

The Hooligans' Death List

A global search for accountability between accidents and intentions

Martin Alsjö

Independent Football Historian

Published on the Internet, www.idrottsforum.org/alsio130118,
(ISSN 1652-7224), 2013-01-18

Copyright © Martin Alsjö 2013. All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the author.

The phenomenon as well as the concept of football hooliganism is usually understood as supporters of opposing teams fighting each other, or fighting the police, or assaulting innocent football fans. In order to contain football hooliganism, new laws and several other measures have been employed, varying from country to country. A large number of research reports have tried to explain the existence of football hooliganism, and many researchers across the globe have labored with the problem of how to put a stop to the violent behavior that's smeared the beautiful game and scared ordinary citizens away from arenas and stadia. In Sweden, typically, a former police chief was given three years to investigate the problem and come up with a solution; his final report is due on March 21, 2013. Between then and now, idrottsforum.org will publish five short articles by Martin Alsjö that present a different approach to the problem of hooliganism and football violence. In the first article, Alsjö questions the common understanding of what football violence actually is, by presenting "the hooligans' death list", a compilation of the 80 most deadly incidents in connection to football in the last 100 years. And the result certainly puts a different perspective on hooliganism in the traditional sense, and raises a number of questions about other forms of deadly violence as a result of football being played.

MARTIN ALSJÖ has a master's degree in social science from Linköping University. As a teacher he has worked with school children of all ages from 5 to 19. He is now a writer with Idrottsförlaget i Västerås AB where his first book *100 år med allsvensk fotboll* (100 years with the Swedish Premier League) was a best-seller when published in 2011. He is also a frequent freelance writer for different magazines, mainly on football history.

Who are the most dangerous hooligans in the global history of football? When do they appear? Where do they strike? What are their darkest deeds? Those are the four questions I will attempt to answer in this essay. Personally I think all four are vital to understanding anything about the spread of football violence around the globe. And without understanding we are not likely to ever experience sustainable solutions.

Many great researchers have put hard efforts into the hooligan issue from different perspectives. The Dutch sociologist Ramón Spaaij uses a comparative model for a handful of clubs in three European countries for his studies¹. His Scottish colleague Richard Giulianotti compares club hooligans from Argentina and three European countries² and English scholar Eric Dunning analyzes 14 countries on all continents except for Africa.³ These three are all great studies. But when it comes to a broad international analysis they are all quite limited. Choice of countries and clubs seem to suggest that hooliganism would be most thoroughly rooted in European club football. A global analysis has never been done before. This essay is written in an *explorative* mode, and I will try to bring a new perspective to a truly global phenomenon.

Thanks to the fact that there are several great minds working on these questions, there has never been a common definition of what a hooligan really is⁴. I have chosen an *inclusive perspective* where *anyone committing violent acts connected to football* can be called a hooligan. By the word *anyone* I include violent actions taken by the legislative powers, those responsible for security at the games as well as all kinds that sub-groups of supporters. I have included both intended incidents and sheer accidents that probably could have been avoided with improved planning. To the dead it will not matter if they were killed by accident or intention, and we, who are still alive, should focus on accountability rather than our prejudices. It is my hope that my list will shed light on *what a hooligan does, rather than what he or she is*.

I have put together a list, which contains all known episodes where at least two humans have died in connection to a football game. Overall, I have found 80 violent examples in history. Episodes of deaths without violence, such as traveling teams involved in accidents, *are not counted*. Please keep in mind that a) the number of deaths and wounded vary depending on which source you choose to rely on and b) there are rumors about even more incidents where I haven't been able to verify the number of deaths. These rumors *are not counted*. A few games have been confirmed by different sources, but I still lack information about an exact date etc. These games *have been counted*. Naturally this is a work-in-progress, and I would be happy if readers with more information would send their comments to me. Still, it is the longest and most detailed research I know of in this area. *This is the Hooligans' Death List!*

Table 1 *The deadliest top ten (complete list is found in the Appendix).*

1)	El Salvador – Honduras	Deaths: 2100
	1969-06-26	Mexico City, Mexico
		Qualification to the World Cup

1 Ramón Spaaij, *Understanding Football Hooliganism: A Comparison of Six Western European Clubs* (Amsterdam, 2006)

2 Richard Giulianotti, *Football, violence and social identity* (London, 1994)

3 Eric Dunning [editor], *Fighting fans: Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon* (Dublin, 2002)

4 The search for a definition has perhaps been deepest looked into by the Norwegian social scientist Aage Radmann in his *Att äga en huliganberättelse* (Malmö, 2012).

2)	Peru – Argentina	Deaths: 318
1964-05-24	Lima, Peru	Qualification to the Olympics
3)	Accra Hearts of Oak SC – Asante Kotoko FC	Deaths: 126
2001-05-09	Accra, Ghana	Ghanaian Premier League
4)	Liverpool FC – Nottingham Forest FC	Deaths: 96
1989-04-15	Sheffield, England	Semifinal in the FA Cup
5)	Janakpur Cigarette Factory LC – Muktiyoddha Sangsad KC	Deaths: 93
1988-03-12	Kathmandu, Nepal	Final in the Tribhuvan Challenge Shield
6)	Guatemala – Costa Rica	Deaths: 81
1996-10-16	Guatemala City, Guatemala	Qualification to the World Cup
7)	Al Masry Club – Al Ahly SC	Deaths: 74
2012-02-01	Port Said, Egypt	Egyptian Premier League
8)	CA River Plate – CA Boca Juniors	Deaths: 72
1968-06-23	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Argentinian 1st Division
9)	Rangers FC – Celtic FC	Deaths: 66
1971-01-02	Glasgow, Scotland	Scottish 1st Division
10)	FC Spartak Moscow – HFC Haarlem	Deaths: 66
1982-10-20	Moscow, Soviet Union	UEFA-cup, 2nd round

When going through the list I would like the reader to notice how widely these tragedies are spread. There were in all 20 different teams playing, in six different decades, ten different cities, ten different countries, five different continents and nine different tournaments. Only the world's most popular football competition, the World Cup, has two of its worst tragedies among the top ten. Based on this historic list it is fair to say that football and violence is not an unusual marriage of heaven and hell. Whether you think that your favorite media pays too much, or too little, attention to it – it is now a very real global problem.

When do they appear?

Over all I have found 80 games with at least 2 deaths. They are spread out over time from 1902 up to 2012, encompassing 111 years of exciting and sometimes deadly football. If we organize them into decades we will get the following stats:

Table 2 *Number of incidents.*

1900-1909	1
1910-1919	0
1920-1929	0
1930-1939	1
1940-1949	2
1950-1959	3
1960-1969	9
1970-1979	10
1980-1989	16
1990-1999	16
2000-2009	17
2010-(2012)	5

It seems that we can divide the world-history of football-related deaths into three periods. The early period, 1900–1959, contains from 0 to 3 tragedies per decade. Deaths were very rare – but were tremendously tragic when they happened. Take for instance the very first incident occurring on the 5th of April in 1902 at Ibrox Stadium in Glasgow, where Scotland played England in the British Home Championship. At the time it was considered to be the most prestigious international tournament in the world and would therefore draw a large audience. While the game was being played the newly built wooden West Stand broke under the weight of the excited crowd. People fell several meters down and on top of each other – resulting in 26 people dying and 517 being injured⁵. Blame was put on the rain that had fallen the night before the game, causing the wooden construction to become unstable. Arena architects abandoned wood as material for higher audience facilities after this episode.

The middle period, 1960–1979, had 9 or 10 tragedies per decade. It is the shortest period when deaths were quite rare – but would still be unimaginable momentous when they happened. The deadliest of them all was the aftermath to a game on the 26th of June in 1969 at Estadio Azteca in Mexico City, where El Salvador and Honduras played a decisive qualification game to the World Cup. It is worth noticing how the game was played abroad and how most of its followers must have gotten the news from radio and papers. Reactions to the game sparked a war between the two countries, which lasted for four days and left approximately 2100 people killed and 12000 injured⁶.

In the period between 1980 and 2012, the incidents have risen again to a new level from 16 to 17 per decade. Football-related deaths are now quite common in a global perspective. The present decade seems to suggest that the same level of tragedies will continue (unless something is done on a worldwide basis that is different than before). The deadliest example from this period (so far) is from the 9th of May in 2001 at Accra Sports' Stadium, where Accra Hearts of Oak SC played Asante Kotoko FC in Ghanaian Premier League. The teams are Ghana's two most successful in history and come from the two biggest cities and rival cultures, and matches are therefore often intense and prestigious events. With only a few minutes left, the home side took the lead. The away supporters protested the goal, suggesting it should have been called an offside, and began throwing their seats and other things onto the field for the referee to notice their point of view. The police, who were in charge of the game's security, perhaps fearing the whole thing would turn into a hooligan riot, choose to respond to the protesters using a harsh method. They fired teargas into the stands, causing people to run for the exits in order to get out into clean air. The exits were, however, locked as a security method for avoiding hooligans slipping back and forth between the two supporter-groups, attacking in the back. People crushed into the locked gates and suffocated as others pushed on from behind – resulting in 126 people dying. The number of injured are not known⁷.

5 *Herald Scotland* 2008-04-07 and Iain Duff, *The Ibrox Disaster 1902 – A National Tragedy*, <http://iain-duff.wordpress.com/2012/04/05/the-ibrox-disaster-1902-a-national-tragedy/> (retrieved at 2012-10-21)

6 Ryszard Kapuscinski, *The Soccer War* (1990) and Jon Carter, *Rewind to 1969: The Football War*, http://soccernet.espn.go.com/columns/story/_/id/933162/rewind-to-1969:-the-football-war?cc=5739 (retrieved at 2012-10-21). Football was of course not the most important reason fighting this war, but was definitely one of the key factors to get the war started.

7 Kent Mensah, May 9 2001 – *When the beautiful game became ugly in Ghana*, <http://www.goal.com/en/news/1717/editorial/2011/05/09/2477743/may-9-2001-when-the-beautiful-game-became-ugly-in-ghana>

Where do they strike?

Football violence is fairly common in both club and national team games. This study suggests that deadly violence is more than twice as common in club games than when national teams meet. That is what to be expected since every country has a larger number of club games, than games played by its national team. Bearing this in mind one could actually argue that football violence at national team level is much more frequent than what to be expected from its relatively small proportion of all football games played. The twelve unknown games are the ones where I have not been able to determine what teams were playing. Since the number of unknown games is quite high, it is not possible to tell the exact relation between the two categories.

Table 3 *Number of incidents, club vs. national level.*

Club level	49
National level	20
Unknown	11
Total	80

Let us look at the more violent club games more closely. All through football history there have been literally millions, not to say billions of games played. It is now obvious that deadly violence is not random – but highly specialized into the highest league of each country. Hooligans do attend and kill at other games too, mostly in the national cups.

Table 4 *Number of incidents, by game level.*

Highest league	21
National cup	8
International cup	4
Lower league	4
Friendly	2
Unknown	9
Total:	48

If we compare our results with the deadly violent games for national teams, there is one category that stands out. Qualification games for the World Cup are by far the most violent of national team games. If we think about the small proportion of World Cup games compared the larger proportion of league games, it is fair to say that the biggest tournament the world has known, is also the deadliest, relatively speaking. It is indeed the only category that seems likely to challenge club games in the highest league in absolute numbers.

Table 5 *Number of incidents, by event.*

Qualification to the World Cup	13
Championship	3
Qualification to continent championship	2
Qualification to the Olympics	1
Friendly	1

(retrieved on 2012-10-21) and Kwaku Sakyi-Addo, “At least 126 die in Ghana football stadium stampede” in *The Guardian* 2001-05-11.

Total: 20

The joint connection between the two categories with the most significant numbers of deadly football violence is *economic inequality*. In competitions where the economic differences are most noticeable, football violence increases. Deadly violence is not as common in tournaments involving the richest, but economically equal teams, such as the international cups or national teams' championships. The same goes for the poor, but economically equal teams, such as in the lower amateur leagues. Friendly games are significantly less violent than any game involving financial gains.

It would be very hard to think of any cultural aspect being even half as influential as the economic inequalities for deadly football violence. While these incidents are collected from different cultures, groups, religions, authorities and levels all around the globe – the economic inequality is widely spread and seems to be the most productive soil for deadly football violence to flourish in.

Turning our eyes to the geographical aspect of football violence, there are two points to be made. The continent with the absolutely most incidents is Africa – with a number of European and South American violent episodes combined. These three continents are also the part of the world where one would expect football to be given most importance. It is also arguably the places with most unequal football economics. The two continents with the least deadly violence is North America and Oceania, where football (i.e. soccer) is a marginalized sport compared to its brothers and sisters of American and Australian Rules Football.

Table 6 *Numbers of incidents, by continent.*

Africa	33
South America	18
Europe	13
Asia	11
North America	5
Oceania	0

Moving the magnifying glass a little closer we will discover how one country stands out above all on the football violence scene. The country that has given the world players like Diego Maradona and Lionel Messi and coaches like Helenio Herrera and César Menotti has also seen almost twice as many deadly incidents as any other country in the world. There are eight occasions, included in this study, with at least two individuals being killed involving football in Argentina. The violence in Africa is spread out on several countries with five of them reaching the worst 10 list. The UK countries England and Scotland are the most deadly in Europe. If counted together they are the only ones that almost reach Argentinian level. Mexico alone represents half of deadly violence in North America, while Indonesia is Asia's most violent football country.

Table 7 *Number of incidents, by country.*

Argentina	8
Brazil	5
England	4
DR of Congo	4

Egypt	3
Indonesia	3
Liberia	3
Mexico	3
Nigeria	3
Scotland	3
Zimbabwe	3
Other countries	1-2

Getting even closer, there are certain teams that have experienced more of deadly football violence than others. As one might expect from previous results there are two Argentinian teams on top of the table – namely CA Boca Juniors and CA River Plate. They are at the same time both local, national and international rivals from Buenos Aires. A similar deadly rivalry has been established between Celtic FC and Rangers FC in Scottish Glasgow and between Kaizer Chiefs FC and Orlando Pirates FC in South African Johannesburg. Apart from these three rivalries, the top of the list consists of four national teams of Africa. These results suggest that deadly football violence is not simply linked to a specific club, but to the relations between different clubs competing for the same areas of influence. This analysis could be applied to the national teams of Africa as well, since we have already established in table 5 that deadly violence is most frequent in qualifications for the World Cup. Africa contains around 55 nations, competing for up to five World Cup-places, making it the most competitive part of the football world, together with Asia.

Table 8 *Number of incidents, by team.*

CA Boca Juniors (Argentina)	4
CA River Plate (Argentina)	4
Liberia	3
AC Deportivo Cali (Colombia)	2
Celtic FC (Scotland)	2
Kaizer Chiefs FC (South Africa)	2
Liverpool FC (England)	2
Nigeria	2
Orlando Pirates FC (South Africa)	2
Rangers FC (Scotland)	2
Republic of Congo	2
Zambia	2
Other teams	1

What are their darkest deeds?

The causes behind deadly football violence will always vary considerably depending on the source you choose to consult. Generally speaking official representatives from government, police and military, clubs and federations – will be more accustomed to media-relations and will therefore more easily get their views out than your everyday John or Jane in the stands. Bearing this in mind, it might still be interesting to see what causes world media has given behind the deadly acts. Naturally a lot of the deaths have been given several causes to the tragedies.

Table 9 *Number of incidents, by cause.*

1. Capacity not respected	23
2. Security firing in fear	15
3. Social conflict	13
4. Locked exits	13
5. Fans attacking fans	12
6. Barrier/wall collapsing	10
7. Tight exits	9
8. Reaction to referee	8
9. Arena section collapsing	7
10. Fire	4
Other causes	1-3

The most frequent cause of deaths related to football is when game-organizers do not respect the arena's capacity. The reason is usually that selling more tickets than allowed makes a bigger profit. One example of this occurred on the 16th of October in 1996 at Mateo Flores National Stadium in Guatemala City, where Guatemala played Costa Rica in a qualification-game for the World Cup⁸.

The second important cause, initially meant to increase security in football-games, is the people hired to deliver security. To empower security people they need to be more powerfully equipped than the majority passing through the turnstiles. Whether they are educated as security guards, police or military units will depend on the football political situation in the specific country. In situations when these empowered security groups become overpowered by their own fear, they are a significantly dangerous threat to the order they were deployed to protect. Due to their empowerment combined with fear they are one of the most important causes for violent football deaths. Such was the earlier example from Accra, Ghana, in 2001. Another example of this occurred on the 24th of May in 1964 in Estadio Nacional, Lima, where Peru played Argentina in a qualification-match for the Olympics. Local police threw teargas-cans into the stands in an attempt to calm down the audience, after a goal for the homeside had been disallowed. This resulted in 318 individuals being killed and somewhere between 500 and 4000 people injured⁹. On the 12th of July in 1996 in Tripoli, Libya, a military unit opened fire at supporters in an attempt to silence political shouts, resulting in at least 8 individuals dead and 39 injured¹⁰. It is worth noting that match stewards have not been responsible for any violent deaths during all the years. I would suggest that *this is not because* match stewards does not feel any fear, or because they are not a part of game-security. They are indeed both, but since they are not equipped with anything but their wits they are practically incapable of killing anyone.

Quite important are also the causes 3–6. Social conflict refers to several kinds of conflicts, which core lies outside the football stadiums. One example of this is the so called "Football War", as previously mentioned between neighboring countries El Salvador and

8 *New York Times* 1996-10-18 and Spiro G Doukas, "Crowd Management: Past and Contemporary Issues" in *The Sport Journal* November 2005.

9 *The 1964 Lima Soccer Riot*, <http://enperublog.com/2010/12/13/the-1964-lima-soccer-riot/> (retrieved on 2012-10-21) and *Aniversario 45 de la tragedia en el Estadio Nacional de Lima*, http://www.rpp.com.pe/2009-05-24-aniversario-45-de-la-tragedia-en-el-estadio-nacional-de-lima-noticia_183306.html (retrieved on 2012-10-21).

10 Mass Hysteria: History, http://psyed.org/r/psd/anx/mh/mhd/mh_hist.html (retrieved on 2012-10-21) and *Major Stadium Disasters*, http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/soccer/world/news/2000/07/09/stadium_disasters_ap/ (retrieved on 2012-10-21).

Honduras. This social conflict had been going on for years, but escalated into full war by decisions taken by the responsible politicians in the two countries. Another example of social conflict occurred on the 1st of February 2012 at Port Said Stadium, where Al Masry Club had played Al Ahly in the Egyptian Premier League. Armed homefans attacked and killed 74 individuals supporting Al Ahly, leaving up to 1000 people injured in what was supposed to be a revenge for the political Arabic Spring¹¹.

Another medium important cause is locked exits. This is a complex cause since the reasons for locking exits are both economical (to keep audience who are not paying away from the game) and safety (to make sure no individual or group is leaving the arena to fight elsewhere). Locked gates however, also creates a trap for all supporters – *frustrated or joyous* – as they chose to leave only to find they cannot get anywhere while other supporters push on from behind. One example of horrified fans trying to leave occurred on the 12th of March in 1988 at Dasrath Stadium in Kathmandu, Nepal, where the home side Janakpur Cigarette Factory Limited Club played Muktijoddha Sangsad KC from neighboring Bangladesh in the final of the prestigious Tribhuvan Challenge Shield. The stadium was without roof and was therefore defenseless against the heavy hail that began to fall about half an hour into play. The match was stopped and the crowd ran for cover against the locked gates where 93 individuals suffocated due to pushing and up to 100 people were injured¹². Another example are the Hellenian fans who on the 8th of February in 1981 left the stands of Georgios Karaiskakis Stadium after the game, running to celebrate their team Olympiacos FC's 6–0 triumph over Athens rival AEK FC. The fans crushed against the locked gates resulting in 21 individuals dying and at least 54 people injured¹³.

There are two more medium important causes. First of all, the fights fans against fans. One example of this occurred on the 13th of January in 1991 at Oppenheimer Stadium, Johannesburg, where Kaizer Chiefs FC played Orlando Pirates FC in a supposedly friendly game. Fans fighting fans in an overcrowded stadium with locked gates caused 42 individuals' deaths and 50 injured¹⁴. Since fans are the lowest in the football pyramid of power, they tend to be the most popular scape-goats, from people higher up in the hierarchy. And this is indeed a medium important cause. However, the global research suggests that their significance to violence is highly over-valued. Secondly, there are the examples of where walls or barriers of the arena collapse, due to poor maintenance and security control by the owners. One incident like this happened on 5th of May in 1992 in Stade Armand-Cesari, Bastia, where local up-comers SC de Bastia were to play the country's richest team Olympique de Marseille in a semifinal of the French Cup. A temporary stand was put in

11 Abdel-Rahman Hussein, "Port Said fans blame security, infiltrators for match violence" in *Egypt Independent* 2012-02-03 and Sherif Tarek "Egypt military rulers accused of instigating Port Said disaster", <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/33589/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-military-rulers-accused-of-instigating-Port-.aspx> (retrieved on 2012-02-04).

12 Rajendra Chapagain, "Dasharath Stadium marks 25th year of disaster" in *The Himalayan Times* 2012-03-11 and Weena Pun, "Wandering souls, wondering families", <http://www.himalmag.com/component/content/article/4563-wandering-souls-wondering-families.html> (retrieved 2012-10-21).

13 <http://www.olympiacos.org/en/stadium-gate-7> and <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/3003121/Football-stadium-disasters.html> (both retrieved on 2012-02-21)

14 Christopher S Wren, "40 Are Killed and 50 Injured as Fans Riot at a South African Soccer Match" in *New York Times* 1991-01-14, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/14/world/40-are-killed-and-50-injured-as-fans-riot-at-a-south-african-soccer-match.html> (retrieved on 2012-02-21) and <http://oddculture.com/weird-news-stories/history-top-15-worst-soccer-disasters/> (retrieved on 2012-02-21)

use to increase capacity, but broke down even before the game started. Results were 18 individuals dead and between 1900 and 2400 people injured¹⁵.

Of course there are less frequent causes of football violence as well. We have the episodes where a whole section of a stadium has fallen, due to supporters moving, which is fortunately a lot less frequent than separate walls falling, as mentioned previously. Another cause is when a referee's decision is impossible for the audience to accept. One example of this occurred on the 16th of August in 1980 at Eden Gardens, Calcutta, where one player from each team, Mohun Bagan AC and East Bengal FC, were sent off, which triggered objections from the audience who could not or would not tolerate the referee's decision. The game did not have enough security personnel and the violence escalated leaving 16 individuals dead and up to 1000 injured¹⁶. There are also the episodes of the tight exits, apart from the locked gates. The tight exits are due to poor constructional design and are likely to be an obstruction to any supporter going in or out of the arena – rather than the locked gates which are due to excellent design and poor judgment of arena-owners and people working with security. Fires and subsequent smoke are also a fairly important cause of deadly football violence, especially when combined with poor safety strategies.

Come forward, the world's most deadly hooligans!

So let us get back to the original question for this essay. Who are the most dangerous hooligans in the global history of football?

Answer: the world's most dangerous hooligans are usually someone who tries to make money by selling too many tickets, not respecting the capacity of the arena. They build the interest of the game on social conflicts and lock their gates as an attempt to keep people calm. They also have a tendency not to educate security personnel efficiently.

The world's most deadly hooligans have been around since the beginning of the 20th century, but became more lethal in the 1960s and have been on top of their game in steady numbers since the 1980s. They are a part of both club and national team football, but lay their main focus on the highest leagues of each country and qualification games for the national teams. Their joint interest is based on *economic inequality*, since these two kinds of tournaments are the ones creating the biggest gap of income between teams. Tournaments for *rich or poor clubs only* seem to be of significantly less interest to hooligans.

They operate on all continents of the world, except for Oceania. The most popular continent for hooligans is Africa, though the most popular country is Argentina. The most deadly hooligans are loosely associated with a specific club. Rivals of Buenos Aires have the deadliest history, but the numbers of incidents are comparatively low. If a hooligan is someone who is prepared to kill at football, then we need to increase our focus from only supporters to a wider perspective including club- and arena-owners as well as security personnel. Taken together these conclusions point in the direction of someone in power of

15 http://www.forzabastia.com/Drame_Furiani/20.html (retrieved on 2012-02-21) and <http://www.petition-furiani.com/> (retrieved 2012-02-21).

16 Gary Armstrong & Richard Giulianotti, *Fear and Loathing in World Football* (2001), page 117 and <http://www.mohunbaganac.com/community-detail/football-lovers-day-the-story-behind> (retrieved on 2012-02-21)

football – and rarely to someone without it. This is quite logical since people with power will have a better chance of using their resources to create *both good and harm*, to bring both joy and death. The Hooligan's Death List is dedicated to all people with power in the football-world, to help us build a more secure future. It is my hope that we can learn from our mistakes in the past, so we can build a much brighter tomorrow.

Appendix

1) El Salvador – Honduras 1969-06-26 Social conflict	Mexico City, Mexico	Deaths: 2100 Qualification to the World Cup
2) Peru – Argentina 1964-05-24 Capacity not respected, security firing in fear, social conflict, locked exits, reaction to referee	Lima, Peru	Deaths: 318 Qualification to the Olympics
3) Accra Hearts of Oak SC – Asante Kotoko FC 2001-05-09 Security firing in fear, locked exits, reaction to referee	Accra, Ghana	Deaths: 126 Ghanaian Premier League
4) Liverpool FC – Nottingham Forest FC 1989-04-15 Capacity not respected, tight exits	Sheffield, England	Deaths: 96 Semifinal in the FA Cup
5) Janakpur Cigarette Factory LC – Muktiyoddha Sangsad KC 1988-03-12 Locked exits, bad weather	Kathmandu, Nepal	Deaths: 93 Final in the Tribhuvan Challenge Shield
6) Guatemala – Costa Rica 1996-10-16 Capacity not respected	Guatemala City, Guatemala	Deaths: 81 Qualification to the World Cup
7) Al Masry Club – Al Ahly SC 2012-02-01 Social conflict, fans attacking fans	Port Said, Egypt	Deaths: 74 Egyptian Premier League
8) CA River Plate – CA Boca Juniors 1968-06-23 Locked exits, fire	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Deaths: 72 Argentinian 1st Division
9) Rangers FC – Celtic FC 1971-01-02 Barrier/wall collapsing, reaction to play	Glasgow, Scotland	Deaths: 66 Scottish 1st Division
10) FC Spartak Moscow – HFC Haarlem 1982-10-20 Tight exits, bad weather	Moscow, Soviet Union	Deaths: 66 UEFA-cup, 2nd round
11) Bradford City FC – Lincoln City FC 1985-05-11 Locked exits, fire	Bradford, England	Deaths: 56 English 3rd Division
12) Zamalek SC – FK Dukla Praha 1974-02-17 Capacity not respected, barrier/wall collapsing	Cairo, Egypt	Deaths: 48 Friendly
13) Kayseri Erciyesspor TSC – Sivasspor TSC 1968-09-17 Reaction to referee, fans with weapons	Kayseri, Turkey	Deaths: 44 Turkish 2nd League
14) Kaizer Chiefs FC – Orlando Pirates FC 2001-04-11 Capacity not respected, security firing in fear, tight exits	Johannesburg, South Africa	Deaths: 43 South African Premier Soccer League
15) Kaizer Chiefs FC – Orlando Pirates FC 1991-01-13 Capacity not respected, locked exits, fans attacking fans, reaction to referee	Johannesburg, South Africa	Deaths: 42 Friendly
16) Juventus FC – Liverpool FC 1985-05-29 Social conflict, barrier/wall collapsing, fans and police fighting each other	Brussels, Belgium	Deaths: 39 Final in the European Cup

17) Bolton Wanderers FC – Stoke City FC 1946-03-09 Bolton, England Capacity not respected, barrier/wall collapsing	Deaths: 33 Quarterfinal in the English FA Cup
18) 1969-12- Kinshasa, DR of Congo Capacity not respected	Deaths: 27
19) Scotland – England 1902-04-05 Glasgow, Scotland Capacity not respected, arena section collapsing	Deaths: 26 British Home Championship
20) ICC Shooting Stars SC – Bendel Insurance FC 1979-08 Lagos, Nigeria Locked exits, fans attacking fans, lights go out	Deaths: 26 Semifinal in the Nigerian Challenge Cup
21) Al Jihad SC – Al Fatwa 2004-03-12 Qamishli, Syria Social conflict	Deaths: 25 Syrian 1st Division
22) 1965 Jalapa, Mexico Tight exits	Deaths: 24
23) AC Deportivo Cali – América SAD 1982-11-18 Cali, Colombia Fans urinating on other fans causes panic	Deaths: 24
24) Olympiacos FC – AEK FC 1981-02-08 Piraeas, Hellas Locked exits	Deaths: 21
25) Libya – Malta 1988-03-10 Tripoli, Libya Security firing in fear, fans attacking fans, barrier/wall collapsing	Deaths: 20 Friendly
26) Ivory Coast – Malawi 2009-03-29 Abidjan, Ivory Coast Capacity not respected	Deaths: 19 Qualification to the World Cup
27) SC de Bastia – Olympique de Marseille 1992-05-05 Bastia, France Capacity not respected, arena section collapsing	Deaths: 18 Semifinal in the French Cup
28) CC Deportes Tolima – AC Deportivo Cali 1981-11 Ibague, Colombia Capacity not respected, barrier/wall collapsing, arena section collapsing	Deaths: 17
29) Mohun Bagdan AC – East Bengal FC 1980-08-16 Calcutta, India Social conflict, fans attacking fans, reaction to referee	Deaths: 16 Calcutta League
30) 1978-05 Ghana Barrier/wall collapsing	Deaths: 15
31) 1993-06-01 Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hecegovina Unknown	Deaths: 15
32) TP Mazembe – FC Saint Eloi Lupopo 2001-04-30 Lubumbasa, DR of Congo Security firing in fear, reaction to game	Deaths: 14 Congolian 1st Division
33) Nigeria – Angola 1989-08-12 Lagos, Nigeria Capacity not respected, reaction to others death	Deaths: 13 Qualification to the World Cup

34) 2008-09-14 Social conflict	Butembo, DR of Congo	Deaths: 13 Congolian 2nd Division
35) 1979-09 Panic		Deaths: 12
36) Zimbabwe – South Africa 2000-07-09 Security firing in fear, locked exits, reaction to referee	Harare, Zimbabwe	Deaths: 12 Qualification to the World Cup
37) Zambia – Republic of Congo 2007-06-02 Locked exits, lights go out	Chililabombwe, Zambia	Deaths: 12 Qualification to African Nations Cup
38) Club América – Pumas de la UNAM 1985-05-26 Capacity not respected	Mexico City, Mexico	Deaths: 10
39) CA Rive Plate – CA San Lorenzo de Almagro 1944-07-02 Tight exits	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Deaths: 9 Argentinian 1st Division
40) Zambia – Sudan 1996-06-16 Capacity not respected	Lusaka, Zambia	Deaths: 9 Qualification to the World Cup
41) 1982-11 Arena section collapsing	Algiers, Algeria	Deaths: 8
42) Al Ahly SC – Al Ittihad Club of Tripoli 1996-07-12 Security firing in fear, social conflict	Tripoli, Libya	Deaths: 8
43) Al Koroum – Al Ittihad Al-Sakndari 1999-01-11 Capacity not respected	Alexandria, Egypt	Deaths: 8 1/8-final in the Egyptian Cup
44) Liberia – Gambia 2008-06-01 Capacity not respected	Monrovia, Liberia	Deaths: 8 Qualification to the World Cup
45) Santos FC – CR Vasco da Gama 1953-06 Fans attacking fans	Brazil	Deaths: 7 Rio/Sao Paulo-tournament
46) 1990-07-06 Security firing in fear	Mogadishu, Somalia	Deaths: 7
47) Scouts Club – Fire Brigade SC 1999-05-23 Social conflict, fans attacking fans, fire, bombs detonating	Port Louis, Mauritius	Deaths: 7 Mauritian Miko Super League
48) EC Bahia – Vila Nova FC 2007-11-25 Arena section collapsing	Salvador, Brazil	Deaths: 7 Brazilian 3rd Division
49) AFC Leopards FC – Gor Mahia FC 2010-10-24 Capacity not respected, locked exits, barrier/wall collapsing	Nairobi, Kenya	Deaths: 7 Kenyan Premier League
50) SC Mouloudia Dakhla – SC Chabab de Mohammédia 2011-09-25 Security firing in fear, social conflict	Dakhla, Western Sahara	Deaths: 7

51) Chile – Argentina 1955-03-30 Capacity not respected	Santiago, Chile	Deaths: 6 Final in South American Championship
52) Haiti – Cuba 1976-12-06 Reaction to play, panic, reaction to others death	Port au Prince, Haiti	Deaths: 6 Qualification to the World Cup
53) FC Shakhtar Donetsk – SC Tavriya Simferopol 1995-10-16 Social conflict, bomb detonating	Donetsk, Ukraine	Deaths: 6 Ukrainian Top League
54) 1961 Unknown	Santiago, Chile	Deaths: 5
55) Nigeria – Guinea 1997-04-05 Locked exits	Lagos, Nigeria	Deaths: 5 Qualification to the World Cup
56) Iran – Japan 2005-03-25 Tight exits	Teheran, Iran	Deaths: 5 Qualification to the World Cup
57) 1973-08 Tight exits, false rumour	Teresina, Brazil	Deaths: 4
58) 1996-04 Capacity not respected	Zimbabwe	Deaths: 4
59) CA River Plate – CA Boca Juniors 1997-10-25 Unknown	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Deaths: 4 Argentinian 1st Division
60) AS Vita Club – DC Motema Pembe 1998-11-01 Security firing in fear	Kinshasa, DR of Congo	Deaths: 4
61) Togo – Mali 2004-10-10 Tight exits, lights go out	Lomé, Togo	Deaths: 4 Qualification to the World Cup
62) MKE Kirikkalespor – Tarsus Idman Yurdu SK 1969-06 Security firing in fear, fans attacking fans, reaction to referee	Turkey	Deaths: 3
63) 1971-03-04 Fans attacking fans, fire, lights go out	Salvador, Brazil	Deaths: 3
64) Sampaio Corrêa FC – Fortaleza EC 1982 Security firing in fear	San Luis, Brazil	Deaths: 3
65) Liberia – Tchad 2000-04-23 Capacity not respected, barrier/wall collapsing	Monrovia, Liberia	Deaths: 3 Qualification to the World Cup
66) Persija Jakarta FC – Persib Bandung 2012-05-27 Fans attacking fans	Jakarta, Indonesia	Deaths: 3
67) CA Lanús – CA Boca Juniors 1939-05-14 Security firing in fear	Lanús, Argentina	Deaths: 2 Argentinian 1st Division

68)	C Gimnasia y Esgrima de La Plata – C Estudiantes de la Plata 1959-05-28 Argentina Unknown	Deaths: 2 Argentinian 1st Division
69)	Rangers FC – Celtic FC 1961-09-16 Glasgow, Scotland Arena section collapsing	Deaths: 2 Scottish 1st Division
70)	Cameroon – Republic of Congo 1976-10-31 Yaounde, Cameroon Capacity not respected, reaction to referee	Deaths: 2 Qualification to the World Cup
71)	Club Atlético Colón – Club Atlético Talleres 1976-12-12 Argentina Unknown	Deaths: 2
72)	Middlesbrough FC – Manchester United FC 1980-01-12 Middlesbrough, England Locked exits, barrier/wall collapsing, tight exits	Deaths: 2 English 1st Division
73)	CA Boca Juniors – Quilmes Atlético Club 1983-01-05 Argentina Unknown	Deaths: 2 Argentinian 1st Division
74)	Liberia – Togo 1994-09-04 Monrovia, Liberia Barrier/wall collapsing	Deaths: 2 Qualification to African Nations Cup
75)	 1996-12 Kinshasa, DR of Congo Stampede	Deaths: 2
76)	Galatasaray SK – Leeds United FC 2000-04-06 Istanbul, Turkey Social conflict, fans attacking fans	Deaths: 2 Semifinal in the UEFA Cup
77)	Shamooshak – Persepolis Tehran FC 2001-05-06 Sari, Iran Capacity not respected, social conflict, arena section collapsing	Deaths: 2 1/8-final in the Iranian Cup
78)	Highlanders FC – Dynamos FC 2002-07-28 Bulawayo, Zimbabwe Security firing in fear	Deaths: 2 Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League
79)	CA Rosario Central – CA River Plate 2004 Argentina Fans attacking fans	Deaths: 2
80)	Indonesia – Malaysia 2011-11-22 Jakarta, Indonesia Capacity not respected	Deaths: 2 Final in Southeast Asian Games