

Contra War and pro Class-Struggle-Internationalism and the Ideal of Peace in the Comparison of Workers Olympiads and Olympic Games

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Introduction

Peace, internationalism and agreement between nations are important goals and values of the Olympic Games according to the Olympic Idea. These aspects also played an important part for the Organizing Committee of the Workers Olympiad in Frankfurt 1925. Despite this, there were large differences regarding the interpretation of internationalism, the evaluation of nationalism and the conception of how peace should be constituted.

Both movements shared the opinion, that internationalism in the area of sport was a basis for peace. From the viewpoint of the Workers sportsmen the Olympic Games had no effect on peace in contrast to their own 'product' - the Worker Olympiad. Coubertin for his part stressed the danger of a socialistic understanding of internationalism.

This paper intends to compare the ideological and the practical sides of the Olympic Games in Paris 1924 and the Workers Olympiad in Frankfurt 1925. This requires examining the specific ways the Workers Olympiad and the Olympic Games tried to make a contribution to peace and internationalism.

The ideal of Peace in the Olympic Movement

Until today the idea of Olympic Peace is one of the aspects, which are responsible for the special reputation of the Olympic Games and which are a basis of their outstanding position among all other sporting events. The connection between the Olympic Games and international understanding seem self-evident today. According to Höfer the idea of peace represents the distinctive feature of Olympism. The ideal of Olympic Peace seems to be the only aspect within the spectrum of the Olympic goals, which was never seriously questioned since 1894 and as such it will also remain stable in the future.¹ Therefore, numerous papers dealing with the Olympic Games stress the positive effects of the Olympic Games on universal peace.² In the 1980s scientific research started to become more critical about the notion of Olympic Peace.³

With regard to the original notions of peace within the Olympic Idea it is necessary to look at Coubertin's conception of Olympic Peace – in the required shortness.

The basis of Olympic Peace is the conception of making a contribution to the agreement between nations through the medium of an international sport movement. Amazingly Coubertin thereby promoted the inclusion of nationalism and internationalism, which means a pair of contradictory terms - at least at first sight.

Coubertin's internationalism was meant to be based on nationalism and strong patriotic feelings. Grounded on the love for one's own native country, one should obtain knowledge of other nations, their culture and further national peculiarities. In an atmosphere of 'mutual respect' towards the respective national background prejudices aroused by unawareness

should be eliminated for the well-being of all countries. Misunderstandings, which could lead to international tensions and armed conflicts, thereby should be avoided.

The Olympic Games served as an assembly place for athletes in their function as ambassadors of peace of their home countries. Following the antique concept of 'Ekecheiria' agreement between nations should take place in a small circle during the Olympic Games of modern times. With their huge symbolic impact the Games should make a contribution to the dismantling of prejudices in the common opinion and thus advance the agreement between nations in a wider field.

The abolition of national borders and of nations was not intended at all, but a peaceful collaboration within these borders. Thereby the Olympic Games were rather a cult of native countries than a cult of peace.⁴ Arising from the love for one's country and the estimation of other peoples' patriotism, peace should be aimed at to guaranty the homeland's invulnerability. In accordance to Coubertin's conception the Olympic Games were meant to be useful for the homelands and serve the well-being of all countries at the same time.

Internationalism and the idea of Peace in the comparison of Workers Olympics and Olympic Games

As mentioned initially, the conception of the workers sportsmen and those of Coubertin are different concerning the ideal shape of peace, internationalism and agreement between nations as well as the evaluation of nationalism.

Both movements shared the opinion that internationalism in the area of sport served as basis of peace; but Coubertin insisted that only internationalism on the basis of a cult of native countries could assure peace. In a ritual movement the patriots of all countries should be united, in order to stand in for peace. Coubertin rejected all other forms of the internationalism:

„Il y a deux façons de comprendre l'internationalisme. L'une est celle des socialistes, des révolutionnaires et, en général, des théoriciens et des utopistes; ils entrevoient un gigantesque nivelage qui fera, de l'univers civilisé, un Etat sans frontière et sans imprévu et, de l'organisation sociale, la plus monotone des tyrannies. La seconde est celles des hommes qui observent sans parti pris et tiennent compte de la réalité, plutôt que de leurs idées préférées; ceux-là ont noté, des longtemps, que les caractéristiques nationales sont une condition indispensable de la vie d'un peuple et que, loin de les affaiblir, le contact avec un autre peuple les fortifie, les avive.“⁵

Coubertin strictly differentiated between two forms of internationalism. On the one hand his own, which was based on nationalism and on the other hand, those of the socialists'. The latter he rejected as utopian and expressed himself thereby clearly against the planned 'levelling'. In his opinion the intention to level nation borders could only end up in a dull and monotonous tyranny.

Thus he expressed himself as an opponent of socialist internationalism. His uneasiness towards socialism was obvious in several of his writings. In 1902 he dealt with the fundamental question: „Que faut-il penser du socialisme?“⁶ His answer to this question turned out double-edged: Without any doubt the socialist deserves the respect of their enemies, nevertheless distrust is essential.⁷

From Coubertin's standpoint socialism was a danger, which should not be underestimated. His initial distrust towards socialism soon changed to complete refusal. After initial statements of respect for the socialists' demands of solidarity within society - a goal, which Coubertin supported - the contrasts became ever more obvious.

Whilst Coubertin promoted national solidarity beyond class barriers within the nation state, the socialists stressed international solidarity within one's class only. Despite some similar demands, Coubertin felt repelled by the socialists' aim to eliminate the elites.⁸ Soon Coubertin's refusal of these revolutionary demands led to his sharpest expressions towards socialism, which he named a 'sect', whose adherents he insulted as 'internationalists without ideals or pride'.⁹ In addition he accused the socialists to advance class warfare under the cover of working for international peace. At the same time he feared the Olympic model of internationalism could be damaged, if cosmopolitanism would be confounded with the socialistic doctrine, which strived at the disappearance of native countries and promoted their dissolution in a humanitarian ideal:

"Il serait fâcheux de confondre le cosmopolisme avec la doctrine qui préconise la disparition graduelle des patries et leur absorption par l' idéal humanitaire."¹⁰

According to Coubertin the notion of a nation was necessary for the concept of internationalism. Moreover he feared that the Olympic Movement based on internationalism would receive less support by patriots, if it seemed to pursue socialist tendencies of cosmopolitanism. Therefore Coubertin rejected the vision of a worldwide socialist state. His standpoint remained: The national structure is the one and only possible condition of all political and social existence.¹¹

Coubertin's conception of patriotism and internationalism was grounded in the civil culture and value system of the nineteenth Century. His efforts to exert influence on social grievances aimed at repairing society without an exchange of any basic conditions.¹² He was therefore forced to condemn socialism, which was looking for the destruction of national structures – while he wanted to maintain them, as he saw in them the basis of a value system, which he was fully in agreement with.

Such an attack on the value system was the Workers Olympiad at Frankfurt/Main in 1925.

Peace, Internationalism and Nationalism in Paris 1924 and Frankfurt 1925

The international office of the social-democratic oriented 'Lausanne Socialist International' (LSI) invited all 'the proletarians of the world to the Worker Olympiad'. By mass participation it should be emphasised that workers sportsmen support peace and international understanding; the strive for a peaceful world was considered a central theme to create an identity of the Workers Olympiad:

"We want that these sport events become a demonstration, through which it shall be pointed out how we understand Workers sport. Further we want to use this outstanding chance to serve the peace between nations in the clearest sense."
[translation A.B.]¹³

Therefore the organizers of the Workers Olympiad intended to make a contribution for the people's understanding far beyond creating an effective symbol. Desiring that their Olympiad as an international meeting might exert a positive influence on the relations between sportsmen of different nations, they shared Coubertin's dreams about Olympic Peace:

"All Workers sportsmen must come to Frankfurt. They must come together, learn to estimate and love each other and in this way create the true feeling of international friendship which makes militarism and its horrible ghost, war, impossible." [trans. A.B.]¹⁴

The thought that an international meeting offers the opportunity to humans of different nationalities to come closer together and learn to estimate each other, exhibits a clear agreement with the thesis of Coubertin's 'respect mutuel'. Coubertin assumed that it would be kind of childish to require of people to love each other, however, it would not be utopian to expect 'mutual respect', after they became acquainted with each other:

"Et précisément le 'respect mutuel' convient aux sociétés démocratiques dans une si grande mesure qu'à peine peuvent-elles s'en passer sans risquer de verser dans l'anarchie. Les révolutionnaires français sentaient cela lorsqu'à côté des mots: liberté, égalité, ils plaçaient pour les corriger et pour compléter leur devise, le mot: fraternité. Mais c'est trop exiger des hommes. La fraternité est pour les anges. Le respect mutuel représente ce que l'on peut sans exagération réclamer de l'humanité. Il paraîtra étrange qu'aucun ait osé aller jusqu'à ce maximum utopique, on ne se soit point ensuite rabattu sur un minimum raisonnable, la doctrine du respect mutuel a ceci contre elle qu'elle exige la connaissance mutuelle. La tolérance qui n'est après tout qu'une forme de l'indifférence peut régner entre gens qui s'ignorent. Le respect ne s'établira qu'entre gens qui se connaissent."¹⁵

The organizers of the Workers Olympiad went one step further. With a meeting of workers from 'all countries' at the Workers Olympiad they intended that the Workers sportsmen should learn to love each other. On the background of 'true' internationality future wars should become impossible. In this regard the hopes of the Workers sportsmen were higher than Coubertin's, who expected a reduction of the probability of future wars, as unawareness from which misunderstandings arise should be eliminated. On the part of the workers, militarism was seen primarily as the cause of wars; however, it should be prevented by the same medium as the unawareness – by international friendship.

The Olympiad in Frankfurt was planned as an impressive demonstration of the strength of the Workers movement:

"All sportsmen, who have understood that unanimity of all proletarians will develop a new world, must come to Frankfurt. [...] Three cheers to the 'Workers International', which will bring peace to all peoples." [trans. A. B.]¹⁶

A further step towards unanimity of the working class should be carried out with the Workers Olympiad on an international level. The central aim for the politically interested and class-conscious Workers sportsmen was to change of the world according to the fundamental principles of socialism. Thereby, the organizers of the Olympiad clearly stressed the connection between the Workers Sports Movement and the political Workers Movement. From their point of view, the peace between peoples as a common goal of the workers movement had almost been achieved because of the planned Olympiad in Frankfurt. The source's emphatic mode of expression reflects the self-confidence of the Workers sportsmen. On the one hand, it appears that they felt strong enough to achieve large changes through the power of their movement. On the other hand, the will to demonstrate this strength and to make the political requirements of the Workers Movement valid comes to the fore:

"If hundred thousands cross the new stadium of Frankfurt in the days of the Olympiad, then be aware, new times have come. These are not Roman gladiators anymore; these are also no longer the sons of the capitalistic Bourgeoisie, these

are workers' sons and daughters of Europe, who fought for their right of culture. Still they are standing at the beginning, but in their eyes, in the play of their strong bodies, in the strength of a steeled will you can see: Despite all that! We will make this world servable for us, this world will be ours!" [trans. A. B.]¹⁷

How do the organizers of the Workers Olympiad express themselves towards such goals as agreement between nations and peace in view of the Olympic Games of the IOC? Both movements claimed to make a contribution to World peace after all. Coubertin's statements, that the opinion of the socialists be utopian and dangerous, were already mentioned above. The negative attitude towards their conception of peace and internationalism also can be transferred to the peace conception of the Workers Olympiad. The workers movement was a competing political movement¹⁸ as there was a strong link between the Socialist Movement and the LSI¹⁹.

At this point the question occurs, in how far the organizers of the Games at Frankfurt believed to differ from the Olympic Games? The worker sportsmen assumed that the Olympic Games did not actually apply their ideals of internationalism, agreement between nations and peace. According to their opinion the Olympic Games was a meeting of national chauvinists, who misused the humanistic notion of an international sporting event. This seemed to be supported by the Olympic Games of Paris in 1924. The organizer of the Frankfurt Workers Olympiad Fritz Wildung criticized the 'bourgeois' Olympic Games and their attitude towards internationality and peace. He doubted, that there had been any effect of the 'bourgeois' Games on peace in contrast to the positive effects of the Workers Olympiad. Wildung completely opposed Coubertin's statement of making a contribution to international peace through the Olympic Games:

"After the bourgeois sport gave new life to the old Olympic Games of the Hellenes, they became from four to four years ever more chauvinistic in their fight of the nations against each other." [trans. A. B.]²⁰

As an example of the denial of nations' reconciliation within the Olympic Movement, he stressed the hostile behaviour between nations. From his viewpoint chauvinists on both on sides - Germans and the other IOC members - met one another with the largest mutual distrust. Also after the war it was very difficult for the members of the Olympic Movement to get into touch again. Against the requirements, to start up reconciliation among the former war participants, the members from Germany, Austria and Russia were excluded. As Wildung polemically explained, by avoiding confronting the enemies of World War I with one another, there were chauvinistic excesses during the post-war Games:

"Although the former war comrades were quite alone with the neutral ones – above all the Enfant terrible Germany was absent – chauvinism celebrated a madder orgy than ever before. Even against their most faithful former brothers in arms the French sportsmen, living in the spirit of 'bloc national', behaved anything but gentlemanlike." [trans. A.B.]²¹

The incidents, which run counter to the Olympic Idea, were described extensively by the press of the worker sportsmen. The reports of the newspaper 'Freie Sportwoche' concerning an incident during the Games in Paris supported the reproaches of the Worker sportsmen, that the 'bourgeois' Games did not accomplish their aim to support a better understanding between nations:

"Something edifying from the Paris Olympiad

Already the rugby final between France and America was held. Both had remained victorious over the Romanians before. Two Frenchmen had to be carried from the field wounded. America triumphed with 17:3 goals. The Americans had been to a training camp for several weeks in England and had already been to France about 14 days before the Games started. Of course they are 'only amateurs'.

Furthermore the aftermath of the final is interesting: 'After this fight a serious riot occurred. A photographer, who hoisted the American flag to honour the victorious team, was flogged by the crowd, and an American, who gave his compatriots three cheers, was treated with a cosh, so that the police finally had to intervene and use their clubs.' Thus reported the French press. As it is well known, international sport is to serve peoples' understanding!" [trans. A. B.]²²

With a certain malicious joy that there were excesses of violence in Paris, the Workers sportsmen not only doubted the possibilities of the Olympic Games concerning reconciliation between nations but denied in total. Wildung summarized the rejection on the part of the LSI and the opinion of the true nature the Olympic Games as follows:

"It seems to us, as if the bourgeois sport with its international Olympiads is either on a wrong track or it has not the courage to give them the correct name. One should have the courage to stick to the truth and name Olympia what it is: as a war with sporty means in public. It is nothing else." [trans. A. B.]²³

The analysis followed this destroying estimation why the idea of Olympic Peace was doomed to failure:

"How can these nations which prepare for war against each other day by day, of which no one trusts the other, find together for a peaceful and sporting exercise? No, there is nothing of a peaceful, joyful and fair atmosphere; there is only a preparation against each other for the victory and the prestige of the nation. There glows hate in the eyes and in the hearts, hate and envy, if not even worse forces, lie in wait. Certainly the fight awakes easily the animal instincts, if the spirit of humanity is not in it. Nationalists do not know humanity. Nationalism and humanity are of a different nature. The bourgeois Games will still carry the mean sense of nationalism on the forehead for a long time, because the capitalistic world does not know true reconciliation." [trans. A.B.]²⁴

According to Wildung nationalism, capitalism and militarism were standing in the way of the Olympic Games and their aim to reconcile nations. Participants filled with 'hate' and 'envy' would make peaceful coexistence impossible. Furthermore Wildung was not able to regard the 'meeting of the peoples' as a collection of 'good' patriots, who treat their neighbours with respect, as Coubertin wanted it. For Wildung, the Olympic Games were bearing a mark of nationalism in the most negative sense. The shape of the Workers Olympiad should differ fundamentally from this appearance:

"Our Olympiad is carried by no other thought than the agreement between nations and reconciliation. For us, nations do not fight against each other but sport comrades of all countries with one another." [trans. A. B.]²⁵

Wildung claimed that according to the Olympic Idea nations should not fight against each other at the Olympic Games. Nevertheless there also were nationalistic motivated excesses and international disagreements in Paris like in previous Olympics. However, Wildung was

convinced that the real 'agreement' would be redeemed with the Workers Olympics, through the community of Workers sportsmen:

"We all are from one spirit, one will and one blood. We all have the same enemy: Capitalism, which produces nationalism and feeds it at its bosom. We do not celebrate the nation as victors, their flags do not blow in front of us, but brothers and sisters of the misery unite under the flags of socialism. As members of our International we fight for the high price, to be best part of the whole." [trans. A. B.]²⁶

In the opinion of Wildung, there was no danger for the Workers Olympiad of one national workers sport federation against the others – in contrast to the Olympic Games and its failure of an idea of peace. From the Workers' Movement point of view a common enemy, which was nationalism, united all Workers sportsmen. As Wildung emphasized, the Workers sportsmen were closely connected above all frontiers by their common misery, namely their social and economic situation. In this context the nations had none or only a subordinated meaning in contrast to Coubertin's concept, which stressed the nation state. Socialism and working class consciousness took the key position for this process of agreement between comrades.

What was Coubertin's position towards the incidents mentioned above? First he defended the athletes and explained their irritation by criticism of persons outside of sports, like journalists, by the aggressive behaviour of spectators or caused by the competitive character of the sport itself. Secondly, he pointed out that these were only exceptions and fair play and helping each other were the usual behaviour among Olympic athletes.²⁷ Despite the unpleasant incidents during the Games in Paris, of which Coubertin was also critical, on the whole he was satisfied.²⁸

Coubertin summarized the Paris Olympics as an event with outstanding achievements and exemplary behaviour of the athletes; for him it was yet another fine example to prove the effectiveness of the Olympic Idea and the promotion of Olympic Peace.²⁹ The behaviour of the spectators was criticized just like the behaviour of the press. Also the fact that the chauvinistic and aggressive behaviour was no proof of a learning process in the sense of the 'respect mutuel' among the spectators was a heavy blow for the reputation of the Paris Games. The effectiveness of the Olympic Peace on the masses did not reach the spectators.³⁰ Again and again the nationalistic and unfair behaviour of the crowd was lamented. The IOC commission for education discussed this problem and recognized it as a threat to the Olympic Idea.³¹ Finally one problem remained: The meaning, understanding and emotions of spectators during the Olympic events are not really controllable for the organizers of the Games. Even if the organizers controlled the setting of sports, the concrete situation was viewed differently on an individual level, depending on their origin, their social situation, experiences and its respective reception of the situation concerned.³²

Nevertheless Coubertin's hero remained the Olympic athlete, who embodied the ideal image of Olympic Peace. The only thing criticized by Coubertin was the press reaction to the Paris Olympics.

Conclusions concerning the interaction of Nationalism, Internationalism and the image of Peace

Based on the statements concerning the image of Olympic Peace in Paris 1924 one might come to the conclusion, that international games with a strong reference to national identities

were not only the basis for Coubertin's image of Olympic Peace but also one of their greatest problems concerning international understanding.

By the athletes' role as Ambassadors of peace, who fight as representatives of their nations and not as individuals, the Olympic Games represent an idealized performance of the worldwide community of rivalling nations which have developed in the nineteenth century.³³ Nationalistic excesses of the spectators, as they happened in Paris, can not only be seen as a lack of Olympic Education of the spectators and sensationalism of the yellow press. One might rather be willing to conclude, that the emphasis of nation and native country within the Olympic Idea does not really take into account the situation of the spectators. Emphasising national differences also fed chauvinistic feelings among the spectators. Already existing reservations among the spectators were transferred onto the athletes, so that the athletes were considered symbols of the nation state and its desired superiority.

The Games at Frankfurt also showed difficulties with their image of peace among all nations. The Workers Olympiad had limited participation, as only members of the Socialist Workers Sport federation could take part. They were generally class conscious members of the lower class. They also had to confess to the 'correct' political conviction – socialism – to be allowed to participate.

At this time the Workers Sports Movement had already split up into two groups, one more social-democratic and the other one more communist oriented, which was a huge hindrance for the aim to create solidarity among 'all' Workers sportsmen and -women. This led to the situation that the desired internationality of the 'Frankfurt Olympiad' could not be assured to desired extent in the long run. In consequence of the arguments of LSI and Red Sport International (RSI) the Soviet Workers Sports Movement did not participate in the Olympiad.³⁴ The political controversy within the Workers Movement stood in the way of the intention to engage the proletarians of all countries for the image of peace among all nations.

The Olympic Movement also failed with the VIII. Olympiad to a certain extent and its mission to promote peace through internationality. Forced to deal with the difficult task to seriously reconcile, by offering a meeting to athletes, whose countries had recently met on the battlefield, the Olympic Idea lost against the Olympic Movement and its members. Concerning this question the members of the IOC were rather representatives of their nations than independent supporters of the Olympic Peace. While in many sports – like all winter sports and track & field³⁵ – regular sporting events had taken place in bourgeois sports since 1920, the Olympic Games was one of the rare exceptions, in which the former war enemies were excluded until 1928. This led to the strange image of the Olympic idea that the stars of the Paris Olympics like the American track & field athletes travelled from Paris on to Germany to participate in the international track circuit. Concerning this point, the nationalism of the representatives of IOC won against the philosophy of Olympic Peace – and even the pragmatism of the international sports world. The importance of nationalism – and by this also national difference – was struggling with fundamental principles of the Olympic Idea. Even for Coubertin national prestige seems to have been more important than his own notion of international understanding.³⁶

NOTES

¹ Höfer, Andreas: *Der Olympische Friede: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit einer Idee*. Sankt Augustin 1994, p. 43.

² Nigmann, Walter: „Pierre de Coubertin: Der Beitrag der Olympischen Spiele zum internationalen Frieden“, in: Müller, Norbert & Messing, Manfred (eds.): *Auf der Suche nach der Olympischen Idee*. Kassel 1996, 63-74, p. 63.

³ For further details concerning the standpoints of the scientific community concerning the Olympic Peace see Güldenpfennig, Sven: *Frieden - Herausforderung an den Sport: Ansätze sportbezogener Friedensforschung*. Köln 1989, pp. 191 and Nigmann: „Pierre“, pp. 63.

⁴ „L'internationalisme tel que nous le comprenons est fait du respect des patries et de la noble émulation dont tressaille le cœur de l'athlète lorsqu'il voit monter au mât de victoire, comme résultat de son labeur, les couleurs de son pays.“ See Coubertin, Pierre: „Les 'trustees' de l'idée olympique“, in: 8 *Revue Olympique* (1908), 108-110, p. 110.

⁵ Coubertin [1901] in: Müller, Norbert & Schantz, Otto (eds.): *Edition de textes choisis de Pierre de Coubertin: Revelation*. Zürich/Hildesheim/New York 1986, p. 252.

⁶ Coubertin, Pierre de: „Que faut-il penser du socialisme?“ In: 4 *Revue du Pays de Caux* 1 (1902), 136-146. For further details see Nigmann: *Coubertin*, p. 64.

⁷ Coubertin: „socialisme“, p. 138.

⁸ Regarding Coubertin's own social background, the fear and refusal of such aims can not surprise. His engagement in the 'social question' was based on the patriarchal conviction that he was morally obligated as a member of the upper class to take care of the 'poor and helpless'. However the model of a society divided into social classes was not debatable. For more details concerning Coubertin's roots see Loland, Sigmund: „Coubertin's Ideologie of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas“, in: 4 *Olympika. The International Journal of Olympic Studies* (1995), 49-77, p. 51 and Eyquem, Marie-Therese: *Pierre de Coubertin: Ein Leben für die Jugend der Welt*. Dortmund 1972.

⁹ Coubertin, Pierre de: „Solidarité Internationale“, in: 10 *Revue Olympique* 1(1901), p. 47. For further details see Nigmann: *Coubertin*, p. 66.

¹⁰ Coubertin, Pierre de: *L'analyse universelle: L'éducation intellectuelle*. Paris 1912 cit. in Müller: *Coubertin. Tome I*, 274-313, p. 278

¹¹ Nigmann: *Coubertin*, p. 66.

¹² Alkemeyer, Thomas: *Körper, Kultur und Politik: Von der ‚Muskelreligion‘ Pierre de Coubertins zur Inszenierung von Macht in den Olympischen Spielen von 1936*. Frankfurt a. M./New York 1996, p. 208.

¹³ „Wir wollen, daß diese internationalen Sport-Manifestationen eine Demonstration werden, mit der gezeigt werden soll, wie wir den Arbeitersport verstehen. Wir wollen ferner diese einzigartige Gelegenheit benutzen, um im wahrsten Sinne für den Völkerfrieden zu wirken“ (Haupt-Ausschuss der I. Internationalen Arbeiter-Olympiade (ed.): *Festbuch. Erste Internationale Arbeiter-Olympiade zu Frankfurt-Main 24. bis 28. Juli 1925*. Frankfurt a. M. 1925, p. 5).

¹⁴ „Nach Frankfurt müssen alle Arbeitersportler kommen. Sie müssen zusammenkommen, sich schätzen und lieben lernen und so das wahre Gefühl internationaler Freundschaft schaffen, das den Militarismus und sein abscheuliches Gespenst, den Krieg unmöglich macht“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 6.).

¹⁵ Coubertin, Pierre de: *L'Education des Adolescents au XX^e Siècle. III. Education Morale: Le Respect Mutuel*. Paris 1915, pp. 14.

¹⁶ „In Frankfurt müssen sich alle Sportler einfinden, die begriffen haben, daß die Geschlossenheit aller Proletarier eine neue Welt entstehen lassen wird. [...] Hoch die Arbeiter-Internationale, die den Völkerfrieden bringen wird“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 5.).

¹⁷ „Wenn in den Tagen der Olympiade die Hunderttausende das neue Stadion Frankfurts durchschreiten, dann wisse, es ist doch eine neue Zeit gekommen. Das sind nicht mehr Gladiatoren Roms, das sind auch nicht mehr Söhne der kapitalistischen Bourgeoisie, das sind Arbeitersöhne und -Töchter Europas, die sich ihr Anrecht an der Kultur erkämpft haben. Noch stehen sie am Anfang, aber in ihren Augen, in dem Gliederspiel ihrer gepflegten Leiber, aus der beherrschenden Kraft eines gestählten Willens kannst du lesen: Trotz alledem! Wir werden uns diese Welt dienstbar machen, diese Welt wird unser sein!“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 21).

¹⁸ See Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 21.

¹⁹ For more informations concerning the ‚Luzerner Sportinternationale‘ (LSI) founded in 1920 see Dierker, Herbert: *Arbeitersport im Spannungsfeld der Zwanziger Jahre: Sportpolitik und Alltagserfahrungen auf*

internationaler, deutscher und Berliner Ebene. Essen 1990 and Dierker, Herbert: „Die Beziehung zwischen Luzerner Sportinternationale/Sozialistische Arbeitersport-Internationale und Roter Sportinternationale (1920/21-1928/29)“, in: Teichler, Hans Joachim (ed.): *Arbeiterkultur und Arbeitersport. 9. Fachtagung der DVS-Sektion Sportgeschichte vom 27.-29. März 1985. Clausthal-Zellerfeld 1985, 142-167*.

²⁰ „Nachdem der bürgerliche Sport die alten olympischen Spiele der Hellenen wieder zu neuem Leben erweckt hat, sind sie von vier zu vier Jahren immer mehr zu einem chauvinistischen Kampfe der Nationen gegeneinander geworden“ see Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 8.

²¹ „Obwohl nun die ehemaligen Kriegsgenossen mit den Neutralen unter sich waren, vor allem das Enfant terrible Deutschland dabei fehlte, hat der Chauvinismus tollere Orgien gefeiert als je zuvor. Selbst gegen die getreuesten Bundesbrüder hat sich der im Geiste des bloc national lebende französische Sport wenig gentlemanlike benommen. Sein Verhalten war alles andere, als der Engländer unter ‘sportlich’ versteht“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, pp. 8).

²² „Erbauliches von der Pariser Olympiade: Bereits wurde das Endspiel im Rugby zwischen Frankreich und Amerika ausgetragen. Beide waren vorher über die Rumänen siegreich geblieben. Zwei Franzosen mußten verwundet vom Platz getragen werden. Amerika siegte mit 17:3 Toren. Die Amerikaner hatten vorher eine mehrwöchentliche Trainingszeit in England durchgemacht und waren in Frankreich selbst schon etwa 14 Tage vor den Spielen. Selbstverständlich sind es „Nuramateure“. Interessant ist ferner das Nachspiel zu dem Entscheidungsspiel: ‘Nach diesem Kampfe haben sich ernste Krawalle zugetragen. Ein Photograph, der zu Ehren der siegreichen Mannschaft die amerikanische Flagge hißte, wurde von der Menge verprügelt, und ein Amerikaner, der seine Landsleute hochleben ließ, wurde mit einem Totschläger bearbeitet, so daß schließlich die Polizei eingreifen und ihre Knüppel gebrauchen mußte.’ so berichtet die bürgerliche Presse. Der internationale Sport dient bekanntlich der Völkerversöhnung!“ („Erbauliches von der Pariser Olympiade“, in: 11 *Freie Sportwoche* 1924, p. 100).

²³ „Uns scheint, als ob der bürgerliche Sport mit seinen internationalen Olympiaden sich entweder auf einem falschen Weg befindet oder nicht den Mut hat, ihnen das richtige Gesicht zu geben. Man sollte diesen Mut zur Wahrheit haben und das Olympia als einen Krieg mit sportlichen Mitteln auch äußerlich gelten lassen. Nichts anderes ist es“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 9.).

²⁴ „Wie können sich die Nationen, die täglich gegeneinander zum Kriege rüsten, von denen keine der anderen über den Weg traut, zu friedlicher, sportlicher Arbeit zusammenfinden? Nein da ist nichts von friedlicher, freudiger Feststimmung, da ist nur ein Rüsten gegeneinander um den Sieg und um das Prestige der Nation. Da glüht Haß in den Augen und in den Herzen, Haß und Neid, wenn nicht schlimmere Gewalten, umlauern sich. Gewiß der Kampf weckt leicht die tierischen Instinkte, wenn nicht der Geist der Humanität in ihm ist. Nationalisten kennen keine Humanität. Nationalismus und Humanität sind einander wesensfremd. Die bürgerlichen Spiele werden noch lange denn Ungeist des Nationalismus auf der Stirn tragen, denn die kapitalistische Welt kennt keine wahre Versöhnung“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 9).

²⁵ „Unsere Olympiade ist von keinem anderen Gedanken getragen, als dem Gedanken der Völkerverständigung und -versöhnung. Bei uns ringen nicht Nationen gegeneinander, sondern Sportgenossen aller Länder miteinander“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, pp. 9).

²⁶ „Wir sind alle eines Geistes, eines Wollens und eines Blutes. Wir haben alle denselben Feind: den Kapitalismus, der den Nationalismus erzeugt hat und an seinen Brüsten nährt. Nicht Nationen werden bei uns siegbekränzt, nicht ihre Fahnen wehen uns voran, sondern Brüder und Schwestern der Not vereinen sich unter den Fahnen des Sozialismus. Als Glieder unserer Internationale kämpfen wir um den hohen Preis, bester Teil des Ganzen zu sein“ (Haupt-Ausschuss: *Festbuch*, p. 10).

²⁷ See Coubertin, Pierre de: *Olympische Erinnerungen*. Berlin 1987, p. 191.

²⁸ See Coubertin in: Scherer, Karl-Adolf: *100 Jahre Olympische Spiel: Idee, Analyse und Bilanz*. Dortmund 1995, pp. 106.

²⁹ In addition to the Games in Paris there was not only exemplary behaviour of the athletes. The principle of Fair Play was seriously ignored. Thus it came to a controversy between two fencers during a fencing competition, which ends up in a duel – not in a sporting one. Besides this, scandalous decisions of referees and tumults during the boxing and rugby competitions appeared. Because of these incidents the executive committee had to punish athletes and functionaries (see Lenk, Hans: *Werte, Ziele Wirklichkeit der modernen Olympischen Spiele*. Schorndorf 1964, p. 99).

³⁰ In this context Scherer refers to the special problem of French chauvinism, which particularly focused on the Americans in Paris (see the above report). Scherer criticizes the inability of the Frenchmen to respect

achievements of their opponents. Since the Germans did not participate, the Frenchmen would have looked for another new image of enemies (Scherer, Karl-Adolf: *100 Jahre Olympische Spiele: Idee, Analyse und Bilanz*. Dortmund 1995, pp. 106).

³¹Lenk, *Werte*, p. 102.

³² At the Olympics the mass was not invited to participate in decisions but only as a consumer, by this limits were set to the actual degree of the instruction. For this aspect of the masses please see chapter IV. 5 in Alkemeyer: *Körper*, pp. 217.

³³ Alkemeyer, Thomas: „Die Wiederbegründung der Olympischen Spiele als Fest einer Bürgerreligion“, in: Gebauer, Günther (ed.): *Olympische Spiele – die andere Utopie der Moderne: Olympia zwischen Kult und Droge*. Frankfurt a. M. 1993, 65-100, p. 80.

³⁴ At the Workers Olympiads in Frankfurt (1925) and Vienna (1931) all sports organizations of the RSI were excluded. For further details see Riordan, James: „Arbeitersport in einem Arbeiterstaat: Die UDSSR“, in: Krüger, Arnd & Riordan, James: *Der internationale Arbeitersport: Der Schlüssel zum Arbeitersport in zehn Ländern*. Köln 1985, 35-64, p. 55.

³⁵ Holmäng, Per-Olaf: "International Sports Organizations 1919 – 25: Sweden and the German Question", in: 9 *Int. Journal History Sport* (1992), 455–466.

³⁶ For further information about how Coubertin used his influence to make Paris Olympic town see Coubertin: *Erinnerungen*, pp. 166.