



RE-BALANCE THE GAME IN A GLOBALIZED 21ST CENTURY

My agenda for the twenty-first century FIFA

Ladies and Gentlemen Presidents of FIFA member associations, Executives and Officials of associations, confederations, leagues, clubs and players' associations, Friends of Football,

Since announcing my candidacy on January 20, I have focused on the discussion of ideas rather than people issues. I have put forth a specific agenda, always conscious of **transparency and proximity**. It is in this same spirit that I offer my 6th monthly newsletter with all of my proposals laid out concretely and in detail.

In my view, and as I've written and said many times, we must continue and further improve what has been done well under the mandates of Presidents Havelange and Blatter: implement development programs, organize FIFA competitions on every continent, and take the correct sports policy decisions (e.g. the exclusion of South Africa because of apartheid in 1976).

But we must do more. We must do better. Above all, we must do it differently. The world has changed, as has football, and the methods of modern governance.

I do not claim to be right about everything, or propose today a solution to each of the problems in the football of today and tomorrow. But I wish to stimulate the debate and lead it up to the 29th of May 2015 for the sake of FIFA and football.

Moreover, I have the ambition to put into practice the ideas that I am laying out, and willing to listen to others with constructive proposals. All the results will not be evident immediately, but everything must be undertaken as soon as feasible. It will be a labor of many years as the task is immense and resistance is bound to appear.

Such is the price of a more balanced and universal football.

This election is yours, that of the **209 member associations, who must be able to express themselves independently and freely**, as FIFA belongs to you.

That is why I present my agenda today, which is detailed in the appendix with the chapter headlines below:



1. For a FIFA that is more democratic, more representative of the world and more inclusive

- 1.1. Strengthening the role of national associations
- 1.2. Adapting institutions to an evolving world
- **1.3.** Acknowledging the role of confederations
- **1.4.** Engaging the stakeholders in the decision-making process
- 1.5. Completing the membership roster of FIFA



2. For a rebalanced football and a more equitably shared globalization

- 2.1. Placing the struggle against the imbalances of football at the center of FIFA action
- **2.2.** Strengthening financial assistance support for the least privileged associations
- 2.3. Assisting national associations to help their leagues and clubs
- **2.4.** Building 400 football pitches in four years
- 2.5. Establishing a special program for insular associations in Oceania and the Caribbean
- **2.6.** Setting up task forces for "continental country" associations
- **2.7.** Establishing a central procurement office at the service of football



3. For a governance suitable to the twenty-first century

- **3.1.** Governing by example
- **3.2.** Initiating a cost reduction program exclusive of development expenditures
- **3.3.** Strengthening FIFA administration
- 3.4. Negotiating a global collective bargaining agreement between players and clubs
- 3.5. Revitalizing participation and debates within FIFA
- 3.6. Strengthening the world presence of FIFA



I am presenting this program to show you both my seriousness and my determination. Of course these proposals can be criticized and should be debated, but they are realistic and achievable, especially financially.

My hope is that these proposals will be debated not only with all 209 national associations, but also in front of the general public via television and social networks. This debate is crucial for football, for FIFA, and for its image.



I wish to conclude by saying that if you trust me, my energy will be dedicated to these missions:

- Rebalancing football in the globalized twenty-first century,
- **Reconciling** the protagonists of our sport, Europe and the rest of the world, our institutions among themselves, FIFA and the "people of football."

Until next time, Kindest regards



LETTER N°6 ANNEX I

MY AGENDA FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY FIFA

1 - FOR A FIFA THAT IS MORE DEMOCRATIC, MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORLD AND MORE INCLUSIVE

Like any living structure, FIFA must constantly adapt and provide solutions to issues in its leadership, but especially in the governance of football which is its primary mission.

1.1 - STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

FIFA was founded in 1904 by and for its members: the national associations. This structure must not only be respected, but it must also be strengthened. The associations, at the national level, represent "football people" through their players, their clubs, their leagues and their fans. It is only at the level of national associations that equilibrium can be found between amateur and professional football, between the interests of clubs and national teams, between short term goals (winning competitions) and medium term aspirations (training young talent, allowing them to grow and develop in the best possible way) and thus plant seeds for future success.

In this spirit, I offer the following:

- To set aside the majority of seats on the Executive Committee of FIFA for the presidents of national associations (see Annex II),
- To elect these seats at the FIFA Congress at the same time of the election of the FIFA president. This would create, and it would be a first, a true "governing majority" in favor of consistency (see Annex II),

In any democratic system, the person chosen to lead a country has a majority of coherent government to implement the program for which s/he was elected.

• Establish that the presidents of national associations elected to the Executive Committee by the Congress lose their seats if they lose their national responsibility.

Their replacement could be done by the president of the national association of the continent that was not elected but who received the next lowest number of votes in the initial election. Another option would be a new election at the next FIFA Congress for the remainder of the four years of the initial term.

• Amend the statutes to show that each national association has at least one position in the technical committees of FIFA.

Also in each of these committees, a quota of seats will be reserved for proposals from national associations independently of nominations from the confederations,

Members of the Associations Committee to be elected by the FIFA Congress.

1.2 - ADAPTING INSTITUTIONS TO AN EVOLVING WORLD

The question of the relative weight of continents within its institutions, and the distribution of slots in its competitions, has always been debated within FIFA. In 1966, for example, the African associations had boycotted the World Cup in England because of the refusal of FIFA to recognize their direct entry to the final stage of the competition.

In fact, FIFA faces the same debate that international institutions continue to face with regards to the reform of the Security Council of the United Nations, or the voting rights at the International Monetary Fund. Each of these institutions is saddled with voting rights that represent the world as it was in a not too distant past, but not as it is today. Inequalities between continents are matters of another time; we have to act with the reality as it stands today and prepare the future.

There needs to be a new equilibrium between the continents, fairer and more representative, in at least four areas.

 At the head of FIFA, elect in the future the President and the First Vice President together on the same "ticket", the associated candidates must be from two different continents.

This formula will ensure the legitimacy of the acting president if the elected president of FIFA were unable to continue to perform his duties. It will also be a strong symbol of the universality of our organization, and the duty to take into account the diverse needs of football across the planet.

- In the Executive Committee, assign an additional seat to the five non-European continents (see Annex II).
- At the FIFA administration, expand recruitment to the entire planet.

As a matter of principle, I am opposed to a "quota" system, formal or otherwise, such as might exist in the European Commission or at the United Nations. Nevertheless, it seems essential to have the diverse expertise of ethnicities, social and cultural backgrounds in the senior echelons of FIFA.

At the World Cup, immediately launch a broad discussion on the allocation of the 32 spots.

The debate is still the same as in 1966, and unfortunately the arguments against change remain the same as in "some football continents would not have the level" or "should first prove its success," etc.

The last World Cup in Brazil showed, once again, that the football world is constantly evolving. Europe, with Germany, was the first continent to win three consecutive world titles, although seven of its thirteen teams were eliminated at the group stage. South America showed its traditional strength. Again America, but that of the Center, was the surprise of the World Cup with Costa Rica. Africa, for the first

time, qualified two teams in the round of 16 and could have had three, in addition to the fact that Ghana and Algeria seriously challenged the eventual winner.

I am not in favor of a formula of 40 teams as the World Cup has already become very — maybe too much - demanding to organize with 32 teams. Moreover, among the possible options, the one with 10 groups of 4 teams would require the qualification of "best runner-ups" with risks of unsporting behavior. The one with 8 groups of 5 to would increase the total number of matches by 50%.

1.3 - ACKNOWLEDGING THE ROLE OF CONFEDERATIONS

Confederations might not be members of FIFA, but how could we not acknowledge the fact that they play a major role in football? It is therefore essential to clarify and formalize these relationships via contracts conforming to Article 20.4 of the FIFA Statutes.

These contracts could:

- Formalize delegations of authority (e.g., the organization of the qualification rounds),
- Define contractual objectives for grants that FIFA bestows on Confederations (e.g. travel grants
 to individual associations for use by their national teams in continental competitions, cofinancing of development projects),
- Formalize the automatic role as Vice Presidents of FIFA for all six presidents of confederations,
- Set aside a position in each FIFA technical committee for confederations.

1.4 - ENGAGING THE STAKEHOLDERS IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

For twenty years, our states have increased the participation of what is called "civil society". In football, the "civil society" was also organized with FIFPro, which brings together 56 national associations or groups of professional players, with EPFL and its 29 European leagues and organizations of European clubs (G-14 and ECA), the latter two not yet globalized nor fully representative.

Football governance will be reinforced by the integration of these protagonists of our sport in the decision-making process. It will permit to better prepare regulations and decisions at the origin and to implement them more effectively on the field.

I therefore propose that a seat on the Executive Committee be reserved (see Annex II):

- For FIFPro in the person of a representative chosen by the institution,
- For a future FIF-leagues, globalized, democratic and pyramidal, once it has been created,
- For a future FIF-Clubs, globalized, democratic and pyramidal, once it has been created.

1.5 - COMPLETING THE MEMBERSHIP ROSTER OF FIFA

FIFA has now 209 members, but the roster is not complete enough for our commitment to world football to be fully realized.

We must therefore prepare for the integration of federations:

- From several independent states of the Pacific Ocean: Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia,
 Nauru, Palau, possibly conferring a special status to their associations,
- Of Kosovo, whose membership is currently blocked for non-sporting reasons,
- Of some non-independent territories (five French Overseas Departments, a Territory administered by the United States).

We should also support and encourage the reunification of football in some countries (e.g. Cyprus, Somalia-Somaliland).



2 - FOR A REBALANCED FOOTBALL AND A MORE EQUITABLY SHARED GLOBALIZATION

The globalization of football has been a success for our sport. Audiences of the last World Cup have clearly demonstrated the point yet again. But this globalization has resulted in strong economic polarization that has itself led to concerns about sporting imbalances, and a marked decline in the uncertainty of the result. This increased predictability of competition is clearly observed with results progressively more determined by decisions taken away from the pitch.

This economic polarization on a minority of clubs and competitions in Western Europe is further reinforced by the impact of the Bosman ruling (in-draft players to Europe but also within Europe against non-European leagues and some European leagues). The gap between continents has widened. European football has lost its characteristic homogeneity of twenty years ago. And too many national championships are monopolized by one or two clubs.

In my view, these imbalances are the central challenge of football for the next ten to fifteen years.

2.1 – PLACING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMBALANCES OF FOOTBALL AT THE CENTER OF FIFA ACTION

As of May 30, 2015, this complex and difficult task must be tackled:

- By deploying a "High World Council for the development of football" whose members are representatives of our diversity of situations,
- Establishing a fast-track work schedule,
- Studying all possible options without exclusions (e.g., contribution on TV fees collected outside
 the territory of competition, protection of player development, of the clubs and countries which
 develop players, measures to increase the percentage of eligible players in national teams,
 reforming competition formats, etc.).

This Council will have the task of defining strategies and development programs (with decision-making power and control) to ensure transparency and traceability of funds used.

It will also be necessary to streamline the current stack of development programs, reduce management costs and better control the use and effectiveness of these funds.

This fight against imbalances must be accompanied by financial efforts. Indeed, it does not seem advisable to maintain a level of reserves of \$ 1.5 billion in FIFA when so many member associations face financial difficulties due to the increasing number of competitions in which they must participate, and the diversification of their activities. The need to self-insure and thus maintain reserves should not prevent the allocation of a portion of these reserves to increased development efforts.

2.2 - STRENGTHENING FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE LEAST PRIVILEGED ASSOCIATIONS

While maintaining sufficient reserves of around one billion dollars, it is possible to:

- Double the Financial Assistance Program for the 100 associations whose budgets are the lowest,
- Examine the possibility of doing so for the following 50 associations, depending on the financial performance of FIFA,
- Fund the following new programs.

2.3 - ASSISTING NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS TO HELP THEIR LEAGUES AND CLUBS

Much has been done over the last twenty years by FIFA and the confederations for the success of global and continental competitions while, at the same time, football at the national level has suffered.

National football must be the priority of FIFA in the coming years.

In my view, we must:

- Analyze in detail the situation of the approximately 3,000 first division clubs in the world,
- Identify the needs country by country for these clubs (competition pitch, training field, national training academy run by the association, etc.)
- Define specific programs to implement.

2.4 - BUILDING 400 FOOTBALL PITCHES IN FOUR YEARS

Two actions are possible:

- Building these 400 fields as needed by the associations, leagues and clubs mentioned above,
- Launching a feasibility study on reducing the unit cost of these pitches with the consideration of several options (FIFA getting directly involved in the manufacturing process? FIFA partnering with an industry on the medium-term? FIFA getting involved in the purchasing chain in order to maximize the financial terms?).

2.5 - ESTABLISHING A SPECIAL PROGRAM FOR INSULAR ASSOCIATIONS IN OCEANIA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Some may mistakenly think that the needs of these "small" associations are lesser due to the size of their population and local football. We have observed the opposite. Small size means fewer funds available from other sources (governments, televisions, private sector). Their isolation, dependence on expensive air transport for internal league games and for their national teams, their structure as archipelagos, etc., require additional support.

This will entail:

- Establishing a specific program for the associations of Oceania and the Caribbean, while extending the assistance to the federations of other continents in similar situations (Cape Verde, Comoros, Maldives, Seychelles)
- Endowing an annual budget of \$30 million in the first phase to fund internal and external travel with the assistance of FIFA administration (see below).

2.6 - SETTING UP TASK FORCES FOR CONTINENTAL COUNTRY ASSOCIATIONS

This program is initially targeting three countries, China, India and Indonesia which together represent 40% of the world population.

Under the authority of FIFA, representatives for these associations, together with AFC and local stakeholders, including players, these task forces would be open to anyone (associations and leagues from other countries, local governments) who wish to invest in helping football in these countries.

This would provide a service "window" to support associations of these countries in a multi-sector approach (basic organization, marketing, television, professionalization at the highest level, and popularization of football in the individual markets). This will also save on administrative costs by consolidating efforts and putting more money in the field.

Of course, other task forces could be created for other national associations if this method proves effective (e.g., Nigeria and DR Congo).

2.7 - ESTABLISHING A CENTRAL PROCUREMENT OFFICE AT THE SERVICE OF FOOTBALL

For many national associations, the costs of purchasing football equipment are too high because of their economic situation and their low purchasing power (lack of critical mass).

I propose:

- To study the establishment of a "central procurement office" within FIFA,
- To entrust the search for synergies and economies of scale in the procurement of artificial turf, balls, shoes, jerseys, etc.
- To do the same for air transport by negotiating with major global airline alliances,
- To open this "service" to the national associations, as well as clubs to merge equipment purchasing needs.



3 - FOR A GOVERNANCE SUITABLE TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Faced with skepticism, whether justified or not, vis-à-vis institutions of all kind (governments, private companies, international organizations), FIFA must meet new demands. What was legal or only acceptable or tolerated twenty years ago, is no longer so today. Public opinion and our citizens demand greater transparency, ethics, efficiency and proximity. This is not a judgment against anyone specific, but a statement of fact.

3.1 - GOVERNING BY EXAMPLE

Again, this is to help rebuild the image of FIFA which, and I have often said, is falsely accused of all evils occurring in the pyramid of world football.

I therefore propose the following measures:

- For the President, I pledge to make <u>public</u> my salary and to inform the Commission of Ethics and the Audit Commission of the state of my personal assets at the beginning of the term to enable verification at the end of the mandate.
- Strengthen the Ethics Code and its implementation
- To delegate the management of all FIFA commercial contracts (TV, marketing, etc.) to a body autonomous from the Executive Committee on the basis of the best practices for tenders. This will protect governmental functions of FIFA exercised by the President and the Executive Committee of any suspicion in this regard.

3.2 - INITIATING A COST REDUCTION PROGRAM EXCLUSIVE OF DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES

Over the period 2015-2018 (according to Financial Report 2013), FIFA will spend more on operating costs (\$990 million) than in development projects (\$900 million).

This savings program should cover all other expenditures of FIFA (e.g. more than \$2.5 billion for all competitions) which, excluding development, reach \$4 billion over the same period from 2015 to 2018.

A target of 5% cost reduction is a realistic objective and not challenging to the missions of FIFA.

The program would represent a potential total of \$200 million and I propose that we take the decision to automatically devolve any savings to development projects.

3.3 – STRENGHTENING FIFA ADMINISTRATION

The following measures would support the need to continually adapt to the challenges in the governance of world football:

- Creating a "Division of National Associations" dedicated exclusively to the daily monitoring of
 the requirements of your associations into a sort of "service outlet", and strengthening a
 "tailored" approach to the problems of each,
- Establishing a "Division of Professional Football" in charge of all matters affecting professional football. The posts will be filled by experts in each specific sector: (1) development and enforcement of regulations in cooperation with players, clubs, leagues and associations (2) strengthening and acceleration of judicial proceedings which are now too slow and too expensive, and (3) implementation of programs to support national football in cooperation with the Development Division.
- Creating a "center of analysis and forecasting", a kind of "think tank" comprised of experts from all sectors to anticipate changes and provide avenues for action for the benefit of football,
- Establishing a structure responsible for managing FIFA tender offers (see section 3.1)
- Developing a procurement office within the "Development Division" (see section 2.6)
- Extending the search for human resources to the entire world in order to benefit from the diversity of our football (see section 1.2).

Finally, we must clarify the definition of the position of Secretary-General:

- The current system is inherited from the British conception of sports clubs in the nineteenth century with an honorary president and an executive general secretariat. For example, until 2003, the powers conferred to the President of FIFA in the FIFA Statutes were minimal.
- This formula does not correspond to a system where the only political legitimacy lies in the election of the FIFA President by universal suffrage of the 209 associations.
- In addition, the "presidentialization" of the FIFA Statutes undertaken in 2003 was incomplete with sections on the respective powers of the President (article. 32) and the Secretary General (art. 72) creating a dichotomy and duplication at the head of FIFA.
- Finally, Article 31.8 gives the Executive Committee the authority to refuse to let the FIFA President replace the Secretary General. It gives the latter the means to "play" the institutions between each other and thus to protect himself, and to arrive at a "political" legitimacy that an unelected administrative agency should not have.

In this context and as in any democratic system, the FIFA President has to have a "chief of staff" which, whatever the title, serves as an interface and ensures cohesion between administrative action and policy decisions.

3.4 - NEGOTIATING A GLOBAL COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENT BETWEEN PLAYERS AND CLUBS

World football has been "revolutionized" by the Bosman ruling. The ground rules have been upset as the decision is the direct result of the inability of football institutions to listen to the grass roots at the time, to become aware of the changes that were taking place and to have a meaningful dialogue with the sport's stakeholders.

Much has been accomplished in this area, and I am proud of the role I have played (2001 agreement with the European Commission on transfers, establishment of the Chamber of Dispute Resolution, FIFA-FIFPro agreement in 2006, etc.).

But we must go further, and therefore I propose:

- To launch a "task force" consisting of representatives of professional football,
- To negotiate a "global collective bargaining agreement" between clubs/leagues and players, i.e. between employers and employees,
- To include all the elements necessary today: (1) "package of measures" regarding transfers, training, etc., (2) definition of the "specificity" of football and (3) modernization and updating of world regulations of professional football.

3.5 - REVITALIZING PARTICIPATION AND DEBATES WITHIN FIFA

This revitalization is now essential and several measures are possible:

Organizing the FIFA Congress over three days with a day devoted to themes proposed by the
national associations, and round tables and forums whose findings would be discussed and
possibly approved on the final day.

This can be implemented without additional cost because the delegations are present on site for the duration.

- Consulting with national associations on the preparation of agendas for all FIFA meetings,
- Equipping all national associations with videoconferencing capability not only to increase the
 consultation process, but also to reduce costs, as some delegates may sometimes cross the
 world for two hours of meeting,
- Establishing mechanisms for systematic consultation of associations (polls on any matter to be discussed, etc.).

3.6 - STRENGTHENING THE WORLD PRESENCE OF FIFA

FIFA is a global organization, but football cannot be considered only in terms of a continent by continent approach. Our six continents individually have very contrasting situations. The most privileged associations from each continent have more in common with each other than they have with the less privileged associations of their own continent.

In addition to thinking of football by continent, would it not also be useful to think about the problems of football, for example, in groups of 50 associations of the FIFA rankings? The issues of national associations whose teams are ranked between positions 150 and 209 of the ranking are essentially the same, regardless of continent!

Similarly, the global dimension of FIFA should lead us to re-imagine the conditions of the relationship with the people of football, particularly with licensed players worldwide.

Several possibilities could to be considered:

- Giving more chances of contact between national associations outside of their continent (eg. accommodation at FIFA Congress in alphabetical order rather than by continent) to multiply intercontinental contacts,
- Creating a global database with all FIFA licensed players in the 209 federations to establish a "FIFA Club" and rebuild a sense of belonging,
- Creating a FIFA Foundation with an independent legal personality, representing the major CSR programs of FIFA including ongoing programs, and endowed with an additional budget to increase its own activities.

This FIFA Foundation would also be assigned specific tasks, such as the fight against racism, the use of football as an educational vehicle in schools, the social dimension of the organization of a World Cup, assistance in case of natural and humanitarian disasters, and intervention through football in regional crises in order to bring reconciliation among communities and neighbors in conflict.

Launch a global MOOC around the business of football.

The emergence and success of Massive Open Online Courses should prompt FIFA to go further and to offer the world of football the curriculum available and needed for our sport.





A reformed executive committee Un comité exécutif réformé Un comité ejecutivo reformado

	CURRENT COMPOSITION					REFORMED COMPOSITION				
	Total number	VP positions	Members positions	Elected by FIFA Congress	Elected by conf. Congresses	Additional member positions	VP positions	Members positions	Elected by FIFA Congress	Elected by conf. Congresses
President	1			1					1	
1st Vice-President					Seniority among VPs				Elected on a ticket with the P out of the quota of members	
Africa	4	1	3		4	+1	1	4	3 members	1 VP + 1 member
Asia	4	1	3		4	+1	1	4	3 members	1 VP + 1 member
Еигора	8	3	5		8		3	5	4 members	3 VP + 1 member
North/central America/Caribbean	3	1	2		3	+1	1	3	2 members	1 VP + 1 member
Oceania	1	1			1	+1	1	1	1 members	1 VP
South America	3	1	2		3	+1	1	3	2 members	1 VP + 1 member
Women representation	1		1	1				1	1	
SUB-TOTAL	25	8	16	2	23		8	21	17	13
Players/leagues and clubs representatives						+3		3	Appointed by FIFPRO and the future FIF-leagues and FIF-clubs to be created with a worldwide, democratic and pyramidal structure	
TOTAL	25					33				