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Sport and Politics: A study of the relationship between International Politics and Football

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Sammanfattning
 Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to understand and demonstrate the narrow ties between sport and International Relations. My purpose is to examine how Football especially is mixed with International Relations in many levels. The theoretical framework deals with the nationalism theories. Nationalism theories have been relevant only for the last two decades. Nationalism has been developed in the two last centuries with the industrialisation. It can be considered as a political doctrine or ideology. The definition of Nationalism is not obvious because there are no founding theorist or text on it. This process of nationalism induced nations to existence or self-determination. But extreme nationalism can be a danger. National symbols have been created like language, food and drink, clothing, commemorative holidays, military heroes, flags, colours, and anthems. Sport should not be forgotten in this Nationalism ideology. A qualitative study of all the books have been studied carefully. The thesis is based on a long historical approach that permitted to demonstrate the links between sport and International Relations. Pierre de Coubertin wanted Olympics to bring peace and without political means, but the situation changed rapidly everything and government policies were really influenced by sports. Not only totalitarian states but also democratic ones have been using sport for their propaganda

to promote national strength. It has been like a trigger mechanism, everyone has understood how to use sport for diplomatic relations and it is a safer and harmless way than a war. Then a study of national identity construction will be the second goal. Governments are now involved in sport to promote the prestige of a group. The other reason is to encourage a sense of identity, belonging and unity. Sport as a diplomatic tool can be considered like a public diplomacy to influence opinion. Football passion is shared by every citizen and helps us to understand the complexity of the world with its conflicting nations. In all this complicated situation, the Nordic nationalism is a fascinating new direction of peace and tolerance. For example, the Danes showed a festive way to support national teams that we can call a 'sporting nationalism'.

Nyckelord

Keyword

Sports, International Politics, Olympic Games, Football, Nationalism, National Identity

Synopsis

The aim of this thesis is to understand and demonstrate the narrow ties between sport and International Relations. My purpose is to examine how Football especially is mixed with International Relations in many levels.

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SPORT AND POLITICS: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND FOOTBALL

1. INTRODUCTION

Sports are a central hobby in our modern society. Sports should be considered entertaining, enjoyable and peacefully passionate. That does not mean it should be disregarded by academic people. Sports have become an instrument of identity ¹ to such point that some newspapers makes headlines with sports events.

Sports and modern Politics are great subjects. A lot of times, they are mixed together for the reason of state, to serve a cause, good or bad. ² Globalisation and the mass media ³ accelerate this influence of Sports : 'The almost super-nationalistic competitive nature of sport is, of course, best exemplified by the Olympic Games, an institution without parallel in kind or scope in this century. [...] the Olympics have since been transformed into a deeply politicised arena where states vie with one another through the medium of sport' (MacClancy 1996, p.12). ⁴

In every country, sports have become such a large part of the cultural tradition that it has become a way to promote a region, to prove superiority, and/or to affirm existence for national or regional groups. ⁵

Fascist and Communist countries have perfectly used sports perfectly to create propaganda for their leadership.⁶ According to The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, propaganda is a medium to persuade people into a certain desired direction.⁷ Now democracies with the help of media use sports to unify a country and to help them forget small internal disagreements. Politicians have to support a team or a sport in order to be recognized as being closer to their citizens.

¹ MacClancy, J. 1996, *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Berg, Oxford

² Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London

³ Hargreaves, J. 1985, *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul plc, London

⁴ MacClancy, J. 1996, *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Berg, Oxford, p.12

⁵ Ibid p.12

⁶ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London

⁷ Evans, G. and Newnham J. 1998, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, Penguin Books London, pp.451-452

The culture and spirit of sport could bring justice, freedom and fraternity and at the same time cause violence, racism, hooliganism⁸ and corruption etc.

The first boycott in sports was organized by Allied states after the Great War, so sport spirit was betrayed since this event and athletes became toys of international politics. The fact that sport was non political could not be true anymore. Arnaud argued that: 'Sport, even Olympic sport, would not be able to avoid political arbitration [...] It was at this time that sport became an instrument of propaganda and a means of exerting diplomatic pressure. It is no surprise that, a few years later, the totalitarian states would remember the lesson that the democratic states had taught them?' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.132). Pierre de Coubertin, chairman of the IOC, was dissatisfied and anxious by the influence nationalism of sports. He was convinced, that without clear vision in the future, in an eternal virtue of pacifism throughout sports.⁹

According to Hargreaves (1985, p.233), President Nixon used ping pong games to create secret diplomacy with China in 1971 and basketball games with Cuba in 1977.¹⁰

Boycotting the Olympic Games was a solution for countries to contest some political disagreement with others. According to The Penguin Dictionary of International Politics, boycott is a systematic refusal to enter into social, economic, political or military relations with a particular state.¹¹

The example during the cold war between the U.S.A and the Soviet Union which refused to participate in the Olympic Games, which was hosted by their rival¹² was a flagrant boycott operation and showed concretely who was on their side.

In 1964, South Africa was suspended from the Olympic Games. The boycott arrived at the summit : '1970 proved to be a catastrophe and ultimately a turning point for white South African sport. [...] she was finally expelled from the Olympics and from Davis tennis Cup,

⁸ Rees, R. C. and Miracle A.W. 1986, *Sport and Social Theory*, Human Kinetics Publishers, Inc Champaign, IL

⁹ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.131-132

¹⁰ Hargreaves, J. 1985, *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul plc, London

¹¹ Evans, G. and Newnham J. 1998, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, Penguin Books London, p.55

¹² 'Sport et politique', *Webencyclo*. [online] Available : [2003, 25 September]
<http://www.webencyclo.com/dossiers/contenu/D49-00010317.asp?IDDossier=49>

suspended from athletics and barred from gymnastics. Soon she faced virtual blanket isolation from world competition.' (Hargreaves 1985, p.239) ¹³

According to Hargreaves (1985, p.65) nationalism is emphasized by international sporting events: 'there is the articulation between sport and political nationalism. [...] Sport has become a significant international currency. [...] They are 'our boys/girls', and represent us in the international sphere. [...] The first is the existence of a popular identification, [...] the second, a more self-consciously political appropriation of sporting achievement, is able to work'.¹⁴

1.1 AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The aim of this thesis is to understand and demonstrate the narrow ties between sport and political relations. My purpose is to examine how football especially is mixed with political relations at many levels. First, the concept of nationalism will be studied due to the influential relation with sport. Secondly, I will try to explain the historical phenomena of sport and International Relations to show how they are linked together. Finally, I will examine the problem of national identity linked with football.

To accomplish my purpose, I will analyse all the documents I can find from relevant sources. I will use a qualitative method for my thesis with illustration of examples found in the history of sport. I will examine all these important research questions:

1. How are relations between sport and foreign policies affected by the different political regimes?
2. Is football a tool for building or destroying a national identity?
3. How minorities group in France are integrated through football?
4. How can sport be used to establish friendly relations and decrease tensions between states?

¹³ Hargreaves, J. 1985, *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul plc, London

¹⁴ Ibid p.65

All along the process of the thesis, I will fill in the following chart to classify the implication of sport and political use in different nations.

Positive Aspects	Negative Aspects
Political instrument	Political weapon
-	-
Diplomatic tool	Diplomatic Trigger mechanism
-	-
Social tool	Social weapon
-	-

1.2 DELIMITATIONS

This paper is focused on only the link between International Relations and Sport, especially football. The aim is not to develop concepts of hooliganism, violence, enormous money implications, huge trade exploitations and extreme liberal market of sportsmen. It is not either describe the history of sports, football or the Olympic Games and the International Relations.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

I will have to analyse all the data on this subject found in libraries, newspapers, databases and the internet. The structure of the thesis is based on a qualitative approach. The aim is not to obtain a 'reality' through a quantitative approach but to understand a phenomenon through some clear examples. The hermeneutic approach is more appropriate in social sciences. The word hermeneutic comes from the Greek word *hermeneuein*, to explain or interpret.¹⁵ In this situation, my own experience will influence the findings of this thesis.

¹⁵ Dictionary *Le Petit Robert* 1996

This thesis is far from being a positive method. The goal is not to find a theory but to explain more concretely a phenomena. Everybody can study this subject and may find different conclusion from the same documents due to his experience or his way of thinking. All my choices, decisions, interpretation can be discussed by someone else with a different culture, belief, values and norms. I am aware that qualitative methods can be subject to criticism, however my aim is not to find the 'truth' or state generalisations but to highlight and discover some points of pertinent events in my view.

I have chosen to study only relevant books referring to my subject, which are difficult to get, when you write about sport and football. I was mainly focussed on the books I could find in Swedish and French libraries, avoiding a maximum internet or newspapers sources. The books were really good because they were written by group of authors; they gave a lot of different points of view. The data findings were interpreted during my readings. Some new research problems were pointed out. For this reason, some part of my development will be of different sizes. All the documents with relevant writers, sociologists, historians, political scientists, were used as proper data for my thesis. The historic approach was a means to see all the important point I wanted to develop. I could not make interviews for my subject due to lack of time and I got no answers referring to special areas of my thesis such as integration in the Swedish and French societies through football. The textual analysis was quite helpful to explore many points of my thesis.

The criticism I can be subjected to is in the way I interpret my key concepts, findings and conclusions. I am influenced by my knowledge on the subject, sport and football, and make decisions to go into a direction or another. I could not deal with all the countries of the world in an equal way, and I depended on what I found in my books and on what I thought more important. I was more concentrated on French and English books, so the thesis will be more concentrated on these countries.

1.4 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

It is mainly focused on books relevant to nationalism and sport. Some books written by many different authors will give different points of view and richness to the thesis. It was instructive to read books on nationalism and see the phenomena around and see the parallel on sport. Some books on football were more interesting than sport or Olympic Games. Some books such as:

- Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London

- Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel

were essential for my research. Football is a world wide game that a large majority plays in a lot of countries except the United States.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

Chapter 1: 'Introduction'. This chapter is aimed at explaining how this thesis is constructed and what its goals are.

Chapter 2: 'Theoretical Framework'. In this chapter, I try to define and discuss the concept of nationalism. I will develop an application of this concept to sport.

Chapter 3: 'Historical Background of Sport and International Relations'. This chapter is an essential part of the thesis to demonstrate that International Relations are influenced by sport.

Chapter 4: 'National identity and football'. This chapter deals with the key concept of national identity construction with the help of sport. Football is a tool to promote, unify, affirm the identity, the citizenship of the nation.

Chapter 5: 'Conclusions'. This chapter will analyse all the issues mentioned in the introduction. The questions will be answered and some recommendations will be added for a future research in that field.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 THE DEFINITION OF NATION/NATIONALISM

2.1.1 History of Nationalism

This chapter deals with the historical concept of Nationalism. The history of nationalism is imperative to understand how this concept was developed. First, France created nationalism in a certain way to understand it. Afterwards, Germany changed this concept to switch to racism. It transformed for ever the concept and influenced the other states.

According to Snyder's (1990, p.242) definition of the development of nationalism, this notion was created and amplified during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The appearance of a national church (and the decline of a medieval church), the national armies, the birth of a middle class, the emergence of capitalism and the vernacular language imposed to all the people of the state, have created forces driving to nationalism. The Nation belongs to the people, not to the Royalty, the middle class wanted to feel that the nation belonged to them. The French Revolution and Napoleon's campaigns increased the speed contributing to the process of consciousness of nation and the idea of nationalism throughout the European continent. Xenophobia and the hatred of foreigners were clearly expressed and governments created armies to protect common interests against enemies. The symbol of the flag and national anthem were born to represent national prestige and grandeur. ¹⁶ National symbols have been created like language, food and drink, clothing, commemorative holidays, military heroes, flags, colours, and anthems.¹⁷

Historically, McCrone (1998, p.8) explained that 'western' European nationalism began by the creation of the modern state, citizens were in harmony politically and territorially with their nation. On the other hand, 'eastern' European and Asian nationalism started with the problems of borders that didn't correspond with the ethnic population. It created political tensions rather than unified the country: 'Hence, nationalism in the West was mainly political

¹⁶ Snyder, L. 1990, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Paragon House, New York, p.242

¹⁷ Halliday, F. *Nationalism* in Baylis, J. and S. Smith, 2001, *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford University Press. New York. Chapter 20 p.440-455

– people were defined as ‘citizens’ – while in the East it was cultural – people were ‘the folk’.¹⁸

Snyder argued that: ‘Patriotism and love for the homeland had existed for centuries, but now they were identified with the nation.’ (1990, p.245) There is no simple definition of nationalism because it changes in its forms in different historical times.¹⁹

The French state, according to McCrone (1998, pp.44-46), invented traditions, symbols and history to promote the idea of Nationhood to the Frenchmen. National traditions were invented to glorify ‘false’ history, forget ‘true’ history. It has shaped a project to make people remember, it is a tool to unify them into a nation and create nationality. It was between the 1870’s and before the First World War that the level of consciousness of nationality increased most and traditions were born. Such a state as Italy had a low level of unity and of Italian nationality consciousness. The well known Bastille Day, the 14th of July national French holiday, and *La Marseillaise*, the national French anthem, were only created respectively as symbols in 1880 and 1879 and not in 1789. In the 1860’s, one quarter of the French population did not speak French in the peasant communities and southern parts of the territory and Eugene Weber²⁰ (cited in McCrone 1998, p.45) said: ‘French was a foreign language for a substantial number of Frenchmen, including almost half the children who would reach adulthood in the last quarter of the century’. Compulsory military service due to increasing numbers of wars, new school system of education to every children and new modern maps to aid to visualize the geography of France were created to involve Frenchmen in this consciousness of the nation. The education of children, public ceremonies and public monuments in all the villages of France were the three factors creating the French nationality consciousness to Frenchmen in a profound way. With the symbols of Jeanne d’Arc, the ‘virgin warrior’, and ‘Marianne’, the symbol of republican regime, France transformed her symbols to promote the new political change and to increase democratic participation.²¹

Eric Hobsbawn²² (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, p.182) found out the link between racism and nationalism. The case of German nationalism during the Nazi time expressed this point best.

¹⁸ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London, p.8

¹⁹ Ibid p.245

²⁰ Weber, E. 1977, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernisation of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Chatto & Windus, London cited in McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London, p.45

²¹ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London, pp.44-46

²² Hobsbawn, E. 1990, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge pp.101-111 in Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.182

At that time, 'Race' and genetic concept were relevant to determine a people and a nation, excluding Jews from the German 'Aryans'. This extreme nationalism and this need of purifying the language from the foreign elements created this first unseen mass genocide and the Second World War. ²³ Hobsbawm stated that linguistic nationalism had failed sometimes, the Irish nationalism could not oblige Irish people to speak the old language spoken before because hardly anyone could understand it. When Jewish nationalists, the Zionism movement, decided in 1935 to create an extra territory, even if a majority of all the Jews in the world could speak Yiddish, they chose a modern Hebrew to be the official language, even if nobody could speak this language as a mother tongue. ²⁴

William H. McNeill ²⁵ (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, pp.300-301) explained how new ideas, demography, military organisation, communication and transport have increased the change of the political and ethnic borders in the late eighteenth century and all over the nineteenth century. He explained that Hitler's ideas destructed national unity. Different categories of citizens were dissociated from the nation, chased and exterminated such as Jews, Gypsies, and Slaves. The concentration camps created two effects in the world: 'On the one hand, it tainted advocacy of the ideal of ethnic unity within an existing state, since such sentiments smacked too much of Nazi doctrines. On the other hand, Jews in particular, and other ethnic minorities subsequently, began to abandon the ideal of assimilation to locally prevailing national groups' (1994, pp.300-301). ²⁶

Naturally, it started to create ethnic minorities' movements in the world: the Blacks in the United States, the French speaking population in Canada, the Flemish in Belgium, the Scottish and the Welsh in Great Britain. All the symbols were valuable and worth to be shown to express the difference: language, religion, folkways, costume and so on. After the second world war, the migration increased for the reconstruction and a lack of low-skilled workers. Germany creates a temporarily status to the new immigrants to work, it maintained a difference between the native-born citizens and the immigrants. The aim was the going back of these immigrants into their home country. All the immigrants who decided to stay are not really accepted in the national society. The assimilation of new immigrants is more difficult because of their physical appearance really different from the native one. French and

²³ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.182

²⁴ Ibid p.184

²⁵ McNeill, W.H. 1986, *Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History*, Toronto University, Toronto p.70-78 in Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford pp.300-301

²⁶ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford pp.300-301

British people are more used than Germans to host different ethnic populations but the equality of opportunities to have a high-skill job stays still low for the new wave of immigration. The new immigrants have more possibilities to stay in contact with their homeland with new communication than in the past. Their cultural difference can be maintained and the assimilation is not obligatory, a return to the country could eventually happen. The geography is not any more a leitmotiv to belong to a community. The societies will become more and more multiethnic with the global market and could create tensions between different ethnic groups in economic downturn. ²⁷

According to McCrone, the 'routine flags' were symbolised on coins, banknotes and stamps to make a 'banal' nationalism with the face of the head of State. Sports were also a way to create nationalism: 'Sporting occasions came to take on added political and cultural value from the late nineteenth century as the nation was 'represented' in competition short of war' (McCrone 1998, p.49). All these small symbols influenced the people to become aware of a nationality feeling of a nation unity. ²⁸

2.1.2 Signification of a Definition

According to Elie Kedourie (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, pp.49-50), three words are making confusion and are used improperly: nationalism, patriotism and xenophobia. Kedourie defined these terms: 'Patriotism' is the love of a nation, with loyalty and zeal. 'Xenophobia' is the hatred of a stranger who doesn't belong to the group. 'Nationalism' is a doctrine controlled by the state that included the two other definitions with different degrees. That is why the boundaries of these three phenomena can lead to reject, violence, hate of the foreigner. This definition is limited to the European perspective, and nationalism outside Europe can be obsolete or incomplete. American nationalism is not understood in the same way as British nationalism, due to the ideal construction and the foundation of the General Will of these two states. Kedourie explained that nationalism can also be understood as a new tribalism. ²⁹

²⁷ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford pp.302-305

²⁸ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.47-49

²⁹ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. 1994, *Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford pp.49-50

Carlton J.H. Hayes (cited in Snyder 1990, p.246) has found four possible meanings:

'Nationalism is an actual historical process. Here nationalism means the actual historical process of establishing nationalities as political units, of building out tribes and empires the modern institution of the national state.

Nationalism is a theory. Nationalism may indicate the theory, principle, or ideal implicit in the actual historical process.

Nationalism concerns political activities. Nationalism may mean the activities of a particular political party, combining the historical and political process.

Nationalism is a sentiment. Nationalism may describe a condition of mind among members of a nationality, in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is exhibited in the intrinsic excellence and in the mission of one's national state.'³⁰

Even if the sense of nationalism is not always used in the same way, nation, nationalism and national identity can also be defined.

2.1.3 Definition of Nation

Firstly, I will explain the origin of word 'nation' before defining Nationalism.

According to McCrone (1998, pp.3-6), scholars have difficulties to define what nationalism really is and to agree on one definition only. Before defining 'nationalism', we have to agree first on the concept of 'Nation'. In the 1990's, Benedict Anderson (cited in McCrone 1998, p.6)³¹ explained why it is so difficult to understand this concept, as the nation is created by politics:

- 'It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each ones the image of their communion lives.'
- 'The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.'
- 'It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in the age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained hierarchical dynastic realm.'

³⁰ Snyder, L. 1990, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Paragon House, New York p.246

³¹ Anderson, B. 1996a, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London cited in McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.6-7

- 'It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.'³²

According to Margaret Canovan (1996, p.50), making two single definitions of nation and nationalism is very difficult. Nation could be analysed in five different ways, each way has its own limit: 'as states, as cultural communities, in terms of the subjective identities of individuals, as ethnic groups, as products of modernization'. If we consider the argumentation of Canovan, we can discuss each point.³³

Nation as States, The word 'nation' is often deformed with the word 'state'. For example, 'The United States' is known as a nation, it is a member of 'The United Nations', with a 'national' anthem and played when it participates in the Olympic Games. It shows us that 'nations' are a political construction. But history showed us that 'nation-states' are not really confine to physical borders constructed by a state.³⁴

Nation as Cultural Communities, nation is considered as a 'cultural nation', with the same 'language, folk tales and traditional music' (Canovan 1996, p.52). The nation could be influenced nowadays with a mix of different cultures. The different minorities that have the same culture, speak the same languages but sometimes do not feel a mutual recognition with the majority of a nation.³⁵

Nation and Subjective Identity, the consciousness of belonging to the same people is the only criteria to define a nation. It is not the political, cultural or biological characteristics which determine the members of a nation. This picture of a nation or 'imagined' community will connect together people and exclude strangers who cannot share this consciousness. This question of consciousness becomes a problem when people want to belong to a nation. They can share the same consciousness but some members can reject them because they were not born in the country generation after generation.³⁶

³² McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.3-6

³³ Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London p.50

³⁴ Ibid pp.51-52

³⁵ Ibid pp.52-54

³⁶ Ibid pp.54-56

Nation as Ethnic Groups, a nation can be considered as a 'politically conscious ethnic group'. We can also see the opposite example of the USA and Belgium with clearly different ethnic groups. The modern nations are much more heterogeneous than before. The boundaries are not really in harmony with the ethnic group location. The settlement of different ethnic groups together with a common enemy can create a nation but it does not create a common identity.³⁷

Modernization and Nation-building, many scholars think that the nation was created by modernization, for the needs and utility that it involved in modern organisation. Ernest Gellner³⁸ explained how he understands nationhood: 'The emergence of a nation involves the destruction of most myriad traditional folk cultures as they were absorbed into a new version suitable to be the official culture of a state' (in Canovan 1996, p.60). However, regionalists want to fight for their old traditions and cultures but also want the disintegration of the new modern society which has become too unfriendly and individualistic due to modernization and artificial culture. Simone Weil³⁹ argued that nothing else from the past existed to be still love, like 'communities of kin, village, occupation, status' (ibid, p.61). And modern society also becomes so individualistic that nation is the only thing we can still be attached to.⁴⁰

Nation-building and Modernization, Liah Greenfeld⁴¹ said 'Rather than define nationalism by its modernity, I see modernity as defined by nationalism' (cited in Canovan 1996, p.62). Greenfeld argued that democracy was created by the wish of the population and its sense of nationality. It is England in the 16th century that first created an atmosphere of nationalism due to the new elite. The support of the population to belong to the nationhood and to be an Englishman was equivalent to becoming a nobleman. Successful wars permitted them to believe in superiority over European nations. During a long time, the English nation was the *only* nation in its specificity (with the Dutch) : 'It was, a nation with a highly specific character, an individualistic one in which collective national identity meant membership of a body distinguished by its heritage of Protestantism and liberty' (Canovan 1996, p.63). The

³⁷ Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London pp.56-59

³⁸ Gellner, E. 1983, *Nations and Nationalism*, Blackwell, Oxford pp.49-57 in Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London p.60

³⁹ Weil, S. 1952, *The Need for Roots – Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Towards Mankind*, Ark, London p.109 in Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London p.61

⁴⁰ Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London pp.59-62

⁴¹ Greenfeld, L. 1992, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge p.18 in Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London p.62

settlement of America by Englishmen demonstrated that the heritage and the idea of nation permitted and caused the secession and its claim of natural rights. The construction of French nationalism and national consciousness was present but only revealed itself in the 18th century during the French Revolution, this idea was influenced by English dissidents. Nationalism spread in Germany and in Russia differently but with similar interests and envy. It was followed all over the world, creating political community. ⁴²

2.1.4 Definition of Nationalism

Snyder define: 'Nationalism as a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, and, in some cases, having a common religion. There are, of course, exceptions to every part of the definition'. ⁴³

2.1.5 Definition of National identity

McCrone explained also that 'narrating' the nation is really important to print in people's mind this consciousness of nationality even through fake history: 'The 'narrative' of the nation is told and retold through national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture, which together provide a set of series, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals. Through these stories national identity is presented as primordial, essential, unified and continuous' (1998, p.52). Politicians, governments and leaders used all these symbols to create common history and symbols for the people: 'The role of intelligentsia is to furnish 'maps' of the community, its history, destiny and place, as well as to furnish 'moralities' to inspire the public virtues expressing the national character' (1998, p.53). National galleries, museums and academies have major roles in creating a restitution of mythical past through: 'painting, sculpture, architecture, music and so on. If national art did not exist, then it was the role of artists to invent it, or at least discover or recover it from the fragments of the people's culture' (McCrone 1998, p.55). ⁴⁴

⁴² Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London pp.62-64

⁴³ Snyder, L. 1990, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Paragon House, New York p.247

⁴⁴ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.52-55

2.1.6 Use of Nationalism

We can now see why nationalism is applied and used by the political power. Snyder (1990, p.X) argued that nationalism is used for a lot of different reasons. The formation of new states used nationalism to bring cultural unity and lead people behind the project of a nation.⁴⁵ We will see in each case how it answers to the thesis problem.

Snyder (1990, p.X) developed eight rules of the nationalism:

1. *A force for unity.* Nationalism may be the means by which politically divided nations achieve unity in a single state. There may be integration and consolidation of a country's territory and the nation acts as a unit. (Italy, Germany).
2. *A force for disruption.* Nationalism may be the means by which a conglomerate state consisting of many ethnic units break down into component parts of varying nationalities (the Austro-Hungarian Empire).
3. *A force for independence.* Nationalism may result from the zealous desire of a mini-nationalism for self-determination and to break away for independence (Poles, Ukrainians, Balts, Finns).
4. *A force for fraternity.* Nationalism may represent the striving of irredentists to win union the same in-group (*Italia irrendenta*, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians).
5. *A force of colonial expansion.* In the late nineteenth century of imperialism, nationalism was the road by which the imperialist powers sought to enhance their colonial position (Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands).
6. *A force for aggression.* For the "have-not nations", nationalism represented a means by which they could acquire greater territory, greater wealth, peoples, and power (Wilhelminian Germany, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, militarist Japan).
7. *A force for anti-colonialism.* Following the mid-twentieth century, nationalism became the force which promoted the creation of new nation-states in the former colonies in Africa, Asia, and the middle East. It was transformed from a movement of opposition and defiance to a movement of nation-building (Ghana, Nigeria, Congo, India, Indonesia, Syria, Jordan).

⁴⁵ Snyder, L. 1990, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Paragon House, New York p.X

8. *A force for economic expansion.* Nationalism accompanies the attempts of the more powerful economic powers (United States, Japan, Federal Republic of West Germany) to extend their economic position on the world scene.⁴⁶

All these five forces (1 unity, 2 disruption, 3 independence, 6 aggression, 7 anti-colonialism) were the main forces using often for sport as a tool for their own policy.

McCrone argued that the end of communism has developed the rise of new nationalism. The new states created from the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia used the notion of 'ethnic cleaning' to get rid of the Russian domination, due to old ethnic hatred : 'totalitarianism had blocked off political expressions of rivalries' (McCrone 1998, p.150). These new forms of nationalism were only old nationalisms which came back with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Nationalists used the past to construct or reconstruct an old history to legitimate their actions in asking independence. The collapse of the communist system created nationalisms, violent in Yugoslavia or in the Caucasian region, but also positive and non-violent with the reunification of Germany or the separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia (velvet divorce).⁴⁷

It was necessary to define complexity of words such as nation, nationalism, national identity, before analysing the links between international relations and sport.

2.2 APPLICATION TO SPORT

This chapter deals with the application of the concept of nationalism to sport. The example of football as the image of the nation will illustrate this importance of sport. All the international sporting events created these new trends of nationalism with some distinctive points seen before.

Albrecht Sonntag in his article how 'football is the image of the nation' explained that the Football World Cup is one of the last symbolic picture of the nation, a special idea of the imaginary nation. The position of ethnicity, nationhood and history of immigration of a country are well represented symbolically in this nation. During the World Cup in 1974, it was possible for observers to see how the Brazilian team is mixed in the different ethnic

⁴⁶ Snyder, L. 1990, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Paragon House, New York p.X

⁴⁷ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.149-154

types of the population. You can also see it in the British and French teams on one side, and Italian and German teams on the other side, how the immigration policy was based, nationality is obtained with ethnicity criteria and not with citizenship criteria. The French football team is always proud to have a multi-ethnic team which can represent French assimilation and integration policies. Football is also a fabulous stereotype for people to perceive a country. The stereotypes that you have from a foreign country will be represented in the way they are playing football. The need of simplification is increasing even if it is not true, the German players have a 'panzer' or 'tank' style of playing football, the British have 'fair-play' style and the Brazilians have 'samba' style. French supporters always think that their team is playing well when it is a 'champagne' football style, with a prestige way of playing, and are disappointed when their players play like Italians and their 'realism' style. ⁴⁸

The political organisation we call nation is not really old in history, it started in the middle of the nineteenth century. We don't know how many decades or centuries it will remain the norm but the entire stadiums are full of supporters with the colours of their own nation. The nation has always creates myths to unify the people and Football is perfect in this creation of myth. The myth of a sportsman is carefully chosen to be in adequacy with the notion of what the nation wants to be associated with. In the Wembley final in 1966, the English victory was logical and fair on all the expectations of the British people. For Germans, the same game is unfair, with the arguable famous third goal. It gave Germans the notion of the right position, honesty and fair-play given by Germans players to the entire world. History is rewritten in the way you feel in your nation, like the final in Berne in 1954, saw Germany win against Hungary: capital event for Germans with the real values of national virtues, surprising result for neutral spectators and incomprehensible national tragedy for Hungarians. Each nation has its own legend football game who is written in the parallel history of the nation. It can give a lot of information on the values of the nation and which image they have of themselves. ⁴⁹

According to Sonntag, a German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk ⁵⁰ has explained why all the population feels still attached to the nation with all the interns conflicts. Sloterdijk explained that the nation existed only in the common exciting moments, with a hysterical

⁴⁸ Sonntag, A. *Le Football, Image de la Nation* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.31-33

⁴⁹ Ibid pp.34-35

⁵⁰ Sloterdijk, P. 1998, *Der starke Grund, zusammen zu sein*, Die Zeit, n°2, pp.9-12 in Sonntag, A. 'Le Football, Image de la Nation' in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel

autosuggestion, with the collective stress. The population needs events and occasions to make-up this obvious lack of cohesion or ethnical, cultural or economical solidarity. The mass Medias have tragically amplified some events like natural disaster, accident or murder of a national hero. In the international sports competition, the people are represented by the national team. These events are regularly scheduled and known in advance. The nation can prove that it exists by these regular international events that can unify people. ⁵¹

Football is also a symbolic picture of equality between nations. The FIFA has this fantastic power to maintain an ideal of equality among nations, than the UN can not afford, with the confrontation of power among nations, threatening or pretending to have. In football, the game is eleven players against eleven, with the same rules for everyone in case of misconduct; any small state can beat a major state. This illusion of equality is remaining possible only for the time of one match. ⁵²

Nationalism was responsible for the two World Wars, a lot of people wanted to remove this symbolic signs of nationalism during sport games. The construction of the European Union, the end of the communist world and the liberal globalisation has maintained and increased this feeling of belonging to a nation. All the international matches have also developed a friendly way, open patriotism like the Danes, to support national team with the festive way to present events by medias even if hooligans are unfortunately still too well represented. ⁵³

We can make a summary of the questions that Canovan asked: 'Is a nation essentially a political entity, typically a state? Or is it essentially a community held together by language and culture? It is constituted by birth or by choice. It is a politicised version of ethnicity, or a matter of individual identification? Are nations natural or artificial? Are they immemorial or recent products of modernization?' (1996, p.69). ⁵⁴ All these questions will help to see why all these different nationalisms are expressed in sport. How sport as a symbol of nationalism mobilized fans, citizens and people to support a team or a sportsman? It comes from the unconscious identity of every person, to identify to a nation, influenced by many factors. It's expressed easier by fans in football, they show their behaviour in stadiums, as well as the love for their teams and often the hatred for the others.

⁵¹ Sonntag, A. *Le Football, Image de la Nation* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel p.36

⁵² Ibid p.37

⁵³ Ibid pp.38-39

⁵⁴ Canovan, M. 1996, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Edward Elgar, London p.69

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

According to Pierre Arnaud (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, pp.6-7), Sport is more than a simple hobby, it belongs to the State. Athletes or players are the 'ambassadors', the 'official representatives' of a 'national culture'. There is an implicit cohesion and 'solidarity between a people and its national sportsmen'. It creates a symbolic picture to the population itself, in the eyes of other nations' populations, 'in terms of its influence, prestige and vitality'. In this case, states use sportsmen influence to encourage national unity, develop and embellish their external prestige: 'And sport plays this role for a majority of great political powers'. Sports nationalism is developed in the extreme situation by chauvinism and xenophobia. The terms of 'honour', 'reputation' and 'identity' are used to promote national pride for their national teams.⁵⁵

3.1 SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN 1912 AND 1945

In this chapter, I will deal with the first signs of governments' foreign policies using sport for their purposes and first explain why sport is a wonderful tool for this purpose. I shall deal with three categories of political regimes.

International Relations do not only include governments' relations and national interests. Pierre Arnaud has illustrated how foreign policies of governments were involved in international sporting events. After World War I, some countries that were beaten or neutral were excluded from international competitions. It means that governments used sporting events as a part of their diplomacy. Referring to all these problems between sport and politics, international political crises, Arnaud asks some crucial questions: 'Is one a citizen before being an athlete? Or is one an athlete before being a citizen? Ought an athlete to be the ambassador of a new citizenship founded on internationalism and pacifism, and a propaganda agent for peace among the peoples?' (1998, p.11). In 1920, some politicians suggested about the possibility to change the IOC (International Olympic Committee) into a part of the League of the Nations: 'they perceived that the two institutions subscribed the

⁵⁵ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.6-7

same value system: pacifism and internationalism'. A lot of politicians agreed that political problems should be eliminated from international sports and discord between nations. Sport should promote peace and friendship among all the nations and people. ⁵⁶

Serious crises between two states in international sports relations were defined by Pierre Arnaud (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, pp.11-12):

'1. Propaganda. Here, sports victories by a national team contribute to reinforcing the image of respect in the world, strength and vitality, and even the legitimacy of a political regime.

[..]

2. The Freezing or banning of sport competitions between national teams. A government may ban its national team from meeting such and such an adversary for strictly political reasons. This would be political use of sport for reprisal purposes. [..]

3. Popular discontent expressed in protest can lead to disorder and event violence either at the sports event itself or in the town/city where it is taking place, or both. Through word and action, it can result in a sort of nationalism and xenophobia, and the 'anti'-sentiments expressed can be political or sporting. [..]'

This point referred to the boycott for International competitions. It was not the fascist states who launched the first boycotts in the 1930's but democratic states created first by England in 1919 and followed by France and Belgium. ⁵⁷

The creation of Football World Cup in 1928 was due to this wish to be independent from the Olympic Games. These world-wide events created a focus on these new activities that were sports. Jules Rimet, chairman of International Federation of Football, launched this world cup tournament to permit amateurs and professionals to play together. ⁵⁸ The modern Olympic Games started in Athens in 1896 with 13 countries and increased to 49 at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936. The transport of athletes for international competitions, or the development of a sport inside a country explained why sports international competitions were so long to develop in all the countries. The Railway network and the ferry harbours were the only ways to develop clubs of sports in all the countries; mainly inspired by the British Empire connection, and then the European countries. ⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.8-11

⁵⁷ Ibid pp.11-12

⁵⁸ Ibid p.20

⁵⁹ Ibid p.24

International games were not essential to public opinion or to journalists, it was only a way to know the strength of a country to train their athletes. Pierre Arnaud explained that until 1914: 'sport was not yet a vehicle of nationalism' (1998, p.25). The French national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, has been played before every match of the French team since the 1889 athletics competition. ⁶⁰

The first link between sport and nationalism occurred in 1912: 'The 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm were considered by some to be the first major sporting events where nationalism and sport became inextricably linked' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.25). Tensions between France and Germany could be seen in the newspapers. The compositions of the Juries were contested by the French team for being biased. It was only the First World War which ended this utopia of peace through sports. Arnaud said: 'As the numbers of international sports competitions increased and became established, countries became aware of the extraordinary social, cultural, economic and political scope of sport. The phenomenon only took on real importance after 1918' (Ibid, p.27). Charles Maurras was the representative of nationalism and racism in France at the end of the nineteenth century, after his trip to Greece for the first Olympic Games in 1896; he explained what could become the future for international competition: 'peoples confront each other in the flesh, insulting each other face to face and disputing with all their hearts. The wind which brought them together will only serve to render international incidents easier' (Ibid, p.29). ⁶¹

I will study all the different regimes individually in their relations with sport.

3.1.1 Fascist States

3.1.1.1 Germany

According to Arnd Krüger ⁶², Germany had a clear policy of elite sport, this responsibility was clearly political to lead sport as a way to present German culture to the world. From the

⁶⁰ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.25

⁶¹ Ibid pp.25-29

⁶² Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 6 pp.79-93

start, this obsession was present in the German population's mind, and the sporting press explained us the reasons why in 1913: ⁶³

'The Olympic Games are a war, a real war. You can be sure that many participants are willing to offer – without hesitation – several years of their life for a victory of the Fatherland... The Olympic idea of the modern era has given us a symbol of world war, which does not show its military character very openly, but – for those who can read sport statistics – gives enough insight into world ranking.' ⁶⁴

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) was dominated by the French and they did not allow Germany to participate in the 1920 and the 1924 Olympics 'after being held responsible for starting the war' (Krüger in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.81). Germany has always wanted to participate in the Olympics and being excluded from the games was just as being excluded from the civilized world. Germany was excluded from the international scene until 1925-6, with no army, losing its borders with the neighbours. Even the Workers' Olympics 'split into two federations' and decreased German influence. The only satisfaction was the help of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) to let Germany play football even after the request of exclusion by England. The fact that no army could be trained gave ideas to the German government. The democratic Germany state used sports to increase mass participation and to training people and gave public facilities to sport transportation, encouraged cities to create new sports space and created annual school championships. This effort of sport training gave good results, a second place in the rank medals at the Amsterdam Olympics: 'After so many years of isolation this seemed to be quite a surprise to many, but it should not be overlooked that Germany sent the largest team, had large crowd support and a well-organized sports system' (Ibid p.83). Germany became more and more peaceful with the neighbours, but the economic recovery was not enough to see Nazi rising power in 1933. Sports educators were the first supporters of the Nazi regime, favouring the idea of courage and strength. There were two Jewish federations for sport practising, but the vast majority of Jews practised sport in regular clubs. In 1933, most of the German and Austrian clubs started to exclude German-Jews. ⁶⁵

⁶³ Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 6 p.79

⁶⁴ Berner, M. 1913, *Der olympische Gedanke in der Welt*, Fußball und Leichtathletik (14), 495-6 in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.79

⁶⁵ Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 6 pp.81-84

When the Nazis arrived in power, they 'inherited' the Olympics from the democratic Germany. The question was to lead a Nazi sports movement and accept to host this Olympics Games. Hitler was first against this idea and wanted to remain isolated but realised quickly the interests of a world sport event: 'those sports leaders who did not want German isolation but preached the Italian model and demanded a leading position for Germany in the sports world won the argument. They readily copied the successful fascist model of a state sport [...] 'coordinated' by the government, and later on by the Nazi Party' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.86). The IOC was wondering if Germany was able to host the Olympic Games in Berlin, with a Nazi Party. The German-Jews athletes participation to the Olympics and the participation of workers sportsman in 'bourgeois clubs' were the only conditions that the IOC asked the German Federation to let them host the Olympics. ⁶⁶

Allen Guttman ⁶⁷ explained in an article the 'Nazi Olympics' and the American Boycott controversy (Guttman in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, pp.31-47) that Germany was chosen in 1931 to be the host country for the Olympic Games in 1936; it was a political choice to reintegrate this nation in the international sphere. In April 1931, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) did not expect that Hitler would become Chancellor in 1933. The German IOC members were obliged to agree on a demand of respect of the Olympic Charter for the German Jews: 'German Jews shall not be excluded from German teams at the Games of the XIth Olympiad' (cited in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.35) ⁶⁸. Hitler realized later this agreement and he was furious. The American Olympic Association warned to boycott the Olympic Games if German Jews would not be able to play. After many meetings with the German delegation, the American Olympic Committee decided to accept to go this Olympiad. Avery Brundage, President of the American Olympic Association, progressively changed his mind about the boycott: 'American athletes should not become needlessly involved in what he misleadingly referred to as "the present Jew-Nazi altercation". [...] Opponents of the Nazi regime [...] meant to use the Games as a political weapon. Since Jews and Communists were calling for a boycott, Brundage reasoned illogically that all the boycotters were Jews or Communists' (Ibid, p.37). A lot of discrimination was done in Germany against German Jews

⁶⁶ Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.85-86

⁶⁷ Guttman, A. 1984, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, Columbia University Press, New York, pp.62-81 and Guttman, A. 1992, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, pp.53-71 in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 3 pp.31-47

⁶⁸ International Olympic Committee, *Bulletin du C.I.O.*, 8:24 (September 1933):9 cited in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.35

but the American Olympic Committee did not want to see the reality of many different obvious reports, including Gretel Bergmann, Germany's best high jumper. Hitler and Goebbels decided to be prudent before the Olympics with Nazi signs and showed that Germany was a peaceful state: 'Nazis were told not to wear their uniforms when they went to Olympic venues; [...] and innkeepers were told to treat all their guests – even Jews – courteously' (Ibid, p.43). Nazis wanted to hide the reality of the persecution of Jews. During the Olympics, many spectators were impressed by all these constructions and statues. Swastikas were omnipresent and Hitler was only given compliments when German athletes won medals. Jesse Owens, a Black American, won a lot of gold medals and discredited the myth of the 'Aryan' athlete even if a majority of medals were won by German athletes. This Olympiad served the Nazi Regime to be admired for its discipline behaviour and the magnificent achievement of this Olympic ideal.⁶⁹

Hitler decided to create the biggest sport event: 'in a grandiose fashion, irrespective of the cost involved. Together with Goebbels, his Minister of Propaganda, they wanted to conquer world public opinion with the help of the Olympic Games – and stage the biggest sport show that the world had known thus far' (Krüger in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.87). Goebbels created a press group to send regular news to every country in the world before the event to promote the future Olympics in Berlin and for the first time: 'A torch relay was invented by Goebbels' staff to transport an Olympic flame from Mount Olympia to Berlin so that attention could be focused on Berlin in the last days before the Games, and also show that the Nazi regime respected the ancient Olympic tradition' (Ibid p.88). Germany obtained a lot of medals and finished first in the rank of the medal table. Germany explained that their athletes were really supported by the state to obtain the best results, regularly trained and high standard coached looking for the best 'scientific' performance. The propaganda was total because only German photographers could take pictures and Leni Riefenstahl filmed this Olympics to promote Nazi superiority.⁷⁰

One example of the Nazi's policy of sport was the mysterious death of the Austrian football superstar: Matthias Sindelar. Austria had a fabulous team between 1931 and 1938, called the 'Wonder Team', which started to win a lot of international matches. Sindelar was the

⁶⁹ Guttman, A. 1984, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, Columbia University Press, New York, pp.62-81 and Guttman, A. 1992, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, pp.53-71 in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 3 pp.31-47

⁷⁰ Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.87-89

best striker of the team, always playing with elegance and fabulous style. In 1938, Austria was qualified for the World Cup in France but was occupied by Nazi Germany. The Austrian players were assigned to play in the 'Great German' team. Sindelar refused to play for Germany and was against the policy of persecution of Austrian Jews (He had the perfect Aryan look). Austria and Germany played a last game to celebrate the 'Anschluß' or reunification before only one team would play for the World Cup. Sindelar, captaining of the 'old Austria', was fabulous for his last game and scored two goals against the new Austro-German. Even warned before the game to not score and win, Sindelar scored once and won the game with his team; and it became a huge affront for the German leaders. He was asked again to play for the 'Great German' team but there was no way he could do this and tried to find excuse like his old age or injuries not to be a player. His refusal to play took time to be accepted by the German coach. Sindelar was really loved by the public and he became a legend for his political opposition to Nazi Germany. His strange and mysterious death in 1939 made him a myth. Sindelar anniversary's death is celebrated nowadays in Vienna's former club and by the Austrian team. ⁷¹

Arnd Krüger explained that after the end of the Olympics, Jews started to be persecuted and expelled from all sports organisations in 1938. Some heads of the German organisation gave up their jobs. Sports organisations were financed and controlled by the Nazi Party. Until the end of the peace period and at the beginning of the war, German teams were having international meetings sports to 'maintain an air of normality'. Hitler started the war and he wanted to see if the 'system of physical education' was efficient in the preparation of German soldiers. Von Tschammer, the Nazi leader of the sport organisation, ordered that German should continue to do sport: 'being an indispensable condition for the education of youth for military readiness' ⁷² (cited in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.90). Germany continued to have sports meetings with neutral countries during the war and hosted some Boxing and Cycle race tournaments inside the country. The IOC was in a trouble situation, Hitler wanted to control it and the president Baillet-Latour decided to froze the activities of the IOC during the war. Until 1944, all the sports competitions took place in Germany, proud to represent the German nation. ⁷³

⁷¹ 'Matthias Sindelar - The Magic of Soccer, Politics And Death' April 1998, *Austrian Information*, Washington, D.C. Volume 51, No.4, [online] Available: [2004, November 20] <http://www.austria.org/oldsite/apr98/sindelar.html>

⁷² Von Tschammer, H. 1939, *Sport der inneren Front. NS-Sport* (1) 17 Sept., 15. in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.90

⁷³ Krüger, A. *The Role of sport in German international politics, 1918-1945* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.89-93

3.1.1.2 Spain

Sports became very popular in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century for its healthy way to strengthen a man, encouraged by medias, trying to create well-built and strong generations. It was the Spanish Championship and the King's Cup which really started to make football popular. After many years of championships, it was clear that a link between regionalism and football was created. By example, the Basque region took the decision to have only Basques players in their team 'Athletic de Bilbao'. Catalonia asserted itself as a region through football before the civil war with the Barcelona's team: 'In June 1925, the military governor of Barcelona closed Les Corts Stadium for six months after supporters had whistled at and booed the Spanish royal march' (1998, p.104).⁷⁴

Teresa Gonzalez Aja⁷⁵ explained that the Spanish Republic was opposed in 1936 to help athletes to the participation or funds at the Olympics. Therefore, Spain was prevented from participating to the Berlin Olympics. On the other hand, the Popular Olympics was programmed in Spain for workers from all over the world in 1936. A problem with the military revolt in Spanish Morocco stopped the Games and foreign sportsmen were asked to leave the country.⁷⁶

Franco came in power in 1936 and stayed until his death in 1975. His reign, by the end of the civil war, became the only charismatic image against communism. Franco was depriving Spain of democratic values, only the Church and nationalism were his values. Franco did not want to follow Hitler or Mussolini grandeur on sport after their defeat, Aja argued that: 'Franco understood the need to abandon the Fascist image of his regime. And with regard to the specific sports question, Franco was never willing to spend money on it, like Hitler or Mussolini' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.105). The Falange was created in 1933 and Franco gave them responsibility and the promotion of Spanish sport in 1941. The aim of this party was close to the Italian's ideology: 'the defense of Christian values against the peril of Marxism' (Ibid p.105). The National Sports Delegate introduced some new symbolic changes and particularly in football, following Falangist institution's ideas: 'he changed the customary red shirts of the national football team to blue, and instituted the Fascist salute by athletes

⁷⁴ Aja, T.G. *Spanish sports policy in Republican and Fascist Spain* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.102-104

⁷⁵ Ibid pp.97-112

⁷⁶ Ibid p.98

at the beginning of competitions' (Ibid p.106). All the leaders of the sport movement in Spain failed in the national team's results. Except the Real Madrid who won a lot of success but it was with the help of international football stars.⁷⁷

In 1939, the final of the Spanish championship revealed the new desire of the dictator to develop a sport policy. Both teams were making the Fascist salute with the Falangist battle hymn. It was a way to promote the 'New Spain' and promoted 'Hispanic values of virility, impetuosity and fury'. The defeat of Axis' countries was a good reason for Franco to change the image of a fascist state. He decided to remove some fascist ideas and Falangist symbols. But only the symbols disappeared, the Falangist leaders still controlled everything during a long time. In the 1950's, the Falangist was less implied in sport because only big clubs of Football created big stadiums and invested to attract and maintain Spanish' dreams. Aja argued that: 'Real Madrid is considered to be the team which most helped the regime to improve its poor image abroad' (Ibid p.110). Regionalism was also full of conflicts, and some football clubs like FC Barcelona, Athletic de Bilbao and Real Sociedad de San Sebastian were demonstrating opposition to Franco. Barcelona and the Catalans had a pacific opposition and Bilbao and the Basques had a violent opposition with ETA. Franco suppressed the Basque and Catalan official institutions, symbols, the flags, the languages taught at school. Franco realised too late after this success of region how football was politicized and how much different regional independent or opposing people of the regime had promoted in stadium their ideas without state's control.⁷⁸

3.1.1.3 Italy

Angela Teja⁷⁹ explained the international relations under Italian fascism. At the beginning of the 1920's, sport was considered essentially like a physical activity. It was also used for training military skills for their army, scientifically organized by professors for every age between 10 to 18 years old. In 1926, the National Fascist Party (PNF) decided to control sport and physical education. They realised that young people were easily taken into the world of sport and they could teach them moral and political ideas at the same time.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Aja, T.G. *Spanish sports policy in Republican and Fascist Spain* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.104-108

⁷⁸ Ibid pp.109-112

⁷⁹ Teja, A. 1995, *Italian sport and international relations under fascism* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 9 pp.147-167

⁸⁰ Ibid pp.147-149

The priority was not to create an elite in sport but to increase the general level of physical activities in the population. The change came in 1929, when a 'Carta dello sport' (sports charter) transformed the strategy of the state. Some victories in students competitions permitted to make the Italian sports leaders aware to continue in this way. At this time, all the federations were controlled in Rome by Mussolini. Mussolini started to launch the project to organize the Olympics in Rome: 'the Games were considered important for enlightening the nation, its athletes and its politics. [...] Italy would show its organizational ability' (Teja in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.155).⁸¹

The change of direction was politically clear, with new sports and increasing sports events, Mussolini wanted to demonstrate the domination of Italy on their neighbours. Mussolini was aware that victories could increase his popularity and demonstrate the superiority of Italian athletes: 'Sport was then a tool to promote abroad [...] the superiority of their race. A gold medal in any discipline at the Olympic Games, or in the Tour de France, was more important than a thousand diplomatic acts, and to celebrate victory meant to celebrate Italy and fascism' (Teja in Arnaud & Riordan 1998; p.156). The prestigious accomplishment for Mussolini was to win Olympics titles, increasing the prestige of the nation. Mussolini also used sport to improve diplomatic strategy. Football match or cycling were used to reinforce links with France and Italians living in the south of France. Italy did not have the attribution to organize Olympics but Mussolini organized the World University Games in Turin to promote fascism and Italian superiority.⁸²

Teja argued that the mass media played a big role in the propaganda success and popularity of the Duce. He was considered like the father of the new sport's victories. He was present in different sport pictures in the press to promote sport activities. The press media used xenophobic articles and it was really helpful to promote fascism. The other tool was the radio to promote 'political propaganda'. The newspapers were still the best vehicle to promote myths around Italian athletes. Italian champions became a real show for a large public. The Olympics became really popular in 1934 and sport was an essential tool of foreign policy. The same year, the National Olympic Committee (CONI) created two awards for athletic and sporting merit. Mussolini himself chose the award with the advice of the president of the CONI. Mussolini gave funds to the Olympic Committee to improve training. In June 1934, the

⁸¹ Teja, A. (1995) 'Italian sport and international relations under fascism' in Arnaud, P. and J. Riordan (1998): 'Sport and International Politics', London: E & FN Spon pp.151-155

⁸² Ibid pp.156-159

most popular sport in Italy won the World Cup in Rome. Football became the sport number one in people's heart. Mussolini made a famous speech for all the athletes of Italy, incited them to have courage and to well represent the honour and prestige of the nation. All the investments to build stadiums and swimming pools were made to put Italian athletes in the finest condition of training and win victories abroad for the prestige of the state. The war in Ethiopia in 1935 made a change in international sports meetings. The opponents were chosen with a lot of precaution and in priority against countries who did not decide to take sanctions against Italy. The sporting press supported the Duce and remembered to everyone what the Italian athletes needed to compete abroad against loyal competitors: 'comradeship, solidarity, mutual support, sincere relationships, chivalry' (Teja in Arnaud & Riordan, p.163). Italy did not accept to participate to the World Athletics Championships held in Budapest in 1935. ⁸³ The CONI General Council argued on 7 November 1935 that: 'Italy prefers the sincerity of foreign friends. Italian sport must develop international relations with other countries. [...] Nevertheless, a strong policy of sanctions [taken in the other countries] is trying to destroy Italy's vitality in sport relations. Fascist Italy should offer friendship only to the most worthwhile people. Such relations [...] cannot be maintained when international friendship is manipulated by insidious and unfair interests.' (Ibid p.164) ⁸⁴

The Olympic Games in Berlin was a perfect place to show the world Italian superiority and overcome sanctions. The impressive results gave national pride and demonstrated to the world how Italian athletes were trained. In 1938, the soccer World Cup in Paris was another fantastic success for Italy but clear opposition from anti-fascist and Italian refugees in France was heard. In 1937, Vienna was hosting the World Student Championships, and Italy received the same message of protest, forced Italy to leave from this organisation. The same year, Italy left the League of Nations. The new trend of Mussolini was to shift the policy of sport to gymnastics to military activities. The expedition in Ethiopia and the help to Franco in Spain gave a new ally: Hitler. The military and physical training of young people were clearly the new objective. Some people opposed to this change in sport policy were dismissed. Some countries tried to reproduce the Italian nationalist propaganda and training for athletes. But not only fascist states were interested in this Italian success, there are also

⁸³ Teja, A. 1995, *Italian sport and international relations under fascism* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.159-164

⁸⁴ Cronache radiofoniche dello sport, CONI ed., in *Annuario italiano dello Sport*, p.123 in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.164

some democratic states who were interested. Italy had a fantastic system which provided sports facilities to all the population, from childhood to university until the militia.⁸⁵

3.1.2 Communist states

James Riordan investigated the sports policy in the Soviet Union period between 1917 and 1928. He noted that, this period was the beginning of the new communist policy. The Soviet leaders were rejected everything from the west and the bourgeois sport was boycotted, specially the Olympics Games. Football was the only popular sport which was considered like a proletarian sport and not a bourgeois one. But it was much more complex to define why they were allowed to play in a sport or in another. For example, chess was considered like a bourgeois sport but soviets players could won tournament and then represent the proletarian players winning over bourgeois masters. The Red Sports international (RSI) was created in 1921 to promote relationship between workers and peasants through sports in all the different countries. Another group was created, the Worker Sport International (WSI) by Belgian, French and German social democrats to avoid sport from being political. The RSI protested that it incited workers to forget class struggle. In 1925, the WSI opened the First World Worker Olympics but Moscow did not accept to let the RSI athletes join this competition and they created their own event in 1928, 'the First Worker Spartakiad' to demonstrate 'proletarian internationalism' through sport, in opposition with the 'bourgeois Olympics'. A dozen countries participated at this Olympics, with ceremonies and folk-music.

⁸⁶

The second period took place after this worker Olympics in Moscow, from 1928 to 1939. The aim of the USSR was to be stronger against capitalistic countries. The mid-1939s were difficult for both organisations, the WSI was wrecked by Hitler and the RSI was limited to the USSR. The Soviet policy was to play with capitalistic states to oppose against fascists states. The two leagues of workers were able to play together and the Soviets asked to all the workers to boycott the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The principal aim for the Soviet leaders was to maintain good relations with neighbours. Sport became a good way to have diplomatic and propagandist communications. The Soviet Union sportsmen were good at Football and played a lot of games with their neighbours: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Persia.

⁸⁵ Teja, A. 1995, *Italian sport and international relations under fascism* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.210-218

⁸⁶ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.67-70

Political instructions were ordered to players of Soviet Union: 'no Soviet team [could] humiliate its Turkish rival. [...] The inevitable conclusion was that Soviet teams played under instructions to lose, draw or to win by a margin that would not offend Turkish national pride' (1998, p.75). Other countries like Afghanistan, China, Korea, Mongolia and eastern Europe (Poland, Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia) played against USSR to maintain good regional relations.⁸⁷

The last period, argued James Riordan was the close relation between the communist and the fascist state from 1939 to 1941. The secret pact of non-aggression between Berlin and Moscow in 1939 changed the policy of the USSR. The new political line was to remove all the anti-fascists expressions. A lot of exchange of athletes came in both countries: 'German fencers, swimmers, gymnasts, soccer teams, track and field athletes and tennis players came to the Soviet Union, while Soviets gymnasts, swimmers and weightlifters all competed in Germany' (Ibid p.76). Riordan said finally that the Soviet leadership was controlling sport like a tool of the foreign policy.⁸⁸

John Hoberman demonstrated how Staline used Sport to promote pride in the Soviet population. All the Soviet towns built a large number of statues of athletes and stadiums. This ideology of sport was dominant in communist policy.⁸⁹

3.1.3 Democratic States

3.1.3.1 England

David Russell (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.22) explained that the General strike of 1926 in England was counterbalanced by the song 'Abide with Me' to reconstruct a sensation of national unity. It became rapidly the British most popular hymn in football stadium. English nationalism through football became more and more dangerous with time: violence, racism, hooliganism. The popular press helped football to become one essential part of nationalism.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.70-76

⁸⁸ Ibid pp.76-77

⁸⁹ Hoberman, J.M. 1984, *Sport and Political Ideology*, Heinemann Educational, London, Chapter 8 *Sport in the Soviet Union: Stalinization and the New Soviet Athlete* pp.190-191

⁹⁰ Russell, D. *Associating with Football: Social Identity in England 1863-1998* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, p.22

In the 1930's, according to Richard Holt (Holt in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.52), the British Government started to be interested in sport: 'Why, in particular, did [...] politicians and diplomats, who shaped British foreign policy, suddenly take a new interest in football and other sports?' (1998, p.52). This consciousness and sudden interest in sport showed how British government wanted to react against Mussolini. Mussolini was claiming that Italian football team was the best of the world and pretending that they would win the World Cup in Rome in 1934. The British Government and France wanted to make a secret agreement with Italy against Hitler's threat. The revelation of this potential pact and this arrogance of Italy on the football field made the British people decided against it. 'The Battle of Highbury' between England and Italy was considered by journalists like 'the most brutal and dangerous ... international match played in this country for several decades' ⁹¹ due to all this violence and injuries during this symbolic match. Britain was conscious of this opposition in the public opinion. ⁹²

In 1935, the British team was invited to play against the German Nazi team. The left-wing press was scandalized by this game and reproached the Government for this game. At the beginning, the Foreign Office did not want to be involved against its will in sport. The Home Office did not want to cancel the game because it would be considered like a provocation by the Germans and was annoyed to protect 10000 fans of Nazi movements against British protesters. The press remarked that it was the first time that the Home Office and the Foreign Office were involved in sport games. The protesters argued that: 'Britain should not be seeking to have friendly sporting contact with a regime using a systematic policy of racial and political persecution and that Britain's place in the civilized world would be damaged' (Holt in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.55). The Government had to deal with a fear of a possible march of the Nazi youth before the game. It was the first time, sport and politics were combined together in England. Hopefully, no incidents were known and England won the game 3-0 for the satisfaction of the crowd. The Foreign Office had chosen the good strategy: 'Britain did not offend powers through sport and kept the British Government well away from direct involvement' (1998, p.58). ⁹³

⁹¹ Holt, R. and Mason 1994, *Le football, le fascisme et la politique étrangère britannique: L'Angleterre, l'Italie et l'Allemagne* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.52

⁹² Ibid pp.52-53

⁹³ Ibid pp.53-58

The issue of the participation of England for the 1936 Olympics in Berlin was also a problem. The campaign of boycott was weaker in France or in the United States. The British Government had been embarrassed by this previous football game and did not want to see the same problem in the British-German relations as well for the Olympic Games. But the German delegation invited the Prime Minister for a dinner with the British Olympic Association and a naval visit in Germany was organised for the Admiralty, at the same time Germany was reoccupying the Rhineland. The Berlin Olympics was satisfactory for England and it did not show the superiority of German as they had thought before. But British were impressed by this mass sport youth culture, developed for paramilitary training and national motivation.⁹⁴

The most famous sign of the politicisation of football is the demand of the Foreign Office to the players of England to make the Nazi salute in Berlin in 1938. Football became really quick a symbol of pride and prestige in the popular press, like the Daily Mirror explaining why it would be important to win the Italian team world champion, for the nation prestige.⁹⁵

3.1.3.2 France

According to Pierre Arnaud⁹⁶, France was also a country that used sport as a political tool: 'sport became a means of gauging the energy and greatness of nations. It was used as an instrument of propaganda, as well as a means of excluding or ostracizing other countries. The so-called democratic states were the first to use sports to these ends' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.114). The after war period offered a good opportunity to break sports relations with 'defeated' countries of the last war. One year after the First World War, the Joint Allied Games of 1919 was organized for allied of the war. The goal of this game was to promote good relations and friendship between the USA, France and the other victorious states. Another goal was to: 'glorify pacifism and civilization in the face of those who represented barbarism – the defeated nations' (Ibid p.115). The Antwerp Olympic Games in 1920 were organized without the participation of the defeated nations. During 1920 and 1924, 84 international events were boycotted by France even against Allied countries like England or

⁹⁴ Holt, R. and Mason 1994, *Le football, le fascisme et la politique étrangère britannique: L'Angleterre, l'Italie et l'Allemagne* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.58-60

⁹⁵ Russell, D. *Associating with Football: Social Identity in England 1863-1998* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.24

⁹⁶ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London Chapter 8 pp.114-142

Belgium. The international events were dependent on the good will of the foreign policy of the state.⁹⁷

In 1920, the French Government created a Department for sport attached to the Ministry of Public Education. Its aim was: 'a response to the desire to promote top level sport as a means of restoring the image of France in the eyes of the rest of the world' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.116). Even if the battle had been won, the sport fields needed more symbolic victories. France became the first country to help and finance athletes officially for international sport events. Some publication explained clearly that French victories were the best ambassadors to promote a shining France all over the British Empire and in the USA: 'George Carpentier's victory in the world boxing championship, together with Suzanne Lenglen's victory in the world lawn-tennis championships [...] have caused a great sensation [...] The political newspapers and numerous journals in England and America related these three events in very long, generously illustrated articles'⁹⁸ (cited in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.118). The French population was conscious of these symbolic victories of athletes: 'The athletes were compared to ambassadors or representatives of French culture and genius in the same way as artists, novelists and couturiers were' (Ibid p.118). All the international sports events were granted by the government for improving the image of France rather than political speeches. Henri Desgranges⁹⁹ argued that the cost of this help for athletes was less expensive than 'commercial, industrial scientific and artistic missions as a means of spreading French propaganda and influence abroad' (cited in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.119).¹⁰⁰

France had a list of teams of other nations against which athletes could not play. The opinion was divided on whether France should play against Germany. Both sides wanted peace, but each position was drastically opposed. On the one hand, playing against Germany was a sign of peace between both nations. On the other hand, Germany could take revenge against France in sports events. Progressively, the French Government was more focused on the communists' threat, inside the country with the French Communist Party and outside with

⁹⁷ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.114-116

⁹⁸ Diplomatic Archives of Nantes, SOFE, no.85. cited in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.118

⁹⁹ *L'Auto*, 18 August 1925 cited in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.119

¹⁰⁰ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.116-119

the Soviet Union. Soviet athletes could not go to France without a visa and the consent of the French government.¹⁰¹

Debates and discussions were abundant, in the press, in the population and different federations to know if France should play against Germany. For example, the sport car industry lost money if they did not participate to major grand prix, increasing the prestige of the car make outside its borders. German athletes were forbidden to be on the French soil but some secret competitions were held between German and French athletes abroad. These competitions in some federations were more in favor of a political perspective than an economical one. Progressively, some countries like Austria, Bulgaria or Turkey were accepted in 1924 Paris Games but not Germany, but it was not so easy: 'the French Olympic Committee sent a list of 54 countries [...] Germany, Austria, Russia, Hungary and Bulgaria were included on this list, but it was modified on orders from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Head of Government' (Ibid p.130). The German press blamed France for betraying the Olympic spirit of fair play, pacifism, sports without politics and peace among nations.¹⁰²

According to Arnaud, France gradually changed its position towards Germany. The French army left the Ruhr region in 1925 and Germany joined the League of Nations in 1926. Naturally, international sports events with both teams were accepted, with Allied countries and defeated rivals. Between 1925 and 1927, a lot of sport competitions took place but the most popular of them, football had to wait until March 1931 to be played at the Colombes stadium in front of 55000 people. A lot of questions were asked to the French government. The problem was that the national anthem was played by military bands, so France hesitated to play the national anthem of an enemy. This first football game between France and Germany was the event of the year for many newspapers increased by international articles. This match became symbolic and: 'Jules Rimet, Chairman of the French Federation of Association Football and of the FIFA spoke of passion that this match had sparked, stressing in particular the peacemaking role of sport' (Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.135). In 1934, Hitler chose the *Deutschland über alles* to be played before every game. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to let this anthem be played but not by a military band. The position of the French government was weak but the choice was narrow. France did not realise what was really happening in Germany with Hitler and they participated to the 1936

¹⁰¹ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.120-122

¹⁰² Ibid pp.122-130

Berlin Olympics, and accepted Germany and Italy for the 1938 football World Cup in Paris.
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Accusing Hitler's policy in sport was seen like a communist denunciation. France continued her policy of friendship with Germany until October 1938 even if the reservists were being called. In December 1938, the Minister of Foreign Affairs allowed with difficulty to send some teams but only with a victory perspective. At the same time, the Italian public made a strange impression on journalists after the victory of Italy: 'The press was deeply disturbed by the explosive atmosphere which had marked Italy's victory. Never had they witnessed such an excess of fanaticism, such an absence of the most basic rules of common courtesy, kindness and just plain sportsmanship' ¹⁰⁴ (cited in Arnaud & Riordan 1998, p.139). In April 1939, France's innocence changed and the French Federation of rugby cancelled a match with Germany and the Minister of Interior did the same with Football. Hitler refused to send some German athletes to take no risk but still authorized French athletes to come inside his territory. Some French athletes went to Munich in July 1939, two months before the war, they were supported enthusiastically by the crowd without detestation. This last sport meeting was a real good propaganda for Hitler to show his superiority and the decline of the French prestige. On the one hand, the left-wing press denounced this fascist use of sport by politicians and on the other hand, the right-wing press encouraged France to follow Germany and Italy in their models to construct strong athletes. ¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.132-138

¹⁰⁴ *Le Miroir des sports*, 6 December 1938 and 13 December 1938 in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London p.139

¹⁰⁵ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.138-140

3.2 SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN 1945 AND 2004

'We now have to face the reality that the Olympics constitute not only an athletic event but a political event' Peter Ueberroth, Former president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (1984) ¹⁰⁶

The aim of this chapter is to explain all the consequences of sport used by politicians. First, I will definitely close the debate on the relevance of sport and International Relations linked together. Then, I will show how much sport could be a fantastic tool for diplomacy and its limit. After that, I will explain that Football can sometimes be dangerous when it is not used wisely. And finally, I will illustrate the strange case of the German-England relation deteriorated by the British media.

3.2.1 Is Sport relevant to International Relations ?

3.2.1.1 Sport and political links

This part will deal with the implications of sport and political actors and why they are so involved in this process.

The ever-lasting debate about sport and political links is discussed by Trevor Taylor. Many people would like sport to be apolitical. The scholars of International Relations are focused only on 'an inter-state struggle for security and power' (in Allison 1986, p.29). The relations with states are huge: economic, social, cultural. Governments are always involved with sports. ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ cited in Coakley, J.J. 1994, *Sport in society : Issues and Controversies* , 5th Edition Mosby, Missouri, St Louis, Chapter 14 *Sport and Politics : can they be kept separate ?*

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, T. *Sport and International Relations: A case of mutual neglect* in Allison, L. 1986, *The Politics of Sport*, Manchester University Press, Manchester. Chapter 2 pp.27-29

In International sport events, nations are represented by athletes, trying to show the power and superiority of the country. It is a harmless and safer instrument than a war. The international contests like Olympics are less humiliating than a single bilateral match because every teams will lose some matches and win some others. The example of the two China and Cuba to be closer to the West through sport is certain. When USSR invaded Afghanistan, it was boycotted by several states (at the Moscow Olympics). The USSR sent some coaches to help communist states to improve their sporting results. They sent weak teams to the Third World to help them to feel pride defeating a big sport nation. Cuba volleyball team was very strong and when they won against the USA, Castro called this 'a sporting, psychological, patriotic and revolutionary victory'.¹⁰⁸

According to Barrie Houlihan (2003, p.2), it was not common for governments to be concerned with sports in the 50s and 60s. Nowadays, nearly all states have a sports' policy. Sports are used as a wonderful and powerful tool for social, economic and diplomatic relations.¹⁰⁹ Political institutions interact with sport events for their particular goals. For example in 1996, the UK government gave £120m to help reconstruct of the Wembley National Stadium. Populism is the main reason of this help; football fans represent a lot of potential votes. This new national stadium is a means to show that they can host a major sport competition like the Olympic Games or the football World Cup. Tony Blair knows that a big sport event is good for the economy, the creation of jobs, tourism income and the development of the host town.¹¹⁰ Sport is also a real instrument for International Relations. Ian Henry argued that it could be used like a 'tool for cementing international relations' with the 'ping-pong diplomacy of Richard Nixon re-establishing relations with China'.¹¹¹

Governments have many reasons to be involved in sport.

- The first reason is to maintain and protect public order. The government enforces the law, defends liberties and prohibits illegal acts. During sporting events with high risk or overcrowded stadiums, the police is present to calm passions, secure access to the stadium and to prevent tensions between both camps of supporters.

¹⁰⁸ Taylor, T. *Sport and International Relations: A case of mutual neglect* in Allison, L. 1986, *The Politics of Sport*, Manchester University Press, Manchester. Chapter 2 pp.37-39

¹⁰⁹ Houlihan, B. 2003, *Sport and Society*, Sage Publications, London. p.2

¹¹⁰ Coakley, J.J. 1994, *Sport in society : Issues and Controversies* , 5th Edition Mosby, Missouri, St Louis, Chapter 14 *Sport and Politics : can they be kept separate ?* pp.31-37

¹¹¹ Ibid p.340

- The second reason is to promote sport facilities to diminish health problems among the population. In industrial countries, there is a high rate of people suffering from overweight. This policy of sport contribute to improve citizen's fitness and to reduce health problems and medical costs.
- The third reason is to promote the prestige of a group, a community or a Nation. Many governments have understood the power and the prestige of a medal won in the Olympics, giving them financial helps to encourage their efforts. Local governments underline the victories of local team to promote the advantages of their regions or towns.
- The fourth reason is to promote a sense of identity, belonging and unity. Emotional unity is created during sport events, making the different members of the society closer. Regional sport events bring people together, they can meet, exchange feelings and thought about their teams, federating them behind one team. The people seem to belong to the same group, sharing an emotional unity, during the time of a game. These common values are used to unify the region rather than promote cultural diversity of minorities.
- The fifth reason is to develop values within dominant political ideology. The elite sport is sponsored by some governments to develop the values these states want to promote to the citizen such as discipline, loyalty, (etc..). The Soviet Union developed the values of collectivism, teamwork, common aims and comradeships.
- The last reason is to increase citizen support of political leaders and government itself. The sport is used to create support and associate politicians to victory. The affection of citizen increased with politician interested in sport, making them closer to the population. Politicians often congratulate winners of major sport events. Former president Reagan always associated his image with winners of Olympics.¹¹²

The US boycott for Moscow Olympics can be considered only like *public diplomacy*, created to influence public opinion on *secondary* national interests that are not vital to the state. The war is not concerned, only prestige and reputation are pointed out.¹¹³ Events like Olympics are made in such a way that nations compete with each other to win more medals than the others. It is not the best way to increase friendship among nations. Athletes holding flags can be judged arrogant creating a gap in international understanding and harmony. Athletes defining themselves in term of national identity can create hostile relationships. Relationships

¹¹² Coakley, J.J. 1994, *Sport in society : Issues and Controversies* , 5th Edition Mosby, Missouri, St Louis, Chapter 14 *Sport and Politics : can they be kept separate ?* pp.359-368

¹¹³ Ibid p.375

will be better if media focus on individuals rather than nation, and attribute victories to individuals only.¹¹⁴

3.2.1.2 Football as a tool for diplomacy

This chapter deals with the way football can be used to help diplomacy or establish some good relations. It will be the positive aspects.

According to Philippe Baudillon, football has a real impact on diplomat's meetings, especially in Africa. He explained that one day, when he was a diplomat; he had a meeting in an African country. The African president wanted to watch the World Cup match between France and Germany before the meeting. All the problems between this African state and France were solved after this game. This type of event like the World Cup has a real impact on states.¹¹⁵

Marcellin Dally, from UNESCO Youth and Sport Activities department, explained that UNESCO used football and other sports for diplomatic virtues. UNESCO is a special group of the United Nations dealing with science and culture. This is the only department of this organization which is able to manage events for physical education and sport. UNESCO observed that in their independence period, third world countries used football for political struggle. It was a weapon for their fight for independence and then a means to be admitted among the other nations. With this policy, they could inform the international community and public opinion on their social, economical and political situation. In 1976, the UNESCO summit in Africa held by states like Algeria, Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria and helped by France permitted to counterbalance a new world sport order. In fact, Africans team have difficulty having access to the international sport sphere of high competition and they wished to attract public opinion on this iniquity. The boycott of South Africa for its anti-apartheid policy permitted African states to obtain a new intergovernmental organization for African sport as well as in the third world states. An organization, it was created to help physical education and sport in the third world and an international fund system was also developed. In the 80's, Gambia was hit by a difficult social and political situation. When this problem was

¹¹⁴ Coakley, J.J. 1994, *Sport in society : Issues and Controversies* , 5th Edition Mosby, Missouri, St Louis, Chapter 14 *Sport and Politics : can they be kept separate ?* pp.370-372

¹¹⁵ Baudillon, P. *Valeurs et Puissance du Football Contemporain* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel p.113

solved, thanks to a woman belonging to UNESCO, women could start participating to sport activities. It was a means to change public opinion on the discrimination of women. ¹¹⁶

Tensions in the Yugoslavian stadium in 1990 between the Croats and the Serbs were a warning of the incoming war. The tensions came from the Second World War, and in 1990 the Serbs were still accusing the fascist Croats of mass execution. Croatia has exempted the best football players from joining the Croatian army. Yugoslavia was banned from the European football competition in Sweden 1992. It was a means to impose sanctions against Yugoslavia without military risks. The Serb population was really disappointed, excluded from the international community, and even more upset when Denmark won the trophy in Sweden. Denmark was invited at the last minute instead of the Yugoslavian team. However in 1994, the Allied armies played a game in Sarajevo to promote peace with the Serb population. In 1998, the Yugoslavian team could have been excluded from the football World Cup if they had not negotiated with the Albanian population inside Kosovo. Of course, it is easier to sanction a weak country, but more difficult with a country like Russia and the Chechnya problem. The FIFA association sometimes comes to help the UN, for example with the Palestine football team. In 1998, it wanted to organize a match between Israel and the Palestine teams, but this game was postponed to a future date. ¹¹⁷ Palestine was recognized in 1996 by the FIFA and is playing to be qualified for the 2006 World Cup in Germany. ¹¹⁸

In 2004, Brazil played in Haiti to promote peace. The last World Cup's winning team went to Port-au-Prince and offered a fantastic show for the enthusiastic and excited crowd. The Brazilian team was warmly welcomed all along the roads, escorted by UN peacekeepers. Haiti was in an intern conflict due to a revolt that forced the government to resign in February. The new president of Brazil, Lula da Silva asked his team to play easy and not to score too many goals for this goodwill mission and keep a good morale to Haitians. This football diplomacy started helping Haitians to enjoy and it decreased tensions in the country. Haiti's interim Prime Minister, Gerard Latortue, said: 'the match was a game for peace and to promote national reconciliation'. ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Dally, M. *L'utilisation du Football par l'UNESCO* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.99-102

¹¹⁷ Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.20-21

¹¹⁸ 'Palestine's Football pride', *BBC News*, July 2004, [Online], Available :

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3834193.stm [2004, November 18]

¹¹⁹ Kingstone, S. (2004, August 19) 'Brazil takes on football-crazy Haiti', BBC, [online] Available : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3575292.stm> [2004, November 23]

3.2.1.3 Football as a political weapon

This chapter will deal with the danger Football can have when badly used by some politicians. It will be the negative side. Some example will explain that football is not the genuine cause but it can trigger dangerous reactions.

Pascal Boniface is the Director of IRIS, the *Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques*¹²⁰ (Institute for Strategy and International Relations), in France. He explained why Football is a normal and relevant subject such as nuclear proliferation, enlargement of NATO or the financial crisis in Asia. Football is not only a simple leisure that you practise in your spare time; it also has a social, political, cultural, economical and diplomatic interest all over the world. Nowadays, you cannot limit your research of international relations only to diplomatic relations between states. Football spread gradually all over the world, from town to town, like a friendly empire, until it created this superpower, Brazil, and other states that wanted to challenge this superpower. Football can easily be seen like a parallel of international relations but the main difference is that never was a power so much appreciated and never did it arouse such a universal sympathy. Even if the United Nations organisations has 191 states¹²¹, the FIFA has more members, 205 associations¹²² like Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, and Palestine (etc.). The representation of nations for the World Cup seems more 'fair', every country is treated as equal by the UN. But the business of football also increased the inequality north/south or rich/poor countries, the best players from Africa, South Africa or Asia go to the best European clubs. It also creates universal standards like famous football players, Ronaldo, Zidane or Beckham. These icons sometimes become more famous than the president of their own state in people's mind.¹²³

Experts from International Relations have observed states are not the only actors, and that different international organisations, non-governmental organisations, multinationals firms, mafias, terrorist groups (etc.), play on the world stage. It is the same thing with football, lobbies, sponsoring firms, mafias, independent nationalists, supporters, regions and districts,

¹²⁰ 'Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques', IRIS, [Online], Available: <http://www.iris-france.org/pagefr.php3?fichier=fr/pages/accueil> [2004, November 23]

¹²¹ 'List of Member States' [Online] Available: <http://www.un.org/Overview/unmember.html> [2004, November 20]

¹²² 'Associations' [Online] Available: <http://www.fifa.com/en/organisation/na/index.html> [2004, November 20]

¹²³ Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.11-15

all of them influence the competitions. Football has unexpected consequence on international relations. An example is the end of the communist world. Former countries like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia have divided into many small countries which asked first to be members of the FIFA before entering the UN. The three pillars of a state have become four: a territory, a population, a government and a national team of football. This national team of football is a real strength and opportunity for the new nations and makes people feel members of them. The young nations, with a weak national feeling, could be help by good results in sport like Croatia. The Palestine team is playing to promote their fight to have an independent state nearby Israel. Even a survey for young British people has shown that they are first proud to be British when the England football team gets good results. Boniface argued that most of the wars are inside the countries and not any more between each other. Sport has become the last opportunity to confront directly states between each other. Wars between democratic states are forbidden, so shall we see more and more violence in the stadium? Nationalists passions are easily reactivated during international sports events.¹²⁴

The famous case of the game between El Salvador and Honduras in Mexico in 1969 started a real war. In the qualification league of South America for the World Cup 1970, Honduras won the first game 1-0 and lost the second game 0-3 in El Salvador. Two supporters from Honduras were killed and the border between the two states was closed. Some local militia expelled Salvadorian farmers from Honduras. El Salvador cancelled its diplomatic relations with Honduras. In Mexico, a last game was organized between Salvador and Honduras two weeks later to qualify the last South American state for the World Cup. Salvador won 3-2 against Honduras. The Honduras militia continued to chase Salvadorian immigrants. Two weeks later, the Salvador army declared the war and invaded Honduras for four days before a cease-fire was obtained by the Organization of American States with a retreat of the Salvadorian army. In fact, this war was not the result of a simple football game. The real causes were historical, social and political. Salvador has always been overcrowded, and a lot of people were flowing to Honduras, with a low density of population. Many Salvadorians settled illegally on the Honduras territory, creating tensions between the two countries. Honduras had the opportunity to unify the population against one enemy and make people forget the intern problems to solve the agrarian reform.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.15-19

¹²⁵ Ibid pp.19-20

Football is an image of the modern world but the spectacular show should not close our eyes. A football game can not deteriorate good relations between two friendly states or bring peace between two enemies that wanted to fight each other. Never was football the cause of the war between Honduras and Salvador or in Yugoslavia, and it cannot bring peace in the Palestine and Israel conflict. But it can be a tool to know if a situation is improving or damaging. Football is a small weapon which can improve the situation or destroy it. ¹²⁶

In 1978, Argentina hosted the World Cup; a dictator arrived and wanted to promote this regime. All the voices to boycott the World Cup were not heard from the national football teams. The players who had won their qualification by hard work did not want to cancel the World Cup and said that they were not interested in politics. The opponents to the regime were happy to host the World Cup; it gave them an opportunity to criticize the dictatorship in front of the world. The International press was writing about the massacres, tortures and murders ordered by Argentina Military Junta. In Mussolini's time, it was possible to promote fascist ideas, but not anymore nowadays with all the international Media and flow of information. The organisation of the World Cup 2002 in Japan and South Korea was unique in Asia. Japan is a new country in the football history, growing really fast, investing a lot of money in football. South Korea has a rich history in football, playing in many World Cups during the last fifty years. South Korea wanted to show its dominant power in Asian football and also achieve a symbolic bringing together with the northern part of Korea, and maybe reunify both Korea. This political choice of making two historical enemies organize the world cup was a symbolic step to settle friendship between these two historical enemies but it was also an economical choice for Japan. This idea to make a unified Korean team for the World Cup did not work but it still gives hope for the future. Of course, the FIFA cannot alone make the reunification of both Koreas or solve the problem Israel/Palestine just with a football game whereas the UN, the USA, Europe, Russia, the Pope and others failed. But it can create a better environment, influent in people's mind, but not essential. A last example of the relation between football and diplomacy can be illustrated when the French President Chirac went to South America in 1997 with the famous French former player Michel Platini. Football is so important in this part of the world that everyone knows that it could improve the prestige and the popularity of the French nation. The powers of nations become more and more symbolic in this globalisation world that football has increased its influent position in International Relations. ¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.22-23

¹²⁷ Ibid pp.24-27

Allison discusses the problem of sport utilization by politicians. Political actors use champions for their own image or to unify the people. One theory used by political actor, call 'bread and circuses', is used to divert the masses' focus on leisure, sport activities and not on social and political problems. Sociologist Joffre Dumazedier called sport as the 'opium of the people' (cited in Allison 1986, p.15). Social disorder, violence and hooliganism can be used also in sport. The original 'Derby' in football came from the constant problems in this town between the two teams. ¹²⁸

3.2.2 The strange case of Germany-England football relation

Peter J. Beck explained the strange relation of football between Germany and England. England's World Cup matches are an imposing show of national pride and unity in the British population. The red cross of St George flies everywhere in the country. This enthusiasm in the population is frightening for some people, soccer could be seen like a 'symptom of national decline'. All the emotions are expressed at the same time but it is exploited by nationalism. The relation between England and Germany is really good. Gerhard Schröder, the German federal Chancellor, and Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister, have warm and friendly relationships and the bilateral relations are excellent. However in 2000, Anthony Nicholls explained that the Anglo-German relationship was still tainted by quarrels. The British media used imagery of the world war to summarize the relation with Germany. These problems need to be carefully watched. The breach was between the 'predominantly harmonious official relationship and a relatively unsympathetic, frequently hostile, British media discourse about Germany' (Beck 2003, p.392). British people did not react on this Press behavior due to ignorance: 'the British people and media were still imprisoned in visions of Germany's Nazi past' (Ibid p.392). Sport can be seen as an 'instrument of soft power in a globalise world, capable of impacting both positively and negatively upon international relations and national prestige' (Ibid p.393). ¹²⁹

The last football matches from these years were like a revenge of the 1966 World Cup between England and Germany. The first game was felt by British people like a triumph even

¹²⁸ Allison, L. 1986, *The Politics of Sport*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, Chapter 1 *Sport and Politics* pp.14-15

¹²⁹ Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, pp.389-393

if England did not have a good result for the 2000 Euro. One month later, the result of not hosting the World Cup was depicted like a defeat 'outmaneuvered by their German rivals' (Beck 2003, p.394). Three months later, Germany won in the World cup qualifier in England and made the British population ashamed. The year later in 2001, England won with high class 5-1 on German soil and created a joyousness and pride inside the British population. Following this victory, the national mood was improving. This national experience, like a historical event, was like a tool to unify the British population against a foe. It is fantastic to observe that young people and popular support are attracted by national symbols especially when England football team is playing. Peter J. Beck wonders if all this reaction before and after the match are a result from 'nationalist overreaction', 'growing perceptions of decline (even inferiority)' and 'British arrogance' or 'old fashioned xenophobia' (Ibid p.396) against Germany. ¹³⁰

Germany is more seen like a 'former wartime enemy' than a rival for the economic issue in the European Union. Britons are frightened by the Germany hegemonic inclination inside Europe, always remembering the German history. It looks as if German history had stopped in 1945 and Britons ignored the rest of the 60 years following in this country. The Media and tabloid newspapers are writing with cliché when they speak about a foreign country including wartime imagery. It makes uneducated people ignorant of reality, believing simple story and mass media propaganda. ¹³¹

According to Eric Hobsbawm ¹³², international footballers are 'primary expressions of their imagined communities' engaged in a 'national struggle' in which political reflection is due to the structure of this competitive event. Even if football players represent themselves in a simple sport, in reality 'governments, the media and public opinion see players as representatives, embodying and projecting messages about national values and qualities across the globe' (Beck 2003, p.400) in a vast show broadcast on TV. Sport is a really easy vehicle to indoctrinate national feelings and pride, any individual can identify with the nation. This 'imagined community' looks real in the composition of the eleven football players fighting for their nation. Even *the Times* investigated in public opinion in 1996 after the

¹³⁰ Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, pp.394-396

¹³¹ Ibid pp.396-397

¹³² Hobsbawm, E. 1990, *Nations and nationalism since 1870: programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge p.143 in Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, p.400

victory of England over the Netherlands and wrote this analysis ¹³³ : 'In 90 minutes, and four goals, football has done what a thousand speeches by government ministers, and a hundred election promises by Tony Blair, have failed to do. England feels great about itself, almost invincible' (Ibid p.400). Not everyone agrees with this affirmation of link with football and national prestige like Brian Glanville ¹³⁴ : 'what correlation was there between kicking an inflated bladder between three wooden posts more times than one's opponents, and acquiring national prestige?' (Ibid p.401). British tabloids are really intelligent on provocation. *The Sun* wrote in 1990 just before the semi final World Cup game: 'We beat them in '45, we beat them in '66, now the battle of '90' (Ibid p.401), *The Sun* was referring to the Second World War and the only win of England for the World Cup in 1966, mixing and influencing sport into war. In 1994, the England-Germany match in Berlin was removed because it was exactly the anniversary of Hitler's birthday. ¹³⁵

The brainwash of the younger generation was proved by the lack of knowledge and history about Germany during the last sixty years due to media and popular rebuilding on history. For many Britons, young first, Germans can only be identified with Hitler or German sportsmen and women, with Beethoven and Einstein in the top ten. This survey on 1996 of the Goethe Institute has illustrated how low the level of Briton was and that sport was really influencing people's culture and knowledge. When Jürgen Klinsmann was playing in the team of Tottenham, he was like a sporting ambassador, recycling a wartime image into a positive view of German democracy. After sixty years, Germany has tried to face up the past and rebuild the nation on a stable democracy but England is still 'prisoner of the past' ¹³⁶. Even if the official British policy is respectful of Germany, British people have not finished showing their uncultured vision of the stereotypes polluting British-German relations. ¹³⁷

¹³³ The Times, 20 June 1996 (Tony Blair was then a leader of the opposition) in Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, p.400

¹³⁴ Glanville, B. 1969, *Soccer: a panorama*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London p.82 in Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, p.401

¹³⁵ Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, pp.400-401

¹³⁶ 'Prisoners of the past: Britain views of Germany harm us all', Guardian, 10 Dec 2002; Michael Burleigh, 'Don't let the Nazis occupy your mind', Sunday Times, 15 Dec 2002 in Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, p.410

¹³⁷ Beck, P.J. 2003, 'The relevance of the 'irrelevant' : football as a missing dimension in the study of British relations with Germany', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2 , Blackwell, pp.407-411

British people are not the only nation to practice stereotypes. The study of Liz Crolley, David Hand and Ralf Jeutter has proved that other European countries used this form of simplification to illustrate the spirit of other football teams. The clichés are regularly the same: 'English fighting spirit, Spanish toughness, French flair, and German efficiency' (Ibid p.109).¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Crolley, L. , Hand D. & Jeutter R. *Playing the Identity Card: Stereotypes in European Football* in Soccer and Society Vol. 1 No. 2 (2000), Frank Cass Publishers, pp.109-127

4. NATIONAL IDENTITY AND FOOTBALL

In this chapter, the complex problem of national identity will be discussed. First, I will show that football is a widespread activity (4.1.1 & 4.1.2). I will also discuss the national identity construction for developing states (4.1.3). The 'old nations' will rediscover what the origin of their nations are through football (4.1.4). Regional conflicts are often expressed through sport events (4.1.5). Fame and renown in the international sphere by the means of football are really easy, but can become dangerous with new media (4.1.6). The fight against racism and the integration of minorities are used by sport. We will discuss this issue specially in France (4.2). Finally, I will see if sporting events will be a help to diminish tensions and establish friendly relations (4.3).

4.1 CONSTRUCTION OF PEOPLE'S NATIONAL IDENTITY

4.1.1 Football as a social relation to unify people

Christian Bromberger stated that football is an image of social relation. In football, you can feel all the human feelings, happiness, torment, hatred, fear, admiration, unfairness. All these feelings, happiness and tragedy can change easily and suddenly; this explains why people love so much that sport. Football has this power of symbolising the idealisation of the society, with heroes fighting to become known and have a legitimate recognition for their work. The success belongs to each player who developed their own individualism, but the team spirit, the solidarity among players, the divided tasks, the collective strategy, are really important too. Each member of the team should have a special quality really specific to the position, and every fan can identify with one player. The complexity of the game and all the different criteria make this sport a real pleasure to watch, with the result uncertain until the last moment. A major team is never protected against the domination of a weaker one in theory. But we sometimes see players cheating even if the referees are carefully watching at the action. So even if football brings reward to individual and collective work, it can be changed by hazard and cheating. This sport can create and unify a real collective identity, and also create some nationalist ideas, internal conflicts, regional and national.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Bromberger, C. *Le Football, Phénomène de Représentation Collective* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.41-48

4.1.2 Football as a basic world dictionary

Pierre Brochand stated that football is the means to understand in a simple way the complexity of the world by every citizen through football matches on TV. Diplomats, experts, or leaders of firms were the few citizens to participate to international life. This international popularity gives the opportunity to a lot of people to be connected with the international world in its rich diversity. Although, football, with the national team, is the last and only place where you can speak freely, openly, and have the legitimate need of identification and national pride. Football is the only legal and legitimate substitute to inter-states open conflict. Much hooliganism and many tensions are expressed through football. We must mention Danes' fans who are the good image that football wants to show to promote friendly support. Africans and South America nations can play a big role in this football arena dominated by Europe. Before the Euro currency in 2001, the 'Bosman judgment' made a lot of Europeans realize the construction of the Europe Union. The liberal economy is also developed to extreme in football; players are exchanged like goods, sold and bought, forgetting their national identity and borders. Years after years, football is becoming a unequalled vector of image, international fame, for football players, towns, regions and nations. Even if the economy of the region is not good, football creates this wonderful image of success, like Manchester, Marseille, Saint Etienne (etc...) or promoted the national difference like the Catalans, Basques or Corsicans. All the leaders know that a good football national team will bring pride inside the country and promote a good image abroad. You benefit from this image only after the positive result of the game. The good example is the unpredictable behavior of Eric Cantona in the English league. Cantona gave France a huge advertising in England, but it was sometimes also negative when he behaved foolishly.¹⁴⁰

4.1.3 Construction of National Identity through Football For Emancipating Countries

I will deal with quite a lot of different countries where football is a help in their effort for emancipation. At the end of this paragraph, I will say a few words on the special position of this country: the United States.

¹⁴⁰ Brochand, P. *Economie, Diplomatie et Football* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.73-80

Ignacio Ramonet explained how much national passions are developed through football. Some people used this popular sport to promote their ideas with no links to football. We shall see what reactions were triggered on football stadium in Algeria, Iran, China.¹⁴¹ Football can be perceived sometimes like as substitute to the modern religion. It is definitely an amplifier of national passions. Players represent the virtues of the nation: loyalty, faithfulness, a spirit sacrifice, virility, job achievement, defence of territory, belonging to one community. All along the football match, the common culture of a town, a region or a nation joins everyone to the players: the hope of victory, the strength to conquer, frustrations, aggressiveness. Football also developed myths, collective imagination, patriotism and chauvinism. When an international match is coming, the symbolic war is described in the press with such words as: 'to attack', 'strike', 'to defence', 'to conquer', 'captain', 'territory', 'tactics', 'victory'. National anthems, flags, presence of the head of state are the symbol of the show close to the metaphoric war. Everywhere, there are some conflicts, football drives population to passions, reflect the violence of antagonism. The identification of a football team by a nation or ethnic community can create severe accidents, favoured by the popular fever and amplified by Media until absurdity like in Ireland.¹⁴²

4.1.3.1 Algeria

In 1990, the broadcast of the World Cup final on a giant TV screen in the big stadium of Algiers permitted the extremist Muslim to shout for their cause against the leaders of the country. It was not the first time that in Algeria, football and politics had been linked together. Before the independence of the state, an FLN team played abroad to send a message of autonomy to the French community. On the other hand, the Kabylie region in Algeria struggled against the State censure and promoted Berber nationalism throughout the local club of football. The hostile demonstrations at the end of each match pushed the regime to change the name of the club, but everyone knew that this club represented the Berber protest.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Ramonet, I. *Football et Passions Nationales* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.55-57

¹⁴² Ramonet, I. *Football et Passions Nationales* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.55-61

¹⁴³ Ibid pp.55-57

4.1.3.2 Iran

In Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei wanted to cancel all the sports activities but Football was too popular. At the beginning in the 80's, football supporters took the opportunity to protest against the new leader due to anonymity of the crowd. ¹⁴⁴

4.1.3.3 China

In China, many incidents happened after football matches in May 1998 to protest against inequality born from the new reforms. In this way, the young unemployed were expressing their discontent. ¹⁴⁵

4.1.3.4 Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, some games are played on a neutral field to avoid violence between Protestants and Catholics. These conflicts are present also in England and in Scotland. The United Kingdom is the only state which has the permission given by the FIFA to play with four teams: Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and England. These confrontations are really violent and create the phenomena of hooliganism. The hooligans are using all the symbols of the extreme right: bulldogs, Saint George's flag instead of the English flag, skinhead haircut. The skinhead movement was spread in all Europe, increasing ideas of hatred, violence, racism, chauvinism, Nazi's propaganda. ¹⁴⁶

4.1.3.5 Afghanistan

According to Barrie Houlihan (2003, p.357), after the war in Afghanistan and the defeat over the Talibans, the Afghan sports authorities asked to the IOC the permission to participate in the Olympic Games. This participation was an accelerator of national identity construction.

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¹⁴⁴ Ramonet, I. *Football et Passions Nationales* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.55-57

¹⁴⁵ Ibid pp.55-57

¹⁴⁶ Ibid pp.57-61

¹⁴⁷ Houlihan, B. 2003, *Sport and Society*, Sage Publications, London. p.357

4.1.3.6 Indonesia

According to Freek Colombijn (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, pp.133-134), Indonesian Football contributed to transfer the energy of Independence into national ideas: 'After the transfer of sovereignty, the priority of Sukarno and the young nation shifted from the struggle from Independence to nation-building. If a successful national team makes citizens identify with the nation, then the national football team played its part'. Many international victories of the Indonesian football helped the different populations to believe in a new independent state. In 1962, for the fourth Asian Games, Indonesia hosted the competition, and President Sukarno ordered a new big stadium of 100,000 seats. A military coup of the junta transformed this stadium into a giant prison for the political enemies. This country has always believed in this window that football represents to the world, and as recently as 1997, President Suharto warned the PPSI leadership that: 'the national team of a country of 200 million inhabitants ought to perform better'.¹⁴⁸

4.1.3.7 South Africa

John Nauright (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.189) described South African football. The Apartheid between 1948 and 1990 interrupted international games and especially football. Black South Africans have a passion for soccer and they were really happy to be allowed to play again in the international events.¹⁴⁹ In the 1950's, two leagues of football were competing to represent the South African football. In 1964, the FIFA expelled South Africa to play football due to the Apartheid and the non-representation of the black population in football.¹⁵⁰

In 1992, South Africa was allowed to play again International competitions. In 1996, it won the Africa Nations Cup and created an explosion of joy from the population to support their team. Even during Apartheid, football games were a privileged moment to promote political groups for independence or speech making. President Mandela used football to promote the

¹⁴⁸ Colombijn, F. *View from the Periphery: Football in Indonesia* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.133-134

¹⁴⁹ Nauright, J. *Bhola Lethu: Football in Urban South Africa* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.189

¹⁵⁰ Ibid pp.196-197

'respectability' of this new young nation South Africa and the victory in the African Nations Cup 'could become a major force in the generation of transracial national identification in the new South Africa'.¹⁵¹

4.1.3.8 African States

Issa Hayatou, President of the Confederation of African Football (CAF) and FIFA Vice-President, explained how important football is on the African continent. In nearly all the third-world states, football is a vector of national unity. The holy union is obtained by the football national team even if it can be opposed sometimes by political or ethnical foes with violence inside the country. This continent loves football, everyone with no exception has a passion for this sport. Even people, who don't like football go to stadium every Sunday afternoon to meet people, speak about politics, national or international. Football is a social vector to maintain links among citizens. With the end of the colonialism, football was the only hobby that Africans can be proud of. The lack of artists, scientists, experts, creators gives a major role to the famous football African players. The leaders of the new state use football to build the national identity, to assert people's dignity, the cultural blooming of the youth, unifying all the population.¹⁵²

In 1994, the Cameroon leader used a new campaign to afford money to the national football team for the World Cup in the United States. Even if tensions and protests were present before this campaign, this operation had a unpredictably success to unify all the population behind the national team. Many people gave their thin savings. Many games were used to improve diplomatic relations, like Guinea and Ivory Coast in 1970 or between Algeria and Morocco in 1974 but football also created tensions. The last point is that football is a fantastic advertisement in the world with victory in the world cup. The thirty years of intense diplomatic relations were nothing against the fantastic tournament of Roger Milla and the Cameroon team in the World Cup 1990 in Italy. Never was an African state was so famous in the world just by Football exploit. The other example is South Africa. Everyone knows Nelson Mandela who was struggling to end the apartheid but the football team also had a big effect

¹⁵¹ Nauright, J. *Bhola Lethu: Football in Urban South Africa* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.199-200

¹⁵² Hayatou, I. *L'importance du Football dans les Pays Africains* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.63-69

in the world when they won the African Cup of Nations. This game shows that White and Black people could play together, tolerance was the only message.¹⁵³

4.1.3.9 United States of America

Football is the only factor that is not control by the United States of America. If the world of image is dominated by Hollywood and money by Wall Street, Football is really not dominated by North America. Football, first sport on earth, has a secondary role in the USA except for women's sport. The USA has dominated the Olympics Games all along one century but the US football team never had big success and obtained only a quarter final in Korea/Japan World Cup 2002 against Germany¹⁵⁴. This reason came from the University. In 1845, the British University forbade the use of hand and developed foot ball sport except Rugby University. The American University stayed loyal to the play with hands and developed the American Football close to the Rugby.¹⁵⁵ According to Detlev Zwick and David L. Andrews, American soccer passion is low due to its cost. Around \$3,500 to \$4,000 are spent per child during a year. This sport becomes exclusive to a part of the population, the white middle class: 'Given the economics of suburban soccer participation, the urban and suburban poor, the working class, and even many of the lower middle class, are effectively denied access to the game in its bourgeois incarnation' (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.218). Except Hispanics and Women's passion for soccer, the United States is not really interested in this sport, but more in baseball, American football, basketball and ice hockey.¹⁵⁶

4.1.3.10 Geopolitical view of football

The South American countries used football to affirm their difference with the USA, and have won many World Cup with Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina. Football is felt like a religion in these countries where they watch games in huge stadiums. Europe stayed in a dominant

¹⁵³ Hayatou, I. *L'importance du Football dans les Pays Africains* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.63-69

¹⁵⁴ 'USA Profile', FIFA, [Online] , Available:

<http://fifaworldcup.yahoo.com/06/en/t/team/profile.html?team=usa> 2003 [2004, November 22]

¹⁵⁵ Vallet, O. *Le Football entre Politique et Religion* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.103-105

¹⁵⁶ Azwick, D. & Andrews D.L. *The Suburban Soccer Field: Sport and America's Culture of Privilege* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.218

position in football; African states are emerging in the World Cup more and more such as Morocco, Cameroon, South Africa, Nigeria and Tunisia. The Asian states are increasing their level, with Japan, South Korean and China but India is still weak, it is more interested in Cricket. In the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Iran attach more importance to football than other Muslim countries. Odon Vallet has written about the place taken by football in social life between politics and religion. Like religion, with a weekly office in the Churches or Mosques, football has the particularity to unify people behind the same fervor. Football can be seen by this two religion like a global challenger or complement since TV match permitted believer and sportsman of the world to pray in the same passion. Religion or political status were not a stop to spread the football passion. This popular sport is filled with passions and anger that are mainly contained in the stadium. Fan clubs can compete with political parties.¹⁵⁷

4.1.4 Rediscovering National Identity Through Football

We are now going to deal with four countries questioning their national identity through football.

4.1.4.1 England

Ben Carrington used a quotation of Chas Critcher to explain English identity: it 'is difficult to specify anything, other than war and royalty, which articulates national identity quite so powerfully as the England team competing in the latter stages of a World Cup competition'. There is a dangerous border line between national identity, nationhood, patriotism, nationalism and racism. John Major's 1993 St George's Day speech used some ambiguous words to remember the nostalgic and glorious past opposed to the multi-cultural modern cities.¹⁵⁸

4.1.4.2 Germany

In the article of Udo Merkel (Merkel in Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, pp.61-62), the reunification of Germany in the 1990's is a key point to know what being German means. The rivalry between the two states was tough during forty years and especially in football. This

¹⁵⁷ Vallet, O. *Le Football entre Politique et Religion* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.103-105

¹⁵⁸ Brown, A. 1998, *Fanatics! Power, Identity & Fandom in Football*, Routledge, London. pp102-103

reconstruction of only one Germany, and a German identification was slightly due to the Football success in 1996. Even if East Germans felt rejected and lost after the fall of the wall, some renowned East German players gave them a sensation to be member of the fatherland Germany.¹⁵⁹

4.1.4.3 Argentine

Pablo Alabarces (Alabarces in Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.79) explained in his article that Argentine was in a crisis of identity, and Football created an 'imagined community' that integrated minorities, immigrants, and poor people: 'Football was seen by intellectuals as a vehicle for manipulating the less gifted cultural sectors (Brohm 1982)'. The political trouble of the last military dictatorship (1976-83) used football to maintain people under this fervent nationalism: 'Argentine military dictatorship defended "the traditional Argentine style of life" against the "communist threat" (Turner 1998)'. Nowadays, Argentine football has less influenced on working class and poor people, losing their identity for different reasons. Players are richer and richer, becoming icons on adverts, erotic symbols, spending time with the jet set, playing in several different teams, and abroad. The stadium tickets are more expensive, excluding popular classes and the football game on TV is not free any more (pay per view).¹⁶⁰

4.1.4.4 Sweden

In chapter seven, Alan Bairner explained the sportive nationalism in Sweden. Sweden has a policy of neutrality but still has experienced nationalism throughout history. Its people are considered to be found of sport and they expressed this feeling of nationalism in sport. Swedes have achieved many good results in sporting event for a small population. Its sport policy is based on a very good organization promoting sport facilities. Nationalism was expressed in the sport movement all along the twentieth century; Sweden being far from international conflicts, and an important means of promoting national identity was sport.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Merkel, U. *Football Identity and Youth Culture in Germany* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999 *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.61-62

¹⁶⁰ Alabarces, P. *Post-Modern Times: Identities and Violence in Argentine Football* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.79-81

¹⁶¹ Bairner, A. 2002, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalisation: European and North American Perspectives*, State University of New York Press, New York. Chapter 7 *Sporting Nationalism for Beginners : Sport and Nationalism in Sweden* pp.139-161

Until the First World War, the aim of physical education was to serve the interests of the army. At the same time, Sweden has created Nordic Games, to assert Swedish sport superiority on their close neighbors. After the First World War, the Social Democrats took interest in sport policy to promote friendly international relations. The Swedish sport movement, RF (Riksidrottsförbundet), tried immediately to be free from political parties, and economically independent. The membership in the Swedish RF has quickly developed with success and become really popular. RF has followed the Swedish Model of 'moderation, public-spiritedness, internationalism, and a blending of public and private initiatives' (Bairner 2001, p.151) to be able to win so many victories. This Swedish Model combines two purposes 'equality and efficiency'. It has helped to create this Swedish national identity.¹⁶²

Swedish sport can be illustrated by the word *lagom*, meaning 'moderation'. In 1958, Sweden hosted the World Cup, and arrived in final with a lot of panache and lost against Brazil in front of the Swedish public. The Swedish team was really satisfied with this result. It was a big achievement and the Swedish spectators did not feel any sadness: 'It is not every nation that can be as magnanimous in defeat, particularly when such a significant trophy is involved [...] it is doubtful if many other home crowds would have been quite so charitable toward the conquerors of their own national team in a World Cup Final.' (Ibid p.152). The same case appeared for the World Cup in 1994, Sweden celebrated the football team after their elimination in the semi-final. They had understood that such a small country cannot really compete with big football playing nation.¹⁶³

This other relation of national identity in Sweden and sport can be explained in the *Jantelagen* (or Jante's Law) spread in Nordic countries: 'According to Jante's Law, people are expected to be modest and humble about their achievements [...] Stars are not welcome' (Ibid p.152). The national team of football is an example illustrating social equality. Football stars from overseas are equal to the other football team players, paid less and half professional. All the players are concern with national interest. But for a long time, with the massive immigration after the second world war and the access to the Europe Union, Sweden has been wondering what is the meaning of being Swedish and question about their national identity. The result of this phenomenon is a small rising threat: 'Right-wing nationalists, particularly a small but growing body of neo-Nazis, are fearful that traditional

¹⁶² Bairner, A. 2002, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalisation: European and North American Perspectives*, State University of New York Press, New York. Chapter 7 *Sporting Nationalism for Beginners : Sport and Nationalism in Sweden* pp.139-161

¹⁶³ Ibid pp.139-161

Swedish national identity should be put at risk by immigration and European Union membership' (Ibid p.156).¹⁶⁴

According to Järtelius (1982), sport is a vector of integration for the new refugees. Ehn (1993, p.215) argued that 'for many immigrants sport is one of the most flexible ways of 'becoming Swedish', even if it can lead to conflicts to loyalty when Swedes compete with their former homeland' (in Ibid p.157). Martin Dahlin or Maria Akraka were two symbolic sportspersons who helped immigrant to feel more integrated into Swedish society. But, the neo-Nazis group has used stadiums to promote racism and xenophobic nationalism. According to Ehn, Frykman and Löfgren (1993), groups like 'The Black Army', from AIK Stockholm fans, has succeeded in imposing more national flags waving in the football and hockey arena and playing the national anthem before every elite hockey club. Today, more and more Swedish fans adopted a festive behavior in international sport competitions wearing imitation Viking helmets and painted faces. It is an optimistic way to express a new sort of nationalism. But we cannot say that Neo-Nazis groups like 'the Black Army' have disappeared for ever. The Swedish nationalism is developing only in sport: 'sportive nationalism'.¹⁶⁵

4.1.5 Football can highlight regional conflicts

The subject of the following paragraph is the case of a few countries where football games can highlight regional conflicts.

4.1.5.1 Northern Ireland

In the article of Alan Bairner and Peter Shirlow (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.152), we can easily understand the problem of Northern Ireland football. They explained how sport is linked to national identity: 'What is certain is that of all the world's major games, soccer is one of the most powerful in terms of identity shaping and reinforcement'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Bairner, A. 2002, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalisation: European and North American Perspectives*, State University of New York Press, New York. Chapter 7 *Sporting Nationalism for Beginners : Sport and Nationalism in Sweden* pp.139-161

¹⁶⁵ Ibid pp.139-161

¹⁶⁶ Bairner, A. & Shirlow P. *The Territorial Politics of Soccer in Northern Ireland* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.152

Thirty years of internal conflicts make Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics more divided on the symbol of two separate communities than on the religion itself. One of the mysteries Catholic wanted to solve is 'why Northern Irish Protestants persist in their attempts to enforce hegemonic control over soccer'. Unionists' identity is expressed in the soccer organisation of Northern Ireland.¹⁶⁷

Irish Catholics thought soccer was an imperialist game exported by the British, and they were only playing Gaelic sports. Nowadays, soccer has become an international sport, both communities are attracted by this sport but Irish Protestants have more stadium to train their teams. All the games of the national team of Northern Ireland are played in Windsor Park in a Protestant area. In this way, it is difficult for Catholics to watch game in a 'enemies' territory'.¹⁶⁸

Each team belongs to each community, and playing soccer or being a fan is selecting one community, due to one's education, one's culture and one's own-identity: 'In their own way, by supporting certain soccer teams, these young fans are attempting to defend their home territory and those traditions which make it what it is or what they imagine it to be'. Some Catholic players are playing now in Protestant clubs and the same for Protestant players in the Irish clubs, but it is a minority and soccer is still dominated by a majority of Protestants clubs.¹⁶⁹

4.1.5.2 Israel / Palestine

In Israel, football is also really complex. Yoram S. Carmeli and Iris Bar (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.167) try to explain how difficult it is for Israeli Arabs to play in the Jewish clubs. Israel is constituted of five million Jews and one million Arabs. Football could be an opening of hope for Arab citizens. The authors described how an 'Arab club' acceded to the Israeli First division for the first time. One of the players of this club said in the El-Senara in February 1997: 'Hapoel Taibeh is not a private achievement of the players and the town of Taibeh. It belongs to all the Arab population. This is the first Arab team in the Primary

¹⁶⁷ Bairner, A. & Shirlow P. *The Territorial Politics of Soccer in Northern Ireland* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.155-157

¹⁶⁸ Ibid pp159-160

¹⁶⁹ Ibid p.162

league. They brought us honour, a compensation for not being represented in official institutions'.¹⁷⁰

During some games of this season 96/97, tensions and conflicts appeared. Some Jewish fans were present at one of a crucial game against Beitar Jerusalem to express their political point of view against the Likud party: 'Around 100 Jewish fans sat on Taibeh's side, mainly to protest against racism; Taibeh's supporters understood this as a political act of supporting Arabs'. Taibeh supporters sang a nationalist song to demand their land before the beginning of the game and Beitar fans replied with insults. This game was lost by Taibeh and began a long series of defeats until the end of the season.¹⁷¹

4.1.5.3 Former Yugoslavia

According to Srdjan Vrcan and Drazen Lalic (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, pp.176-177), the 'ethnicification of politics' through Yugoslavian football is a reality. In August 1991, political incidents happened on football stadium. Football fans leaders changed their sporting attitude into expressing personal conviction for internal war: 'Arkan, the infamous leader of the Red Star fans in Belgrade, became the commander of the voluntary Serbian paramilitary unit named the 'Tigers'. Involved in fighting in Croatia and Bosnia, Arkan was subsequently wanted for war crimes'. The fans were not the only members of the society for this war but some were vehicle of this political organisation to fight the others, the 'enemies': 'football fans acted as the catalyst for political violence on a mass scale. These actors gave organised political violence a social and moral legitimacy'.¹⁷²

The metaphor of war can be applied to the football players and the fans. The colour of the jersey, slogans, songs and symbolism could be considered like two armies on the battlefield. The authors explained that 'club managers, match officials, coaches, the families of the players, their fiancées and wives, their ancestors, their cities, their history' could also be

¹⁷⁰ Carmeli, Y.S. & Bar I. *Team Selection and the Chosen People in Israel: The Case of Hapoel Taibeh* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.167

¹⁷¹ Ibid p.170

¹⁷² Vrcan, S. & Lalic D. *From Ends to Trenches, and Back: Football in the Former Yugoslavia* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.176-177

inside this metaphor of war. In the case of former Yugoslavia, fans have applied and amplified this war metaphor. ¹⁷³

The war is finished in former Yugoslavia. In Croatia, President Tudmann is really invested in the Croatian football: 'He has declared on several occasions that Croatia Zagreb ought to represent both the Republic of Croatia and its government on the international football scene'. He has changed the old name 'Dinamo' to the new name 'Croatia Zagreb' to break off with the communist past. A lot of protests of old fans from the 'Dinamo' are against the new name. Violence of fans from Zagreb or other towns in Croatia are still present in the stadium to contest the politics of Tudmann. ¹⁷⁴

4.1.6 Football to achieve fame

Didier Bariani argued that football has a big role to play in international and national political stage. All the powerful countries want to organize a major sport event. When you host a international event like the World Cup or the Olympic Games, except economic aspect, you will gain a huge celebrity. Billions of people will hear about the town or a country, and create a positive renown. Except bad luck on some Olympic Games, the mass media will create a lot of news and good notoriety around this state. It is also a means to shine all over the world. In 1995, Jacques Chirac encouraged Bolivia to play the entire home match in the high mountain of the country, giving the local players used to this height an advantage. When Chirac visited Bolivia, he was friendly greeted receiving a lot of thanks from the people. ¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, an international event can promote peace in the states which do not respect human rights. When Argentina hosted the World Cup, all the journalists denounced the dictatorship, and progressively the country was oblige to decrease the violation of human rights. But everything cannot be changed. The Countries wanting to host Olympics or the World Cup should have little to be reproached because everything will be denounced in the

¹⁷³ Vrcan, S. & Lalic D. *From Ends to Trenches, and Back: Football in the Former Yugoslavia* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.179-180

¹⁷⁴ Ibid p.182

¹⁷⁵ Bariani, D. *Les Enjeux Politiques du Football aux Niveaux International et National* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.133-140

press. In this condition, we can be really impatient to wait for the next Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008. ¹⁷⁶

4.2 A QUEST FOR POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Two countries will be dealt with in the following lines: Brazil and France.

4.2.1 Brazil, or the successful integration

According to José Sergio Leite Lopes (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, pp.87-88), Brazilian football was early a tool to promote the love of their nation. All the international games in 1938 showed to the world the multi-cultural society of the Brazilian state with two black players: 'International recognition strengthened a local perception of the originality of national players'. The intellectual Gilberto Freyre observed the new change of the Brazilian society: 'the wealth of the cultural contribution of blacks and the importance of the racial mixture of Brazilian population'. Strong racism was noticed particularly in football until the Brazilians' victory: 'The 'racial mixture', that was a cause of self-criticism, became a basis for enhancing a Brazilian style of playing, specially since the 1958 World Cup in Sweden.' ¹⁷⁷

4.2.2 France, or the quest for integration

In this part, I will explain that the concept of integration of minorities is really a debate in France.

Bernard Stasi explained how politicians see football. Football and politics have the same goal: to win. You have to respect of course the rules and your opponent. You have to accept defeat with serenity and always think that the match is never lost. We can always take the revenge, never put down arms. And when victory is obtained, we must always show moderation. Nowadays, a politician cannot remain disinterested in football. Football is so important in this global world that it becomes like a universal language. It can bring people from all over the world closer to each other. They can have a friendly conversation, without

¹⁷⁶ Bariani, D. *Les Enjeux Politiques du Football aux Niveaux International et National* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.133-140

¹⁷⁷ Lopes, J.S.L. *The Brazilian Style of Football and its Dilemmas* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.87-88

any past discussion before. Stasi explained that a long time ago when he was abroad, he called France the country of De Gaulle, Bardot and Kopa, now he calls it the country of Zidane. Even if some incidents in football can create tensions, the football match between France and Germany, with the aggression of Schumacher against Battiston in 1982 in Seville caused discussions about reconciliation with Germany. The dramatic incident between Italian and English fans in the final of the European Cup in Brussels spoiled the relations between Italy and England. Even though, football is a wonderful tool to give citizens the conscious of belonging to a state, like the new immigrants living in the country. France has a permanent dream to integrate minorities and make them new French citizens. The image of French football seems more efficient than secular school. The French team has this richness of diversity that proves the beneficial alchemy achieved by the multi-ethnic origins of the players.¹⁷⁸

According to Hare, French football identity belongs to the long tradition of integration in the French society. From Napoleon trying to unify all the different French regions, as well as the national press until the three wars against Germany, all these events unified French society with the idea of diversity. Important events contribute to the making of the national consciousness such as elections, common catastrophes, State funerals or major sport events. This sudden passion of all the population for football created a positive effect on integration. First at the end of the 50's, France supporters were fascinated by Kopa (Polish roots) then at the beginning of the 80's by Platini (Italian roots) and finally in the end of the 90's Zidane (Algerian roots) creating a positive circle of integration process.¹⁷⁹

In the 80's, the far right wing party, the Front National (FN), led by Jean Marie Le Pen started to appear on the French political arena and the FN party used the example of the multi-colored French team of football to promote their policy of hatred against foreigners in 1996. Le Pen pretended that this fake team did not represent real France. It was not a new phenomena for the French team to have players born outside of France or son of immigrants. The French Republic has always had many waves of immigrants who have been assimilated for economical reasons and also by ideological choice, France being the country of Human Rights. After winning the World Cup 1998, a bald French Kabyle named Zinedine Zidane became the most popular personality in France, symbolizing the integration of North

¹⁷⁸ Stasi, B. *Le Football : Aventure Personnelle et Phénomène de Société* in Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.127-131

¹⁷⁹ Hare, G. 2003, *Football in France: a cultural history*, Berg, Oxford. Chapter 6 *Players as Heroes: 'les Bleus', and National Identity* pp.119-125

African (*les Beurs*) into French society. The nation's unity in diversity was symbolized by the phrase repeated by journalists to promote assimilation through French football success: 'black-blanc-beur' (Black-White-Arab), like an allusion to the three colored French flag 'bleu-blanc-rouge'. A multicolored population were singing all together their happiness and joyful nationalism after the 1998 World Cup's victory. The situation is completely different in Germany where the national team is incapable of integrating Turkish players. However, many problems are still present in the suburbs where second and third generation of North African still feel rejected and racism is still present. The melting pot was a short dream for many of them, facing poverty, few opportunities, violence and discrimination. ¹⁸⁰

Didier Bariani explained that the football is not absolute therapy on the illness of the French suburbs but it permits to pacify them. Football is not a cure and not a wonderful miracle but difficult neighborhoods are helped with the policy of sport. It is a factor of integration, an obligation to speak with the others, teammates, coaches, referees, adversaries. Even if some football games are violent in these difficult suburbs, it helps to pacify everyone doing this activity. It cannot cure all the diseases and make up for the lack of educational development of kids. It cannot be a substitute for family education or school but it helps to give a moment of respect and consideration for others. ¹⁸¹

Jean Marie Brohm and Marc Perelman wrote in June 2002 an article in *Le Monde* to show that the French integration through football is an illusion. After the 1998 victory of France in the World Cup, an historical fervor of happiness was in all the French population. Politicians used this idea of integration until the game of France-Algeria in October 2001. A 'friendly' game was organized to promote the reconciliation between the two people. But, the national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, was whistled, booed and projectiles were thrown at representatives of the government. As the Algerian team was being severely beaten, the field was invaded by young people of the suburbs, in majority from recent immigration. They did not want to face the same every day's life humiliation and a dishonor for the Algerian team. This game was the first game after Independence from the painful history between these two countries.

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¹⁸⁰ Hare, G. 2003, *Football in France: a cultural history*, Berg, Oxford. Chapter 6 *Players as Heroes: 'les Bleus'; and National Identity* pp.133-137

¹⁸¹ Ibid pp.133-140

¹⁸² Brohm, J.M. & Perelman M. in (2002, June 17), 'Football: de l'extase au cauchemar', in *Le Monde*, [online], Available : [2004, November 30] http://www.ac-versailles.fr/PEDAGOGI/ses/vie-ses/hodebas/brohm_et_perelman.htm

According to the two authors, the myth of football integration was deconstructed by the cruel reality of sport confrontation. The virtual factor of friendship among people was becoming a vector of general social disintegration: physical and verbal violence, adoption of non democratic values – a spirit of revenge, a search for easy money, adulation of idols, and blindness in front of doping – extreme chauvinism, aim of winning, and hatred of the adversary. It is not exclusive to France; deadly violence in stadiums, corruption, doping, xenophobia and racism unveiled the real face of football. The National Front has benefited from the collapse of this fairy story after four year of dream. This fake solidarity has revealed the inequality in the suburbs with increasing violence, ignoring the real problems of people and indirectly promoting the far right-wing ideas. These ideas were directly taken from fascism and the cult of the body, using idol, ideology of sporting war, encouraging physical strength, and blind support of fans. Now that France is losing, the National Front could encourage nationalist ideas. ¹⁸³

4.3 THE EUROPEAN UNION AND SPORT

So far, the European Union has been mainly economic. The creation of European sporting teams could favour the development of a feeling of European national identity. First, I will deal with the European citizenship concept. Then, I will say a few words about two countries adopting very different attitudes towards Europe: Norway and Turkey. Finally, I will try to see if it is possible to improve good relations during Olympics.

4.3.1 Definition of Europeanness

The question of the European Union as a normal 'nation-state' asked by McCrone is interesting: 'Why cannot the European Union become an 'imagined community', a nation like any other? First, the conventional cultural identifiers like language and religion do not line up. You cannot make a national block without a modicum of cultural straw of this sort' (1998, p.184). Nationalism, he said, will developed faster with different cultures, even if borders are easily crossed by immigrants, clandestine and foreigners. McCrone doesn't think the European Union can be a 'nation-state' even if it develops in the political and economical system. The notion of Europeanness is far from being accepted: 'Europeanness, if it develops

¹⁸³ Brohm, J.M. & Perelman M. in (2002, June 17), 'Football: de l'extase au cauchemar', in *Le Monde*, [online], Available : [2004, November 30] http://www.ac-versailles.fr/PEDAGOGI/ses/vie-ses/hodebas/brohm_et_perelman.htm

beyond an embryonic stage, has to work as a complement of, rather than a competitor to, rapidly changing state structures' (McCrone 1998, p.185) and Delanty ¹⁸⁴ said that: 'to suppose that the Europe of European unity refers to a cosmopolitan ideal beyond the particularism of the nation-state is, quite simply, an act of delusion' (cited in McCrone 1998, pp.185-186). The notion of European consciousness will be thin and defined only in democracies, where 'pluralism and the rule of law' will rebuild 'the democratic deficit at the regional, national and supranational levels' (1998, p.186). ¹⁸⁵

In the article 'Sport, the Role of the EU and the Decline of the Nation State?', Ian Henry (in Houlihan 2003, p.339) explained how sport can be used like a tool for a political integration of Europe. European citizens are aware of a new European identity, after the creation of a European anthem, European currency and a European Union flag. Developing a policy of culture and sport will involve people better in the European identity. In the Adonino Report '*A People's Europe*' in 1985 (cited in Houlihan 2004, p.339), many propositions in sport events to create a European Identity, like a pan-European Games, or the creation of a European Olympic team. The fact of creating a sport event to unify the country is not new, the Tour de France was established to link all the different regions. Nowadays, the Tour de France is extended outside the borders of France (UK, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain) to promote this particular event, but also to make a Tour of Europe, and imply all the Europeans behind one sport. ¹⁸⁶ *I will deal now with two countries finding themselves in a special position, Norway and Turkey. They do not belong to the European Community.*

4.3.2 Norway

Even if Norway is not in the European Union, this country has developed a special relation with European football. Matti Goksøyr and Hans Hognestad (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, p.207) stated the ambiguous national identity in Norway through football. Norway has developed a special relation with Football, being more a summer hobby due to its geographic area. The expansion of television and radio increased the passion of Norwegian people to be fan of British clubs during the long and difficult summer. Usually, the creation of identity by fans through football is unique to one local club or to the national team. It is different in Norway: 'support for an English club often runs parallel to that for a Norwegian club, in ways which do not necessarily privilege the local side'. Norwegian and English football teams are

¹⁸⁴ Delanty, G. , 1995, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, Macmillan, London p.157 cited in McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.185-186

¹⁸⁵ McCrone, D. 1998, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, Routledge, London pp.184-186

¹⁸⁶ Houlihan, B. 2003, *Sport and Society*, Sage Publications, London. p.339

seen with two different levels, different values that will never meet and never clash. It happened in 1997 during a European Cup, Liverpool, English team, played against SK Brann, Norwegian team. The fans of the SK Brann who are also members' fan of Liverpool had an immense problem to support one club and they: 'admitted that this caused them a great moral dilemma'.¹⁸⁷ We can see how some population of Europe have a new dual appropriation in teams playing in Europe. It is not rare that Europeans can love two or three teams, a mixture of different players from different nations, that they never visited before, maybe for the passion of sport or for the unconscious European construction.

4.3.3 Turkey

Nowadays, there is a crucial debate to know if Turkey is a possible member of the European Union. The article of Can Kozanoglu (Armstrong & Giulianotti 1999, pp118-120) described the difficult problem of Turkish people in their national identity. The 'Kurdish problem', the increasing influence of Islamic and nationalist movements are hindrance preventing the Turkish government from coming closer to the European Union. Turkish citizens watch TV and football match and they have a closer relation with occidental and Americans. The Turkish victories during European football tournament helps Turkish citizens to be more appreciate in Europeans' eyes.¹⁸⁸

However, Turkish football clubs are noted for extreme violence: 'These demonstrations can go awry; celebrations with pistols caused six deaths the night Galatasaray eliminated Manchester United and three deaths when the national team beat Switzerland'. These games can be followed by political slogans in front of foreign embassies to recognize Turkish people in Europe. Turkish clubs demanded from UEFA the permission to sing their national anthem before each match of the European cup match. A special permission was given to Turkey to sing it one hour before the match to suit the 'nationalist ideal'.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Goksoyr, M. & Hognestad H. *No longer Worlds Apart? British Influences and Norwegian Football* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London p.207

¹⁸⁸ Kozanoglu, C. *Beyond Edirne: Football and the National Identity Crisis in Turkey* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.118-120

¹⁸⁹ Ibid pp.123-124

4.3.4 Trying to solve the nationalism problem

What can be done to establish better human relations in sporting competitions.

Jay Coakley made a list of some proposals to reform Olympics Games and decrease racism and intolerant nationalism, to promote friendship and a real peace among nations.

- To remove national clothes uniforms the nation is important, and to play more on the individual performance.
- To open ceremonies with sport sections and not with national ones. The national flags could be unified in the middle of the field to encourage friendship around the world.
- To remove the national flag and anthem during the medals ceremonies is also a key point. A special flag, for the Olympics and a special flag of the sport could be chosen to celebrate the performance of the athlete.
- To remove the count of medals by nation is essential. Everything not focused on the achievement of the athlete but on the result of each nation promotes superiority and racism.
- Team sport is to focus on national difference. Team sport should be removed or modified during the Olympic events. The supplementary solution is to create teams with different members from all over the world.
- The argument to share the host of the Olympic by three or four countries is based on the increasing goal of friendship among nations. The division of costs and risks for the Olympics could create events more accessible for poorer people and a wider participation of public in all the stadiums. ¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Coakley, J.J. 1994, *Sport in society : Issues and Controversies* , 5th Edition Mosby, Missouri, St Louis, Chapter 14 *Sport and Politics : can they be kept separate ?* pp.372-374

5 CONCLUSIONS

5.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The goal of this thesis is to understand the concept of sport and International Politics. We can now try to answer the four questions stated in the introduction.

1. How are relations between sport and foreign policies affected by the different political regimes?

At the beginning, Pierre de Coubertin wanted Olympics to bring peace and without political means, but the situation changed rapidly everything and government policies were really influenced by sports. Not only totalitarian states used sport for their propaganda but also democratic ones to promote national strength.¹⁹¹

During the Berlin Olympics, only the USA had a strong policy of Boycott, due to a big pressure group with the community of Jews and Blacks. However, as I said before, Hitler perfectly used the Olympics to make his own propaganda of the 'Aryan' superiority, even if Jesse Owens, a black American athlete dominated these Olympics.¹⁹²

Russia showed another aspect of sport: 'the problem of sport as a national and an international movement; sport as diplomacy and sport as ideology' (Ibid p.216). The Soviet Union was a leader to create another sport international movement, inside countries with some close ideologically local organisations, without the agreement of the foreign governments.¹⁹³

All the states have used sport for their own purposes to thwart fascist movements. All this recent history of sport and international relations has created new rules. Many other states, which wanted to be independent, and regions, with ethnic problems or minorities, have used

¹⁹¹ Holt, R. *Interwar sport and interwar relations: some conclusions* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London, Chapter 12 pp.210-218

¹⁹² Ibid pp.210-218

¹⁹³ Ibid pp.210-218

sport to promote their own cause.¹⁹⁴ It was like a trigger mechanism, everyone understood how to use sport for diplomatic relations and it was a safer and harmless way than a war.

2. Is football a tool for building or destroying a national identity?

Sport as a diplomatic tool can be considered like a *public diplomacy* to influence opinion. The war cannot be the consequence of a sporting event. For many years, UNESCO tried to install peace and tolerance in different regions with the help of sport. In 2004, Brazil played football with the help of the United Nations in Haiti to promote peace in a region close to civil anarchy.

A football game cannot deteriorate good relations between two friendly states or bring peace between two enemies who wanted to fight each other. As I said before, never was football the cause of the war between Honduras and Salvador or in Yugoslavia, and it cannot bring peace in the Palestine and Israel conflict just by a football game.¹⁹⁵

3. How minorities group in France are integrated through football?

Football could be an instrument of integration. In spite of violence in French suburbs, the French football team has diversity of richness that proves the alchemy of the multi-ethnic origin. In opposition, Jean Marie Brohm and Marc Perelman think that French integration through football is an illusion because of unemployment, absence of opportunities in the suburbs.¹⁹⁶ However, sporting teams seem to be one of the best groups where integration can be achieved even if media do not mention them enough.

4. How can sport be used to establish friendly relations and decrease tensions between states?

Football passion is shared by every citizen and helps us to understand the complexity of the world with its conflicting nations. In all this complicated situation, the Nordic nationalism is a

¹⁹⁴ Holt, R. *Interwar sport and interwar relations: some conclusions* in Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London, Chapter 12 pp.210-218

¹⁹⁵ Boniface, P. 1998, *Géopolitique du Football*, Editions Complexe, Brussel pp.22-23

¹⁹⁶ Brohm, J.M. & Perelman M. in (2002, June 17), 'Football: de l'extase au cauchemar', in *Le Monde*, [online], Available : [2004, November 30] http://www.ac-versailles.fr/PEDAGOGI/ses/vie-ses/hodebas/brohm_et_perelman.htm

fascinating new direction of peace and tolerance. For example, the Danes showed a festive way to support national teams that we can call a 'sporting nationalism'.

Another solution could be by mixing players of different nationalities under the flag of the sport and training them to be united in the same discipline. The Olympics Games should change the way of counting medals. It increases too much the expression of superiority among nations and arouse extreme nationalism.

I try to find answers to all the questions I asked in the introduction part, in a qualitative and hermeneutic approach. I did my best to understand and interpret through historical examples.

5.2 FINAL CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, this thesis has highlighted the subject on sport and the way politicians use it. I will insist on the fact that Sport and especially football should not be forgotten or ignored from International Relations because it has become a part of world's culture. I was focussed on the aim to interpret and to explain all the different phenomena.

Sport is not an essential actor but it plays a big role in people's consciousness and decision. Politicians and many different actors of the civil society are using sport to promote their ideas. Furthermore, xenophobic ideas of nationalism are too often demonstrated and 'sporting nationalism' or pacific nationalism should be more important.

Sport was used for many different reasons because it is really influential on people. We can make a chart of all the possibilities of sport showed in my thesis. I will try to explain by a chart how we can analyze the different levels.

First, if you look only at the positive aspects, the international, national and social degrees are classified to show the beneficial aspects of sport. On the right hand side of my chart, I have noted down the negative aspects of it.

The following chart tries to classify the implications of sport and political use among the world by different perspectives.

Positive Aspects	Negative Aspects
Political instrument	Political weapon
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to integrate minorities - to boost peace - to encourage 'sporting nationalism' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to promote power and domination - to amplify political ideology - to construct national identity
Diplomatic tool	Diplomatic Trigger mechanism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to share comradeship among nations - to amplify friendship - to support peace - to improve International Relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to spoil peaceful situations - to agitate hatred - to provoke a country - to damage neutral relations
Social tool	Social weapon
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to install a fair-play spirit - to explain antagonism - to analyze a situation - to highlight existing conflict - to understand political troubles - to explore the world - to increase tolerance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to install revenge spirit - to make easy money - to hide doping - to intensify extreme chauvinism - to fix bribe - to amplify physical and verbal violence - to enlarge xenophobia and racism

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The concept of European citizenship through football is really interesting. Another study could be the next Olympics in Beijing 2008 that will show if China is going to change or try to hide her internal problems to the world.

Another means to study those problems concerning sport and International Politics could be to analyse the tremendous sums of money involved in these sporting events and chiefly football.

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