

a political economy of the 2010 World Cup™



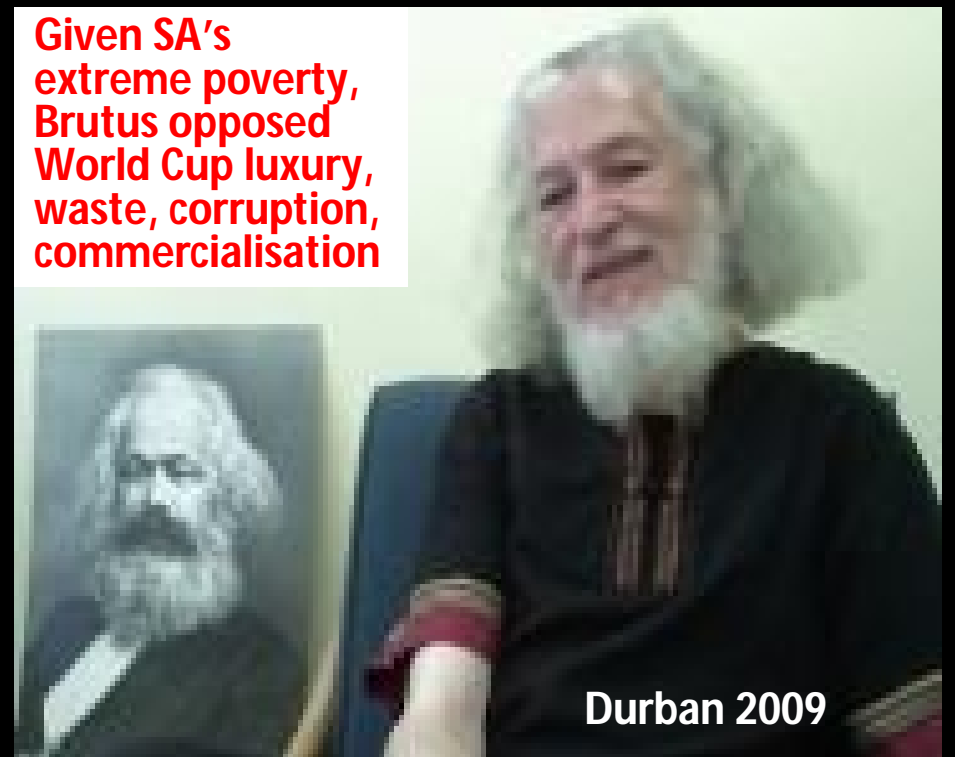
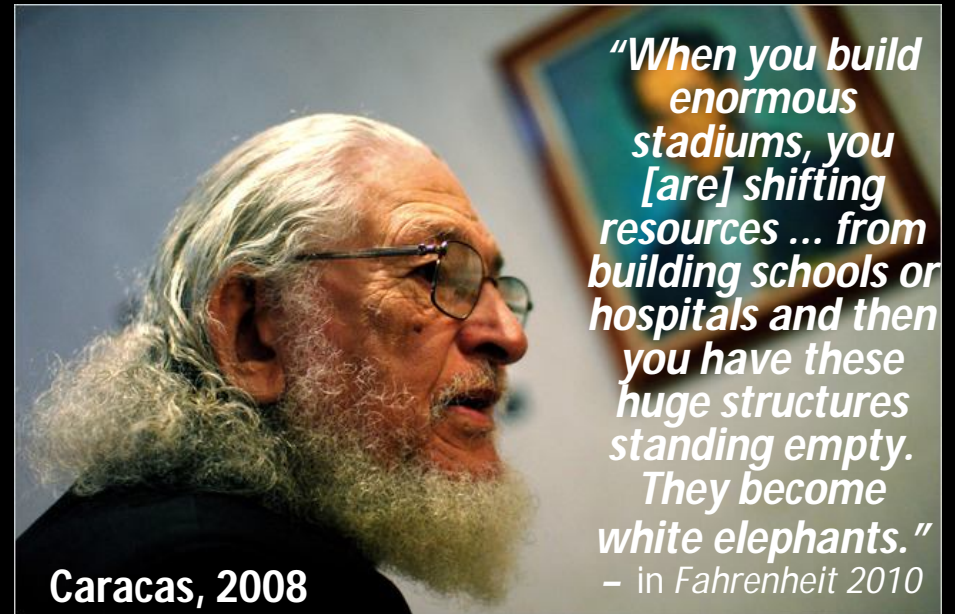
*it's not all fun
and games in
South Africa*

slides assembled by Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Centre for Civil Society, Durban, South Africa
(with cartoons from *Zapiro*)

For more, see *World Cup Watch*:
<http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>

Dedicated to the memory of SA's
greatest political economist of sport,
Dennis Brutus (1924-2009)

Robben Island veteran; critic of corporate athletics;
organiser of 1960s Olympic Boycott of white South
Africa, expulsion of white SA from Fifa in 1976, and
1970s-80s cricket, rugby and tennis anti-apartheid
campaigns; leading poet and literary scholar; global
justice movement strategist; and at time of death,
UKZN Centre for Civil Society Honorary Professor





FIFA

For the Good of the Game

Any analysis of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (Fifa) 2010 World Cup requires meta-critique of **politics, economics, culture and sports power** in South Africa.





Even with 'terror threat' and flag-waving, SA's hyper-nationalist publicity cannot disguise World Cup critiques



World Cup terror



Six red cards for World Cup elites:



1) dubious priorities, **overspending**



2) Fifa profits, **political corruption**



3) debt & imports, **economic crisis**



4) trickle-down **promises broken**



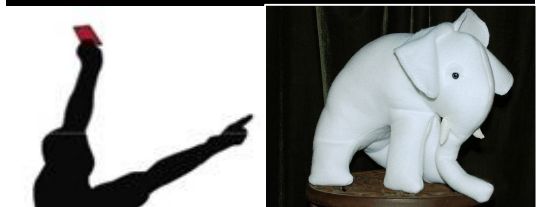
5) democratic **freedoms suspended**



6) protest met by **repression**



1) dubious priorities, overspending



Nine host cities across SA, ten stadiums

(original SA request for 14 cities rejected by Fifa)



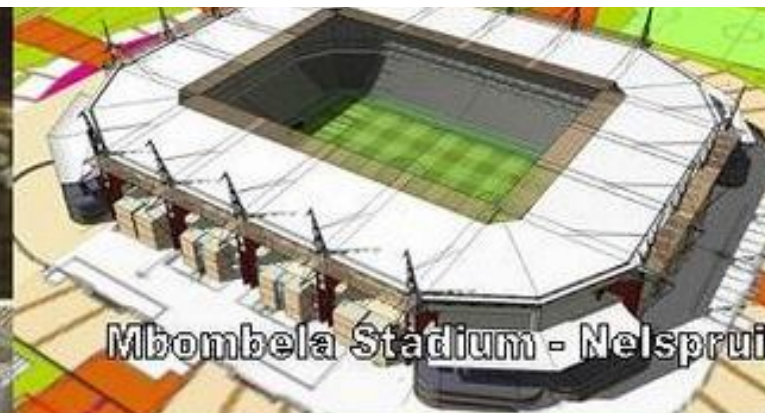


SA's white elephants:

new stadiums in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Nelspruit, Polokwane plus refurbished Soccer City – but none able to fill stands after 2010



Moses Mabhida Stadium - Durban



Mbombela Stadium - Nelspruit



Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium - Port Elizabeth



Soccer City - Johannesburg



Royal Bafokeng Stadium - Rustenburg



Loftus Versveld - Pretoria



10 white elephants: R24 bn

most expensive: Cape Town (R4.5 bn)



Ellis Park - Johannesburg



Peter Mokaba Stadium - Polokwane

South Africa's 2010 Stadia

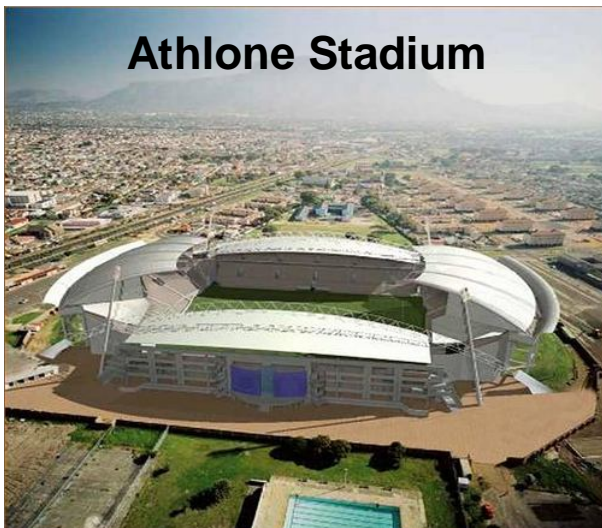


Free State Stadium - Bloemfontein



Greenpoint Stadium - Cape Town

Athlone Stadium



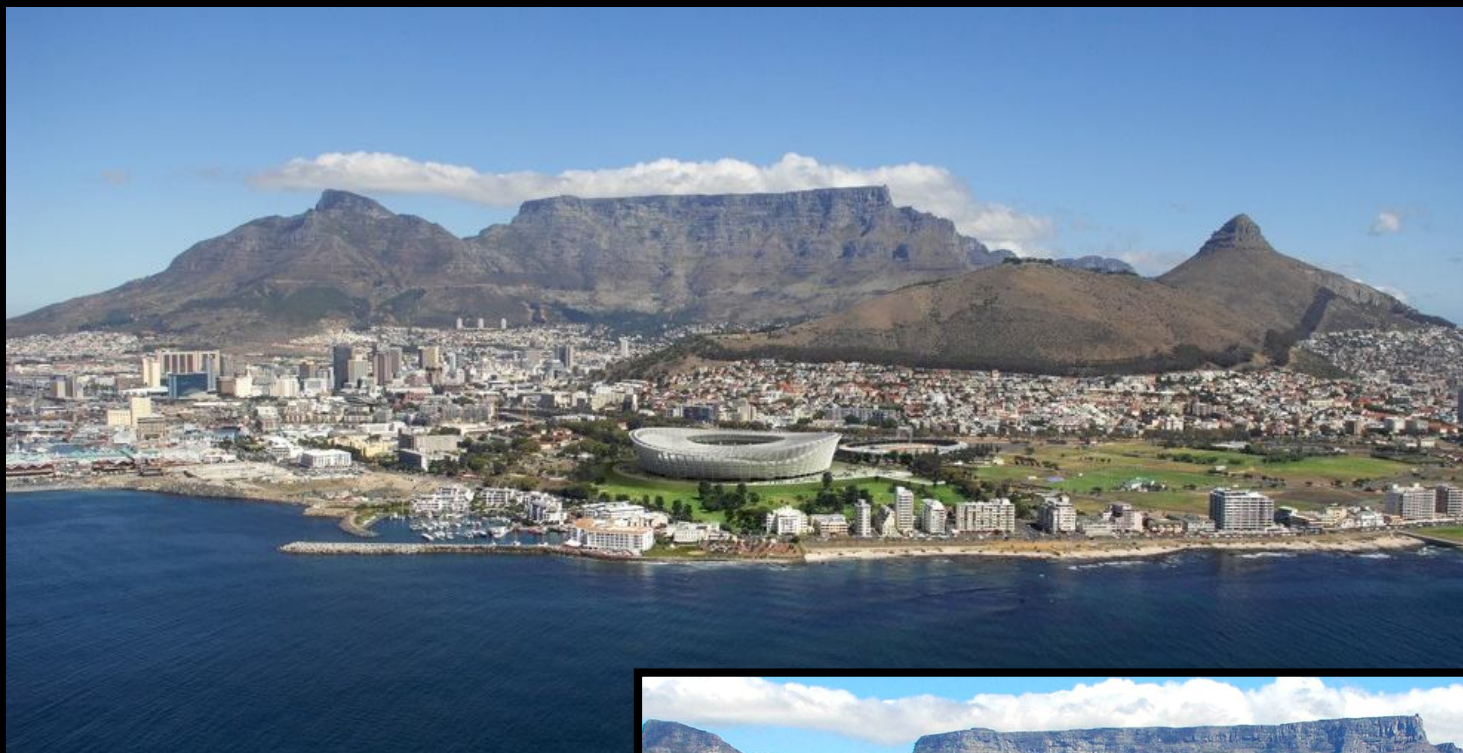
shacklands nearby



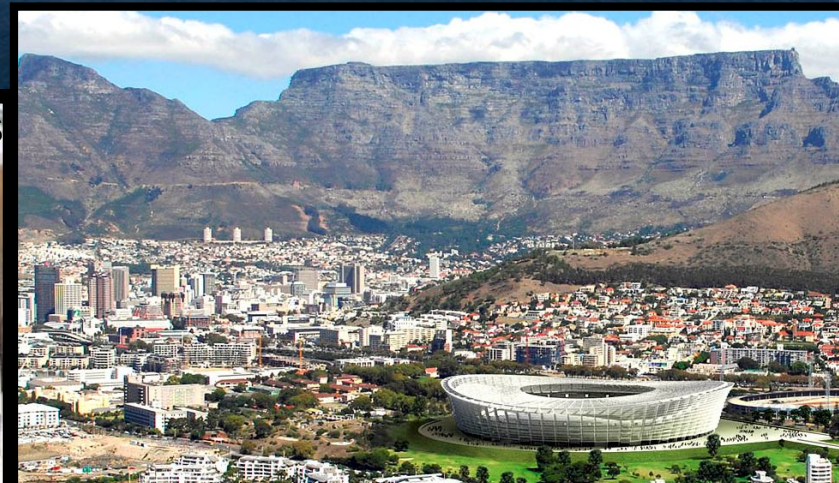
Khayelitsha's shacks, wall-less toilets



***Cape Town* could have upgraded existing stadium in 'coloured' township of Athlone but Fifa insisted that TV should broadcast views of Table Mountain, not squatters**

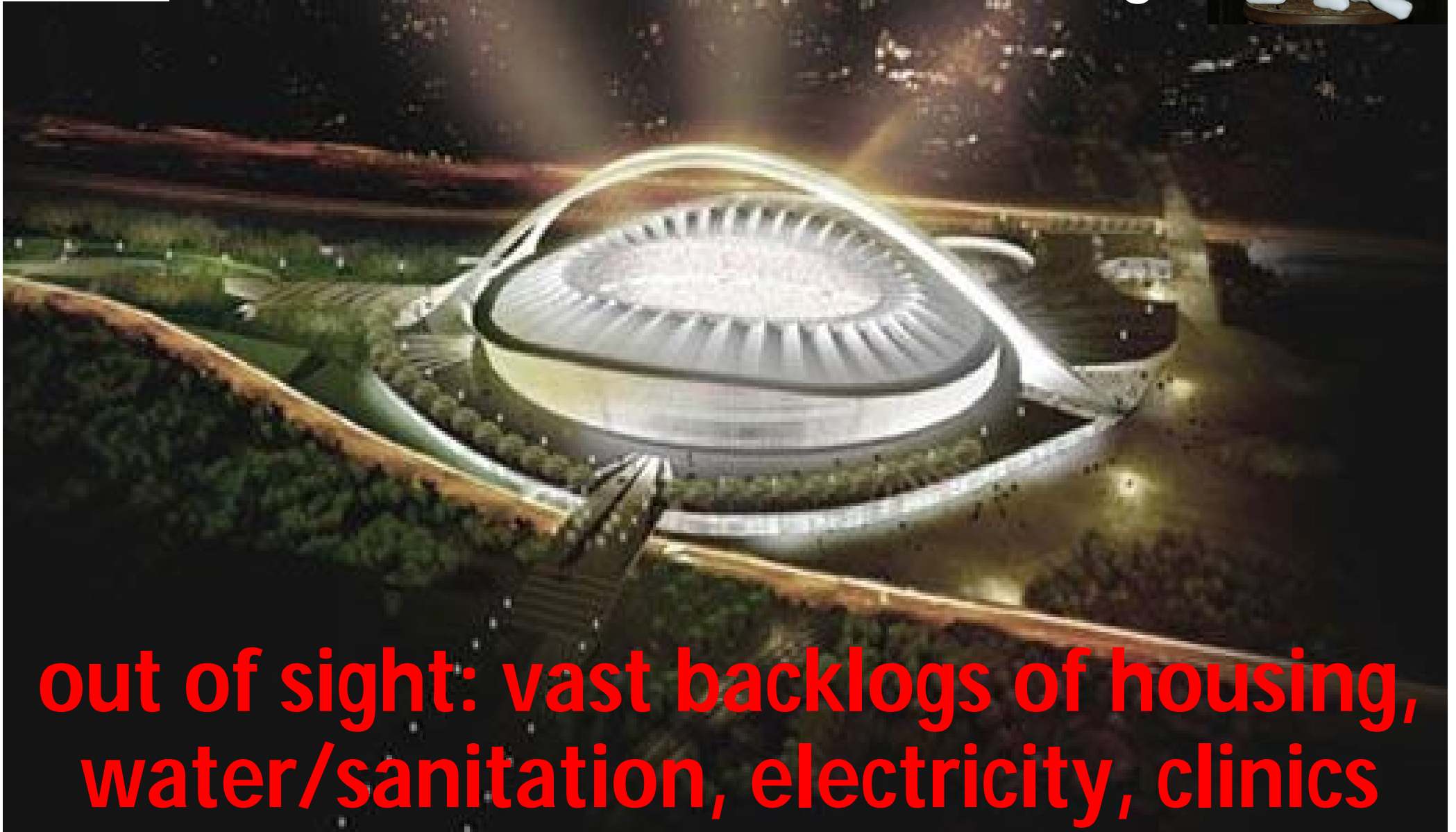


Fifa: "A billion television viewers don't want to see shacks and poverty on this scale."





Durban's Moses Mabhida: The R3.1 bn 'Alien's Handbag'

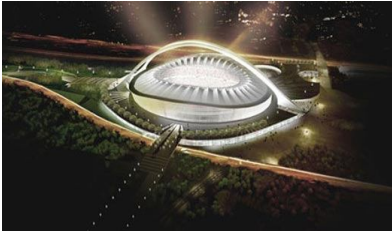


**out of sight: vast backlogs of housing,
water/sanitation, electricity, clinics**



WHAT WE'VE BUILT
SO QUICKLY IS TESTAMENT TO
OUR REAL COMMITMENT!

HUH!
..EXACTLY!



Durban citizens wonder if Mabhida is sensible investment



Vast cost escalation:

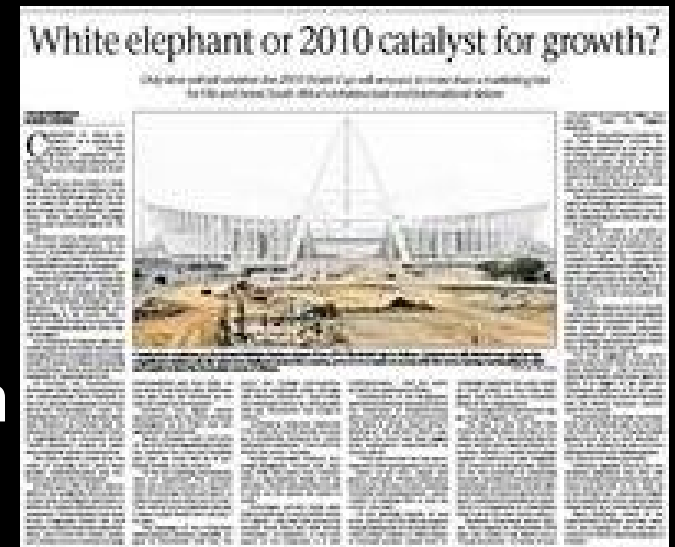
R1.8 bn (2006) rose to R3.1 bn

'Usual suspects' won construction contracts:

- Ibhola Lethu beneficiaries include Craig Simmer (employee of crashed bus privatizer Remant Alton and Point development flop Dolphin Whispers)
- Broederbond firm Bruinette Kruger Stoffberg
- Group 5/WBHO with Tokyo Sexwale's and Bulelani Ngcuka's Mvelaphanda group,
- electricity deal to Vivian Reddy's Edison Power



German tents next to Mabhida are *imported*, as well as marquee construction crew



Numerous breakdowns of Mabhida Sky Car, due in part to *imported* German cables



Who will play here after July 2010?



**Trevor Phillips, former director
of the South African Premier Soccer League:**

“What the hell are we going to do with a 70,000-seater football stadium in Durban once the World Cup is over? Durban has two football teams which attract crowds of only a few thousand. It would have been more sensible to have built smaller stadiums nearer the football-loving heartlands and used the surplus funds to have constructed training facilities in the townships.”

STADIUM	CONSTRUCTION BUDGET	PLANNING BUDGET	TOTAL FUNDING
(MAJOR UPGRADE) SOCCER CITY	R1,53 billion	R30 million	R1,56 billion
(NEW) CAPE TOWN	R1,93 billion	R30 million	R1,96 billion
(NEW) DURBAN	R1,80 billion	R30 million	R1,83 million
(NEW) PORT ELIZABETH	R895 million	R86 million	R981 million
(NEW) MBOMBELA	R855 million	R20 million	R875 million
(NEW) PETER MOKABA	R697 million	R20 million	R716 million
(MINOR UPGRADE) FREE STATE	R219 million	R2 million	R211 million
(MINOR UPGRADE) ROYAL BAFOKENG	R147 million	R0 million	R147 million
(MINOR UPGRADE) ELLIS PARK	R229 million	R1 million	R230 million
(MINOR UPGRADE) LOFTUS VERSVELD	R98 million	R1 million	R99 million
TOTAL	R8,40 billion	R220 million	R8,62 billion

Original stadium costs prior to escalations: R8.6 bn

but final subsidies at least R24 bn (\$3 bn)

huge import bill and rise in foreign debt

Fifa profit estimate: R24 billion

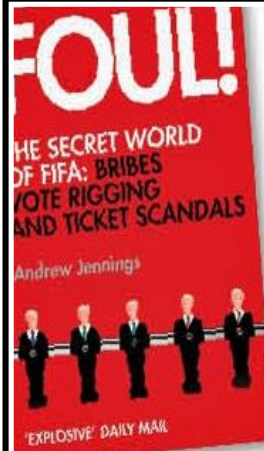
(sold TV rights alone for \$2.8 bn)



2) Fifa's culture of corruption, luxury

1/3 of Fifa's executive "involved in bribery and corruption, ticket rackets and diversion of funds" - Andrew Jennings, author of *Foul!*

"The unaccountable structure they've installed is honed to deliver the game to the needs of global capitalism - with no checks or restraints. Just cheques." – Andrew Jennings



Staying at leading hotel, Sepp Blatter demands installation of finest new luxury toilets

ZUG

In Zug, Switzerland, the court discovered that millions had been paid by ISL for "additional rights." Problem is, says Jennings, there were no additional rights. Fifa had sold the rights and ISL owned them.

As reported in *The Telegraph* in July 2008, the fraud trial in Zug contained bombshell revelations. The court heard that from 1989 to 2001, ISL paid bribes worth 138 million Swiss francs. It was also discovered that ISL had set up a money-laundering account called the Nunca Foundation in Liechtenstein. In 1999, ISL sent 20 million Swiss francs to Nunca – presumably bribe money.

THE SPONSORS

During a New York trial, in which credit card companies Mastercard and Visa disputed sponsorship licences with Fifa, Mastercard told the court, "Any company should have grave concerns about doing business with Fifa. Lying, deception and bad faith are standard operating procedure."

New York Judge Loretta Preska found that Fifa lied repeatedly to both companies. She went on to say that Fifa witness and Concacaf general secretary Chuck Blazer's testimony was "generally without credibility, based on his attitude and demeanour and his evasive answers on cross examination." Britain's *Times* newspaper reported that she had found that "Fifa's negotiators lied repeatedly."





2) World Cup corruption: bribes for players, referees, officials

In comments revealed to the *Mail on Sunday*, the former chairman of the Football Association and **head of England's 2018 World Cup bid** suggested **Spain - with help from Russia - would be attempting to bribe referees in South Africa.**

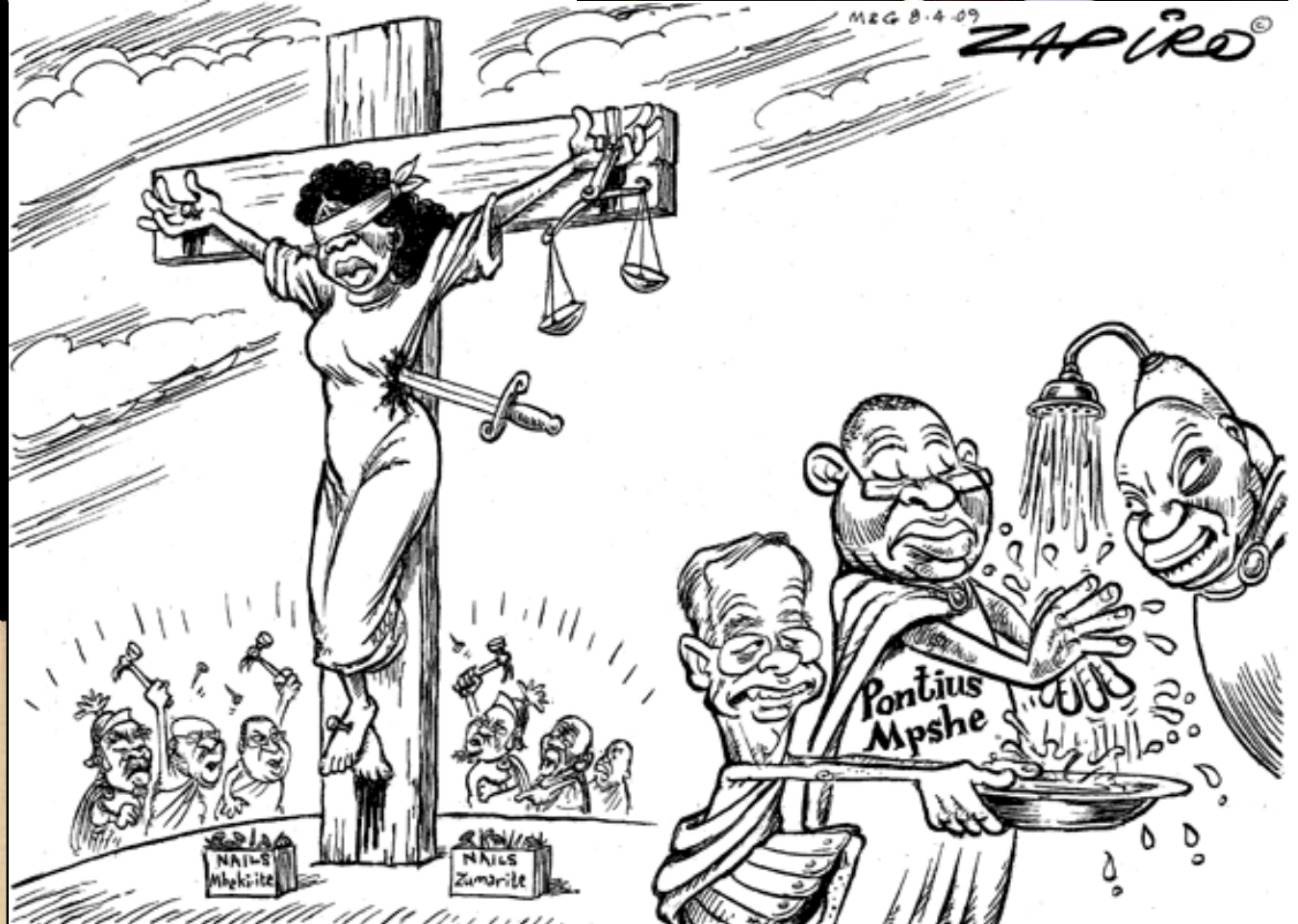
In an interview with the *Free Press* shortly after Triesman's comments became public, Declan Hill was as pointed as ever in his criticism of Fifa, and warned that fixers would be approaching players, referees and team officials during the World Cup, and **Fifa has no such organization capable of carrying out the investigation.**

"Nothing at Fifa has been effective in stopping this kind of stuff," he says. "There's no effective organization to look into this."

- www.playthegame.org, May 21, 2010

- June 12, 2005 – Thabo Mbeki fires Zuma following conviction of financial advisor Shabir Shaik; a week later, National Prosecuting Authority director Vusi Pikoli files criminal charges
- main evidence: R500 000 **brIBE from French arms firm**
- December 28, 2007 - Zuma served with court papers: **16 counts of corruption, bribery, racketeering, money laundering and fraud**
- April 6, 2009 - new NPA director, Mokotedi Mpshe, drops charges against Zuma just prior to electoral victory

2) SA corruption: the case of Jacob Zuma



Community Chest

GET OUT
OF JAIL, FREE





2) SA World Cup corruption: 'Murder Inc in Mbombela'

A 25-year-old contract killer has accused an influential ANC leader in Mpumalanga of offering him R100 000 and a cushy government job if he **poisoned government officials who were blocking access to tenders linked to the 2010 soccer World Cup...** Though his three intended victims are still alive, six officials were murdered or died in suspicious circumstances in Mpumalanga last year alone and another has been killed this year. Local party leaders and officials who spoke to the *Sunday Times* mentioned a "hit list" of other proposed victims and said they were living in fear...

A former ANC regional leader, Alfred Monareng, said **the ANC boss and his cabal used to have their opponents shot, but had switched to poison last year.** He said the assassin interviewed by the *Sunday Times* had confessed to him that he had planned to spike a bottle of Johnny Walker whisky on Christmas Eve while drinking with him at his home...

- Charles Molele and Mzilikazi Wa Afrika, 'Murder Inc in Mbombela', *Sunday Times*, Feb 6, 2010

Chasing the Fifa millions and other lucrative deals has been fatal for many in Mpumalanga. The following have either been killed, received death threats, disappeared or survived assassination attempts: Saul Shabangu, (killed in 1998); Hebron Maisela (killed in 1998); Sydney de Lange (killed in 1998); Rose Alleta Mnisi (killed in 1999); Caswell Maluleke, (survived assassination in 2000); Joshua Ntshuhle (disappeared in 2005); Sizile Ndlovu, (survived assassination in 2006); Thandi Mtsweni (killed in 2008); Jimmy Mohlala (killed in 2009); Isaac Mohale Matsoabane (killed in 2009); Samuel Mpatlanyane (killed in 2010); Themba Monareng (died 2009); Mike Sifunda (died 2009); Simon Lubisi (died 2009); Lucas Shongwe (died 2009).



Mbombela (Nelspruit) Stadium,
Mpumalanga Province



3) debt & imports up, amidst economic crisis: can SA's R33 bn investment pay off?

(Or instead, Greek tragedy: Olympics partially caused debt crisis)

ACE senior underwriter Technical Lines Trevor Kerst noted that South Africa had spent about R33-billion on preparations for the sporting event.

*"... the **return on that investment is by no means assured**; add to that the reality that **FIFA pays no taxes and institutes exclusion zones around the stadiums where matches take place, and tax income is curtailed**. Within these exclusion zones, only FIFA and its partners may sell any goods; nothing from these sales accrues to the government."*

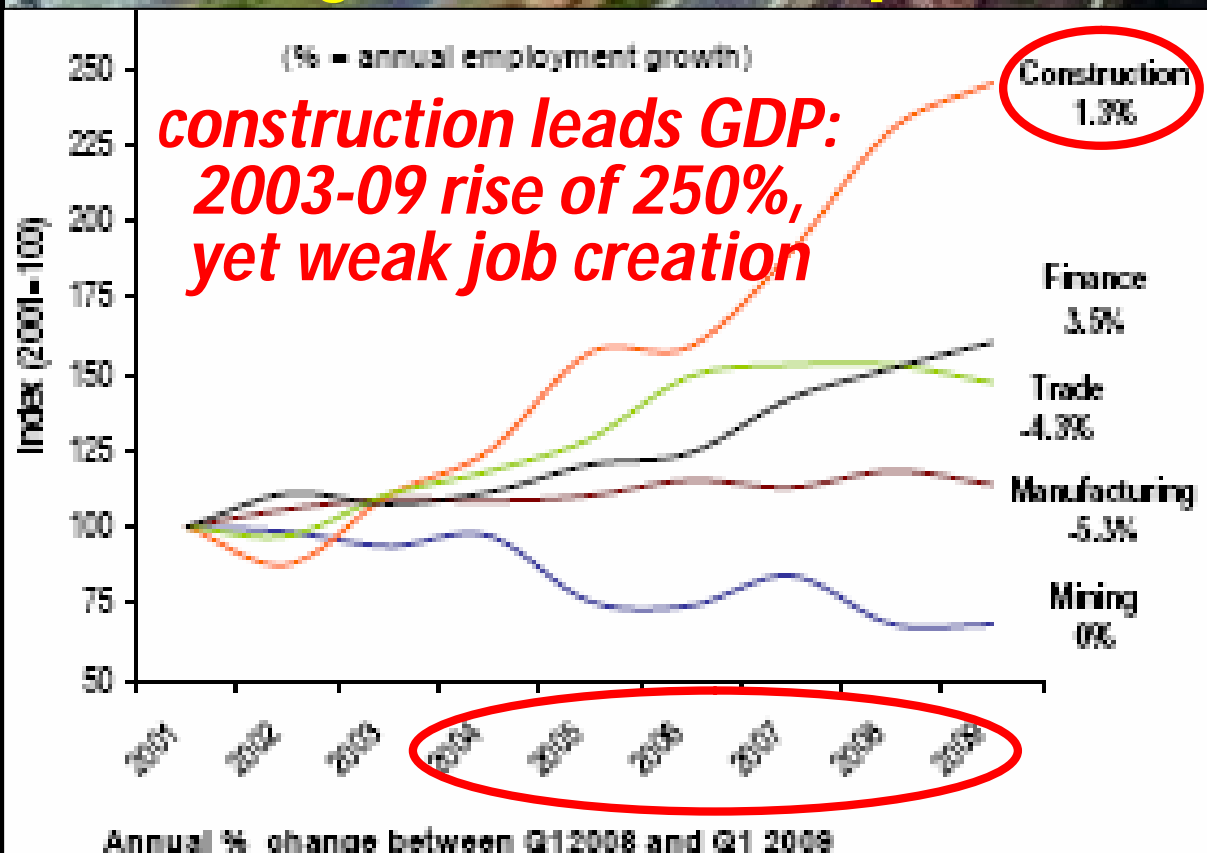
Further, he warned that such massive debt would lead to a **marked slowdown in public sector spending**, especially on large capital projects, and that the insurance industry might be facing a lean time ahead.

Engineering News, 'World Cup return on investment not guaranteed', 26 May 2010

Stadiums and related infrastructure meant artificial construction bubble drove economy

- old Durban International had excess capacity until 2017
- neglects tourism trends, climate change, carbon taxes
- extreme distance = doubled taxi fare and time to airport

Durban's (superfluous) R8 billion King Shaka Int'l Airport



Source: International Monetary Fund

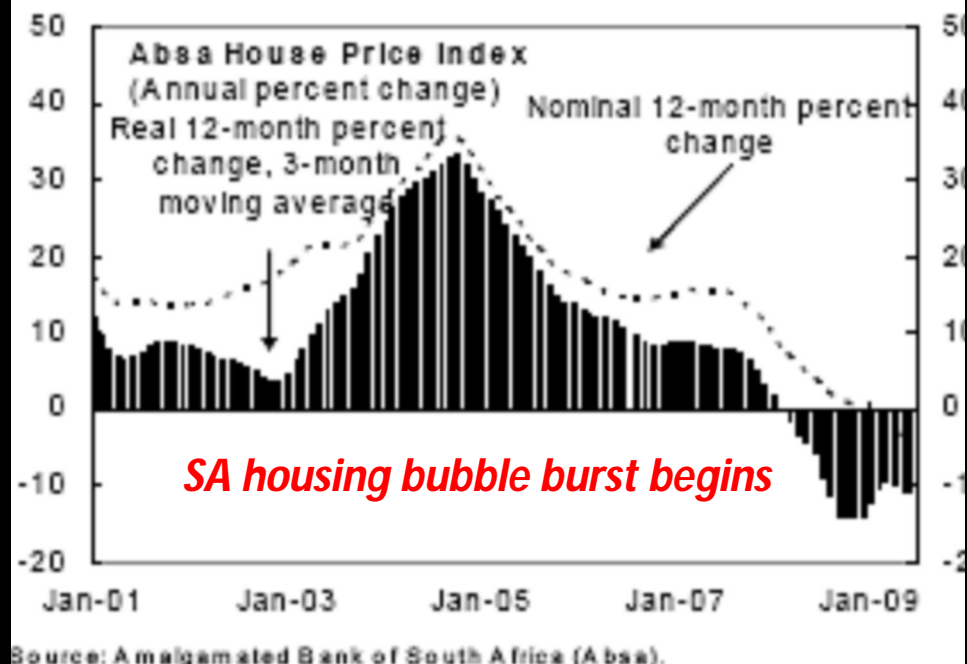
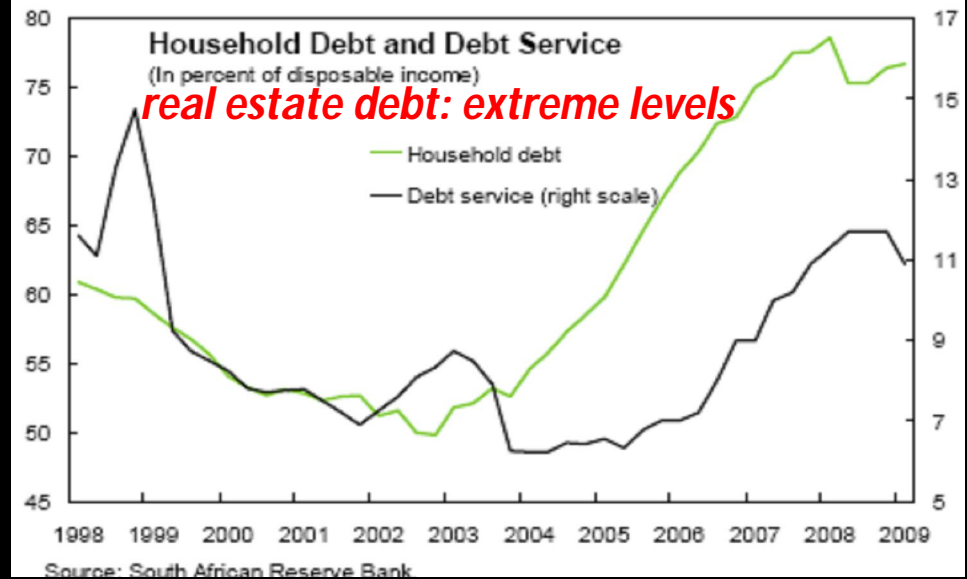
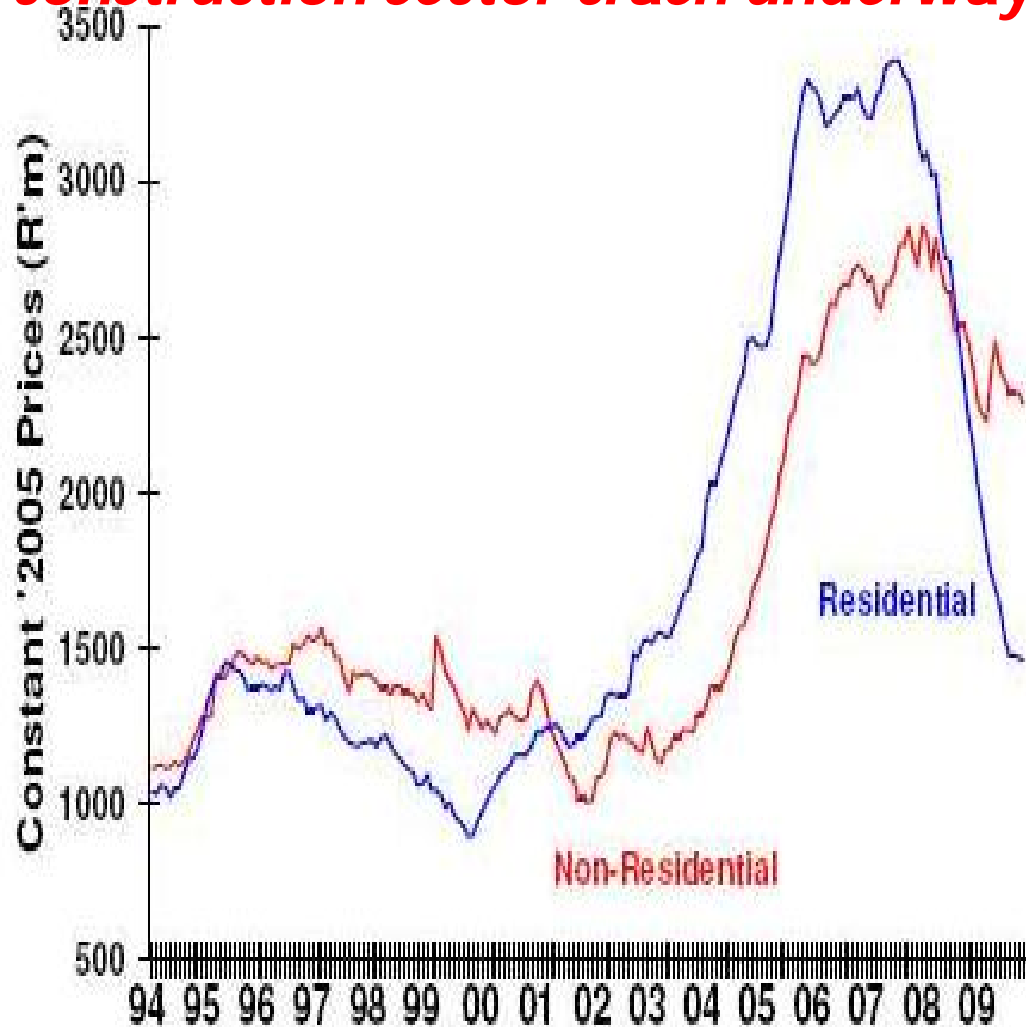
The Economist's house-price indicators
% change

Country	1997	2008
Switzerland	24	
Italy	104	
France	152	
China	na	
South Africa	389	
Sweden	145	
Japan	-33	
Canada	66	
Germany	na	
Spain	184	
Australia	163	
United States (OFHEO)	84	
Singapore	na	
Denmark	119	
Netherlands	90	
New Zealand	102	
Ireland	193	
Hong Kong	-35	
Britain	150	

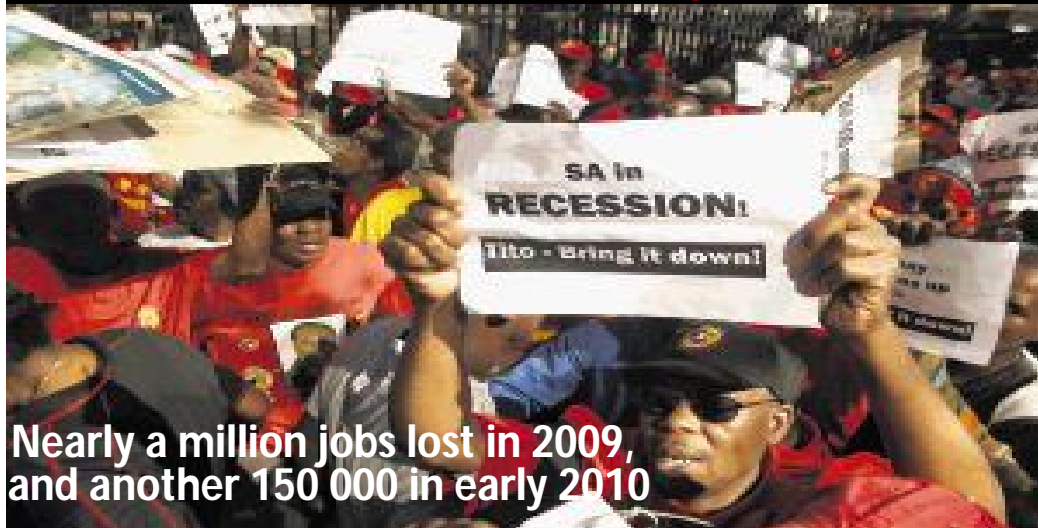
By 2008, world's most speculative real estate market

Bills already coming due, bankruptcies up

Building Plans Passed :
Non-Residential vs Residential
construction sector crash underway



Economic crisis borne by poor and working people



Nearly a million jobs lost in 2009, and another 150 000 in early 2010

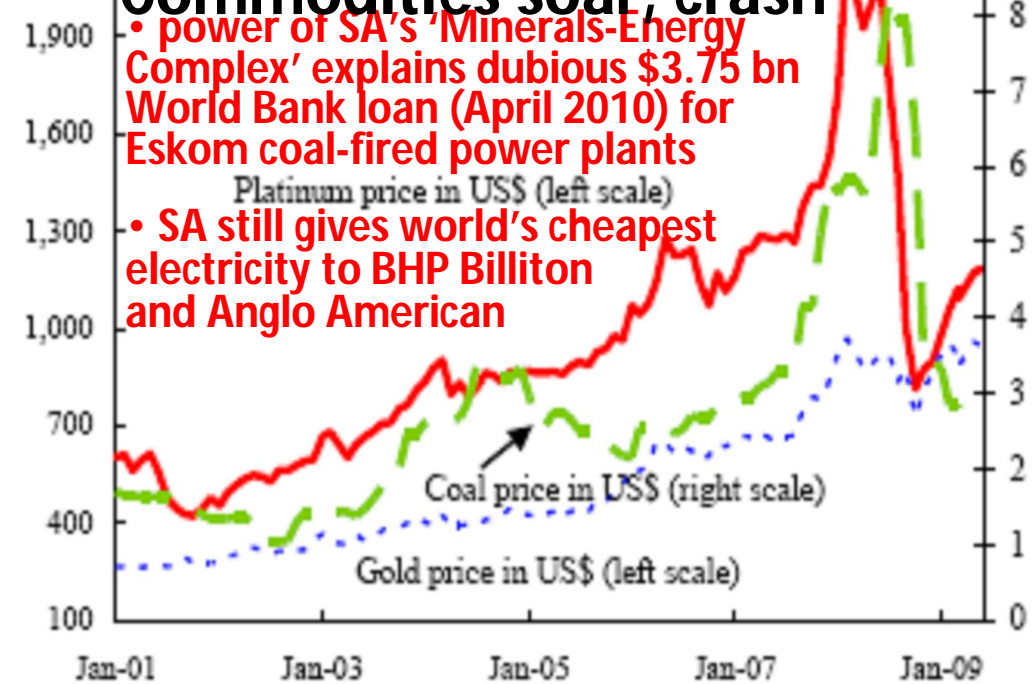


shocking 25%/yr price hike



ultra-cheap, apartheid-era power deal with Billiton caused Eskom a 2009 loss of R9.7 (\$1.3) bn

Commodities soar, crash



World Cup economic 'hangover' inevitable



SA current account deficit soared

imports for construction (and other goods) plus profit outflows put South Africa in the *most risky position* amongst emerging markets (according to *The Economist*)

Current Account % of GDP

The Economist Poll	2009
Malaysia	15.5
Singapore	12.3
Taiwan	7.6
Thailand	6.7
China	5.8
Philippines	5.6
South Korea	5.2
Russia	3.8
Venezuela	3.5
Argentina	3.2
Israel	2.6
Chile	2.2
Indonesia	1.6
Peru	0.9
Mexico	-0.6
India	-0.7
Brazil	-1.0
Czech Republic	-1.4
Poland	-1.5
Hungary	-1.5
Egypt	-1.8
Turkey	-2.0
Colombia	-2.4
RSA	-3.2

Economist : 16 February 2010

Country	Current-account as % of GDP*	Short-term debt as % of reserves*	Banks' loan/ deposit ratio	Overall risk ranking†
South Africa	-10.4	81	1.09	17
Hungary	-4.3	79	1.30	16
Poland	-8.0	38	1.03	14 =
South Korea	1.3	102	1.30	14 =
Mexico	-2.5	39	0.93	12 =
Pakistan	-7.8	27	0.99	12 =
Brazil	-1.5	22	1.36	10 =
Turkey	-2.3	70	0.83	10 =
Russia	1.5	28	1.51	9
Argentina	0.2	63	0.74	8
Venezuela	0.8	58	0.75	7
Indonesia	1.2	88	0.62	6
Thailand	0.3	17	0.88	5
India	-2.4	9	0.74	4
Taiwan	7.9	26	0.87	3
Malaysia	11.3	15	0.72	2
China	5.2	7	0.68	1

Sources: HSBC; Economist Intelligence Unit 2009 forecast † higher score implies higher risk

The Economist, 25 February 2009

World Cup construction a major factor behind rapid rise in SA's **foreign debt**, to \$80 billion: severe debt/GDP danger level



The last time this level was breached, PW Botha defaulted on \$13 bn in debt and imposed exchange controls in 1985



4) trickle-down promises broken: crafts

- in early 2009, manufacturing crashed by 25% and within a year, nearly a million jobs were lost
- yet purchase order for **2.3 million imported 'Zakumi' leopard dolls** made via African National Congress member of parliament, Shiaan-Bin Huang
- Shanghai Fashion Plastic Products and Gifts Co, produces Zakumi at R85, retail price above R200 – but teenage workers are paid just R23/day



- **informal street traders** furious at being displaced and barred from selling
- ongoing protests in Joburg & CT
- in Durban, Warwick Junction eviction of 100-year Early Morning Market (for shopping mall gentrification) was halted through sustained **trader, community and legal resistance**, 2008-10



4) trickle-down promises broken: tourism

- Fifa hospitality agency, Match, overstated by at least 100% the hotel space needed, then **dumped thousands of rooms on glutted markets**, resulting in bankruptcies
- Fifa's Blatter and Match's Philippe Blatter (Sepp's nephew) told local organisers that 450,000 overseas visitors would come, but only 300,000 are likely
- facing **vacancy rates of 60-80%**, Durban Chamber of Commerce and Industry tourism committee chair Mike Jackson describes **hoteliers' mood as 'total dismay'**
- Durban city manager blames hotel workers' wages (!)
- Alan Gooderson, Gooderson Leisure Group:
"They've cocked everything up... It's shocking how we have been conned by Match"





4) **trickle-down promises broken:** healthcare

Fifa's guidelines for designated hospitals around the country - which include keeping wards half empty - will result in long-term patients removed from their beds and shifted to facilities elsewhere. Routine referrals to major specialist hospitals have already been curtailed, if not stopped, until after the World Cup, leaving **hundreds of patients without care for the next two months.** – *Mail&Guardian*, May 21, 2010



4) trickle-down promises broken: township soccer facilities

**SA Football Association's
Western Cape provincial
president, Norman Arendse:
'fatal' top-down approach has
left the grassroots with
merely 'crumbs.'**

– Mail&Guardian, May 21, 2010



4) trickle-down promises broken: street children: forced removals

Durban's street children would not be whisked off the streets in the backs of police vans before the 2010 World Cup kicked off in the city, only to miraculously reappear on the streets when visitors had returned home, eThekweni municipal manager Michael Sutcliffe said at the fourth SA Aids Conference.

- Lyse Comins, 'Street kids "won't disappear" for 2010', *The Mercury*, 2 April 2009 (note the date)

This week youngsters from nine to 19 told the *Sunday Times* how **metro policemen rounded them up daily and dumped them on the city's outskirts**, often on busy freeways or at unregistered shelters. Child rights workers say there are more than 400 children living on the city's streets.

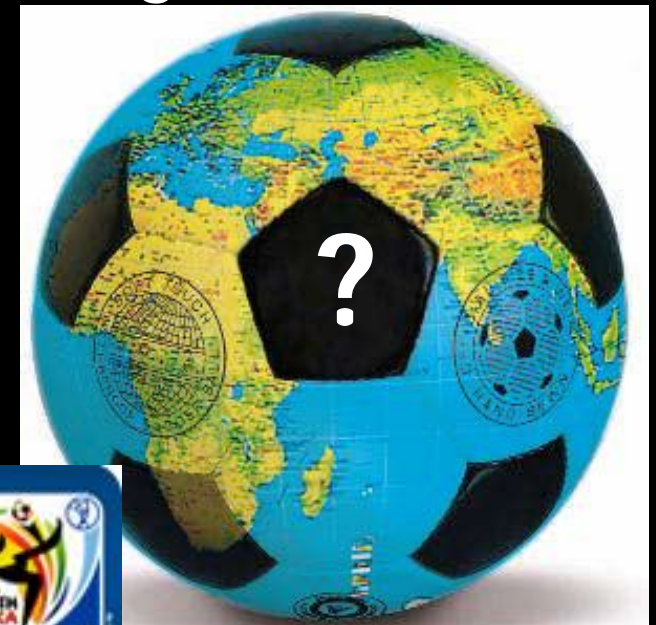
Local NGO Umthombo said the **police's methods were inhumane**... CEO Tom Hewitt said: "Street children are not a safety and security issue, but a social development issue. Police put children in the back of trucks with adults and gang members. It exposes the kids to more trauma." He said **removing children for the World Cup was not about child protection but about cleaning up the streets.**

-Monica Laganparsad, 'Metro police deny charges of street children abuse', *Sunday Times*, 14 February 2010



4) trickle-down promises broken: Africa - an 'African World Cup'? 'Ke Nako'?

- **no hosting of teams:** protests by Zimbabweans prevented N.Korea from choosing Bulawayo, Matabeleland: 1983-87 'Gukhurakundi' massacres (20,000+) by Mugabe's Pyongyang-trained military
- Victoria Falls marketed as 'SA destination'
- very few (non-SA) Africans will attend games (11,300 to date, 24% of expected)
- Africa suffers from **global soccer apartheid:** best footballers mainly play in North, don't train at home
- **xenophobia** threat is very real





5) democratic freedoms suspended

In early May 2010, police minister Nathi Mthetwa told parliament of *'air sweeps by fighter jets, joint border patrols with neighbouring countries, police escorts for cruise ships and team security guards with "diplomat" training.'*

The aim is to *'prevent domestic extremism, strike action and service delivery protests.'*

No protests within 10km of a stadium allowed.



5) democratic freedoms suspended

In late May, ALL protests/marches declared illegal until 15 July 2010

PRESS RELEASE: Thursday, 27 May 2010

Civil Society Organisations Condemn Ban on March For Quality Education

A wide cross-section of civil society – unions, students organisations, faith based groups, community organisations and NGOs – with a collective membership of over a million people, strongly condemn the decision taken by the authorities to ban a peaceful march for the right to a quality public education for all, planned for June 10th 2010... We have just been informed by Johannesburg Metro Police, without any substantive reasons or legal basis, that all marches and gatherings, including ours, have been banned in South Africa for the whole of June until 15th July 2010. A scheduled meeting with the police to discuss the refusal was cancelled without adequate explanation...

Our hard won constitutional rights, for which we continue to struggle, cannot be taken away by the whim of police-officers or politicians.

The actions of the Metro Police and South African Police Services are unconstitutional.



5) democratic freedoms suspended

*Hawkers may only operate in open spaces with a permit [from Fifa] and are prohibited from selling their wares along any public road or amenity, at any controlled access site or exclusion zone, restricted area, garden or park during the World Cup. **There will be a total ban on street trading and other business, including on private property, in prohibited or restricted areas at specific times during the World Cup.***

The Independent on Saturday, 3 April 2010

1955 Freedom Charter in rubbish bin:

The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

**THE
FREEDOM
CHARTER**

Adopted at the Congress of the People,
Kliptown, on 26 June 1955

MERCURY

Fifa's media muzzle ***No bringing World Cup*** ***into 'disrepute'***

Fifa's power to limit communications - including banning image transmissions from cellphones at games - is an *"artificial and autocratic fiat. It is simply stupid to regulate for information scarcity in an age that has unprecedented information potential - potential even for Fifa itself."*



Such authoritarian backwardness is hardly surprising, however. It comes from a body that in 2010 is still forcing journalists to agree not to bring it into disrepute as a condition for getting accreditation."

- Rhodes University media professor Guy Berger, January 2010

Fifa's defines "disrepute": anything that "negatively affects the public standing of the Local Organising Committee or Fifa."



Fifa's media muzzle: press denied access to contracts

The local Organising Committee (LOC) of the 2010 Fifa World Cup is **"too busy** organising the World Cup" to provide the *Mail & Guardian* with copies of tender documents...

The LOC contends it is a **private body and should not comply with the requirements of transparency** laid down in public procurement legislation.

Earlier in the day, advocate Geoff Budlender SC argued for the *M&G* that it was the **public's right to know** how the LOC spent its money, even if its budget only partially came from government.

In his various responses to the *M&G's* questions on matters of procurement, the LOC's spokesperson Rich Mkhondo flatly refused to divulge any information, saying it was against the committee's policy...

"In the end the fundamental question stay, with all its obligations, can anyone really say the LOC is performing private functions with a straight face?" asked Budlender.

- Adrian Basson, 'LOC "too busy" for M&G court battle', *Mail&Guardian*, 24 May 2010

ZE TRIBE
HAS SPOKEN!

PSSHHH!

MEDIA
RESTRICTIONS

PRESS
FREEDOM

FIFA

FIFA
bribery

FIFA
ticket
bungling

FIFA
nepotism

FIFA
branding
monopoly

FIFA
empty
promises
to
Africa

APIRE

in 2010-5-10 for WORLD PRESS FREEDOM DAY brought to you in 2010 by

FIFA

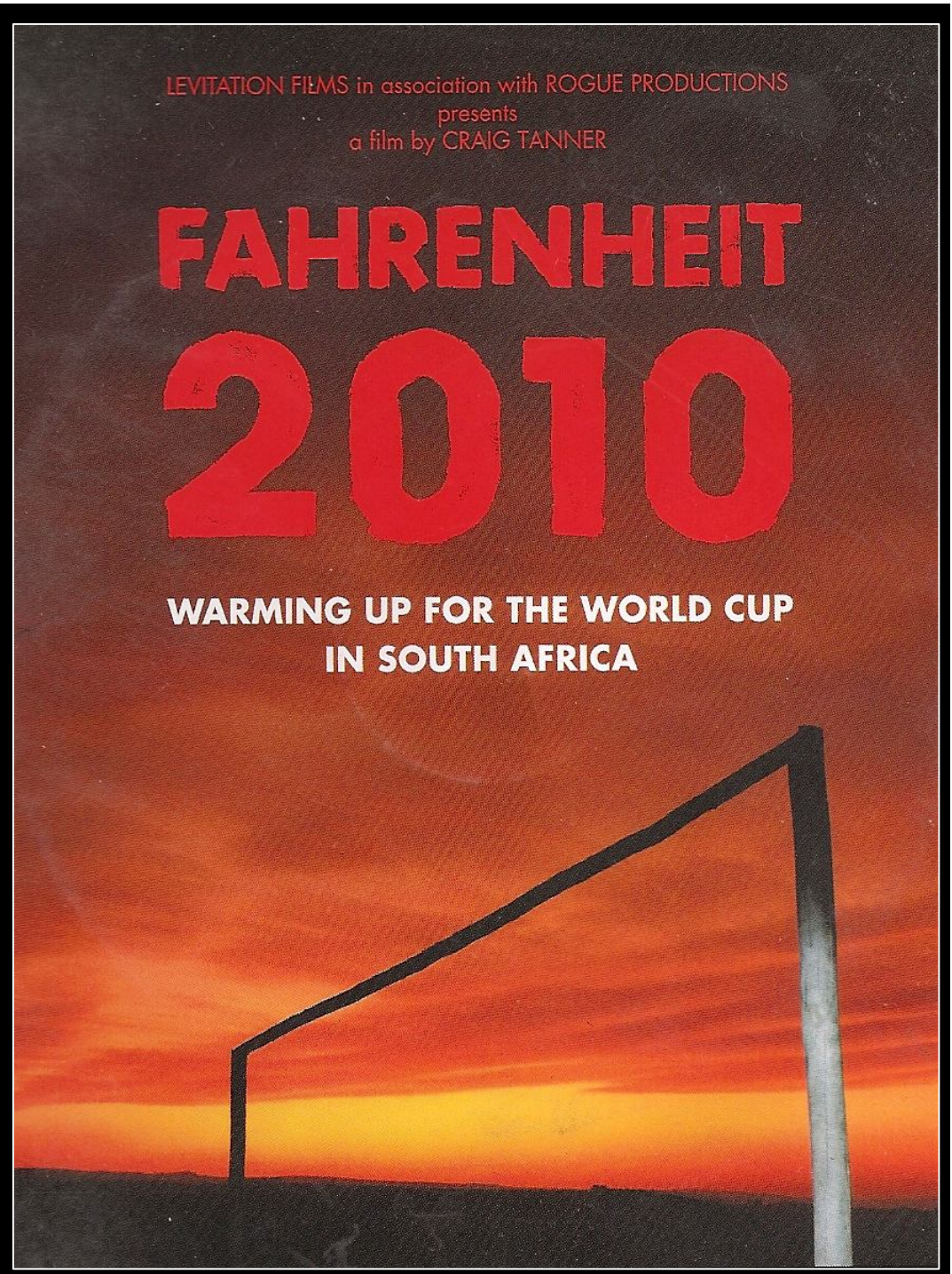




Fifa scares TV networks

SA Broadcasting Corp. spokesperson Kaiser Kganyago confirms that national broadcaster refused to screen critical documentary: *“Our job is obviously to promote the World Cup and flighting anything that can be perceived as negative is not in our interest.”*

13 May 2010





The biggest cost of hosting the World Cup will be the loss of dignity and the suspension of the rights of citizens that are the major Fifa condition for allowing us to host the tournament.

As most citizens will soon find out, our government has effectively suspended the rights to free speech (one has to be careful about the circumstances in which one uses some ordinary English words that Fifa regards as its holy ground) and freedom of movement (movement of the so-called Fifa dignitaries will take precedence over ordinary citizens).

Fifa is a corrupt institution. How we can justify honouring the behaviour that Blatter and his cronies are known for defies comprehension. Unless, of course, the award is in recognition of the fact that Blatter can teach our leaders a trick or two on how to fix election results and how to use a public institution for the benefit of one's friends and relatives.

We have not only suspended our most prized asset – constitutional rights – but we are also prostrating ourselves before the lords of Fifa who have colonised us, albeit temporarily. Shame, not pride, is what we should feel.

The shame of being colonised by King Sepp

THE hosting of the World Cup in about 40 days' time will come at a huge cost to the country, not only in rands and cents but in the loss of national dignity and pride.

Since Sepp Blatter and the gang that runs Fifa voted to give South Africa the right to host the event, the country has spent billions of rands building new and upgrading existing stadiums, and adding transport infrastructure and a whole range of other services in compliance with the contract with Fifa.

Though infrastructure is always a useful addition, the World Cup infrastructure is not based on the country's needs but on what makes for a successful hosting of the tournament. In other words, Fifa requires a smooth flow between where teams and Fifa officials will stay and the stadiums.

All of this expenditure has been justified by the government on the basis that the country will benefit from the tournament being held here.

Second Take

Jabulani Sikhakhane



The benefits come in two forms: hard and soft. Most of the hard benefits are easily quantified; the soft aren't. The hard benefits in this case include the contribution to economic activity of the construction activity associated with the World Cup.

South Africa, it's been said, navigated the recession better than most countries because of World Cup-related construction as well as other investments in infrastructure such as power stations, roads, railways and airports. The Cup will also stimulate expenditure by the soccer fans and other visitors who will descend on the country during the tournament.

On the soft side, the benefits include raising South Africa's profile in the run-up to the tournament and during it. The government wants us to believe this will lead to an increase in future foreign visitors, something that is easier said than proved.

Other benefits include the creation of local pride and the feel-good factor that, we are told, will permeate South Africa during the event. Some go so far as to claim that hosting the World Cup will help bring about national unity as well as aid social inclusion.

I doubt very much that hosting the Cup will, on its own, be a catalyst for national unity. It sounds like a lot of

hot air. The reality is that we may paint our faces in the national colours, belch like coal-fired locomotives (that's what being a soccer fan does) and even hug each other during those moments of temporary insanity that characterise soccer games, but when the tournament is over we will all head back to our normal, pre-World Cup lives.

The biggest cost of hosting the World Cup will be the loss of dignity and the suspension of the rights of citizens that are the major Fifa condition for allowing us to host the tournament.

As most citizens will soon find out our government has effectively suspended the rights to free speech (one has to be careful about the circumstances in which one uses some ordinary English words that Fifa regards as its holy ground) and freedom of movement (movement of the so-called Fifa dignitaries will take precedence over ordinary citizens).

As if this were not enough, our government has, in its infinite wisdom, decided to give Blatter a medal of honour. This gesture shows how quickly South Africa has been drained dry of the values and ideals that underpin our constitution.

These values and ideas exist today more in their breach than in their fulfilment.

Fifa is a corrupt institution. How we can justify honouring the behaviour that Blatter and his cronies are known for defies comprehension. Unless, of course, the award is in recognition of the fact that Blatter can teach our leaders a trick or two on how to fix election results and how to use a public institution for the benefit of one's friends and relatives.

We have not only suspended our most prized asset – constitutional rights – but we are also prostrating ourselves before the lords of Fifa who have colonised us, albeit temporarily. Shame, not pride, is what we should feel.



6) protest and state repression in world's most unequal major society

Income Distribution, latest year			
Gini Index 1/	Share of Income Held By:		
	Top 20 %	Bottom 20 %	
South Africa	58	62.7	3.1
Brazil	55	60.8	3.0
Chile	52	60.0	4.1
Argentina	50	55.4	3.4
Mexico	48	53.3	3.9
China	42	51.9	5.7
Indonesia	39	47.3	7.1
India	37	45.3	8.1
United Kingdom	36	44.0	6.1
Australia	35	41.3	5.9
Korea	32	37.5	7.9

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators.

1/ A measure of distribution of income or consumption, where 0 represents perfect equality and 100 represents perfect inequality.

"This is a country where staggering wealth and poverty already stand side by side.



Dave Zirin,
renowned
sportswriter

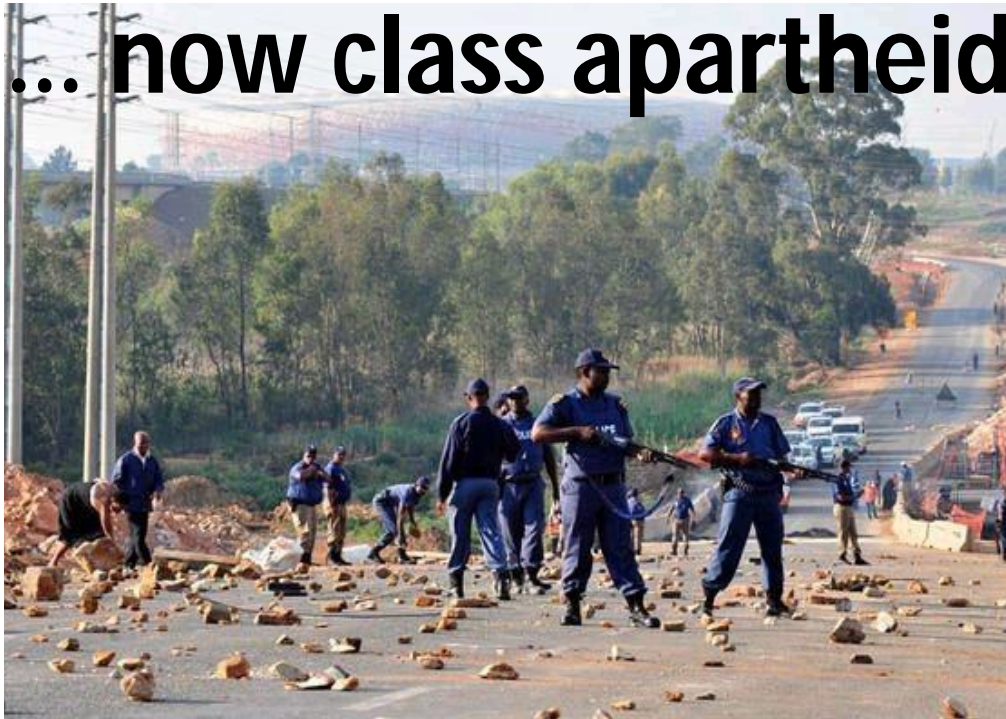
The World Cup, far from helping this situation, is just putting **a magnifying glass on every blemish** of this post-apartheid nation."

Protest: racial apartheid...



Soweto, 1976

... now class apartheid



**Riverlea – next to Soccer City –
explodes in anger, October 2009**



Johannesburg SA Transport and Allied Workers Union wage strike, 2010



Durban's Warwick Early Morning Market: anti-displacement protest, 2009

Other anti-Fifa 2010 protests:
informal traders facing restrictions, displaced Durban fisherfolk, CT residents of N2 Gateway project forcibly removed, construction workers, students in Mbombela who lost school, and poor towns' residents demanding provincial rezoning

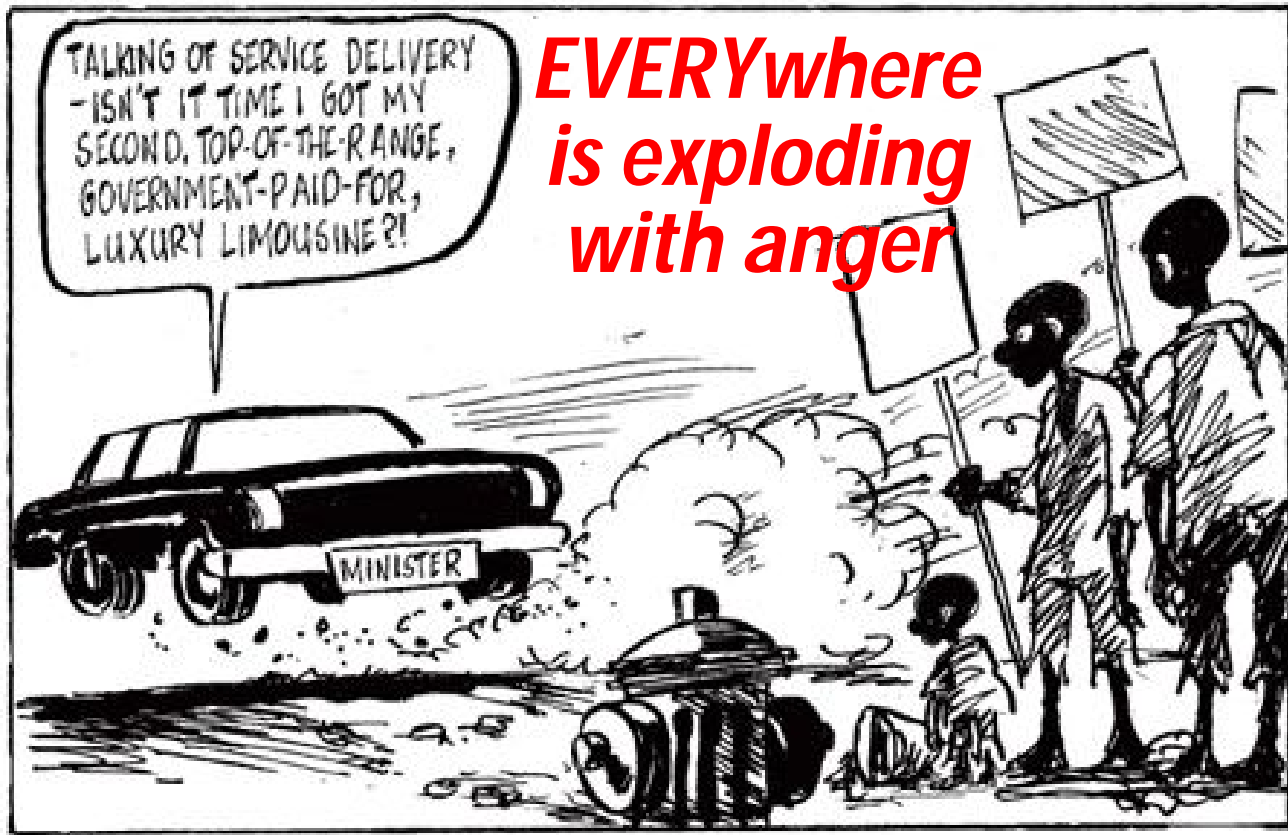


Cape Town construction workers strike, 2008

Sample of strikes related to World Cup construction, Aug-Nov 2007 alone

No	Duration	Where	Type of action	Demands	Union/Committee	Outcome
1	From 2007-08-27 to 2007-08-29 (2 days)	Green Point	Wildcat strike	Transport from the city centre to the construction site	Workers committee/NUM/BCAWU	Ongoing
2	2007-09-12 (1 day)	Moses Mabhida	Legal strike	Better safety standards, no downward variation, project based increase of R9 which should be paid on each project worked on	NUM	Ongoing
3	From 2007-09-19 to 2007-09-27 (8 days)	Green Point	Wildcat strike	Transport from the city centre to the construction site	Workers committee/NUM/BCAWU	Transport from the city centre to the construction site and compensation for past travel costs
4	From 2007-09-25 to 2007-09-26 (2 days)	Gautrain	Wildcat strike	R8/hour increase across the board, 100% contribution by employers to the funeral cover, incentive bonus for completing task before time	NUM/BCAWU	Workers did not achieve their demands
5	From 2007-11-07 to 2007-11-19 (11 days)	Moses Mabhida	Legal strike	R1 500/ monthly project bonus, no downward variation, election of a health and safety official	NUM	R6 000 project bonus (R2 000 in December and R4 000 in May 2008) and a full time safety official elected by the workers

Source: Eddie Cottle









State repression

longstanding problems of SA police brutality, e.g. 2004 torture of Landless Peoples Movement activists and police general Bheki Cele's 2008 'shoot to kill' order in KwaZulu-Natal



Local gov't minister Sicelo Siceka's 'turnaround-around' municipal strategy: no change



'World Cup Watch' updates: <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>

a *political economy* of the 2010 World Cup™



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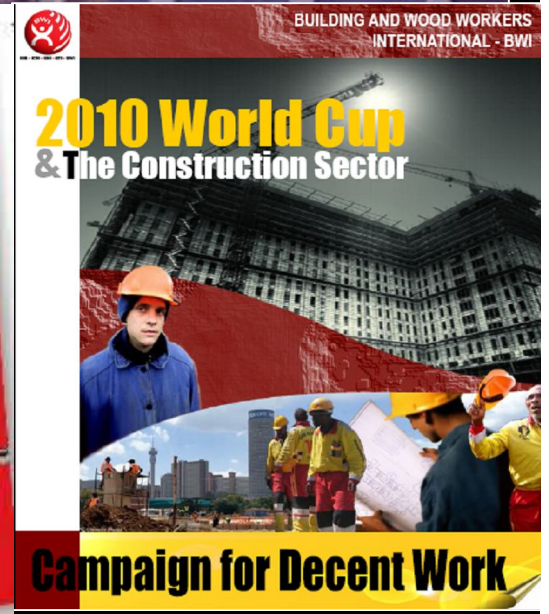
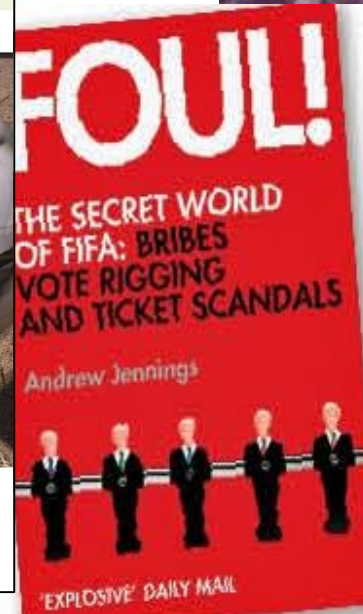
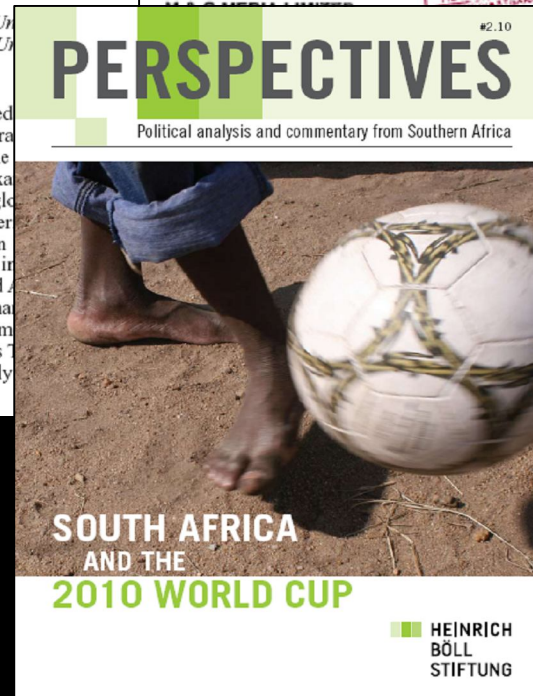
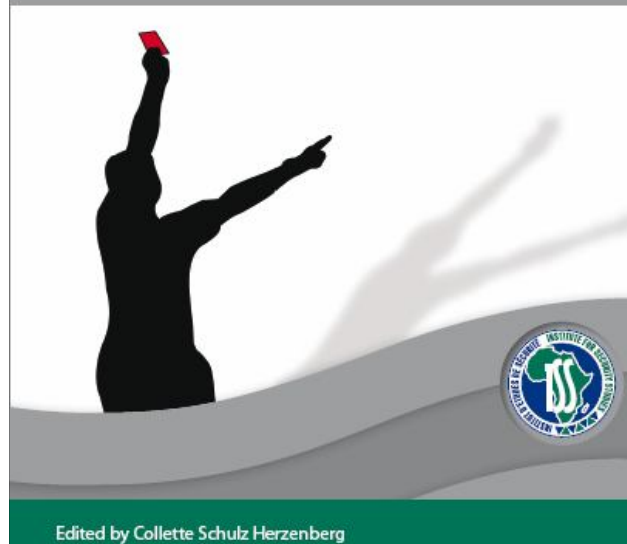
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World Cup 2010: Africa's turn or the turn on Africa?
Ashwin Desai^a and Goolam Vahed^{b*}



Player and Referee
Conflicting interests and the
2010 FIFA World Cup™



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