

COVER PAGE

THE WORLD CUP BYLINE PROJECT: AT THE INTERSECTION OF **POLITICS** AND FIFA WORLD CUP



WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

LAURIER

Inspiring Lives.



BALSILLIE SCHOOL
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT THE WORLD CUP BYLINE PROJECT

FIFA AND THE GOVERNANCE THE 'WORLD'S GAME

THE MEN'S WORLD CUP AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

QATAR AND THE 2022 FIFA MEN'S WORLD CUP

INTRO/ABOUT THE PROJECT

- What is the byline in association football (soccer)?
- Intersection sport and politics – particularly nationalism, international affairs, globalization
- Many fine works – CLR James cricket; Mark Dyreson (American sport); ***
 - Football specific: Franklin Foer, Simon Kupfer; Jonathan Wilson; David Goldblatt...
 - Scholarly work: Jonathan Grix, ???
- Byline project – “real time” ***, starting with primer, profiles of participating nations, daily briefs
- Prepared for journalists (from sport to IA; from politics to sport); interested scholars (formal and informal); hopefully policy makers and sport governors...
- In this primer...short introductions/overviews...links to resources/larger works...
- Start by understanding FIFA – gatekeepers (better/worse) of the world’s game...played and watched, live and e-sport, manicured fields and beaches, all corners of the world – poor *** and privileged ***. In all aspects...FIFA impacts...

FIFA AND THE GOVERNANCE THE ‘WORLD’S GAME

Evolution of FIFA

- Modernized game – association football
- First international match
- Formation of FIFA
- Evolution of FIFA – governance roles
- Regions/Nations – power plays, corruption!
- UEFA/CONMEBOL v FIFA (World Cup prestige event)

The FIFA World Cup

- Football at the Olympics
- First world cup – 1930 Uruguay (1924/28 Olympic champion, ??promises to FIFA, pay Eur travel???)
- Evolution, popularity (game and signature event) – to Qatar 2022
- Apolitical rhetoric...global impact ambitions

TEXT BOX TO SIDE – KEY EARLY MOMENTS

TEXT BOX TO SIDE – LIST OF HOSTS/YEARS

THE WORLD CUP AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Jules Rimet (FIFA President: 1921-1954)

Rimet served as FIFA's longest-serving President, with a tenure that began in the inter-war years and spanned into the post-war reconstruction era.

During this time, Rimet sought to build a "[global football family](#)", yet resisted decentralization despite calls for the establishment of regional/continental associations. A European idealist ([colonist](#)) Rimet believed FIFA should control world football unilaterally and pushed for

the increasingly powerful governing body to host its own world championship – separate from the Olympics. **Despite resistance from the powerful IOC founder/President Pierre de Coubertin,** FIFA organized its first World Cup in 1930 hosted by, surprisingly, Uruguay.

Year	Host	Winner
1930	Uruguay	Uruguay
1934	Italy	Italy
1938	France	Italy
1942	Cancelled	
1946	Cancelled	
1950	Brazil	Uruguay
1954	Switzerland	West Germany

The first World Cup exemplifies the long-standing connection between international affairs and the global game. Hosting FIFA's new showpiece event **allowed** Uruguay to celebrate its centennial anniversary on the "world stage", as well as provided an opportunity for the South American nation to make a regional power play over neighbours Argentina and Brazil. However, despite promises to financially support European nations upon arrival to Montevideo, only France, Romania, Belgium, and Yugoslavia (**for various reasons**) made the arduous trip across the Atlantic to participate in football's inaugural world championship. Other European nations **refused to participate** for footballing reasons (British superiority), *** Day of final Czechoslovakia officially allied with Soviet Union – the anti-fascist *** angering Mussolini and *** persecuted communist Italians.

<https://thesefootballtimes.co/2016/07/27/when-the-world-cup-rolled-into-fascist-italy-in-1934/>

Mirroring the quadrennial format of the Olympics (and strategically scheduled to bisect the much bigger Olympic years), the FIFA World Cup returned for a second installment in 1934 as the Great Depression proliferated and global political tensions heightened. Into this political cauldron stepped Benito "Il Duce" Mussolini, the leader of Italy's fascist government. Alleged bribery and strong pressure by the Italians, it has been suggested, led to FIFA's decision to award hosting duties over a rival bid from Sweden. *****nationalism/sport – Il Duce, calcio as Italian...; invest). FINISH*****. With the powerful independent United Kingdom football associations (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) continuing to prioritize Home Nations competitions, Mussolini's Italian squad took home the championship. (NO MEDIA COVERAGE AT ALL)

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2014/apr/01/world-cup-moments-1938-italy-benito-mussolini>

1938 – France (2x Europe – Argentina/Uruguay angry and boycott); Spain out (Spanish Civil War); Austria qualified, but Austria united with Germany – some joined Germany, others refused (slot in draw not filled); Italy fascist salutes – Mussolini ‘support’

With the outbreak of war, the 1942 and 1946 editions of the relatively new and fragile World Cup events were cancelled – as were the now-established 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games. And although London used the 1948 Olympics as a means to demonstrate its national resilience, albeit in a threadbare way, following the devastation of World War II, European FIFA members expressed limited interest organize the 3rd World Cup. Brazil, however, agreed to host the event in 1950 – in large part based on a bid proposal expected to secure the 1942 World Cup, as well as with a much improved infrastructure due to the nation’s war efforts. With a new world order in its infancy, former Axis power Germany and Japan were forbidden from competing; only Yugoslavia from beyond the Iron Curtain participated; and other nations withdrew, including South American nations Argentina, Ecuador, and Peru due to regional disputes with Brazil. An estimated crowd of 200,000 crammed into the Estádio do Maracanã – only for the Brazilian *** to be crushed to see their beloved *** defeated by Uruguay for the ***.

1954 Switzerland – West Germany winner (international recognition + first tournament Germany permitted to return; Japan as well – did not qualify) – defeated Hungary (discontent = ??? ‘56 Hungarian Revolution??? Communist rule unrest...); first televised live

Arthur Drewry/Stanley Rous (FIFA Presidents: 1956-1961*-1974)

From 1956 until 1974, the FIFA Presidency was dominated by – officially and unofficially, by the British football administrator, Rous. Described as both innovative and traditional, Rous is credited with modernizing British football, as well as for encouraging the English FA to return to the FIFA fold in *** after leaving in 1928. Rous saw football as a tool for Britain to re-assert itself on the world stage following the war and post-colonialism.

Year	Host	Winner
1958	Sweden	Brazil
1962	Chile	Brazil
1966	England	England
1970	Mexico	Brazil
1974	West Germany	West Germany

In his role as English FA General Secretary, Rous allegedly empowered his fellow Brit, Drewry, as FIFA President (until his death in 1961) to raise the international profile of the game, to modernize its rules, as well as secure the World Cup for their home nation in 1966. After Rous

took over the Presidency himself after Drewry's death, he faced challenges from non-European nations – particularly African member associations upset with Rous' [continuous support for the South African Football Association](#).

AMATEUR??? This coincided with the International Olympic Committee presidency of American Avery Brundage, a similarly devout amateur advocate.

During the collective British FIFA Presidents' reign, five World Cups took place. The first, hosted by Sweden, marked the first appearance of the Soviet Union at the World Cup – in their first attempt at qualification. The Soviets were building a state-sponsored sporting empire as the Cold War heated up. The Soviets strategically avoided international sport competition until ready to win – announcing their arrival at the 1952 Olympics by finishing a close second in the medal count to their post-war superpower rivals, the United States. They would top the medal table in 1956 in both the Summer and Winter Olympics, in the process making international sport a unique space for direct “combat” between the Capitalists and the Eastern Bloc.

***MORE??

After two consecutive European World Cups, South American member associations threatened a full regional boycott if not selected to host the 1962 event. Chile outmanoeuvred the favoured Argentinian bid, citing FIFA's mandate to promote football in under-developed nations (***). Despite a massive damage to the nation's infrastructure due to a 9.5 magnitude earthquake in 1960, the tournament began in Chile's rebuilt stadiums on time. But quickly the event was marred by the violence in a match between Italy and the host Chileans – known as the Battle of Santiago. Reacting to derogatory comments from British and European media outlets, primarily Italian journalists who emphasized the “backwardness” of Chile as a nation, tensions were high for the first-round match. Chilean media shot back, referencing the Italians fascist past, and the Italian journalists were forced to flee the country. Italian players were attacked with stones in training, and during the game a string of violent clashes led to the police intervening on three occasions.

The 1966 edition of the World Cup was the realization of Rous and Drewry's vision with their home nation, England, serving as hosts for the first time. This marked a full acceptance of England as a committed member of FIFA, and an opportunity for the fading football (and political) power to re-assert itself (in colour!) on the world stage. It also marked the first appearance of North Korea as a sovereign football nation – previous participation of Korean players was as members of Japanese teams. At the same time, 31 African nations boycotted World Cup, upset both with the lack of spots allocated to their confederation, as well as the readmittance of South Africa to FIFA. With England's eventual win, a divided nation revelled in the glory of the victory. However other nations, particularly South American squads, chided the organization, media coverage and officiating of the event as disrespectful and overtly pro-English.

Continuing the European-Americas ***, the World Cup moved to Mexico for the first North American event in 1970. Controversy began in the qualifying rounds for the ninth edition, including the disqualification of North Korea for refusing to play Israel – who would qualify for their first and only World Cup as the Asian Football Confederation representative – as well as what became known as the Football War. Over the course of three games in the summer of 1969, **tensions** between El Salvador and Honduras due to immigration and land claims boiled over. After Honduras won the first game, an 18-year-old El Salvadorian woman committed suicide and declared a martyr – the nation’s president and football team followed her casket at the funeral broadcast on state TV. The second game resulted in rioting and travelling fans beaten, as well as the Honduras flag burned and replaced by a dirty rag. On the day of the final game, played in Mexico City, the El Salvadorian government announced the severing of diplomatic ties with Honduras. This led to a 100-hour war after El Salvador launched an attack against Honduras.

Returning to Europe for 1974, West Germany hosted for the first time, emerging as winners of the tournament as well. World Cup champions in 1954 and Summer Olympic hosts in 1972, West Germany regularly turned to international sport as a means to both demonstrate world order significance as well as reflect a new, gentler Germany. In large part this “friendly Germany”, reflected through lax security measures, was blamed for the Munich Massacre two years earlier, as 11 Israeli Olympic team members were killed after taken hostage in the Olympic Village by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September. The 1974 World Cup also marked the qualification of the first sub-Saharan African nation: Zaire. However, after losing their first two games by a combined score of 0-11, Zaire’s president, ****, after revoking their bonuses, told the national team players to not return home if they lost by 4 goals. Down 0-3 late in the game, the Zaire team took to using unorthodox time-wasting measures against their Brazilian opponents.

João Havelange (FIFA President: 1974-1998)

Running on a campaign against the British/Euro-centric *** FIFA, former Brazilian Olympic swimmer and lawyer Havelange aggressively campaigned, often with compatriot Pelé by his side, for the Presidency. Havelange’s defeat of Rous marked not only the first time a non-European occupied the role of FIFA President’s, but also signalled a sharp shift towards the overt commercialization of the World Cup.

Year	Host	Winner
1978	Argentina	Argentina
1982	Spain	Italy
1986	Mexico	Argentina
1990	Italy	West Germany
1994	United States	Brazil
1998	France	France

Havelange is often credited as being the most influential FIFA president, transforming the organization into a massive corporate (non-profit!) entity by enlisting sponsorship from Coca-Cola and Adidas, while simultaneously increasing revenues from television rights. During his tenure, FIFA also doubled the World Cup tournament field from 16 to 32 nations, initiated U-17

and U-20 World Cups, as well as the Women's World Cup first hosted in China in 1991, and transformed the Zurich headquarters into a professional outlet. However, his Presidency was also marked with accusations of corruption and "shady" associations – resulting in his resignation in 1998.

The first World Cup overseen by Havelange was the 1978 event held in Argentina. Only two years after Argentina's "Dirty War", which saw a military coup oust **leftist** President Isabel Perón, the South American football power hosted and won the event for the first time. The military junta tried unsuccessfully to change the World Cup logo which represented Perón's two-armed salute, imprisoned political opponents in the shadow of the Monumental Stadium, and were accused of fixing matches through intimidation tactics and financial incentives.

In 1982, Spain hosted for the first time with an expanded field of 24 teams. As Spain was an ally of Argentina, and with the South American team's qualification, British football associations considered withdrawing from the tournament due to the Falkland War. After FIFA made it clear Argentina's participation would not be revoked, England, Northern Ireland, and Scotland all chose to continue in the competition – with strict instructions not to associate with Argentine officials. The 1982 event also provided one of the strangest moments in World Cup history when the Prince of Kuwait (and president of the Kuwait Football Association) left the stands to confront the official after a controversial call. His pitch invasion led to the referee reversing the original call, angering the opposing French team and officials – although France would eventually defeat the World Cup debutants 4-1.

Mexico became the first two-time host of the World Cup in 1986. Originally awarded to Columbia, economic challenges as well as allegations of drug cartel involvement in the national football program, led to their withdrawal in 1982. Both Canada and the United States submitted bids as well, with both left angered by the selection process that favoured Mexico. Featuring one of the most famous games in football history, Argentina defeated England in the quarter finals on the back of two – one brilliant ("Goal of the Century"), one controversial ("Hand of God") – goals by Diego Maradona. The game was with political tensions after the Falkland War, despite FIFA's collaboration with the United Nations to celebrate the International Year of Peace with joint logos and a "Football for Peace – Peace Year" slogan. Even the tournament's motto – "The World United by a Ball" reinforced the FIFA's self-image as a non-political, yet global influencer, of peace and unity.

Italy joined Mexico four years later as a two-time host, defeating a bid from the Soviet Union in 1984 – with the vote held the day after the Soviets announced a boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Italia '90 event occurred as major world order changes were percolating, with the unification of Germany, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and split of Czechoslovakia, impacting the face of global football for the coming decades. Also of note from the 1984 tournament was the return of the United States after a 40 year absences, as well as the success of Cameroon – reaching the quarter finals before losing to England 2-3. It seemed

as this was the start of African success in the tournament – and led to an extra qualification spot being granted to the confederation for 1994. FIFA estimated that just under 27 billion non-unique viewers tuned in to watch the 1990 World Cup, with the success of the tournament and satellite distribution suggested to be a prompt for the creation of the English Premier League – the most successful club football league in the world – in 1992.

In 1994, the World Cup moved back across the Atlantic to an avowed non-football nation – the powerful United States. Despite a relative lack of interest in the world’s game in comparison to “American” sports like gridiron football, basketball, and baseball, the tournament ended up setting attendance and revenue generation records. USA’94 also led to the formation of Major League Soccer – a North American professional league that continues to grow today. This success was exactly what FIFA hoped for, selecting the Americans over Brazil as host. The USA tournament also marked the first with 32 teams – completing the doubling of the field under Havelange’s reign. This expansion was a strategic ploy allegedly used by the Brazilian to retain control of FIFA, appealing to developing nation football associations in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean for their support in return for increased World Cup qualification opportunities. The political manoeuvring kept Havelange in charge, but ultimately led to a breakdown in relations (and future power plays between) FIFA and UEFA (Europe). *****ESCOBAR*****

The 1998 World Cup, hosted by France, served as Havelange’s last as FIFA President. One game scheduled early in the tournament in particular raised interest from a non-sporting perspective: USA vs Iran. With tensions expected to be high considering the longstanding political hostilities between the two nations, many tuned in to see a repeat of the Battle of Santiago from 1962 in what was described as the “most politically charged game in World Cup history”. Despite World Cup protocol, the Iranians were instructed by Iranian Supreme Leader Khamenei not to walk over to the Americans to initiate pre-game handshakes – with the process reversed to avoid further issues. Protests, potentially violent ones, were expected from the crowd, with political banners and threats of pitch invasions monitored by French riot police. But in a gesture of peace, each Iranian player walked on the field with a symbol of peace – a white rose – which they presented to the Americans prior to kickoff. In a deeply symbolic moment of “football diplomacy”, the two teams intermingled for a photo, before the Iranians went on to win their first World Cup match over their political foes 2-1. The victory was celebrated across Iran with dancing and drinking in the street (including Revolutionary Guards) – apparently frightening the Iranian leadership. The 1998 event also saw the first appearance of a post-Apartheid South Africa, as well as a modified Federal Republic Yugoslavia team (Serbia and Montenegro) and Croatia in the midst of a decades long war. Croatia advanced to the semi-finals, eventually settling for third place, wearing their now famous red and white check shirts. The Croatian national football team became an important symbol of national independence, and political tensions between former Yugoslavia republics continue to escalate during international matches.

Sepp Blatter (FIFA President: 1998-2015)

Blatter, the long-time General Secretary of FIFA, ascended to the Presidency in the wake of Havelange's resignation and led the now omnipresent football governing body into the 21st century. The Swiss administrator furthered Havelange's commercialization agenda, while also

Year	Host	Winner
2002	South Korea/Japan	Brazil
2006	Germany	Italy
2010	South Africa	Spain
2014	Brazil	Germany

seeking to globalize the game by continuing to empower the collective (voting) power of regional football "minnows" in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. Blatter extended this "globalization" of football influence by increasingly engaging with emerging global powers including BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) as well as Arabian Peninsula regimes – particularly Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar.

Blatter's first World Cup, decided in 1996 prior to his ascendancy, represented the first edition in Asia, as well as the first one hosted by multiple nations: Japan and South Korea. Co-hosting was not the original plan for Japan and South Korea, but the threat of splitting the vote (Havelange supported Japan, UEFA South Korea) and both losing out to Mexico, the two nations reluctantly agreed to join bids. Both nations organized their matches separately, and through negotiations South Korea was listed first – in turn Japan was awarded the tournament final. Acrimony remained between the neighbours from Japan's 35-year occupation and talk of North Korea possibly hosting games furthered tensions. South Korea realized far greater success from the 2002 World Cup, advancing to the semi-finals and using the infrastructure to build its football system. Japan, in contrast, lost in the Round of 16 and was left with "white elephant" stadiums.

The 18th World Cup returned to Europe, and to a unified Germany for the first time (West Germany hosted in 1974), in 2006. Allegations of voter fraud and bribery again arose, with Germany narrowly defeating Blatter's preferred choice, South Africa, by one vote. In the days leading up to the 2016 edition, Serbia and Montenegro became sovereign nations, but competed as a unified team. ****MORE****

In 2010, Blatter's hopes were realized when the World Cup moved to the African continent for the first time. South Africa, internationally recognized as a rugby and cricket power, required massive investments in stadium building and reconstruction to meet the needs of the football tournament. But with Nelson Mandela a vocal supporter of the bid, as well as (again) allegations of bid bribery from South African officials, the country readied itself for the world's biggest stage. Unfortunately, South Africa's national team became the first host not to advance past the group stage, and the US\$1 billion spent on stadiums eventually *******. Critics in South Africa from the outset criticized the use of state funds on football stadiums instead of those desperately in need of adequate housing and living wages, particularly poorer black citizens still ******* from years of Apartheid policies. And controversy occurred in the qualifying rounds as well,

with Thierry Henry's unsanctioned handball leading to France eliminating Ireland from advancing to South Africa. This led to a diplomatic spat with Irish officials demanding a replay, and Taoiseach Brian Cowen promising to confront French President Nicolas Sarkozy when the two met at an EU summit.

***Turkey-Armenia qualification ('08) "football diplomacy" (crowd booed presidents behind bullet proof glass)

The 2014 World Cup in Brazil would be Blatter's last at the helm. For the first time, a European nation did not host for a second consecutive year, with limited interest shown and Brazil awarded the event unopposed. With the World Cup again in the Global South, the full globalization project of Blatter appeared successful. Brazil was actively seeking to use both the World Cup and Summer Olympics in 2016 as a tool for international recognition, and, along with other BRICS (Russia, India, China, and South Africa), a way to elevate its place in the global order. Citizens, like in South Africa, protested the massive investment made by the state in the tournament (an estimated USD\$46 billion) rather than attending to more pressing social issues including housing. In response, police were accused of heavy-handed crackdowns on protesters, as well as using draconian methods to ensure Brazil showed itself to the world in its best light by "cleaning up the streets" in places like Rio de Janeiro – issues that would again arise for the 2016 Olympics.

Blatter intended to keep the FIFA presidency into the next World Cups, however *** eventually pressured him to step down. But the next two World Cups, in Russia and Qatar, were selected under his watch in 2010 and **** his vision to expand the event to non-Western world powers.

Gianni Infantino (FIFA President: 2016-present)

After scandal forced Blatter out, Swiss-Italian Gianni Infantino emerged victorious over Sheik Salman bin Ibrahim Al Khalifa – a member of the royal family of Bahrain questioned for his role in the torture of Arab Spring athlete protesters – for the FIFA Presidency. Infantino, elected in large part due to promises to expand the World Cup to 40 teams and increase payments to each nation's football associations, also pledged to rid FIFA of corruption.

Year	Host	Winner
2018	Russia	France
2022	Qatar	???

2018 Russia – first E. Europe; attacks in UK – Johnson response (3rd BRICS nation in a row)
2022 Qatar – asia deserves..

