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*Chaired by Varun Naga*

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# International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) - 2016

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*Topic A: Corruption and the 2016 Extraordinary Congress  
(Presidential Elections)*

*Topic B: Qatar 2022 World Cup*

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## Committee Overview

The International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) is an organization that serves as the international governing body for association football. FIFA is in charge of developing the game of football on an international level by monitoring its ethics, interpreting the rules of the sport, and organizing international tournaments around the world, the most famous being the World Cup which is held every 4 years. FIFA has 191 member nations (associations) that are divided into 6 confederations: the AFC in Asia, the CAF in Africa, the CONCACAF in North America, Central America, and the Caribbean, CONMEBOL in South America, UEFA in Europe, and the OFC in Oceania. FIFA provides support to these associations without infringing the sovereignty of these governing bodies. It is important to note that the events of this committee will be taking place in 2016.

FIFA has 3 main structural components: the President, the FIFA Congress, an executive committee, and 22 more specialized committees. The FIFA

President oversees the FIFA Congress as well as the executive committee. The FIFA Congress serves as the legislative branch of FIFA, and each association has one vote in Congress. The specialized committees are a platform for confederation representatives to voice their respective confederations' opinions. They then report to the executive committee which makes a decision on the topic.

In this committee, delegates will work to resolve the issues of corruption within the FIFA in 2016, work to reform the voting protocol, and elect a new President who will lead the organization in combating corruption and the abuse of power. Furthermore, delegates will discuss the controversy surrounding the selection of Qatar as the host for the 2022 World Cup. In the midst of these controversies, FIFA must continue preparing for the 2018 World Cup in Russia.



## Topic A:

### *Corruption and the 2016 Extraordinary Congress (Presidential Elections)*

## Introduction

FIFA, since its inception in 1904, has strived to follow a code of ethics to help effectively and justly serve as the international governing body for football. However, in recent years, FIFA has had many issues with corruption, with the most recent scandal resulting in seven high-ranking FIFA officials arrested by US authorities in May 2015.<sup>1</sup> In the aftermath of these arrests, 16 more officials were arrested in December of the same year. In response to the May arrests, current President Sepp Blatter was impeached on October 8, 2015 and was suspended from the organization. Furthermore, Michel Platini, President of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), who was also believed to be complicit in the corruption was also suspended and later banned for 4 years from the organization.<sup>2</sup> Issa Hayatou is serving as acting FIFA President until a new one is elected into office. The FIFA committee will work towards electing a new President that will help uproot the corruption within the organization and review the current voting procedure and constitution to ensure that leaders are not elected by way of corrupt dealings with officials within the organization. While this conflict relates only to FIFA, the conclusion reached by revising the current constitution will stand in future elections and will also impact leadership

decisions within the confederations that make up FIFA.

## Historical Background

To understand the extent of corruption within FIFA and its roots, it is important to discuss the recent history of FIFA as an organization and some key aspects of its constitution that affect the Presidency.

The recent history of FIFA's corruption can be dated back to Blatter's predecessor, Joao Havelange. Havelange took office on May 8, 1974 and left office June 8, 1998. Havelange was not a victim of any corruption allegations during his 24-year tenure; in fact, it seemed that he did a great service to the sport. Havelange brokered contracts between large companies such as Adidas, Coca Cola, football teams, and players.<sup>3</sup> These contracts are what allowed football clubs to expand their budgets and sign new players; as a result of his efforts football clubs such as Real Madrid and Manchester United are world-renowned brands and the World Cup is the most-watched sporting event in the world.

However, soon after his tenure as President, Havelange started facing allegations of corruption. In 1999, he faced allegations of accepting bribes in connection with Amsterdam's failed bid to host the 1992 Summer Olympics.<sup>4</sup> More recently, Havelange was forced to resign from the

<sup>1</sup>"Fifa Corruption Crisis: Key Questions Answered." BBC News. BBC, December 21, 2015.  
<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Peck, Tom. "Who Was Joao Havelange, Godfather of Sport's Corrupt Family?" The Independent. Independent Digital News and Media, August 16, 2016.

<sup>4</sup>"Taking advantage". CNN. 22 January 1998. Retrieved 29 March 2012.

International Olympic Committee as an Honorary President of FIFA after a World Cup bribery case.<sup>5</sup> The case involved the International Sports and Leisure (ISL) agency, which declared bankruptcy in 2001. ISL was a sports marketing agency and there were allegations that Havelange had received a \$1 million bribe in connection with ISL receiving many future World Cup and Olympics contracts. An investigation was opened into the matter and in a court hearing in 2012 it was found that Havelange and his former son-in-law Ricardo Texeira were found guilty of bribery totaling almost \$22 million.<sup>6</sup>

After Havelange stepped down from his role as FIFA President in 1998, Sepp Blatter took over his position. Blatter was one of Havelange's top administrators who knew FIFA's culture and was supported by Havelange. The other candidate was Lennart Johansson, who had backing from European and African members and promised financial transparency.<sup>7</sup> Days prior to the election in Paris, it was widely reported that African delegates were being offered \$50,000 to vote for Blatter, in last-minute lobbying efforts. Blatter ended up winning the vote 111-80, with Johansson withdrawing before a second-round run-off.<sup>8</sup> Blatter later denied allegations of corruption and was voted in successfully.

Blatter's tenure was marked by allegations of corruption and skepticism about his credibility. The first instance of corruption allegations came with the same cause that saw the former President Havelange's resignation from FIFA. The ISL bankruptcy left FIFA with over \$100 million in debt, which nearly cost Blatter his job.

Investigations by Swiss officials found over \$10 million in kickbacks to FIFA executives, but did not implicate Blatter and called his actions "clumsy."<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this incident occurred close to the end of his first term as President and hurt his run for re-election in 2002.

Blatter faced opposition from top officials of FIFA before the election in 2002 but came out victorious over African candidate Issa Hayatou. Though he won, his re-election was surrounded by controversy, particularly allegations of bribery. In 2004, FIFA released its first code of ethics to combat the alleged corruption within the organization. It is important to note that prior to this, FIFA had no ethical guidelines.<sup>10</sup> In 2006, FIFA Vice President Jack Warner was accused of fraud regarding resale of 2006 World Cup tickets but was cleared by FIFA of all charges. The organization merely expressed disapproval of his conduct. The following year, Blatter ran unopposed and remained in the presidency. The years during his third term were similarly marked by accusations of bribery and financial mismanagement.<sup>11</sup>

The controversy surrounding FIFA exploded in 2010 when the decision was made to announce the hosts of the 2018 and 2022 World Cups in the same year. Critics criticized the decision, stating that announcing both hosts at the same time would encourage vote-trading and other such corrupt activities.<sup>12</sup> These activities took place, and soon two officials: Amos Adamu of Nigeria and Reynald Temarii of Tahiti were suspended after they were filmed on tape taking payments in exchange for their support.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, England's

<sup>5</sup> Cbs/ap. "A Recent History of FIFA Scandals." CBS News. CBS Interactive, May 27, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> The New York Times. "The Rise and Fall of Sepp Blatter." The New York Times. The New York Times, May 27, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

bid chief revealed that four Executive Committee members of FIFA solicited bribes from him for their support.<sup>14</sup> In the midst of this controversy, Russia and Qatar were announced as the hosts of the 2018 and 2020 World Cups, respectively (this will be covered in more detail in Topic B). Though there was much controversy surrounding this decision, FIFA ruled that these violations did not affect the integrity of the vote, and the decision stood.

More controversy surrounded the election in 2011, where Blatter was to run against his former ally, Mohammed Bin Hammam. Blatter had adequate support in the CONCACAF region after he pledged \$1 million of FIFA's money to CONCACAF before polling. In response, Bin Hammam traveled to meet with Caribbean delegates and offered them \$40,000 for their votes. This underground work was exposed, and Bin Hammam was suspended by the FIFA ethics committee.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Blatter once again ran unopposed and won the presidency for a fourth time. Even further controversy stemmed from the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. Though it was, at the time, the most watched sporting event in the world, there was controversy surrounding the Brazilian government, worker deaths, and corruption. The 2014 World Cup cost over \$11 million for the Brazilian government to put on, and it was found that many Brazilian politicians and businessmen were using some of that money for personal gain.<sup>16</sup> Many Brazilians protested the World Cup, arguing that essential resources were taken from departments such as education and health and put towards hosting the World Cup.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Cbs/ap. "A Recent History of FIFA Scandals." CBS News. CBS Interactive, May 27, 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> "Nine FIFA Officials and Five Corporate Executives Indicted for Racketeering Conspiracy and Corruption." The United States Department of Justice, June 9, 2015.

Thus, corruption has had a profound effect on the activities of FIFA and its officials which has significantly affected and continues to derail the organization's credibility.

## Contemporary Conditions

### *2015 FIFA Scandal and Aftermath*

The questions surrounding the integrity of FIFA as an organization have only increased in the past two years. On May 27 2015, nine FIFA officials and five corporate executives were arrested by Swiss authorities for racketeering, conspiracy, and corruption.<sup>17</sup> In a joint investigation by the US FBI and IRS, two current FIFA Vice Presidents, and former Presidents of CONCACAF were arrested.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, it was found that those arrested had agreed in principle or had already paid over \$150 million in kickbacks to obtain media and marketing rights to international football tournaments such as the 2010 World Cup, 2011 CONCACAF Gold Cup, and the 2011 FIFA Presidential Election.<sup>19</sup> The police acquired search warrants and seized electronic data and documents from the FIFA headquarters in Zurich, Switzerland and the CONCACAF headquarters in Florida.<sup>20</sup> Six of the defendants pleaded guilty on the day of the arrest. The indictments include alleged corruption which has "harmed victims from the youth leagues and developing countries".<sup>21</sup>

In the wake of these arrests, the 2015 FIFA elections still continued. FIFA faced criticism for holding the elections in light of the events that had conspired just three days prior to the election. Blatter won the

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

presidency by a vote of 133-73 against Prince Ali bin Hussein (Hussein withdrew before the second round of voting).<sup>22</sup> Just 3 days after being elected, Blatter announced his resignation from his position after US officials confirmed that he was the subject of a federal corruption investigation.<sup>23</sup> Though Blatter was trying to distance himself from the arrests, US officials stated that they were attempting to build a case against him, and he duly chose to resign.<sup>24</sup> Though he had not been implicated in any illegal activity, it may be the case that Blatter left his post due to his legal vulnerability. A high-ranking football official stated that Blatter's legal and administrative position made speaking out on issues such as the May 27 arrests and World Cup hosting controversies difficult, as anything he stated publicly could be used as evidence against him.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the official stated that Blatter was facing pressure to step down from commercial partners, corporate partners, and FIFA members. Prior to leaving the conference where he announced his resignation, Blatter stated that FIFA "need[ed] a profound restructuring."<sup>26</sup> Blatter would serve as President until preparations for a new election had been completed.

On September 25, 2015, Swiss investigators launched a criminal investigation against Blatter on account of criminal mismanagement and misappropriation of funds.<sup>27</sup> Officials later revealed that they were investigating 1) a contract signed by Blatter that gave television rights to Jack Warner (a FIFA

official that was arrested in the May 27 incident) and 2) a payment of 2 million Swiss Francs made to another FIFA official: President of UEFA Michel Platini - at the time Platini was a leading candidate to replace Blatter. Soon after, on October 2, 2015, Coca-Cola, Visa, McDonalds, and Anheuser-Busch called for Blatter to resign and highlighted him as an obstacle to reform the organization. Blatter rejected the demands of the companies and stated that he had no intention of quitting.<sup>28</sup>

Six days after this incident, Sepp Blatter, Michel Platini, and Jerome Valcke (FIFA's Secretary General) were suspended for 90 days after the conclusion of the investigation by Swiss authorities. Blatter appealed this decision, citing the suspension as brusque and unfair treatment.<sup>29</sup> Platini also appealed to have his suspension overturned, as he was a candidate for FIFA President, but his request was denied. After this course of events, Issa Hayatou took over as interim President and both FIFA and UEFA held summits to discuss their next courses of action. UEFA would be temporarily led by Angel Maria Villar. Both Hayatou and Villar had been under investigation or charged for misconduct in the past.<sup>30</sup>

On December 3, 2015, Swiss authorities made 16 more arrests on charges of corruption of international soccer in an investigation led by US officials.<sup>31</sup> After being found guilty of ethics violations, Blatter was prohibited from taking part in any soccer-related activities for 8 years by

<sup>22</sup> Borden, Sam, Michael S. Schmidt, and Matt Apuzzo. "Sepp Blatter Decides to Resign as FIFA President in About-Face." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, June 2, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Borden, Sam. "Sepp Blatter, FIFA President, Faces Criminal Investigation in Switzerland." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, September 25, 2015.

<sup>28</sup> Das, Andrew. "Coca-Cola, Visa, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch Call On FIFA's Sepp Blatter to Resign." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, October 2, 2015.

<sup>29</sup> Borden, Sam. "Sepp Blatter and Other Top Officials Are Suspended, Deepening FIFA's Turmoil." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, October 8, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

FIFA's independent ethics committee, as was Michel Platini.<sup>32</sup> The events of 2015, left a vacancy for the President position, and the 2016 FIFA Extraordinary Congress is scheduled for February 26, 2016.<sup>33</sup>

## *The Candidates*

There are four main frontrunners for the position: Prince Ali bin Hussein, Salman Bin Ibrahim Al-Khalifa, Jerome Champagne, and Gianni Infantino. Below are some short profiles on each of them:

### **Prince Ali bin Hussein**

Prince Hussein is the brother of King Abdullah of Jordan and is FIFA's youngest Vice President. Hussein is seen as a very reformist candidate and has made many improvements to football in his home nation, seen by a growing support of the Jordanian National Football Team.<sup>34</sup> Hussein has also been given leadership of Jordan's National Center for Security and Crisis Management.<sup>35</sup> Hussein has mounted a campaign to expand women's football in Jordan and was an instrumental force in FIFA lifting its ban on the hijab in 2010.<sup>36</sup> As FIFA Vice President, Hussein pushed for the publication of report on the controversy of awarding the host nations of the 2018 and 2022 World Cups.<sup>37</sup> Hussein promises financial transparency and has promised to increase the proportion of FIFA's income that goes to associate nations.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, he wants to allow associations to play a larger role in FIFA governance and intends on serving only a single term.

### **Salman Bin Ibrahim Al-Khalifa**

Sheikh Salman is a member of the royal family of Bahrain and is the current President of the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) since May 2013. Salman is also on FIFA council and chairman of the FIFA Development Committee.<sup>39</sup> He has previously served as the President of the

<sup>32</sup>The New York Times. "The Rise and Fall of Sepp Blatter." The New York Times. The New York Times, May 27, 2015.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Borger, Julian. "Fifa Election: Who Is Prince Ali Bin Al-Hussein, Sepp Blatter's Challenger?" The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, May 29, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Disciplinary Committee, FIFA. Archived 2009-06-26 at the Wayback Machine

Bahrain football confederation, Chairman of the AFC Disciplinary Committee, and Deputy Chairman of the FIFA Disciplinary Committee.<sup>40</sup> Salman, in the past, supported Sepp Blatter in his campaign for re-election in 2002, 2011, and 2015. Salman defends FIFA and believes that FIFA does not “need a revolution,” but rather needs to be “re-thought, re-positioned, and re-energized.”<sup>41</sup> Salman’s campaign hedges on expanding the 32-team World Cup, with Salman stating that it should not be used as an election tool.<sup>42</sup> Salman proposes spending more of FIFA’s reserves and incomes (which total over \$6 billion) from tournaments.<sup>43</sup> Salman has stated that he prefers need-based development funds and seems to be a very risk-averse candidate. Salman claims that he can restore FIFA because he has already restored the AFC from corrupt leadership. Salman, after being elected in 2013 helped end factional disputes and clear out corrupt officials such as former AFC President bin Hammam (who was banned for life from FIFA). Salman has also worked towards implementing an ethics code in the AFC.<sup>44</sup>

## **Jerome Champagne**

Champagne is a former French Diplomat (1983-1998) who transitioned into football administration after the 1998 World Cup in France. He then served as a FIFA executive from 1999 until 2010, when he left the organization due to political infighting.<sup>45</sup> While a member of FIFA, Champagne served as Deputy Secretary General from 2002 to 2005, and the Director of International Relations from 2007 to 2010. Champagne was a candidate to replace Blatter in 2015 but failed to obtain the backing of five football associations, which is a requirement for candidacy.<sup>46</sup> Despite having a close relationship with Blatter, Champagne called for huge reforms at FIFA. Champagne was influential in working towards several FIFA initiatives such as bettering relations with the EU, the International Olympic Committee, FIFpro, the International Players Union, and many other organizations.<sup>47</sup> Since leaving FIFA, Champagne has been working as an independent football consultant and worked to gain recognition for Kosovo. Champagne is against expanding the number of teams at the World Cup and promises to restructure the current grant system - which allocates the same amount of funds to rich and poor Football Associations (FAs) by giving more grants to the poorest members.

## **Gianni Infantino**

Infantino has been a member of UEFA since 2000 and currently serves as the Secretary General of the organization. He formerly served as the Director of UEFA’s Legal Affairs and Club Licensing Division and Deputy Secretary General before he was

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Associated Press. “Sheikh Salman Bin Ibrahim Al Khalifa.” ProSoccerTalk. NBC Sports, February 22, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Reuters. “Meet the Fifa Presidential Candidates: Jerome Champagne.” The National. The National, February 22, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.



promoted in 2010.<sup>48</sup> Infantino served as Michel Platini's right-hand man at UEFA and entered the presidential race right at the deadline, after Platini was given a suspension.<sup>49</sup> Infantino has made expansion an important part of his campaign and aims to increase the amount of teams at the World Cup from 32 to 40.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, Infantino has plans to rotate the host confederation for the World Cup every year, and has welcomed the idea of having multiple host nations (an idea which has been successful in the UEFA Euro competition). Infantino has also made promises to sharply increase the cash handouts given to member associations by FIFA. He promises to allocate \$5 million every four years to each FA, and to give each confederation \$40 million to each continental confederation over four years.<sup>51</sup>

## FIFA Policies on Leadership and Voting:

### *FIFA's Current Voting Policies*

To vote for a candidate for the presidency, it is important to understand the candidacy and election process for the role of President. According to FIFA guidelines, a presidential candidate has to have played an active role in football administration for the two of the five years prior to his proposed candidacy.<sup>52</sup> A candidate must also present declarations of support from at least five of FIFA's member associations - an association can provide a declaration of support to a single candidate.<sup>53</sup> Candidates

are also subject to "integrity checks," which are performed by FIFA's ethics committee.<sup>54</sup>

The election itself takes place at the FIFA Congress. The election is item 11 on the agenda and is conducted after Congress passes any draft statutes. Each member association is allowed to cast one ballot. This means that small associations have the same voting rights as larger associations (Blatter was able to use this policy to his advantage in his multiple bids for re-election). Before the ballots are cast, the candidate is allowed to address the Congress for 15 minutes. The ballots are then cast privately. After all ballots are cast, the votes are counted, and a candidate must earn a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority to win the presidency. If no candidate wins a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority, a second round of voting is held, and a simple majority is enough to win. If no candidate has a simple majority of votes, the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, and another round of voting begins.<sup>55</sup>

### *Current Leadership Structure:*

Many of FIFA's current corruption problems stem from the organization's leadership - this is largely due to the organization promoting corrupt members to the Executive Committee. The reason that this was such a large problem is that members of the Executive Committee had incredible power and influence over the organization's decisions. For example, the 22 members of FIFA's Executive committee were solely responsible for selecting the venues for the World Cups.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> UEFA.com. "UEFA General Secretary: Inside UEFA." UEFA.com, July 17, 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Hopmayer, Rachel, Raichele Privette, and Associated Press. "Gianni Infantino Elected FIFA President." NBC Sports Washington, February 26, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Borden, Sam. "In FIFA Pitch, Gianni Infantino Pushes Expansion and Continuity." The New York Times. The New York Times, February 24, 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Homewood, Brian. "Presidential Rivals Champagne, Infantino Clash over FIFA Finances." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, February 20, 2016.

<sup>52</sup> "Factbox: How the FIFA Election Works." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, February 26, 2016.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Austin, Michelle Louise, and Michelle Louise Austin. Compliance and Enforcement, October 27, 2017.

Another issue that FIFA has faced is of candidates bribing voting members to win their votes. However, the organization has made little to no progress in stopping the bribery that has kept the corrupt leadership in power.

FIFA leadership has also experienced much criticism due to kickbacks from marketing companies guised in the form of gifts. Gifts had also been used to send money between World Cup bidders and executive committee members. However, executive committee members are not required to disclose or report any gifts they have received. Rather, only bidding teams were

required to report gifts given to executive committee members.<sup>57</sup> These loose rules have resulted in many improper transactions between officials (such as the transactions between Platini and Blatter) and must be clarified and strengthened to prevent such behavior.

In summary, the disclosure process and investigative powers of the organization should be clarified to help work against corruption in the higher leadership in FIFA.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

## Questions a Resolution Must Address

1. *Which of the candidates is best fit to lead FIFA in the coming years?*

One of the most immediate issues that FIFA is facing right now is the vacancy of the President position. FIFA needs a leader with experience that can lead the organization in its battle against corruption.

2. *How can FIFA's voting procedure be reformed?*

One of the trends that were seen in Blatter's campaigns was that he was able to obtain the bloc votes of the confederations with many nations, which virtually guaranteed him victory. How can the voting process be reformed to prevent the same candidate from winning year after year?

3. *How can FIFA be restructured to deter corruption?*

It can be seen that much of the lasting corruption in FIFA has happened because of the way that the organization is structured. How can FIFA change its organizational structure to prevent rampant corruption in its higher ranks?

4. *What steps can be taken to ensure proper fiscal management among FIFA leadership?*

FIFA's leadership has come under severe criticism for receiving kickbacks from marketing companies. The organization needs to enact policy that prevents high-ranking officials from abusing their power for personal monetary gain.

5. *How should FIFA handle the events of the May 2015 arrests?*

The arrests in May 2015 have caused the public to question the integrity of all the FIFA executive committee and FIFA's high-ranking officials. Delegates should find ways to increase the investigative authority of FIFA to ensure that corrupt leadership is ousted.

## Bloc Positions

- *AFC*

The AFC, though not one of the richest confederations has had significant influence in FIFA's recent history. With Qatar's bid to host the 2022 World Cup accepted, it has been a large benefactor of the previous FIFA leadership. AFC nations will tend to give support to Sheikh Salman due to his existing relationship with the organization. AFC nations hope that Salman's work in the AFC will be representative of the work that he will do if elected as President.

- *CAF*

The CAF played a big role in previous FIFA elections, as they had 54 member associations and held the key to a victory. The CAF support for Havelange and Blatter was one of the important factors in the success of their campaigns. It is expected that the CAF's votes will not come in a bloc, as they have in the past. The CAF is urging its nations to vote for Sheikh Salman, but it is also expected that many CAF votes will go to Prince Ali Hussein.<sup>58</sup>

- *CONCACAF*

The CONCACAF federation at one time was highly sought after for bloc votes, as the region contained 35 member associations. However, CONCACAF has come under fire in recent years due to the corrupt activities of CONCACAF President Jack Warner (which saw him indicted) and CONCACAF's former Secretary General

Chuck Blazer. CONCACAF is looking to turn a new leaf and CONCACAF's executive committee has stated that it will not influence any votes from above.<sup>59</sup>

- *CONMEBOL*

CONMEBOL, like UEFA hosts some of the world's greatest footballing nations and players. CONMEBOL members have agreed to give Infantino unanimous support in the coming election. CONMEBOL recently elected a new President: Alejandro Dominguez, and soon after this announcement followed.<sup>60</sup>

- *OFC*

The OFC has not been a significant player in previous FIFA elections due to the fact that it has fewer member associates. However, given the fact that the CAF and CONCACAF confederations are not bloc voting, it may have some influence in the coming election. OFC officials have not yet voiced support for a candidate yet.

- *UEFA*

Countries in UEFA are some of the world's greatest footballing nations. The European leagues host some of the world's best clubs and national teams and they support the idea of expanding the number of teams at the World Cup. UEFA members will also tend to vote for Infantino because he represents and will implement many of UEFA's ideals and policies.

<sup>58</sup> Edwards, Piers. "Fifa Presidential Election: Has Africa Lost Its Clout?" BBC News. BBC, February 25, 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Carlisle, Jeff. "FIFA Presidential Election Presents CONCACAF with Chance to Turn Page." ESPN. ESPN Internet Ventures, February 24, 2016.

<sup>60</sup> "CONMEBOL Gives Infantino Its FIFA Election Backing." SI.com, January 28, 2016.

## Conclusion

FIFA has recently been facing corruption issues amongst other allegations which derails the credibility of the organization as football's governing body. FIFA was put in further disarray by the May 2015 arrests and the suspension of President Sepp Blatter. FIFA must serve as a model for other nations' football associations (FAs) and set a gold standard for its confederations to follow.

Thus, the organization needs a leader that can take them into a future void of corruption and scandals. However, a leader should also help spread the culture of football across the world and serve as the face of an organization that helps the sport develop in nations where it is not already established.

FIFA member associations must work together to find Blatter's replacement and change the organizational structure of FIFA to lead the organization towards becoming corruption-free. The decisions made in this committee will impact the future of the organization for the next four years, so it is important that member associations elect a leader who is qualified and prepared to lead FIFA into a new age of football.



## Topic B: Qatar 2022 World Cup

### Introduction

In 2010, the bidding for the hosting rights of both the 2018 World Cup and the 2022 World Cup took place with the U.S., Australia, South Korea, Qatar, and Japan competing to host the pinnacle event of football for 2022.<sup>61</sup> After four rounds of bidding and lobbying, then FIFA President Sepp Blatter announced on December 2, 2010 at the FIFA Headquarters in Zurich that Qatar was chosen to host the 2022 World Cup while Russia was chosen to host the 2018 World Cup.<sup>62</sup> With such a decision, this was the first time that FIFA granted a West Asian and Middle Eastern country the right to host the World Cup.<sup>63</sup> Qatar also becomes the smallest country to ever host the World Cup. But with FIFA's decisions, not only were monumental first steps taken, but concerns regarding their decision surfaced and continue to be brought up.

### Historical Background

After 4 rounds of voting and deliberation, FIFA came to the consensus of giving hosting rights to Qatar for 2022. FIFA's granting of the hosting rights to Qatar was surprising with many expecting the U.S. to win the overall bid for 2022.<sup>64</sup>

With the problems persisting in Qatar, many thought FIFA would have not allowed Qatar to go past the initial stages of bidding, especially with its issues of human rights. For banning homosexuality, suppressing their women, and flogging foreigners, human rights campaigners called for a reversal of FIFA's decision.<sup>65</sup>

Even during the initial bid requests in 2009 by countries wanting to host the 2022 World Cup, Amnesty International published a report where it detailed "how at least 18 people, mostly foreign nationals, were sentenced to flogging of between 40 and 100 lashes for offences related to "illicit sexual relations" or alcohol consumption."<sup>66</sup>

With these concerns, other reasons for Qatar's successful bid have surfaced after FIFA's decision, including bribery. First off, Qatar is an absolute monarchy, a form of government that FIFA prefers as FIFA Secretary General Jerome Valcke, "plainly admitted 'I will say something which is crazy, but less democracy is sometimes better for organizing a World Cup'" .<sup>67</sup>

Qatar has the highest GDP of any nation and as a result, Qatar used its financial standing to lobby for votes. One of its major targets was the Confederation of African Football whom Qatar knew was strapped for money. So, in order to present

<sup>61</sup> Macdonald, Ewan. "World Cup Bidding Process Explained: How The 2018 & 2022 World Cup Hosts Are Chosen." *World Cup Bidding Process Explained: How The 2018 & 2022 World Cup Hosts Are Chosen* | Goal.com, Goal.com.

<sup>62</sup> Jackson, Jamie. "Qatar Wins 2022 World Cup Bid." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, December 2, 2010.

<sup>63</sup> Radnedge, Keir. "Qatar 2022 Set to Be a World Cup of Firsts." *World Soccer*, TI Media, 21 November 2016

<sup>64</sup> Macdonald, Ewan. "World Cup Bidding Process Explained: How The 2018 & 2022 World Cup Hosts Are Chosen." *World Cup*

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<sup>65</sup> Conn, David. "Qatar Migrant Workers Are Still Being Exploited, Says Amnesty Report." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, September 26, 2018.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Peters, Jerrad. "How Qatar Won the Right to Host the 2022 FIFA World Cup." *Bleacher Report*. Bleacher Report, October 3, 2017.

their World Cup, bid and to get votes from the delegates on the FIFA Executive Committee, Qatar paid for the Congress and the annual CAF meeting in Libya.

Even to its other competitors in the bidding process, Qatar outspent all the other bidders combined with over \$200 million with Australia being the closet to Qatar with \$42.7 million.<sup>68</sup>

There have also been news of Qatar bribing FIFA for the hosting rights, given FIFA's tendencies and history of corruption. According to various reports, Qatar offered and paid FIFA \$880 million for the rights to host the World Cup in 2 parts: a "\$400 million sum paid approximately 21 days prior to FIFA's decision" of granting Qatar hosting rights and another "\$480 million paid over the next three years."<sup>69</sup>

Even with such issues, allegations, and FIFA's previous history with bribery, Qatar's road to gaining the rights to host the 2022 World Cup has raised questions that could raise a new precedent for subsequent World Cups.

## Contemporary Conditions

Issues over Qatar's hosting of the 2022 World Cup continue to escalate quickly as we near closer to the main event.

### *Environmental, Social, and Economic factors*

With the dangers of extreme heat, with average temperatures reaching 108 degrees Fahrenheit, the World Cup for the first time will be held in the winter from November 21 to December 18.<sup>70</sup> This time

conflicts with the seasons of the premier leagues around the world, and teams will be missing many of their top players, angering the team owners. This change in time might set a new precedent that could affect the grand scheme, hosting selection, and overall schedule of premier leagues for every subsequent World Cup.

Another concern is Qatar's political crisis in the Arabian Peninsula, with Bahrain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE all imposing air, sea, and land blockades.<sup>71</sup> This could seriously lead to more expensive costs for fans and for mounting issues regarding the construction of the stadiums with importing of materials made much harder.<sup>72</sup>

Corruption regarding Qatar's rights to host the World Cup is increasingly concerning as allegations of bribery and investigations and trials regarding Qatar's winning bid grow as we near the main event. The overall credibility of the 2022 World Cup seems to be at risk and the possibility of Qatar hosting the event is in jeopardy.<sup>73</sup>

According to a critical report by Amnesty International, labor issues, human rights violations, and worker exploitations are still running rampant in Qatar even after the Qatari government promised reforms and enacted those reforms.<sup>74</sup> As stated by the report, the company called "Mercury MENA left almost 80 workers from Nepal, India and the Philippines stranded and unpaid for months in Qatar. The report accuses the company of using the *kafala* structure - which it describes as Qatar's

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Harigovind, and Harigovind. "Reports: Qatar May Have Secretly Paid FIFA \$880million to Get the 2022 World Cup." FOX Sports Asia, March 10, 2019.

<sup>70</sup>Sison, Aimee. "Qatar's Winter World Cup Could Become the New Normal." Quartz. Quartz, July 18, 2018.

<sup>71</sup>Chaudhary, Vivek. "Five Years to Qatar 2022 - Five Issues to Be Resolved before the World Cup." ESPN. ESPN Internet Ventures, November 21, 2017.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Conn, David. "Qatar Migrant Workers Are Still Being Exploited, Says Amnesty Report." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 26, 2018.

notorious sponsorship system that ties employees to a single employer – to exploit scores of migrant workers.”<sup>75</sup> The labor issues intertwined human rights violations has led many nations to question the continuation of the construction of stadiums in Qatar, and the corruption of the major businesses and their use of the corrupted Kafala system seems to continue thriving despite the reforms.

Another issue with the 2022 World Cup is the alcohol ban. This will mark the first time that the World Cup will be a “dry tournament.”<sup>76</sup> While the issue may seem insignificant, there could be major ramifications for FIFA, especially with beer company sponsors--particularly Budweiser. There could be fewer fans willing to travel to Qatar from Europe and South America.<sup>77</sup> With Qatar’s current logistical and political problems in the Middle East with its neighbors, FIFA has abandoned its idea of expanding the World Cup to 48 teams will continue with 32 teams, wiping out the hopes of many countries. Additionally, with FIFA hoping to host some World Cup matches in other Middle Eastern countries, their plans inevitably failed with Qatar’s relations with the rest of the Middle East not getting resolved even after 6 years of granting hosting rights<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Chaudhary, Vivek. “Five Years to Qatar 2022 - Five Issues to Be Resolved before the World Cup.” ESPN. ESPN Internet Ventures, November 21, 2017.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Daniels, Tim. “FIFA Won’t Expand 2022 World Cup in Qatar Due to Political, Logistical Issues.” Bleacher Report. Bleacher Report, May 22, 2019.

## Past United Nations and International Actions

### *Labor Issues & Human Rights Violations*

Labor and human rights activists have vocally raised concerns over the abuse of work crews at World Cup sites. Some host countries have lacked essential labor protections which has resulted in labor exploitation and human rights violations that can lead to death.<sup>79</sup> Migrant workers are treated as slave laborers, yet the economies of some countries depend on foreigners and migrant workers for construction.<sup>80</sup>

In response to concerns raised by various parties regarding labor exploitation issues, FIFA stated they would closely monitor working conditions.

In the past, FIFA took a stance against child labor in the production of soccer balls through monetary contributions. Due to pressure from anti-child labor advocacy organizations, FIFA attempted to eradicate child labor usage in its soccer ball production.<sup>81</sup>

For the South African World Cup in 2010, labor standards in the nation were not very well defined. As a result, South African trade unions approached FIFA and developed collective, common commitments for labor standards in construction sites for the 2010 World Cup.<sup>82</sup> One group in particular, Building & Woodworkers International, met with FIFA, who then took these demands to the South African government for implementation.<sup>83</sup> This manifested successfully in the form of

<sup>79</sup> Voa. “Activists: Abuse of Workers in FIFA World Cup Cities.” VOA. VOA - Voice of America English News, July 21, 2015.

<sup>80</sup> Efrani, Azadeh. “Kicking Away Responsibility: FIFAs Role in Response to ...” Accessed November 5, 2019.

<sup>81</sup> “Football Leaders Stand by as Human Rights Abuses Pile up ...” Accessed November 5, 2019.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.



numerous inspections of workers' conditions.<sup>84</sup>

With regards to gender rights, FIFA states and enforces that discrimination based on gender, such as women being banned from entering football stadiums, is punishable by suspension or expulsion.<sup>85</sup>

Moving onto action taken by the United Nations, the organization dropped its case against Qatar's suspected human rights violations and labor issues in its working sites after Qatar made meager, verbal promises of labor reform.<sup>86</sup> The government continues to promise reform, but its economy hinges upon the exploitation of undocumented workers.

Historically, FIFA has focused on seeking profit regardless of the price or consequences faced by local communities unless there is overwhelming pressure from advocacy groups to do so.<sup>87</sup> This pressure for action comes from the grave consequences in profits if FIFA does not pursue a solution. As for the United Nations, continued verbal promises made by Qatar suffices to drop accusations and trials regarding human rights violations experienced as a result of the nation's labor economy.

## *Corruption & Bribery*

With regards to corruption and bribery, when Mohamed bin Hammam, a member of the Executive Committee was charged with bribery as a violation of the FIFA Code of Ethics when he distributed roughly \$40,000 in cash to soccer officials while running for the FIFA presidency.<sup>88</sup> As a result, he was banned for life from all soccer-related activities. People then took note of the Executive Committee's decision to choose Qatar, which happened to be Bin Hammam's country of origin. FIFA, in its proceedings against bin Hammam, did not provide sufficient evidence that bin Hammam bribed officials.<sup>89</sup> The investigation was not thorough due to pressure FIFA faced to punish wrongdoers promptly, setting a dangerous precedent for future investigations.

Considering recent changes to FIFA's policy, another punishment that has been imposed for bribery is fines<sup>90</sup>. However, recently added to this policy is a 10-year limit on prosecuting. Thus, if more than 10 years has passed since the bribery event, it cannot be prosecuted. In addition, an update to the English version of the FIFA code of ethics removed the word "corruption" entirely from the policy.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Efrani, Azadeh. "Kicking Away Responsibility: FIFAs Role in Response to ..." Accessed November 5, 2019.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> "Chinese Football Fans Likely to Cheer for Germany at 2018 World Cup." South China Morning Post, December 1, 2017.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

## Questions a Resolution Must Address

1. *How do we address the concerns of the Premier Leagues?*

The occurrence of the first ever winter World Cup will coincide with the premier league season. This presents time conflicts for some of the world's best players. How do we ensure a favorable solution for all parties involved?

2. *What kind of precedent should be set for future World Cup schedules?*

Given that this is the first ever World Cup occurring in the winter, it has the potential to create new precedent for future tournament scheduling as well as affect Premier League season times.

3. *How should we minimize the impact of Qatar's continuing political crisis?*

With the ongoing political turmoil raging in Qatar, issues such as player and fan safety, as well as mounting costs due to blockades in effect on the country are brought to the forefront. How will we address these issues so as to create an enjoyable and safe experience for all involved?

4. *How can we maintain our public image in the face of corruption scandals?*

The corruption scandals of 2015 still loom in the back of the minds of many. How do we provide reassurance to the public that no recurrence of such issues will occur? How do we repair our damaged public image and restore confidence in the FIFA brand as a whole?

5. *What can we do to ensure humane working conditions for those involved in the tournament?*

Qatari working conditions have had a reputation in the past for being lackluster and neglectful of labor rights. Despite government led reform, these issues are still ongoing. What will be done to ensure fair working conditions for those involved in the tournament?

6. *How do we maintain profitability despite the recent alcohol ban?*

With the new alcohol ban affecting the World Cup for the first time, many alcohol vending sponsors will not be able to sell their products at the venue. Furthermore, some fans will be less likely to buy tickets if alcohol is not allowed. Thus, a major issue is generating revenues off the event comparable to that of previous World Cups.

## Bloc Positions

- *AFC*

Qatar is a member country of the AFC. Thus, if the World Cup is held in this nation, it will raise the profile of the confederation as a whole and can allow more teams to participate. By bolstering the visibility of one of its own nations, the status of the AFC will rise on a global scale. This would greatly benefit in the AFC as increased prominence may allow teams to improve and result in more nations from the confederation entering future world cups.

- *CAF*

Nations in the CAF tend to perform better than nations in the AFC. As such, they might be disgruntled with Qatar being chosen to host the World Cup rather than one of the members of the CAF. They have larger prominence and have a larger market for FIFA than the AFC does. In addition, more teams from the CAF tend to be chosen to participate in the World Cup, as such, they might feel that they deserve added publicity and revenue.

- *CONCACAF*

CONCACAF has changed its methods of qualifications to allow its teams to qualify for the World Cup. The qualifications are stricter than previous years. Perhaps this is to allow very skilled teams to enter and qualify for the World Cup. If incredibly skilled teams from the confederation enter the World Cup, there is a high chance they perform very well in Qatar, which would reflect well on their confederation and allow for increased profitability and profits.

- *CONMEBOL*

CONMEBOL is renowned globally for being the confederation with the most intense rules, players, and games. Looking at their statistics for the number of teams that have qualified for the World Cup, the numbers are relatively low. However, many if not most if not all of the teams they send to the World Cup end up in the top 8, top 4, and top 2. As such, given that CONMEBOL will likely send incredibly talented teams to the World Cup in 2022 regardless of its locations, they may not have much of an interest in the hosting of World Cup 2022 in Qatar.

- *OFC*

Given that the OFC has had little involvement in past FIFA elections, it is difficult to predict their involvement in voting. However, a dedication to their players' safety and low costs for any fans visiting from their country will likely be within their priorities.

- *UEFA*

UEFA contains some of the most successful teams in FIFA history. Given that they care highly about their players' continued success, they will most likely vote in favor of positions which ensure humane working conditions as well as ensure player safety.

## Conclusion

This represents the first ever occurrence of a FIFA World Cup tournament in the winter rather than summer. As such, it is important to set an example for potential future winter tournaments while maintaining the level of quality expected of an international football competition. Different member associations must work together to reach decisions which will ensure player and fan safety in the face of Qatar's ongoing political crisis as well as address more corporate problems such as the profitability of the tournament and embargo-related cost increases. Furthermore, delegates should consider the human and worker rights violations that are currently occurring in Qatar.

The decisions made in this committee will set a precedent for future FIFA sponsored tournaments, so it is imperative that the delegates pass a resolution that addresses the ethical and logistical issues associated with the Qatar 2022 tournament. Furthermore, the committee should take steps towards ensuring that corruption is eliminated from the voting process for important decisions such as the World Cup hosting nation and the FIFA presidency.

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