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WORLD CUP 2014

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BECKHAM UP THE AMAZON

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THE SUNDAY TIMES

Plot to buy the World Cup

Huge email cache reveals secrets of Qatar's shock victory

INSIGHT

Jonathan Calvert and Heidi Blake

THE secret payments that helped Qatar win the World Cup bid are revealed for the first time this weekend in a bombshell cache of hundreds of millions of documents leaked to The Sunday Times.

The files expose how Qatar's astonishing victory in the race to secure the right to host the 2022 tournament was sealed by a covert campaign by Mohamed bin Hammam, the country's top football official.

The Qatari vice-president of Fifa, the governing body of world football, used secret slush funds to make dozens of payments totalling more than \$5m to senior football officials to create a groundswell of support for Qatar's plan to take world football by storm.

This weekend and over the coming weeks this newspaper will expose how Bin Hammam exploited his position at the heart of world football to help to secure the votes that Qatar needed to win from the key members of Fifa's 24-man ruling committee.

The files unlock the mystery of how a tiny desert state with no football infrastructure won the right to host the world's biggest sporting tournament. This week they reveal how Bin Hammam:

- Used 10 slush funds controlled by his private company and cash handouts to make dozens of payments of up to \$200,000 into accounts con-

trolled by the presidents of 30 African football associations who held sway over how the continent's four executive (Exco) members would vote

- Hosted a series of lavish junkets for football presidents across Africa at which he handed out almost \$400,000 in cash and met delegates privately to offer further payments while pushing for their support for the Qatar bid
- Paid out at least €305,000 in legal and private detective fees for Reynald Temarii, the disgraced Oceania Exco member, after he was suspended for telling undercover reporters that he had been offered \$12m for his vote. Temarii refused to resign as an Exco member, thus preventing his planned replacement from voting for Qatar's rival Australia in 2022 and England in 2018
- Funnelled more than \$1.6m directly into bank accounts controlled by Jack Warner, the Exco member for Trinidad and Tobago, including \$450,000 before the vote
- Used his position in charge of Fifa's Goal Programme funds to channel \$800,000 to the Ivory Coast FA, whose Exco member Jacques Anouma agreed to "push very hard the bid of Qatar". He also signed off two payments of \$400,000 each to the federations of two other voters
- Hosted Issa Hayatou, the president of the Confederation of African Football (CAF), on a lavish junket in Doha at which delegates were lobbied over the 2022 bid. A month later the Qatar bid committee announced an exclusive \$1m deal to sponsor CAF's annual congress in Angola, pre-



More than \$5m was paid to senior football officials to create support for Qatar's 2022 bid

WORLD EXCLUSIVE

FIFA FILES

BRIBES, BUNGS AND SLUSH FUNDS

PAGES 2-11

venting rival countries including Australia from lobbying key figures from the continent.

This weekend football chiefs, politicians and anti-

corruption experts called for the competition to host the 2022 World Cup to be rerun.

The documents were described as a "smoking gun" by Alexandra Wrage, a former

member of Fifa's independent governance committee.

John Whittingdale, chairman of the Commons culture committee, said: "There is now an overwhelming case

that the decision as to where the World Cup should be held in 2022 should be run again."

The disclosures come as the Qatar 2022 bid committee is facing a showdown with Fifa's

top investigator Michael Garcia in Oman.

Sources say Garcia will interview the Qatar bid committee face to face for the first time as he nears the end of his two-year investigation into allegations of corruption in the bidding contests to be the host nation for the 2018 and 2022 World Cups.

It is understood that Garcia has no plans to interview Bin Hammam because the official Qatar bid committee has always insisted that he is an "entirely separate" individual who had nothing to do with the campaign to bring the World Cup to Doha.

The bid committee was quick to disown Bin Hammam publicly when he was banned from world football in 2011 after being caught bribing voters in his campaign to be elected Fifa president.

However, the leaked documents show how he worked with the leaders of the Qatar bid and lobbied the key voters, arranging lavish junkets paid for by the 2022 team at which he offered football officials large payments in exchange for their support.

Fifa's rules ban bid committees, or any of their associates, from "providing to Fifa or any representative of Fifa... any monetary gifts [or] any kind of personal advantage that could give even the impression of

exerting influence, or conflict of interest, either directly or indirectly, in connection with the bidding process... and any benefit, opportunity, promise, remuneration or service to any such individuals, in connection with the bidding process".

The revelations threaten to engulf Fifa as it prepares to gather for its annual congress in Brazil on June 10 ahead of the World Cup.

Facing pressure to rerun the bid, Sepp Blatter, the Fifa president, admitted last month that it had been a "mistake" to hand the tournament to Qatar after Fifa's technical assessors had said a Doha World Cup would be "high risk" because the searing desert temperatures of up to 50C could be harmful to the players.

The files chart how Bin Hammam sought to secure support from the African voters, lobbying them on a string of junkets at which he showered them with gifts, lucrative benefits, private jet travel and extraordinary hospitality.

Emails, faxes, accounts and dozens of bank transfer slips show he bought support across the continent by handing out hundreds of thousands of pounds in cash to African football officials and making payments directly

Continued on page 2

Meriam to be set free

Nicholas Hellen

MERIAM IBRAHIM, a Sudanese mother of two sentenced to death for converting from Islam to Christianity, is to be freed within days.

"She will definitely not be executed. I am sure about this," Abdullahi Alzareg, an

under-secretary at Sudan's foreign ministry, told The Sunday Times yesterday.

The plight of Ibrahim, 27, who gave birth to a daughter in custody on Wednesday, has drawn worldwide condemnation. David Cameron called her treatment "barbaric".

Full report, page 31

Plebgate trap snared Mitchell

David Leppard

NEW evidence in the Plebgate affair suggests Downing Street police officers set a trap for Andrew Mitchell, the former Tory chief whip.

An email sent in September 2012 shows some officers were planning to stop

Mitchell the next time he tried to cycle through the main gates. When he tried to do so just hours later, the angry exchange that led to his resignation took place.

The email features in a dossier lodged by Mitchell's solicitors in the High Court where he is being sued for

libel. It reveals how after previous altercations, No 10 had instructed police to give "unfettered" access to Mitchell and details of text messages sent between diplomatic protection group officers after the incident.

Emails reveal police laid Plebgate trap, page 18

Clegg at record low

Tim Shipman

POLITICAL EDITOR

NICK CLEGG has become the least popular leader in modern British political history, according to a new poll.

A YouGov poll for The Sunday Times reveals his personal rating is the lowest so

far recorded by the pollster. Just 13% of voters think Clegg is doing a good job while 78% say he is doing badly, a rating of -65.

Anthony Wells of YouGov said: "This is worse even than the [-62] for Gordon Brown at his lowest point in 2008."

Pain for Clegg, page 13

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“Over the years I have had many tradesmen doing a variety of jobs at my property; but few of them can match up to the professionalism, workmanship and reliability of Craftsman Cladding. The tradesmen who worked on my roof were brilliant and I would recommend this firm without hesitation to anyone who wants a job completed on time by tradesmen who are well mannered and professional when dealing with their customers from start to finish.”

Val FK10, rating Craftsman Cladding

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Slush funds and hospitality: the

Secret files reveal how the former head of football in Qatar bought crucial votes to secure the 2022 World Cup. **Insight reports**

Mohamed bin Hammam sat with quiet confidence in the front row of the hushed auditorium as the Fifa president Sepp Blatter tore open an envelope containing the name of the country chosen to host the 2022 World Cup.

Many hopes lay on this dramatic moment in December 2010. Prince William and David Beckham were in the audience – having just lost England's bid for the 2018 Cup – as were powerful figures from other countries bidding to stage football's greatest tournament.

It was the climax of years of effort. After a frenzied final round of top-level lobbying in Zurich's luxury hotels, members of Fifa's executive committee (Exco) had voted that afternoon at their headquarters in the Swiss city.

Now, with the world watching on live television, their decision on 2022 was imminent. Bin Hammam, 61, a dapper Qatari with silver hair and a neat goatee beard, was perhaps the calmest person in the room. He knew what was coming.

Behind him, a roar of delight erupted as Blatter declared the tiny, oil-rich Qatar the winner and its royal family leapt to their feet in celebration.

Bin Hammam hovered respectfully in the background as Qatar's ruling emir and his glamorous wife threw their arms around their fresh-faced son, 22-year-old Sheikh Mohammed bin Khalifa Al Thani, the nominal leader of the Qatari bid team.

Around them, the great and good of world football exchanged disbelieving glances in stunned silence.

How had a minuscule Gulf state, with virtually no football tradition or infrastructure, and searing summer temperatures of 50C, beaten footballing countries with much stronger bids?

No casual observer, watching Bin Hammam as he waited modestly for the Qatari celebrations to subside before stepping forward to kiss young Sheikh Mohammed discreetly on the cheek, would have guessed that he was the man who held the answer.

Now a cache of secret documents, leaked from the heart of world football by a senior Fifa insider, unmasks Bin



Qatar's emir and his wife join fans in celebrating the award to their country of the 2022 World Cup. Mohamed bin Hammam, right, also had cause to smile



Hammam as the mastermind of an extraordinary covert campaign using slush funds and secret deals to seal the support Qatar needed.

They also contain correspondence which reveals that some insiders realised what Bin Hammam had done. One lobbyist for a rival bid congratulated him on "a fine lesson in Machiavellian expertise ... remarkably executed, utterly accomplished".

How did the Qatari Machiavelli do it? And how can his country – an immensely wealthy absolute monarchy ruled by the same family since the mid-19th century – cling on to the Cup now that Bin Hammam's underhand game has been revealed?

The explosive revelations threaten to engulf Fifa as it prepares to gather for its annual congress in Brazil in 10 days' time in the glare of the world's media before the opening match of the 2014 World Cup in Sao Paulo on June 12.

Blatter, who has been Fifa's president for 16 years, is under mounting pressure to order a rerun of the 2022 vote.

He admitted last month that

it had been a "mistake" for football's governing body to hand the tournament to Qatar after Fifa's technical assessors said the fierce desert sun posed a "high risk" to players.

The Fifa president is also likely to face calls for his own resignation. A growing number of influential figures in world football believe a new broom is needed to sweep out

corruption at the heart of the sport's governing body.

All the nations bidding to stage the World Cup sign up to rules of conduct that ban them, or any of their associates, from providing any of Fifa's football officials with "any monetary gifts [or] any kind of personal advantage that could give even the impression of exerting influ-

ence, or a conflict of interest, either directly or indirectly, in connection with the bidding process".

Past investigations by this newspaper have shown that the rules are too often treated with contempt. Today's revelations will add to the groundswell of concern about how the World Cup was won.

Bin Hammam, a business

magnate who made his fortune in the construction industry and property, had long been a powerbroker in the politics of world football when this scandal unfolded.

As bids for the 2022 World Cup were being prepared six years ago, he was head of Qatari football, president of the Asian Football Confederation and a vice-president of

the Fédération Internationale de Football Association – to give Fifa its full name – with a vote in picking the top bid.

He portrayed himself as impartial and even privately promising he would vote for a rival bidder, Australia.

The Qatar 2022 bid team have always denied any connection with Bin Hammam, insisting he was an "entirely separate" individual". The Fifa files chart his movements in extraordinary detail as he flew around the world, often on the emir's private jet, meeting in secret with Exco members whose votes propelled Qatar to its victory.

The Fifa files overflow with astonishing revelations. This week, The Sunday Times focuses on how Bin Hammam secured the support of Exco's four African members who were crucial to Qatar's success.

Using cash handouts and bank transfers from 10 slush funds controlled by his private company, Bin Hammam made dozens of payments to the presidents of more than 30 national football associations who held sway over Africa's votes.

To secure pledges of support

for Qatar's bid from men he called his African "brothers" – and one formidable woman known as west Africa's "Iron Lady" – he handed out hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash and transferred sums of between \$10,000 and \$200,000 into bank accounts.

He invited African delegations to a string of junkets in luxury hotels and showered them with gifts, lucrative benefits, private jet travel and extraordinary hospitality.

And he exploited his position as chairman of Fifa's Goal Programme – which funds football development in poor countries – to channel \$1.2m into football federations of three key African Exco voters.

Allegations that Qatar bribed all four of Africa's Exco members have dogged its bid since its shock victory.

Before the vote, two former Exco members and a retired Fifa secretary-general had told Sunday Times undercover reporters that the oil-rich Gulf state was offering the four Africans up to \$1.2m. Soon afterwards, a whistleblower from inside the Qatari bid approached this newspaper to

Fifa's official rules of conduct

Ethical behaviour The member association and the bid committee shall conduct any activities in relation to the bidding process in accordance with basic ethical principles such as integrity, responsibility, trustworthiness and fairness. The member association and the bid committee shall refrain from attempting to influence members of the Fifa executive committee, or any other Fifa officials, in particular by offering

benefits for specific behaviour. **Gifts** The member association and the bid committee shall refrain, and shall ensure that each entity or individual associated or affiliated with it shall refrain, from providing to Fifa or to any representative of Fifa, to any member of the Fifa executive committee, the Fifa inspection group, Fifa consultants, or any of their respective relatives, companions, guests or nominees:

i) any monetary gifts; ii) any kind of personal advantage that could give even the impression of exerting influence, or conflict of interest, either directly or indirectly, in connection with the bidding process, such as at the beginning of a collaboration, whether with private persons, a company or any authorities, except for occasional gifts that are generally regarded as having symbolic or incidental value and that exclude any

influence on a decision in relation to the bidding process; and iii) any benefit, opportunity, promise, remuneration or service to any of such individuals, in connection with the bidding process. **Unfair collaboration** The member association agrees to refrain from collaborating or colluding with any other member association or any other third party with a view to unfairly influencing the outcome of the bidding process.

New evidence sparks clamour for Cup bid to be rerun

► Continued from page 1 into their personal bank accounts. The money was paid from a series of slush funds controlled by his Kemco construction company, including his own and his daughter's bank accounts.

Buying support across Africa was central to Bin Hammam's strategy because the members of CAF exerted collective influence over how its block of four Exco members should vote. Several of the officials he paid held seats on CAF's ruling executive committee and another nine currently sit on standing committees of the Fifa executive.

The files reveal that Bin Hammam hosted three of the key African voters along with 35 other football officials on a junket in Doha in December 2009 which was bankrolled by the Qatar bid.

Email correspondence with some of the football officials afterwards reveals that he lobbied them to support the World Cup bid in exchange for large payments.

John Muinjo, president of the Namibian FA, emailed Bin Hammam afterwards promising that his federation "will always be behind you in its unequivocal support at all times" and adding that "we would want to be assisted with

a once off financial assistance to the tune of US\$50,000" to build football pitches.

Bin Hammam responded personally, pledging that it would be "delivered as soon as possible." Last week Muinjo said the money had never reached his account.

The key Exco voter, Anouma, promised his support in correspondence with his Qatari colleague after a stay in Doha the same month.

He instructed his secretary-general at the Ivory

Coast FA to write to Bin Hammam on his behalf promising to "push very hard the bid of Qatar" and later sent an email himself expressing "thanks and gratitude" for the hospitality he and his wife had received.

He went on: "I would like to assure you of my desire to ensure that the discussions we had together during this stay translate into concrete action. I would ask you to convey to His Highness the Emir of Qatar my sincere thanks and

expression of my deep respect."

David Fani, president of the Botswana FA, also emailed Bin Hammam after the trip to Doha to say how impressed he had been by Qatar's preparations for the 2022 bid.

"I have no doubt that your country will be ready for the 2022 Fifa World Cup and, even without a vote, I pledge my support to you in this respect. If there is anything that I can do, no matter how small, to assist your course, I would be happy to oblige," he wrote. "I will write to you in the new year concerning assistance to Botswana Football Association as per our discussion of 21 December 2009."

The files also show Bin Hammam used his wealth to block a vote that would have gone to Australia, Qatar's rival for the 2022 World Cup, and England in the 2018 contest.

The opportunity was presented to him just two days before the vote when Temarii had decided to step down as an Exco member. Temarii had been suspended over remarks made to a Sunday Times undercover reporter and was under pressure to stand aside so that his colleague from the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC) could take his place and vote.



'WHAT YOU HAVE DESCRIBED TO ME IS A SMOKING GUN'

Alexandra Wrage, ex-Fifa governance committee

'THERE IS AN OVERWHELMING CASE [THE BIDDING FOR 2022 WORLD CUP] SHOULD BE RUN AGAIN'

John Whittingdale, chairman of Commons culture committee



However, the documents suggest there was a secret 11th-hour intervention by Bin Hammam. On the same day Temarii changed his mind and put out a statement saying that he was going to appeal his suspension.

This meant that OFC was disenfranchised – much to the anger of the Australian bid members who were expecting to receive the vote of Temarii's planned replacement as Oceania's Exco member. England lost out too as Temarii's would-be replacement was thought to favour its bid. It was one less vote for Qatar's opponents in the 2022 contest.

Bin Hammam's role in the affair is now likely to be

investigated as emails seen by The Sunday Times show he paid for Temarii to continue his appeal.

In the following months two Bin Hammam slush funds paid £200,000 and €105,000 in legal and detective fees on behalf of Temarii. The revelation will raise serious questions about the integrity of

the voting process and how far it was compromised in favour of Qatar by Bin Hammam's cash.

Other suspicious payments to voters include two payments totalling \$450,000 to Warner in the two years before the vote. Correspondence in the month after Qatar won the vote also

shows Warner referred to Bin Hammam as "the only brother I have in football" and went on to send his bank details.

The email trail and bank documents also reveal the true story of a further \$1.2m payment from Bin Hammam to Warner almost eight months after the bid when the two men had been suspended by Fifa for paying bribes to voters in Bin Hammam's campaign to unseat Blatter as the president of Fifa.

Bin Hammam declined to respond to correspondence and calls last week. His son emailed The Sunday Times to say that he and the family would not comment.

Last night members of the Qatar bid committee denied any link to Bin Hammam and said he had played no secret role in their campaign. They said they had no knowledge of any payments he had made and they had no involvement in any improper conduct.

THE FULL STORY

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