

# Dennis A. Mumble

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Author and Former Chief Executive Officer  
South African Football Association (SAFA)

[dennis.mumble@gmail.com](mailto:dennis.mumble@gmail.com)

+27 61 340-0774 / +27 65 505-3366

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Honourable Mr Joe McGluwa, MP  
Chairperson: Portfolio Committee on Sport, Arts and Culture  
Parliament of the Republic of South Africa  
**CAPE TOWN**

Honourable Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture  
Sechaba House  
202 Madiba Street  
**PRETORIA**

Mr Barry Hendricks  
President  
SASCOC  
James And Ethel Gray Park  
Athol Oaklands Road  
**JOHANNESBURG**

## **REQUEST FOR PARLIAMENTARY ACCOUNTABILITY IN LIGHT OF MISREPRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION (SAFA) REPRESENTATIVES TO THE PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON 3 JUNE 2025**

### **Executive Summary**

This submission respectfully requests that the Portfolio Committee exercise its constitutional and statutory powers to recall the leadership of the South African Football Association (SAFA) for further questioning and to consider appropriate measures arising from their wilful misrepresentation of facts during the Committee sitting of 3 June 2025.

The delegation, led by SAFA President, Mr Danny Jordaan, repeatedly furnished statements that were demonstrably false, incomplete, or inconsistent with verifiable evidence. These misrepresentations frustrated Parliament's oversight mandate and undermined public confidence in sport governance.

This submission summarises the full content of my detailed 5 June 2025 fact-check of that hearing [Annexure A] — wherein I correctly anticipated the expected outcomes of FIFA's deliberations. It also draws upon subsequent developments — specifically the decision of the FIFA Disciplinary Committee to deduct three points from Bafana Bafana and the analysis I published in this regard on 9 and 29 September 2025 [Annexures B and C, respectively], along with my analysis in an interview on *Sports Night Amplified with Andile Ncube* on Metro FM on 30 September 2025.

## **1. Introduction**

Honourable Chairperson, Minister and President of SASCOC,

I write in my personal capacity as a former Chief Executive Officer of SAFA (2013-2018) and the author of five books on South African football governance and administration, and in the public interest. The intent is not to vilify any individuals but to defend the integrity of Parliament's oversight function and to defend the dignity of the South African Football Association against those who have abused their powers within the organisation.

Having dedicated nearly three decades of my life to improving the game — through my publications and through the systems and reforms I have developed both within and outside SAFA — it is profoundly disheartening to witness the Minister's dismissive posture. The Minister must be reminded that we, too, as citizens of this country, are his constituents — not merely the sporting federations such as SAFA — and that he bears a duty to listen to us and to give due regard to the concerns we raise in the interest of restoring integrity to the most popular sport in the country.

Section 56 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) empowers the Committee to summon persons to appear before them, to give evidence under oath, and to produce documents. Section 17 of the *Powers, Privileges and Immunities of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act (2004)* criminalises the wilful furnishing of false or misleading information. Rule 227 of the *National Assembly Rules* further requires witnesses to provide "full and truthful evidence."

The Committee's meeting of 3 June 2025 concluded with agreement that SAFA would re-appear in person after July 2025 to clarify outstanding matters. That appearance has not occurred, nor has a new date been announced. In these circumstances, it falls to the Committee to act in protection of its institutional authority.

## **2. Composition of the SAFA Delegation**

SAFA was represented by:

Mr Danny Jordaan (President), Mr Linda Zwane (Vice-President), Mr Bennett Bailey (Vice-President), Mr Poobalan "Poobie" Govindasamy (NEC Member, occasional Acting Judge (PMBHC), and CAS Arbitrator), Mr Gerald Don (NEC Member), Mr Tankiso Modipa (NEC Member), Mr Mxolisi Sibam (NEC Member), Ms Lydia Monyepao (CEO), Mr Gronie Hluyo (CFO), and Mr Rashid Small (Chairperson of the SAFA Audit Committee).

Current SAFA NEC Members are prepared to testify before the Committee that the contents of the presentation made by the SAFA delegation was not authorised by an NEC meeting.

The contents of this letter, and the attached analysis, critiques the SAFA testimony in some detail.

### **3. Misrepresentation Concerning Mr Jordaan's Travel and the Women's World Cup Bid**

Mr Jordaan informed the Committee that his extensive travel at SAFA's expense was necessitated by *South Africa's "bid"* to host the 2027 FIFA Women's World Cup. He claimed to have attended multiple meetings to advance this bid.

#### **Facts established:**

- *No authorised bid existed.*

Government and SASCOC had declined to issue the mandatory financial guarantees required by the *Bidding and Hosting of International Sport and Recreational Events Regulations (2010)*. Without these approvals, SAFA had no lawful basis to style it as an official bid.

- *Fruitless and wasteful expenditure.*

Despite this, SAFA opened a "Women's World Cup Bid Office", recruited staff, and allegedly paid salaries and travel allowances from Association funds even after the bid had been abandoned.

- *Double funding of travel.*

FIFA and CAF customarily bear the travel and accommodation costs of invited delegates. Nevertheless, Mr Jordaan allegedly submitted claims for many of the same trips, resulting in double payment — a serious ethical, and possibly criminal violation, according to a criminal complaint lodged with the police by Mr Gladwyn White, a serving SAFA NEC Member.

- *Lack of oversight.*

The SAFA International Affairs Committee, charged under SAFA's own Statutes with approving SAFA's international programmes, has not convened since Mr Jordaan was first elected in 2013. Consequently, he has allegedly been authorising his own programme of international travels without oversight. Additionally, the SAFA Joint Liaison Committee has not been convened regularly for a number of years, indicating a fundamental schism between SAFA and the PSL.

The Portfolio Committee Member who questioned Mr Jordaan about his travels misunderstood the information in his possession and presented it as Mr Jordaan's travel costs. These were not his travel costs. It was allowances that he claimed for these travels, some of which were already covered by CAF or FIFA. The Portfolio Committee was therefore misled when told that the "travel costs" were linked to an official national bid. In the circumstances, the expenditure was therefore fruitless and wasteful.

#### 4. Misstatements Regarding Coaching Salaries and Sponsorship Contracts

During questioning about remuneration and sponsorship income, SAFA's representatives presented contradictory accounts:

- *Sponsorship opacity.*

The CFO refused to disclose the financial values of partnerships with 10Bet, Hollywoodbets, and Le Coq Sportif, citing confidentiality. In law, Parliament's oversight powers supersede such clauses; the refusal impeded the Committee's constitutional right to information. Furthermore, it is in the public interest that such details be disclosed, especially because these are betting-related sponsorships that has raised concern among social scientists studying the effects of South Africans' gambling addiction and its societal repercussions.

- *Contradictory statements.*

Mr Jordaan admitted dissatisfaction with Le Coq Sportif's performance while the CFO insisted relations were "good". The contract in fact expires on 31 December 2025 and SAFA entered contractual discussions with *adidas* with no apparent transparent tender.

Collectively, these responses constituted selective disclosure designed to obscure SAFA's deteriorating finances.

#### 5. Appointment of Auditors and Misrepresentation of Statutory Authority

When asked who appointed SAFA's auditors, the CFO claimed they were "appointed by Congress". The official SAFA record contradicts his statement:

- Article 34.1.1 and Article 27.7.1.15 of SAFA's 2018 Statutes allowed the NEC to propose auditors but only Congress could approve them.
- The Minutes of the 26 March 2022 SAFA Congress [*Annexure D*] show that Vice-President Bennett Bailey merely informed members that PWC had resigned and that the Audit Committee had appointed Sondlo Chartered Accountants because the Association "wanted a female-headed firm".
- According to the Minutes, Congress approved the report of the auditor before receiving a presentation on the appointment of the auditor. No Congress resolution is recorded, as was done with all other decisions of Congress. No mover or seconder or vote tally is recorded in the Minutes. Instead, the record shows that the SAFA NEC usurped the role of the SAFA Congress in the appointment of the auditor.

Therefore, the auditors operated without lawful appointment, breaching SAFA's internal governance framework, and Parliament was misled about the legitimacy of their mandate.

#### 6. Financial and Asset Management Irregularities

SAFA's delegation portrayed the organisation as solvent and stable, whilst simultaneously pleading extreme poverty and requesting assistance for some projects like the completion of the National Technical Centre. The evidence indicates otherwise:

- Liquidity. The 2024 audited statements reflect a current ratio of 0.28 — meaning only 28 cents of current assets existed for every rand of short-term liability.
- Budgets. No formally approved budgets exist for the 2023/24 or 2024/25 financial years, contrary to claims made at the hearing.
- Fun Valley asset. SAFA told the Committee the facility was valued at R70 million. No independent valuation certificate was tabled. The property continues to run at an operational loss of roughly R3–4 million per year. The promised FIFA Forward-funded upgrades (ablution facilities, merchandise store, pavilion) remain unimplemented.

The CFO's assurance that "we have budgets for all competitions" was therefore false, and FIFA's grant appears not to have been used for its intended purpose.

## **7. Governance Failures and the Role of the Chief Executive Officer**

When questioned on the inconsistency of convening NEC Meetings, Mr Zwane justified the infrequent meetings of the NEC by claiming cost constraints, stating that "a choice had to be made whether to fly NEC members in or to take Bafana Bafana to Ivory Coast". At best, this was a false and disingenuous comparison.

His explanation ignores Article 31.1 of SAFA's Statutes, which obliges quarterly NEC meetings, and Article 31.8, which permits virtual NEC meetings. It is common cause among a number of NEC Members that meetings are avoided to evade discussions on highly contentious matters such as the arrest and trial of the SAFA President and CFO.

Mr Zwane therefore misled the Committee in his response.

On 26 April 2025, NEC Member, Mr Gladwyn White, wrote to the Portfolio Committee, FIFA, CAF, the Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture, and SASCOC outlining a plethora of governance failures [*Annexure E*] that included how the SAFA CEO, *inter alia*:

- repeatedly postponed NEC meetings without authority;
- failed to institute disciplinary action against Mr Hluyo after his criminal charge; and
- wrote to the Magistrates Court distancing SAFA from the charges against Mr Jordaan and Mr Hluyo without an NEC mandate on such a serious matter.

Such conduct contravenes the CEO's fiduciary duties and reflects a malign centralisation of power that the SAFA constitution, despite its many pathological deficiencies, pointedly seeks to avoid in its many provisions.

## **8. Disciplinary Matters and Selective Application of Accountability**

During the hearing, Committee members asked about disciplinary cases involving staff, among them being Ms Namhla Mphelo, Mr Vincent Tseka, and Mr Gronie Hluyo.

On the matter of the Bafana Bafana Team Manager, Mr Jordaan and Mr Govindasamy claimed SAFA had to "wait for FIFA" before concluding any proceedings. This assertion was false and misleading.

Domestic employment matters fall squarely under South African labour law and SAFA's own disciplinary code. FIFA exercises no jurisdiction over internal employment relations of member associations. Moreover, it was abundantly clear at the time that a grave error was committed by the Team Manager and there was no need to wait for FIFA to pronounce such an occurrence – which it would not have the authority to pronounce on anyway.

In practice, SAFA applied discipline selectively:

- Ms Mphelo was summarily dismissed and forced to seek relief through the CCMA for an offence that is trivial in comparison to the violation committed by the Team Manager. Ms Mphelo's alleged offence was the distribution of a screenshot of a payment purportedly paid to Mr Jordaan, whilst Mr Tseka's offence embarrassed the entire nation.
- Mr Hluyo, although charged criminally for theft and fraud, remains employed on full pay.
- Mr Jordaan, also facing fraud charges, refused to step aside pending the case.
- Mr Walter Steenbok, the erstwhile SAFA Technical Director, was also hauled before a disciplinary committee for allegedly insulting an NEC Member, which led to the resignation of Mr Steenbok, a globally recognised football technical expert.

This double standard contradicts the principles of equity and accountability and demonstrates an entrenched culture of impunity. It is also contrary to the King IV Report on Corporate Governance, which requires consistent and transparent disciplinary processes.

### **9. FIFA's Three-Point Deduction that Nearly Prevented Bafana Bafana's Qualification to the 2026 FIFA World Cup**

At the 3 June 2025 hearing, SAFA told the Committee that the Teboho Mokoena eligibility issue was "under investigation" and that SAFA was "waiting for FIFA's decision". They further claimed that the Match Commissioner had not raised any concern and that SAFA could therefore not be held responsible.

The regulations say otherwise. Article 14(2) of the *FIFA World Cup 2026 Preliminary Competition Regulations* clearly states that *each member association is responsible for fielding only eligible players*. Responsibility is strict and non-delegable.

In my articles of 9 September 2025 ("*On the Teboho Mokoena Saga*") and again on 29 September 2025 ("*No Way Back*"), I demonstrated that SAFA's argument was unsustainable. FIFA invokes the principle of strict liability in the interpretation of its rules. Even an administrative oversight constitutes a violation, and FIFA's Disciplinary Committee was bound to apply that principle. This principle dictates that FIFA need not inform the association of the accumulation of cautions in view of the existence of the rule.

FIFA's eventual ruling confirmed this contention. FIFA deducted three points from Bafana Bafana and imposed a CHF10,000 (approximately ZAR217,000 on the date of the fine) monetary fine. The Association also incurred a wasteful expense by paying players a R1,3m

win bonus for the now-failed match. I correctly predicted the outcome in my articles based on the clarity of the FIFA rule.

In a further article published in 2022 [*Annexure F*], I addressed SAFA's ill-fated attempt to appeal FIFA's dismissal of its protest following the 14 November 2021 match between South Africa and Ghana — a match in which SAFA alleged possible manipulation by the referee. That episode laid bare a distressing lack of procedural competence within the Association: SAFA failed to acquaint itself with, or adhere to, the procedural requirements stipulated in the *Regulations for the FIFA World Cup 2022*, rendering its protest fatally defective from the outset.

When questioned publicly about the prospects of success in that ill-conceived appeal, the SAFA President, Mr Jordaan, declared on *Marawa Sports Worldwide* on 30 November 2021 that, "*You cannot be schooled by a primary school teacher if you're a university professor.*" Yet, despite this bravado, SAFA proceeded to lose the case — a loss that not only exposed the Association's procedural ineptitude but also further eroded public confidence in its leadership and legal acumen.

It is therefore clear that SAFA misled Parliament when it said the matter awaited FIFA's decision before they could determine the existence of negligence. By the date of the hearing, the evidence and applicable law already made the sanction inevitable.

SAFA's false assurances deceived the Committee and, by extension, the South African public.

## **10. Misrepresentations Concerning Women's Football and Gender Parity**

Mr Jordaan told the Committee that SAFA was "deeply committed to women's empowerment" and that "each Region now includes at least one woman delegate." He also claimed that "between 150 and 200 women attend SAFA Congress", suggesting robust gender representation.

These statements were misleading on several counts:

- The one-woman-per-Region requirement dates back to 2013, not 2025. SAFA merely restated an old rule as if it were a new reform.
- The 2022 Statutes actually tightened eligibility, excluding most of the 806 women who were first elected to Regional office in 2017. They are now hamstrung by a new requirement of 10 years of experience to become eligible for election to the NEC, making them only eligible in 2027, and constitutionally only able to ascend to office in the year 2030.
- The Women's Committee was abolished in 2022, and the long-running *Live Your Goal* development programme for girls was also terminated in 2020.
- The claim of 150–200 women delegates is numerically impossible. Article 22 of the SAFA Statutes only allows 182 delegates to a SAFA Congress.
- On 3 June 2025, SAFA's leadership was already aware that Sasol would end its sponsorship of Banyana Banyana on 30 June 2025. Mr Jordaan's blaming of "corporate boys' clubs" deflected from this known reality.

Taken together, these falsehoods painted a rosy picture of gender equality that does not exist. Women's representation within SAFA structures has declined sharply since 2020. There are other instances of gender inequality one can point to in SAFA, but this Fact Check concerns itself only with what was presented to the Portfolio Committee on 3 June 2025.

### **11. NEC Honoraria and Financial Reward Despite Poor Performance**

When the Committee asked about honoraria paid to NEC members, the delegation declined to disclose amounts. Yet, the 2022 Congress Minutes [*Annexure G*] show that members received retrospective payments of R124 158 (2019) and R130 000 each for 2020–2022, totalling R514,158.00 per member.

These were paid even in years where SAFA incurred operational losses and zero or reduced activity due to COVID-19.

The Congress further approved a "*Reconciliation Clause*" entitling members to reimbursement for any previous reductions — effectively nullifying all previous austerity measures. This practice breaches the spirit of non-retroactivity, which demands that no decision of a SAFA Congress can be rescinded without a two-thirds majority vote of Congress. There was no rescission vote as required by Article 78 of the SAFA Statutes.

Moreover, honoraria were approved and distributed while:

- staff salaries were frozen;
- junior national teams lacked travel funds; and
- Regions reported years of delayed grant payments.

The testimony that "remuneration levels are modest and performance-linked" was therefore wholly untrue.

### **12. Governance Failures and the Democratic Deficit within SAFA**

Mr Jordaan assured the Committee that SAFA's governance structures were "democratic" and that the size of the NEC had been "discussed with FIFA".

These assurances were demonstrably false.

At the 2015 SAFA Congress, delegates resolved to reduce the NEC to 20 members in accordance with a 2010 FIFA directive. That resolution was never implemented. Instead, the 2022 Statutes expanded the NEC's authority, removed Congress's powers completely, and effectively centralised control in the President's office.

SAFA's highest decision-making body was stripped of its constitutional powers.

Key indicators of democratic decay include:

- *Congress is Powerless:*

The 2022 Statutes removed the detailed list of Congress powers that had existed in previous versions. Congress can no longer initiate amendments without NEC approval.



- *Infrequent meetings:*

Only three Ordinary Congresses were held in six years — 26 March 2022, 14 April 2024, and 28 June 2025. The Extraordinary Congresses on 18 June 2022 was adjourned prematurely after less than an hour, wasting millions in valuable resources.

- *Regional election interference:*

In several Provinces and Regions, elections were conducted under direct supervision of head-office officials, contrary to FIFA's requirement for independent electoral committees.

- *Manipulation of membership:*

Affiliation status has been used to silence dissenting Regions. Those critical of leadership decisions have faced arbitrary suspensions, while compliant Regions received preferential funding. The 2022 SAFA elections were rife with irregularities, chronicled in my book, *Red Card for a Stolen Victory*.

The overall result is a hollowed-out democracy in which decisions are predetermined by a small inner circle. SAFA has become an unbalanced structure dominated by its executive committee in violation of its own constitution and the principles of good governance expected of national associations under FIFA's statutes.

### **13. Alleged Misuse of the 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy Trust and the Mystery Surrounding Undistributed Development Funds**

When asked about the Legacy Trust, which was meant to preserve proceeds from the 2010 FIFA World Cup for football development, SAFA's CFO claimed that "all funds were properly applied and audited".

His response was somewhat misleading:

- In February 2021, R40 million earmarked for distribution to Regions and the High Performance Centre was allegedly never disbursed to them. Several Regions have complained about not receiving their grants.
- Trustees, Ms Ria Ledwaba and Mr Elvis Shishana, were removed after requesting bank statements and supporting documentation to verify expenditures. Ms Ledwaba and Mr Shishana, both former Vice-Presidents of SAFA, have expressed their willingness to appear before the Committee to discuss their suspicions of wrongdoing by the Legacy Trust.
- Mr Jordaan informed the SAFA NEC on 2 October 2021 that FIFA had instructed the Trustees' removal from the Trust, but FIFA had already disavowed this claim in writing to the Trustees before the SAFA NEC was misled into believing that there was such an instruction from FIFA. [see *Annexure H for the FIFA email*] This is an ongoing matter as the removed Trustees have instituted legal steps to expose the truth.

The Committee was given an entirely false impression of compliance and probity.

#### **14. The Fun Valley Project and Misrepresentation of Assets**

SAFA described Fun Valley as a “National Technical Centre” valued at R70 million and told the Committee it was fully operational.

This was grossly misleading.

The property, purchased in 2014, remains largely as it was first purchased and unsuitable for elite training. A 2016 valuation report, never tabled before the SAFA Congress or the Portfolio Committee, placed its market value far below the stated figure. The facility continues to generate annual operating losses of between R3 and R4 million.

Specific misrepresentations include:

- *Unused FIFA Forward grants:*

FIFA allocated funds for ablution upgrades, a pavilion, and a merchandising store. None of these projects has materialised.

- *Revenue shortfalls:*

The property earns minimal rental income and only hosts training sessions for junior teams.

- *Operational neglect:*

The supposed “national technical centre” lacks basic amenities such as reliable internet, floodlights, modern ablution, and medical facilities.

The CFO’s assertion that “the valuation was around R70 million” was unsupported by documentation.

The Hawks are still investigating whether there was any criminal wrongdoing in the manner in which the property was purchased. SAFA paid R66m for a property that was valued between R30m and R35m at the time. Another valuation was conducted in 2016, after a perimeter wall was built and an artificial pitch was installed by FIFA.

#### **15. Failure to Comply with Retirement Policy**

The delegation failed to answer the Committee’s direct question on SAFA’s retirement policy. The policy requires retirement at age 60, yet enforcement is inconsistent.

It has been applied against former executives such as Mr Barney Kujane and Ms Fran Hilton-Smith, but ignored for favoured staff, including Mr Jordaan’s personal assistant, the Bafana Bafana Team Manager, and national coach Hugo Broos, all well beyond 60 years of age.

Although my departure from SAFA was not because of the age limit, Mr Jordaan nevertheless continues to promote the lie that I was released because I had surpassed the official retirement age. I can present incontrovertible evidence that he had been lying in this regard.

This selective enforcement indicates governance by personal favour rather than by rule. It also demonstrates the erosion of institutional integrity and internal checks.

## **16. SAFA's Conduct Before Parliament: A Pattern of Misrepresentation**

The cumulative evidence demonstrates a deliberate pattern:

- SAFA's representatives misled Parliament on almost every significant issue — travel expenditure, sponsorships, financial solvency, auditing, governance, gender parity, development funding, and FIFA disciplinary matters.

Under section 17 of the *Powers, Privileges and Immunities of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act (2004)*, furnishing false or misleading information to Parliament constitutes an offence.

The Committee's responsibility is therefore clear: it must uphold the dignity and authority of Parliament by ensuring that witnesses are not permitted to mislead it with impunity.

## **17. The Failure to Re-Appear Before the Committee**

At the conclusion of the 3 June 2025 hearing, the Committee expressly resolved that SAFA would be required to re-appear in person after July 2025 to clarify the contradictions and to present documentary proof on the issues raised. That commitment was recorded both in the meeting summary and in public media reports.

As of the date of this letter, no return appearance has taken place and no date for such appearance has been announced by the Committee.

The obligation of all persons summoned to Parliament is unambiguous. Section 14(1)(b) of the *Powers, Privileges and Immunities Act* requires full cooperation with summonses and resolutions. The Committee must not allow SAFA's leadership to disregard its oversight authority with impunity.

## **18. Consequences of Misrepresentation and Need for Parliamentary Action**

The cumulative misstatements enumerated in this submission are not trivial inconsistencies but deliberate distortions intended to mislead Parliament and demonstrates a profound disrespect for the Members of Parliament.

They cover financial management, statutory compliance, and even matters before FIFA and the courts.

In law and ethics, such conduct triggers several consequences:

### *1. Parliamentary Privilege and Sanction*

Under section 17(2) of the *Powers, Privileges and Immunities Act*, furnishing false or misleading information is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The Committee is entitled to recommend referral of the matter to the Speaker for further action.

### *2. Re-Summons and Evidence Under Oath*

Given the scale of the discrepancies, the Committee is encouraged to recall the entire SAFA delegation to appear under oath again and to provide the relevant supporting documentation — bank statements, audit reports, contracts, correspondence, and affirmations — so that Parliament can determine the full extent of the deception.

3. *Referral to the Auditor-General and the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation (DPCI)*  
Many of the misrepresentations touch on potential contraventions of the *Public Finance Management Act*, the *PRECCA Act*, and the *Companies Act*. Parliament may accordingly refer the matter to the appropriate investigative bodies.

#### 4. *Legislative Oversight Reform*

The Committee may also wish to review the regulatory framework governing national sports federations to ensure more direct ministerial or parliamentary oversight where significant public funding or public-interest functions are involved. The courts of the Republic have determined in numerous cases that SAFA performs a public function and must therefore be held to the public law disciplines of PAJA and PAIA.

The British Parliament has for many years exercised such direct intervention (not interference) without complaint by FIFA, who recognises the primacy of domestic law in accordance with Swiss jurisprudence. The Minister also appears to be convinced that exercising legitimate authority over South African citizens and organisations will draw the ire of FIFA. Nothing could be further from the truth, and I have written extensively about this subject.

### **19. Reflections on the Integrity of South African Sport Governance**

Honourable Chairperson, Minister and President of SASCOC,

The issues documented herein reach beyond SAFA itself. They reflect the deeper malaise of weak governance, personality-driven decision-making, and the erosion of institutional accountability that afflict many South African sport bodies.

It is time for Parliament to revisit the imposition of a National Sport Dispute Resolution Tribunal.

Sport remains one of the few arenas where our nation unites across divisions. When its administration is characterised by concealment and untruth, that unity is betrayed. Parliament therefore carries the duty — both constitutional and moral — to reassert probity in national sport governance.

The Committee's decisive action in this matter will send a clear message that public institutions, regardless of their legal form, are accountable to the people through Parliament.

### **20. Closing Appeal**

This correspondence is further necessitated by the deplorable conduct of the Honourable Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture, and by his profoundly disappointing public pronouncement following his receipt of the South African Football Association's (SAFA) report regarding Bafana Bafana's forfeiture of three points in the FIFA World Cup Qualification

Campaign — a grave setback that nearly deprived the national team of its opportunity to qualify for the 2026 FIFA World Cup.

The Minister appears either wholly oblivious to, or wilfully dismissive of, the severe governance deficiencies afflicting South African football, notwithstanding the abundant evidence already in the public domain and the courageous disclosures made by numerous whistleblowers — all of whom have been met with indifference and disregard. Such an attitude has a chilling effect on those who seek to expose wrongdoing within the sport and serves only to deter further whistleblowing.

The Minister's flippant and dismissive posture toward the entrenched structural and governance crises within SAFA is deeply regrettable. Rather than addressing these issues, it perpetuates and indeed exacerbates the institutional decay that has brought SAFA to both financial insolvency and to the brink of administrative collapse. It is a matter of public record that the Premier Soccer League — SAFA's most prominent and financially robust member — has not participated in any SAFA meetings for no less than two years. Yet, despite this glaring evidence of disunity and dysfunction, the Minister persists in creating the illusion that all is well within the Association.

Equally troubling is the Minister's uncritical acceptance of the erroneous notion that FIFA prohibits any and all forms of governmental involvement in football affairs. It is of even greater concern that some Honourable Members of Parliament have echoed this misconception. For the sake of clarity, I attach hereto an article I authored, delineating the precise circumstances under which FIFA deems governmental intervention to be impermissible [*Annexure I*]. It is hoped that this document will serve to dispel such misunderstandings and avert the paralysis that has beset the administration of football in our country. It must be recalled that a clear precedent already exists: in 1996/97, the Government instituted a judicial commission of inquiry into football affairs without eliciting any adverse response from FIFA.

I respectfully urge the Committee to:

1. Recall the SAFA delegation to answer under oath the specific questions raised herein;
2. Institute personal sanctions in terms of the *Powers, Privileges and Immunities Act* for the deliberate misleading of Parliament;
3. Direct the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture to withhold any further discretionary grants to SAFA until a full forensic audit of SAFA affairs have been completed, and a full compliance with governance and reporting obligations is verified; and
4. Publish the findings of the audit so that the South African public may be informed of the true state of football governance.
5. Resolve to institute a Judicial Commission of Enquiry into the governance and financial affairs of SAFA, as Government did in 1996/7.

The narrative contained in this letter consolidates the complete factual record arising from the 3 June 2025 hearing, supported by contemporaneous evidence, statutory references, and

subsequent developments including the FIFA Disciplinary Committee's decision confirming SAFA's culpability in the *Teboho Mokoena* matter.

Every assertion made by SAFA's representatives before Parliament has been tested against the record and found wanting.

Their collective failure to tell the truth before the nation's legislature cannot go unanswered.

I submit this letter in good faith and with the conviction that transparency and accountability are indispensable to the integrity of sport and to the dignity of our democratic institutions. It would be tragic to witness only the removal of the Presidents of Netball SA and Athletics SA, whilst SAFA's leadership have abdicated all, or committed equally grave violations of, responsibility for good governance and are accused of criminal conduct, but are not held to account.

The allegations set forth herein reveal a profoundly troubling state of governance within South African football. Specifically:

- My 2020 report [*Annexure J*] directly precipitated the arrest and subsequent prosecution of both the President and Chief Financial Officer of the South African Football Association (SAFA). This report has not been fully considered by SAFA.
- My extensive analysis of the deficiencies in the SAFA Constitution — circulated to all SAFA Regions, National Executive Committee members, as well as to FIFA and the Local Football Associations, and copied to the Portfolio Committee, the Honourable Minister, and SASCOC on 5 May 2025 [*Annexure K*] — clearly demonstrates that the current constitutional framework fails to comply with fundamental principles of good governance and the standards prescribed by FIFA.
- My first book, *Our Football is Broken*, provides a detailed examination of the appalling state of dispute resolution within SAFA, exposing the extent to which the rule of law has been eroded in daily administrative practice, often with the tacit complicity of legal practitioners who have enabled such conduct.
- My fourth book, *Red Card for a Stolen Victory*, documents in meticulous detail the corrupt and irregular governance processes that characterised the 2022 SAFA election campaign, revealing how that election was effectively subverted by unscrupulous individuals acting in pursuit of self-interest rather than institutional integrity.
- In addition, I have published a series of articles in *City Press* newspaper addressing critical issues of governance and administrative procedure, with particular reference to FIFA jurisprudence and international best practices in sports administration.

Taken together, these grave failures demand the immediate and concerted attention of all competent authorities, if South African football is to be rescued from the precipice of complete institutional and moral collapse.

Yours in Sport,



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**MR DENNIS MUMBLE**

Author and Former Chief Executive Officer

South African Football Association (SAFA)

11 November 2025