

GREED vs GOOD GOVERNANCE

The fight for corruption-free football in Kenya, 2000-07



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Introduction

In my presentation on "Greed vs Good Governance" at this conference two years ago, I provided some of the gruesome details of the corruption in Kenyan football during the previous five years. That corruption crippled our sport as our clubs, coaches, players and referees really suffered from unscrupulous predators in our Kenyan Football Federation (KFF).

As they were so exploited and depressed in late 2005, I tried to encourage the other top clubs in our Kenyan Premier League to look at the silver lining in the dark clouds hanging over our sport. So I kept reassuring the other top clubs that *at least it couldn't get worse. I was wrong*. Over the last two years it did get worse and I nearly got deported from Kenya and from this planet for saying so.

However, I want to emphasize again that the huge majority of people in Kenya are poor but they are not dishonest or disagreeable. On the contrary, the poor majority of Kenyans are among the most honest, hardworking, hospitable and hopeful people I've met in the over 50 countries where I worked during the last 37 years. Kenyans are certainly among the most tolerant and patient people I've met, especially with their political leaders. I sometimes feel they are too tolerant and too patient, especially when so many remain poor because of corruption.

So, in this update on the culture of corruption in Kenyan football, I am *only* talking about a few selfish predators who shamelessly exploited the rest.

So why fight corruption in Kenyan football?

The first question to be addressed is "Why fight corruption in Kenyan football"? Why put your own reputation and life at risk? Why fight corruption when you know that corruption always hits back and you will be constantly attacked in newspapers with many unpleasant adjectives in front of your name? Why waste endless hours in meetings to reach agreements that you know the others will simply ignore or blatantly break the next day? And why divert so much time from your own income generating work when the sums are so small?

During 2000-05 the sums stolen from Kenyan football were only around Ksh 55 million (about US\$ 700,000 then) which is a small sum compared to the huge corruption in other sectors. That sum is small compared to the corruption scandals in Europe and USA such as the Enron and savings and loans scandals. That sum is small even by Kenya standards where corruption scandals like the Goldenberg and the Anglo Leasing scandals *each* involved *hundred of million* of dollars.

But that Ksh 55 million was large for football. In 2000-04 the total sponsorship of the Kenyan Premier Leagues was only around Ksh 15 million annually (US\$ 200,000). Along with the World Bank and IMF, our KFF officials believed strongly in trickle-down economics. In development aid, what reached the poor was only a trickle. In Kenyan football, what reached our clubs, coaches, players and referees was also only a trickle. The rest was corruptly diverted to private pockets and that crippled our sport.

But the real reasons for fighting corruption are *not* monetary. It is not the sums that are so important. What is more important is that they were not just stealing money, they were stealing the future of our sport. And they were particularly stealing the future of our youth and especially the poorest youth who dreamed that through sport they could help themselves and their families escape poverty.

Stealing the dreams of the youth is the worst crime committed by the corrupt. I will briefly explain why I was so concerned about that.

Giving slum kids a sporting chance on and off the field

When I was a kid growing up in the little Canadian town of St. Catharines, our fathers voluntarily organized baseball leagues in the summer and ice hockey leagues in the winter. So for myself and my friends, school was what we did in between Saturdays. The highlight of the week was Saturday when we got to play with and against our friends. And in those games we learned a lot about ourselves, about self discipline, about teamwork and other good things useful in life.

I always carried a debt of gratitude to those volunteer fathers. So, when I found myself with a group of young leaders in the Mathare slums in Nairobi in August 1987, I thought "payback time". Why shouldn't

these kids in the slums have the same chances I and my friends had over 30 years before?

That was the start of the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA). Today MYSA has over 18,000 boys and girls playing on over 1,300 teams in over 100 leagues in the Mathare Valley and neighbouring slums. Boys and girls teams from the Mathare slums have participated for the last 16 of the 35 years of the world's oldest and largest youth football tournament, the Norway Cup, and today are ranked second to a team from Brazil for gold medals won. Today, over ten Mathare boys and girls are studying on football scholarships at colleges in the USA. Another dozen are playing in Europe. Over half of the starting eleven on the Kenyan national team are MYSA graduates.

Here is an exotic sports quiz question for you: What two teams will compete for sure during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa? It's not Italy, the present World Champions: they must now still re-qualify. The first team is the South African host team, Bafana Bafana. The second team ... is the Mathare youth. In parallel with the 2006 FIFA World Cup, in Berlin in July last year the Mathare youth won the first StreetFootballWorld Championship and will defend that title in 2010.

But MYSA is not about the trophies in the cabinet. Yes, the Mathare youth don't mind winning some gold medals when they get a chance. But MYSA is in part a reflection of my other life as a policy adviser to African governments, African regional organizations and the United Nations on water resources management and sustainable development. So from the beginning MYSA has been a development project which uses sport as the starting point.

For the last two decades the Mathare youth pioneered the linking of self-help youth sports with slum and environmental cleanups, AIDS prevention, tackling teenage drug and alcohol abuse, using music, drama and dance to highlight key social problems, feeding and freeing jailed kids and providing leadership training with over 400 annual awards paid to the school of their choice to help young leaders continue their education and other community programmes.

In late 2000, the Mathare youth became increasingly concerned about the corruption in Kenyan football and how it affected MYSA and their future. They had difficulty in fighting it themselves because in Kenyan society youth should not argue with their elders. Like me, the older you get the wiser that cultural value seems. But also lacked the experience to fight corruption.

So the youth asked me, the oldest Mathare youth, to help. I reluctantly agreed but expected it would only take 1-2 years to cleanup the sport. Once again I was wrong. There were many, many times over the next seven years when I wanted to give up. But that was no longer a personal choice as I have never broken a promise to the Mathare youth. So that is why I have fought for so long for corruption-free football in Kenyan: because some predators in KFF were stealing the future of the youth of the Mathare slums and I had promised to help them.

The fight for corruption-free football in Kenya, 2000-05

At our last conference two years ago I set out all the gruesome details of the corruption in Kenyan football up to October 2005. A few of the highlights of those low points included:

- The theft of over 20% in KFF deductions from the gate receipts for local matches;¹
- The theft of gate receipts from international matches hosted by KFF;²
- The reported theft of over 30 computers donated by FIFA;³
- The misuse and embezzlement of over Ksh 55 million of KFF and FIFA funds;⁴
- The failure to pay KFF debts and awards owed to the clubs, players and referees;⁵
- The failure to allow the KFF member clubs to inspect the KFF accounts;⁶
- The failure to circulate annual KFF audited accounts for four years;⁷

¹ "Continued looting of KFF gate collections", Kenya Times, November 1, 2001, page 21.

² KFF Probe Report, November 2001, page 8; "Why the silence on stolen KFF money?", Nation, January 31, 2005, Outlook, page 2.

³ "Did FIFA donate 32 computers?", Standard, March 29, 2004, page 26.

⁴ "Soccer men on theft charge: Police say football trio stole Sh55 million between 2002 and May this year", Daily Nation, July 8, 2004, page 56; "KFF chiefs on theft charge: Officials allegedly stole Sh56 million from federation", The Standard, July 8, 2004, page 32.

⁵ "Refs never get money meant for them", The Standard, December 31, 2004, page 28.

⁶ "Obondo opposes clubs move to inspect KFF books", Daily Nation, February 16, 2001, page 46.

⁷ "How KFF flouted its own rules", The Standard, March 29, 2004, page 24.

- The repeated violations of over half of the articles in the KFF Constitution;⁸
- The failure to apply the football rules firmly and fairly to all clubs equally;⁹
- The failure to consult or inform clubs on arbitrary changes in the KFF rules;
- The failure to pay annual awards to the top clubs, players and referees;¹⁰
- The arbitrary appointment and promotion of unqualified and "biased" referees;¹¹
- The failure to pay the allowances of the match officials;¹²
- The recruitment and fielding of overage players on the national U17 team;¹³
- The recurring failure to pay the national team coaches, officials and players;¹⁴
- The signing of secret deals on equipment and on international friendly matches;¹⁵
- The involvement of top KFF officials as unregistered agents in selling players abroad;¹⁶
- The refusal of KFF officials to address over 50 constructive reform proposals by clubs;¹⁷
- The failure to act on the findings and recommendations in the 2001 KFF Probe Report;¹⁸
- The exclusion of KFF clubs, coaches, players and referees in KFF decision-making;
- The appointment of unqualified people to key KFF technical and other positions;¹⁹

Not surprisingly, corrupt KFF officials hit back and especially tried to undermined and penalized the pro-reform clubs for their struggle against corruption in football. The methods they used were varied and venal. For example:

- KFF officials blatantly changed and manipulated the match fixtures to overload pro-reform clubs

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ KFF officials even admitted favouring some clubs at a meeting with officials of the Sports Ministry. See "Meeting in Jogoo House 4th Floor Conference Room between the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports and the Kenya Football Federation on 8th May 2001 at 9:30 a.m.", pp. 2-3.

¹⁰ The last awards ceremony was for the 2001 season. KFF officials presented the winners with trophies but no cash awards. Mathare United won the Premier League Runner-Up trophy. The Mathare Captain and Assistant Captain were still admiring their new trophy just minutes after collecting it when the owner of a local sports store approached them, presented his business card and asked "KFF just borrowed these trophies from my shop this morning for this ceremony. Could I please have the trophy back now?"

¹¹ "No money, no refereeing: referees demand pay of Sh1.6m from KFF or they strike", The People, February 12, 2001, page 23; "Refs cry foul over delay of their dues", The People, October 1, 2001, page 23; "Referees to halt league", Daily Nation, February 14, 2002, page 46; "Angered referees take KFF to court", The People, October 5, 2002, page 23; "Men in black stage boycott", The People, March 23, 2003, page 23; "Refs never get money meant for them", The Standard, December 31, 2004, page 28.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Kenyan Minister disbands U17 team for cheating", Panapress, February 14, 2003; "Balala disbands U17 team over age cheating", The Standard, February 15, 2003, page 1; "KFF lands in serious trouble as government disbands U17 team", The People, February 15, 2003, page 22.

¹⁴ "Stars in allowances hitch", Daily Nation, January 5, 2004, page 31.

¹⁵ "KPFGB now takes KFF to task over Harambee Stars players", Kenya Times, December 22, 2003, page 28; "Corruption hurting local sports", The Standard, December 29, 2004, page 35.

¹⁶ "Mathare United cry foul over transfers", Kenya Times, July 13, 2001, page 23; "Transfers: Trouble ahead for KFF?", East African, July 16, 2001, page 35; "KFF accept wrongdoing in Mathare deal", The Standard, July 25, 2001, page 31; "Mathare transfer wrangle persists: Ismailia signed contracts with players before telling Mathare", Sunday Nation, July 28, 2001, page 5; "Murunga's exit not enough", Daily Nation editorial, July 30, 2001, page 8; "Flout the rules and face consequences", Daily Nation editorial, The Standard, October 8, 2001, page 6.

¹⁷ "Clubs blueprint for raising standards", The People, December 23, 2000, page 23; "KFF snubs clubs call to shelve Premier League", The Standard, March 1, 2001, page 30; "KFF should accede to a roundtable meeting", Kenya Times editorial, March 5, 2001, page 6; "Dialogue crucial in soccer administration", Kenya Times editorial, April 2, 2001, page 6.

¹⁸ "Probe report submitted", The Standard, November 22, 2001, page 29; "KFF: Need for more transparency", Daily Nation editorial, November 26, 2001, page 8; "Report demands a special Governing Council meeting", Daily Nation, November 27, 2001, page 35; "Why this silence on KFF probe Report?", The People editorial, November 30, 2001, page 6; "Odidi team recommends overhaul of KFF system", The People, December 3, 2001, page 22; "KFF needs to deliver on its promises", The Standard, December 15, 2001; "Findings of the Odidi Probe team", The Standard, March 29, 2004, page 27.

¹⁹ "KFF gets another jab from GMT", People, April 18, 2001, page 23; "KFF advised to disband competitions committee", Nation, April 30, 2001, page 43; Letter dated July 17, 2001 from KEFORA General Secretary Gilbert Ottieno to KFF Chairman Maina Kariuki.

and favour other clubs;

- KFF officials told referees to ensure pro-reform clubs lost matches and to help their favoured clubs to win matches;
- KFF officials ignored official complaints by pro-reform clubs about incompetent or biased referees and deliberately re-appointed the same referees for their later matches;
- KFF officials delayed and mishandled appeals by pro-reform clubs on other violations of the rules and even on matches clearly abandoned by the other club;
- KFF officials misused the rules to unfairly take points away from pro-reform clubs and give them to more KFF-friendly clubs;
- Senior KFF officials even took top players from pro-reform clubs and personally sold them abroad and then got their KFF colleagues to sanction the illegal transfers.
- Off the field corrupt KFF officials also repeatedly tried to frustrate, intimidate and threaten the officials of the pro-reform clubs. For example:
 - KFF officials delayed, withheld or refused to provide important documents and information to the officials of pro-reform clubs;
 - KFF officials often 'forgot' to send them notices and invitations for important meetings on Premier League issues and KFF constitutional reform or misinformed them on the starting time;
 - KFF officials targeted the coaches and players on pro-reform clubs in an attempt to divide and weaken their clubs (e.g. they neglected to inform or invite them for the few local coaches training courses or for courses abroad and overlooked them for assignments with national youth teams);
 - KFF officials misused the rules to threaten and even take disciplinary action against pro-reform club officials;
 - KFF officials provided false information and accusations to the media in order to destroy the reputations of pro-reform club officials;
 - KFF officials also repeatedly tried and sometimes succeeded in persuading the corporate employers of pro-reform club officials to replace or fire them.
- As my club was among the leaders in the fight for corruption-free football, Mathare United often got hit first and hardest. For example:
 - KFF officials ignored and buried some Mathare appeals and even three years later some are still pending with the KFF and National Sports Council;
 - A senior KFF official told a group of referees at a KFF workshop at Kasarani stadium that if they wanted to get more KFF match assignments then they must make sure Mathare United loses in any match they officiate;
 - Senior KFF officials personally sold three top Mathare United players abroad in 2001 and another top Mathare United striker in 2003 and their KFF colleagues sanctioned the illegal transfers;
 - KFF officials repeatedly and unfairly threatened Mathare club officials with suspension and other disciplinary actions;
 - KFF officials refused to pay the KFF debts of over Ksh 1.1 million owed to Mathare United;
 - KFF officials repeatedly attacked and made false accusations about Mathare United officials in the media;
 - KFF officials abused their authority and manipulated the rules and referees to deprive Mathare United of the Premier League title in 2001 and their chances for a second title in 2004 plus two Cup titles in 2001 and 2003 as well as the right and honour which goes with those titles of representing Kenya in African club competitions.

The many retaliatory and corrupt actions by KFF officials seriously affected the fortunes of Mathare United and the careers of its players. The lost Premier League and Cup titles would have boosted the profile of the club and its players and improved their chances of attracting offers to play abroad. They would also have attracted more fans to Mathare matches and earned more and higher corporate sponsorships for the club. For Mathare United, rather than moving toward the goal of helping support MUYA, the club instead faced chronic financial problems which constantly threaten its survival even today. But the Mathare United club and its players *willingly* paid a high price for helping lead the fight against corruption in Kenyan football.

The fight for corruption-free football in Kenya, 2006-07

So what happened since our last conference in November 2005? A few months after the conference, we had an encouraging new dawn and hopeful new future for Kenyan football. In January 2006 FIFA convened a meeting in Cairo at which FIFA, CAF, the Kenyan Sports Minister, the KFF and three representatives of our top clubs in the Kenyan Premier league Ltd (KPL) reached and signed an agreement²⁰ containing 28 points for implementation, including:

- KFF to respect all previous agreements with clubs, CAF and FIFA;
- KFF to withdraw all football court cases;
- KFF to suspend anyone starting new court cases or refusing to withdraw existing cases;
- KFF to make an official record of present KFF creditors and debtors;
- KFF to investigate and act on previous losses of gate receipts and TV revenue;
- KFF to de-register all KFF initiated companies;
- KFF to authorize the KPL name change to KFF Premier League Ltd;
- KFF to invite the two KPL nominated representatives to all KFF/NEC meetings;
- KFF to invite the five KPL nominated representatives to all KFF General Meetings;
- KFF-KPL Joint Coordination Committee to resume work with five representatives each.

Sadly, that historic break-through meeting soon turned out to be a false dawn and again the turning point was money. Based on the Cairo Agreements and with the support of FIFA, three representatives of our top clubs went to South Africa to meet with the top officials of their Premier Soccer League as well as the Chairman of the English Premier League and of the group of top European clubs. That led to agreement on a sponsorship initiative worth over Ksh 100 million which, unwisely, our clubs were authorized to announce and did so on their return to Nairobi.

With such a sum on the table, within a week the top KFF officials who were party to the Cairo Agreements suddenly reversed through 180 degree, started claiming that money belonged to KFF rather than the clubs in our Kenyan Premier League Ltd company and then ignored or broke most of the 28 points in the Cairo Agreements. The only points in the Cairo Agreements which they did recognize were the two clauses which recognized the recently restored KFF Chairman and the Secretary General. That led to a long drawn battle with the government and KFF officials on one side and the top clubs with CAF and FIFA on the other side which sadly culminated in the suspension of Kenya from FIFA membership and competitions for government interference in football.

That struggle was intensified by the fight to restore the rule of law in Kenyan football, the key point advocated by the pro-reform clubs to restore the integrity of our sport. In Kenyan football there are several ethnic community based clubs like AFC Leopards, Gor Mahia FC and Re-Union FC which often dominated Kenyan football from its beginnings in the 1960s.

However, although they continued to field many talented players, by the mid-1990s those clubs declined largely because of poor management and in-fighting by the club officials. Also because of their political connections, these clubs also strongly felt they should never be relegated even when they failed to get enough points on the field to stay in the Premier League. And they weren't. Whenever one of those clubs ended the league in the relegation zone, the number of clubs were simply increased. Since the late-1990s, our Premier League went from 18 to 20 and then 22 and then to a world record 24 clubs playing in two separate groups.

At the end of the 2004-05 Premier League season, the majority of top clubs insisted on the rule of law and Re-Union FC was finally relegated. At the end of the 2005-06 Premier League, AFC Leopards and another ethnic community based club, Shabana FC from Kisii, were also relegated. The Chairman of both those clubs retaliated by claiming that the league had been mismanaged even though both had been active members that season of the Executive Committee of our Kenyan Premier league Ltd company (KPL). With the support of the Sports Minister, they then started a process of sabotage and even managed to split the league for over six months as some of the top clubs which were owned by parastatal companies were ordered, most unwillingly, to play in the new renegade and parallel league which was not recognized by CAF or FIFA.

²⁰ Agreements involving the Representatives of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF), Government of Kenya (GOK), Kenya Football Federation (KFF) and Kenyan Premier League Ltd (KPL) on January 18-19, 2006 in Cairo, Egypt.

Then in early November 2006 the Sports Minister announced that he had dissolved the FIFA recognized KFF and set up a Caretaker Committee although he lacked the legal authority to do so under the KFF Constitution, the Sports Council Constitution and the Societies Act governing the KFF. The Sports Minister also announced that I should be deported and, as he gave no specific reasons why I should be added to the list of Kenyan exports, he set up a special "Munro Probe Committee" to investigate my conduct and report by the end of November.

On the "Munro Probe Committee", my lawyer wanted to proceed immediately to court. He even prepared the necessary documentation as was confident of winning the case. But I refused because stopping the probe through a court order would make it appear as if I had something to hide, which I didn't. The Munro Probe Committee failed to find anything to report by the end of November, had its mandate extended to the end of December, put advertisements in the newspaper appealing to the public for "confidential" information on me, still failed to get any useful information and several months later simply petered out. That led one of my friends to conclude that I am "clearly a very dull fellow".

But the deportation threat was real. In late November 2006 several immigration officers with plain-clothed policemen suddenly appeared at my office and insisted I accompany them downtown to see the Principal Immigration Officer. I did so but in the company of my lawyer. Their main point was that they had made a serious mistake over the previous decade and issued me with the wrong category of permit. I was therefore given 14 days to hand in my existing permit and apply for a new permit in a different category. If I failed to do so, my permit would be revoked.

As I soon confirmed with other reliable friends and sources in government, it was an intentional Catch-22 situation. If I didn't comply, my permit would be revoked and I would be deported. And, if I did comply, then my application for a new permit in a different category would be rejected and I would be deported. I was saved by the fact that I actually had done nothing wrong and by the interventions of other friends in and outside government and especially by the Canadian High Commissioner and, for this I will always be grateful to Jens Andersen and all of you in the PlaytheGame network, by the international petition which you started and submitted in my defence.

But in the larger and more important struggle for the rule of law in football, the fight was also tough and turbulent as the renegade group resorted to a range of dirty tactics. I won't titillate you with all the gruesome details but they included such tactics as bribing journalists, organizing bogus rent-a-crowd demonstrations in the streets and threats to top officials of the pro-reform clubs, including threats to have them as well as some journalists fired from their jobs.

Reprieve and resurrection for Kenyan football?

By now I owe you some good news. The first good news is that with the agreement of the legitimate KFF and with the unwavering and strong support of CAF and FIFA, last March we succeeded in reuniting all the legitimately qualified clubs in a single league under the ownership and management of the Kenyan Premier League Ltd, the company in which all the top clubs have equal shares and votes. FIFA then lifted the ban and our national team resumed playing in international competitions.

With our Premier League about to finish in the next few weeks, other KPL achievements include:

- Ensured the rule of law and that relegation/promotion agreements will be respected;
- Organized successfully over 250 Premier League matches
- Increased competitiveness (e.g. only 9 points separate the top seven clubs)
- Achieved greater fairplay (e.g. far fewer yellow/red cards and injuries to players)
- Had only two abandoned matches and one assault on match officials
- Had only six appeals/disciplinary cases
- Ensured all match officials paid in full
- Implemented new match officials assessments by clubs after every match
- Strengthened support and cooperation with KFF on national senior and youth teams

Off the field, the KPL achievements include:

- Secured KFF, CAF and FIFA recognition of KPL as the Premier League owner/manager
- Held 25 meetings of the KPL Senior Management Committee and technical committees
- Made over 200 policy/management decisions *by consensus* (e.g. voting never needed)

- Circulated the record of decisions within two working days after every meeting
- Appointed a new Independent Disciplinary and Appeals Committee (IDAC)
- Established a new KPL office at the FIFA/KFF GOAL PROJECT facility
- Participated in 5 meetings of KFF National Executive Committee/Annual General Meeting
- Strengthened cooperation with KFF in 6 meetings of KFF-KPL Joint Coordination Committee
- Provided major staff support to KFF on re-starting and managing the Nationwide League
- Participated in five meeting with KFF, CAF and FIFA in Nairobi and Zurich
- Managed all achievements through inter-club cooperation without any external sponsors
- Secured FIFA financial support for new training workshops and club equipment
- Started negotiations with media and other companies on the 2008 TV and title rights

And, not coincidentally, with the Premier league about to end, the other good news is that the Mathare United professional team consisting entirely of talented young players from the Mathare slums is still in first place.

Unsung heroes in the fight against corruption

The frontline heroes in that long and tough struggle are firstly the many club officials who *voluntarily* invest so much time and energy in building their clubs and in cleaning up our sport and our many talented and committed coaches, players and referees and their long suffering families who need and deserve deliverance from corruption in sport.

The heroes include our best sports journalists who refuse bribes and resist threats and other ethnic and political pressures to courageously expose the culture of corruption which crippled our sport. The heroes include our legal advisers like Macharia Njeru Advocates in Nairobi and the Simkins Partnership in London who advised and assisted our clubs at low or no fees.

The heroes include John Githongo, a member of the MYSA Board of Trustees and former anti-corruption head and adviser to the President of Kenya during 2003-04. The heroes also include Dr. Mike Boit and other members of the Stakeholders Transitional Committee who in 2004 produced in just three months a new and exciting blueprint for putting football back into the hands of the key stakeholders. The heroes include local companies like K. D. Wire, Kapa Oils and Safaricom who got too little credit or publicity for supporting and saving Mathare United during several tough periods when corrupt KFF officials kept undermining and hitting back at the club.

The heroes also include the Dutch, German and British aid agencies, Transparency International in Kenya and especially the Strømme Foundation in Norway who provided crucial financial support to help the clubs' company survive and demonstrate the benefits of good governance, financial transparency and stakeholder accountability in football. The heroes also include the people of Norway who, through the Strømme Foundation, expanded their financial support for MYSA when Mathare United was unable to generate the additional revenue needed by MYSA because of corruption in the KFF.

The heroes also include FIFA. Although FIFA sadly ignored the many appeals by our clubs for help during 2001-03, over the last three years FIFA showed exceptional commitment, understanding and patience, especially Jerome Champagne, the Delegate of the FIFA President, who personally dedicated a lot of time, energy and thought to helping accelerate the necessary reform process in Kenyan football. When anti-reform KFF officials repeatedly tried to sabotage their previous agreements and the KPL company, FIFA stood its ground and insisted that KFF officials respect the rights of clubs, their previous agreements and the KFF and FIFA statutes. If FIFA had not done so, Kenyan football would have imploded yet again and returned to the dark and dismal days of the past.

Last but not least, the heroes include Jens Andersen and the PlaytheGame network. Together you provided a lot of crucial encouragement and support during one of the darkest periods in my life,

What are some of the lessons learned in Kenya?

The following shortlist of 11 lessons learned is based on experience *which I wish I didn't have*:

1. Corruption in sport is never sporting (e.g. corruption *always* fights back and usually does it *behind* your back).

2. Corruption in sport has no regulation time (e.g. injury time begins as soon as you start blowing the whistle).
3. Corruption in sport has no offside rule (e.g. there are *always* two or more opponents between you and the goal).
4. When fighting corruption in sport, honesty pays but you should never have to pay for honesty (e.g. be wary of seductive offers of support with strings attached).
5. When fighting corruption in sport, never underestimate the capacity of the villains to use even tougher tactics against you (e.g. the more desperate they get, the dirtier they get).
6. When fighting corruption in sport, never be tempted or provoked to adopt the dirty tactics used against you (e.g. when you fight fire with fire, you usually get burned as well).
7. When fighting corruption in sport, watch out when the villains start stressing the need for more "give and take" (e.g. you should do all the giving while they continue taking).
8. When fighting corruption in sport with fearless facts, expect attacks on your motives and character instead (e.g. expect your name in the news with nasty words in front of it).
9. When fighting corruption in sport, insist on 'zero tolerance' and don't be tempted by appeals to compromise (e.g. stealing a little or a lot are both still stealing).
10. When fighting corruption in sport, be like Liverpool fans and make sure "You'll never walk alone" and especially after dark (e.g. multiple targets are harder to hit than one).
11. When fighting corruption in sport, *always* double or triple the time you think or are told it will take (e.g. and don't be surprised or discouraged if it takes even longer than that).

Happily, another lesson learned in Kenya is that there are far more good people than bad people in football. In fact, in our country the villains are actually a small but entrenched group of dishonest and selfish officials with 'friends in high places' who repeatedly make and break agreements without any sense of personal honour or shame, who repeatedly abuse their positions and the rules to reward their friends and harm the reformers and who repeatedly use words like "accountability" and "transparency" while siphoning money out of the sport. Rather than improving Kenyan football, their main aim is just to stay in power even if that harms their own clubs, coaches and players by being banned from the world football family and competitions.

So why fight corruption in sport?

In conclusion, I return again to the basic question: *Why is fighting for good governance and against corruption in sport so important in Kenya as elsewhere?*

- **First**, because corrupt practices in sport like bribery, influence peddling and stealing are simply wrong.
- **Second**, because corruption is undermining and stealing the future of our sport.
- **Third**, because corruption is stealing the dignity of our country and spoiling its international sporting reputation which our top athletes have so carefully built over decades.
- **Fourth**, and last but not least, because corruption is stealing the future of our youth *and* especially our poorest youth and their sporting hopes to help themselves and their families escape poverty.

Stealing the dreams of those youth is the worst crime of all. That is why you and I and everyone else must *never ever* relent in the fight for corruption-free sport.