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PLAYING FOR PEACE

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Beyond the Big Stage: Football for Peace and Development in Africa

Profiles of
- Didier Drogba
- Michael Essien
- Samuel Eto’o
- Nwankwo Kanu
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ACCORD
The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes

Working to Make Peace Happen
Football for Liberation and Peace in Africa: South Africa, Algeria and Ivory Coast

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Introduction
The history of sports - in particular football - in Africa is intimately linked to the struggles for racial justice, national liberation and peace. Several of the leaders of the anti-colonial campaigns, as well as many founding fathers of independent Africa, were either prominent football players themselves or promoted the game in their quest for national unity and freedom. Largely overlooked by historians, “football constructed a fragile sense of nationhood in political entities arbitrarily created by colonial powers and fueled Africa’s broader quest for political liberation”.2

Although not an active athlete, Ghana’s first President, Kwame Nkrumah, identified football as an efficient vehicle for unity in the former British colony and took a close personal interest in
the national team, the ‘Black Stars’. In neighboring Nigeria, Benjamín Nnamdi Azikiwe, the father of modern nationalism and chief architect of the country’s independence, was an accomplished football player and sportsman. Popularity known as ‘Zik’, during the independence struggle he founded Zik’s Athletic Club (ZAC), which not only became a hub of sporting and social activity, but also an important anti-colonial platform. And in Algeria, the leading liberation fighter, founder of the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération National - FLN) and future President, Ahmed Ben Bella, had in 1939–40 been a mid-field player for the French professional football club Olympique de Marseille. As will be seen in this magazine, the tradition of combining football with politics is today continued by contemporary African leaders such as Presidents Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi.

Most African nations are as independent entities only 50 years old, or younger. After a long and hard-fought struggle, South Africa achieved democracy only 16 years ago. With six African nations among the 32 participating in the 2010 FIFA World Cup - the first ever on African soil - this article looks at how historically the game developed in Africa has been a powerful force for social and political mobilisation against injustice, racism and foreign domination, a dimension which is very much alive in the psyche of the young nations. Examples will be taken from the history of the host nation, South Africa, as well as from Algeria, two countries that are competing in the World Cup. A note on the role for peace played by the Ivory Coast’s ‘Elephants’ with regard to the civil war in that country will conclude the text. Captained by Didier Drogba, African Footballer of the Year in 2009, Ivory Coast is also a participant in the World Cup.

South Africa: From Gandhi via Robben Island to Bafana Bafana

Introduced to South Africa by working-class British soldiers sent to fight in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, not only did football become a popular military pastime, but soon also an organised activity among Whites, Indians and Africans. In the beginning, football mainly took hold in and around the port city of Durban, but soon spread to Cape Town, Johannesburg and across the country. As with all other social activities, it was strictly segregated and organised along racial lines.

The first formal soccer organisation, the all-White Pietermaritzburg County Football Club, was set up in 1879. Seven years later, there were four Indian soccer clubs in Durban, and in 1903 a South African Indian Football Association was founded. As the African workforce expanded, so also did football in the African locations, as well as among Africans at their leading (mostly mission) schools. Among the first African clubs were Wild Zebras at the Ohlange Institute, Shooting Stars at Adams College and Natal Cannons at the Inanda seminary. By 1910, there were at least seven African soccer clubs in and around Durban. In 1916, they formed the Durban and District Native Football Association (DDNFA), the first major African football organisation in the country.

Not only was football racially segregated, but the conditions under which the game developed were fundamentally unequal, unjust and discriminatory. All over the country, white-ruled town councils refused to provide recreational facilities for non-whites, with the result that African, Indian and Coloured clubs had to play their matches in open, unattended fields, without stands or other services. Against this background, and recognising the mobilising force of the sport, it is not surprising that football drew the attention of the first generation of South Africa’s resistance and liberation leaders.

John Langalibalele Dube, who in 1900 had founded the Ohlange Institute, in 1903 launched Ilanga Lase Natal - the first newspaper in isiZulu - and in 1912 became the founding President of the then South African Native National Congress, later re-named the African National Congress (ANC). Dube played an important role in the early history of football in Natal and in South Africa at large. Ohlange Wild Zebras FC was formed in 1901, and from its first year of publication Ilanga regularly covered the local African soccer competitions. Less known, but of considerable historical significance, is that Dube’s neighbor at the Phoenix settlement outside Durban, Mohandas ‘Mahatma’ Gandhi, similarly promoted football in his non-violent campaign against racial discrimination.

Gandhi came to South Africa in 1893, setting up the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) the following year. While in South Africa, he developed his guiding philosophy of satyagraha. A firm believer in non-violent resistance against racial injustice, he was actively involved in local Indian affairs. Little known is the fact that this included football. In or around 1913 - not long before his return to India - he organised three football teams in Natal. To the author’s knowledge, Gandhi himself did

The Passive Resisters: Mahatma Gandhi set up football teams as part of the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa (circa 1913).
not produce anything in writing about these teams, nor about the game of soccer. For posterity, however, he had a photo taken of him and other NIC leaders with two of the Indian teams, appropriately dubbed the ‘Passive Resisters’.

From the beginning, football in South Africa became an integral part of the quest for racial justice and equality, playing an increasingly important role on the political agenda. In the 1920s, for example, under its President, Clements Kadalie, the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU) recognised soccer’s contribution to the formation of a politically conscious popular culture. Together with boxing, the ICU actively promoted football among its followers.

More important in the longer-term perspective was the role of Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the ANC from 1952 until his death in 1967. Luthuli was closely involved with the sport. As a national political leader, administrator and organiser, he was in particular drawn to football as it brought African mission-educated elite together with African migrant and non-migrant workers. In his autobiography Let My People Go - first published in 1962 - he noted that “what has attracted me as much as the game [itself] has been the opportunity to meet all sorts of people, from the loftiest to the most disreputable”. Strongly opposed to Pretoria’s segregation policies, he added that “I confess that when I watch matches between White South Africans and visiting teams, I invariably want the foreigners to win. So do other Africans”.

In addition to his involvement in national politics, as well as in traditional governance, missionary affairs and agriculture at Groutville north of Durban, Luthuli was a prominent football administrator. After serving for many years as Secretary of Adams College’s Shooting Stars, in 1929 he became Vice-President of the Durban and District Native Football Association, which - as mentioned - was the first of its kind in South Africa. Describing himself as a “compulsive football fan”, three years later he was instrumental in uniting the Natal and Transvaal associations under the South Africa African Football Association (SAAFA), of which he also became Vice-President. And in 1952, when the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign against the apartheid state and Luthuli was elected President-General of the liberation movement, he combined political work with that of President of the Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board, set up to oversee and bridge the racial division between African, Indian and Coloured soccer associations.

At a historic conference in Durban in 1951, the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) had in the meantime been launched. Barring nobody from membership on the grounds of race, colour or creed, it brought together more than 46,000 members of the African, Coloured and Indian associations under...
one umbrella body. The strong link between non-racial liberation politics and football was further underlined when in 1953 the recently formed Congress Alliance\textsuperscript{14} organised a highly publicised soccer match between ‘Veterans’ and ‘Youth’ on a farm outside Johannesburg. Together with the future ANC President Oliver Tambo, stalwarts such as the Communist Party leaders Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Moses Kotane took part in the non-racial match.\textsuperscript{15}

This was the context in which different non-racial South African sport associations in the mid-1950s sought international affiliation. Claiming national representativity as it had more than 80% of South Africa’s registered football players, in 1954 SASF applied for international recognition within FIFA. Opposed by the apartheid government and by the all-White South African Football Association (SAFA), it marked the beginning of a protracted and bitter struggle. This was also the context in which the poet, journalist and anti-apartheid activist Dennis Brutus in 1955 founded the Co-ordinating Committee for International Recognition of Sport (CCIRS), with “the single, simple principle [t]hat all South Africans should be allowed to represent their country - if they are good enough”.\textsuperscript{16} In 1958, Brutus also set up the South African Sports Association (SASA), which with support by the ANC lobbied international sports federations to withdraw recognition of whites-only South African affiliates. Football represented around 50,000 of its 70,000 members.

In the early 1950s, occasional, non-league matches between white and black, i.e. African, Indian or Coloured, football teams did take place in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. In 1956, however, the apartheid regime ruled that “[W]hites and Blacks should organise their sporting activities separately; there should be no inter-racial competitions [...] mixing of races in teams should be avoided; and sportsmen from other lands should respect the country’s customs”.\textsuperscript{17} At the same time and with particular wrath, Pretoria clamped down on the increasingly popular African football teams by denying them access to proper playing grounds. The Soweto giants Orlando Pirates and Moroka Swallows were forced to use the open field in Kliptown, where in 1955 the ANC and its allies had convened the historic Congress of the People.\textsuperscript{18} Eventually, however, the African clubs were evicted also from Kliptown, which in 1966 led to the demise of the popular South African Soccer League.

After the 1960 banning of the ANC and the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress), and the sentencing to life imprisonment on Robben Island of Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership four years later, the silence of the grave descended upon South Africa. In 1961, however, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) decided to suspend South Africa for not adhering to the FIFA President Sepp Blatter (centre) and South African Minister Tokyo Sexwale (right) with former members of the Makana Football Association on Robben Island, South Africa, December 2009.
Playing for Peace

French football legend Zinedine Zidane (centre) and Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika (centre right) with former members of the FLN Team in Algiers, Algeria, December 2006.

principle according to which “a national [member] association must be open to all who practice football in that country, whether amateur, ‘non-amateur’ or professional, and without any racial, religious or political discrimination”. In 1976, finally, South Africa was expelled from FIFA. While these measures - among the very first international indictments of the apartheid system - were welcomed by the anti-apartheid movement, exclusion from international contacts, in combination with the state’s onslaught on Black soccer, had, nevertheless, negative consequences for the development of the sport in the country.

In the meantime, the political prisoners on Robben Island were using football as a means to preserve their humanity. The story of the Robben Island Makana Football Association appears elsewhere in this magazine. Suffice it here to note that after a long, protracted struggle the political prisoners on the island - barring those in isolation, i.e. Mandela and his closest Rivonia Trial colleagues - in 1969 reluctantly were allowed to play football on weekends on condition that their weekly quota of hard labour had been fulfilled. The prisoners set up eight teams and organised a league system. Following FIFA rules and running for over twenty years, the league was highly successful. Operating within the belly of the beast and organising thousands of anti-apartheid prisoners, the Makana Football Association on Robben Island made no little contribution to the erosion and, eventually, the downfall of apartheid.

Among those active in the Makana Football Association was Jacob Zuma, who in 1963 as a young man was imprisoned on Robben Island for a period of ten years. As captain of Rangers FC on the island, Zuma - since 2009 the President of South Africa - had the reputation of being both an active administrator and an uncompromising, no-nonsense defender.

After the 1990 unbanning of the ANC, the PAC, the South African Communist Party and other political organisations, followed by the release of Nelson Mandela, two years later FIFA accepted South Africa back into world football. The country returned with a bang. At a packed stadium in Durban, in July 1992 South Africa played its first official international match in three decades, beating Cameroon 1–0. The first democratic elections were held in 1994, putting a formal end to centuries of racial oppression and decades of apartheid. In 1995, the ‘new South Africa’ erupted in unity into wild celebrations when the ‘Springboks’ won the Rugby World Cup and - as portrayed in the movie Invictus - President Mandela handed over the coveted trophy. Later that year, Orlando Pirates won the Africa Champions Cup, the first and so far the only South African football club to achieve this honour.
in 1996, on home soil, Bafana Bafana triumphed in the Africa Cup of Nations.\textsuperscript{23}

**FLN of Algeria: A Team Without a Country**

The tale of the Makana Football Association has been described as “the most important soccer story ever told”.\textsuperscript{24} Across the continent, in North Africa, the extraordinarly formation, purpose and success of the Algerian FLN Team could similarly have been taken from a political novel. It has been described as “something dreamed up by [John] Le Carré”.\textsuperscript{25}

Until national independence was achieved in 1962, Algeria was linked to France in a unique relationship, with its three northern departments (Algeries, Constantine and Oran) formally a part of France itself.\textsuperscript{26} While this status facilitated migration across the Mediterranean, the for indigenous population it did not entail any privileges. On the contrary, French settlers maintained a total grip on political and economic power, relegating the Muslim Arab majority to a subservient status. The gulf between the two communities was huge, and the Arabs were, in general, “seen as an inferior race, treated with disdain, indifference or outright abuse”.\textsuperscript{27} This said, contrary to the situation in apartheid South Africa, there was no legal system of institutionalised racial discrimination. On the football pitch, for example, French and Arab teams often met\textsuperscript{28}, and a considerable number of Algerian players were signed up by professional clubs in France.

For the French, Algeria was the crown jewel of its Maghreb empire, the north-western part of Africa which also included Morocco and Tunisia. The latter two, however, were governed as ‘protectorates’ under international treaties, which in the early 1950s paved the way for national independence, a status both of them gained in 1956. In the case of Algeria, France resisted change and was determined to keep the territory at all costs. This, in turn, led to increasing nationalist mobilisation in favour of majority-rule and self-determination. Beginning in November 1954, a protracted, notoriously vicious war for national liberation followed, resulting in more than one million lives lost. On the nationalist side, the liberation struggle was led by the National Liberation Front (FLN), which assumed power in the independent state of Algeria in July 1962.

Football was a popular sport in Algeria\textsuperscript{29}, and during the struggle the FLN successfully used the game both at home to boycott events organised by the French\textsuperscript{30} and abroad as a powerful propaganda weapon. In the latter arsenal, no weapon was as potent and effective as the FLN Team.\textsuperscript{31}

In the 1950s, Algeria had become the African continent’s principal exporter of football talents. By 1958, more than 50 Algerian players had contracts with French first and second division professional clubs. Some of them - such as Mohammed Maouche - had lost relatives to the violence in Algeria. He later stated, “Okay, I would have to give up my club. And yes, I was thinking of the World Cup, but what did that count for in comparison with my country’s independence? The aim was to make a statement, because at the time the French propaganda had the FLN as a band of terrorists”.\textsuperscript{34}

Eventually, the plan was carried out in April 1958, two months before the World Cup in Sweden. Secretly leaving France after playing for their respective teams in the regular weekend matches, a total of ten players safely made it to Tunisia. Others were not so lucky. Maouche and Chabri of Monaco were arrested by the French police, badly beaten and sent to prison.

In France, news of the flight of the Algerian footballers came as a great shock. Among those who had left was Zitouni, who was due to represent Les Bleus in a friendly match against Switzerland a few days later. Derogatorily called fellaghas, or terrorists, all the defectors had their French club contracts cancelled. In Tunisia, however, the FLN announced that the players had “answered the call to arms”\textsuperscript{35} and that they henceforth would represent the Algerian government-in-exile. Preparations were immediately made for an FLN Team, the forerunners of today’s ‘Desert Foxes’, who in addition to...
the ten ex-professionals would include an eleventh player and some substitutes from the liberation movement’s own ranks. To compensate for their loss of income, the FLN granted them stipends which were considerably lower than their salaries as professionals, but higher than those received by the leaders of the movement.

On and off the pitch, the story of the FLN Team was a resounding success. In their first match, they beat Union Sportive Tunisienne 8–0 and then proceeded to defeat the Tunisian national squad twice, scoring a total of 15 goals and conceding just one. Before long, they had registered victories over the national teams of Morocco and Libya too, establishing themselves as arguably the best team in North Africa. As many wanted to watch players such as Mekhloufi and Zitouni, the team’s success through ticket sales was also financially profitable for the FLN. More importantly, it revealed for the Algerian players still based in France that it was possible to pursue a footballing career also under the banner of the FLN. In 1960, two years after the first group had left, the largest single defection of Algerian footballers took place, bringing the number of ex-professionals in the squad to 32.

Over the following two years, the Algerian FLN Team - a national team without a country - embarked on highly successful tours to the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the Far East. In Yugoslavia, they beat the Olympic side 6–1, and in Hungary the national team by 5–2. At the time of Algeria’s independence in July 1962, the team of defectors representing the liberation movement in exile had played 91 matches, out of which they had won 65, drawn 13 and lost 13. As noted by Hawkey, “that’s some record for a team who never played a match at home”.

Upon their return to Algeria, and as relations with France were being normalised, some of the members of the FLN Team requested their government for permission to go back to their French professional clubs. Mekhloufi, the national hero, was one of them. Perhaps due to the fact that President Ben Bella himself had played football for Olympique de Marseille, the request was granted. Although some of the players were not warmly welcomed back, most were. Mekhloufi re-joined Saint-Étienne, who won the French championship in 1964. By then captain of the team, in 1968 he also triumphed in the French Cup final. And in 1982, he finally made it to the World Cup, although not as a player, but as the coach of the Algerian ‘Desert Foxes’. After sacrificing his place in the French team for the 1958 tournament...
in Sweden, two and a half decades later Mekhloufi successfully steered his native Algeria to the FIFA 1982 World Cup in Spain. It was the first time ever Algeria had managed to do so.

Ivory Coast: With the ‘Elephants’ for Peace

In apartheid South Africa and colonial Algeria, the popularity of football was used by the leaders of the liberation movements to further the cause of freedom. In post-independent Africa, there are examples of popular soccer players who have used their influence to impact positively on events and on the leadership in their countries. During the civil war in the 1990s, for example, Liberia’s George Weah - a national hero, who in 1995 was voted FIFA World Footballer of the Year - repeatedly appealed to the warring factions to lay down their arms. Similarly, in the Ivory Coast, Didier Drogba and other hugely celebrated stars in the national team, known as the ‘Elephants’, have during the conflict in that country intervened in favour of peace and reconciliation.

Once hailed as a model of political stability and economic development in West Africa, the Ivory Coast experienced increasing instability following the death in 1993 of President Félix Houphouet-Boigny and a downturn of its primary export product, cocoa. In 1999, the protracted crisis culminated in a military coup, which in turn plunged the country deeper into a vortex of violence. While politicians, the military and the media resorted to ethnic rhetoric in which the issues of citizenship and ‘a true Ivorian identity’ played a paramount part, in 2002 Ivory Coast was split between a Muslim-dominated area in the North - with a considerable portion of people who over the years had immigrated from neighboring countries - held by insurgents from the New Forces under Guillaume Soro, and the primarily Christian southern parts, controlled by the government of Laurent Gbagbo.

In the ensuing civil war, thousands of lives were lost and an estimated 750,000 people displaced. In 2004, a first contingent of United Nations (UN) peacekeepers was deployed to separate the warring parties and prepare conditions for peace. This objective, however, was not initially achieved, and only after a prolonged, concerted mediation effort by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) and the UN, was the so called Ouagadougou Peace Accord signed by Soro and Gbagbo in March 2007. In terms of the agreement, Soro was appointed Prime Minister and President Gbagbo could declare that the war was over. Ivory Coast, however, is far from being at peace. The key issues of citizenship and identity still remain to be solved, and presidential elections have been postponed time and time again.

During the prolonged conflict, the immensely popular and star-studded
national football team has been one of the main voices in favour of peace in Ivory Coast. With players originally coming from both the rebel-held North and the government-controlled South, the multi-ethnic, closely-knit team has consistently pleaded for reason and peace. Famously, and only moments after leading Ivory Coast to the FIFA 2006 World Cup in Germany, the captain, Didier Drogba, for example, summoned a cameraman from the Ivorian television and stated that he had a message to deliver. Live on national TV and surrounded by his team-mates, Drogba fell to his knees in the dressing room and made an emotional appeal for a cessation of the hostilities in the country. “We have proved that all Ivorians can live together”, he said, “and we can unite with the same objectives. Please, put down your weapons!” Later interviewed about the spectacular appeal, Drogba explained, “It was just something I did instinctively. All the players hated what was happening to our country, and reaching the World Cup was the perfect emotional wave on which to ride.”

Less known is that Drogba behind the scenes has taken an active part in mediation efforts between the Ivorian warring parties. In May 2007 - shortly after the signing of the Ouagadougou Peace Accord - the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) reported that it had “suggested the use of Ivorian soccer stars and heroes to broker the peace. That suggestion seems to have found fertile ground. Didier Drogba […] [was over a period of] three to four months involved in lots of quiet, but successful soccer diplomacy between the two sides. [He] has admitted that he personally intervened to convince President Gbagbo and (now Prime Minister) Soro to agree on the Ouagadougou Accord.”

As a unifying gesture between the North and the South, Drogba further convinced President Gbagbo that the ‘Elephants’ next match - a qualifying game for the Africa Cup of Nations against Madagascar - should be played in Bouaké, the city of birth of Kolo and Yaya Touré, but in this context more importantly the stronghold of Soro’s New Forces. Before the match - the first staged in Bouaké since the beginning of the civil war - Drogba showed the spectators his recently received award as African Footballer of the Year, and said, “[This] date will be a memorable day. It will be a victory for Ivory Coast football, a victory for the Ivory Coast people and, quite simply, there will be peace.” Later he explained that “I have won many trophies in my time, but nothing will ever top helping win the battle for peace in my country”. Drogba is not only a mega-star in his native Ivory Coast and across Africa, but a highly celebrated football player in England, where he plays for Chelsea, and in the world at large. He has twice been voted African Footballer of the Year, runs a private, charitable health and education foundation for under-privileged children and established a foundation for under-privileged children.

At a time when war, violence and ethnic and religious tensions continue to obscure our common humanity, the World Cup has the real potential to break down barriers and challenge stereotypes. [It] may do more to bring our planet together than any treaty or convention could ever hope for.

Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General, Chairman of the Africa Progress Panel

In 2009 Kalou also received award as African Footballer of the Year, and said, “[This] date will be a memorable day. It will be a victory for Ivory Coast football, a victory for the Ivory Coast people and, quite simply, there will be peace.” Later he explained that “I have won many trophies in my time, but nothing will ever top helping win the battle for peace in my country”. Drogba is not only a mega-star in his native Ivory Coast and across Africa, but a highly celebrated football player in England, where he plays for Chelsea, and in the world at large. He has twice been voted African Footballer of the Year, runs a private, charitable health and education foundation for under-privileged children and established a foundation for under-privileged children.


13 Ibid.

14 The Congress Alliance included the ANC, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured People’s Congress (CPC), the (White) Congress of Democrats (CoD) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).


16 Quoted in Alegi ‘Laduma’, p. 112.

17 Quoted in ibid., pp. 113–14.

18 Attended by 3,000 delegates from all over South Africa, the Congress of the People was held in Kliptown outside Johannesburg on 25–26 June 1955. It adopted the Freedom Charter, which subsequently became the political programme of the ANC.

19 Quoted in Alegi ‘Laduma’, p. 117. The principle had been adopted by the 1960 FIFA congress in Rome.

20 See the article by John Daniel on the Makana Football Association .

21 South Africa and Cameroon played three games. The second was played in Cape Town, where Bafana Bafana lost 1–2. The third was in Johannesburg, ending in a 2–2 draw.

22 Orlando Pirates met Ivory Coast’s ASEC Mimosas in home and away games.

23 South Africa beat Tunisia 2–0 in the final.


26 The three departments had the same status as the departments in metropolitan France.


28 In 1954, a North African XI composed of players from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia beat France 3–2. The legendary Moroccan Larbi Ben Barek, the ‘Black Pearl’ of Olympique de Marseille, played a prominent part in the match.

29 Among the many Algerian personalities who were attracted by the game of football was the writer and philosopher Albert Camus, in his youth a goal keeper at Algiers university. Camus later wrote, “All that I know most surely about morality and obligations, I owe to football” (Quoted in Peter Woodward: ‘Extra Time’ in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds): ‘Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community’, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p. 275).

30 FLN put pressure on the Muslim population to boycott the local Algerian soccer league. One effect was that some of the best Algerian players moved to clubs in France, without - as will be evident from the text - giving up their nationalist allegiance.

31 The presentation is mainly based on Hawkey op. cit., pp. 100–122. See also Alegi ‘African Soccerscapes’, pp. 45–50.

32 There were four Algerian players originally selected for the French squad to the World Cup in Sweden. During the World Cup, the French-Moroccan Just Fontaine excelled for France, scoring an unbeaten record 13 goals for the eventual winners of the bronze medal.

33 The Monaco player Hacene Chabri had been identified by French intelligence as an FLN supporter, suspected of smuggling money and arms to the liberation movement.

34 Quoted in Hawkey op. cit., p. 106.

35 Ibid., p. 111.

36 The FLN Team did not play against Egypt, who had won the first African Cup of Nations in 1957. Politically, Nasser’s Egypt supported the FLN. The most plausible reason for Egypt’s reluctance to play football against them is that FIFA did not recognize the Algerian team and that Egypt as a founder member of the FIFA-aligned Confederation of African Football (CAF) did not want to risk its international status (cf. Hawkey op. cit., p. 114).

37 Hawkey op. cit., p. 122. The FLN Team scored a total of 385 goals, or more than 4 goals per match.

38 Ibid.

39 Said Amara, who had defected in 1960, received a death threat when he returned to Girondins de Bordeaux.

40 In Spain, Algeria caused a sensation by beating West Germany 2–1 in their first match. After losing 0–2 to Austria, they won their last group match against Chile (3–2), in the process threatening to eliminate the fancied West Germans from the tournament. In what has been called “the scandal in Gijón”, West Germany and Austria, however, shame-fully agreed to reach a result which saw them through to the next round at the expense of the North Africans. Algeria lodged a complaint with FIFA, but to no avail. Nevertheless, as a consequence of the match-fixing, FIFA changed the rules for future World Cups. Matches that decided final group positions would from then on take place simultaneously. (West Germany eventually reached the final of the 1982 World Cup, losing 1–3 to Italy).

41 Weah also appealed to the United Nations to send a peace-keeping force to Liberia.

42 At independence in 1960, Houphouet-Boigny became the first President of Ivory Coast. He held that position until his death in 1993.

43 The majority of the players in the Ivory Coast national team have known each other since they were very young. Many of them are graduates of the famous ASEC Mimosas’ football academy in Abidjan. Among them are Aruna Dindane (who plays for Portsmouth in the English Premier League), Emmanuel Eboué (Arsenal), Salomon Kalou (Chelsea), Bakari Koné (Olympique de Marseille), Kolo Touré (Manchester City), Yaya Touré (Barcelona) and Didier Zokora (Sevilla).

44 The incident took place in Omdurman, Sudan, in October 2005, after the final qualifying match against the host country. It was the first time that Ivory Coast had qualified for the World Cup.

45 Quoted in Hawkey, op. cit., p. 274.


47 Together with the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-A) and WANEP, ACCORD has established the African Alliance for Peacebuilding.


49 The Manchester City defender Kolo Touré and the Barcelona mid-fielder Yaya Touré were born in Bouaké, some 350 km north of Abidjan.


51 Quoted in Hayes op. cit.

52 In 2006 and 2009.

53 The Didier Drogba Foundation is presented in this magazine.


55 Quoted from www.score4africa.org. Score4Africa is a London-based soccer magazine, focusing on Africa.