and formation of international organisations that challenge the global order heavily influence the formation of the African Games. The extent to which these affected their geopolitical position in the global sport landscape and their relationships with the IOC remain a highly unexplored field and of high historical relevance.

All the regional games that preceded the African Games [Asian Games (1951), Pan-American Games (1951), and Pan-Arab Games (1953)] were premised on the participation of National Olympic Committees (NOC) as opposed to the participation of a nation because of fear from emerging nations overpowering the Olympic scene. Furthermore, the nature and form of membership of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) was conflicted by the IOC criteria as the former recognises independent African countries while the latter only accepts National Olympic Committees. This positions the African Games as a purely transnational identity consolidation and, therefore, devoid of Western understanding of what emerging states seek to achieve via hosting mega sport events. This position presents the African Games as a unique opportunity for academic enquiry to understand how the African nations intend to communicate their identities and reproduce shared sporting norms and values at a transnational sport event in Africa.

The host city of the African Games in 2019 Rabat (Morocco), had among its goals, concepts such as opportunity to unite, develop a sense of community, and regional integration.⁵¹ There is need for inquiry into the effect the games have on uniting the continent as envisaged by the rights holders, the African Union, in different host cities. Conversely, the inclusion of traditional African Games by host cities into the official programme of the games has always been highlighted as a significant aspect in the quest to revive and promote the practice of traditional games on the continent. Studies have been conducted on educational potential of traditional board games, the significance of indigenous games in the development of physical education on the continent and the challenges being faced in promoting and formalising traditional African Games in some country-specific instances.⁵² Researchers have described traditional games as expressive bridges of understanding between people, furnishing the physical, social and symbolic vehicles in which to “play out” the scenario of communal self, status, and values of a society. Traditional wrestling, for example, has been examined in different ethnic and country-specific settings and confirmed how its social function and forms of practice differs between ethnic groups, social status and countries.⁵³ Furthermore, it is argued that modern sport and traditional games should be separated since they perform different functions and manifest diverse meanings in their settings.⁵⁴ Thus, there remains an evidence gap in the historical development of traditional games and their role in African unity in the African Games. The effect of modern sport alongside traditional sport as historically developed in the African Games will provide valuable insights into the intrinsic values of sport in general.

The role of the African Games was to also help in the holistic compliance with rules, standardisation of practices, social investment, promotion of peace, and the general development of sport in Africa. The definition of legacy of a mega sport event, however, remains contentious and the supposed legacies have had diverse impacts in different settings. The social and political legacy of the African Games in general and with regards to transnational identity formation and development of common socio-cultural policies remain a fertile ground for much research.

Following the 5th Ordinary Session of the Conference of African Union Ministers of Sport (CAMS) in Abidjan (Ivory Coast) in 2013 to reform structures of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), a decision was taken to align the regional structures of the now African Union Sport Council (AUSC) to mirror those of the AU.⁵⁵ The SCSA was dissolved in 2013 and the AUSC was set up to replace it, this time directly under the AU Social Commission.⁵⁶ The renewed ‘tripeptide’ relationship between the AUSC, Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) and Association of African Sports Confederations (AASC) in 2019 as the main organisers of the African Games had existed since the formation of the ANOCA and AASC in 1981 and 1983, respectively. The organisations, however, fell out with the then SCSA and therefore significant to understand the circumstances and effects of the relationships in the past as well as how that shapes the future in the context of the African Games.

On the conceptual level, this investigation aimed at deepening the debate of the socio-political legacies of mega sport events in a non-western context. The issue of whether developing countries, especially African countries, have the capacity to host mega sport events and leverage events on different levels of a host city environment remains a contentious point of debate. This study complements the claim that academic enquiry of sport as a social phenomenon helps better understand human social interaction and the production of discourses. This study has also intended to clarify the definition of a mega sport event, and the specific roles ascribed to stakeholders in an African context. Multidisciplinary enquiry that intends to understand sport events in developing countries illustrate the meaning and understanding of sport in the Global South, the role of sport in African transnational politics, structures of African sports, diversity of stakeholders, and structures involved in identity formation and their different roles. In the context of mega sport events, this study has provided historical understanding of context-specific structures that sustain social impact of mega events and has illustrated the extent of cultural mobility of mega sport events. The role of traditional games within modern mega sport event structures, however, remains

contentious in the context of cultural mobility. The position and influence of traditional games relative to the position of modern sport in the framework of formation of African identity as well as its institutional legacy have been examined.

This study also has positioned the debate on the significance of hermeneutics in understanding the multiple meanings expressed around and ascribed to a social phenomenon in different geopolitical, social, and temporal contexts.⁵⁷ The feasibility with hermeneutics, allows for the study of the African Games in different cities and at different times to be situated within the context of a deeper academic understanding of the focus of this study. Ex-post studies of Mega events deal with real data of the event in the real context (city) as it happened in the past. Historical Ex-post studies relate a more accurate exposition of the phenomena as it happened and does not make predictions of events that may be influenced by some uncertainties.⁵⁸ The written documents in an archive have assured a state of fact of the events and issues captured. This study, therefore, is conceptually limited to hermeneutics enquiry through the analysis of archival texts (e. g., correspondences, reports, regulations, media reports) on the construction of African identity through the African Games from 1965 to 1995. The study has included multi-disciplinary perspectives developed from a mainly historical enquiry of past events. As hermeneutics is multifaceted, discourses developed can be understood and interpreted differently in other academic fields.

On a contextual level, the research has intended to explore a historical understanding of sport in Africa at different institutional levels through the African Games. Additionally, the study has aimed to reflect the influence of different ideological, political, and cultural tensions on the continent during the games. Though the deficit of post-colonial politics is evident, the African Games still provide a platform to address common issues confronting sport in Africa. The greater homogenisation of the African continent and distinctive features of each host city could reflect the diverse sub-group identities embedded in what has been referred to as African identity. How differences contradict the task of constructing an African identity in sport is an aspect for inquiry in this study has been revealed. Moreover, modernist approaches employed by the host cities of the African Games to the construction of an African identity remains a context-specific approach to be understood in the study of sport.

This enquiry has stimulated scarce documentation of the African Games in general and has encouraged the documentation of city-specific histories of the different games. This has further enhanced the consolidation of the study of sport history in Africa and the limited different sport-specific histories on the continent. This enquiry could inspire enquiries into other academic fields on the African Games, city-specific contexts and translational identity

research in African sport. This study has been limited to the Pan-African Nationalist's reference of geographical Africa. The African Games is understood as a cultural event promulgated presently by the AU through AUSC, to promote the ideals of African unity and the shared need for liberation from "the others". This investigation has been limited to the first 30 years of the games (1965-1995), which highlights a steady growth to a consistent 4-year interval from each rendition.

1.4 Methodological approach

This study has relied on critical hermeneutic enquiry for a deeper interpretation and understanding of the phenomenon of study. Sport is a representation of the meanings attached to the real world which lends itself to hermeneutical interpretation.⁵⁹ The process of world-making by athletes, sport institutions, and fans, among others, ontologically edify a world that calls for continual interpretation and contextualisation of its embodied actions and realities. Sport institutions create texts that reflect the construction and reproduction of their world and views, firmly based on the social reality of the contexts.⁶⁰ Critical hermeneutics allow for a further critique of the ideological bases or world view of the text being interpreted in re-experiencing the original authors' creative process. Furthermore, the process can bring understanding of the phenomena under study through language to find intended or expressed meaning because language is the medium through which understanding occurs and is interpreted.⁶¹ Hermeneutic study involves the understanding of the written text, but also understanding the human condition itself and how it evolves over time through text. Power relations in institutional setup is a process whereby athletes, trainers, and officials in sport organisations are actively or passively involved in.⁶² Hermeneutics allows for the interpretation of social events in multi-disciplinary contextualisation and therefore gives a holistic picture of the phenomena. The interpretation of English language texts through the Hermeneutic Circle exposes embedded discourses, concepts, ideologies, and categorisations that are constructed by various authors of the texts as a representation of Africa, African, and associated identity.⁶³

Contexts in critical hermeneutics facilitates the optimisation in the deconstruction of the salient facets of the texts by being able to differentiate between factual information and disinformation, as well as the prioritization of information in texts. The constant discourse between interpreter and text through the hermeneutic circle establishes that a thorough understanding of a text is premised on reference to the individual parts, and an understanding of the individual parts needs to be referenced overall. The point of departure, for proponents

of methodological Hermeneutics like Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), is the interpretation, premised on a basic prior understanding and reflexivity of the *Dasein* (being/phenomena) by the interpreter.⁶⁴ This epistemological and ontological premise fits into this study's context and this researcher's position. A better overall understanding of the African Games is not devoid of the host cities, and a better understanding of the city-specific construction of African identity provides a deeper understanding of the different meanings attached to the African Games. Document analysis, in general, gives meaning to social and physical realities of a topic of study.⁶⁵ Though the Hermeneutic Cycle has being criticised for being circular for the sake of objectivity, it can further provide for coverage of a wide range of specific dimensions and meanings associated with the phenomena of study, in this case sport and identity formation in mega events.⁶⁶

Host cities comparison is complicated by different histories of institutional structures and periods of political control in different countries and cities. It serves best to understand the games through a hermeneutics lens as identity is a fluid and changing process depending on the circumstances of the different times.⁶⁷ Critical hermeneutics also allows for researcher reflexivity in the process of dialogue with the text in the study of historical phenomena. The researcher's constant reflection on the position, vis-a-vis the behaviour, outcome, and contexts of the texts, allows for better interpretation

This study has relied on key archive centres and other secondary data. The Olympic Studies Centre of the International Olympic Committee Archive in Lausanne (Switzerland), the African Union Sport Council Archive in Yaoundé (Cameroon), and the African Union Online Open Access Archive have served as the main sources of archives for an understanding of the African Games. Furthermore, the study has undertaken city-specific archive collections which has enhanced a deeper understanding of the interpretation and approaches accorded to the construction and strengthening of African identity in the games. The blending of the archive collection process of European-based archives on Africa and African-based archives, has further enhanced the reliability of the study.

The cross-disciplinary nature of the study with the goal to unearth meanings associated with the phenomena of study positions critical hermeneutics as the ideal framework for dialogue with the text and the diverse facets of study. Furthermore, the study has engaged ex-post data of mega sport event. This has allowed the study to understand the constructedness of national storylines and the history of individual national historiographies in their interaction with other nations. This has also facilitated a dialogue with the processes of the trans-nationalisation of historiographies and how they fit within the sport and African contexts.⁶⁸

Archival analysis underpinned by critical hermeneutics has allowed the work to measure an unbiased and broader domain space of the African identity construct and uncover its manifestations and different relations (socio-political) in the African context.

Transparency in archival research allows for its reproducibility and allows for open and transparent discussions around identity formation in mega sport events and specificity of the African context. It also allows for the manifestation of how new forms of globalisation in an African context emerge through the games.⁶⁹ At the end of the struggle for independence, western ideologies of socialism, liberalism, secularism, and nation-state all influenced the modernisation of the newly independent African countries, where the appropriation of the colonial model of sport was accepted with little criticism or adaptation. This trend could even be affirmed today. The objectivity and longitudinal nature of the archival data has also allowed for an examination of the evolution of the extend and shape of these appropriations in the different countries, cities, and regions of the continent.⁷⁰ This investigation has also availed a fundamental opportunity for the applicability of critical hermeneutics as a methodological framework into the study of sport history, the understanding of sport and its role in institutional settings, and mega sport events in the African context.

1.5 Structure of the work

The structure of this work has followed a pattern to highlight the central theme of this work, which involved the demonstration of the African Games as a Pan-African project positioned as an institution to strengthen self-determination and widen its anti-colonial world-making process. This has shaped and influenced the trajectory of the African Games, as is the case with many other Pan-African institutions. Chapter one is the introduction, as highlighted above, with a detailed overview of Pan-Africanism and sport, the state of research on mega sport events, the relevance and research problem, the methodological approach, and the structure of the work.

Chapter two provides a historical overview of the African Games. Institutions, movements and circumstances that shaped the foundation of the African Games have been included. The African Games were formed at a time when a new form of Pan-Africanism, world-making, and its subsequent ramifications were emerging on the continent. This positions the African Games as an interesting subject of study for historians, politicians, and sociologists. In addition, this chapter also detailed the institutions in- and outside the continent that shaped the emergence of the African Games as a Pan-African project to strengthen the formation of African identity and nation-building.

Chapter three delves into the first rendition of the African Games, highlighting the influence of key stakeholders. In Chapter four, the emergence of one of the most influential organisations in the survival of the African Games has been captured. Its structures and the position of the African Games in the organisation becomes relevant in this chapter. In addition, the chapter also provides the influence and position of nation-states in the organisation of the African Games. Chapter five takes us to the Second African Games held in Lagos in 1973. It highlights the challenges and opportunities the games faced in this transition in the context of post-colonial structures and their influence on the emerging nation-states and the Pan-African project.

Chapter six views the games in its third rendition in Algiers in 1978. These games also provided insights into regional influences on the African Games and specificities of Northern African in African sport, politics, and social structures. Chapter seven also delves into another regional-specific dimension of the African Games as the fourth rendition moves to Nairobi in 1987. This chapter also mirrored down to changing global political landscapes at the time and how the institutional set-up of the African Games adjusted to the evolving circumstances. Chapter eight brings us back to North Africa, to the fifth edition of the games held in Cairo in 1991. This chapter is also immersed into the incredible transformation the games have gone through in structure, form and shape and how this influenced the future of its institutional set-up as a Pan-African project.

Chapter nine takes us to the sixth rendition of the games held in Harare in 1995. This event marked the games' first rendition in Southern Africa as well as the emergence of significant stakeholders in- and outside the continent involved in the execution of the African Games. This chapter also completes the 30 years that have been included in this study. This investigation is concluded with a final chapter on future perspectives which interrogates the African Games as a mega sport event, its historical role as a Pan-African project, and its significance in the study and understanding of African sport history. Practical and theoretical implications of the works about the future of the African Games and study of sport history on the continent have been highlighted.

2. Historical overview of the African Games in the context of Pan-Africanism

2.1 A New World-Making

The concept and development of the African Games as an institutional structure of Pan-Africanism can be best understood in the context of world-making as conceptualised by the leading African nationalist during decolonisation. The transition from empire to nation in the twentieth century in Africa appears inevitable and is reflected through sport. The disruption of the colonial sport systems in the British and French colonies during decolonisation provided an opportunity to establish structures that would support the reordering of the world and universalisation of the sovereign African nation-state.⁷¹

The African Games can also to be understood within the context of one of the three schools of thought that emerged on the continent in the 1960s and 1970s on the process of decolonisation. The *Ethno-philosophers* are those who consider the defence of the African ‘otherness’ as the only non-derogatory way of justifying the technological retardation of Africa.⁷² The thinkers of the Negritude⁷³ movement best represent this trend through the racialisation of identities and a rejection of the evolutionary explanation and the civilising mission from the West. Pan-Africanism, which got inspiration from the Negritude, is an African search for social and cultural equality and autonomy. The other two schools of thought are the *Universalists* or *Professional Philosophers* and *Particularists*.⁷⁴

The eminent central feature of Pan-Africanism during decolonisation period in the late 1950s up to 1970s was the intention to transform remaining features of imperialism on the continent into bases to launch a stronger racialised collective identity of the African. The imperial legacy which ranged from institutions, cultural practices and social norms needed to be dismantled and transformed into an established African identity, unique in context and identification with everyone on all socio-economic strata.⁷⁵ Post-independence nationalists realised that while some of the legacies of colonialism could be transformed, there was also the need to construct African identity by establishing additional institutions, practices, and protocols unique to the circumstances.

The nation-state, gained from the colonialist, was transformed into the ideal weapon of nationalists to consolidate the Pan-African project by transforming other structures and constructing others. Through the nation-state, post-colonial Pan-Africanists saw an opportunity to legitimise status in- and outside the continent. To consolidate this legitimacy and acceptance of the nation-state, independent African nations were to develop and penetrate

the established world-order as a unit, representing Africa. The success of this strategy in influencing international justice, especially at the United Nations, motivated African nationalists, to exploit this strategy into other areas like sport. To this effect, Pan-Africanism adopted a wider approach and became a political, social, and cultural movement that intended to demonstrate and consolidate the “oneness” of the African continent and its people.⁷⁶

The establishment of supranational institutions beyond the newly independent African nation-state on the continent has acted as catalysts of the world-making process. Outside the continent, the supranational institutions displayed more weight than the individual nation-state and could represent Africa’s interest and voice as a unit and legitimise the self-determination of the individual nation-state represented. The more independent nation-states that supranational institutions represented, the more influential Africa could become in global geopolitics and international justice. This thinking echoed Nkrumah’s statement on the meaninglessness of Ghana’s independence as an individual country without the independence of all African countries.

The foundation of the OAU in 1963 served as the formal springboard for the establishment of similar transnational African institutions. In its constitutive act, member states of the OAU were entitled to “equal rights” and bounded by the policy of “non-alignment with regards to all blocs”⁷⁷. Among its immediate duties were to legitimise its status before the world-order by registering at the United Nations. Internally, all member countries were obliged to coordinate and harmonise policies in a wide range of areas including education, culture, diplomatic, and political cooperation.

To consolidate the work of the transnational institutions within the continent, similar regional structures needed to be established. In addition, nation-states needed to adopt policies that further strengthened “brotherhood” and “solidarity” among its people. To achieve this, most of the nation-states branded the approach by adopting communist or socialist policies, emphasising similarities of Africans.⁷⁸ The intention to adopt socialism has been understood as intended to consolidate solidarities within a democratic state structure in the social fabric of its member states than to appeal to a particular ideological block in the world-order.

Getachew has argued that the Pan-Africanism that developed on the continent after colonialism adopted a more radical racialised approach to instituting self-determination of the nation-states in the international system.⁷⁹ The hierarchical structures of the remnants of colonial structures on the continent and in international institutions was seen as a direct imposition to limit the Black African. To this extent, self-determination was coined to change these structures in the international order and celebrate any breakthrough of Africa into the

structures. All Africans, therefore, became clothed in the Pan-African spirit to break through a racially hierarchical world order. In the context of sport, the success of an African athlete in modern European sports and international competition symbolised a triumph of Africa and Blacks in the world-order.

2.2 Modern Sport, a Tool for Resistance and World-Making

Modern sport became a socio-political tool that served to strengthen the Pan-African ideals and celebrate the achievement of the self-determination achieved by the independent African states. In addition, it provided African youth with opportunities to experience, interact, and celebrate African unity devoid of racial hierarchy. Modern sports were to provide post-colonial African citizens with a new identification of the African through experiences in their practice at different levels.⁸⁰ Internationally, belonging to sport organisations and participating in sport tournaments were a manifestation of Africa's strength and triumph over imperialism in an egalitarian world. This reordering of the world included the establishment and support of domination-free and egalitarian international sport organisations and practices.⁸¹

At the national level, independence Pan-African leaders exploited the potential of sport to promote national and sub-regional unity in the face of independence struggles. Nigeria's first president, Nnamdi Azikiwe (1963-1966), became famous for using sport to mobilise resistance against colonial rule and build support for the independence of Nigeria. As editor of the Accra (Ghana)-based newspaper, *African Morning*, Azikiwe frequently reported on how the British politicised sport which led the banning by the British in 1935.⁸² Upon his return to Nigeria, he formed the *Zik's Athletic Club* in 1938 to unite youth. Central to the strategy was organising football tours throughout Nigeria where speeches were held before the matches to emphasise the need for self-organisation and nationhood. These activities motivated the formation of the Nigerian Football Association (NFA) in 1948 and frequent tours of the "National Team" to Britain to create the need for national unity and independence.⁸³ As president, Azikiwe donated the Azikiwe Trophy presented annually beginning in 1960 and an annual "Jalco Cup" match with Ghana in 1951 and friendly matches with Sierra Leone in 1953 to strengthen sub-regional unity.⁸⁴

In Tanzania, then Tanganyika, the Young Africans Sports Club of Dar es Salaam provided under cover forums for members of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and its president, Julius Nyerere (1961-1985), the country's first president.⁸⁵ In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah's (1960-1966) quest to instil the "Ghananess" into the people

around sport led to the establishment of the Ghana Football Association (GFA) in 1957 and a subsequent eight-team league, two teams from each of the four major municipalities, in Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast and Sekondi.⁸⁶ He further created the Central Organization of Sport (COS) in 1960 as the national institution responsible for the promotion of sport.⁸⁷

In other African countries such as Congo, Belgian missionaries spearheaded the spread of modern educational and leisure activities in the social fabric during colonial rule.⁸⁸ The quest to curb the surge of rampant vandalism and gang groups in the suburbs of the cities led to the establishment of Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Kalamu district in Kinshasa and local football clubs to keep the youth engaged. The missionaries, leaning on the colonial administrative structures used sport to ensure youth engagement.⁸⁹ Football clubs such as the Vita Club became breeding grounds for youth resistance against the Belgian colonial rule in Congo, actions that would sometimes result into bloody confrontations in the streets after football matches.⁹⁰

In the French colonies in Africa, the political status of each colony, its geographical remoteness, and cultural differences from France had an important influence on the practice of sport. One of the earliest French colonies in Africa to use nationalist symbols such as athletes, sport organisations, and events to demand their independence was Algeria.⁹¹ Together with Egypt, Algeria spearheaded the idea of hosting the Pan-African Games in 1925 and an earlier attempt in 1923 to set up the "African Medal" to celebrate the continent's athletic youth.⁹² The initial proposal by Egypt and Algeria was intended to celebrate the African youth through sport. The British and French governments, however, rejected the proposal because the fear that it might aid and fuel the surge for independence struggle. It was then proposed the Mediterranean Games as an alternative for Northern Africans.

Sport, and football in particular, played a significant role in the decolonisation process in the height of the Algerian war for independence (1954-1962).⁹³ Many sport stars of Algerian decent who were playing on the French national teams showed solidarity with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). They defected to form the Algerian national team and became known as the "Onze de Indépendance".⁹⁴ The French Empire displayed strong resistance in Northern Africa with sport clubs being formed with names and logos such as "The Awakening," "Hope," "The Patriot," "Homeland," and "Homeland, Duty, Courage" from 1914 and steadily instilled nationalistic feelings among members and players.⁹⁵

After World War II, football took on a continental dimension in Africa with the formation of Confederation of African Football (CAF) in 1956.⁹⁶ The creation of this African sport organisation reflected Africans' desires to unite against colonialism through the

solidarity of independent African nations in the Africa Cup of Nations. British colonies had better independent sport structures. As a result, the first four events were held in former British-influenced or British colonial territories in Khartoum (Sudan) (1957), Cairo (Egypt) (1959), Addis Abba (Ethiopia) (1962) and Accra (Ghana) (1963). It was not until 1965 in Tunis (Tunisia) that the Cup was held in a French-speaking country.⁹⁷ Among its early goals was to fight for an automatic position in the World Cup because the continent had none at the time. Its only representative was decided by a playoff match with an Asian country. Prominent Pan-African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah advocated for a continent-wide boycott of the 1966 FIFA World Cup, an idea adhered to, and a resolution was adopted to that effect in a CAF Executive Meeting in 1964.⁹⁸ During the FIFA congress in 1966, CAF's threats were adhered to and a resolution was passed to give the continent its own qualifying slot for the 1970 World Cup.⁹⁹ In his quest to develop a cross-continental football exchange, "to bring all Africa together in the field of sport",¹⁰⁰ Nkrumah began a discussion about the formation of African club competition. This was also adopted in the 6th CAF Congress in Accra in 1963, and the first continental club championship kicked off in 1964 and the final match staged in Accra.¹⁰¹

By early 1960s, Pan-African solidarity had been solidified in many fields and by many countries on the continent. Though a transnational organisation did not exist on which Africa could make its collective voice heard in the world of sport, individual nation-states had taken steps against sport organisations in solidarity with other African countries. A case in point was the Baden-Baden IOC Session of 1963 which was initially planned for Nairobi (Kenya) but later relocated to Germany because Kenya refused visas to South African and Zimbabwe members to attend because of Apartheid.¹⁰²

The effects of using sport as a tool to mobilise youth, strengthen the sense of nationhood, and promote Pan-African solidarity were well understood by most independence leaders. The existence of colonial powers and their influences in many of the countries hindered country-specific initiatives to form a continental force. Influences from other internal and external factors led to the concrete conceptualisation and positioning of African sport as a perfect tool to stimulate participation in the Pan-African project and promote African unity.

2.3 The French Community Games

The French began importing sport to its colonies at the end of the nineteenth century. Replicating physical exercises practiced in France under the Third Republic, "gymnastics"

became compulsory at all levels of teaching as they were bent on exploiting its military and patriotic aims.¹⁰³ In the French colonies, because of the control and assimilation of French socio-political structures in their African colonies, the use of sport as a tool for resistance and nation-building was rather limited at the grassroots level. The most effective resistance to the French colonial system through sport came from the sport structures established by France in their colonies. Changes to the sport structure in France led from the Union Francaise Games into the Friendship or Community Sporting Games (1960– 1963). This was a precursor to NOCs in the former French African colonies and the emergence of a francophone space within the Olympic Movement.¹⁰⁴ The first Community Games held in Madagascar in April 1960 and was the first to bring together all French-speaking African countries. The idea of the games was not welcomed by all as the General Governors of Western Africa, the French Somalia Coast, Togo, and Cameroon warned the French Ministry of Colonies that local people were not educated enough to participate in disadvantaged “sporting demonstrations between races”.¹⁰⁵ France was the only non-African country in the games and was plagued with resistance from various top officials and athletes. Madagascar declared its independence from France three days before the event in 1960.

The structure of sport in the French colonial system of assimilation also played a major role in how the African Games began. The “Comité Fédéral Sportif (CFS – Federal Sports Committee) was the centralised umbrella body of sport in French West Africa with single sport leagues affiliated to matching French sporting bodies. Two decrees dated on the 16 December 1949 changed the way sport operated in French colonies. The decrees revoked the Sports Charter of 1942, abolished the Federal Sports Committee, provided a pyramid structure similar to France, and created a Territorial Sports Committee in each colony that was presided over by a Local Education Inspector.¹⁰⁶ The creation of the Haut-Commission for Youth and Sport (HCJS in French) in France, however, was meant to instrumentalise sport in the colonies and as a soft power tool to gain francophone space in the Olympic movement. HCJS accelerated and promoted the recognition of NOCs in Francophone Black Africa and named Keba Mbaye (Senegal) as executive president of IOC in Africa.¹⁰⁷

Following newly employed administrative control over the sport sector, school sport became instrumental to the mission. The Territorial Sports Committees received subsidies from the African sports leagues that were affiliated with the metropolitan French sports federations, through the National Education Ministry and French Overseas Ministry (FOM), either for their regular business operations or by way of exception for sporting events and the establishment of sport infrastructures.¹⁰⁸ Combeau-Mari (2011), analysed how the French

used the school system, through the development of the Community Games in 1960, as a political tool to show influence to other world powers and also to strengthen their grip on the continent. Since 1952, the games have been held on the continent annually under the supervision of the HCJS.¹⁰⁹ In the 1960 rendition, upon a directive from the HCJS, an inter-ministerial committee decided to extend the games to include the participation of youth outside the school system.¹¹⁰

Within the African continent, the HCJS transformed the planned Union Francaise Games into the Friendship or Community Sporting Games.¹¹¹ In 1960, the Community, or later, Renewed Community, disintegrated as Cameroon, Togo, Madagascar and other African countries proclaimed their independence from France. This also generated a disruption of the Community Games following the first rendition in Antananarivo (Madagascar) which was instrumentalised as a space to demonstrate against continued French domination. Sport Ministers of French-speaking African countries met in Abijan (Ivory Coast) in 1961 and in Dakar (Senegal) in 1963 during the second and third renditions of the games. Five English-speaking West African countries were also invited to Dakar.¹¹² Though there had been internationalisation of Pan-Africanism within the continent that transcended imperial boundaries in the political realm, this was limited to the sub-regional levels in sport.

The games in Dakar laid the foundation for a more formal interaction between British and French colonial subjects in sport and the consolidation of the African Games as a Pan-African project. The meeting of the Sport Ministers in Dakar determined the formation of a Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport in French-speaking African states, a similar structure which later was assimilated into the African Games. The conference, during its meeting in Dakar, tasked Congo Brazzaville to convene a technical committee to study and take necessary measures to transform the Community Games into the African Games and to increase the number of participating countries.¹¹³ According to the autobiography of Jean Claude Ganga, the choice of Congo as the next host of the games was not convincing. Cameroonian delegates wanted the games held in Ivory Coast and Congolese delegates had to plead with Cameroonians to withdraw the bid for Ivory Coast “to avoid a central African confrontation”.¹¹⁴

2.4 The Games of the New Emerging Forces

Events outside Africa in the post-war period provided impetus to the institutionalisation of the African Games as part of the world-making process promoted by anti-imperial nationalist leaders of the continent and third world countries. One such event

was the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the preceding Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) in 1963 in Jakarta, Indonesia.¹¹⁵ A total of 51 nations, including 10 African countries “which represented 47% of the world population”, sent athletes, officials, and staff to the multi-sport event held over the course of 13 days.¹¹⁶ Taking their cue from prevailing anti-imperialist rhetoric, the Indonesian president, Sukarno (1945-1967), criticised the old established order of the IOC and the West as being perpetuated through the Asian Games Federation and Olympic Games.¹¹⁷

What was evident in GANEFO and later manifested in the African Games was the presence of subordinate identities like African IOC members. Their presence limited the distinctiveness of the anti-imperialist stance propagated in GANEFO and the African Games. The representative of Egypt and an IOC member at the time, Ahmed El Demerdash Touny expressed support for GANEFO and positioned the games as a support system to the Olympic Games and IOC ideals: “H.E. President Sukarno, founder of GANEFO, even expressed his respect for the Olympic ideal and the founder of the IOC and it stated in Article 1 of the Official Communique that we worked according to the Bandung principles as well as the Olympic ideal”.¹¹⁸

The principles of the Bandung Conference, under which Sukarno positioned GANEFO, represented a symbolic movement toward decolonisation within sport. The games also provided a platform for growing third-world nations to manifest their force in international politics in the struggle to reshape the world order and create a new egalitarian order based on the spirit of solidarity among nations. The conference and games gave newly independent nations opportunities to test the strength of their political powers by gaining recognition and forming new alliances with other nations across the world. This was, however, mainly centred around countries who were members or aspiring members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)¹¹⁹ from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The position of GANEFO as an alternative force against the IOC was subtly challenged from within its members who included active IOC members from some of the countries represented. The diversity of the “emerging forces” means that sub-group identities could pose a threat to group distinctiveness. The Malian delegate, who was a represented the government, critiqued the principles of the organisation, arguing that the games should not be meant to divide the world of sport “into antagonistic blocks”¹²⁰ with Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the rest of the world. To demonstrate the egalitarian structures being fought for in international organisations, Egypt was elected to the executive as vice president for Africa.

Egypt won its bid to host the second GANEFO rendition in 1966 in Cairo.¹²¹ Egypt later withdrew its bid as a result of political and economic crises under the leadership of President Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein (1954-1970),¹²² and Cambodia stepped in to host what became the second and last rendition of the games which were also confined to Asian countries except for a few invitations. Guinea Conakry was the only African country that participated in qualifying tournaments in Beijing in 1965.¹²³ The fall of GANEFO served as a stimulus to the African delegation to initiate distinct games confined to the continent's geographical space. The confinement of the African Games to the continent's geographical space was also in line with the stage at which the struggle for self-determination and a new international world order was. The anti-colonial nationalists like Nkrumah had brought Pan-Africanism home, confining its meaning to the struggle for independence, racial equality, and a new international order in and for the African continent.¹²⁴ This gave the African Games project an appealing taste before political elite on the continent.

2.5 The Influence of International Organisations

International organisations engaged in sport such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE) sent representatives to the first meeting of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games¹²⁵. The presence of these organisations and some of the IOC members in Africa represented the legitimisation of the games in the world of sport. Additionally, these organisations provided a platform where Africa could present its case for an egalitarian global sport where everyone is treated equally. This approach was also used by the African nationalists who relied on the UN system in the quest for world-making.

For organisations like UNESCO, the African Games provided a space for its 'new universalists' assumption of the world order by promoting the educational aspect of sport.¹²⁶ They widened their influence through multilateral cooperations with third-world countries by promoting the wider impact of sport and education for society. UNESCO had posed a challenge to the authority of the IOC when French UNESCO delegate and IOC Vice President, Armand Massard, suggested that the IOC could be annexed as a representative organisation of a future sport section in UNESCO in the early 1950s.¹²⁷ The disagreement between the two organisations stems from the interpretation of amateur rules with regard to the educational value sport play. Since the fallout between the two on the matter, further institutional collaboration on matters of sport could not be established at the time, and the Third World movement proved an opportunity to gain global space. The IOC President,

Avery Brundage (1952–1972), jealously guarded the Olympic space in its relations with other organisations like the Permanent Committee for the First African Games.

The UNESCO representative at the Brazzaville meeting in 1965, William Jones, was the Deputy Director of the African Programme and had previously worked at other departments of UNESCO for African countries. During a speech at the Brazzaville meeting, he pointed out the opportunities there were in promoting sport for health, recreation, integral development of youth, and social cohesion on the continent. Contrary to the IOC's approach, he warned the Permanent Committee against the focus of staging an African spectacle, if the intention was to give all African athletes other benefits of sport beyond the games. He emphasised that "... if sport of the elite is not deeply rooted in the sport of the masses, it will not bear fruit."¹²⁸ Members of the Permanent Committee and sport leaders on the continent in the early 1960s saw competing ideologies of global powers on the continent, and they, therefore, positioned the geopolitical interest for the continent at the centre of their relations with these organisations.

2.6 February 1964: The Seed of the Pan-African Sports Contest

Following the unsuccessful proposal by Nkrumah for the creation of a regional African federation modelled on the United States of America, the subsequent initiatives to sustain the ideals of Pan-Africanism and self-determination on the continent adopted functional integration to bolster the independent nation-state. The African Games project in the context of world-making did not pose a direct confrontation as an alternative to Olympic Games as was the case with GANEFO. It evolved in the context of Pan-Africanism as a platform to legitimise the existence of independent nation-states within the continent as a self-defence mechanism, and all in the framework of what was termed as the imperial institutional settings.

In this new conceptualisation of what these African Games meant within the context of African unity at the time, the "others" were clearly defined. In the Community Games, France was the only non-African country to participate. Though the roles of the two France delegates were not explicit in the archive consulted, the 1964 meeting was the last time a country outside Africa participated in the deliberations for the African Games. Other than the geographical distinctiveness, representation became another distinctive element in the "othering" of the games. The purely African nationalist approach of the new games became evident after its inception. Senegal, for example, sent a governmental representative and not Keba Mbaye, then an IOC member. Though Keba Mbaye (1924-2007) remained an IOC

member from 1973 to 2002, he was not influential in the instrumentalisation of sport through the African Games in the fight for self-determination on the continent.¹²⁹ IOC members in Africa would always be seen as the “others” mainly present to promote ideals of the IOC at the expense Africa.

During the first meeting in Congo Brazzaville in February 1964, the elements for primordial attachments to what ultimately defined the games were established. Being from Africa and involved in sport formed the core of the “givens” through which all delegates could identify with. To legitimise the existence of the nation-state, representatives to this first meeting were identified as representing “African States”, though some of them were members of an NOC or IOC members. It was only in the second meeting in June 1965 that IOC members were specifically identified as such. In the quest for an egalitarian African sport event where all independent African countries were treated equally, new identifications had to be created. Countries joining the participation of the African Games were welcomed and identified with a product of colonialism but not identified as such by colonial masters. Participating countries and those invited were grouped into new blocks of “English- and Arab-speaking” as well as “French-speaking African states”.¹³⁰ The games served as a platform to negotiate and reconstruct the colonial legacies left by the colonial masters. Regional representations, as the case is now, was not used to identify countries during colonial times.

Language became a defining element of power relations and the reconstruction of the African identity. As the Games planned drew a lot of structural inspiration from the Community Games, this led to obvious inequalities contrary to the aims of Pan-Africanism. There were more French-speaking countries that took part in the first meeting. Out of the 21 countries present on the first day, only three were English-speaking. Furthermore, this gave the possible use of the French language an edge over the English language in the structures of the African Games. This became evident when it was decided that regulations and detailed instructions in 1965 were drawn in both languages but “...the French text being the final authority in case of dispute”.¹³¹ As the case was with the OAU, a different interpretation of how African unity should be approached stemmed from their different Pan-African (British colonies) and Negritude (French colonies) understanding.

As having gained independence was a key criterion for being invited into the African Games, some regions colonised by France were represented more than English and Portuguese colonies. There was only one Southern African country (Madagascar), one Eastern African country (Uganda), three Northern African countries (Tunisia, Algeria, and

Egypt), five Central African countries (Congo Brazzaville, Léopoldville Congo, Cameroon, Tchad, and Central African Republic), and ten Western African Countries (Nigeria, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Ivory Coast, Togo, Liberia, Niger, Gabon, Upper Volta) present at the first meeting. The “restrictions of competitions” was against the egalitarian approach of equal participation by all sovereign states.¹³² The state of “independent states” limits those lusophone countries to gain independence to participate in the games, though they were within the boundaries of the continent and involved in the Pan-African movement in other areas.¹³³

During the first meeting of the International Preparatory Conference, the chair of the meeting proposed that a solid structure should be constituted “without further delay” to better organise the African Games.¹³⁴ The Permanent Committee for the First African Games was instituted and the status elevated and equated to that of a supranational body to coordinate the games on the whole continent. This committee had the powers to further divide the continent and create regional “boundaries” for the games on behalf of sovereign states. In addition, they created regional representatives and committees for each of the regions of the continent.¹³⁵ The first responsibility was to divide the continent, taking into consideration “... African Unity, which must be exemplified in the organisation of the games...”.¹³⁶ For every sub-committee created, there was a recurring theme considered in the deliberations.

The question of non-interference in a country’s internal issues which was a key contentious matter during the foundation of the OAU did not surface during discussions of the African Games. The consensus on the powers of the Permanent Committee to impose its powers on individual countries led to the imposition of responsibilities on member countries over other neighbouring member countries. As geographical proximity was a key criterion on the division of the regions, “...a person representing the Permanent Committee in the qualifying pools shall be chosen from the members of one of the neighbouring Regional Committees...”¹³⁷ In addition, their travelling and subsistence expenses were to be paid by the host country. These responsibilities imposed on the states eventually defined weaknesses of the African Games structures as the costs unilaterally levied on member states were not honoured. Additionally, divisions gave the states the responsibility but did not consider surging internal and geopolitical issues on the continent at the time. Eritrea was in an armed conflict with Ethiopia, a civil war began in Congo in 1961, and the first assassination of a sitting president happened in Togo in 1963. Alternatively, the OAU Charter recognised that there were “subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states” that were raising inter-state tensions on the continent¹³⁸.

Furthermore, relative to the question of imposition of financial cost on central state structures of member countries, it was decided that participating countries would bear the cost of their athletes, officials, and accompanying personnel. Responsibilities and costs were assigned to nation-states without formal consent of these based solely on the assumption of Pan-African affiliation. In addition, the referees of the sports in which the participating country took part in, who were selected by the technical commission of the games, were part of national delegations of participating countries.

In the African Games, the main tasks of imposing an inclusive and egalitarian international order on behalf of Africa were vested in the General Secretariat in the early stages of the concept of the games. In this context, the Secretary General was the interface between the African Games and international sport organisations and federations. Contrary to the approach employed by GANEFO and the anti-colonial nationalist on the continent, the African Games were not positioned as a radical rupture of the international order. On the contrary, it allowed for exchanges in negotiating for the desired transformations in the international order in sport. Since athletics was an important sport both practically and politically, the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) (now World Athletics) president, Lord Burghley (1946-1976), needed to “adopt” the title of the African Games to legitimise them. Additionally, the secretary general lobbied for the “recognition of the First African Games” by the president of the IOC, Avery Brundage (1952-1972), in Lausanne.¹³⁹ These negotiations were necessary due to the rigid structure of international sport contrary to international political organisations like the UN where nationalism was able to insert more political influence.

2.7 The Quest for Nation-Building

On the local front, nation-building was to be realised through world-making. Though the secretary general was to request approval from the international sports federations, he had legitimate power to decide internal structures of each sport on the continent in accordance with the aspirations of the African Games. He constituted the required technical commissions and assigned individuals for each sport and spelt out responsibilities and limits of these within the context of the African Games.

The qualifying standards for sports were mirrored on those of their respective international federations and “Olympic Standards”. The technical aspects of the sports currently carry the tone of the influence of French colonies, as standards and records of the previous Community Games held in Dakar in 1963 were also considered. The qualifying

pools have been set up in anticipation of more independent states on the continent. It was clear that there was a “future” and more countries would participate in the games following their independence “whether or not they had replied to the invitation sent to them.”¹⁴⁰

Another challenging point for providing an African-specific solution was the issue of referees. It was initially decided that the technical committee decided on matters of referees and even at the regional levels. This posed a dilemma, as the recognition of who was qualified to officiate in some sports was done by the international federations, most of whom were not in direct contact with the general secretariat or its committees on the matter. For the African Games, the first criterion was that referees should be “Africans” and have international qualifications to officiate in their respective sport.¹⁴¹ The regional committees were given the leeway to choose referees following the same criteria as of the African Games. The general secretariat was to evaluate the number of African referees with international qualifications.

As the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports was the highest decision-making body of the Community Games. The decision to select the next host of the games planned for 1967 was initially ceded to the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports of independent states on the continent at the time. Though this instance was not formally instituted, deliberations on how to manage the African Games from a policy perspective led to the formation of this organ unilaterally.¹⁴² It was not until the year of the games that the Permanent Committee took it upon itself to elect the next host of the games. Though it was all within the context of African unity, giving out too much power to supervisory authorities would have meant that the Permanent Committee had less influence over political and social structures of the states and was under the wishes of the state ministers.

The 1964 meeting was punctuated by trial and error in the quest to formulate a new form of African identity through the African Games. As the absence of a state supervisory organ was missing within its structures, and its aims were in line with the rhetoric of the continent at the time, it was suggested that the OAU be informed about the initiative. Delegates felt the need to give the African Games absolute political power on the continent. For this reason, the secretary general was instructed to seek for the “views and...ruling” of the OAU relative to the games.

The definition of African youth who could participate in the games was explicit since the inception. Athletes were to represent a country “if he is a citizen by birth or naturalisation of that country”.¹⁴³ These two classifications of the qualified African citizen confined the definition of an African to the geographical space of the continent. These excluded Africans by descent as had been previously developed by scholars.¹⁴⁴ In negotiating with international

best practices and especially those of the IOC at the time, all athletes were to satisfy the “rules of amateurism as defined by the international federations and the International Olympic Committee.”¹⁴⁵ Athletes were accommodated in dormitories and officials and adjudicators were accommodated in hotels. This was the format for accommodating officials and athletes in the Community Games and placed into initial deliberations and implementation of the African Games.

2.8 Synthesis

Modern sport¹⁴⁶ was introduced in many African countries by colonial administrators, Christian missionaries, or industrial workers as recreational activities and tools for character formation. The possibility to gather masses beyond the limits of tribal, religious, and socio-cultural boundaries created by colonialism became an opportunity to change its form and meaning in many communities. As it increased inter-community rivalry, it also became a platform for communities to discover each other and exchange information and experiences. Modern sport became the perfect social tool to boost social interaction.

Traditional African sports¹⁴⁷ could not perform this function because they were limited as in-group social activities or only exchanges with already familiar groups. Comparatively, traditional African sports were also limited with the speed at which it could connect communities. Additionally, the social settings in which both forms of sports were different. While modern sport developed in the urban settlements, most traditional African sports were mainly practiced in traditional village settings. While traditional African sport mainly provides a horizontal leadership model with the elders as key mediators, the vertical and hierarchal leadership model of modern sport renders it as the perfect tool for the circumstances of the time.

To effectively employ sport and sport events as tools to promote unity, there was the need to institutionalise its structures and competitions. This further exposed the effect of colonialism on the communities and exposed “similarities” between African communities irrespective of the boundaries imposed by colonial rule. As European and colonial practices of sport provided an institutional model of sport, this was adopted to further strengthen the bond between the African communities. Institutionalised sport practices became the means to make meaning and break through the walls built by colonial administration on the continent.

Forms of sport competitions instituted, such as the French Community Games, became a double-edged sword on the continent. While the games acted as an umbrella body to synchronise the practice of sport within the French colonies, it also provided an opportunity

for the local communities to discover each other beyond their communities, districts and countries. The involvement of French athletes and administrators in these sport exchanges also allowed the African athletes and administrators to compare their knowledge and capacities to deliver similar practices outside the confines of French control. This was proven to be why sports commonly practiced in France and their structures became the springboard for the African Games.

Comparatively, the Commonwealth Games and British colonial system provided a different means of understanding and facilitating sporting exchanges within its colonies. As the Commonwealth Games were held outside the African continent, African athletes and administrators were provided a narrow pattern to compare themselves with British athletes only, rather than with a wider pool of stakeholders from other parts of the world. This notwithstanding, the Commonwealth Games also facilitated exchanges of Africans and non-Africans outside the continent who were under similar British colonial system and exchanged experiences. On the continent, the experiences from the Commonwealth Games were deepened through regional sport meetings using the institutional setting of British sport structures and sports mostly practiced in Great Britain.

The participation of African countries in the GANEFO Games provided a stage to demonstrate and test their level of knowledge and experiences to be part of and deliver a sport event at a global stage without the influence of colonial masters. The level of solidarity expressed in GANEFO also demonstrated the influence and acceptance Africa could have in the global sports landscape. GANEFO provided the green light for possibilities of the African Games outside the French and British colonial frameworks on the continent. The rhetoric of GANEFO to challenge the international sport order leaning on the Non-Align Movement also appealed to the African countries who needed to break loose from colonial structures.

Outside the sport setting, belonging to international sport organisations, such as the United Nations and its agencies and the Non-Align Movement for example, provided Pan-African leaders with possibilities to demonstrate self-determination as independent nations. It also provided them with a platform to challenge the colonial establishments and call for international justice through independence and freedom to engage in relations and economic activities as independent nations. Other than the possibilities to legitimise their knowledge and experiences as independent nations, international organisations also provided African nations with opportunities to influence the world order by challenging the status quo and call for reforms. This form of advocacy on the continent was also adopted to the sport setting.

The approach that the development of sport adopted on the continent perfectly appealed to the approach of Pan-Africanism on the continent. At the local level, sport had the power to stimulate reactions beyond tribal, religious, and national lines and forge new identities and perspectives. Sport also became a channel through which political rhetoric of Pan-Africanism and African brotherhood could be heard and understood by the masses. At the international level, Africa's participation in competitions also provided Pan-Africanism with a platform to be seen. The issues that Pan-Africanists wanted addressed could also be channelled through international sport organisations and competitions. Resistance and solidarity, therefore, became two pillars that linked Pan-Africanism and Africa's involvement and influence in international sport system.

3. Brazzaville 1965, “African Games by and for Africans”

3.1 The Nation-State

The first rendition of the First All-African Games¹⁴⁸ (from herein referred to as the African Games) was the first test of the capacity of independent African states to mobilise and perform before the international community, the African states, and the local population as to the depth of African unity in sport. The colonial divide and rules system by France on the traditional ethnic groups left neighbouring communities characterised more by competition than by a sense of solidarity towards nationhood. Politically relevant ethnic groups posed a major challenge to nationalists' movements. To smaller ethnic groups, the struggle for independence did not provide a prospect of freedom but rather of domination by rival ethnic groups.¹⁴⁹

Pan-Africanism and self-determination in post-independence Africa can be understood in four layers. On the continental level, Africa and African and seen as one unit that is united by natural circumstances, but this factor was not built on a strong and concrete value-system. The nation-states provided the second layer of unifying factor but were also not built on a unifying value-system. In some countries, regionalism seemed to be a unifying factor but also lacked a value-system. The last layer, the ethnic groups, has a value-system but was built by colonialists on an exclusionist structure whereby other tribes were seen as potential enemies to others. The exclusionist ethnic autochthonous¹⁵⁰ setting presented itself as a rival to the post-independence national or African citizenship which was being promoted.

The adoption and redrawing of the continent through the zonification are inherent practices of globalisation. This was a redefinition of autochthony¹⁵¹ as was applied by colonial empires to maintain control over the indigenous populations.¹⁵² Though there were different autochthonous ethnic groups created by the French to facilitate their administration of the colonies, the different social strata these created were ignored by Pan-Africanists. Most national leaders intended to melt these differences with the concept of a unified nation-state where all people of all ethnic groups shared the same identity and supposedly enjoyed the same privileges under the nation-state.¹⁵³ The effects of these divisions played a central role in social identification.

The first secretary general of the First African Games, Jean Claude Ganga, in his autobiography, presented the effects of the French Assimilation on tribal identification. He argued that his Pan-Africanist personality was not associated with African or Congolese values. Instead, his personality was associated with the values of his ethnic group, the Kongo

People, as “unruly and elegant People”.¹⁵⁴ The value systems with which people identified and gauged characters after independence were mainly tribal-based. The results of autochthony immediately after the independence in Congo and many African countries resulted in strong intensions for political reorientation to achieve unity from the nationalists as well as fierce ethnic-based resistance from the local leaders. The building of the nation-state to some ethnic groups was associated with loss of political power, ethnic values, and practices.¹⁵⁵

Though migration and intermarriages have reduced the effect of ethnic affiliation on the interpretation of Pan-Africanism, ethnic identity continues to play significant roles in the social and political orientations of the people after independence.¹⁵⁶ Nationalism developed as a support agency to the structure of Pan-Africanism. Sport, therefore, intended to play this agency’s “voice” for Africa through sport events and organisations.¹⁵⁷ Sport events, therefore, served as a support system to the newly independent African leaders at the national level to achieve their primary objectives, which were to accumulate state power and control the masses, most of whom had resistant tendencies due to ethnic differences with some of the Pan-African leaders.

3.2 The Republic of Congo

At this point, it is imperative to understand the prevailing political and socio-economic conditions in the host country and city at the time for a deeper understanding of the African Games in the context of world-making, self-determination, and Pan-Africanism. The Republic of Congo gained its autonomy on 28th November 1958 and independence from France on 15th August 1960. It was one of the countries that supported the proposal of French president, Charles De Gaulle (1959-1969), to remain a French colony under close French supervision and protection.¹⁵⁸ In contrast to the English colonial system, the French assimilation places emphasis on close contact of the French social, political, and cultural system with local African rulers by assimilating French language and culture to give legitimacy to its global initiatives and geopolitical position.

At a practical level after independence, French officials in the colonies with control over key state apparatus like the army and economy were influential so that they could replace leaders and thwart coups.¹⁵⁹ Malembanie (2015) argued the first political regimes that emerged after independence did so under three blocks, the socialists that leaned on the Soviet Union, the capitalists that leaned on the United States of America (USA) and other Western powers, and Communists that leaned on China.¹⁶⁰ Congo maintained close state relations with

its colonial masters after independence with France offering variety of cultural, social, and economic assistance. Before independence, however, Congo had declared itself the voice of revolt on the continent through demonstrations of trade unions and students against their immediate French colonial authorities.

After independence, Congo declared itself formally for Maxism in 1963.¹⁶¹ The first president of Congo was Abbé Fulbert Youlou (1960-1963), a Congolese Roman Catholic priest who studied in Cameroon and Gabon where he was influenced by African nationalist leaders. Upon his return, he led youth organisations and organised sporting activities and Catholic groups. With the support of his sport and church youth groups, he formed a political party the Democratic Union for the Defence of African Interest and campaigned on Pan-Africanist and Communist principles.¹⁶² The church, with its civilising mission, also became the nucleus which strengthened Pan-Africanist awareness and resistance to colonial rule and its legacies.

Upon his election as first president in 1960, he abandoned Communism and instituted a one-party state. As a parish priest in Brazzaville, Fulbert realised the significance of sport in mobilising young people as he has employed sporting activities to engage youth organisations and Catholic groups.¹⁶³ He was able to position himself as leader of the messianic movement against Colonialism and against the European-dominated Congolese Church. He, therefore, accepted the proposal for the First African Games to be hosted in Congo as a Pan-Africanist political tool. In August 1963, Marxist-Leninist leanings uprising forced him to abandon power.¹⁶⁴ As the value systems upon which Pan-Africanism were being built were not deeply rooted into the social fabric of the nation-states, the remaining structures of Colonialism such as the trade unions maintained their resistance to the national structures as it was during Colonialism.

Alphonse Massamba Debât (president from 1963-1968), a former teacher, youth activist, and former minister in Youlou's government who had resigned due to disagreements in policies with Youlou, became the next president in 1963. He formed the National Movement of the Revolution (NMR) as a political party.¹⁶⁵ He set Congo in a close relation with the Soviet Eastern Block by instituting "scientific Socialism" but maintained the one-party state of his predecessor. He governed in a difficult atmosphere as he plays between trying to please the existing business enterprise in Congo controlled by the French government agents and fulfilling government socialist rhetorics. Additionally, there was constant friction between the French armed forces and his political extremists who had formed paramilitary groups. His government's state policies were largely contradictory,

ideologically inconsistent, and difficult to implement.¹⁶⁶ The First African Games was held during the presidency of Massamba Debát.

Another high government official who was influential in youth political space and promotion of Pan-Africanism in Congo at the time was André Hombessa. As one of the three personalities who commanded authorities in the country following 1963 revolution was appointed Minister of the Interior. He called for “mental reconversion” of Congolese youth. As state minister, he continued as leader of the National Youth Wing of NMR. He denounced Catholics who formed the core of the previous president’s support base and termed them “dangerous enemies of the regime”.¹⁶⁷ By virtue of two influential responsibilities Hombessa had at the time, he was elected the president and head of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games. To denounce one group in society as less nationalistic would subsequently be most post-independence nationalists’ form of divide and rule in the new nation-state to maintain influence. This strategy, however, dealt a severe blow to the intentions to establish Pan-African value systems as acceptable state values, all needed to identify with. One of the legacies of colonialism that hindered the acceptance of Pan-Africanism, and its value systems was the already existing of institutional or tribal sub-identities formed during colonialism.

Another personality who would subsequently play a vital role in the establishment of the African Games as a Pan-African project was Jean-Claude Ganga, the Director of Youth and Sports, at the Ministry of Education. Ganga was from the Bacongo district known for two distinct features: the elegant fashion movement formed in the 1950s called the Society for Ambiance Makers and Elegant People (SAPE). They are also home to the predominantly Christian Kongo people known to have been the first to fight against the French, Belgian and Portuguese and subsequently for their independence in the 1960s.¹⁶⁸ Though Ganga consistently described himself as “dynamic”, his background indicated an insistent person. Ganga started off as a schoolteacher and quickly joined the trade unions in the teaching profession and subsequently was involved in the struggle for equal pay in the public and private education sectors.¹⁶⁹ He saw an opportunity to propel his activism in sport and received training in Israel and France before being appointed first inspector for youth and sports. He later was appointed as Director of Youth and responsible for sport at the Department of National Education from where he spearheaded the involvement of Congo in the Community and Friendship Games.¹⁷⁰

One key characteristic that had marked the career of Ganga was that he always aimed to become an eloquent and influential figure in society in his quest for social justice.¹⁷¹ The

famous quote for Ganga on the definition and meaning of sport was from a French author, Jean Giraudoux, who said that “...sport is the art which allows man to liberate himself”....¹⁷² This understanding of the role of sport highly resonated with Pan-African nationalists as sport had served this function as a tool for resistance to British and French colonial structures. The intension of the Pan-Africanists, therefore, was to translate this understanding and approach to sport at the national and continental level so that sport could serve its agency status to Pan-Africanism in- and outside the continent.

3.3 The First African Games

From 24-29th February 1964, the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games elected in Dakar, met in Brazzaville to discuss modalities on how to transform the Community Games into the African Games. Within the technical committee, composed of 26 officials from 21 countries, only three of these (Liberia, Nigeria and Uganda) were English-Speaking independent countries.¹⁷³ France was the only non-African country that had two representatives in the committee. From the profiles of the attendees, the majority were heads of the directorates of youth and sport in their respective countries. In addition, being a senior member of a sport federation was closely linked to membership of the NOC. This composition ensured representation from public and private sectors which included youth, sport, physical education, sport federations and NOCs.

Following days of deliberations, the committee “...notes with satisfaction the logical evolution of the Friendship (sic) Games¹⁷⁴ into the African Games, and hopes they will be recognised by the IOC as African Regional Games, in the same manner as the Pan-American or Asian Games....”¹⁷⁵ The committee recognised the gradual appropriation of the games and its adjustment into a purely African context; however, legitimising its status before international organisations remained a desired outcome they were limited to influence. The broadening of the games to engulf a continental nature, however, gave them the leeway to equate it to other similar continental multi-sport events, thereby justifying its recognition by the IOC.

The head of the Department of Youth and Sport of Congo, André Hombessa, was elected to lead the new organisation specifically meant to deliver the First African Games, the Permanent Committee for the First African Games. This gave the committee the opportunity to formalise its structure, responsibilities, and amplify its claims for representing an entire continent. It tasked itself to establish an organisational structure which would be “both flexible and efficient” to ensure the sustainability of the games. Additionally, three

organisational structures were created to sustain the games: (1) A Permanent Committee for the First African Games; (2) a General Secretariat for the games; and (3) Regional Committees.¹⁷⁶ These structures helped to fulfil the main intentions of the games, which included mobilisation of mass and political support and the effective delivery of a multi-sport event showpiece to celebrate African youth.

For the first time, elites in both the management and practice of sport on the continent gathered to organise a joint multi-sport event. The meeting of the Technical Committee laid the foundation for the meeting of the elite in the organisation of the games and the formation of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games. From the inception of the idea to its transformation, from the French Community Games to the African Games, the leaders in the organisation realised that the need for the games to be delivered under an organisational structure was imperative. From the 12-15th July 1965, the Permanent Committee met in Brazzaville to finalise preparations for the games that would be held later that year.¹⁷⁷ The diverse group of exclusively elites from various African sport organisations met to map out a path for the first rendition and the subsequent renditions of the games.

It is important to highlight that the first group of elites in African sport were a product of colonial rule. These elites were mainly from schools formed by the Christian missionaries, the security forces, colonial administration officials, and international sport organisations. These elites were the first to open sport events where they also developed the need for self-advancement through sport. In the face of resistance against colonialism, knowledge and skills learnt through their engagement in sport with colonial officials became the pillars they leaned on to launch their resistance.¹⁷⁸ In practice, the effect of Muscular Christianity meant to tame African youth and played a significant role in being used to instigate revolts against colonialists as well as against African political leaders. Most youth, who eventually became influential political leaders, grew up in environments where sport, youth, and activism were intricately linked to give meaning to people's lives.

The Permanent Committee of the First African Games and Congo intended to build beyond the contradiction created by colonial legacies to celebrate the country and continent's common history through the African Games.¹⁷⁹ The concept of the First African Games was to propose a return to what is "African" though, in reality, the use of modern sport opened Africans to access and embrace global trends.¹⁸⁰ The games did not have a local organising committee, but the Permanent Committee had a perfect blend of local and international members. This form of institutionalisation of organising structures of the African Games

allowed for knowledge exchange and interaction in the quest to establish a Pan-African Games project.

On the continental level, the African Games were best positioned on a horizontal axis of Pan-Africanism where a wider group of stakeholders in sport further consolidated the desired African solidarity. To emphasise the universalisation of the new Pan-African conceptualisation of new nation-states, “ambassadors accredited to the Republic of Congo” were also invited to the meeting in 1964.¹⁸¹ Their group morals/practices to manifest the level of internal acceptance independent nation-states were achieved. In this case, the level of acceptance that African states expressed for each other’s self-determination through unifying sport games was included. The limitation of invitations to “accredited” ambassadors, however, demonstrated one of the challenges to the new nation-state within the continent to transcend national boundaries in the name of Pan-Africanism.

At a national level, the games served as the nexus between the social and political fabrics. Since the first meeting, this was contextualised by inviting “leading Brazzaville personalities” to the first meeting in 1964.¹⁸² As the new nation-states and their apparatus led and legitimised the status of the nation-states, it was common that state leaders were led in important Pan-African related events. This was also an opportunity for the nation-state to show its role and influence in the promotion of integration among independent nations and Pan-Africanism.

The post-independence “new elites” in Africa emerged from different social and professional backgrounds with different understandings of self-determination, nation-state, and what African unity entail.¹⁸³ These differences, which were also evident in sport, played a role in the different interpretations of what is self-determination and Pan-Africanism.

The change of leadership in Congo in 1963 posed a threat to the games. The new cabinet of President Alphonse Massamba-Débat was not receptive to the ideas and projects of the previous government, including the First African Games. The council of ministers of the new regime rejected the proposal presented to them by the Minister of Sport, Galiba.¹⁸⁴ This demonstrated the different understandings and concepts of what constituted a Pan-African project, as post-independence Africa was deeply rooted in subtle mistrust as a result of slavery.¹⁸⁵

To convince the new government, the Director of Sports, Ganga, and head of the Sports Department, Boniface Massengo (a former football player with the Congolese football national team) needed to convince the minister and reemphasised the significance of the games to Congo.¹⁸⁶ The minister took Ganga in a subsequent cabinet meeting where he

presented the whole concept of the games. This also demonstrated how political positions were limited as the minister, regardless of his opinion and position on the games, could not take a decision alone. Once the council of ministers was convinced, the President, Alphonse Massamba-Débat, asked Ganga to attend subsequent council meetings as General Secretary of the Games.¹⁸⁷ The acceptance of the project by the national political leadership, translated to the acceptance of the project by the entire nation, and this erroneous notion was one of the biggest challenges of Pan-Africanism and the African Games.

Outside of Congo, the Secretary General of the Permanent Committee, Jean-Claude Ganga, still needed to convince other independent English-speaking African countries on the Pan-African potential of the games to promote African unity. In one such travels to Uganda, Ganga was stopped at the airport because he did not have a permit to enter Kampala “...because there was no Ugandan Embassy in Brazzaville then...” and had to be “miraculously” rescued by “a white man near the control gate: I said, ‘hello’ in French loudly”.¹⁸⁸ Language became a stronger post-independence limitation to the interaction of independent states than the physical boundaries left by colonial rule. The “white man” who symbolised domination, the freedom from which the Africans wanted to celebrate through the African Games, became pivotal in assisting Ganga to achieve the objective of his trip in Uganda. This individual happened to be a French diplomat at the Ugandan Embassy who introduced Ganga to the sport officials of Uganda.

The organisers of the First African Games also needed to legitimise the games before other stakeholders outside the African continent. As the intention was to organise regional games of the Olympic Games, the structure needed to be aligned to the existing format of IOC regional game rules. One of these rules was that all participating countries needed to take part through a National Olympic Committee. The dilemma in the first rendition of the African Games and subsequent renditions, was that this delimitation was unclear and became one of the first challenges in its relationship with the IOC. The African Games envisaged a platform where it could satisfy both the interest of the international sport organisations and those of independent African countries. Ganga understood the danger of not adhering to the regulations of international sport organisations and was also aware that “most independent African countries were not aware of this complication”.¹⁸⁹ Congo leaders had, therefore, hoped that the 1965 games would be sponsored by the IOC and regarded as regional games of the IOC “according to the IOC rules” and confined to sport disciplines on the Olympic Programme.¹⁹⁰

The organising committee adopted the first of many post-colonial redefinitions of Africa based on colonial legacies. Like in the OAU, countries were identified and qualified as French-speaking African, English-speaking African, Arab-speaking African, and Portuguese-Speaking African countries. The history of the games and language-based redefinition of participating countries raised concerns and doubts from mostly non-French speaking African countries on the capacity of the continent to deliver such an event. “Many countries of our continent wouldn’t believe that we Africans could organise games for Africans properly”.¹⁹¹ In addition, the organising committee confined their definition of African State to only independent African countries at the time.

Furthermore, the Permanent Committee realised the eminent differences and rivalry that colonialism left on the continent was even more pronounced between countries of the same colonial master. During the preparatory meeting, it was revealed that Cameroon had also applied to host the games alongside Congo in 1963 in Dakar. However, “in order to avoid competition between two brother countries from central Africa which would turn them into rivals, some Congolese ministers intervened with their Cameroonian colleagues and suggested that they not apply for the organisation of the 1965 games”.¹⁹² The interest of the continental showpiece superseded national interests which positioned the games as a supranational organisation on the continent.

Outside the continent, the exclusion of South Africa by the organising committee due to its Apartheid policies in sport was not well received. The European sport magazines “accused Congo of being racist and of implementing a kind of apartheid policy against the whites in all the stadiums of the planet”.¹⁹³ The President of the IAAF, 6th Marquess of Exeter David Burghley (1946-1976), warned the organising committee that if South Africa and Rhodesia (who were founding members of IAAF) were not invited to the games, he would not authorise any athletics competition. The organising committee was obliged to abandon or negotiate its myth of independent Pan-African organisation to negotiate the involvement of a sport which could jeopardise the value of the event.

Four members of the organising committee set forth to London to negotiate with Burghley. The delegation was headed by Secretary of the Nigerian National Committee of Sports and subsequent President of the SCSA, Abraham Ordia.¹⁹⁴ Though the delegation also included an IOC member, René Rakotobé, from Madagascar, Ordia led the delegation for two reasons. Firstly, Nigeria was a former British colony and included a member in the negotiations that allowed them a favourable presentation before the Englishman. Secondly, including a Nigerian also gave the English-speaking African countries a sense of belonging in

the organisation of the games. That notwithstanding, the delegation had over four hours of discussion with Burghley. The IOC President, Avery Brundage, had to call Burghley to remind him that the African Games project was a fulfilment of the vision of the founder of Pierre de Coubertin on realising the African Games.¹⁹⁵

One of the first organisations to recognise the Pan-Africanist potentials of the games and supported the realisation of the First African Games was the OAU. Its Secretary General, Diallo Telli (1964-1972), received with “... great pleasure the efforts” of Congo to host the first African Games and “sincerely congratulates” the organisers.¹⁹⁶ To the OAU, the purpose of the games was to “help strengthen African unity” and the games were to be held as “purely African in spirit and reality”.¹⁹⁷ This response of the OAU provided a strategic direction to the African Games as it was injected with the Pan-African spirit which was on a world-making mission at the international level. The acceptance of this offer by the diverse Permanent Committee also legitimised the authority of the OAU on continental sport matters.

The Culture and Education Commission of the OAU was tasked with supporting the games because it was responsible for “cultural activities”.¹⁹⁸ The OAU saw in the games and the subsequent umbrella organisation of the games with the potential to “unite all African sporting activities”.¹⁹⁹ A similar letter was also dispatched to the CAF concerning the African Cup.²⁰⁰ The approvals and requests from the OAU gave the organising committee a moral boost in the quest to position the games in the sport geopolitical space. C.E. N’Dalla, when responding on behalf of the Organising Committee, informed the OAU that the committee “approves without reservation the intention manifested by the OAU to coordinate and execute the big sporting manifestations of our continent”.²⁰¹

The Organising Committee, however, expressed technical challenges this proposal faced as presented. National and international sporting activities were based on regulations of their respective international federations and the IOC. To solve this, N’Dalla suggested to forward the point to the meeting of the Permanent Committee, composed of “delegates of independent African countries”.²⁰² The committee also requested the President of the Republic of Congo to extend an invitation to the OAU to attend the games.²⁰³ The organising committee of the African Games was offering the OAU the opportunity to influence the direction of the games. These initial decisions of the Permanent Committee laid the foundation for the African Games as a Pan-African project and brought it into closer relations with the OAU and its structures.

Colonel Marceau Crespín, a war veteran and general delegate for France at the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964 headed the French two-man delegation to Brazzaville in 1965 for a

meeting of the Permanent Committee. His inputs were not explicitly recorded in the minutes of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games as was the case with other French delegates. The President of the Permanent Committee, however, thanked him for “enlightening their debates with his experience and authority in matters of international sporting organisations”.²⁰⁴ The presence and role of Colonel Crespin in the first meeting demonstrated two tendencies in African sport. On the one hand, it showed a colonial tendency through which France sustained its influence on the African continent which was through the security forces and use of security personnel to lead sport organisations²⁰⁵. On the other hand, this aspect was only limited to post-colonial French-speaking African sport organisations, as the presence of security personnel in the structures of the African Games and sports organisations became limited.

Notwithstanding the initial contradictions, the games offered opportunities to consolidate national unity and Pan-Africanism, which were evident after the meeting in Dakar. André Hombessa who was still called by the title of the French sport system, High Commissioner for Youth and Sport, presided over the formal opening ceremony of the first meeting for the African Games in 1964. He subsequently was elected President of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games and first president of the SCSA. This also highly influenced the political inclination of the African Games, and later the SCSA, to perform a political role in Pan-Africanism and world-making project.

3.4 Brazzaville 1965

From 18 - 25th July 1965, Brazzaville hosted the first rendition of the African Games under supervision of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games. With a population of 300,000 inhabitants in 1965, Brazzaville was the capital and largest city in Congo and constituted the financial and administrative centre of the country. The conference of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games was hosted in the Brazzaville Town Hall conference room.²⁰⁶ In preparation for the games, the soil for the new stadium to be built specifically for the games was collected and “sent to Paris for analysis in order to get a reliable study of the spot.”²⁰⁷ This demonstrated the heavy reliance of post-colonial African and African Games project on Western knowledge and technology to implement its projects. President of the Congo, Massamba Debat, laid the foundation of the Omni Sport Stadium on 24th February 1964 in front of the delegates to the meeting of the Permanent Committee for the African Games.²⁰⁸ The huge stadium which was built specifically for the First African Games cost nearly 1.6 million British Pounds at the time and was considered the finest

stadium in Africa.²⁰⁹ The president of Congo sent invitations to all countries to take part in the games.²¹⁰ This also gave the anticolonial nationalists an opportunity to position the games within the world-making process internally and before the world.

The First African Games cost 800 million CFA Francs²¹¹ funded by Congo and the IOC.²¹² Military stewardship was used to build 3000 beds that had to be secured for athletes. As the city had limited hotel capacity, high schools and colleges in Brazzaville were used to lodge the athletes because the games were held during school holidays. This alternative of using school facilities, which was adopted in the organisation of the French Community Games became a norm in the organisation of the African Games for a long time. Brand new busses were also secured for various visiting delegations. This also demonstrated a heavy reliance on European-manufactured goods and services employed in the execution of a Pan-African world-making project.

The final rehearsals for the opening ceremony were held on a Saturday in an empty stadium. The “imposing opening ceremony” was held on Sunday at the Omni Sport Stadium.²¹³ One of the highlights of the opening ceremony was a display by more than 2000 school children who had been rehearsing for weeks for their role in the “colourful inauguration of the games”.²¹⁴ The events were followed by the parade of athletes from the different African countries. In the evening, the stadium floodlights were extinguished and schoolgirls, wearing fluorescent skirts, practiced a dancing display that was to conclude the opening ceremony.²¹⁵ The Olympic flame was never extinguished throughout the course of the games. The opening ceremony did not only include traditions adopted from the colonial masters but also symbols and rituals of Olympic Games and other modern sports competitions.

One of the “most famous (sic)” guest was Avery Brundage who had never been to Africa before that time. In his historical account of the African Games, Jean-Claude Ganga sarcastically described his arrival at the airport in Congo:

So, we saw him get out of the plane wearing tropical suits and bearing a brand-new Panama hat with a wide brim. Well, in Africa, it is very hot indeed, isn't it? So, caution with sunburns! However, July and August in Congo mean dry cool season below the equator and then the average temperatures never exceed 15°C, and the sky is usually cloudy. But our illustrious guest wasn't aware of this. He probably had a thermal shock but never showed it.²¹⁶

Brundage was welcomed the “African way” with a large pool of government authorities including members of the Permanent Committee. He was driven in a limousine, provided with an escort, and “comfortably accommodated” like a Very Important Person.²¹⁷

One of the surging post-colonial problems on the continent that the OAU has grappled with was the emergence of internal insurgence and external interference of neighbouring states. The first African Games was also used as a platform to disrupt national security. Just a few days prior to the games, fears of the tragic end of the games gripped Brazzaville and Congo as the state secretary announced that there were potential “subversive activities of some counter-revolutionary elements who were joined by some disruptive elements from abroad to cause some local disturbance over the past days”.²¹⁸ This was because the Congolese Information Agency had on 14-15th July detected a commando of fifty-two armed men who came from neighbouring Congo Kinshasa aiming to sabotage the games to bring back the former president. Foreshadowing what became a major security concern at major international events and reflected the continent’s relative political instability, these events were startling. Congo-Brazzaville’s army was on high alert throughout the games for “malcontents” and “counterrevolutionaries”.²¹⁹ All highways in and out of Brazzaville were patrolled by armoured vehicles and all cars within the city, except for games participants and journalists, were stopped and inspected at major checkpoints”.²²⁰

Though the role of the games in the context of world-making on the continent was not very clear, the role of Jean-Claude Ganga as Secretary General to the Permanent Committee and head of the Secretariat of the African Games was clear. He later played a key role in positioning the games and subsequent umbrella organisation in the context of world-making and self-determination. His responsibilities included:

Liason [sic] with *states*, national, and international sport organizations; registration and entries of states and athletes in different competitions; prepare and send official documents and calendar of competition to all delegates; decide on the choice of juries and set up the necessary structures for the general organization of the games.²²¹

This positioned the secretary general as one of the most influential individuals on the continent and in the world-making process. As stakeholders involved in the games were from various sectors, his interactions spanned beyond the sport sector. This influence fell short of strengthening trade and economic activities within and between African nations and people, which formed the bedrock of the arguments for the establishment of the continental and regional organisations like the OAU and ECOWAS.²²²

With seven days to the opening ceremony of the First African Games, the Permanent Committee held elections for the subsequent games. Egypt withdrew its initial proposal to host the Second African Games. The additional candidates in an election involved Bamako (Mali) was elected as the host of the Second African Games in 1969 at the expense of

Yaounde (Cameroon) with 13 to nine votes.²²³ The withdrawal of Egypt could best be explained in the context of national power relations. As Egypt was one of the countries that was represented by an IOC member and the NOC, it was limited into taking and implicating the nation it was not formally representing.

Over 800 invitees including journalists attended the games. Additionally, 2,500 competitors from 29 independent African countries competed in 12 sport disciplines for eight days.²²⁴ All sport disciplines were part of the Olympic Games programme and recognised by their international federation. The system of competition and award of merits were the same employed by their international sport federations. This could be interpreted as part of the processes of internationalisation of the games in the world-making process. This process of internationalisation came along with a lot of assimilations of practices and customs not inherent to the continent and the intensions of the Pan-African project.

3.5 Synthesis

One of the defining features of the First African Games was its identification with national public institutions as key stakeholders other than only the NOCs. The fear that incorporating independent nation-states as key stakeholders in multi-sport continental events limited the influence of the Olympic Movement was true in the case of the African Games. The incorporation of national sport authorities as key stakeholders in the African Games institutional structure rendered its Pan-African structure more appealing to individual nation-states and transnational organisations on the continent. At the national level, this gave the organising committee leverage to mobilise state institutions to support the execution of the games project as a national project.

The adoption of Pan-Africanism as a central ideological framework that drives the games means the adoption of key Pan-African institutional features into the organisation and execution of the games. one such weak features of Pan-Africanism evident in the first edition of the African Games is the voluntary mobilisation of local cultural resources without the influence of state structures. From the references consulted, there appeared to be no evidence of the micro-level social engagement with Pan-Africanism or the African Games as solely a sporting activity. On the contrary, there was evidence of resistance of state initiatives by political opponents irrespective of its Pan-African nature and influence. The explicit lack of local cultural mobilisation to celebrate the Pan-African nature of the games and the intensions to sabotage the games through the insurgences highlighted a weak level of acceptances of the games.

The positive effects of the games were only confined to high-level national stakeholders. To this effect, the national pride or feel-good factor produced by the event as a mega sport event was only confined to state institutions and influential socio-political national personalities. The games did not affect Brazzaville's urban-regeneration or influenced participation in physical activity and sport with a deeply rooted Pan-African thought-system. This notwithstanding, the games accorded Brazzaville the possibility to develop its sport infrastructure and increase its sport-specific socio-cultural attractions for fans and teams.

The African Games were employed by the Permanent Committee for the First African Games as a soft power strategy to mobilise support for the institutionalisation of the games. This process was not led by national executive but rather by individuals and subordinate sport structures like the Department of Youth and Sport and the Permanent Committee. This limited the transformative force of the games at the local level and only confined its influence to national and international stakeholders to enhance its legitimacy and internationalisation. The fact that the presidency and the cabinet could not grasp the potential of the games to reproduce or communicate shared African identities implied that the potential of sport to connect citizens was not evident.

One effect of mega-sport events and the Brazzaville edition of the African Games is the production of cultural mobility. European value-based practices, cultures, and norms embedded in the French Community Games were transferred to the African Games from the first rendition. This was further consolidated by the adoption of the Olympic Games programme as the bases for the African Games programme. Additionally, technology, people, and regulations of international sport federations responsible for the sports on the programme of the first rendition were consulted and employed to assist in the execution of the sport-specific disciplines in the African Games. The invitation of English-Speaking African countries also rendered the games as a melting pot of African, Asian, British, French, and Western cultural practices. This left the promotion of Pan-African values through the games a challenging endeavour.

Another feature of the Brazzaville rendition was the dependency by post-colonial African nation-states by employing or requesting support from its Western colonial masters. The study of the soil of the Omni Sport Stadium in France and employment of French architects for the construction of the stadium demonstrated Congo's dependency on its colonial master's knowledge and technology. Additionally, the Permanent Committee also depended on IOC and international federation's knowledge and legitimization to advance the project of the games. Modern sport depicted African subjugation to Europeanised dominant

hierarchies. It is important to note that the games provided the new nation-states and Pan-Africanism with the opportunity to carve out the production of context-specific African knowledge and products through the games.

The first rendition proved to be a great test to the strength and sovereignty of the institutional structures of the newly independent nation-states on the continent. It is evident that sport organisations, events, and private individuals involved in sport had the power to compromise and override state legislations, diplomacy and policy approaches. Though the consideration of “ambassadors” accredited to Congo did not compromise the foreign policies of Congo, the direct interaction of the Permanent Committee with individual countries and the OAU overrode state sovereignty. Additionally, Jean-Claude Ganga had been clothed with the autonomy of sport entered and interacted with state structures of other independent states outside the formal inter-state diplomatic channels. This also demonstrated the influence the autonomy of sport had over state laws and regulations as the representatives of the different states were able to take key decisions on behalf of the nation-state without its formal consent.

In the absence of the possibility of the new-nation states to mobilise a unified African cultural practice, legacies of colonialism became the source of a unified national identity. In the context of the first rendition, institutions such as schools and the army provided the platform through which state principles and values such as national unity, state identities, and culture could be demonstrated. The meaning associated with the games by these state institutions also differed from other national stakeholders, as the former accentuate the positives of hosting the events and the opportunities they provided for African unity. Though the games were transnational, their execution was brought down to specific state institutions and individuals who exerted the position and values of the state. This also accorded these institutions additional functions as state apparatus to discharge tasks outside their traditional functions within their own settings and production for a global audience.

Like most mega sport events, the first rendition provided a platform for global connectivity. It became a meeting point for global networks of professionals like referees, judges, and presidents. In an African context, the games helped stakeholders to connect and consolidate African transnational identities and supported the emergence of identities where they did not exist. The games provided participants with opportunities to essentialise African identity by giving relevance to Avery Brundage’s stereotypes of African weather through his dress when he departed the plane. Though reproduced in the framework of Western cultural practices, the welcoming accorded to dignitaries was also framed through the essentialisation of the identity of African hospitality. The games also created a framework for the promotion

of Pan-Africanism, the context-specific long-term implicit and explicit impact of the one-time event on Brazzaville and Congo remain unclear. This notwithstanding, the games served as the bases for the institutionalisation of transnational multi-sport events as a Pan-African project on the continent.

4. Bamako 1969, The Games that never were

4.1 The foundation of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa

Though Bamako may not be remembered as the host of the Second African Games, the city will be remembered as the site where the subsequent organisation that would take absolute control of the African Games would be born. On 28th June 1966, the Executive Committee of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games met in the planned host city of the Second African Games, Bamako, to set the stage for the subsequent general assembly in December that year. From 12th to 14th December 1966, representatives of 29 countries, of which eight were English-speaking, met to formalise the structures of the organisation.²²⁵ Like the Technical Committee for the African Games and subsequently the Permanent Committee for the First African Games, the gathering brought together a wide range of stakeholders in the public and private sectors of African sport landscape. This level of diversity of stakeholders prompted André Hombessa to claim that they were representing the “needs and desires of the masses of the continent”.²²⁶

As highlighted in the previous chapter, post-colonial nationhood was not a collective idea immediately after independence. It was individual tribes that identified as a collective. The main task of the nationalists’ leaders was, therefore, to create a collective on which the colonial territories they inherited could be united. The nation was, therefore, conceptualised from a subjective perspective, that is a unit where those who lived in it freely identified with it because of the feeling of community. The nation also began to be understood from an objective perspective where people identified with common attributes of the environment, they found themselves in, like common history and fate. Notwithstanding the diversity of organisations like representatives of national sport confederations, NOCs, ministries of education, ministries of health and ministries of sport, were supposedly united by commonalities that superseded the differences from which they came.

In the context of world-making, the nation-state served as the best tool to solidify Pan-Africanism in the continent and project Africa’s self-determination ideals on the global stage. The nation-state was viewed as fundamental to the world system where each was able to control its own territory and project globally. The execution of the First African Games provided a basis to members of the Permanent Committee for need to build up structures to project three ideas. First, there was the need to build structures to sustain the organisation of the African Games as this provided a “...justifiable sense of pride which we felt on achieving the organization and running of the games at continental level”.²²⁷ Second, sport as a cultural

symbol was seen as the perfect tool to solidify, at the continental level, the feeling of community being built by each of the individual nation-states. This was to be done by transforming the Permanent Committee into a continental authority responsible for co-ordinating all sporting activities in Africa. Third, this continental authority was to be responsible for marking the nationhood status of all independent African countries and solidifying its quest to recognise and legitimise its self-determination at the global level. In plain terms, the new organisation was to be an "...instrument through which Africa can forcefully make her voice heard, to express her needs and desires to the appropriate international authorities...".²²⁸ The lack of a unified African voice was not only seen as a weakness of the continent and individual nation-states, but also an opportunity for more influential forces "...who consider African as a mere pawn to be moved at will...".²²⁹

As the Permanent Committee was formed to only coordinate the organisation of the African Games, there was the need to create a stronger organisation which assumed the functions of the Permanent Committee and effectively fit into the three aims of the Pan-Africanist on the continent at the time as highlighted above. On a broader sense, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) was formed on 14th December 1966 as the highest continental body to coordinate sport in Africa.²³⁰ The 14th of December was set aside to celebrate the "Traditional African Sport Day", the day of the founding of the SCSA.²³¹ The leadership agreed that the reason for the founding of the SCSA was two-fold (1) to establish effective and stable structures in conformity with the role of Olympism and of the international sport federations; and (2) to adopt structures in conformity with the African situation.²³² To understand the function of this transnational body for the individual nation-state, the African continent and at the global level, it is important to take a closer look at each of its ten aims as an organisation:

(1) "To cooperate with sports authorities and institutions of all member countries in order that the training of leaders may be planned and coordinated."²³³ As a transnational sport authority on the continent, strengthening the relationship with individual nations and specific institutions in the nation-states is critical for its legitimacy. The distinctive feature among the functions of the SCSA was its recognition of the nation-state and its agencies as supreme authority to decide on sport matters and not the NOC of each country. The definition of what constituted a national authority was not very explicit in the beginning. The diversity of "civil society" posed both an opportunity to touch various sectors of the African society and a

challenge to ensure effective coordination of the activities and programmes of the SCSA in the different countries.

(2) “To organize and run the African Games at regular intervals and to ensure their continuation.”²³⁴ The SCSA was also responsible for the management of the celebration of African talents and unity, the African Games. Additionally, the SCSA developed the rules that determined the magnitude and standards envisaged for the African Games. It was emphatically clear that the standards of the games needed to be “of an international nature”²³⁵ which equated the games to other games of similar magnitude, like the Pan-American and Asian Games. The chair of the Permanent Committee for the First African Games, André Hombessa, emphasised the need to “establish the future of the African Games by providing a firm foundation now”.²³⁶

(3) “To encourage the division of Africa into geographical sports zones so as to regionalise sport and thereby permit the organization of competitions within the continent.”²³⁷ The internal efforts of the individual nation-states to create a feeling of community was to be expanded at regional levels. This was to gradually highlight the systematic strengthening of the collective memory of the fate of the African from a national level to a zonal level and finally to a continental level. The division of the zones was to ease out post-colonial legacy by dividing the continent based on colonial-languages to other identified common community characteristics like geographical proximity.

(4) “To manage, direct, coordinate and support the activities of the zones.”²³⁸ Other than to support the establishment of the zonal structures, the SCSA provided the direction on how to the structures of the zones were supported the formation of collective memory and community feelings from the individual nation-states and channel these to the continental level. Additionally, the zonal structures acted as intermediary structures in the transfer of knowledge and experience from the continental level to individual national levels. To achieve this, zones needed to be supported with strong and similar structures as those of the SCSA at the continental level. This objective positioned the SCSA as the authority to regulate and direct African sport structures.

(5) “To develop the activities of the African sports federations and to promote the creation of those not yet in existence.”²³⁹ Other stakeholders that were not part of the direct members of the SCSA were the African sport confederations. As the organisations in direct contact with the athletes, the SCSA was to liaise with them to facilitate continuous contact and instil the Pan-Africanism in the athletes. Additionally, higher standards of the African sport confederations as the technical arm of the African Games translated to higher quality

standards of the African Games. This objective also highlights an acceptance by the SCSA on the limitations of its authority and the presence of other influential organisations on the continent.

(6) “To use all means to encourage the development of sport in Africa so that Africa may be worthily represented at the Olympic Games.”²⁴⁰ The SCSA recognised the Olympic Games as a global stage on which Africa as a united continent could insert its influence. This agreed to and equated the African Games to other IOC recognised regional games like the Pan-American and Asian Games. This to a large extent was to encourage the development of sporting standards to those required by the Olympic movement to be accepted among the aspired ranks of stakeholders at the global stage. Contrary to the approach of GANEFO, this also emphasises how the SCSA negotiated Africa’s position to be accepted in the global sport movement.

(7) “To ensure that the Olympic Rules and ideals are held and respected.”²⁴¹ As demonstrated above, the SCSA did not develop in direct opposition to the Olympic Movement and the IOC. Instead, the SCSA positioned itself and the African Games as allies in the propagation of the Olympism in Africa. Notwithstanding, the contradiction of prioritising public institutions in independent African nations as its members instead of explicitly sticking to the NOC where they exist, as the IOC would have preferred.

(8) “To enter into relations with those international organizations likely to grant financial, material or technical assistance for the development of sport in Africa.”²⁴² Other influences within the Olympic Movement, the SCSA recognised the need to exert Africa’s voice in other organisations outside the Olympic Movement. By “international organisations” it was understood as those supranational institutions that were within the continent like the OAU. Outside the continent, affiliation to United Nations agencies like UNESCO and other organisations of the Non-Align Movement proved vital in the world-making process, as it was with the Pan-African movement at the state level and other areas. Additionally, affiliation to international organisations was a means to diversify the organisation’s sources of income. This could be in anticipation of potential conflicting approaches with the IOC and a potential expression of preference to affiliation with the OAU.

(9) “To direct and maintain African sport along the same lines as African Unity by strengthening the mutual understanding and friendliness of both leaders and followers.”²⁴³ As the sole transnational sport authority on the continent at the time, SCSA had the leverage to self-impose the function of using sport as a uniting factor on the continent. To support the argument made in the previous aim of the organisation, this aim confirms the Pan-African

nature of the SCSA and subsequently the African Games. Additionally, it emphasises the desire of the organisation to use symbolic power of sport to form and strengthen cohesion among nation-states and ordinary citizens on the continent.

(10) “To discover and apply all methods and means available to promote sport in Africa, both in its organization and manifestation.”²⁴⁴ The organisation was set on a journey of trial and error to popularise the practice of sport on the continent. This journey was undertaken on the footprints of colonialism on the continent by using modern sport and Western institutional framework. The SCSA intended to create a model of African sport using the existing structures to highlight the unique African aspects of sport.²⁴⁵ The foundation of the organisation was built on an egalitarian world view where all decisions “should be agreed upon unanimously as far as possible.”²⁴⁶ The training of coaches, technical officials, and seasoned administrators to help develop quality athletes was to be among the foci of the organisation.

4.2 Structures of the SCSA

Like the Permanent Committee, the General Assembly remained the highest decision-making body of the organisation and its members were representatives of the national body responsible for sport in each member country.²⁴⁷ The assembly would elect the Executive Committee which comprised of a president, who is assisted by two vice presidents, eight “persons representing geographical sport zones” and a secretary general.²⁴⁸ This highlights the perfect fusion of the zonal structures with the continental governing structure of the SCSA which facilitate exchange of information. André Hombessa (Congo Brazzaville) was elected president (1966-1969), assisted by Abraham Ordia (Nigeria), Badara Sowe (Mali), and the zonal representatives.²⁴⁹ As the organisation was poised to promote African brotherhood, inclusion became a central theme in the structure of the governing board. Though there were elections, the results reflected a deep consideration of geographical and language representation on the Executive Committee.

Five candidates applied for the position of secretary general, but Jean-Claude Ganga (1966-1979) was unanimously elected to retain the position.²⁵⁰ The secretariat was headed by an elected secretary general for a four-year period and had no voting rights during executive committee or general assembly decision making. The functions of the secretary general reflected a trend towards globalisation of the organisation which positioned the holder of the position as the spokesperson of the organisation globally. The functions reflected a legacy of the French sport system in Africa as the secretary general performed similar functions to those

of the directors of youth and sports in the colonial system. From Ganga's tour and contact with "member countries which had attained independence" before the First African Games, very little is known about African sport outside the continent.²⁵¹

Discussions also ensued regarding dividing the continent into zones as the structure had already been decided. The ideological differences that engulfed the OAU three years earlier with the disagreements between Casablanca, Monrovia, and Brazzaville groups also manifested in the sport setting.²⁵² Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt suggested that Africa should be divided into vertical and horizontal zones. This, it was argued, would prevent the continent from being divided into black and white or French-speaking, English-speaking, and Arab-speaking Africa. On the other hand, Mali, Madagascar, Kenya, Nigeria, Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia suggested that, for economic reasons, the zones be drawn up according to geographical proximities of the countries. A third alternative emerged from Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo who proposed the adoption of the zonification employed by the Confederation of African Football (CAF).²⁵³

The zonification of CAF, it should be said, was not identical to the one used for the First African Games. Comparatively, there were evident sport-specific deviations of the positions adopted by some countries. Tunisia, for example, was not part of the Casablanca Group of the OAU group in 1961 while Mali and Ghana who formed part of the said group shifted in the sport context. The considerations of Ethiopia and Democratic Republic of Congo seem to be specifically in a sport context. These deviations demonstrate the autonomy and power of sport officials to assume unassigned responsibility and shift the position of a nation on national and international issues without evident accountability.²⁵⁴ The secretary general then proposed that the assembly should keep with the alternative that considered the geographical proximity due to 'restricted financial means at the disposal of the organisation.'²⁵⁵

One person duly empowered to represent each of the African sport confederations was elected to the executive. The African sport confederations also formed the core of the technical committees of the organisation and those responsible for the execution of the African Games. This order also trickled down to the zonal structures to ensure effective delivery of the zonal tournaments. The position of the continental confederations was somehow ambiguous as they were under the directive of their international organisations and that of the SCSA which had assumed an international function. Some of the positions of the SCSA were contrary to the positions of some of the international sports federations, as the case was with the IOC.²⁵⁶

The presence of the IOC and the manifestation of its position was crucial at this meeting. The African members of the IOC, at the time Stanley Alexander (Kenya), Ahmed El Demerdash Touny (Egypt), and Sir Ade Ademola (Nigeria), attended the first two meetings of the Permanent Committee before the games in Brazzaville and the General Assembly in Bamako.²⁵⁷ The IOC understood the significant position the African Games and its influence in Africa meant with the formation of the supranational sport organisation. The IOC tried to insert its influence on the organisation through its president at the time, Avery Brundage (1952-1972), the IOC Executive Board and its African members on the continent. That notwithstanding, IOC members were not independently considered with powers accorded to them by the IOC; instead, they were recognised for their “wisdom and knowledge” in sport matters but had no voting rights in SCSA internal matters.²⁵⁸

Alexander, who also doubled as the chair of the Olympic Aid Commission for Africa announced that the IOC was granting the new organisation a handsome sum of 23,495 Swiss Francs (1,400.00 Francs CFA) meant for the purchase of furniture and equipment necessary for the headquarters.²⁵⁹ He emphasised to the constitutive assembly that the IOC was granting the new organisation support provided it stayed within the limits of the expectations of the IOC.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, the SCSA Secretary General, Ganga, during his meeting with the IOC Executive Commission in Madrid 1965 and Rome 1966 was warned through President Avery Brundage that “unless changes occurred in our organization, the Committee would maintain its patronage of the Second African Games.” In addition, Alexander relayed the “sacrifice” the IOC was willing to make for the cause of African sport, provided that the SCSA complied with rules of the IOC. He reported that President Brundage is willing to use the “very little money” that the IOC had to fund the SCSA and help the cause of “African unity” in the field of sport if the SCSA was able to keep away the “two great dangers faced by the Olympic movement [...] commercialization and political interference.”²⁶¹

The exclusion of the African IOC members into the structures of the SCSA is the first point of friction between the new supranational organisation with the Olympic Movement. It is important to emphasise that all but Touny and Alexander were formal representatives of “national sport authorities” from Egypt and Kenya in the meetings. Despite the insistence of the three African IOC Members that delegates should detach the SCSA from the OAU in 1965 and 1966, this was not adhered to. Alexander futilely informed the IOC about all their efforts. In a letter to the IOC Secretary General, J.W. Westerhoff, Alexander highlighted that when studying the constitution and rules of the games sent to the IOC, Westerhoff would realize that “the NOCs are either ignored or relegated to an inferior position” and that such

positions should be clear from the inception.²⁶² He urged the IOC to influence the concerned clauses “diplomatically to achieve what is desired” as he and Ademola were unsuccessful in framing some of the clauses.²⁶³

The OAU on the other hand, saw the potential in forging a stronger relationship with the SCSA. The Ninth Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers held from 4 to 10 September 1967 in Kinshasa adopted resolution CM/Res. 110(X) granting a subvention of £201, 000²⁶⁴ to the SCSA for its activities for the period from 1967 to 1969. Though this resolution stressed “that the subvention thus granted is understood to be non-recurrent”²⁶⁵ it provided initial steps to a long relationship. The initial support provided by the OAU was based on the adherence of requests to the SCSA contained in resolution CM/Res.140(X) which requested SCSA to express unequivocally Africa’s determination to reject all measures by the IOC condoning racist policies.²⁶⁶ The OAU assigned tasks to the SCSA, but it appears reticent when it comes to granting it financial aid. This situation seems somewhat paradoxical. The desire of OAU was to see expression of African solidarity and fraternity and considers the altruistic function of sports as a basic factor in the importance it attaches to the SCSA and its activities. The Council of Ministers closely monitored the activities of the SCSA in the implementation of the tasks assigned to it by the Council of Ministers. This also indirectly means that the Council of Ministers assumed a supervisory role over the SCSA and the intermediary body between the SCSA and the OAU.²⁶⁷

The President and Secretary General of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), D. Brutus and de Broglio were invited and attended as observers. The invitation of the representatives of SAN-ROC to the constitutive General Assembly of the SCSA demonstrated its position regarding apartheid in South Africa.²⁶⁸ This initial position which the OAU favours influenced the stance the SCSA determined how to end racial segregation in South Africa and Rhodesia. This view, however, also determined the subsequent frictions of the SCSA, the IOC, and countries like New Zealand. Though there were no individuals identified for this position, honorary members of the SCSA were added to its structures.²⁶⁹

The emblem of the SCSA was represented by the outline of Africa in yellow against a green background within a yellow circle. The flag was blue with the emblem on one side and the five Olympic circles on the other.²⁷⁰ With regard to the headquarters of the organisation, Yaoundé in Cameroon was elected, winning seven votes against Upper Volter’s five, Congo’s four and Nigeria’s one. It was agreed that the organisation and its staff was accorded

diplomatic status by the host country. The official languages used by the SCSA were French and English and, in case of dispute, only the French text was official.²⁷¹

4.3 In Search of an African Sport Model

Colonial administrations left an elitist model of sport practice on the continent where the few that had the opportunity to join the colonial army, schools, form part of the workforce and part of colonial administration in the practice and organisation of sport. As the practice of sports like football became widespread due to its accessibility, it became the sport of the masses. As is evident in the previous chapters, the founding members of Permanent Committee for the First African Games and the SCSA were diverse groups of elites in various areas of sport. Post-colonial sport structures were built on the European-inspired colonial model of sport which assumed a top-down model of sport development. The colonial top-down model imposed a centralised state control and funding of sport. Though post-independence nation-states did not inherit the same levels of financial influence like the colonial masters, they maintained the same levels of state control over sport, as was evident in the establishment of the structure of SCSA and its state-led initial leaning of sport development.

The state-led governing organisation was headed by different institutions in the different post-independence African nations. Some sports were supervised by the ministries of health, education, culture, tourism, youth, and supported by decentralised regional structures that supervised sport. National sport authorities were established as the government arm responsible for sport in each country. The SCSA intended to build a structure by striking the balance between state-driven and civil society-driven sport models. Other than the top-down approach adopted in both models, the SCSA intended to build structures where sport served as a cultural symbol that helped organise and define the nation into a collective mind.

The other aspect of the model also considered was the civil society-led aspect of sport developed by the Olympic Movement. As evident during the formation of the SCSA, it was divided between submitting African sport structure to the Olympic model by adopting its structures in Africa, thereby giving powers to the NOCs and sports federations over state-led sport institutions. At the time, the IOC explicitly prohibited associating its structures with nations and nationalists' agendas, though this has never really happened.²⁷² The rise of nationalist tendencies in the Olympic Movement posed a danger as they could lead to "excessiveness of nationalism and this certainly should not be allowed to appear in the governing body itself. A mass of nations, each represented in the IOC will produce the same

results as is happening in the United Nations with power blocks forming to press a certain philosophy”.²⁷³ This consciousness by the IOC members in Africa was the main reason for being critical to the inclusion of state institution as members of the SCSA.

Though the top-down approach of the model has helped bridge the gap between social classes and the state political structures, its evident weakness was the lack of community engagement. The building or strengthening of Pan-African memory, culture, and community from the tribal level to a diverse community level was far-fetched. The inclusion of the African Games as part of the structures of the intended African sport model was to stimulate the engagement of various stakeholders at different levels and social strata on the continent. The inclusion of Traditional African sports as exhibition sports in the programme of the African Games was supposed to enhance cultural exchange between countries and cultures. The secretary general of the SCSA during the constitutive general assembly claimed that traditional physical activities have always played a part in the lives of the African people and that “modern sports in their competitive Western form have only been developed in more recent years.”²⁷⁴ This notwithstanding, the games were limited to high performance sport and the promotion of mass sport for community cohesion, the impact of which remains a key weakness of the intended model. The SCSA and the African Games project have remained detached from community level engagement. It was, however, explicit that the African Games were open to any citizen by birth or naturalisation of any independent African country.

The zonal structures were also established to strengthen the collective identity of the African linked to the personal experience and knowledge of the past and future of the individual nations and the continent. The structures at the zonal levels were also linked to the existing zonal political structures. The organisation of sport and the regional games were deeply dependent on financial support from individual nation-states and regional blocks. Sport appeared to be the missing link between post-independence nation states, the social inequalities, and the missing participation of lower social classes. Sports like football, therefore, provided this bridge between the social classes through the construction of national teams as a collective cultural symbol of new nation-states.

Other stakeholders that were also included within the model were the African sports confederations and their international federations. The African sports confederations were given authority over their respective sports at the continental level with the leverage to decide on the technicalities of their sports in the African Games. This re-emphasised the egalitarian approach of the SCSA where all stakeholders had the same opportunity to contribute to the success of the desired African sport model. Though the Pan-African model being promoted by

the SCSA was not anti-European, the invitation of international sport confederations into the programme of the African Games entailed the compromise of certain approaches or values.

Other peripheral organisations such as the African sports medicine and sport journalists' associations were formed as support structures to advance the Pan-African model.²⁷⁵ These organisations supported the promotion and advancement of sport in individual states, individual sport organisations, as well as the African Games and provided advice to the SCA for their respective competences. The funding model of these organisations, however, was not clearly delineated and the relation to the SCSA provided. The functions of some of the peripheral organisations were also not clearly linked to the nation-state, their existence, and support from the nation-states in the context of promoting Pan-Africanism.

Due to the insistence of the SCSA to form a state-led Pan-African model of sport, the IOC disrupted this model by imposing a rival structure. By 1978, then IOC President Lord Killanin (1972-1980) tasked the SCSA to complete the formation of the 13 remaining NOCs in the continent while IOC releases \$30,000 USD for the said mission. This eventually led to the consolidation of the Association of National Olympic Committees in 1979 and establishment of the Association of National Olympic Committees for Africa (ANOCA) in 1981.²⁷⁶ An additional structure in the Association of African Sports Confederations (AASC) was also formed in 1983 which further weakened the authority of the SCSA on the continent and the influence of the African Games on the global scene.²⁷⁷ Though the Community Games were transformed into the African Games, France maintained its influence on African sport by maintaining supervisory structures on the continent outside the control of the SCSA. The Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport of Francophone Africa (CONFEJES) with its base in Dakar, remained a key player in advancing French interest on the continent in matters of youth and sport.²⁷⁸ What remains clear is that all three organisations received direct financial support from outside the continent and posed a direct challenge to the advancement of the Pan-African sport model.

As organisations outside the continent posed a challenge to the SCSA and its intended African sport model, it was important to adopt additional structures to strengthen its authority on the continent. In November 1977, the SCSA reached an agreement with OAU to be annexed to the organisation as its specialised agency on matters of sport.²⁷⁹ This also entailed that the SCSA executive was under the direct supervision of the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport of the OAU and negotiated its sole authority on the continent in matters of sport. This adjustment also meant that the nation-state assumed a central role in the SCSA and

the administration of the African Games through its ministers. This organisation became the perfect channel through which the SCSA directly requested countries to fulfil their financial obligations to the organisation.

Other than the external disruptions by external forces on the intended African sport model, colonial legacies on the continent also posed a challenge to the advancement of the model. Within one year, there were enormous challenges that laid ahead of the SCSA. The Finance Sub-Committee members, for example, lamented that they could not thoroughly examine the financial report for the First African Games presented by the secretary general “because it only had at its disposal one copy in French of this document.”²⁸⁰ Furthermore, the secretary general also lamented the slowness in correspondences and “sometimes the careless attitude of our correspondents.”²⁸¹

4.4 Bamako 1969

Cognisant of the responsibility to deliver the games, Mali started preparation. The chair of the Local Organising Committee (LOC) promised that the games would be memorable that all those who experienced it. “I was there”.²⁸² In addition, the organising committee was cognisant to further the two-fold aim of the African Games project in the context of self-determination and world-making. The chair of the organising committee emphasised that the games were expected to strengthen “African unity and brotherhood”.²⁸³ From the egalitarian world-making perspective, Bamako intended to position the games as a platform for “the consolidation of friendship between all people of the world”.²⁸⁴

During the presentation of the progress report of the organising committee in the Second General Assembly of the SCSA in Lagos 1967, the organising committee reported that the games were “supported by the whole Malian population”.²⁸⁵ By 1967, some projects linked to the organisation of the games had been finished. A 35,000-capacity multipurpose stadium, now Stade Modibo Keita, built through cooperation of the government of President Modibo Keita (1960-1968) and the Soviet Union was completed in 1967. The “Gran Hotel de l’Amite”²⁸⁶ which was built with support from Egypt was meant to host the officials for the games. Like previous games, these post-independence corporations demonstrated the transactional nature most African geopolitics had taken on, especially during the cold war.²⁸⁷

Bamako was, for the first time, also confronted with the high cost of hosting a major sporting event. Though good facilities were built or provided for the special guests, all participating athletes were lodged in schools in the city. This legacy of the French Community Games remained a feature of the African Games. Temporary training facilities

were built in the selected schools to lodge the over 300 athletes who were expected to participate in the games.²⁸⁸ The games were also staged to attract international tourists to the host country. Special hotels for the games were built to host visiting tourists and international press. This highlights the potential post-independent African leaders saw in the African Games as a cultural soft power tool. The games can help strengthen African unity within the continent and project a positive image of the host city, country and continent, to the rest of the world.

Special modes of transport facilities were planned for the games. The organising committee purchased 39 buses of 50 seats each, 210 tourist cars, 50 cross-country vehicles and three ambulances.²⁸⁹ Building new and refurbishment of old roads and traffic in the city was worked on. The unfortunate aspects as of 1967 was that the new 15km Bamako airport was ready until 1971. That notwithstanding, the organising committee intended that a larger number of planes were allowed to land to ensure maximum participation of international visitors. As of 1969, only three categories of planes could land at the airport: Priston planes; Douglas DC seven, Lockheed 1649 and two Decker beeguet; Turbo-prop planes: Illyouthchine 18, Antonov an 24; and Jets – Caravelle.²⁹⁰ Though the games in Mali were also to contribute to “African unity and brotherhood” they could be considered designed to position the games as an international tourist attraction event. As is evident on the focus of the investment, the focus was less towards providing a conducive environment for athletes and more towards facilitating a memorable experience for tourists. The organising committee promised the SCSA executive that they were “working to ensure conditions of participation for African athletes are met”.²⁹¹

The games provided a strong foundation for sport infrastructural development for Mali and Bamako. Some of the infrastructure built for the games had a sustainability plan geared towards enhancing mass sport participation. An information centre was built specifically for the games and was used as a recreational centre after the games. The level and form of organisation being undertaken reinforced the dependency of post-independence African nations as they requested or transferred sports, technology, technical assistance, modes of practices, and other cultural elements from Europe where they were produced in their modern form into an African socio-cultural context.²⁹² Though the basis for this was laid during colonialism, post-independence Pan-Africanism also used these elements to consolidate understanding.

With regard to the social mobilisation toward hosting the games, a national political youth organisation – JUS-RDA,²⁹³ was invited to assist in social mobilisation with the

games.²⁹⁴ Together, with the organising committee, the organisation set up committees in villages, schools, sections, sub-sections and regions of the country to mobilise young people toward participation in the games. JUS-RDA was used as a fundraising organ of the organising committee as their artistic section host artistic cultural performance events in the name of the Local Organising Committee (LOC) and the proceeds given to the LOC toward the organisation of the games. By 1967, tickets for the games were already designed and sales planned for 1st April 1969.²⁹⁵ This progressive feature of the game accommodated local cultures into the organisation of the games and solidified the intended message of national unity and Pan-African brotherhood.

The LOC strategically planned to fulfil the demands of the SCSA, the government of Mali and the international visitors. As the SCSA wanted to use the occasion of the African Games to train expertise in certain areas, regional cadre training programmes for officials of different sports were held. Another training occurred for first aid personnel and journalists with recording materials purchased.²⁹⁶ As highlighted earlier among the functions of the SCSA, the training of technical officials and other personnel required for the delivery of the games provided the SCSA with an opportunity to further articulate its Pan-African ideals. Additionally, these meetings provided the participants with the opportunities to network and exchange experiences thereby melting the existing barriers left by colonial rule.

Regarding the sports disciplines, the committee considered the programme of the African games as well as “the possibilities of installation in Mali”.²⁹⁷ Eleven Sports with a high “popularity in Africa” were planned for the games.²⁹⁸ What constitutes popularity of a game in Africa depends on a lot of factors. Though football could be singled out as it was already established as a tool for resisting colonial rule or celebrating African brotherhood, the popularity of most of the other sports was largely determined by if the country was colonised by France or Britain. On the other hand, the local host of the games were deepening the acculturation of the sports as they were being practiced by the European colonies. To a large extend, it is the meaning accorded to these sports that changed in some instances from a tool for resistance to a tool for celebrating brotherhood.

The budget estimate for the games was 1, 376, 800,000 Malian francs (688, 400, 000 CFA or 2, 810, 000 USD) and most of the funding for the games came from the Malian government.²⁹⁹ To cover the costs, each participating country was expected to pay a “symbolic contribution for the organisation of the games”. In addition, each athlete and official participating in the games was to pay two US dollars per day.³⁰⁰ As is evident, a huge amount of the cost of participating and hosting the African Games rested on the nation-state.

As emerging countries with limited financial resources, investing heavily in sport posed an additional burden on their national economies. Though the African Games and the SCSA provided a desired stage to position the claim for self-determination either as individual countries or as a continent, the funding scheme adopted posed a challenge to newly independent countries.

4.5 The Coup D'état of 1968

In the early hours of November 19, 1968, a coup of the central government disrupted the progress of the LOC and subsequently cancelled the games. A group of soldiers led the 17th coup on the continent, seized power, and overthrew socialist independence President Modibo Keita. French newspaper, *Perspective Monde*, termed the coupists as “a small group” of “junior soldiers”.³⁰¹ On the day of the bloodless coup, the soldiers arrested President Modibo Keita and drove him to the capital and demanded that he renounce his socialist policies. In response he replied “We are in a country of law and democracy. Since independence, we have respected the popular will. It is the people who opted for socialism [...]. So, socialism is not my choice alone, ask the people what they think.”³⁰²

Like the African Games project at the time, the 14 junior officers, four captains and 10 lieutenants from the army also claimed to have received “the support of the Malian masses”.³⁰³ Unlike other coups on the continent with external interference the “Bamako Coup” was an internal affair. The coupists formed the Military Committee for National Liberation under the leadership of Moussa Traoré.³⁰⁴ As evident in Brazzaville, the African Games project was one of the casualties of the new regime as a legacy of the ousted president that the new regime would not want to be associated with.

Contrary to the position Ganga held in Brazzaville, there was no outstanding leader in the national sport system engaged with the youth in Bamako who could convince the regime of the significance of the African Games for the new regime and African unity. Another reason why the new regime did not adopt the African Games project was because the games were not deeply engrained in the local population and there was a fear factor associated with military regimes. While the new regime declared itself against socialism as a system of government, it sustained a key characteristic of socialism which was a dependence on mass movement and acceptance.

4.6 Synthesis

Through membership to the SCSA and the African Games Project, member countries agreed to seed their legal functions, sovereignty, powers, and interest to individual representatives in the meetings of the SCSA. The new organisation provided individual African states and the OAU through the African Games and its global influence with the power to use sport as a cultural political soft power tool. Furthermore, it provided members with a platform of interaction with state powers on matters of sport. The involvement of the state at all levels of the structures of the SCSA highlights the prominent role the new nation-states were intended to play in the new sport dispensation at national and continental levels. This platform of interaction provided an opportunity for the SCSA as a supranational agency to democratise the practice of sport on the continent and harmonise, thereby fading away the colonial legacies.

In the height of cold war politics, the claim for independence and an egalitarian world order gained prominence from both blocks. To this effect, the issue of South Africa became an important point of debate in the SCSA because the issue of independence as an argument against colonialism was becoming obsolete. By 1970, most of the countries on the continent had attained independence. The change of narrative in the Non-Aligned Movement and OAU on the need for total liberation of the African continent from remnants of colonialism was picked up in the discourses of the SCSA. The issue of Apartheid and sport in South Africa and Rhodesia became central in the claim for an egalitarian world order and international justice in international sport discourses.

The framing of an African sport model devoid of international control but intended to build African inter-state solidarity and brotherhood received absolute acceptance from a wide range of stakeholders on the continent. The top-down approach from the continental level to zonal levels of the hierarchical authority availed key stakeholders to maintain control over the model. The African sport model was built on colonial sport structures and modern Western sport structures as reflected in the Olympic Movement. The adoption of this framework to the African context proved a challenge. The model was also built on modern western sports and not traditional African sport structures which would have contorted the model to a deeply African idealisation of sport practice. This meant that the ideas, languages, and terms used in the definition of the African sport model had to be adjusted to the understanding of all countries and citizens, a reality which proved challenging. This left the model open to other influences of external forces such as the Olympic Movement and the existence of colonial forces on the continent like the French CONFEJES.

The funding scheme of the intended Pan-African model was not clearly spelt out. The SCSA left a wide funding gap within its structures and peripheral organisations. This led to the closer association of the continental sport confederations and peripheral organisations with their parent international bodies, as these provided more stable funding. On the contrary, the coercive powers of the international organisations on their African members left the SCSA with limited influence of the continental sport federation and other organisations with international bodies on the continent. The lack of a strong funding model to the African sport model was the biggest weakness in the sustainability of sport on the continent.

The intended games in Bamako revealed the real level of acceptance of the African Games project on the continent. It was either that the African Games project was not built on strong Pan-African principles that reflected the common perception of states and its citizens, or the concept of Pan-Africanism itself remained only political rhetoric and not reality for many governments and citizens. Whatever the case, what remains evident is that the African Games do not play a political role in the internal politics of Mali. To be considered as an internal political force, the leadership of the African Games in the host country requires leaders as in Congo with Ganga and Hombesa. These influential people also ensured that the ideals of the games held at all levels of the society.

5. Lagos 1973: The Humanitarian African Games

5.1 The Host of the Second All-Africa Games

Though all the sports installations for the 2nd All-Africa Games in Bamako were completed, the new government rejected the proposal to host the games. The executive committee of the new organisation took on one of its first major tasks, which was to find a host for the 2nd All-Africa Games. Many African governments were approached but declined the proposal due to such a short timeframe required to deliver the games. The SCSA, in an extraordinary session, approached Nigeria through Abraham Ordia and the head of the National Sports Commission, Colonel Adefopé. Nigeria could not host the games in 1969 because of lack of a multipurpose stadium in the country that could host the event.³⁰⁵ This exposed a key limitation in the advancement of the Pan-African project through the African Games as individual countries lacked the quality of sport infrastructure that the continental organisation envisaged for African citizens. This meant that the African sport model was not built on the realities of the continents but on a utopian model of sport.

Secretary General Ganga of the SCSA, accompanied by Ordia and Adefopé, spearheaded another quest to convince President General Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975) of the significance of the African Games project for Nigeria. The influence of these leaders reflected the way the games project was presented to the executive. The presence of Colonel Adefopé as the head of the National Sports Commission reflected a post-colonial trend where some of the sport organisations were led by the colonial sport elites, among them the security forces. It also reflected military government efforts to control the masses by positioning security forces as heads of semi-government and other institutions. The acceptance of the African Games project by the National Sports Commission to a large extent influenced the acceptance of the project by the Nigerian government. Following the acceptance of the proposal by the Nigerian government, the executive committee decided to rename the Lagos Games the “Second All-Africa Games”.³⁰⁶ This reflects the weakness of the SCSA within the continental geopolitical landscape. Though it was influential on the sport front and commanded an African influence on the global sport landscape, its influence over member countries on the continent was quite limited.

The SCSA was also engulfed in an internal leadership crisis. President André Hombesa became incapacitated to an extent that he is unable to perform his functions which violated the new organisation’s constitution. The first Vice-President, Abraham Ordia, then assumed the acting president role until he was ratified at the Khartoum meeting in 1969. He

was formally unanimously elected president in the General Assembly in Cairo in 1970.³⁰⁷ These early changes prove both an opportunity and challenge to the SCSA, the African sport model and the African Games. As president, André Hombesa was more focused on building and strengthening internal African relations with a focus on influencing African youth with the Pan-Africanist concept of the African Games. Abraham Ordia, however, had a more internationalist approach as he was determined to fight for the egalitarian global sport system where African voices played an influential role. The SCSA became a more prominent global organisation in sport and the political geopolitical landscapes. The weakness is that the African Games project became a secondary item in organisational priorities, and this led to its weak influence as a multiplier of the Pan-African principles and ideals on the continent.

The new organisation assumed an early fight for an egalitarian global sport system in the early years of its establishment. The SCSA posed its initial threats to the Olympic Movement in the Mexico City Olympic Games 1968. The Commission set up by the IOC recommended the participation of South Africa because the commission concluded that the racially separate participation in sport within South Africa was a state policy and the stakeholders did not object to a racially integrated team in the Mexico City games.³⁰⁸ This decision did not go down well with the OAU and SCSA as they argued that the decision was against Articles 1, 24, 25 and 7 (in the case of Rhodesia) of the Olympic Charter and related UN resolutions.³⁰⁹ With the support of 32 of its members, the SCSA with the backing of the OAU council of ministers, and a few Communist bloc and Asian countries, threatened to boycott the games. A nine-man IOC Executive Committee met in Dubrovnik and overturned the Grenoble decision taken earlier that year and suspended South Africa on April 21st, 1968.³¹⁰ This was one of the major victories recorded by the SCSA with support from the OAU in its quest for an egalitarian global sport system through the lenses of race.

Back on the home front, the national crisis in Nigeria meant that work in preparation for the games was delayed. The Nigerian government requested the SCSA to extend the games from 1971 to 1972. Because 1972 was a year of the Olympics and the SCSA was still under some obligation with the IOC not to hold games during the Olympic year, the African Games were still considered regional games to the Olympics. To strike a balance between the prevailing circumstances in Africa and its obligations before the IOC, the Executive Committee decided in 1970 at the Cairo General Assembly, to reschedule the games for January 7th to 18th 1973.³¹¹

5.2 Biafra War: General Gowon and the All-Africa Games

On 6th July 1967, a civil war broke out in Nigeria between the federal government and a secessionist state (Republic of Biafra) which declared independence from Nigeria. Then President General Yakubu Gowon was just 13 months into his presidency following a counter coup that brought him into power. Biafra represented nationalist aspirations of the Igbo ethnic group, whose leaders felt they could no longer peacefully coexist with a federal government dominated by the interests of the Hausa-Fulanis of Northern Nigeria³¹² The war lasted thirty months and ended in January 1970. By accepting Biafra's unconditional cease-fire, General Gowon declared his famous speech which described the war with “no victor and no vanquished”.³¹³ In this spirit, he declared the subsequent years as a period of “rehabilitation, reconstruction, and reconciliation”.³¹⁴ This entailed reconciling many of the internally fragmented aspects of society because of the war and reshaping Nigeria’s image in the international community.

The post-Biafra war was also marked by years of amnesty for many of those involved. Among General Gowon’s foreign policy intentions, was a return to Nigeria as an active participant in international organisations such as ECOWAS, OAU, UN, Commonwealth, OPEC³¹⁵ and SCSA. The war was marked by the first involvements of foreign aid led by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and foreign governments.³¹⁶ The post-war period witnessed Nigeria’s oil-price boom which began because of the high price of crude oil (the country’s major revenue generator) in the world market.³¹⁷ All these increased the federal government’s ability to undertake tasks. This included General Gowon’s support for the African Games and the exploitation of its potential for the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and reconciliation of Nigeria that he claimed.

During the SCSA meeting in 1967 in Nigeria, President Gowon attended and tasked the SCSA involving the:

...need to intensify its efforts in conducting research into new techniques whereby the standards of African athletes in all fields of sporting activity could be raised to the levels attained by other countries of the world. I appeal to the Supreme Council to let the youth of Africa meet one another more frequently in the arena of sports. Let them be taught the great lessons of fair play, tolerance and unity through healthy sporting competitions since sports offer the best hope for Africa and the world in fostering unity and friendship amongst people. I assure you of my country’s continued support of your council. Once again, I welcome you all to Nigeria and wish you an enjoyable and hope that you will take with your pleasant memories of your visit....³¹⁸

The presence of General Gowon in an SCSA meeting indicates a steady relationship within Nigerian sport stakeholders. It also highlights the level of acceptance the SCSA had in Nigeria. General Gowon clearly saw the role the SCSA could play in the reconciliation process in Nigeria and clearly highlighted the critical position sport occupies and could play in social cohesion on the continent. He saw potential in exploiting the image and status of competitive athletes in bringing about some desired social outcomes. To emphasise his reconciliatory messages, he presented Nigeria as a peaceful and hospitable nation capable of being a hub for the building of African brotherhood and friendship among nations.

General Gowon revealed his commitment to the SCSA as he announced a grant of 50,000 British Pound Sterling from the Nigerian government to the SCSA during the closing ceremony of the games.³¹⁹ The state represented the masses and a reconciled and unified Nigeria offering a platform for the unity of African youth through the games. General Gowon also provided the SCSA with the best opportunity to position the games. The chief patron of the games was given by the IOC presidency to an African presidency and General Gowon was named as the “Chief Patron” of the games.³²⁰ This again emphasises the inseparable link between sport and politics. On one hand, sport provided the nation-state a platform to coin and market its political agendas; on the other hand, the nation-state provided sport with the required stability to host its mega events. The use of national symbols and images essentialised state identity by using a network of actors like athletes, fans, and the stadium (as a stage). New IOC President Lord Killanin (1972-1980) graced the opening ceremony along with other international sport dignitaries.

General Gowon closely monitored Nigeria’s capacity and progress in the organisation of the games. In October 1972, he paid a surprise visit to the construction site of the 55, 000 capacity multipurpose Lagos National Stadium being purposefully built for the games within 18 months.³²¹ During this visit to the stadium and after a meeting with the Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing, Femi Okunnu at the stadium, General Gowon made tough but strategic pronouncements before the media that revealed his intentions for the games. He announced that twenty extra busses would be added to the Lagos fleet to connect the stadium with other parts of the city and extra parking restrictions implemented to alleviate the traffic jam.³²² Special radio posts were installed in various parts of the city to enable police to quickly address any breakdown that might block the traffic. These initiatives by the Nigerian government highlights the dilemma third-world countries were faced with in an attempt to replicate the modern trends of the West in rebranding a city for sport events.

Special anti-begging bylaws during the games were also passed, and two courts in Lagos were identified to prosecute offenders.³²³ In his quest to present an organised city to visitors, street traders and road-side mechanics were barred in all parts of Lagos. Gowon wanted to reframe the city-specific characteristics of Lagos by using state legal frameworks and the military to modernise. The African Games also benefited from the benevolence of many humanitarian NGO activities held in the post-war period. This reinforced the prevailing notion that through military governments both security and growth can be mutually reinforcing.³²⁴ The counter argument, however, was that the professionalism, bureaucracy, and organisational structures required to effectively manage the military did not translate to a model required to run a nation-state. Thus, failure of military governments in post-independence third-world countries and in Africa appeared inevitable. Since the African Games was a once-off event that required the identification with many state-agencies, security forces provided the model for relating and identifying with Pan-African ideals, thereby identifying with the collective struggle of Africans.³²⁵

Archival evidence revealed that the African Games, for the first time, benefited from support by other stakeholders in the promotion of Pan-Africanism outside state and sport sectors. An Ethiopian based NGO, The All-Africa Aid Foundation, provided five double-decker ambulances and four mobile medical units for the games.³²⁶ Whether the organisation was supported because of the Nigerian government or the SCSA is not clear. What is, however, evident is that the discourse on strengthening Pan-African organisational cooperation was manifested in sport. Though the games was public entertainment, the social mission of NGOs contributed to alleviating public concerns and collectivising Pan-African solidarity at an organisational level.³²⁷ This helped the African Games project demonstrate its unique Pan-African contribution and distinctiveness.

Contrary to using youth groups and school children, as the case was in Brazzaville and intended in Bamako, General Gowon put at the disposal of the Lagos Games Organising Committee, the most loyal instrument of military governments, the security forces. Over 1,700 personnel drawn from the armed services, police forces, and prisons were trained as gymnasts by a squad of East German gymnastic instructors.³²⁸ Participants were selected by the East German instructors from the Nigerian Army School of Physical Training in Zaria. It is again evident that to strengthen certain aspects of their development aspirations, most post-independence African countries had to rely heavily on the imported knowledge, material, and skills of the West. Though some of the requests and collaborations were not directly with the

colonial masters, the West provided a framework from which to interpret and build development initiatives.

Gymnasts, which included 1500 men, 200 women, and 120 local instructors, were trained at the Kaduna Racecourse for gymnastic displays at the opening and closing ceremonies of the games. The performance by the gymnasts in the opening ceremony was to “set standards of quality for the events that follow”.³²⁹ The gymnasts were trained to “act and think as a single team” during their two months’ long training for the game’s ceremonies.³³⁰ This rendition of the games provided the military and General Gowon with the opportunity to change and impose its organisational structures and position them as the formal and reliable state administrative structures.

The opening ceremony on January 7th, 1973, lasted for seven hours in the newly built stadium with 50,000 people in attendance. General Gowon, in the presence of his wife, personally opened the games as he wished the participants “good competitions and God bless you all”.³³¹ Like the opening ceremony, the 5-hour colourful closing ceremony was punctuated by powerful dignitaries, bands, fireworks, and speeches. President Aboubakar Sangoulé Lamizana (1966-1980) of Upper Volta (now Burkina Fasso) also took power as a result of a coup in 1966 and was the special guest for the closing ceremony. The games provided the Nigerian military government not only with the possibility to unite its fragmented society at the time but also to legitimise the claimed democratic stance of military governments before the international community. General Gowon framed the Lagos games as having greatly contributed to strengthening Pan-African identity:

We rejoice in your coming, we extend to you all our fraternal welcome and greetings and ask you all to feel very much at home in your second home, Nigeria. You are no strangers here but the same citizens of a new, free Africa. We are the same people with a common destiny, sharing common physical features, climates, environment aspirations, separated from one another only by artificial boundaries which we have been working hard to demolish through the Organisation of African Unity.³³²

The personal and collective effects of the games produced a narrative that actively and passively connected a unified Nigeria to the Pan-African identity of the African Games. Gowon referred to the Lagos games as “undeniable success and a vision for the future of Africa”.³³³ This claim endorses the efforts of the SCSA to position the African Games as a truly Pan-African project with the capacity to orient African youth towards a common direction through a sport spectacle. This also links the aims of the African Games project to

the overall vision of an Africa free from foreign domination whose citizens can exhibit and celebrate their talents at a global stage.

5.3 Lagos 1973

The Second African Games were held from the 7th to 18th January 1973 in Lagos. The initially planned dates for the games had to be changed several times because of internal and external circumstances. At the international front the African Games clashed with the Mediterranean Games which were held in 1971 in which Northern African countries participated. The organisers of the Mediterranean Games influenced the dates of the African Games and "...the organisers of those games had suggested to us to hold our own games earlier in the month of June... we want to cooperate with all sporting organizations anywhere and everywhere in the world".³³⁴ The African Games were hit with the reality that African organisational identity was multiple and fluid. Identification with the Pan-African project by some countries was also combined with a strong identity to other ideologies and affinities. The claims of the African Games as a Pan-African project relative to what member countries and individuals in these countries believed about the Pan-African traits of the African Games and how that influenced their relations with the games depended on their aspirations.

On the home front, the organisers of the African Games experienced conflict with the climatic conditions of the continent because the month of June is a wet season in Nigeria. Universities had sessions in early December and though the organisers had the backing of the Nigerian government, these circumstances influenced the final date of 7th to 18th January of 1973 that the games were held.³³⁵ The realities of local social actors like universities, therefore, also influenced the flexibility with which the games project was restricted. Low professional workforce of the SCSA and the LOC forced it to adjust to the realities of Nigerian local institutions for the execution of the games.

In an updated report to the SCSA Executive Committee before the games, Chair Adefope stressed that the local organising committee was aware of the intentions of the games but warned that:

...No games are perfect. We do not pretend that the Lagos Games will be. But one thing I know. A great welcome awaits our brothers and sisters from all over Africa, and from overseas. Lagos has a singular reputation for traditional hospitality. Whether winning or whether losing in terms of medal awards, the essence of these Games is primarily the fostering of unity, friendship, and understanding and mutual respect among the teeming youths of this vast

continent. If the Lagos Games achieve this objective, then they will have succeeded....³³⁶

Though the chair predicted weaknesses in the organisation of the games, he presented these as natural limitations of Nigeria and its people. The use of the pronoun, “we”, represents the voice of Nigerian masses and re-echoes the Nigerian president’s speeches which emphasised the support of the Nigerian population for the games. Lagos was positioned as a pioneer in spearheading the promotion of Pan-African ideals through the games and emphasised close affinity of Africans in their entirety by positioning them as “our brothers and sisters”.

The second rendition of the games provided an opportunity for a clear transfer and exchange of diverse cultures of the continent. The secretary general of the SCSA set the stage for this exchange by first convincing the Nigerian host the significance of cultural exchange alongside the sporting festivities. Before the games, a torch relay from Brazzaville to Lagos was organised to facilitate this exchange. President Gowon, however, demanded that the Congolese delegation include “a high ranked person”.³³⁷ In one such meetings, Ganga presented the picture of the Mayor of Brazzaville, Lambert Galibali, to President Gowon, as the preferred head of the delegation delivered the torch to Lagos. In his autobiography, Ganga detailed his conversation with President Gowon on the preferred head of the Congolese delegation:

He observed it for a few seconds, then asked me to explain to him the meaning of the tribal scars the man on the picture had on his face. I told him so; this is the first magistrate of the town of Brazzaville on this picture. He belongs to the Téké ethnical group. The scars on his face are distinguishing marks of Bakékés princes and dignitaries. I don’t know the meaning of those scars. However, I can confirm that the Mayor of Brazzaville belongs to the royal family, in other words to Makoko’s family, king of the Batékés, so he is of royal descent. He is a royal prince.³³⁸

The emphasis of President General Gowon requesting the leader of the Congolese delegation to be a person of status and authority demonstrates the level of seriousness the military government had taken the games to be. The games also presented the Nigerian reconciliatory project with opportunity to position itself within the continent. To this extent, General Gowon exploited the games as a cultural diplomacy tool. Cultural exchanges highlighted the close cultural affinity among sub-Saharan Africans as well as the diversity of their cultural traditions. There were large cultural differences between countries even though the SCSA claimed close cultural identities among all Africans were similar.

During the handing over ceremony, Lambert Galibali would be welcomed into Lagos by the military as Governor of Lagos Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson "...with the sound of a military music band. He reviewed Nigerian Troops before taking his place at the official gallery according to protocol."³³⁹ During the visit and the delivery of the speech of Galibali at the Lagos stadium, the reality of what post-colonial interactions between Africans looked like, manifested. Africans stereotype other Africans based on the languages of their colonial powers. As Galibali only spoke French, a Congolese military who had been in the Nigerian army volunteered to translate for the mayor in pigeon-English. He, however, created some misunderstanding in his translation: "That fool spoke a kind of pigeon- English and talked nonsense. As a result, everybody was laughing in the gallery."³⁴⁰ Like in the first rendition of the African Games, language as the legacy of colonial rule remained a defining feature in shaping African identity in post-colonial Africa. As the languages of the colonial masters served as the bases for communication and understanding, it also became an obstacle in advancing Pan-Africanism and African integration. Other officials who understood the message of Galibali, made the speech clearer, and an English teacher was later hired to translate for the Congolese delegation while in Nigeria.

During the opening ceremony, the torch was lit in the stadium which arrived from Congo, the day before the opening ceremony. The torch was carried by Nigerian sprinter, Kola Abdulai, into the stadium.³⁴¹ The captain of the Nigerian team, Sam Igun, took the athlete oath on behalf of all competitors, and he promised "...that we will take part in these Second All-Africa Games, respecting and abiding by the rules which govern them, in the spirit of sportsmanship, for the glory of sports and the honour of our teams".³⁴² The ceremonies of the African Games adopted the Olympic format with rituals adopted as with regional games. This association with Olympic symbols and images inhibited the development of a distinctive Pan-African identity of the African Games which could position African cultural rituals, symbols, and images at the centre of modern sport exhibitions.

By 1973, all 41 independent countries in Africa attended. A record entry of 4500 to 5000 competitors in 12 sports were registered on the games programme.³⁴³ Over 1500 officials and some 1000 visitors from Africa and beyond graced the games.³⁴⁴ The organising committee comprised the secretariat, and some 17 sub-committees headed by the chair, Brigadier Henry E.O Adefope, worked to ensure the games were successful. Among the dignitaries that attended the opening ceremony were the President of the IOC, Lord Killanin, the President of the German Olympic Committee and head of the Munich 1972 Olympic Games organising committee, Willi Daume, and the President of the Italian Olympic

Committee and Olympic Solidarity, Guilio Onesti.³⁴⁵ The presence of the dignitaries from outside the continent demonstrated the level of acceptance the African Games project had before the Olympic Movement and international sport organisations. This, to a large extent, was one of the desired outcomes in the internationalisation of the world-making project where Africa inserted its influence in the othering of world sport. It also demonstrated the freedom the SCSA had to decide who the chief patron of the African Games was without interference of external organisations like the IOC.

The Technical Committee of the SCSA developed the games programme and was supervised by the African confederations responsible or the international federation responsible for the sport where no African confederation existed. With regard to the technical officials, five officials from NOC, national sports council/commission, and senior official of ministry of youth and sports, a physician, and head of delegation comprised the delegation of each participating country. Every delegation was formally allowed to bring a maximum of two journalists to cover the games. Identity cards were developed based on colours: the purple colour was reserved for the secretary general and presidents of SCSA, IOC representatives, representatives of international sport federations, and chair of organising committees “with one family member (e.g., wife)”.³⁴⁶ These practices were prevalent within international sport events and were adopted into the formal organisational practices of the African Games. To be accepted within the international sport system, the African Games leadership had to negotiate its Pan-African organisational operational identity to be defined.

Other than the strong presence of the security forces, Nigeria showed its most valuable cultural heritage during the opening ceremony. Congo also sent a cultural group of nearly 100 dancers to take part in the opening ceremony.³⁴⁷ The opening ceremony did not only give Nigeria a platform to show its cultural diversity but also used Africa’s cultural resources by using the platform for cultural exchange. One of the dancers was a star of the “ndié-ndié” dance from the Kongo-Lari Country together with the music band.³⁴⁸ Though the games were presented as inclusive, its artistic presentations were limited to the dances and groups that depicted deeper attraction to what was considered African identity.

During the torch relay, a team of athletes carried the torch through the streets from the airport to Tafawa Balewa Square in Lagos. These activities were also highlighted with women dancing. Algeria had the largest travelling contingent to the games, as they brought in 100 athletes and 32 additional members in the delegation. Another large delegation was Malagasy Republic which included a 12-year-old swimmer, Raharison Foelle, as part of its competitors who carried his country’s flag. Though Uganda came with its gold medallist John Akii-Bua,

the rest of the delegation arrived late. Among the other notable athletes who participated in the Lagos games was Kenya's Kipchoge Keino, who won gold in the 3,000 meters steeplechase, at the world athletics meet in Munich in 1972.³⁴⁹

The organising committee emphasised the participatory nature of the second rendition of the games. For this reason, qualification standards were only limited to the male category while the female categories were left open.³⁵⁰ The SCSA captioned the outstanding highlights of women in the games with "brilliant performance of sports women from Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, and Nigeria who were ranked as world champions."³⁵¹ These women included Nigeria's Modupe Oshikoya, who won three gold medals, and Mozambique's legend, Maria Mutola, who won the 800m race in Lagos. Other notable athletes included: Zeineb, Elisabeth Manzongah, Souad Derouiche, Alice Annum, who ran 200m in 23 seconds, and the Moroccan Queen of swimming, Maryem Misouni. Another notable personality was Ghana's 33-year-old Rose Hart, who was a mother of 5 and threw the discus 47.12m. Ganga described the women as "those girls brilliantly brought honour to women's sports in Africa."³⁵² This rendition of the African Games witnessed the emergence and consolidation of women's participation in sport on the continent. The African Games opened its doors and encouraged the full participation of women in various disciplines, which was one of the limitations of the Community and Commonwealth Games.

The games were highlighted by the breaking of world records and African records set in the first rendition. These included Kenya's Ben Jipcho who equalled the world record in the 300 meters' steeplechase. Egypt won the most medals and took home 25 gold, 16 silver, and 17 bronze, while Nigeria followed in second with 18 gold, 25 silver, and 20 bronze. Kenya finished third with nine gold medals, and Ghana finished fourth with seven gold medals.³⁵³ The medal table demonstrated the level of sport development in each country following independence in most of the new nation-states. In the closing ceremony, about 30,000 spectators and 3,000 athletes took part.³⁵⁴ Though the form of mobilisation was not explicit, the levels of attendance showed a significant interest in the African Games both locally and with the continent.

The Nigerian government lived up to its expectation both for Nigerians and the SCSA by heavily investing its oil wealth into sport infrastructure and other required social amenities. Nigeria spent 15 million British Pound Sterling (36 million USD) to stage the event.³⁵⁵ The newly constructed stadium cost 2 million Pounds, and a new gymnasium built for the games cost 100,000 Pounds. Lagos lawn tennis club structure was also refurbished at 10,000 Pounds and a new tennis club court built at 25,000 Pounds.³⁵⁶ It was evident that the military

government exploited the potential of sport to display its capabilities. Over 230 cars were purchased for the VIP officials. More than 100 busses were also purchased for conveying competitors.³⁵⁷ Again, the games demonstrated how post-colonial nation-states in Africa understood and approached modernity and infrastructural development, which signified a heavy reliance on imported Western products and knowledge. The Nigerian sport structures benefited from these “developments” when they hosted the second rendition of the games.

Yaba College was reserved for lodging female competitors because males and females were lodged separately. This signified an improvement in the lodging of athletes as higher education facilities were used instead of secondary school facilities in Congo and previous renditions of the French Community Games. Catering facilities were provided reflected Nigeria’s variety of dishes as well as also international dishes.³⁵⁸ Though the rich heritage of African cuisine was recognised, its influence and recognition on the continent as standard dishes were limited. To this extent, “international dishes”, which were Western, were also adopted to cover up for the deficit of the African cuisine. That notwithstanding, the games provided a platform to enhance knowledge on African cuisine and promote its diversity and cultural riches. Interpreters from language departments of universities and government ministries were hired to assist in guiding delegates during the games.³⁵⁹

The Second African Games solidified the function of the African Games within the context of the nation-state as a unifying project with mass mobilisation and diffusion of various national and cross-continental cultural heritage and stakeholders. Though this carried existing colonial structures or elements, it developed unique elements in the context of sport as a unifying factor. Scholars claimed that the people who marked the territories of nation-states and Pan-Africanism within the continent were ordinary civil servants, policemen, sports men, marking boundaries as they went along.³⁶⁰ The games evolved with the consciousness of diversity on the continent as well as the opportunity to bring these together and present them as a unit under the Pan-African rhetoric. The second rendition demonstrates the African Games as a movement of patriotic Africans who wanted to pave a new path for African sportsmen by celebrating their achievements, inspiring others, and uniting a whole continent while cognisant of the diversity that exists within.

5.4 Synthesis

In military governments, the military is seen as a stabilising and modernising organisational set-up which could step in to rescue collapsing public institutional structures. It is assumed that the military provides a base for a professional administrative structure. Unlike

the other renditions that were threatened and interrupted, Lagos did not receive any counter threats from opposing forces. This was primarily due to the full support of the military government and its tough stance in ensuring public order and stability during the games. High ranking military officials oversaw important public institutions like the Nigerian Sports Commission and the Lagos State Governor. This emphasised the desire of military governments to exert absolute control over state institutions by imposing officials as heads of strategic institutions.

With differing authority, President Gowon, Nigerian state institutions, and senior sport officials all identified with the Pan-African concept of the African Games. They represented the voices of Nigerians by projecting their support and providing further guidelines to the African Games project on how to strengthen Pan-African solidarity among the youth through the games. Leaders demonstrated identification and taking ownership of the organisation and success of the games by Nigeria and its people regardless of internal political and tribal differences. The games provided President Gowon with an appropriate platform to utilise Nigeria's oil boom in the world-making and Pan-African self-determination struggles. On the continent, the games provided Nigeria as a big brother to the rest of the continent by welcoming all with open arms in a Pan-African spirit. The patronage received from the Nigerian government as direct support to the SCSA demonstrated the desire of the government to further Pan-African initiatives.

Unlike the failed rendition of Bamako, the 2nd rendition in Lagos had a base of influential personalities in the government and sport structures that had fostered the ideals of the African Games. The reliance on strategic and influential personalities was a key requirement for the success of the games. Heavy reliance on military personnel and structure such as the military Governor of Lagos Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson, Abraham Ordia, the head of the National Sports Commission, Colonel Adefopé, and Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing, Femi Okunnu. The reliance on recruits of the military college also provided stability and order to planned procedures for the opening and closing ceremonies. What remained consistent in post-colonial African nation-states was the reliance on knowledge and expertise of European nations to support the structures being built. To be able to provide a phenomenon during the African Games, the Nigerian military government relied on East German training instructors to support Nigeria.

The first two renditions of the games demonstrated the lack of a clear path of sport development by individual nations and the SCSA. Like the first rendition in Brazzaville, the cancelled rendition in Bamako and the second edition in Lagos, all three countries did not

build upon an existing sport development plan but rather used the sport event as an opportunity to develop infrastructure and accessibility to the practice of sport in their countries. As the SCSA did not provide a clear Pan-African framework of sport development individual nations were to build upon, nations devised their models of sport development based upon prevailing political circumstances and interests. Politically motivated infrastructure was provided for the successful hosting of the games and were the knowledge and resources secured for the games. The definition of the role of sport was, therefore, left to be defined by the political elite and not the needs of sport outlined by the SCSA.

At an institutional level, the games became grounded and fused with the prevailing Pan-African ideologies of emancipation, third-world solidarity, and world-making. The change of the chief patron of the games from the IOC president to the president of the host country, in the case of General Gowon, demonstrates the path being defined by SCSA in turning the African Games into a Pan-African event. The definition and understanding of the role of the games did not change and took a deeper political tone. The involvement of non-sport Pan-African civil society actors like the NGO in transnational interventions also demonstrates the social influence of the games. The influence of other transnational actors like SAN-ROC was limited in the African Games as it required African legitimacy to project its influence outside the continent.

The games became a wider project of city and country branding by the military government. They used place, people, and space as identity markers of Nigerian unity and African brotherhood. Perhaps this was the first instance of the violation of human rights that was evident on the continent during a sport event. As the military government wanted to present an orderly and clean Lagos, it was necessary to refurbish and brand it even if it meant forcefully violating human rights. As it was a military government, this change earned little or no resistance from the masses. These actions were intended to disrupt existing structures that sustained the livelihood of many in the city. This was perhaps the only aspect of the games that really trickled down and had an effect at the local level in the city.

Perhaps the fusion of African cultural practices provided one of the greatest legacies of the games in the promotion of African identity. The games provided the opportunity and platform to fuse Congolese and Nigerian cultural practices. Participants and African athletes also had the opportunity to experience other African cuisine. It provided a platform for the reproduction and diffusion of African cultures and art. This also required the employment of a wide range of cultural ambassadors and other cultural stakeholders and provided for the synthesis of modern and older cultural practices and dances. This notwithstanding, it

demonstrated the wide difference in the assumed similarities of African cultures. What remained evident was the deep influence of language in deciding the depth of relationships of English- and French-speaking African colonies.

6. Algiers 1978: The Games of “Friendship” before Competition

6.1 Algeria, a Meeting Point of African Solidarity

The Popular Democratic Republic of Algeria had won the rights to host the 3rd All-Africa Games since the constitutive assembly of the SCSA in 1966 in Bamako. This, however, only materialised 12 years later due to challenges faced by the SCSA to manage the continental showpiece. Algeria had also found an opportunity for global recognition by hosting major sporting events. Chair of the Revolutionary Council and 2nd President of Algeria, Mohamed Ben Brahim Boukherouba, nicknamed Houari Boumédiène (1976 – 1978), found an opportunity in mega events to promote a liberal and industrialised Algerian economy, positioned among the giants of the world economic order.³⁶¹ Following the end of the Algerian War of Independence in 1962, members of the Revolutionary Council decided to exploit the mineral resources and industrialise the country. This was also followed by huge investments into services and activities that intended to rebrand and lift the image of Algeria in- and outside the continent.

Algeria hosted the 2nd All-Africa Trade Fair in 1976 which brought together government and private sector stakeholders to reflect on African solidarity and promote business-to-business cooperation among countries.³⁶² Following the first rendition in Kenya, Algeria organised and delivered a “successful” trade fair. Key among the stakeholders in the decision-making process and approval of the fair was the Council of Ministers of the OAU who were responsible for monitoring the progress of the event in the host country. The Council of Ministers, in its 27th Ordinary Session in Port Louis, Mauritius, expressed its appreciation to the government of Algeria on the strides made to support the Second All-African Trade Fair which was a great victory that “reflects African solidarity”.³⁶³ The Council of Ministers, which had an executive function and charged with the obligation to implement the decisions of the general assembly, had far-reaching powers which gave it the right to decide on cross-cutting issues on the continent.³⁶⁴

What remained evident in the 1970s was Algeria’s leading role in Africa, Arab league³⁶⁵ and the Non-Aligned Movement to intensify inter-governmental cooperation and strengthen its geopolitical role in the changing world order. As a steady build-up to the hosting of the African Games, Algeria hosted the 4th Maghreb School and University Games in 1968 as part of events marking Algeria’s sixth independence anniversary.³⁶⁶ This was followed by the hosting of a bigger sport event as it hosted the 7th Mediterranean Games 1975. These games served as a basis for Algeria to demonstrate its political strength

nationally and within the African self-determination process. The existing sport structures gave Algeria the leverage to be one of the leading figures in hosting international sport events on the continent. It gave the revolutionary government the opportunity to rebrand and highlight the cultural heritage of Algeria, its Pan-African, and Pan-Arab heritage. To emphasise this point, the cultural programme of the 7th Mediterranean Games was presented to highlight the beauty of Algerian and African art and culture to the rest of the world.³⁶⁷ These preceding events laid a stronger foundation for Algeria to successfully host the third rendition of the African Games in 1978.

A year before the third rendition of the games, a significant turning point marked the eventual structure of the SCSA and the African Games. The SCSA was eventually closely linked to the fight for African unity, liberation, and against discrimination, issues which were at the core of the agenda of the OAU and the leaders of many Pan-African countries at the time. Notwithstanding, close collaboration since the first African games and the formation of the SCSA in 1966 was not formally linked to the OAU. Not until 1977, following the signing of a memorandum of understanding, the SCSA was elevated to a specialised agency of the OAU in the area of sport and tasked with the responsibility to facilitate the coordination and harmonisation of sport in the quest to consolidate African unity through sport.³⁶⁸ The SCSA was empowered to take decisions on behalf of the OAU based on principles of the OAU Charter and other resolutions.

The OAU filled the vacuum being slowly left by the IOC to subvent the SCSA and encourage members states to pay their contributions and African Games participation fees.³⁶⁹ The OAU maintained its superior control over the SCSA. The two organisations attended each other's meetings and exchanged information, and the SCSA consulted the OAU on the nature and scope of any agreement it desired to conclude with any intergovernmental or non-governmental organisation.³⁷⁰ Notwithstanding, the limitation posed, the position formally gave the SCSA the legitimacy to negotiate and enter into agreements on behalf of Africa in the field of sport.

The SCSA was further tasked to cooperate with national liberation movements in the various African countries where they existed and recognised by the OAU.³⁷¹ This further positioned the SCSA as a political agent deeply involved into Africa's internal political issues. There is no evidence, however, that this function was explicitly carried out by any of the executives or officials who led the SCSA. Outside the continent, this position gave the SCSA the support and political backing to mount its world-making ambitions and position Africa in the field of sport. The Council of Ministers was the direct supervisory organ that

gave directives to the SCSA on matters related to sport. SCSA staff were issued special travelling documents to facilitate their movement within the continent and the organisation. This further elevated the staff of the SCSA to the status of diplomatic officials who represented the continent on matters related to sport.

What remained controversial was the flag of the SCSA which had the emblem of the OAU but embossed with the “5 Olympic rings”.³⁷² Tensions between the SCSA and the IOC had already started, and by 1979, the IOC formally informed the Secretary General of the SCSA that the five rings in its emblem were “exclusive property of the IOC” and the SCSA should submit a proposal for its approval to an IOC Executive Committee level if it is to maintain the symbol in its emblem.³⁷³ Another significant clause in the agreement was that the African Games now become the legal property of the OAU, as the SCSA was now relegated to a subordinate organ of the OAU.³⁷⁴ This positioned the African Games as a formal continental governmental major sport event with the characteristics of an IOC regional/continental event. This distinction situated the African Games as an interesting and unique major sporting event and its evolution of significant importance in understanding intergovernmental collaboration. The SCSA maintained the linguistic challenges of the OAU or maybe inherited more complicated ones, as it was to adopt English, French, Arabic, and later Portuguese as the working languages of the OAU and now AU.³⁷⁵

6.2 African-led Boycott of the Montreal 1976 Olympics Games

The preceding events as delineated above already revealed the deteriorating relationship between the SCSA and many international sport organisations, especially in the Olympic Movement. The SCSA had received stronger moral support from the OAU, its organs, and many individual African nation-states. The central issue in the friction between the SCSA and the IOC was the issue of South African and Rhodesian Apartheid in sport. Though South Africa was suspended from the Olympic Games, SCSA still insisted that any nation whose athletes-maintained contacts with South Africa should also be suspended from the Olympic Games. The SCSA used different means to petition countries like New Zealand, Austria, Britain, Canada, Chile, France, Holland, Israel, Italy, USA and West Germany with their continued contact with South Africa. President of the SCSA, Abraham Ordia, called these countries “arch enemies” of the council in its struggle against Apartheid as the sportsmen hampered the SCSA’s battle against racial segregation.³⁷⁶

The SCSA had already assumed a position regarding its reaction to countries that maintained sporting contacts with South Africa and its position on participation in the

Olympic Games should these contacts persist. In April of 1976, President Abraham Ordia, during an SCSA Executive Committee meeting in Nairobi (Kenya) before the Minister for Housing and Social Service, Taaaita Towett, had hinted that “African nations have not threatened to pull out of the Olympic Games, but he indicated that they would boycott events in which New Zealanders were entered”.³⁷⁷ The reasoning behind the strong stand of the SCSA was firmly based on its determination to assert Africa’s influence in the world-making process during the period. Abraham Ordia stated that “Barely, 10 years ago the African competitors or officials, were always playing the back role.”³⁷⁸ During these backstage struggles, they have negotiated their positions. It is not clear if the leaders of the SCSA had evaluated the cost of their position in world sport but what remained clear was that the endeavour to position Africa in the world-making process had a firm grip.

During this interview, Ordia also revealed the many successes were registered by his administration: “Not only have we endeavoured to raise performance to high level standards among our youth, but your leaders have also ensured, sometimes against severe odds, that African sportsman are treated like any other human being.”³⁷⁹ This statement also highlights the main thinking behind the Pan-African principles and how the inferior treatment of Africans by the West needed to be turned around through the world-making process. The SCSA, like many Pan-African organisations, was to continue “constantly and consistently struggling and fighting against all forms of injustice and discrimination in sport throughout the world, most especially in the southern part of our continent where the practice of apartheid is entrenched in the laws of the country.”³⁸⁰

On the 14th of July 1976, two days before the opening ceremony of the Montreal Olympic Games, the African-led boycott marked a significant turning point in the relations between the SCSA and the IOC. The OAU “Heads of State” [sic] passed a resolution during its session in Mauritius requesting the SCSA to “reconsider” the participation of the African delegation in Montreal should New Zealand be allowed to participate following its Rugby team’s tour of South Africa.³⁸¹ The SCSA leaders convinced the African delegation that if the IOC did not honour their request signed 24 hours before the opening ceremony of the Games, no African country should participate to avoid “ridiculing the resolution of the Heads [sic] of African States.”³⁸² Though some countries participated in the opening ceremony and in some events due to late arrival of communications from their respective countries, 20 of the 22 African countries honoured the boycott (with the exception of Senegal and Ivory Coast).³⁸³ It is not clear why these two countries did not honour the boycott and if there were immediate repercussions for these actions from the SCSA or other organisations.

The preceding events and the African-led boycott had a severe effect on the relationship between the SCSA and the IOC. The IOC member for Italy who was also the Coordinator of Olympic Solidarity, Giulio Onesti, expressed concern over the coordination of funds on the African continent as the three Africans nominated had already “partitioned the continent and threatened African unity”³⁸⁴. This revealed the effect of division in the relationship between the SCSA and the IOC that remained on the continent. The Secretary General of the SCSA, Jean-Claude Ganga, was one of the members. The understanding of what constituted African unity from the perspective of the IOC appeared different from how African unity was interpreted by the SCSA. This produced a point of friction between the organisations. African unity to the SCSA meant that the entire African sport ecosystem was to stand up against the injustice being weighed against it by the world and position itself as one of the influential figures in global sport. African unity to the IOC was considered as the absolute subordination of the SCSA and all its members to the demands of the IOC as one of the allies of the Olympic Movement.

By 1978, IOC President Lord Killanin (1972-1980) changed his approach on Africa and diplomatically tasked the SCSA to complete the formation of the 13 remaining NOCs in the continent while IOC released 30,000 USD for the said mission. This project-based collaboration eventually led to the consolidation of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOCs) in 1979 and establishment of the Association of National Olympic Committees for Africa (ANOCA) in 1981.³⁸⁵ As highlighted in chapter four of this investigation, the formation of ANOCA caused a disruption to the proposed African sport model built by the SCSA. It is important to note that the formation of ANOCA was highly supported by the African IOC members because they believed that the SCSA had already assumed the character of a government agency though national representation at SCSA meetings was changed to NOC president or his deputy in its 1977 constitutional amendments.³⁸⁶

The SCSA leaders insisted that the organisation was loyal to the IOC but blamed IOC leadership for deciding on issues in Africa without full understanding of the specific circumstances of the continent.³⁸⁷ The SCSA leaders went further to make the accusation that the newly formed Olympic Solidarity programme was a neo-liberalisation institution from Europe because the instructors for coaching courses were sent from Europe to Africa with “no consideration given to people of a suitable calibre resident in Africa.”³⁸⁸ These events and frictions had severe effects on the investment the SCSA made towards the consolidation of the African Games on the continent. The events leading to and following the Montreal

Olympic Games boycott resulted in the internal crisis within the SCSA that led to the postponement of the third edition of the African Games to 1978.

6.3 President Boumédiène: Algerian nationalism and Pan-Africanism

In Algeria, sport has served as a tool to gain and strengthen independence as well as the ideology of the Revolutionary Council. Sport also became the tool, especially football, to counter the unfavourable approaches to the Revolutionary Council.³⁸⁹ At the centre of positioning and solidifying Algeria's liberal and state-driven industrialisation, President Boumédiène leaned on Pan-Africanist, Pan-Arab, Mediterranean, and Non-Aligned Movement ideals. This gave Algeria a wider geopolitical platform to strengthen its petrochemical and oil production markets. President Boumédiène was an army colonel in the war of independence against France and participated in the Sand War between Algeria and Morocco over the latter's claim for a piece of land on the border. Following independence in 1962, he became the Chair of the Revolutionary Council from 19th June 1965 – 10th December 1976. He seized power in 1965 through a coup and became the 2nd president of Algeria from 10th December 1976 – 27th December 1978. He also served as the 6th Chair of the OAU 13th September 1968 – 6th September 1969 and the 4th secretary general of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) from 5th September 1973 – 16th August 1976.³⁹⁰ In his quest for a "revolutionary readjustment"³⁹¹ he industrialised and promoted an industrialised Algeria; he also provided a mix between Islam, socialism, and a blend of idealism and reality.

Most Northern African nations, including Algeria, were able to strike a balance between Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism as they emphasised their shared identity traits. As the Non-Aligned Movement seemed to be a more global movement, the Afro-Arab summit became the melting pot where common issues confronting both African and Arab world were discussed.³⁹² This became the perfect stage for Algeria to strike a balance and assert its influence in both areas. The Afro-Arab summit considered that African and Arab people were waging a joint struggle for shouldering the burdens of development, for putting an end to domination, subservience and exploitation, and for taking steps toward the establishment of a new, just international economic order.³⁹³

The summit reflected the "backwardness and the economic problems from which the African and Arab peoples suffer have been originally created by modalities of exploitation and colonialism over long centuries."³⁹⁴ They claimed that limitations were inherent in the unequal nature of the current framework of international economic relations and order. Together, they suffered imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, Apartheid, and

all other forms of racial and religious discrimination and segregation particularly in Africa, Palestine, and the occupied Arab territories.³⁹⁵ To address these, total boycotts in political, diplomatic, cultural, sporting, and economic fronts seems to be the ideal form to address them. Countries in the block also supported each other with scholarships, training programmes, sport exchanges, and labour support to strengthen each other's quest for liberation from the surge of their enemies.³⁹⁶

President Houari Boumédiène became the 4th Secretary General of the Non-Aligned Movement from 5th September 1973 – 16th August 1976³⁹⁷ The eminent presence of Algeria in the Non-Aligned Movement demonstrated its stern support for the ideals of an egalitarian world order. The New-Aligned Movement gave emerging economies like Algeria the possibility to forge new geopolitical allies and markets. The New-Aligned Movement also provided African countries with another platform to propagate the quest for self-determination outside the continent and race-confined Pan-Africanism outside the continent. By the time President Houari Boumédiène assumed leadership as secretary general of NAM, the focus of the organisation had shifted from political matters which included the fight to end colonialism and support independence; to an economic approach which intended to raise the economic profiles of disadvantaged economies by the world order. Algeria hosted the 4th NAM summit in 1973 and the first ministerial conference of G77.³⁹⁸

On a sport front, the Mediterranean Games brought together countries in the Mediterranean basin from Asia, Europe, and Africa of different cultures, religions, and languages to celebrate shared Mediterranean identity and common history in Algeria.³⁹⁹ To President Houari Boumédiène, the Mediterranean Games did not only provide an opportunity to celebrate a shared identity and common history of countries in the Mediterranean basin but also a perfect opportunity to release a post-independence burden for young Algerians to participate in sport. During the closing ceremony of the games, he emphasised that:

Tomorrow, when the lights of the Mediterranean Games will be extinguished, when the clamour will be silenced, the city will be open to the children of the country. They will no longer have to go to the INSEP⁴⁰⁰ in Paris or to other European schools to perfect their sporting knowledge.⁴⁰¹

The third rendition of the African Games in Algeria provided the country with the opportunity to materialise the nexus between the Arab league and Pan-Africanism.⁴⁰² What remain evident is that Algeria assumed a primordial role in advancing both ideologies during the African Games. To demonstrate Algeria's stance against colonialism and celebrate its strength in independence, a monument designed by a French sculptor was redesigned by an

Algerian and inaugurated on the eve of the African games. The Monument to the liberation of Algeria was designed by Algerian Artist M'hamed Issiakhem. It was formally designed by French sculptors Paul Landowski and Charles Bigonet.⁴⁰³ The monument represented colonial oppression to the Algerians and the African games provided an opportunity to get rid of remnants of French colonial images in an African sport and cultural festival.

The edition provided both the SCSA and the Algerian government the opportunity to strengthen African solidarity and cohesion among Algerian youth. To this effect, the president of the SCSA reemphasised the major objective of the African Games which was:

The promotion of African unity through the youth of the continent without distinction of race, colour, religion, language, and political affiliation. The youth will also project this message of peace to the whole world...once again I call you to win, and if you cannot win, be a good loser. May your loyalty always outweigh your desire to win at all costs.⁴⁰⁴

The role of the games at this point was shaped and confined to addressing concerns of Pan-Africanism on the continent. African leaders in both sport and politics had recognised and agreed that there were enormous differences on the continent but still wanted to bring these together to forge a common identity. By the third rendition, the idea of world-making through the African Games lost relevance, while a focus on the continent gained more attention. This was mainly due to the friction between the SCSA and many international sport organisations like the IOC. The games continued to claim and confer the notion of egalitarianism on African youth as Africans. This egalitarian principle to be manifested in the African Games was to bear ripple effects internally and projected a desired image of the continent. These games were placed under the symbol of “friendship first and then medals”.⁴⁰⁵ This also meant a shift from a focus on purely high-performance spectacle to using sport to build bonds and relationships among the youth of the continent.

It is important to note that the NAM and OAU policy of non-interference in internal matters had its negative effects on inter-state and internal conflicts on different countries on the continent. By 1978, there were civil wars in Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia. There were also inter-state conflicts between Tanzania and Uganda, Chad and Libya, Ethiopia and Somalia, and Morocco and Western Sahara. The cornerstone of peace that athletes were to project was based on friendship at the expense of medals the athletes competed for. The value of high-performance athletic excellence was deeply engrained into maintaining social stability among peers and served as a model for such. This also re-emphasised the use of the African

Games and athletic development as a tool to promote peace and unity on the continent rather than to demonstrate the athletic strength of the continent.

6.4 Racism, boycotts and withdrawals in the African Games

Though the games were meant to build friendship and strengthen peace among the youth of the continent, this rendition of the games witnessed issues that threatened the intended African unity promoted through the games. The games experienced its first boycott in African inter-state politics. Morocco formally boycotted the African Games because of its ongoing conflict with the host country, Algeria.⁴⁰⁶ The conflict stemmed from Morocco's historical claim of the Western Sahara before the Spanish occupation of the territory. Morocco had declared sovereignty over Western Sahara while Algeria supported its national liberation movement. This issue had shaped foreign policy alignments of both countries and was the main point of political tensions between them. By 1978, the border between Algeria and Morocco had been closed for two years and was only reopened in 1988.⁴⁰⁷ Tensions in national politics and divergent foreign policy positions emerged in the African Games as one of its internal challenges in consolidating the desired post-independence African unity.

In the middle of the events, Egypt also withdrew its entire team from the games following an incident in the match involving Egypt and Libya. Egypt had topped the medal platform of the two previous games and was on the verge of repeating. The Egyptian delegation arrived in Algeria with the largest delegation (240 athletes) with the country's record number of women as part of its delegation to ever be sent to any international tournament.⁴⁰⁸ In the group stage, a football match between Libya and Egypt, involved Libyan players allegedly attacking Egyptian players on the pitch after losing the match. Some of the spectators, mostly Algerians were armed with metal bars and clubs and joined the Libyan side to attack the Egyptians.⁴⁰⁹ Egyptian authorities swiftly reacted to the incident, and Algerian police did not also intervene to stop the violence. In a live television broadcast, the Egyptian Prime Minister, Mamdouh Salem (1975-1978), recalled the entire Egyptian team from the games.⁴¹⁰

It is not evident why the Algerian supporters joined the Libyan players against the Egyptians; however, this incident and the preceding one demonstrates the depth of inter-state tensions that existed between countries in northern Africa. The silence or inability of the SCSA executive or organising committee of the games to assert influence and resolve the tensions demonstrates the weak practical role of the games to demonstrate the peace it intended to promote through athlete participation in the games. Though this event could be

considered as an isolated political reaction, the two events demonstrate that Pan-Arabism and subsequently Pan-Africanism were not deeply engrained in the social fabric of the countries. At a political level, it also demonstrates the value both nations placed on African unity as countries did not negotiate positions in the name of African unity.

The SCSA and the local organising committee were formally first confronted with an issue of racism in the continent during the games in its first rendition in northern Africa. The incident was only mentioned in the official report of the African Games but in his autobiography of the African Games, Jean Claude Ganga detailed the “outside incident” and how it was resolved.⁴¹¹ Two young Senegalese men who were studying in Algeria passed by in the street during the games with a young Algerian woman, who was also a student. They met with two young Algerian men of the same age. Algerian countrymen addressed the young woman in Arabic. They booed her and shouted maliciously: “so, girl, you’ve looked all over Algeria for a boyfriend and as you couldn’t find anyone you’ve caught those two. They’re darker than coal itself.”⁴¹² The two Senegalese spoke Arabic and understood what was said. A fight broke out between the four of them. Afterwards, the Senegalese students told the entire story to the Senegalese Minister of Youth and Sports who was at the games. The Senegalese authorities in Algeria hinted that as the Algerians disliked Blacks, and, therefore, they threatened that the total Senegalese delegation quit the competitions and “fly home on the next available flight”. The head of the Local Organising Committee anticipated implications of the Senegalese intensions and approached Ganga to look for an amicable solution:

Mr Ganga, you’re a kind of globe trotter and have travelled all over the world, haven’t you? You’ve certainly known of incidents such as this one which we deeply regret. Perhaps you’ve even witnessed them. So, tell me frankly, do you think Algeria should be found responsible for the one which arose between these Senegalese students and the Algerian young men because of this young lady here? They don’t even belong to the sporting delegation of this country. Should the Algerian republic be regarded as responsible for what people do or say in the streets? We think the Organising Committee of these games can’t be held responsible for the acts of those thugs who probably had drunk too much before plaguing peaceful passers-by. So as far as we are concerned, we find the Senegalese threat of leaving the games excessive. We’ll require those young Algerians to apologies both to their countrywoman and to the Senegalese students, and we don’t talk about it any longer. Case closed.⁴¹³

What remains interesting is how the head of the LOC absolved Algeria and its sporting fraternity from the incident even though the friendship intended between “African youth” through the games was not limited to sport circles. As the secretary general of the SCSA, Ganga had to personally intervene to resolve the issue in joint and separate meetings

with both ministers of Senegal and Algeria. In his discussion with the Senegalese Minister, Ganga returned to the rhetoric of the aims of the African Games for the African youth as justification to consider the issue as an isolated event:

I think that as the leaders of the African Youth our duty is to strengthen the links of friendship and of brotherhood between youngsters of our continent instead of weakening them. And this is what we must do now in the present situation... when an African State organises a challenging competition on a continental scale such as the Third African Games, with the financial sacrifices involved, the people of this state must do their best to receive their guest properly so when back home they may say that they were most welcomed and well looked after.⁴¹⁴

The intervention of Ganga at this point of the issue showed the level of influence the SCSA had on social and geopolitical issues outside the sport circles. The two previous incidents demonstrated the weakness of the SCSA when the issue reached formal inter-state level. “So let’s accept the proposal Mr Minister in order to prevent the journalists from making a big deal out of it”.⁴¹⁵ Other than protecting diplomatic relations between the two countries, the SCSA was aware that the incident could harm the image of the games if it was picked up by the media. What remained significant in this episode was the clear manifestation of different comprehensions of who an African was. Though the incident was considered an isolated event by the organisers, the stakeholders involved in resolving the issue showed that it was an issue that was deep in the continent’s social fabric.

The enthusiasm on an African-led boycott of international sport events significantly dwindled as more countries gained independence, and geopolitical interests became wider and varied on different fronts. In all, 12 of the 45 countries present at the games were to participate in the subsequent Commonwealth Games in Edmonton, Canada later that year. Nigeria spearheaded a meeting during the African Games and proposed the idea of an African-led boycott of the Commonwealth Games.⁴¹⁶ The meeting did not produce the desired results because the proposal of a boycott due to New Zealand’s sporting contact with Apartheid South Africa was not agreed upon by all members. Nigeria ended up being the only African country that boycotted the Edmonton Commonwealth Games because of the Apartheid issue.⁴¹⁷ Uganda also boycotted the Edmonton Games in the height of tensions between the government of President Idi Amin (1971-1979) and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (1968-1979). Over 7000 Ugandan Asians who had been expelled by Idi Amin flew to Canada as refugees.⁴¹⁸ The Canadian government became hostile to the Ugandan regime, and Idi Amin decided to boycott the Edmonton Commonwealth Games.

6.5 Algiers 1978

The 3rd All-African Games was held from 13th - 28th July 1978 in Algiers with the participation of 45 countries that competed in 12 sport disciplines.⁴¹⁹ The colourful opening ceremony was held at the 70, 000 spectator-capacity stadium on 5 Juillet 1962 with a cross-section of members of the IOC, Mediterranean Games, and Olympic Games Organising Committee members in attendance, though the games lost their significance outside of the continent.⁴²⁰ It took Algeria over two years to plan and execute the third rendition of the games which saw the participation of 1500 competitors.⁴²¹ For the general organisation of the games, 11 commissions were created including a cultural commission, as part of the local organising committee.⁴²²

President Houari Boumédiénne opened the games in the presence of IOC President Lord Killanin, three IOC vice presidents and IOC members for Africa.⁴²³ Football was the first sport on the games' programme, with the first match between host Algeria and Egypt ending in a one-all draw. Egypt took the lead in the 12th minute, but the host equalised six minutes later. Algeri's Rahab Assad took the penalty and gave the home side the equalizer. The Algerian team wanted to repeat a comparable feat of 1975 when they defeated France in the Mediterranean Games to give Algeria its most cherished medal in those games.⁴²⁴

The media played a significant role in the execution of this rendition of the games. Before the opening ceremony, an induction of the sport facilities was conducted for all present journalists two days before. A news bulletin and review of events happening around the games was initiated in 1975 until the games. The Algerian broadcasting and Television (RTA) also projected short films about participating countries and their preparation for the games ahead of the opening ceremony. Algerian School of Journalism collaborated with the Association Internationale de la Presse Sportive (AIPS) and provided refresher training for young Algerian sports journalists⁴²⁵ The organisers hoped the games helped promote a sense of unity among African sportsmen and reported prior to the opening ceremony indicated that a great deal of interest had been generated, both in- and outside Algeria before the opening ceremony.⁴²⁶ As a gesture to the large number of Anglophobe nations present, Algeria's main French-Language daily, *Èl Moujahid*, appeared with its front page in English on the 13th of July. This was the paper's first English section in its 14-year history including a special report on the opening ceremony.⁴²⁷

Transport facilities purchased for the games included a fleet of 120 busses, 118 mini-buses and 180 cars. Most of the journalists were housed at the great dome of the indoor sports stadium. The Olympic centre included an Olympic stadium, a swimming centre with 4000

seats, athletics stadium with 5000 seats, an Omnisport room “Mahieddine” with 10,000 seats, and lawn-tennis, volleyball, and handball pitches with 2000 seats each.⁴²⁸ The Centre hosted the national centre of sports medicine, national sport institute and national centre of physical training.⁴²⁹ The 20th August stadium with a 20, 000 capacity was also built for the games. The stadium was named after the Battle of Philippeville in 1955 when the National Liberation Front (FLN) launched a series of raids in various cities in the Constantine region. The name of the stadium represented the Algerian resistance against external forces.⁴³⁰

The “Olympic village hostels” for the athletes represented a development in the quality of accommodation provided for athletes in the two previous renditions of the games. In Brazzaville and Lagos, athletes were hosted in refurbished schools and higher learning institutions. Notwithstanding the confrontation of the SCSA with the IOC, emblems such as the Olympic Village remained an integral part of the rituals of the African Games. The formal relationships between the two organisations also required standard exchanges like the provision of an anti-doping room service reserved at the Olympic stadium.⁴³¹ It is important to highlight that at this point many international sport organisations had ceased to use the African Games as qualifiers for their respective global events or the Olympic Games. To this effect, the African Games have partly remained symbolic regional games to the Olympic Games. What also played a significant part was the level of relationship of the host country with the IOC. In the case of Algeria, strong relationships within the global sport ecosystem and the Olympic Movement existed.

Another issue that often contradicts the intended Pan-African solidarity and brotherhood in challenging world order involves border controls and flow of national currencies. In Algeria, many African countries required “entry visas” to enter the country. To remedy this situation, the organising committee had to intervene with the authorities to facilitate a faster visa process for visiting delegations.⁴³² At the time, the entry and use of certain foreign currencies in Algeria required certain authorisation. Following independence, Algeria had replaced the Algerian New Franc with the Algerian Dinar in 1964. For the third rendition of the African Games, the Local Organising Committee intervened by facilitating the “simplification of customs formalities” for the exchange and use of foreign currencies.⁴³³ A bit different from the order in Nigeria, meals provided at the Athletes village were not focused on demonstrating diversity of African cuisine but rather as part of standards of international sport events. In Algiers, the meals were served rapidly and efficiently with great consideration of the “delegations” present in the games.⁴³⁴ To ensure efficiency in this

service, the Department of National Centre of Sports Medicine studied and defined the diets as well as provided “open menus” to cater for all athletes in the village.⁴³⁵

In the absence of Egypt, Tunisia emerged on top of the medal tally with 29 Gold medals, followed by Nigeria with 22, and Algeria with 21 medals.⁴³⁶ On a purely sporting front, the games in Algiers saw the emergence of Nigeria’s twin sisters Judy Bell-Gam and Bella bell-Gam in athletics. Judy Bell-Gam went on to win the 100m hurdles with a timing of 13:67s ahead of her twin sister. The opening and closing ceremonies composed of activities by school children on the theme “sport as a factor of African unity and solidarity”.⁴³⁷ Notwithstanding the issues that transpired during the games, the theme and intensions of the SCSA remained as the founding block for the continuity of the games.

6.6 Synthesis

Like Nigeria, Algeria’s head of state exploited the potential of sport and the sport events to position the emerging nation-state in the global pedestal as a competing force. The African Games provided President Boumédiène with the opportunity to unite Algeria internally and projected Algeria as a force to be reckoned with in African and global geopolitics. Using the natural resources Algeria was endowed with, he invested in the modernising mission by promoting industrialisation and promoting this through mega sport events. This led to the blending of different political ideologies such as socialism, aspects of Islamic system of governance, and modern democratic governance values. Contrary to President Gowon of Nigeria, Algeria’s Boumédiène did not exploit the military structures but relied on state institutions and structures in delivering the African Games.

As highlighted in chapter two, Pan-Africanism inside and out of the continent had a deeply racial connotation where its promotion was expected to uplift the black race as equal to other races. To free the Black race from the subjugation it was imposed by other races. The Pan-Africanism that developed on the continent had more prominence in Sub-Saharan Africa than Northern Africa due to racial leaning of the political ideology. Pan-Africanism in Northern Africa was promoted as the need for general self-determination and, therefore, equated and combined with Pan-Arabism and Non-Align Movement. To this effect, the understanding and interpretation of Sub-Saharan Africans as real Africans and subsequently Pan-Africans abounded within social fabrics. Therefore, the perception of racial superiority of Northern Africans or the question of racism has always been reported in different sport events between Northern and Sub-Saharan Africans.

What is evident in the Pan-African concept promoted through the African Games, pressure was put on the athletes to act out the desired African unity as that trickled down to different social fabrics within the continent. Athletes were positioned as the main custodians of unity and brotherhood. This was mainly reinforced by the close relationship between Pan-African political rhetoric and the African Games. Athletes did not, however, influence public understanding and reaction to certain issues. Athletes at the third rendition had little to no knowledge of the incident that led to Senegal threatening to boycott and the incident that led to Egypt abandoning the event. Ordinary citizens, fans, and security forces intervened in the creation of chaos that led to Egypt's withdrawal and the problem with the Senegalese delegation. If sport is to play a critical role in the promotion of African unity, a bottom-up approach where ordinary citizens internalise and reproduce the ideals of the political ideology yield greater benefits than the top-down approach used. Also, the ideology of Pan-Africanism promoted through the African Games was a superficial and high-class idea that was only understood by the elite in sport. Like Pan-Africanism itself, it was only the upper class who maintained the rhetoric of African unity. This also made the bottom-up approach ideal to effectively engrain African unity among the different social classes.

For the third rendition, there was no evident strategy used to strengthen or promote Pan-Africanism during the games. The games were organised as ordinary sporting events that brought together athletes from different sport disciplines and was part of Algeria's wider political tool to project itself as a strong emerging nation within Africa, the Arab world, and the alignment movement. Furthermore, and unlike Nigeria, the Local Organising Committee of the Algiers rendition featured less influential personalities at the national level involved in the organisation of the games. Though the presence of the military as an institution played a role in framing the authority of the personalities in Nigeria, the presence of outstanding personalities substantively influenced the impact of the political ideology of the African Games, which was promotion of Pan-Africanism. Furthermore, the exclusively Pan-Africanist notion of the African Games lost its prominence. This could also be attributed to the challenges being faced by the SCSA at the time, and therefore, shifted the attention of the executive of the SCSA to the boycotts and boycott threats in international competitions outside the continent.

The shift of the African Games from Sub-Saharan Africa to Northern Africa left out or minimised the significance attached to cultural exchange in the African Games. As it was evident of deep transfer and exposition of cultural knowledge from Congo to Nigeria in the second rendition, this aspect was not evident in the third rendition of the games. One of the

reasons this could be attributed to is the challenge to reconcile the deep cultural differences between North African and Sub-Saharan Africa. These cultural differences also influenced the difference in the understanding and interpretation of the Pan-African ideals and the value these were given in the organisation of the African Games. Consideration of countries, institutions and structures involved in the sport movement in the Arab world and Mediterranean countries influenced Northern African's considerations in the delivery. Many Sub-Saharan African countries were only engaged in and with Pan-Africanism in its entirety.

The third rendition also revealed an enormous weakness of sport organisations as influential political agents. Though sport and politics were highly intertwined, the role the sport organisations played in shaping this equation was limited outside the sport field. Politicians used sport as a tool to profile their respective agendas. Sport organisations leaned on political structures and figures to position themselves, but their influence to intervene and address issues outside sport that affects sport events are limited. Neither the SCSA nor the LOC of the third rendition of the African Games could intervene and influence the participation of Morocco or stop the withdrawal of Egypt following the incident on the football field. The threat by the Senegalese officials was addressed when the matter was still within sport officials. Political issues influenced sport and how sport influenced national political issues. Sport and its events are used by established political structures to project the desired political image or message.

The games in Algiers have been remembered as the rendition that was able to gather key stakeholders in international sport at a time when the SCSA was deeply involved in diplomatic conflict with many of the organisations because of sporting contact with South Africa. The presence of local and international stakeholders in the opening and closing ceremonies marked a significant effort in sustaining relations of the African Games with organisations outside the continent. The LOC negotiated Africa's position before the global sport movement following the boycotts and political questions between the IOC and the SCSA. What remains missing however, is the presence of and involvement of key Pan-African stakeholders in the execution of the games as was the case in the previous rendition in Nigeria. The African Games as an institution experienced significant transformation from the second rendition in Lagos to the third rendition in Algiers.

Other than importing knowledge and skills from the West as was the case in the two previous renditions, the third rendition had minimal Western influence in the organisation and delivery of the games. On the contrary, what was evident was the remaking of place and space by transforming structures and renaming them and giving them deep Algerian national

identity. It could be argued that Algeria used the African Games to position itself in global geopolitics and strengthen its national identity, rather than the promotion of African unity and brotherhood the African Games.

7. Nairobi 1987: A Flop in the African Games

7.1 Ten Years of Silence to the Fourth African Games

In 1987, Nairobi 1987 came about when the SCSA was deep into the question of impeding any sporting contacts with South Africa. This period was considered as the 7th and final phase of the cold war period. Africa, the SCSA and eventually the image of the African Games was deeply be involved in events that evolved from the early 1980s. The SCSA, deeply engaged in cold-war politics, Apartheid in sport, and resolving growing internal organisational changes. It is important therefore, to highlight the events in which the OAU and SCSA were involved in- and outside the continent, that shaped Africa's position and direction in the world-making process and defined the course of the African Games. The dynamics also shaped the influence of the African Games in the world-making project and unification of African youth. The fourth rendition of the games, therefore, represented a significant point of transition from what the games were intended to be to what they had become in the world of sport. Internal events and geopolitical position of Kenya during the period also shaped the delivery of the games.

Following the African-led boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976, the organising committee of Moscow 1980 tried to avoid the re-occurrence by offering a special package to the African delegation through the SCSA. Moscow sent an envoy with a special package for the African delegation to facilitate their participation. All athletes from participating African countries were offered free housing, 270 free air tickets and 300 air tickets at half the price.⁴³⁸ To facilitate their travel to Moscow, group pick-ups were held from Dakar (Senegal), Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Duala (Cameroon). To this effect, 39 countries voted in favour of participating in the games and only nine countries boycotted the games mainly due to the influence of the USA.⁴³⁹ The IOC was aware of this development as President Lord Killanin was formally furnished with these details by IOC Director, Monique Berleoux-Libotte (1971-1984). The actions of the Local Organising Committee of the Moscow Games were not considered an act of bribery by any party. It demonstrated African unity and influence that the SCSA had over the global sport movement and the recognition by organisations outside the continent of its influence over African countries.⁴⁴⁰

On the continent, this unity and influence of the SCSA was threatened by effects of the cold war on African countries. The USA, through President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) was able to convince its allies to boycott the Moscow Olympic Games as a demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.⁴⁴¹ Carter personally promised Lord Killanin that the USA

would oppose “efforts of other governments to establish UNESCO Games” as well as assured him that the USA would welcome the IOC and athletes from “eligible Olympic nations” to the subsequent Olympic Games in Los Angeles 1984.⁴⁴² The host of the 4th African Games was one such country as the Kenyan Olympic Committee informed the IOC of its decision to decline the Soviet invitation “in the light of the statement made by the President [...]”⁴⁴³. Kenya and President Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002) was one of the African countries that received the special envoy of the American president to Africa, Muhammed Ali, to convince many other African countries to honour the USA invitation to the subsequent games in Los Angeles in 1984.⁴⁴⁴

The influences the SCSA had on the world of sport also came along with its backlashes on the organisation internally. There were evident “petty bickering and personal conflicts” between the President Abraham Ordia and his Secretary General, Jean-Claude Ganga.⁴⁴⁵ Ordia would maintain his presidency, but Ganga lost his to Senegal’s Amadou Lamine Ba (1979-1992) in the 1979 SCSA Congress.⁴⁴⁶ These internal changes dealt a big blow to the internal strength of the SCSA and the African Games but meant a big change in relations with the IOC and global sport organisations. The director of the IOC welcomed these changes and described the new Secretary General of the SCSA to the President of the IOC as “exactly the opposite of Ganga, [...] a technocrat not a politician.”⁴⁴⁷ During his visit to the IOC, Ba relayed the SCSA’s condemnation of the aggression of Afghanistan and promised that they “do not want to harm the Olympic Games or the Olympic Movement”.⁴⁴⁸

Though Ordia maintained his position, the absence of Ganga who had stood by him for over 15 years to unite African youth through the African Games weakened his efforts, those of the SCSA, as well as the African Games. Though the aim of positioning the African Games within the world-making project did not materialise as desired, Ordia believed that the internal aim of strengthening African unity, especially among young people, through the African Games was achieved:

I think, in all humility, I think I have tried to foster the spirit of African unity through the young people of our continent who are going to be the leaders of tomorrow. Since some time, twenty or thirty years ago, if you ask anybody in my country for instance, Nigeria, who hears about Timbuctoo, Madagascar, Antananarivo, these are only geographical expression. People don’t know whether they exist or not. But today within the youth of the continent, around the continent and steady contribution home and away we do not find that language barriers, cultural barriers, international barriers, we just now speak with one voice as a continent, as a people, as Africans. And so, for me that’s something that really give me a good deal of joy and satisfaction.⁴⁴⁹

The claims made by Ordia have some elements of truth in them. African athletes who participated in the African Games perhaps have great memories of Pan-Africanism. This did not trickle down to the local level as had been initially envisaged. By the mid-1980s, the SCSA went through a lot of internal issues. The direct supervisory organ over the SCSA, the Conference of Ministers in 1983 revealed deeply seated conflicts at the technical and operational levels of the organisation. The conference recognised that Africa and all its independent countries were free from external domination and united in theory but that the structures of the colonial legacies were hugely affecting the African unity being established. Individuals used the differences between the French and English systems to commit “irregularities” and take “unconstitutional decisions”⁴⁵⁰ which created internal mistrust between ministers in the organisation. The representative of the Nigerian Ministry into the event cautioned the ministers on how the organisation was supervised and administered which highlights Africa’s deep irreconcilable colonial legacies such as differences in languages.⁴⁵¹

7.2 Branding Kenya Through the African Games

Kenya was on the verge of its surge in the development of athletics talents in the middle- and long-distance disciplines by participating and hosting major international events and competitions. Other than safaris, an opportunity to offer sport and athletics as a tourist attraction was realised. The success of Kenyan athletes from the 1960s had increased interest and participation in sport. Most of the successful athletes had positioned themselves in the society as role models. Furthermore, these successful athletes had succeeded in unifying the country despite its diversity and projecting a unified Kenya internally and externally. Kenya has over 42 ethnic groups as well as people of diverse religious and racial backgrounds. The success of athletes, therefore, provided the perfect niche to melt the differences to a significant extent and provide a uniting brand.⁴⁵²

To put these developments into context, Kenya was officially declared a one-party state by its National Assembly in June 1982 and by August, Private Hezekiah Ochuka of the Kenyan Air Force, led a foiled coup which was suppressed after six hours.⁴⁵³ Though the coup was short-lived, its effect on the Kenyan socio-economic landscape had long lasting effects. Kenya was initially slated to host the African Games in 1983, but the effects of the coup, coupled with prevailing economic situations influenced the decision to postpone the games to later. By 1987, opposition groups had been suppressed and international criticism by human rights groups had increased.⁴⁵⁴ The government of Arap Moi saw the success of Kenyan

athletes and hosting of major events and opportunity to redirect the surging division in the country was recognised.

Many sport clubs, federations, and organisations were formed. The government was obliged to take the lead in organising and orienting the practice of sport in the country. The government created the Kenya National Sports Council in 1966 through an Act of Parliament and by 1989 created a direct government-armed, Department of Sports to ensure government's direct supervision of sport.⁴⁵⁵ The value of sport was emphasised in the country's second National Development Plan (1970-1974) where excellence in sport was equated with "positive image abroad".⁴⁵⁶ To this effect, administrative structures were established from the national to the grassroots levels. Institutions for the learning and teaching of sport were also established in universities and teacher training colleges throughout the country.⁴⁵⁷ In 1980, following a presidential decree, Physical Education became a compulsory subject in secondary education; however, it was non-examinable.⁴⁵⁸ Sport, therefore, was understood and developed with three main priorities: to help eradicate poverty, improve health, and expand education.

What remains interesting within all these internal and geopolitical changes the Kenyan political, social, and sport landscape was going through, like many other African countries, a split from inherited colonial structures and concept of sport development. Post-independence African nation-states built their sport structures on existing colonial establishments from the national to local levels of sport practice. As highlighted by researchers of indigenous sport in Kenya, it was leisure activities in places like prisons that maintained the practice of indigenous sport like traditional wrestling in many African countries.⁴⁵⁹ In the quest to modernise the local wrestling, the local rules had to be adopted to the established order of the Olympic Greco-Roman and Free-style Wrestling rules. These adjusted rules included the dress code for competition, demarcations of the area for competition, mode of refereeing, and order of competitions with weighing systems.⁴⁶⁰ This demonstrated the opportunity African sport systems had through the African Games to carve out and popularise indigenous African sporting activities and unique African codes to modernise them.

Like many other African countries, the institutionalisation of the practice of sport by state institutions was also evident in Kenya as institutions such as the police, prisons, army, army, and all form sports clubs/teams to participate in national and international competitions.⁴⁶¹ These revolved around to points: public institutions like security forces were more likely to support government policies of promoting organised sport by establishing sport clubs. Colonialism left more stable sport structures within the security forces as the key

element in its civilising mission. Clubs, such as Red Berets FC, were formed during these changes to sustain the sport system. The success of individual Kenyan athletes and the structures established by the government to sustain the structures attracted much interest in Kenyan athletics talents. Kenyan athletes were offered scholarships to study in the Americas, Europe, Australia, and African universities as student athletes. These have further been described as the country's "good ambassadors" for their athletic success.⁴⁶²

Early successes led the Kenyan government to open its geopolitical space beyond its traditional Western allies following independence and the pressure on President Daniel Arap Moi's one-party system. China became one such important ally to support Kenya financially and with the right structures established strong sport infrastructure to be able to host major sport events, including the 4th All-African Games.⁴⁶³ By 1979, Kenya offered to host the fourth rendition for 1982 and later suggested for 1983, while general civil unrest and a weak economy slowed down preparations for the games. Tunisia was approached to step in for 1982 and Kenya hosted the fifth rendition in 1986.⁴⁶⁴ This proposal was not, however, accepted by Kenya, but the games were postponed to 1986. Kenya hosted the second All-Africa University Games in 1979 and intended to build on those structures to host the African Games.⁴⁶⁵ Taking a cue from this, Kenya had the knowledge deposit to organise international sport events but the capacity of the local organising committee to respond to the challenges being faced by the African Games remained overwhelming.

The games provided Kenya with the perfect opportunity, however, to sell its image before Africa. In a presentation by members of the organising committee to the SCSA, the Local Organising Committee emphasised the touristic features of the country such as:

Kenyan beer is excellent, Nairobi national park is only 8 km from the city centre and teems with wildlife. The park's famous animal orphanage is well worth seeing too. The national museum, very close to the village, boasts a fascinating section on early man and the adjoining snake park exhibits over 200 species. The Bomas of Kenya is the place for traditional Kenyan dancing.⁴⁶⁶

If the component of sport diplomacy included presenting an improved and refined image of the host country, this presentation exemplifies Kenya's quest to boost its tourism by promoting its cultural and natural heritage to fellow Africans. Amid this branding, the organising committee violated a rule of the SCSA which prohibited the association of the games with tobacco and alcohol. Though the issue was internally resolved, a local newspaper, the Daily Nation, published the story.⁴⁶⁷

Branding was a conscious decision of the Kenyan government to position its image on the continent through the African Games. To effectively achieve this, a strong multi-sectoral team was set up to organise the fourth edition. The LOC was composed of personnel of various government institutions headed by the Ministry of Culture and Social Service. High ranking government officials were involved in the organisation of the games and President Arap Moi emphasised that the games needed to produce the desired aim for Kenya by ensuring that “effective participation”⁴⁶⁸ in sport as the legacy of the games and position the Kenyan tourism industry. The games were also meant to be a forum for African policy makers to exchange ideas and experience to expand development on sport.⁴⁶⁹ To the SCSA, the status of Kenya in the world of sport and its ambitions to shoulder the responsibility to host the games “to the glory of Africa” was a perfect match for its aims.⁴⁷⁰ The SCSA had also hoped to host the games in East Africa and Kenya proved the perfect match for this.

7.3 Nairobi 1987

In 1979, Abraham Ordia approached Kenyan President Arap Moi to consider hosting the games as an opportunity to celebrate the finest athletes it produces “to the glory of Africa”.⁴⁷¹ The President accepted the request and assured the SCSA that the games ensured “effective participation” of athletes and nations in the consolidation of the African brotherhood. By 1984 the Republic of Kenya had a population of 19 million and an active member of the Commonwealth. Kiswahili is the official national language, but English was used for legislation and for most government and commercial communication. Nairobi, derived from the Maasai word “place of sweet water”, had a population of one million inhabitants by 1987. It is 140km south of the Equator and has favourable weather conditions of low humidity and is considered with “no real winter or summer”.⁴⁷²

The fourth rendition of the African Games were held from 1st to 12th August 1987 in Nairobi with the participation of 42 independent countries. Before the opening ceremony, a torch relay was organised from Nairobi to the Kenyan coast, then to the Kenyan highlands and back to Nairobi where World Champion John Ngugi carried it into the stadium in front of an enthusiastic crowd of 80,000. The games were formally under the Ministry of Culture and Social Services led by Honourable Minister Kenneth Stanley Njindo Matiba. A six-member cabinet committee headed the organisation of the games, and they formed the National Organising Committee from a wide range of stakeholders. In all, 10 sub-committees with people from different works of life formed the LOC of the fourth rendition.⁴⁷³ A large pool of manpower was employed to execute the games. The LOC employed 50 people as of 1987 with

one-third of them on a part-time basis. By the time of the games this number had increased to between 120 to 150 people who worked full-time on the games. Over 200 guides who spoke English, French, and Arabic were also employed to assist foreign delegations explore the beauty of Kenya.⁴⁷⁴ Though Kiswahili was the official language of Kenya, its official geographical reach was limited as it was not considered in the languages considered for the games.

The LOC took note of the evident concerns of the SCSA that the games needed some sort of revival to survive the trying economic and structural challenges it faced. This survival entailed the evidence of having reduced the cost of hosting the fourth rendition. To demonstrate this, a large delegation of the LOC visited the SCSA in 1985 to reaffirm the commitment of Kenya to deliver as host of the fourth rendition. The delegation included Assistant Minister for Culture and Social Services, Livingstone Atebe Marita, Permanent Secretary at the ministry, Joseph AK Kipsanai, Commissioner for Social Services, Eliakim Milton Masale, Chair of Kenyan National Sports Council, Charles Mukora, Chairman SCSA Region four, John Kasyoka.⁴⁷⁵ In addition to the wide pool of national stakeholders involved, it was for the first time that a SCSA regional structure was effectively involved in the organisation of the African Games. The President of SCSA Region Four was incorporated as a member of the local organising committee of the games.⁴⁷⁶

As highlighted earlier, sport such as local wrestling were the few past-time activities that remained as cultural heritage of African sporting traditions. The African Games had always provided the host countries with the opportunity to suggest additional sports, but traditional sports had not been able to be effectively integrated into the formal programme of the games. In Kenya, the LOC suggested four additional sports to be added to the programme, but these were all modern European sports which had gained popularity during colonialism and remained as the legacy of the British colonial system. The four sports included into the programme of the fourth rendition were: Field Hockey, Weightlifting, Wrestling and Cycling. Rugby and shooting were also included as exhibition sports because “Rugby has a large following in Kenya and ... First class facilities exist”.⁴⁷⁷ Notwithstanding, the post-independence attempts through initiatives like the African Games to unite the continent and carve out a joint cultural heritage in sport, the effects of colonialism on the different fabrics of the African society remained huge.

Though the SCSA claimed emancipation from foreign control and pressed on with its attempts for self-determination in an egalitarian world-order, the limitations of African and superior influence of Western institutions remained evident. The LOC of the fourth rendition

recognised this as they had to ensure the dates of the African Games did not coincide with those of the World Athletics “from an IAAF point of view these dates blend into the world athletics calendar. The nearest event chronologically speaking is the World Athletics Championships in Rome from 29th August to 6th September 1987”.⁴⁷⁸ At the local level, the limitations of the LOC were also evident as they had to negotiate dates with the University of Nairobi as they intended to use their Halls of Residence as the Games Village.

With regard to the finances, Kenya was able to gain considerable profit from the games. The direct cost of the games was projected at 10,058.544 USD. The large LOC implementing its marketing plan on time and yielded results. The usual contribution for every participating athlete was 20 USD and 30 USD for each official were paid in.⁴⁷⁹ Despite these, the LOC ended up spending 12.5 million USD to host the games. That notwithstanding, the organising committee report that the games had made a profit of 2.2 million USD. This was one of promising highlights and boosted intentions to intensify the games at a time it was losing credibility from outside the continent. These gains, however, can be attributed to national factors, as Kenya was become a hub for tourists and many international events.⁴⁸⁰ Also, the direct contribution of China in providing financial, material, and human resources played a key role in the ensuing profit that was recorded.

Kenya took on the challenge of hosting the games at a time when Africa and the world faced great economic hardships.⁴⁸¹ To deliver a good event, a lot of hard work, dedication, and sacrifice was required from diverse stakeholders to provide this platform to celebrate African sporting talents and build friendships. Egypt won the soccer final from host Kenya on the final day and finished at the top of the medals table once again after a complete comeback into the games with a total of 73 medals. Tunisia finished second with a total of 76 medals, Nigeria came in third with 60 medals and Kenya, in fourth position, won a total of 63 medals. During the closing ceremony the torch was passed to Cairo, Egypt to begin preparations for the 4th African Games of 1991. This indicates that the SCSA was still organising games in conformity with IOC regulations for regional games by hosting the games a year to the Olympic Games. Though the Kenyan President Arap Moi and the President of the SCSA, Abraham Ordia, recognised the length of time it has taken to organise the Nairobi edition, Kenya, however, was:

Encouraged by the fact that the games were characterised by some thrilling and outstanding performances, thus proving Africa’s potential and prowess in sports. The games also demonstrated a great spirit of African brotherhood among

competitors, officials and spectators, a quality that is high on the agenda of all our governments in the continent.⁴⁸²

The world-making project of the African image through the African Games was still pursued by some African governments, though the African Games did not have the capacity to respond to this demand. The SCSA and African governments wanted to use the Nairobi rendition as a springboard to demonstrate African sporting talents in the subsequent summer Olympic Games held in Seoul (South Korea) in 1988.

To accomplish this Pan-African feat, Kenya offered all it had for the success of the games. To this extent, it manifested deeply rooted African value by sharing “the few facilities we have with the others from the continent, and we have no doubt that this spirit of sharing is common to all sister nations”.⁴⁸³ In addition, Kenya provided about 100 busses were bought and 320 cars secured for the games. The Kenyatta International Conference Centre which hosted the 1980 International Gold Cup Boxing tournament was the main stage for the boxing competitions, alternatively Bomas of Kenya, Langata with a capacity of 5000 spectators was reserved for other indoor events.⁴⁸⁴

The SCSA signed another agreement with the IOC to harmonise the Positions within the African group...patronage by the IOC of the All-Africa Games considered as regional games which take place in accordance with the Olympic Charter...assistance to Member States not having an NOC in their bit to be in order vis-à-vis the IOC. Assistance to IOC officials in their relations with African officials of National Olympic Committees.⁴⁸⁵

Looking at the historical trajectory of the IOC and the SCSA, it is evident that this memorandum of understanding was more to provide stability to the Olympic Movement on the African continent than to support the SCSA in its quest on the continent. The SCSA and the LOC were at this stage still funding the participation in the African Games of officials of the IOC and international sports federations.⁴⁸⁶ It is important to highlight that there was no recorded IOC support for the fourth rendition in the archive consulted.

Though the OAU was still engaged in developing the potential the SCSA and the African Games offered to push its political agenda, the two organisations had become weak in this respect. In its 1983 resolution on Apartheid in South Africa, the OAU alluded to the manipulation of cultural and sporting events to celebrate athletes and punish governments that maintained relations with South Africa.⁴⁸⁷ In a press statement issued to refute allegations against his office, SCSA President Abraham Ordia revealed how the decisions of the SCSA were engineered by the highest decision-making bodies of the OAU:

I have no apologies to make for my Council's role in this respect. One of the resolutions proposed by the Commission of African Ministers and unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the SCSA in December 1979, in Yaounde, Cameroon, was 'the intensification of the struggle against Racial Discrimination in Sport'.⁴⁸⁸

Most governments sent high government officials to the African Games which also provided Africa's policy makers with an opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences for expanded regional development and monitor the implementation of the directives to the SCSA.

7.4 China Positioned in African Games Diplomacy

Independence struggles provided many African countries with the opportunity to exploit international relations to legitimise their self-determination and independence status. Fast-forward during the independence struggles, sport was one of the key tools used in forging inter-African brotherhood and relations with other countries outside the continent. Ghana's first President, Kwame Nkrumah (1960-1966), exploited sport events and organisations to build his Pan-African dream within the continent and legitimise it outside the continent.⁴⁸⁹ As the SCSA and the African Games were closely linked to the IOC in the inception and position of the former against political interference in sport mirrored that of the IOC at the time, its interaction with states outside the African country were limited. To this effect, the direct involvement of states outside the African continent in supporting the organisation of the games was limited. As the SCSA and the African Games had shifted away from the IOC and identified more with the central structures of the nation-state, its implication in transnational politics became more pronounced.

The democratisation of diplomacy and international relations in the 1980s following the heated period of the cold-war politics provided third-world countries with opportunities to shape diplomatic relations with other countries in other areas of interest outside the ideological blocs. China was one of the countries that the emerging nation-states could rely on for assistance. This captures the basis on which sport diplomatic relations were anchored on.⁴⁹⁰ While it is multinational cooperation that are involved in international relations in sport matters for some Western powers, for China, it was the nation that directly engaged its African counterpart.⁴⁹¹ For the 1987 Nairobi Games, China stepped in to support Kenya host the games in the face of tough economic challenges and social tensions.

As highlighted earlier, it took ten years from when the games were awarded to Kenya and when they were effectively held. Key among the reasons for this delay was the inability of Kenya to finish the infrastructure it promised to host the games. This marked China's first

direct involvement with the African Games and one of the early Chinese stadium diplomacy involvements on the continent. China provided Kenya with infrastructure to host the games. These include a 60,000 capacity Kasarani stadium, 40,000 capacity Nyayo National Stadium with 30,000 seats and 5,000 capacity at the University of Nairobi campus to serve as the games village were built or refurbished with the support of China.⁴⁹²

To this effect, the sport venues filled strategic voids for Kenya. Kenya was involved in sport diplomacy and international relations to show its emerging position and influence on the continent and world on sport matters. But the sport venues served Kenya's interest as they were positioned as spaces to create and reinforce national unity and Pan-Africanism⁴⁹³ The physical infrastructure carried a stronger political message of delivering efficiency and played an important role in influencing perceptions and election outcome of the sitting government.⁴⁹⁴ It is argued that one of the key features of the Chinese stadium diplomacy was that the physical structure was presented to the society with Chinese identity, but the cost the nation paid in exchange mostly remained hidden to public knowledge.⁴⁹⁵ The trend of the stadium diplomacy has continued and continues to remain as one of the key pillars on which Chinese and African sport relations have been built on.

China played a strategic role in the hosting of the fourth rendition in Nairobi. Other than the infrastructure highlighted above, China also provided the necessary "expert assistance" with funds and manpower to build the required infrastructure for the games.⁴⁹⁶ In effect, Kenya provided China with a platform to shape its foreign policy appeal and engagement with African countries.⁴⁹⁷ What remains intriguing in this diplomatic relation is the back seat that the SCSA took in this respect. Though during the formation of the SCSA in 1966 it was emphasised that there was the need to separate sport from politics, the SCSA and the African Games directly or indirectly became diplomatic subjects.

7.5 Synthesis

The fourth rendition of the games demonstrated unique characteristics in inter-state relations and sport-specific context of geopolitical relations. Though Eastern African nations like Somalia and Tanzania were not in very good relations with Kenya, the inclusion of the SCSA Region 4 in the organising committee had a sport-specific approach of regional integration. This highlights a significant gain in the intended trickle-down effects of the strengthening African unity through the African Games where the regional/zonal structures acted as multipliers to the regionally specific context. This aspect of regionalism also reveals a difference with the three previous editions as these lacked the involvement of their

respective zonal structures in Congo, Lagos and Algiers, though the structure functionally existed by the second rendition.

The shifts in cold war politics in the 1980s and the influence of third-world countries in establishing and legitimising their status of nationhood had a huge influence on international politics and diplomatic relations. For the first time, China played a significant role in providing direct support to a country as host of the African Games. This also provided an opportunity for China to intensify its stadium diplomacy and establish itself as a strong ally to many African countries. China had a huge influence on the delivery of the games by providing direct support because this rendition of the games was organised by the state as the sole organiser. Unlike Lagos and Algiers where the civil society like the NOCs were involved, in Nairobi, the state took absolute control of organising the games. This also explains the state's ability to exploit its diplomatic relations and deepen involvement of China. This structure of the African Games deeply linked it to national, African, and global politics as well as positions as an instrument in inter-state relations.

The aspect of cultural exchange, which was to highlight rich African cultural diversity and its heritage, demonstrated a break in this cultural mobility from the second rendition to the third rendition and from the third rendition to the fourth rendition. The demonstration of cultural diversity of the host country became prominent in these regional switches of the games. This could be attributed to large cultural differences between Sub-Saharan Africa and Northern African nations. This again demonstrates the inherent in-group differences which the SCSA and many Pan-Africanists refused to acknowledge and address. If deep cultural differences were acknowledged, the African Games would have been the perfect platform for cultural assimilation, (i.e. a melting pot where different African cultures and identities blends as another unique African cultural identity).

The archival sources demonstrated that the SCSA relied on the intervention of the President of the Republic to ensure Kenya's acceptance of the proposal and delivery of a smooth fourth rendition. The influence of the SCSA in the monitoring and supervision of the games was also highlighted in this rendition. While President Abraham Obote laid the foundation through direct contact with the Kenyan President, his Secretary, General Amadou Ba, diligently followed up the progress of the games by maintaining close contact with the LOC. These high-level exchanges which were minimal in the two previous renditions ensured the subsequent hosting of the games in Nairobi, notwithstanding the initial challenges and delays. Other than cabinet ministers, other individuals became less prominent in the running of the games.

One of the key outcomes of the state-led delivery of the fourth rendition was the ability of the LOC to carve out a model that engages a wide range of stakeholders. Other than the branding of Kenya as an exotic tourist destination, the committee was able to build the games around the internal unity and social cohesion of Kenya. The host was also able to position its outstanding athletes as ambassadors of social cohesion in the deeply polarised one-party state with deeply seated tribal issues. The games provided Kenya with the opportunity to use the African Games in harmonisation of its cultures, its production and diffusion during the games. This highlights the cultural value of the practices and allows for the creation and adoption of collective symbols as state symbols. The games created the space that allowed for the interaction and exchange of the various ethnic identities. The branding of Kenya ensured the construction of shared knowledge and common behaviour within the in-group, Kenya.

The ten-year silence between the third and fourth renditions was mainly due to internal issues and changes the SCSA went through. The direct supervisory board of the SCSA, Ministers Conference, experienced frequent changes and frictions between the members. In addition, the internal changes were also due to the diminishing interest and influence of the SCSA over the issue of Apartheid in sport in South Africa. The disruption of the African sport model through the creation of competing organs with similar functions like ANOCA and AASC hugely destabilised the SCSA and its influence over African sport. To cap this all off, the changes of the Secretary General from Ganga to Ba completely changed the rhythm and scope with which the SCSA worked. Ba assumed a more diplomatic approach to issues while Ganga's radical but proactive approach helped President Ordia and the organisation in advancing their Pan-African agenda through the SCSA and the African Games.

8. Cairo 1991: The Games of African and Arab Renaissance

8.1 Egypt and SCSA Struggle to Stabilise the Games

For the 5th edition of the Games, the SCSA intended to reposition the role of the media in games. In 1983, a roundtable conference of key sport stakeholders in the African media landscape was organised in Dakar. The conference, which was dubbed “contribution of the media to the development of sports in Africa”,⁴⁹⁸ aimed to stimulate a deeper engagement of the African media on the activities of the SCSA and the African Games. This led to strategic cooperations for the 5th edition of the games regarding its visibility. The SCSA signed a tripartite agreement in 1991 with Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa (UNRTOA) and the Pyramid Advertising Agency on how to ensure an effective Africa-wide consumption of the content of the African Games. Pyramid Advertising Agency representing (Egypt) coordinated the production of content before, during, and after the games while UNRTOA ensured that the content was distributed throughout the continent and beyond. To this effect, UNRTOA was accorded access and coverage of the games free of charge.⁴⁹⁹

The income from the games was channelled toward helping the host country recover its investment in the games. Like the previous renditions of the games, traditional sources of income for the organising committee were stipulated. Among the main sources of income were contributions from member and participating countries; gate fees to competition venues; television and radio rights; and exploitation of rights from use of symbols.⁵⁰⁰ Until the 5th edition, the SCSA was still considered important for the sustainability of the games, grants from international organisations were aware of the coercive powers with which such supports come. The concept of the African Games within the Pan-African framework is expected to generate local appeal to things Pan-African in African countries. The SCSA assumed that this appeal translated into individual, public, and private cooperative support to the games. Of all the income generated for the games, the local organising committee retained 80% of it, and 20% was given to the SCSA.⁵⁰¹

The composition of the SCSA Board and its staff the LOC was to cater for, however, posed an enormous burden on the host country. The host country flew in business class and hosted gratis all the delegation of the SCSA Executive Committee for 12 days. The LOC was responsible for flying four people in business class and four in economy class and host all eight-secretariat staff for eight days during the games.⁵⁰² These expenditures by the LOC did not factor into the capacity of the country and the LOC generated funds for the games. These

practices were also adopted from common practices among international sport organisations. The financial burden with which the SCSA struggled to sustain the games. An additional new point was added into the rules of the 5th All-Africa Games. The new point reemphasised that the games were open to any citizen of an independent country of Africa that was a regular member of SCSA and “has honoured its financial obligations toward the organisation”.⁵⁰³ As private and public financing of the organisation and games was limited, the membership fees provided the only legitimate sources of financing to sustain the organisation.

Furthermore, the LOC was to cater for other external stakeholders attending the games. The LOC was responsible for the invitation of these stakeholders who included the president and administrator of the IOC, heads of state, presidents of international sport federations whose sports were involved in the games. In practice, the SCSA and the African Games had less relations and influence in international sport landscape. Though ANOCA had 10 years on the continent by 1991, the executive of the organisation were considered as invitees. This notwithstanding, the founding Secretary General of the SCSA, Jean Claude Ganga, was President of ANOCA and a member of the IOC (1989-1999).⁵⁰⁴ As evidenced in the previous renditions, these directives of the SCSA placed enormous financial and logistical pressure of the host country to provide for the invitees of the SCSA. The state also added to its long list of international political invitees expected to grace the games.

Interesting enough, the president and secretary general of the Olympic Council of Asia were invited. Though it was included in the SCSA documents, this aspect was specifically included for the 5th rendition. Other than maintaining its links with Asia, the invitation also provided the President of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011), the opportunity to continue to extend his influence in the Arab League.⁵⁰⁵ As seen in the 1978 rendition in Algiers, the renditions of the games in Northern Africa brought the African Games closer to the Arab world in the political and cultural relations. Though this played contrary to the Pan-African ideals intended to be promoted in the games, it demonstrated the fluid nature of the African identity which has wider ramifications to other cultures and people outside the continent. The games also provided the host country with an opportunity to promote its national services and products for Africa-wide consumption. The SCSA agreed with the local organising committee that all air travel arrangement by the SCSA and participating member countries would be done through Egypt Air.⁵⁰⁶

Even though the question of gender representation was critically discussed in the French Community Games, this faded away in the agenda of the SCSA and the African Games from 1965 on. The question of equal gender representation in different aspects of the

games came up again in discussions preceding the 5th rendition of the games. The SCSA emphasised that participating nations should ensure equal participation of men and women as managers and coaches. In addition, certain sports were identified where gender equality was required. Basketball, Handball, Lawn Tennis, Swimming, Table Tennis, and Volleyball, were to be filled for teams of both genders.⁵⁰⁷ It is pertinent to highlight that though gender representation was not a central theme or policy priority of the SCSA or the host countries of the African Games, individual initiatives were entertained. This led to the high participation of women in delegations like Egypt and in sports like athletics from the first rendition in 1965.

8.2 Egypt Positions itself toward African Renaissance

In the context of his Pan-Arab expression, President Hosni Mubarak shifted positions in his support for various pro-Arab causes depending on the country's geopolitical interest. Some 10 years prior to the 5th rendition of the African Games, Egypt was at the forefront of a pro-Arab movement that supported Iraq in its war with Iran. In support of its vested geopolitical interest in the Arab region, Egypt shifted its support to Kuwait instead of Arab allies of Iraq in the Gulf War of 1991.⁵⁰⁸ Contrary to the 3rd African Games where Algeria rallied and promoted the Pan-Arab movement in the African Games, Egypt's political position as a non-Arab ally in the Cold War limited its influence to lure the Arab world and advanced the Afro-Arab Movement in the African Games. Egypt would then shift into strengthening Mubarak's internal policies of maintaining peace and strengthening national unity by state-controlled mechanisms.⁵⁰⁹

In its Pan-African approach, Egypt strengthened the support and relations of the African Games with the OAU by ensuring that the LOC closely involved and informed the secretary general of the OAU on developments and aims of Egypt for the games. President of LOC Abdel Moneim Emara periodically briefed the Secretary General of the OAU, Salem Ahmed Salem (1989-2001) on how the 5th rendition of "The game will be an important element in bringing the youth of Africa together".⁵¹⁰ To strengthen his Pan-African image, Mubarak strengthened Egypt's intervention in the games by covering some costs for participating countries. Mubarak gave instructions that to maximise participation of African countries, 50 sportsmen from every African country was accommodated gratis at the expense of the government of Egypt.

Other than the efforts of the SCSA to ensure a wider coverage of the 5th rendition, Egypt offered to exploit its strength and transmitted the games on satellite.⁵¹¹ As one of the

countries that has participated in most of the African sport competitions held on the continent, 45 independent African countries responded to the call of Egypt and participated in the 5th African Games.⁵¹² Besides the initiative by Egypt, the SCSA supported participation of some athletes through a “solidarity special program” which provided scholarships, grants, and chartered flights as the 5th African Games were an “unprecedented factor in spreading the ideals of the OAU”.⁵¹³

By 1991, Egypt was one of the few African countries with vast experience on organising major international sport tournaments. The 5th rendition of the African Games offered yet another opportunity to showcase its abilities to deliver an international sport spectacle. In his autobiography, Ganga described the delivery of the 5th African Games as “easy for Egypt” because of the vast experience in hosting international sport tournaments.⁵¹⁴ It must be emphasised at this point, that the 5th rendition is the first time the African Games were held in the a four-year interval from the 4th rendition in Nairobi in 1987 and held in a year preceding the Olympic Games. Though the formal relations of the SCSA and the IOC were no smoother, personal relations between the IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch (1980-2001) and the Secretary General of the SCSA Amadou Lamine Ba played a role in maintaining relations between the two organisations. Though the African Games have ceased to be qualifying tournaments for international sport federations, respecting the regional games tag and the interval with the Olympic Games improved.

Egypt introduced a more sustainable model of organising the games for the 5th rendition in 1991. For the first time, the African Games were hosted by three cities in the host country. Cairo, Ismailia, and Alexandria hosted. A university city and armed forces hotels in Alexandria with capacities of 1000 were reserved for those staying in Alexandria.⁵¹⁵ The games provided Cairo with the opportunity to strengthen its internal relations as cities in the district of Cairo such as Nasr and Heliopolis hosted athletes and cultural events. Over 2500 accommodations, mainly from the armed forces hotels, were available for participating athletes.⁵¹⁶ As characteristic of states ruled by former military, the use of structures of national security as was the case with the 2nd African Games in Nigeria was common practice. That notwithstanding, this model ensured effective and smooth organisation of the events, and the already-established structures of the security forces provided stability and reliability.

To strengthen this national cohesion, the games provided an opportunity to involve various stakeholders in Egyptian national and sports politics. The LOC was composed of 11 state ministers and deputy ministers, governors of Alexandria and Giza and chairs of state apparatus such as National Radio and TV Union, Tourism Promotion Authority, State

Information Service and IOC members.⁵¹⁷ The LOC was made up of 12 sub-committees including a 13-member Technical Consultative Authority made up of “prominent sportive leaders in Egypt and Arab world” and headed by IOC member Ahmed El Demerdach Tony.⁵¹⁸ Though the compositions of the organising committees were mostly government-controlled in the previous editions of the games, the 5th rendition had a different formation with the NOC in the lead and a wider composition of stakeholders.

Following this, the Chair of the LOC in Egypt was the President of the Egyptian Olympic Committee, Dr. Abdel Karim Karwish. This also explains the involvement of former IOC members and key figures in the Olympic movement. To this effect, the LOC had bilateral meetings with IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch in Barcelona and Kuwait in 1989 with the support of SCSA Secretary General, Amadou Lamine Ba. The intended support centred on IOC sponsorship, IOC support for the marketing of the games, support with Anti-doping centres in Egypt, cooperation in obtaining playground and sporting equipment from specialised companies, and “moral and spiritual support”.⁵¹⁹ Though the IOC was cautious in its direct support to the games, Samaranch promised to support Egypt with the “developing the centre for poison analysis at Ain Shams University in Cairo to turn it into a specialised permanent centre for the detection of stimulants, to serve the tournament, the African continent, and the Middle East”.⁵²⁰

The marketing of the 5th rendition of the African Games was for the first time seeded to an outside organisation. The International Sports and Leisure Co (ISL) was charged with marketing the games. Its deputy chair, Leinz, was instrumental in the meetings with the IOC.⁵²¹ The IOC’s support of the African Games points to a nation-specific interest to help equip Egypt to host the Olympic Games in the future. President Samaranch declared this when he hinted “the IOC is keen for the success of the African tournament to be held in Cairo in 1991 and thereby qualify Cairo to request the hosting of the Olympic Games in 2000, in order to allow the African continent to host the Olympic Games for the first time”.⁵²² This also explains why the LOC borrowed the organisational chart of Seoul 1988 from the IOC for an effective execution of the 5th rendition of the African Games.⁵²³

The 5th rendition is remembered as one that attracted a lot of attention internationally, but most especially on the local front. Among the dignitaries who attended the opening ceremony and some of the events was first President of Senegal, poet and cultural theorist, Leopold Sedar Senghore (1960-1980). In his narration of events in Cairo, Jean Claude Ganga emphasised that Senghore was carried on the shoulders by the security forces because of a

large crowd in the stadium.⁵²⁴ In what seemed like an eventful opening ceremony the Minister of Sport of the Republic of Congo was forcibly taken to a bench in the mob because:

He did not speak Arabic, the more he tried to explain the situation to them, the less they would listen or pay attention. They just asked him to keep quite on his bench and not bother them any longer. Some of us had witnessed the whole thing, but there was a competition on in the stadium, football game which had occupied the attention of the local authorities, so we had to wait the break to fetch him and bring him back to the gallery...eventually, we intervened with the Egyptian Minister of sports, and he personally went to the benches to pick up his Zairian counterpart... back among us our unlucky colleague kept complaining and refused our apologies.⁵²⁵

Another aspect of the world-making that the African Games highlighted was about diplomatic representation. Sport, and to a large extent, the African athletes were considered as diplomats who represented the African ideals through their sport performance in their respective disciplines:

It would not be useless to underline your role as from today, from now, on to sensitize your respective governments and convince them to delegate their sports ambassadors to this four-year rendezvous of African youth. As a matter of fact, the political role played by sport as a factor to bring men and people together is not to be demonstrated anymore...sport became day after day, a very efficient instrument of diplomacy.⁵²⁶

Other than the SCSA, the OAU also exploited this potential of the African athletes to raise the voice of Africa as agents of the continent. Participating as an athlete in the African Games represented a symbol and struggle for Africa in the world-making that positioned the African athlete alongside the great Pan-Africans in other spheres of the continent's fabric:

We gather today in this august African Festivity of Sports to celebrate the body and the intellect; both having reached the highest rank of superiority. And now here you are mixing sports with dancing and songs and reviving the ancient sacred festivities, so what a splendid symbol it is that you are representing! And what an unmatched honour it is that we are enjoying by cherishing you in our hearts! So tonight let us celebrate the great symbols of Africa, Senghor, Soyinka, and Naguib Mahfouz, duly honoured and acknowledged by the whole world.⁵²⁷

The games provide the platform to gauge and test the advancement of the continent on different fronts. To the SCSA the 5th rendition and the African Games in general demonstrated that "Africa is rising once more, due to its sons, in all fields of creativity and innovation."⁵²⁸ Egypt promised that in the spirit of "African unity and consolidation" to

tirelessly work to deliver effective service to “African sports movement”.⁵²⁹ The Chair of the LOC emphasised the value Egypt attached to the games and the possibility was accorded to host African athletes, intellectuals, media personalities, diplomats, and exhibitions of African artwork in the context of the games. Emblems and mascots of the games were chosen in 1989 during a meeting of African poets and creative artists in Cairo.⁵³⁰ What is evident in the world-making process was that Africa embeds potentials in sport that remained to be exploited in sport:

Welcome to the ever-glowing torch of culture and innovation, now adding more force to the torch of the African games, whereas our African youth, full of life and prowess, present themselves as precious gems scattered all over the continent and now waxing bright in Cairo’s magical nights. Welcome to the fruits of the ever-fertile African soil, the living symbols of vitality and productivity.⁵³¹

Egypt offered the African Games the perfect platform to bring together different Pan-African stakeholders from different fields as they highlighted and celebrated the value and fruits of African unity to date. Cultural and historical heritage that Egypt offered the African continent was exploited and celebrated during the games.

8.3 Cairo 1991

The 5th rendition of the African Games took place from the 20th of September to the 1st of October 1991. For the opening ceremony, the Cairo international stadium, which had a capacity of 20,000 hosted a crowd of 30,000 people.⁵³² The games were also characterised by a public display of the beauty and history of Egypt. Some of the sport activities took place by the Pyramids which highlighted the magnificence of the historical monuments.⁵³³ The initial budget of the games was 370 million LE (150 million USD).⁵³⁴ Effectively, 43 of the 45 nations took part in the games in 17 sport disciplines on the programme of the 5th rendition of the African Games.⁵³⁵ Other than an organisation that was hailed by participants, Egypt won the medal count with 195 medals (90 gold, 53 silver and 52 bronze), Algeria was second with 119 medals (49 gold, 36 silver, 34 bronze), Nigeria was third with 137 medals (43 gold, 51 silver, 43 Bronze) and Kenya was fourth with 48 medals (13 gold, 17 silver, 18 bronze).⁵³⁶ Notwithstanding the huge investments, this was done on the back of a huge global economic recession and from which Egypt was heavily affected.⁵³⁷

On the sporting front, the 5th rendition exposed how participation in the African Games had little value attached to it in the world of sport. This is evident as highly ranked global African athletes prioritised participation in international championships of their

respective sports other than the African Games. In 1991, only Kenya's steeplechase athlete, Moses Kiptanui, decided to participate in Cairo. To a large extent, nations had to resort to their second-best athletes to be sent to the African Games to honour its obligations. This demonstrates the weak foundation on which Pan-Africanism through the African Games was built. It also shows that athletes were not reliable cultural identity carriers as the fluid nature of identity and natural circumstances can change their dispositions toward a course. On a structural level, it reveals that Pan-Africanism, and the founding principles of the African Games were not deeply engrained in the social fabric of African society and the ordinary citizen did not understand them.

That notwithstanding, the 5th rendition witnessed notable historic moments on the sporting front. Namibia's Frankie Fredericks won the 100 and 200 meters and was the country's first international medal earner following its independence from South Africa in 1990. He went on to claim Namibia's first Olympic medal as he finished second in the 100 and 200 m in the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games.⁵³⁸ Kenya's Susan Sirma stepped up her performance from the previous rendition on home soil to win gold in the 1500 and 3000 m. She won gold in the 3000 m and silver in the 1500 m in Nairobi 1987. She became one of the first Black African women to win a track and field medal at the world championship. Egypt's Hanan Ahmed Khaled finished 2nd in discus throw in the previous rendition won gold in shot put and discus throw. She also won bronze in the women's discus two years earlier in the first rendition of the Francophone Games⁵³⁹ held in Morocco. As she had played football, she went on to become a football referee upon retirement from athletics. At the level of the teams, Nigeria won three of the four relay races as they grabbed the 4x100 m for men and women and the 4x400 m for women.

8.4 Synthesis

The 5th rendition saw significant changes to the games at the level of the SCSA. An adjusted financial strategy in the distribution of the game's income was presented, though this played little to make the games more enticing for cities to host. At the time, the financial incentives and prestige other international competitions outweighed those of the African Games and, therefore, shifted interest of athletes and countries away from investing heavily in the games. The responsibility vested on athletes to carry the continent's positive image heavily changed as most of the best athletes on the continent were no longer taking part in the games. In effect, the games had become a stepping stone for athletes to the global stage. This

had reduced the value and magnitude of the games in- and outside the continent and made the world-making project less influential.

On the political front, this rendition of the games presented President Mubarak with an opportunity to bring his Pan-African ideals to the forefront. The games became the platform to blend sport and other areas such as art, literature and architecture. Initiatives like the African Festival of Sport demonstrated the beauty of the fusion between African sport, African literature and arts. This pioneer event provided the niche to highlight the unique features of Pan-Africanism from this synthesis. Additionally, the opening ceremony provided the Pan-African project with the opportunity to show to young people and celebrated influential role models like Senghor to African youth. On the local front, it also ensured mobilisation of local social and political movements to support the delivery of the event. These movements were also blended with Pan-African Movements on the continent before and during the ceremonies of the games.

Though the relationship between the SCSA and the IOC were no more cordial at an organisational level, the influence of Egypt in the world of sport played a role in ensuring close collaboration between both structures in the delivery of this edition of the games. It also demonstrates that the evolution of African sport remained of significant interest in advancing the ideals of the Olympic Movement. To this effect, the IOC supported Egypt and institutions involved in the delivery of the games to effectively deliver services in their areas of expertise. This also underscores the significance of ensuring that clean sport was promoted at all events and all levels regardless of the relationship of the host organisation with the Olympic Games. What remains significant is that practices in other sport events influenced the Olympic Games.

The 5th rendition in Cairo did not have outstanding personalities on the continent in sport politics, but the existing sport structures made it easier to host the event without major challenges. The challenges the African Games faced did not allow for Egypt to use hosting the event as a stepping stone to evaluate its possibilities of hosting the Olympic Games. The structural demands of the African Games and those of hosting the Olympic Games has significantly differed in many fronts. Outside of the sporting front, hosting the African Games became more of a political responsibility to salvage the platform that held African identity in the field of sport.

The possibility of hosting sport activities in different cities presented a template to the SCSA for the sustainability of the games. It provided for the decentralisation of skills, knowledge, and resources associated with the organisation of the games. Impact of the event

also meant a decentralisation of sport development by developing or upgrading sport infrastructure in other parts of the country. This played a significant role toward the promotion of sport and physical activity in other parts of the country. This also allowed cities like Alexandria to present its Mediterranean heritage to the visiting African athletes and tourist. It allowed Egypt to also present its wide and varied cultural heritage like the pyramids to the rest of the world during the games. This also played into the context of the world-making project, where Egypt positioned its historical and cultural heritage as products of African identity to be celebrated.

9. Harare 1995: The Emergence of a United African Sport Structure

9.1 The Games of African Solidarity

The 6th African Games provided significant changes relative to the finances of the games. In 1994, management and delivery systems of the African Games entered a tripartite relationship between the SCSA, ANOCA, and AASC. That notwithstanding, the SCSA remained an organ of the OAU and the African Games as the legal property of the OAU. What remains significant in the tripartite relationship was the role of ANOCA in promoting “top-level African sports elite and enhancing sports and cultural exchange between member countries”.⁵⁴⁰ To this effect, ANOCA was assigned the responsibility for the commercialisation of the African games. A UK-based marketing company (CPMA) was secured to take charge of marketing the games and engaged in talks with potential national and international sponsors.⁵⁴¹ These changes demonstrated the acceptance of a weak structure in the management of the games. The inclusion of ANOCA and AASC was also intended to unify the continent’s sport structures not only in the delivery of the games but also in restructuring the African model of sport.

The inclusion of two influential stakeholders in the management of the games also produced changes in the diversification and distribution of income from the games compared to the previous five renditions. Regarding income, the subsidy of the OAU and other international organisations for the games were considered sources of income for the games. Previously, it was funds from television rights, advertisement and sponsorships, and fines related to the games that were identified as sources of income from the games. One of the elements of these sources of income was that any country that “for any reason whatsoever” did not participate in two consecutive renditions of the games paid a fine of 50,000 USD before they are allowed to participate.⁵⁴² In addition, an extra 10% was added to this sum in the event of subsequent non-participation of an independent African country. The participation fee for each participating country was 5000 USD paid to the SCSA.⁵⁴³ This, however, was not considered as direct income to the games and needed to be paid before the beginning of the qualifying tournaments for the 6th rendition.⁵⁴⁴ These strict financial measures against African countries was taken because of lack of regular payment of contribution by many of the member countries.

The financial pressure the SCSA exerted on the participating countries backfired on the LOC, as many countries were reluctant to commit to the huge financial implication participation in the games entailed. Each of the participating athletes was to pay the

traditional participation fee of 50 USD per day.⁵⁴⁵ Zimbabwe imposed an airport arrival and departure tax of 20 USD per person. The SCSA insisted that charges on individual athletes' and officials' participation fees, owed to the SCSA by countries must all be paid before a country was registered in the games. The LOC found these measures:

Ironical that the SCSA is requiring the payment without fail when at the same time it is requesting the Zimbabwe Government to waive the 20 US Dollars airport tax per person ... COJA-Z'95 urges that the Executive Committee review the proposed participation fee and the requirement that countries will be allowed to take part unless they meet all their outstanding obligations to the SCSA. We feel that these conditions will be detrimental to the success of the games.⁵⁴⁶

What is evident is the SCSA's inability to assimilate the financial burden participation in the African Games involved for individual countries. This was necessary to be able to diversify sources of funding beyond the strong reliance on funding from nation-states. Notwithstanding, the moral and financial support, the SCSA, and the LOC received from OAU and its council of ministers, many countries did not honour their financial obligations to the SCSA. Though the SCSA intended to attract the best athletes on the continent in their respective disciplines, this was conditioned on the payment of the country's financial dues to the SCSA.⁵⁴⁷ The payment of financial obligations by member countries was expected to give the organisation the required capital to invest in attracting "good competitive sponsorship"⁵⁴⁸ for the subsequent editions of the games.

The inclusion of ANOCA and AASC in the tripartite management of the games significantly altered the distribution of income. The organising committee retained 50% of the income, the SCSA 30%, AASC 10% and ANOCA 5% from the games.⁵⁴⁹ The percentages allocated a year earlier, in 1993, changed as SCSA was allocated 15% and the LOC 70% of the game's income.⁵⁵⁰ The justification for the percentage allocation was not explicitly justified, however, the percentage was allocated to ANOCA and could be associated to being more stable financially among all stakeholders involved. The commercialization of the game, entirely the responsibility of ANOCA, was adjusted to comprise all three key stakeholders involved in the implementation of the games. These changes also led to adjustments in the financial management of income. The parties involved agreed to have an even number of representatives on the finance committee of the LOC of the games.⁵⁵¹

In the 6th rendition, the IOC played a strong role in the success of the games. Contrary to previous renditions where the executive of the SCSA requested IOC support, IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch (1980-2001) invited the Zimbabwean Minister of Education and

Culture, Witness Mangwende, Chair of the LOC T.A.G. Sithole, and the President of ANOCA, Jean Claude Ganga, to Lausanne to discuss IOC's support to the organising committee.⁵⁵² The choice of stakeholders invited by the IOC clearly demonstrates the organisation's position and relations to the SCSA who were the main custodians of the games. To maintain its relevance on the continent, the IOC resorted to engaging peripheral stakeholders in the structure of the African games. The IOC also maintained its traditional support to the African Games which it did through the game's anti-doping centre. The medical sub-committee identified 23 physicians who collected and sent samples for analysis to either South Africa or a European country. These worked under an established IOC temporary anti-doping laboratory for the games.⁵⁵³

Other than the IOC's involvement in the games, this rendition through the diplomatic relations of Zimbabwe and its sport institutions received support from other governments. Australia, through the Zimbabwean NOC, provided training for athletes, administrators, and coaches for the host country. France also, through inter-governmental support, provided funds for the purchase of sport-related equipment.⁵⁵⁴ The government of Malaysia also donated 20,000 USD in cash and kind to the LOC.⁵⁵⁵ For the first time, a completely non-state, non-sport governmental actor, the EU, got involved in supporting the African Games through the host country. The EU sent French experts to study the progress of the games and provided funds to support LOC (COJA-Z'95) with technical expertise.⁵⁵⁶ It is important to note that Zimbabwe by 1995 had only 15 years of independence and as one of the newly independent nations, leveraged the support it received to legitimise its nationhood status.

For the first time, there was documented direct transfer of knowledge and technical expertise from one rendition to the other. Egypt provided the COJA-Z'95 with experts in computerisation, games organisation, and training of officials and organisers.⁵⁵⁷ These paved the way for deeper relations between existing national sport structures. Neighbouring Namibia also supplied Zimbabwe with all the fish required for the games.⁵⁵⁸ It is important to highlight that it was the first time that financial contributions of the SCSA zonal structures were documented and reported. The SCSA Zone six (now SCSA Region five) contributed 15,000 USD in cash and supported the transportation of officials from outside Zimbabwe at a cost of 600,000 - 700,000 USD.⁵⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Region Five Ministerial Conference resolved to help Zimbabwe financially and materially and "pledged to do everything they can to ensure the success of the games."⁵⁶⁰

The question of translation of official documents of the games became a key component in this rendition of the games. Translation of the fundamental documents, such as

participants guides, were done in English, Arabic, and French. Interpreters in French and Arabic for the different delegations were also trained. The LOC, however, encountered challenges in finding trainers for Arabic interpreters.⁵⁶¹ To cover this, Egypt stepped up through its embassy in Zimbabwe. In consultation with the organising committee of the previous rendition, Egypt supported the LOC with translation services of the rules of the games into Arabic.

In its relations with foreign governments and their delegations, the LOC devised a model for inviting countries to participate in the African Games, as not all countries had embassies in Zimbabwe. The zone six countries (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, and Zambia) were to be invited through the Zimbabwe ministers that attend the ministerial conferences. The second category referred to countries (Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, and Democratic Republic of Congo) which had embassies in Harare where the LOC could hand-deliver the invitations for onward transmission to the central government. The third category of countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, and Togo) were invited by the Secretary General of the SCSA, Dr. Awoture Aleyae (1992-2005). The fourth category of countries (Burundi, Cape Verde, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Rwanda, Soa Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tunisia, and Uganda) were to be invited by the Zimbabwe mission at the OAU headquarters in Ethiopia.⁵⁶² The flags for participating countries were secured by the LOC from the Zimbabwe Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Another novelty in the games was the adoption and incorporation of the IOC model of Chef de Mission to the Olympic Games from each participating country. The “Olympic Attaché”, as the function was called, was chosen from among the staff of embassies accredited in Zimbabwe. Though the attaché was to be a government official, the individual performed the same tasks as in the Olympic Games, that is, facilitated coordination and liaised between the LOC and the participating country.⁵⁶³ The dilemma, however, was that it limited countries that do not have embassies in Zimbabwe. As they were, public officials, functions were limited to prioritising interactions with governmental structures than the NOCs of their respective countries and their limited knowledge of sport proved a challenge. This notwithstanding, this model proved more sustainable as they provided first-hand information on the host country to their respective delegations, and they did not require frequent travel to the host country for meetings.

Though the African Games still maintains its focus on changing the narrative of Africa in- and outside the continent, additional elements were added to the role the games played on the continent. Other than fostering unity and understanding among youth of African countries, two additional functions were highlighted by the President of the SCSA in his opening speech. The first of these was the need to promote individual physical activity, moral and psychological wellbeing through the African Games, and other side events. Second, as the African Games had lost attracting high profile African athletes to the competition, the games were to “raise the competitive standards of African sports at world level”.⁵⁶⁴ These two adjustments recognised the need to promote the practice of physical activity outside the traditional school-based and competitive sport environment to an everyday activity across social classes.

By the 6th rendition, the African Games had assumed deeper responsibilities of the continent it intended to address through sport. Other than building African unity and cultural exchanges, the SCSA also recognised the potential of the African Games as a tool for the “promotion of peace, brotherhood and understanding among OAU member states”.⁵⁶⁵ This was the time when many of the African countries were in civil war or just ended it. Countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, and Mozambique were still in bloody civil wars while others such as Rwanda, Republic of Congo, and Djibouti just ended civil wars. There were also internal or inter-state conflicts in other parts of the continent. The quest to use the African Games and the 6th rendition as a platform to promote peace was conceived by the OAU during its 52nd Ordinary Session as they also advocated for support and sponsorship of the games.⁵⁶⁶

Another important issue on the continent was the exodus of African sportsmen to other competitions outside the continent in different sports. The SCSA acknowledged that other competitions were more competitive and “financially profitable”.⁵⁶⁷ for African athletes and, therefore, tend to be lured to those rather than to African competitions. The African Games itself was a victim of this as most countries resorted to sending junior national teams to the games. Other than recognising the need to improve the quality of the sports competitions to attract a wider audience, member states were requested to “ensure participation of their renowned sportsmen, women and star teams in the various disciplines in order to raise the technical standard and quality of the events”.⁵⁶⁸ This was expected and improved Africa’s competitiveness in global sport events structures. The OAU additionally pledged to continue to give the SCSA the required moral, political, and material support for the advancement of the African sports movement.⁵⁶⁹

9.2 Welcome Brother South Africa to the African Games

For the first time, South Africa was allowed to take part as a participating nation in the African Games after its inclusion in 1994 as a member of the SCSA following its re-admission into the Olympic movement. The integration of South Africa into the African Games was a significant victory for African sport. There were two perceptions of what South Africa was in Africa and to the African. The South African Minister of Sport, Steve Thswete, in his SCSA membership acceptance speech confirmed that “some people believe South Africa belongs to the First World while we see the country, first and foremost, as part of Africa”.⁵⁷⁰ Participation in the African Games did not surface, South Africa needed to integrate deeply into the African geopolitical landscape by becoming a member of the OAU, SCSA, and the SCSA Region Five level. Zimbabwe played a crucial role in the liberation and integration of South Africa into the African sporting landscape. It was an open secret that South Africa had expertise in sport more than many African countries and having integrated with its African brothers was an opportunity to benefit from its resources. Minister Thswete did not hesitate to offer “To channel whatever request they might have to the relevant sports federations at home where the technical expertise can be used not only to assist Zimbabwe but also to prepare South Africa for future continental and international events, they might host”.⁵⁷¹

South Africa did not only offer its resources to other Africans but also exploited the opportunity to throw its bid to host subsequent African Games. Cognisant of the challenges of hosting sport events and the African Games faced on the continent, South Africa supported by “offering to host the next SCSA zonal and continental meetings in Johannesburg. In addition, assured of the benefits of Zimbabwe’s experience, we also formally express our interest in hosting the 7th All Africa Games.”⁵⁷² The integration of South Africa, did not only strengthen African unity but also ensured continuity and consistency in the hosting of the African Games in four-years intervals with a year to the Olympic Games in Johannesburg in 1999.

In the spirit of African fraternity, Zimbabwe was able to replicate the “Age-long African tradition”⁵⁷³ of hosting guests. Again, Africa is considered as a sacred unit that was disintegrated by unfortunate circumstances and forces, and the union of which ought to be celebrated. The African Games also serve as a platform to recover and celebrate these African traditions that different countries still have with them. Guests who are invited to attend the African Games (e.g., the IOC president) are outsiders who share and sympathise with the celebration of African unity and brotherhood. The presence of the IOC “honours and encourages”⁵⁷⁴ the aims of the African Games and acknowledged its influence in the global

sport movement. The IOC support for the games was not seen as patronage. It was, instead, a “cooperation and partnership”⁵⁷⁵ between the two organisations that demonstrated how the future of global sport organisations should relate.

The guiding principles of these relationships were sustained by “trust and mutual respect”⁵⁷⁶ to effectively respond to the challenges facing the world. The intensions of using sport as a vector to promote peace and understanding within the continent was also expected to be channelled to the global stage through the cooperation with the IOC and other international sports organisations. The 6th rendition of the African Games provided Africa with the platform to “reconcile with itself”, and the integration of South Africa into the games completed the “reunion within the large African sports family”.⁵⁷⁷ As usual, the participating African athletes were tasked to continue to be “living symbols of pride and satisfaction to Mother Africa, to individually and collectively make the best of the magnificent sports facilities generously put at your disposal.”⁵⁷⁸

Notwithstanding, the huge task to deliver the games and welcome the long-standing brother in South Africa for the first time into the African Games, Zimbabwe intended to use the games as a soft power tool to position itself within African and global geopolitical landscape. To ordinary Zimbabweans, the games served as a building-block for national pride “it is a great honour for Zimbabwe, a young nation on the chess board of the independent countries of Africa to host those games. Their fame is now on a planetary scale. So, it is our duty to make them a success”.⁵⁷⁹ At the local front, the success of the games was a strong message to the masses that the government of President Robert Mugabe could steer a united Zimbabwe.

9.3 Harare 1995

Zimbabwe submitted its request to host the 6th rendition of the African Games in 1988.⁵⁸⁰ Following the awarding of the rights to host the games, a local organising committee was set up and were comprised of 15 sub-committees with members drawn from different walks of life on voluntary bases. Sub-committees were headed by a nine-person executive board headed by a chair. Operational aspects of the games were headed by the general manager and his paid staff with two administrative offices in Harare and Bulawayo.⁵⁸¹ Like the previous rendition, these games were also held in three cities. The Capital, Harare, Bulawayo, and Chitungwiza hosted different sport disciplines.⁵⁸² In Harare, the University of Zimbabwe was identified as the main Games Village as well as Harare Polytechnic, Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority Training Centre and Belvedere Teachers College

housed the overflow. In Bulawayo, Hillside Teachers College and Bulawayo Technical College were identified as accommodation and catering venues.⁵⁸³

The games were hosted from 13th to 23rd September 1995. President Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe) (1987-2017) opened the games at the stadium in the presence of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and the Secretary General of the OAU Slim Ahmed Salim (1989-2001).⁵⁸⁴ The rendition also provided the host country with an opportunity to diversify the practice of sport and availability of sport installations to other parts of the country. A sport complex which included field hockey field, volleyball, cycling tracts, and football fields were constructed in Bulawayo. An aquatic complex and additional hockey field were also constructed in Harare.⁵⁸⁵ The 6th rendition of the African Games saw participation of 50 independent African countries in 17 sport disciplines, and the African Games were re-positioned and accepted as regional games for the IOC.⁵⁸⁶

Internally, Zimbabwe intended to consolidate its unity as the selected theme of the games “together we all win”⁵⁸⁷ emphasis. Local artists were mobilised, and the song of the games composed was also based on the theme of the games. To support the visitors and ensure a memorable experience of the games, a media brief guide, the “Zimbabwe in Brief”,⁵⁸⁸ was developed to facilitate visitors with information on how to go about the host cities during the games. Other stakeholders were also mobilised to render services to visitors in their respective areas. Local transport operators were requested to provide transport per sport and country to all visiting delegations to the games.⁵⁸⁹

Through a sporting perspective, South Africa finished on top of the medal stand with 154 medals (64 gold, 51 silver, 39 bronze) while previous record medal stand winner Egypt, finished second with also 154 medals (61 gold, 43 silver, 50 bronze), Nigeria finished third, Algeria fourth and Kenya fifth on the stand. Discus thrower Adewale Olukoju and Sprinter Mary Onyali became the first athletes to win four gold medals in one rendition of the games. Onyali won the 100 and 200 m races and together with Josphat Machuka won the 5000 and 10,000 m for Kenya. As in the previous edition, Nigeria won three of the four relay races, 4x400 m for men and women and the men’s 4x100 m.

9.4 Synthesis

The wide range of stakeholders involved in the organisation of this rendition highlighted some modernising opportunities of the African Games. It provided the SCSA and the LOC with opportunities to enjoy the legitimacy of key stakeholders in the global sport movement. COJA-Z’95 had the privilege of bringing together and receiving support from all

key stakeholders in African sport as well. This African Games fell short of attracting the best African athletes. This rendition did not secure formal recognition before the IOC and international sport federations for being regional games for the Atlanta Olympic Games in 1996. The involvement of a wide and key governmental stakeholders in supporting Zimbabwe also highlights the strategic position sport events played in shaping transnational politics of an emerging nation-state.

The 6th rendition of the African Games saw the consolidation of regionalism as a support to strengthen Pan-Africanism at the local level from the top-down approach as envisaged by the OAU and SCSA. To consolidate the consciousness of the African identity through the games, not-so-successful regional games were organised as qualifiers to the African Games. In Central Africa, the short-lived regional games had only 3 editions in 1976 in Libreville (Gabon), 1981 Luanda (Angola) and the 1987 Brazzaville (Congo), the only one that served as a qualifier for the African Games the same year. Previously, a football tournament, the Central African Cup, was held in 1972, and served as a football qualifier for the subsequent African Games of 1973. Directorate of Youth, Sport and Employment was responsible for the organization of sport in the region. In Southern Africa, Southern African Development Committee (SADC) formed AUSC Region Five (previously SCSA Zone VI) in Gaborone (Botswana) in 1998 by 10 member countries of the regional block. In 1997, the AUSC Region Five Council of Ministers adopted a Five-Year Development Plan in Cabinda (Angola) and instituted a biannual U-20 Region Five Games. The inaugural rendition was held in 2004 in Mozambique. One of the four key aims of the games date was to “...developing the required community spirit and regional integration.”⁵⁹⁰

The inaugural Eastern African Community Games were only held in Bujumbura (Burundi) in 2018. The games were held with the theme of fostering East African Community (EAC) integration and peace through sports, were organised by the EAC secretariat. The ECOWAS Youth and Sport Development Centre was formed in 2005 in Accra (Ghana) as the specialised agency of sport in the region. Though there have been sports tournaments held in and by Western African States, they have mainly been sporting specific and not under the ECOWAS agency for sport, apart from the biannual ECOWAS Traditional Wrestling tournament. The involvement of SCSA Region Five in the 6th rendition highlights the successful envisage in the inconsistent regional structures around the African Games as highlighted above. From a Pan-African perspective, this rendition records a lot of success in sowing the seeds of the previously attempted regionalism.

10. Future Perspectives

10.1 The African Games as a Pan-African Project

A deep historical enquiry of the African Games is pertinent at a time when Pan-Africanism has advanced in shape and form. It has taken a new form and name, the African Renaissance. This investigation does not only provide a historical account of the first six renditions of the games in 30 years, but also a balance to weigh the capacity of the games to respond to the institutional switch from the traditional Pan-Africanism that developed on the continent to its modern form, African Renaissance. Academic enquiry into the history of the SCSA has revealed that the institution could not switch when the OAU made its transition to the AU. This historical enquiry has provided stakeholders on the African sport ecosystem with the right information to take informed decision and ensure that the games remain significant to the Pan-African project even deep into the ideological change to “the Africa we want”.

Furthermore, the African Games evolved as a unique project that plays between affiliation to the IOC and to political structures like the OAU. Its affiliation with the world-making project ensures that it became entangled into politics in the world of sport. The African Games became the perfect platform of the SCSA in playing out its international justice by positioning itself in Apartheid in South African sport. This and subsequent actions will influence the fluctuating nature of the relation of the African Games with the Olympic Games. The African Games were positioned to celebrate the success of African athletes. This, however, was closely linked to the nation-state and self-determination projects of most of the newly independent nations in the 1960s and 1970s. The positioning of the games as part of the world-making process and use of athletics exploits African athletes as representing the image of African unity and brotherhood.

Regionalism was conceived to play a pivotal role in the African Games project, as it was done with other Pan-African institutional projects. The zonal structures and renditions were meant to feed from the African Games and serve as qualifiers. As demonstrated in the foundation of the SCSA in 1966 and the subsequent evolution of the games, zones also served as spaces to trickle down Pan-Africanism and African brotherhood promoted through the games. This is because of the recognition of the strong diversity that exists on the continent. The African sport federations also followed this model and influenced the practice of sport on the continent. The challenge, however, became the integration of the role of nation states within this dispensation. Though there were involvements of the regional structures in the

delivery of the games in Nairobi 1987 and Harare 1995, the consolidation of the regional structures remained one of the weaknesses of the African Games. The failure of regionalism in the Pan-African project was only a sport-specific circumstance as regional structures played a significant role in the advancement of his policies and programmes of the AU.

The nation-state played a central role in the consolidation of the African Games. The games provided the perfect platform for newly independent African countries to position themselves in the global geopolitical space and establish own foreign relations. Inside the countries, the African Games project provided an opportunity to unite the fragmented parts of the nation-state. Most of the newly independent states evolved with a lot of social and political conflicts and the games provide occasion to demystify and present a united and strong nation-state before the African “brothers” and the rest of the world. The games provided transnational organisations and nations outside the African continent with a chance to reconnect and establish relations with African nations and institutions through consultancy and technical support. As China played a crucial role in Nairobi 1987 so also did other Western countries in supporting Zimbabwe delivered a crucial reuniting rendition.

The host cities became spaces for the merging of identities and the celebration of a single African identity, African brotherhood. City characteristics most often clashes with imported notions of Pan-Africanism, as the case was in Lagos, Algiers, and Nairobi with the rebranding of cities to present the desired African city to host the games. The cities provide the perfect infrastructures (universities, schools, hotels and stadiums) to host the athletes and visiting delegations. Though the cities represent a legacy of colonial establishments, they become the perfect space to consolidate the desired “African brotherhood”. That notwithstanding, this brotherhood is challenged by the diversity on the continent with instances of discrimination as was seen in Algiers 1978 Cairo 1991 with the invasion of the pitch.

This investigation revealed the influential people in African sport who helped shape the African Games project as a world-making initiative. Jean Claude Ganga, Andre Hombessa, and Abraham Ordia are key leaders who attached the African Games to the formation of African identity in sport and the consolidation of African identity as a political project. The individuals could not sustain the project, and it was established as an institution and closely influenced by influential sport personalities and politicians for its success in each of the renditions. Outside the sport ecosystem, military, or former military presidents in Lagos (General Gowon), Algiers (Boumédiène) and Harare (Mugabe) played a decisive role and a

stronger presence in ensuring the games continued on regardless of the challenge of delivering the respective renditions.

10.2 Future Research Perspectives

There has also been limited published investigations on Africa sport events from historical perspectives. What abounds in the sport literature is the participation of African athletes in sport events outside the continent. This study is a pioneering work into the historical enquiry of multi-sport events on the African continent and the African Games. This enquiry has also challenged other researchers to engage the African Games and other multi-sport events on the continent from various academic disciplines. The diverse nature of the African continent renders historical investigation on the economic impact and political influence of the African Games intriguing. This study also challenges deeper enquiry of single renditions of the games to reveal deeper aggregated impact of the games. This project also questions the classification of the African Games as just a major sport event. It argues and establishes that the African Games qualifies being considered a mega sport event because of its magnitude and outreach in- and outside the continent. The global geopolitical interest on the continent has played a significant role in how the African Games also gained global influence.

Though researchers publishing about Pan-Africanism as it evolves on the African continent has been extensive, its application to sport has had little academic scrutiny. Moreover, Pan-Africanism as it develops in the African Games has not developed much academic interest. This work demonstrates the elements of Pan-Africanism that developed in the context of sport and in the African Games. The idea of trickling down Pan-African ideals to local levels were also tried through the establishment of zones to manage regional qualifiers but like in the context of Pan-Africanism, this idea could not effectively take hold in all regions. This investigation has also demonstrated the fluid nature of identity as the meaning and interpretation attached to Africanness changes in every edition of the games. The rhetoric of strengthening African brotherhood and the legitimisation of nationhood remained the predominant features throughout all the renditions included in this study.

A huge weakness in historical perspectives on African sport and the African Games was exposed. There are evidently very limited academic publications on the African Games by Africans. Additionally, the quality and accessibility of the few publications remain much to be desired. For this reason, this investigator relied on secondary resources to better inform the arguments being made or ascertain the historical accounts. This provides African

researchers the opportunity to deepen the enquiry into the African Games and ensure that researchers are deeply rooted in the context in which the investigation evolves to ensure more accurate exposition of facts. For historical enquiry on African sport and multi-sport events to advance, African researchers need to take the lead by engaging with the available data from their respective disciplines. Researchers on the continent and Africans in the diaspora can play significant roles in strengthening the quality of study of African sport. This could be done through the encouragement of individual or institutional collaborations on interdisciplinary topics revolving around the African Games.

Concurrently, this analysis has also allowed for a deep and engaging interaction with African Games archival material based in- and outside the continent. Though there were overlapping archival materials, there were also considerably different materials from the archive at the IOC in Lausanne and the archive at the AUSC in Yaoundé. The African-based archive revealed a rich and diverse African perspective of reasons for the formation of the games and the value-system on which it evolved. The level of weak organisation of the archival material in Yaoundé does, however, reveal the value attached to historical enquiry of the African Games and established credible historical records of the games as a Pan-African project. The material exposes the rich and intricate legacy of the African Games as a mega sport event with unique nature and evolution over time. Furthermore, this enquiry amplifies African voices in global discourse revealed in the archives and about archival materials. It is important to deepen interdisciplinary study on the African Games using data from the continent to show the intensions of the foundation on which the games were laid from its inception.

This review also adds into the existing literature to demonstrate the fluid nature of identities. Though the definition of who is an African in the official documents of the SCSA and the African Games is precise, the reality shows a diverse continent with different concepts of African identity. The use of hermeneutics as the historical lense through which analysis of the archival materials has helped dispense this deep reality on the field of sport.

10.3 The African Games in Practice

Mega sport events provide a value chain to a wide range of stakeholders. As shown in this study, mega sport events provide the prevailing political establishment with a powerful tool to exploit. In the country, a sport event provides an opportunity to unite a nation, a region and a whole continent. In its diplomatic relations, a sport event provides the country with better justifications for its foreign relations to secure support from partners. The political

establishments also provide sport organisations that organise the events with the platform for stability and continuity in delivering their sport spectacle. Senior sport officials, therefore, become closely linked to national politicians to fulfil each other's needs, as was with the African Games since the first rendition. These interactions between sport and politics eventually primarily render the two fields inseparable and highly related.

Perhaps this is one of the few documents that displays the intersection between Pan-African ideology and sport events. As a political ideology, Pan-Africanism developed outside of sport but soon found space for expression within countries and communities on the continent. Throughout the enquiry, the claim that Pan-Africanism bonds Africans on the continent has been challenged. The investigator found that, like the traditional form of Pan-Africanism, the African Games played a pivotal role in legitimising nationhood. Additionally, a similarly pronounced version of Pan-Africanism developed in the African Games where fellow Africans are considered as "brothers". The intension to intensify African identity through the African Games was also evident in institutionalisation of the games as a Pan-African project and attached to the OAU and now AU.

A detailed historical record of the African Games has revealed the founding principles on which the African Games were built. Moreover, this allows stakeholders in the African sport ecosystem to take from this historical heritage the development of national Pan-African sport policies. Other than pioneering the amplification of historical research on the African Games, the weakness of the archival materials exposed opens space for the consolidation and establishment of national archives and museum of the African Games in each of the host cities. This will preserve the role played by the different African nations in the consolidation of the principles of African unity and brotherhood in the field of sport. This enquiry also opens the consideration for the establishment of Pan-African Archive and Museum of the African Games to preserve and consolidate the existing historical knowledge and artifacts of the games.

End Notes

¹ The modern concept of the African Nations is a sub-group of the Bantu/Cushitic-Ethiopians (the Azanian Nation), (Guevara, R. D. (2013) “Azanism: A critical analysis of the Mytho-Reality Complexity of the Azanian Nation” 9; Tamura, S. “Rethinking Pan-Africanism in the AU (African Union)-led Regional Integration of Africa: Identity Politics in the Diaspora Involvement, Afro-Arab Relations and Indian Ocean Islands.” (A Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School-Newark Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2011).

² Adi (2018); Burnett (2018)

³ In a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) published documentary called “The Africans” scholar Ali Mazrui (1933-2014) in 1986 detailed the question of African identity in one of the episodes, The Tipple Heritage. Mazrui, A. “The Africans: A Tripple heritage”. (Documentary. Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association and British Broadcasting Services, 1986).

⁴ By Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanists, this refers to the African political, intellectual and social leaders who spearheaded the struggle for independence, liberation, and African Unity from the 1950s. This will use the terms, Pan-Africanism and African identity, interchangeably to mean African unity.

⁵ Reflecting on the legacy of social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1919-1982), explored the process of group formation and how categorization, de-categorization and re-categorization produces group bias against other groups and influences group goal setting, Robinson, W. P. (1996) 77.

⁶ The resolutions adopted in the First Conference of Heads of States of the OAU laid down key priorities and working groups in diverse areas that the nationalists considered important to “urgently” consolidate and further distinguish the African citizen from the rest of the world, OAU (1963) 15.

⁷ Structure is referred to as organisations or groups thereof established to strengthen African unity.

⁸ Self-Determination is the search for legitimisation by newly belonging independent states and establishing their voices in international organisations.

⁹ Legerund (2016).

¹⁰ With a critical engagement of Mazrui’s contributions to the topical questions of the invention of Africa, Africanity and the African condition, the author deliberated on the typologies as elaborated by Kenyan scholar Ali Mazrui (1933-2014). The typologies had overlapping characteristics, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, J. S. (2015) 12.

¹¹ Legerund (2016).

¹² Membership in the regional blocks is based on affinity and proximity and not a reality of the divisions intended to reflect the unity of the continent. The differences in the number of regional block members from just five in Northern and Eastern Africa to 15 and 16 in Western and Southern Africa highlights this point.

¹³ Following a critical examination of the politics of transnational identity within the context of African Integration, the author offers the specific measures that can help enhance and strengthen the strategic nexus between regional integration and transnational identification in Africa, Fagbayibo, B. (2017).

¹⁴ The Resolutions adopted in the First Conference of Heads of States of the OAU laid down key priorities and working groups in diverse areas that the nationalists considered important to “urgently” consolidate and further distinguish the African citizen from the rest of the world, OAU (1963)15.

¹⁵ A study was conducted by the OAU to establish the institutions and sectors that were required to promote African unity. Sport and its events were one of the sectors identified in the document.

¹⁶ The study built a framework of actions to be implemented by a diverse pool of local, national, and transnational stakeholders towards a harmonization of structures. The regulation and harmonization of the financial structures of the would-be government was given more emphasis. The role of partnership with other international institutions was considered a key feature for the success of the United States of Africa.

¹⁷ Agenda 2063 is a 50 years’ framework of inclusive growth and sustainable development for Africa. In this context, African Renaissance is understood as a political and cultural struggle of the African people to redefine a new political and ideological agenda of Pan-Africanism in the age of globalization and challenge the right of Europeans to impose their cultural and spiritual values on African communities, AU (2015) 2-18.

¹⁸ Fagbayibo, B. (2017).

¹⁹ Fagbayibo, B. (2017).

²⁰ Tamura, S. (2011) 234.

²¹ In her Dissertation, the author analysed the identity politics within Africa, how countries with stronger local identities to India, Europe, the Arab world hampers national, regional and continent-wide integration efforts of the African Union and other entities. The role and position of the African Diaspora, though accommodated within the structures of the AU, remain a bond of contention within a wider African integrationist effort, Tamura, S. (2011) 234.

²² The author’s Dissertation delved into what he referred to as the Mytho-Reality Complexity of the Azanian Nation and how the different ethnic groups found in the different parts of the African continent, traced their origin from the Bantu or Cushitic Ethiopian tribes, Guevera R.D. (2009).

²³ The author critically argues that Pan-Africanism can be divided into the two conceptual dimensions defined as 1) racial and cultural affinity and 2) geographical connections. The concept still carries a Black racial-cultural discourse where Arabs and other non-Black populations in the continent are alienated, even though the geographic notion of Pan-Africa is meant to integrate all states and people of the continent. Religion, she asserts citing Huntington (1996), is the determinant factor for civilizational affinity and not ethnicity or race, as the case is with African identity construction in Africa, Tamura, S. (2011) 6.

²⁴ Deeb (1991) as cited by Tamura, S. (2011) 13.

²⁵ World-making refers to how independent African nations individually and collectively tries to reconfigure global structures by asserting the need to include and hear the voices of newly independent African states. The process which also legitimises the new nation-state leaned on the unity of African nations who suffered the same injustice in global structures to assert this influence or reconfiguration of global structures.

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- ²⁶ There are contentious criteria of what constitute a mega sport event. An event is denominated Mega according to its size, reach, investment and media exposure. Other authors further went on to consider Mega-events as ambulatory occasions of a fixed duration that: a) attract a large number of visitors, b) have large, mediated reach, c) come with large costs and d) have large impacts on the built environment and population, Frawley, S. (2017) 10-11 & 24.
- ²⁷ Jonathan Grix also highlighted that sport events create social and economic opportunities throughout Africa and to ensure the tournament provide powerful, irresistible momentum to the African Renaissance, Grix, J. et. al, (2017) 25, 31-32 & 91.
- ²⁸ Frawley, S. (2017)10-11 in “Managing Sport Mega-Events”.
- ²⁹ In the book “Entering the Global Arena: Emerging states, soft power strategies and sports mega-events”, the authors also detailed how developing countries could also encounter negative returns on their soft powers for hosting mega sport events. They considered this phenomenon as “soft disempowerment” Grix, J. et. al, (2017) 32.
- ³⁰ In her analysis of mega sport events as hubs of cultural mobility with a focus on Brazil, Rodanthi Tzanelli cited the need and significance host countries attach on articulating and interpreting local culture through a network of professionals. She called the network of local actors as a Filiative local family and the network of professionals as Affiliative, Tzanelli, R. (2015) 42, 28, 42 & 52.
- ³¹ The author refers to Mega Sport mega events as `neo-liberal Trojan Horse` designed to enrich elite who have privileged access to public information and international sport organizations, businesses, media, etc., who whisk away the profit at the expense of the host communities, Graef, B. (2020) 35, 47.
- ³² The author refers to the process of dismantling and adjusting local structures as (Fr)agile Assemblages in the quest to modernise cities (Mega World Cities) and increase global connectivity through Mega Sport Events, Graef, B. (2020) 34, 31 & 43.
- ³³ States use either economic, social, structural and cultural elements for soft power and sometimes usage overlaps. Soft power influence of a particular country and or city depends on its own stage of modern development and rationale. The scale of the influence may be international, regional or domestic, Grix, J. et.a. (2017) 114.
- ³⁴ Mokofeng, N. & Ndlovu, T. (2018) and Cornelissen, S. (2004).
- ³⁵ Alegi, P. (2010); Ndee, S. H. (2005) & Charitas, P., (2009).
- ³⁶ Auger, F. (2006).
- ³⁷ Combeau-Mari, E. (2011).
- ³⁸ Giteros, V. T. (2011).
- ³⁹ Gunter, A. (2014); Pascoal, J. & Gustavo, N. (2017) & Njal, J. (2012).
- ⁴⁰ Cleophas, F. (2017).
- ⁴¹ Connolly, C. (2012).
- ⁴² Cornelissen, S. (2010).
- ⁴³ Kilcline, C. (2008).
- ⁴⁴ Silva, L. H. & Gerber, H., (2012).
- ⁴⁵ Henry, I. et. al (2007) 149, 150 & 166.

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- ⁴⁶ The urban or place identity, which may be physical setting, objects or activities, embodies emotional sense of the place. It promotes a symbolic and collective consciousness of the place to the visitor and people associated with them when exposed to contact, Cheshmehzangi, A., (2012).
- ⁴⁷ Cheshmehzangi, A., (2012) 312.
- ⁴⁸ Status of the African Union Sport Council, AU (2012).
- ⁴⁹ Cornelissen, S. et al. (2011) 314.
- ⁵⁰ Tzanelli, R. (2015) 30. & 42.
- ⁵¹ RAGOC (2019). <https://www.jar2019.ma/objectives/?lang=en>
- ⁵² Burnett, C. (2018); Bayeck, R. (2018); Wanderi, P. (2006) & Shehu, J. (2004).
- ⁵³ In a thorough historical analysis of sport from pre-colonial Africa, the authors demonstrated the important role sport had played in a traditional African setting and post-colonial Africa, Baker, W.J. & Mangan, A. J. (1987).
- ⁵⁴ In a recollection of Traditional Games and Dances in West African Nations, the authors delved into functions, meanings ascribed and the profile of the participants of these games in their different settings, Cheska, T. A. (1987) 61.
- ⁵⁵ AU (2012).
- ⁵⁶ The history and circumstances that led to the Dissolution of the SCSA and the intended structural differences with the AUSC will be detailed in the subsequent chapters of this work.
- ⁵⁷ Henry, I. et.al. (2007) 171.
- ⁵⁸ Graef, B. (2020) 61.
- ⁵⁹ Edgar, A. (2014)
- ⁶⁰ Welters, R. (2016) 433. Tuncel, Y. (2016) 354.
- ⁶¹ Gadamer, H. -G. (1975) "Truth and Method." *Continuum Publishing Group*, London. (Original work published 1960).
- ⁶² Lopez, Francisco & Edgar (2017); Tuncel, Y. (2016) 359.
- ⁶³ Robinson, S. & Kerr, R. (2015).
- ⁶⁴ Heidegger, M. (1962) 27; Martínková, I. & Parry, J. (2016) 366.
- ⁶⁵ Tzanelli, R. (2015) 63.
- ⁶⁶ Welters, R. (2016) 437.
- ⁶⁷ In "Hermeneutics and Critical Hermeneutics: Exploring Possibilities Within the Art of Interpretation." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. 7:3,1-13. Kinsella, E. A. (2006).
- ⁶⁸ Berger, S. & Conrad, C, (2015) 17.
- ⁶⁹ Barnes, M. C., et. Al. (2015); Graef, B. (2020) 61.
- ⁷⁰ Barnes, M. C., et. al. (2015); Henry, I. and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (2007) 172.
- ⁷¹ Gatachew, A. (2019) "Worldmaking after Empire, the rise and fall of self-determination." *Princeton University Press*, New Jersey.
- ⁷² Wiredu, K (1998) "Toward Decolonizing African Philosophy and Religion." *African Studies Quarterly*, 1:4, 17-46; Kebede, M. (2004) "African Development and the Primacy of Mental Decolonisation." *Africa Development-Senegal*- 29:1, 107-130.

⁷³ The Negritude movement came about as a direct response to and in defence of Africa and the black race on the assertion of French Anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl who termed Western culture as “superior” and more “rational” as opposed to other “mystical” and “prelogical” cultures of the world, Kebede (2011) 89.

⁷⁴ The Universalists or Professional Philosophers were those that rejected the defence of the otherness as an endorsement of the colonial denial of rationality and perceived the African retardation as nothing more than an evolutionary lag, a given condition of life and not as a different people from the West.²³ In their analyses of African politics, the political science school of thought in the 60s and 70s through the modernization theory mainly reinforces and justifies this point of view.²⁴ The third school of thought are the Particularists who attempt to strike in the middle by presenting a more accepted notion of African philosophy and difference. They employ a deconstructionist approach by attempting to put the study and an understanding of Africa at the centre with a pluralist view, Kebede, M. (2011). “Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization.” *Philosophy Faculty Publications*. Paper 109. Retrieved June 07, 2018. http://ecommons.udayton.edu/phl_fac_pub/109.

⁷⁵ Gatachew, A. (2019) “Worldmaking after Empire, the rise and fall of self-determination” 17.

⁷⁶ Malisa, M. & Nhengeze, P. (2018) “Pan-Africanism: A Quest for Liberation and the Pursuit of a United Africa.” *Genealogy* 2018, 2, 28; doi:10.3390/genealogy2030028.

⁷⁷ OAU (1963) “Charter of the Organization of African Unity.” Done at Addis Ababa, on 25 May 1963. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20479/volume-479-I-6947-English.pdf>.

⁷⁸ Gatachew, A. (2019) “Worldmaking after Empire, the rise and fall of self-determination.”

⁷⁹ Gatachew, A. (2019) “Worldmaking after Empire, the rise and fall of self-determination.”

⁸⁰ Gatachew, A. (2019) “Worldmaking after Empire, the rise and fall of self-determination.”

⁸¹ OAU (1965) Letter of J.D. Bulire, Adjutant Secretary General of the OAU to Secretary General of the Organising Committee of the African Games. 12 April 1965; SCSA (1965) Letter of C.E. N'Dalla for President of the Organising Committee of the First African Games to Adjutant Secretary General of the OAU, 31 May 1965; SCSA (1966a) “Fundamental Rules for the African Games”; Ganga, J. C. (2016) “Once upon a time were the African Games.” *Partridge*.

⁸² Ndee, S. H. (2005) “Sport as a Political Tool: Tanzania and the Liberation of Africa” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22:4, 671-688.

⁸³ Ndee, S. H. (2005) “Sport as a Political Tool: Tanzania and the Liberation of Africa” 231.

⁸⁴ Ndee, S. H. (2005) “Sport as a Political Tool: Tanzania and the Liberation of Africa” 232.

⁸⁵ Ndee, S. H. (2005) “Sport as a Political Tool: Tanzania and the Liberation of Africa” 672.

⁸⁶ Darby, P. (2013) “‘Let us rally around the flag’ Football, Nation-building, and Pan-Africanism in Nkwame Nkrumah’s Ghana.” *Journal of African History*, 58, 221-246.

⁸⁷ Darby, P. (2013) “‘Let us rally around the flag’ Football, Nation-building, and Pan-Africanism in Nkwame Nkrumah’s Ghana.” 235.

⁸⁸ Gondola, C. D. (2009) “Tropical Cowboys: Westerns, Violence, and Masculinity among the Young Bills of Kinshasa” *Afrique & Histoire*. 1:7, 75-98. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-et-histoire-2009-1-page-75.htm>. Paragraph, 1426.

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- ⁸⁹ IBID, paragraph, 23.
- ⁹⁰ IBID, paragraph, 26.
- ⁹¹ Kilcline (2008) 33.
- ⁹² IBID
- ⁹³ Fanon, F. (1967) "Toward the African Revolution – Political Essays." *Grove Press*, New York, 57-72.
- ⁹⁴ Kilcline (2008) 33.
- ⁹⁵ Combeau-Mari (2006) "Sport in the French Colonies (1880-1962): A Case Study." *Journal of Olympic History*, 33:01, 27-57.
- ⁹⁶ Charitas (2015) "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32:7, 909-922.
- ⁹⁷ Charitas (2015) "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965."
- ⁹⁸ Darby (2013) 238.
- ⁹⁹ Darby (2013) 238.
- ¹⁰⁰ Darby (2013) 238.
- ¹⁰¹ Darby (2013) 238.
- ¹⁰² Ian Henry and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (2007) 50.
- ¹⁰³ Combeau-Mari, E. (2006).
- ¹⁰⁴ Combeau-Mari, E. (2011) "Sport and Decolonisation: The Community Games, April 1960." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28:12, 1716-1726.
- ¹⁰⁵ Auger, F. (2006).
- ¹⁰⁶ Combeau-Mari, E. (2006).
- ¹⁰⁷ Jean Claude Ganga (2016) "Once upon a time were the African Games." Partridge.
- ¹⁰⁸ Combeau-Mari, E. (2006).
- ¹⁰⁹ Combeau-Mari, E. (2011).
- ¹¹⁰ Auger, F. (2006).
- ¹¹¹ Charitas, P. (2015).
- ¹¹² SCSA (1965), Opening speech by the President of the Permanent Committee of the First African Games, Appendix 1, p.1; Minutes of the meeting of the Permanent Committee
- ¹¹³ SCSA (1965), Opening speech by the President of the Permanent Committee of the First African Games, Appendix 1, 1; Minutes of the meeting of the Permanent Committee of African Games held in Brazzaville from 12-15 July, 1965, Yaoundé, SCSA Archive.
- ¹¹⁴ Jean Claude Ganga (2016). Once upon a time were the African Games. Partridge
- ¹¹⁵ Lumumba-Kasongo Examined the political context which forced the organization of the Bandung Conference and the emergence of 'multipolar politics', (2015) 3.
- ¹¹⁶ GANEFO "Documents of the Ganefo Preparatory Committee" *Library repository of the German Sport University Cologne* (1963) 22.
- ¹¹⁷ Trotier, F. (2017) "The Legacy of the Games of the New Emerging Forces and Indonesia's Relationship with the International Olympic Committee." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33:12, 1321-1340.
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- ¹¹⁹ Non-Aligned Movement which tries to transcend the Cold War by challenging global established order through third-world inter-state solidarity became the victim of the Cold War. Lüthi, L. M. (2016).
- ¹²⁰ GANEFO “Documents of the Ganefo Preparatory Committee” (1963) 22.
- ¹²¹ Trotier, F. (2017) “The Legacy of the Games of the New Emerging Forces and Indonesia’s Relationship with the International Olympic Committee.”
- ¹²² Paxton, J. (1971) “United Arab Republic.” In: Paxton J. (eds) *The Statesman’s Yearbook*. The Statesman’s Yearbook. *Palgrave Macmillan*, London.
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- ¹²⁴ Adi, H. (2018) “Pan-Africanism, a history.” *Bloomsbury*, London.
- ¹²⁵ SCSA (1965), Opening speech by the President of the Permanent Committee of the First African Games, Appendix 1, 1. (n.d.), Minutes of the meeting of the Permanent Committee
- ¹²⁶ Camara, P. M. (2023) “A divided house: the foundation and evolution of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa,” 1965–2013, *Sport in History*, DOI: 10.1080/17460263.2022.2157868
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- ¹²⁸ SCSA (1965c) Speech by Mr. Jones. Notes about sport in Africa and on its role in cultural, economic and social development. Minutes of the meeting of the Permanent Committee of African Games held in Brazzaville, July 12-15, 1965. *SCSA Archive*, Yaoundé.
- ¹²⁹ IOC member Mbaye. <https://www.worldathletics.org/news/news/judge-mbaye-chairman-of-ioc-ethics-commission>.
- ¹³⁰ SCSA (1964) Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964. *SCSA Archive*, Yaoundé.
- ¹³¹ IBID.
- ¹³² IBID
- ¹³³ IBID.
- ¹³⁴ IBID.
- ¹³⁵ IBID.
- ¹³⁶ IBID.
- ¹³⁷ IBID.
- ¹³⁸ Mazrui, A. (1968) “Thoughts on Assassination in Africa.” *Political Science Quarterly*, 83 (1), 40-58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2147402>.
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- ¹⁴⁰ SCSA (1964) Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964. *SCSA Archive*, Yaoundé.
- ¹⁴¹ IBID
- ¹⁴² Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports, in 2006 became the formal organ established by the AU as the direct supervisory organ to the SCSA.

¹⁴³ SCSA (1964) Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964. *SCSA Archive*, Yaoundé.

¹⁴⁴ Mazrui, A. (1986) "The Africans: A Tripple heritage. Documentary." *Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association and British Broadcasting Services*. Accessed November 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8-pksToXSL4&t=32s>

¹⁴⁵ SCSA (1964) Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964. *SCSA Archive*, Yaoundé.

¹⁴⁶ Modern sport in this work is defined as a convergence of variables that cut over national and cultural boundaries is shaping the sports sector including the globalization of sports leagues and events, the disruptive power of technology, shifting consumer tastes, and the effect of geopolitical dynamics. Li, C., Li, D., & Huang, C. (2024) "Innovations in Sports Industry: Trends and Transformations." *Psychology of Sport & Exercise*, 75, 112416.

¹⁴⁷ Traditional sport is defined as a form of recreational or sporting activity that is a heritage or hereditary in a society and reflects inherent values of a tribe, ethnicity, culture. In this context, values that are inherent in the individual tribes and considered as African. Budiman, A., Nopembri, S., & Supriadi, D. (2024) "Sundanese traditional sports: level of knowledge among 21st century adolescents." *Retos: nuevas tendencias en educación física, deporte y recreación*, (51), 449-454.

¹⁴⁸ First All-African Games was the first name of the event, following the first rendition, the name subsequently changed to All-Africa Games, All-African Games to its current name, African Games.

¹⁴⁹ Cheeseman, N. (2015) "National, One-Party States, and Military Rule," in Routledge Handbook of African Politics, Edited by Nic Cheeseman, David M. Anderson, and Andrea Scheibler, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, (2015) 13.

¹⁵⁰ Cheeseman, N. (2015).

¹⁵¹ Autochthony means nativeness as in originating and inhabiting the same place.

¹⁵² Cheeseman, N. (2015) 109.

¹⁵³ Cheeseman, N. (2015) 111.

¹⁵⁴ Ganga, J. C. (2016).

¹⁵⁵ Cheeseman, N. (2015) 111.

¹⁵⁶ Crowley, D. J. (1963) "Politics and Tribalism in the Katanga." *The Western Political Quarterly*, 16(1), 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.2307/445959>.

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¹⁶⁰ Malembanie, N. K. (2015) "Impact of One-Party Dictatorship in the Republic of Congo." *A Synopsis to Development (September 1, 2015)*. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2654533> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2654533>

¹⁶¹ Decalo, S. (1985) "Socio-economic constraints on radical action in the people's republic of Congo." *Journal of Communist Studies*, 1:3-4, 39 57, DOI: [10.1080/13523278508414781](https://doi.org/10.1080/13523278508414781)

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- ¹⁶² Clark, J. F. & Samuel Decalo, S. (2012) "Historical Dictionary of Republic of Congo." Scarecrow Press.
- ¹⁶³ Boutet, R. (1990) "Les trois glorieuses ou la chute de Fulbert Youlou." *Collection Afrique contemporaine. Éditions Chaka*. ISBN 2907768050.
- ¹⁶⁴ Boutet, R. (1990) "Les trois glorieuses ou la chute de Fulbert Youlou."
- ¹⁶⁵ Clark, J. F. & Samuel Decalo, S. (2012).
- ¹⁶⁶ Decalo, S. (1985).
- ¹⁶⁷ Decraene, P. & Bahri, M. (1965). "Two Views of Congo-Brazzaville." *Africa Report, New York* Vol. 10, Iss. 9, (Oct 1, 1965) 35.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ganga (2016).
- ¹⁶⁹ Ganga (2016).
- ¹⁷⁰ Ganga (2016).
- ¹⁷¹ Ganga (2016).
- ¹⁷² Ganga (2016) 84.
- ¹⁷³ SCSA (1964). Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964.
- ¹⁷⁴ The Friendship Games were the first multi-sport event held on the continent in 1960 in Madagascar that was modelled on the Olympic Games and confined to French-speaking African countries. Following the resistance in the first rendition, the name of the games was renamed the Community Games.
- ¹⁷⁵ SCSA (1964).
- ¹⁷⁶ SCSA (1964).
- ¹⁷⁷ SCSA (1965a), Minutes of the meeting of the Permanent Committee of the First African Games.
- ¹⁷⁸ Cheeseman, N. (2015) 13.
- ¹⁷⁹ Charitas, P. (2015) "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965."
- ¹⁸⁰ SCSA (1964). Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964.
- ¹⁸¹ SCSA (1964).
- ¹⁸² SCSA (1964).
- ¹⁸³ Kilson, M. (1966) "Political Change in a West African State, A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone." *Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts*, (1966) 84.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ganga (2016) 26.
- ¹⁸⁵ Nunn, N. & Wantchekon, L. (2009) "The Slave Trade and the origin of mistrust in Africa." *NBER Working Paper Series* 14783 <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14783> National Bureau of Economic Research. 1050 Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge, MA 02138 March 2009.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ganga (2016) 26.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ganga (2016).
- ¹⁸⁸ Ganga (2016) 29.
- ¹⁸⁹ Ganga (2016) 31.
- ¹⁹⁰ Ganga (2016) 18.

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- ¹⁹¹ Ganga (2016) 28.
- ¹⁹² Ganga (2016) 16.
- ¹⁹³ Ganga (2016) 20.
- ¹⁹⁴ Camara, P. M. (2023) “A divided house: the foundation and evolution of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, 1965–2013.” *Sport in History*, DOI: 10.1080/17460263.2022.2157868
- ¹⁹⁵ Ganga (2016) 23.
- ¹⁹⁶ N’Dalla, C. E. (1965).
- ¹⁹⁷ N’Dalla, C. E. (1965).
- ¹⁹⁸ N’Dalla, C. E. (1965).
- ¹⁹⁹ N’Dalla, C. E. (1965).
- ²⁰⁰ OAU (1965).
- ²⁰¹ N’Dalla, C. E. (1965).
- ²⁰² IBID.
- ²⁰³ SCSA (1965).
- ²⁰⁴ SCSA (1964) Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the First African Games held in Brazzaville, 24-29 February 1964.
- ²⁰⁵ Camara, P. M: (2023) “A divided house: the foundation and evolution of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, 1965–2013.” *Sport in History*, DOI: [10.1080/17460263.2022.2157868](https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2022.2157868)
- ²⁰⁶ SCSA (1965) 1.
- ²⁰⁷ Ganga (2016) 25.
- ²⁰⁸ <https://web.archive.org/web/20160304220856/http://www.fofweb.com/History/HistRefMain.asp?iPin=MWLI237&SID=2&DatabaseName=Modern+World+History+Online&InputText=%22scientific+socialism%22&SearchStyle=&dTitle=Massamba-D%26%23233%3Bbat,+Alphonse&TabRecordType=Biography&BioCountPass=2&SubCountPass=7&DocCountPass=0&ImgCountPass=0&MapCountPass=0&FedCountPass=&MedCountPass=0&NewsCountPass=0&RecPosition=2&AmericanData=&WomenData=&AFHCDat a=&IndianData=&WorldData=Set&AncientData=&GovernmentData=History>.
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- ²⁹² Henry, I. and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (2007).
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Soudanaise which stated as a political movement and later political party of President Modibo Keita.

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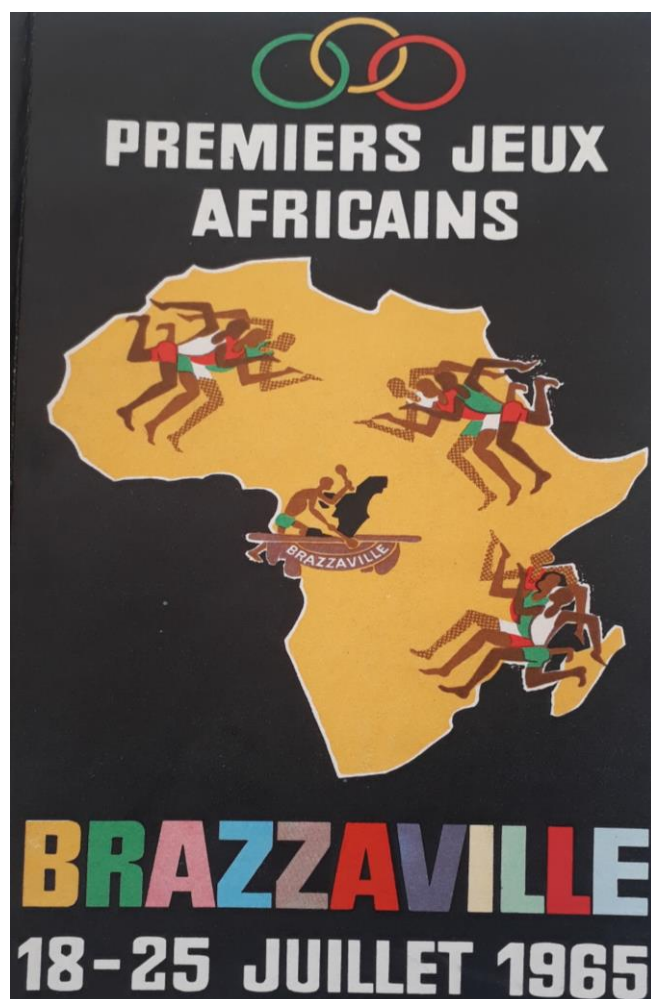
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D%26%23233%3Bbat,+Alphonse&TabRecordType=Biography&BioCountPass=2&SubCountPass=7&DocCountPass=0&ImgCountPass=0&MapCountPass=0&FedCountPass=&MedCountPass=0&NewsCountPass=0&RecPosition=2&AmericanData=&WomenData=&AFHCDat
a=&IndianData=&WorldData=Set&AncientData=&GovernmentData=History.

Appendices: Logos and medal tables

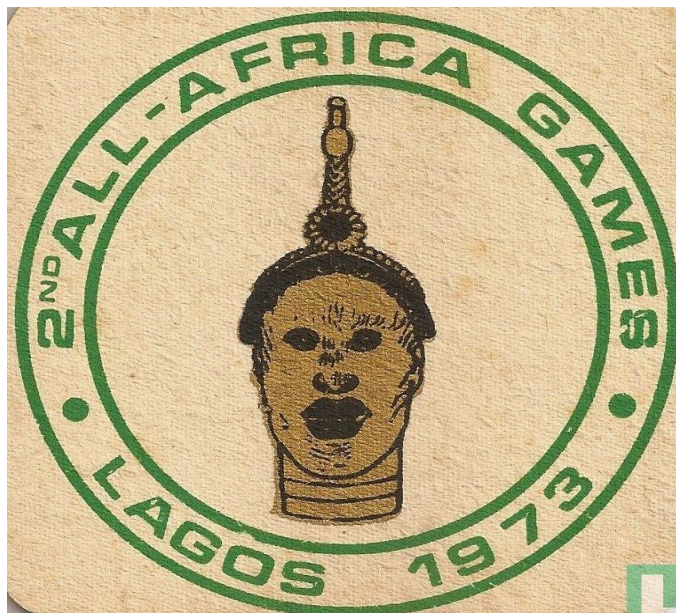
Appendix 1: Logos

1. Brazzaville 1965



SCSA (1963-1965). First African Games (logo). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

2. Lagos 1973



SCSA (1973). Second All-African Games (logo). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

3. Algiers 1978



SCSA (1978). Third All-African Games (logo). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

4. Nairobi 1987



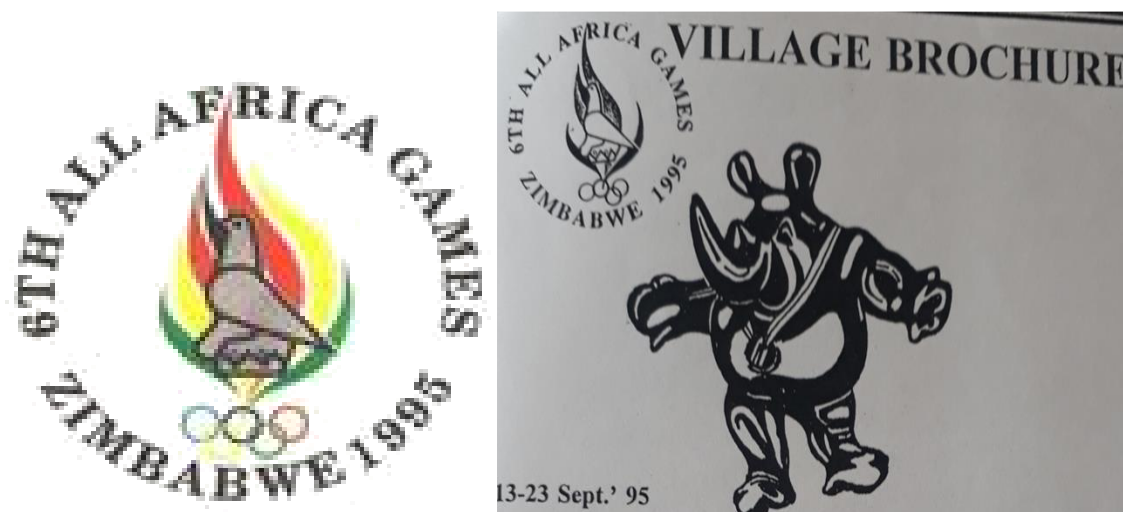
SCSA (1983-1992). Fourth All-African Games (logo). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

5. Cairo 1991



SCSA (1983-1992). Fifth All-African Games (logo & mascot). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

6. Harare 1995



SCSA (1995). Sixth All-African Games (logo & mascot). SCSA Collection. Lausanne, IOC Historical Archive.

Appendix 2: Medal tables of first five countries

Medal table 1965

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	United Arab Republic	17	10	3	30
2	Nigeria	9	6	4	19
3	Kenya	8	11	4	23
4	Senegal	6	3	7	16
5	Ivory Coast	5	2	5	12

Medal table 1973

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	Egypt	25	16	17	58
2	Nigeria	18	25	20	73
3	Kenya	9	9	18	36
4	Uganda	8	6	6	20
5	Ghana	7	7	13	27

Medal table 1978

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	Tunisia	29	14	20	63
2	Nigeria	22	10	15	47
3	Algeria	21	19	23	63
4	Kenya	11	8	8	27
5	Morocco	7	8	11	26

Medal table 1987

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	Egypt	31	22	20	73
2	Tunisia	28	26	22	76
3	Nigeria	23	16	21	60
4	Kenya	22	25	16	63
5	Algeria	13	23	23	59

Medal table 1991

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	Egypt	90	53	52	195
2	Algeria	49	36	34	119
3	Nigeria	43	51	43	137
4	Kenya	13	17	18	48
5	Zimbabwe	8	3	13	24

Medal table 1995

Rank	Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1	South Africa	64	51	39	154
2	Egypt	61	43	50	154
3	Nigeria	36	31	40	107
4	Algeria	15	16	26	57
5	Kenya	12	11	17	40