

**A Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the Institute for Historical Research
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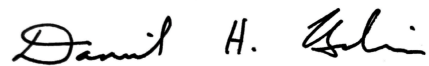
**The Evolution of Military Sports Diplomacy:
Competition and Cooperation in the Global Era**

By
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2025

Declaration

By Daniel Holbrook Bolin

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Daniel H. Bolin". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'D' and a stylized 'B'.

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not
been submitted for another degree at any other
university.

Abstract

In 2019, the People's Republic of China (PRC) hosted the International Military World Games (MWG), with over 9,000 military athletes from 109 countries in 27 sports. The opening ceremonies were a "50-minute extravaganza" titled the Torch of Peace in a stadium packed with 60,000 spectators, including the PRC President, Xi Jinping.¹ The president of the lead organisation, the Conseil International du Sport Militaire (CISM), deemed the event a resounding success: "Sports always builds bridges, sports never erects walls."² Yet, where did the idea of military sports as a mechanism to influence diplomacy originate? And do sports *always* build bridges and *never* erect walls? Since the early 20th century, Military Sports Diplomacy has been a complex reflection of societal trends, and, as this thesis argues, has led to multiple outcomes dependent on the structure of the games.

This thesis explores sports played among foreign militaries for diplomatic objectives since 1919. While sports were primarily seen as preparation for war during the Victorian and Edwardian eras, military sports were increasingly viewed as a mechanism to foster cooperation and advance national interests away from the battlefield after World War I. Due to their hegemonic positions in the 19th and 20th centuries, their advanced military cultures, and their passion for sports, Great Britain and the United States played pivotal roles in shaping Military Sports Diplomacy in the decades preceding and following the Great War. Yet, military sports remain an underexplored diplomatic tool in an operational environment that increasingly depends on influence through coalition partnerships rather than winning a single campaign. This study traces the evolution of Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD) by applying the ideas of classical war theorists across four categories: Enduring MSD, Special Event MSD, Improvised MSD, and Rehabilitative MSD. By war theory, this thesis refers to the study of the nature and character of war as a distinctly human activity. Each category is discussed within a broader historical context before applying the global

¹ 'Xinhua Headlines: China Offers Friendship as 2019 Military World Games Open - Xinhua | English.News.Cn', 19 October 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20191019035537/http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-10/19/c_138483744.htm.

² 'Xinhua Headlines'.

diplomacy framework (communication, representation, and negotiation) to representative case studies.

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Abbreviations

AEF – American Expeditionary Force

ASCB – Army Sports Control Board

AFSC – Allied Forces Sports Council

CISM – Conseil International du Sport Militaire

CSC – Command and Staff College

DoD – Department of Defence

GA – General Assembly

IGF – Invictus Games Foundation

IHL – International Humanitarian Law

IOC – International Olympic Committee

IPC - International Paralympic Committee

ISAF – International Security Assistance Force

JTSD – Jim Thorpe Sports Days

LOAC – Law of Armed Conflict

MOS – Military Operational Specialty

MRAP — Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected

MWG – Military World Games

OPORD – Operational Order

PME – Professional Military Education

POTFF – Preservation of the Force and Family

PoW – Prisoner of War

RBIO – Rules-Based International Order

SDE – Senior Developmental Education

STM – Society for Trained Masseuses

USSOCOM – U.S. Special Operations Command

WC – War College

YMCA – Young Men’s Christian Association

Introduction

During the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, sports were increasingly used to promote esprit de corps, discipline, and fitness while encouraging teamwork within the professional militaries of the era. Beyond their intrinsic value in shaping a nation's culture, sports after WWI were utilised to strengthen relations among foreign militaries. The Kentish Cup, which began in 1919 and continues to the present, is one example of top footballers from the British, French, Dutch, and Belgian militaries competing to foster "good relations between armed forces."³ Despite the growing prevalence of such activities since the end of WWI, there has yet to be a comprehensive historical analysis of the evolution of Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD). This thesis makes an original contribution to the existing literature by exploring the evolution of military sports as a diplomatic tool post-WWI and addressing why WWI represented a critical turning point.

First, the introductory chapter posits that the military-sports complex, which is now taken for granted, emerged from three distinct phases identified by Professors Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson: the germinal, incipient, and take-off phases.⁴ This thesis begins by adapting these three phases to military sports while introducing a fourth phase, the continuum phase of MSD. The primary focus of this thesis will be on military sports in the continuum phase. Following a review of the research questions and aims, this introduction concludes with an overview of the methodology, including the structure and the ontological and epistemological assumptions and the sources within each chapter—first, an analysis of the phases in MSD.

Definition and Context: Historical Phases

Military Sports in the Germinal Phase: Middle Ages – Early 19th Century

³ The Football Association, 'UK Armed Forces Football - Royal Air Force FA - Kentish Cup', www.royalairforcefa.com, accessed 30 October 2023, <http://www.royalairforcefa.com/players/ways-to-play/uk-armed-forces-football>.

⁴ Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, *Globalization & Football* (London, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446213544>.

The first adapted phase in military sports, the *germinal phase*, spans from the Middle Ages to the early 19th century. In the germinal phase, both civilian and military sports were characterised by mob play—rudimentary sporting events, often part of local customs or festivals. During these games, existing tensions among competing communities routinely led to violence, broken bones, and the occasional death.⁵ As a reflection of the broader society, sports played in the military often focused on improving martial skills. An example occurred in the late 13th century and early 14th century when the English monarchy mandated archery practice while banning mob “foot ball”⁶—a pastime that increasingly injured the citizen-soldiers without benefit to the Crown.⁷ Thus, sports in the germinal phase differed from modern games in three key aspects: they (1) lacked specialisation, (2) were uncoded, and (3) were regarded as an extension of the civilian world rather than a distinct endeavour.⁸

Military Sports in the Incipient Phase: 19th Century

During the 19th century, national militaries became increasingly detached from the civilian sector. The industrial, mechanised nature of warfare demanded not only mass involvement but also specialisation. As a result, there was a decreased emphasis on social status or birth rights within the officer corps and, generally, a focus on a more holistic education that included studies beyond the technical aspects of warfare. Most professional militaries in the early 19th century viewed Prussia as a model of positive military reform. Following Prussia’s defeat at Jena in 1806 by Napoleon Bonaparte, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn advocated for physical training to promote discipline and resilience within Prussian society. Gymnasiums were rapidly constructed across Prussia to “rediscover the heroic qualities of their race.”⁹ The fruits of these efforts were realised in the Prussian victories over Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Throughout the 1800s, German schoolchildren routinely engaged in “Turner” gymnastics, where instructors barked orders at rows of children to instil political

⁵ Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 6.

⁶ The original spelling was separated into foot ball.

⁷ F. P. Magoun, ‘Football in Medieval England and in Middle-English Literature’, *The American Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (1929): 33–45, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1838470>.

⁸ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (Routledge, 2013), 2.

⁹ Eugen Weber, ‘Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle France: Opium of the Classes?’, *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (February 1971): 70, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1869777>.

virtues, discipline, and “unquestioning obedience to authority.”¹⁰ While the objective of physical education in Prussia was martial discipline in service to the nation, England focused on physical education to foster individual character, morality, and discipline.¹¹ From the 1830s onwards, “English public schools underwent a games revolution.”¹²

The sports movement in Great Britain gained popularity through the highly successful book *Tom Brown's School Days*, written by Thomas Hughes and published in 1857. The book advocated for the amateur ideals of fair play, manliness, and a strict social hierarchy, which were reinforced through rugby and other team sports that had been rising in prominence in Great Britain for decades. Additionally, the book lent support to the Muscular Christianity movement, which connected physical deprivation and hardships to the cultivation of moral virtues. The YMCA, established in 1844 in London, embraced Muscular Christianity and promoted the mind-body-spirit triad to a generation of young men across the Atlantic, including the future US President Theodore Roosevelt.¹³ Roosevelt championed *Tom Brown's School Days* as one of two books that every young individual ought to read.¹⁴ An article published in 1919 in *National Geographic* noted that, while Roosevelt was widely recognised for his influence in “social, political, economic, and literary fields, time may show that one of the most profound lessons was a deeper regard for healthful, vigorous, and strenuous outdoor sport.”¹⁵ In the years leading up to WWI, Muscular Christianity significantly impacted a generation of young men by glorifying sporting warriors as defenders of peace through their brave and adventurous spirit. Consequently, many young men in the 19th century were drawn to the military as an extension of these masculine pursuits.

Certain developments in civilian sports had a significant impact on military sports. In 1848, Cambridge hosted a conference to settle the differences between carrying in rugby and kicking in football. These discussions led to the official rules for association football (soccer)

¹⁰ Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 144.

¹¹ Weber, ‘Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle France’, 71.

¹² Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 7.

¹³ Richard O. Davies, *Sports in American Life: A History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 98–100.

¹⁴ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, 35.

¹⁵ J.R. Hildebrand, ‘The Geography of Games: How the Sports of Nations Form a Gazetteer of the Habits and Histories of Their Peoples’, *National Geographic Magazine*, August 1919, 103.

being published fifteen years later, in 1863, followed three days later by the founding of the Football Association (FA) in London. In the United States, universities in the 1860s debated the soccer-style rules favored by Yale against the rugby rules preferred by Harvard. In 1869, the first Princeton-Rutgers rugby-style football game was played, intensifying rivalries that spurred innovations in American football throughout the late 19th century, including the introduction of downs, gridiron fields, and block tackling.¹⁶

As an extension of Social Darwinism in the late 19th century, the codification of sports helped justify male Anglo-American dominance over what were then considered inferior races and nations. Sports were frequently likened to warfare, where the strong, courageous hunter pursued and conquered weaker prey, whether a lion or a human.¹⁷ In British imperial efforts, sports were also perceived as a means to instil “manliness and the martial spirit” among the Indigenous troops who supported British rule.¹⁸ Additionally, aligned with the amateur code of fair play, the outcomes of sports and warfare were often regarded as less significant than how the soldier or athlete conducted themselves in the game.¹⁹ Was the soldier fair and courageous in victory or defeat? All could be forgiven if one played or fought in the right manner.

Although the British advocated for soldiers and schoolboys to play or fight correctly, winning still mattered—especially in warfare, where technological advancements and enhanced killing mechanisms favoured well-trained soldiers over those with mere courage and pluck. This became increasingly clear following the British military’s lacklustre performance in the Crimean War (1853), the Sepoy Rebellion (1858), and the Boer War (1898). Leaders began to question the reliance on “playing the right way” in areas outside the sporting pitch. In Great Britain, these questions led to the Abolition of Purchase in 1870, which ended the practice of buying one’s rank. Ironically, during this period, social enterprises outside direct

¹⁶ Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 7.

¹⁷ The 1904 Olympics, held in St Louis, are as notable for the sports as they are for the anthropological displays of indigenous tribes in their “natural or primitive states”, which were part of the World's Fair that coincided with the Olympics.

¹⁸ Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 35.

¹⁹ Peter Donaldson, *Sport, War and the British: 1850 to the Present*, Routledge Research in Sports History (New York: Routledge, 2020), 30.

military engagements, such as sports, grew more significant for advancement in an environment where wealth mattered less.²⁰ It is no surprise that the Rugby Union was formalised in 1871, and many British regiments excelled in these strictly codified, amateur competitions.

On the other side of the Atlantic, America's involvement in the Spanish-American War in 1898 prompted similar questions about how to professionalise a large standing army while remaining or becoming a key player on the world stage. In elite military academies, the United States turned to American football—a national sport with seemingly clear connections to combat, using organized violence to secure decisive victories. The US Military Academy's football team, established in 1890, found early success, playing undefeated seasons in 1914 and 1916.²¹ The US Naval Academy's football program began eleven years earlier, in 1879, and also achieved early success, having an undefeated season in 1910 against much larger civilian universities.²² It is significant that the governing body of US intercollegiate sports, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), was formed in 1910 from its predecessor, the Intercollegiate Athletic Association (IAA). The following excerpt highlights the shift from student-led to university and conference-led sports in America in the late 19th century, where the service academies competed exceptionally well.

In terms of regulation, between 1840 and 1910, there was a movement from loose student control of athletics to faculty oversight, from faculty oversight to the creation of conferences, and, ultimately, to the development of a national entity for governance purposes.²³

The codification and specialisation of military sports in the incipient phase spread beyond the academies and service teams to everyday soldiers, airmen, and sailors, fostering an

²⁰ James D. Campbell, *The Army Isn't All Work: Physical Culture and the Evolution of the British Army, 1860-1920*, First issued in paperback 2017 (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 18.

²¹ '1915 Football Schedule', Army West Point, accessed 12 February 2024, <https://goarmywestpoint.com/sports/football/schedule/1915>.

²² 'NAVYSports.Com - The United States Naval Academy Official Athletic Site - Traditions', accessed 12 February 2024, <https://web.archive.org/web/20131106115559/http://www.navysports.com/trads/usna-facts-figures-history.html>.

²³ Rodney Smith, 'A Brief History of the National Collegiate Athletic Association's Role in Regulating Intercollegiate Athletics', *Marquette Sports Law Review* 11, no. 1 (1 January 2000): 13.

intensely loyal military-sports culture in America and Great Britain that laid the foundation for the third phase—the take-off phase of military sports.

Military Sports in the Takeoff Phase: Late 19th Century - 1918 (end of WWI)

The take-off phase in military sports began in the late 1800s and lasted roughly until the end of WWI. During this period, the French aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin, with a keen interest in physical education, founded the modern Olympic movement. His passion for international sports stemmed from his country's poor military performance in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. After touring British public schools in the early 1880s, Coubertin concluded that the British emphasis on team sports was key to revitalising France's military culture. Team sports could usher in a new generation of courageous Frenchmen to reclaim their lost national glory.²⁴ It is interesting that the British public schools of the late 19th century increasingly gravitated towards militaristic Spartan ideals rather than democratic Athenian ones, reinforcing anti-intellectual attributes and stoicism over intellectual pursuits.²⁵ At the national level, the take-off phase of military sports reflected the hope that sports could cultivate a fighting spirit within the increasingly large standing armies of the early 20th century. Ironically, on an international level, this phase simultaneously embodied grand ambitions in sports to build bold, disciplined military forces while also leveraging sports' unique qualities to "substitute arbitration for violence."²⁶

In the years leading up to WWI, sports provided a common language among diverse troops and instilled a sense of national identity among those stationed overseas. American military forces increasingly preferred baseball over foreign sports such as football and fencing. Furthermore, sports within the American ranks were believed to enhance the fighting spirit

²⁴ Dikaia Chatziefstathiou, 'Reading Baron Pierre de Coubertin: Issues of Gender and Race', *Aethlon: The Journal of Sport Literature* 25, no. 2 (22 March 2008): 96.

²⁵ J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981).

²⁶ David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Football*, Penguin Sport (London]: Penguin Books, 2007), 234.

by reducing anxiety during warfare. Combat was often likened to a “game” to calm the nerves and provide a familiar context.²⁷

World War I was critical in transforming sports in the Western militaries from a “mainly spontaneous and improvised pastime to a compulsory activity.”²⁸ By the end of WWI, author J.R. Hildebrand in *National Geographic Magazine* (1919) argued that “sports of a nation afford an almost invariable barometer of its progress in civilisation.”²⁹ In the article, the author states,

A curious paradox: the maddest war men ever fought has had a tendency to turn the world to simple wholesome play. Your Englishman no longer makes excuses for the time he spent at the bat or in the saddle. Centuries of cricket, tennis, and riding to the hounds fortified his home land in times of terrible stress. Some five million Americans, many of them snatched from the desk and counter, are pouring back, having sensed the tang of open sky and outdoors while playing their games, football to ping pong, behind the lines as they waited to get into the biggest game of all.³⁰

The World War has helped stress a higher claim for sport. . .sport conditions the moral fiber of a people and tempers those mental qualities that advance civilization.³¹

In Great Britain, the emphasis on sports within the military was reflected in establishing the Royal Army Sport Control Board in November 1918, during which the British Army increased its oversight of service-level sports. In the United States, the military services increasingly concentrated on “American” sports—baseball, basketball, and American football—to cultivate the qualities of a civilised, distinctly American fighting force. Although the Americans might have been reluctant to acknowledge it, they adopted many lessons from

²⁷ Wanda Ellen Wakefield, *Playing to Win: Sports and the American Military, 1898-1945*, SUNY Series on Sport, Culture, and Social Relations (Albany, NY: State University of the New York Press, 1997), 16.

²⁸ Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, 80.

²⁹ Hildebrand, ‘The Geography of Games: How the Sports of Nations Form a Gazetteer of the Habits and Histories of Their Peoples’, 105.

³⁰ Hildebrand, 89.

³¹ Hildebrand, 103.

their British allies, who, from 1860 to 1918, documented their codes of play in various training manuals that were translated and shared with their European allies during WWI. The British focus on fair play and established rules ensured a “unity of practice,” facilitating competitions between foreign militaries during and after the war.³² Ultimately, WWI established the foundation for sports between foreign militaries after WWI.

Military Sports in the Continuum Phase: WWI to Present

The germinal, incipient, and take-off phases of MSD established the groundwork for the focus of this research—a phase this thesis refers to as the *continuum phase* of MSD. In line with contemporary warfare doctrine, this phase acknowledges the various methods of influence, including a mix of competition and cooperation. Importantly, the competition continuum does not dismiss traditional diplomacy; instead, it creates space for innovative, bottom-up approaches that complement the traditional, top-down methods. In this thesis, the continuum phase of MSD began after WWI and continues into the present.

In summary, during the germinal phase, militaries engaged in sports in a predominantly uncoded and unspecialised manner. If not directly related to combat, as with archery, sports were often part of civilian or religious festivals. In the incipient phase, sports became codified and specialised, giving rise to internationally recognised rules. The sports-military complex was solidified in the take-off phase, allowing for intentional play among foreign militaries—a trend that has persisted into the continuum phase of MSD. Although popularised in all-boys British public schools during the mid-19th century, militaries across the globe increasingly imitated, adopted, and adapted the British model before and during WWI, before “reversing the process to a later, more reciprocal interrelationship within popular culture”³³—a pattern that will be analysed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. Lastly, the continuum phase encompasses the post-WWI era, recognising that various diplomatic objectives can be attained through a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches in the competition continuum.

³² Campbell, *The Army Isn't All Work*, 158.

³³ S. W. Pope and John Nauright, eds., *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, Routledge International Handbooks (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010), 239.

Definition and Context: Historiography

During the Cold War, professional militaries increasingly eschewed historical education in favour of more technical training that supported advancements in modern warfare. Yet, champions of military history argue that successful commanders use history as a guide to judgment rather than a manual for executing tasks well. Chief of Staff of the Army, General Douglas MacArthur, stated the following in an annual report in 1935:

More than most professions, the military is forced to depend on intelligent interpretation of the past for signposts charting the future. Devoid of opportunity, in peace, for self instruction through actual practice of his profession, the soldier makes maximum use of historical record in assuring the readiness of himself and his command to function efficiently in emergency.³⁴

Thus, the mere facts of military history offer limited practicality on their own; it is only through engaging with and wrestling with history that lessons arise, enabling the practitioner “to deduce patterns and relationships to supplement experience and build intuition.”³⁵ Ultimately, the value of engaging with military history “depends, as with all experience, on its breadth...and on the method of studying it.”³⁶

To link history to present challenges, this study explores military sports within Professor Mary Kaldor’s continuum, which she terms old and new wars. In her *New War Thesis*, Kaldor attempts to “understand, interpret, and explain” the interdependent variables in the changing character of organised violence.³⁷ Although the continuum of cooperation and competition has no clear beginning or end, exploring Kaldor’s definitions of old and new wars helps one understand the overall aim or direction of fighting forces and, in this research, the impact on sports played among foreign militaries.

³⁴ US Marine Corps, *FMFRP 12-13: Maneuver In War (Reprint of 1939 Edition)* (Headquarters USMC Washington, D.C.: Department of the Navy, 1990), 2, <https://www.marines.mil/Portals/1/Publications/FMFRP%2012-13%20%20Maneuver%20in%20War.pdf>.

³⁵ Jonathan Cox, ‘Why Study History?’, *Canadian Military Journal* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 58–59.

³⁶ Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *Strategy: The Indirect Approach* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2012), 2.

³⁷ Mary Kaldor, ‘In Defence of New Wars’ 2, no. 1 (7 March 2013): 4, <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.at>.

An emphasis on the evolving orientation or logic in warfare is also not new. In *On War*, Carl von Clausewitz wrote, “War has its own grammar, but not its own logic,”³⁸ meaning that war is subordinate as an instrument of policy rather than a driving force. While logic encompasses the “why” or “overall direction of fighting,” the grammar of war pertains to the details—the “sum of operational imperatives or principles...the ‘how’ of fighting.”³⁹ United States Army War College professor Antulio Echevarria disagreed with Clausewitz’s assertion that war is devoid of logic, instead arguing that a military’s imperatives or operational capabilities often shape the overall direction or strategy of warfare.⁴⁰ This research agrees that a military’s capabilities (grammar) often shape the overall direction of war (logic), which, in turn, is linked back to the operational and tactical levels of warfare.

When applied to MSD, a nation’s internal military culture and capabilities (the grammar) directly influence how the country engages in international military sports (the logic). Whereas Kaldor uses the terms 'old' and 'new', this thesis recognises that a continuum of competition has existed for millennia, and a combination of competition and cooperation is a natural development in any uniquely human endeavour, including sport or warfare. As a result, the theoretical framework of this thesis draws on terms popularised by the British war theorist Basil Liddell Hart. In warfare or sports, the “direct approach” refers to a top-down orientation that seeks decisive victory, prioritising competition and confrontation. In contrast, the “indirect approach” refers to a bottom-up orientation that seeks to influence through cooperation, although it always includes competitive elements.

In the direct approach to military sports, elite soldier-athletes represent their national militaries in highly competitive events to enhance military proficiency and increase national status. It is no coincidence that the internationally recognised “Great Powers” are drawn to sports in this winner-takes-all format, as it provides a relatively risk-free setting to showcase dominance. In contrast, the indirect approach offers an opportunity for various levels of soldier-athletes to compete with one another in inclusive environments that foster trust and

³⁸ *On War*, First paperback printing (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989), 605.

³⁹ Antulio Echevarria, ‘Does War Have Its Own Logic After All?’, *Infinity Journal* 3, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 4–7.

⁴⁰ Echevarria.

understanding at a personal level. These orientations will be explored more thoroughly in Chapters 1 and 4.

Definition and Context: Research Questions and Aims

In August 1919, J.R. Hildebrand wrote that “sports and games ever were magic touchstones to geography and to those allied sciences which provide the surest clues to how peoples live, and work, and think.”⁴¹ By introducing the four categories of MSD and exploring representative case studies, this research argues one gains a deeper understanding of how the profession of arms lives, works, and thinks in the global era — the grammar of MSD. In doing so, this thesis aims to address two research questions.

Research Questions

The global positions and influence of the British and American militaries played a dominant role in the evolution of MSD. The British codification, specialisation, and internationalisation of sports were spread to colonies, dominions, allies, and even rivals through formal and informal processes during the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to spreading the rules that allowed for international play, the British passed on their commitment to playing in a manner they deemed appropriate — a manner loosely defined by an unwritten, often exclusive, amateur games ethic that valued aristocratic hobbyists playing fairly and without reward. America took note, but frequently preferred competition and winning over an ostensible commitment to playing the right way. In the years leading up to and during World War I, sports became an integral part of the modern profession of arms. Soldiers learned to play with and against one another using internationally recognised rules, and returned to their homelands with increased passion for their sport, service, and country. These developments set the foundation for the following two research questions:

⁴¹ Hildebrand, ‘The Geography of Games: How the Sports of Nations Form a Gazetteer of the Habits and Histories of Their Peoples’, 89.

RQ1: How did the military-sports complex of Great Britain and the United States, along with their respective hegemonic positions in the global era, influence the orientation and structure of MSD after the First World War?

RQ2. Recognising that elements of competition and cooperation have always been central to the profession of arms, how should modern militaries employ sports or other innovative diplomatic methods to strengthen international partnerships and reduce conflict in the global era?

The first question, RQ1, will be addressed in Parts I and II. Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 review the nature of the categories and provide historical examples of each. The second question, RQ2, will be addressed in Part III: Chapters 7 and 8.

The central argument of this thesis is that globalisation has influenced the character of military sports, shifting from one that focused more on winning decisive victories (the direct approach) to an orientation that embraces a more comprehensive peace-war continuum (the indirect approach). Although neither approach should be considered “old” or “new,” in the global era, militaries increasingly seek innovative, low-cost, and low-risk methods to achieve their nation's diplomatic goals. The various approaches to Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD) since the end of World War I provide insight into significant post-war trends in warfare studies and the societies from which these sports are rooted.⁴²

The focus of this thesis is on military sports played between nations. In traditional academic terms, diplomacy is defined as the execution of foreign policy and the management of international affairs between internationally recognised states.⁴³ This research adopts a broader perspective, as proposed by the Vienna Convention of 1961. Successful diplomacy “promotes friendly relations between the sending and receiving state irrespective of differing constitutional and social systems to develop economic, cultural, and scientific

⁴² Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture, and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, Sport in the Global Society 5 (London ; Portland, OR: F. Cass, 1998), xi.

⁴³ Simon Rofe, ‘Global Diplomacy – Diplomacy in the Modern World’, Coursera, accessed 28 March 2023, <https://gb.coursera.org/learn/global-diplomacy>.

relations.”⁴⁴ In support of this definition, Military Diplomacy and Military Sports Diplomacy seek to foster relationships among foreign militaries. Notably, while MSD predominantly occurs between allied nations, the universal appeal of sports can also bring together historically adversarial foreign militaries.

Thus, in this research, Military Sports Diplomacy is defined as the intentional use of sports among national militaries “to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust, and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces, thereby making a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution.”⁴⁵ MSD includes sports played across the spectrum of competition, both during wartime and peacetime, whether against friends or foes. While balancing competitive and cooperative approaches isn't a new idea, military theorists still grapple with the realities of warfare in the global era.

In 2017, the National Security Strategy of the United States reported, “After being dismissed as a phenomenon of an earlier century, great power competition returned.”⁴⁶ However, others have noted that competition between great powers cannot return, as it never truly left. Author Emma Ashford argues that these declarations are not a strategy but a signal to the world that America’s influence is in decline following the “three-decade period of U.S. global predominance that started with the collapse of the Soviet Union.”⁴⁷ This research agrees that militaries engage in global competition. Still, one must question what they compete for and, in this research, how sports can influence peaceful relations in an atmosphere of competitive coexistence.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ United Nations, ‘Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961’ (UN Treaty Series, Vol. 500), 1–3, accessed 28 March 2023, https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf.

⁴⁵ “Defence Diplomacy,” MoD Policy Paper 1’ (United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, December 2000), www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/AboutDefence/CorporatePublications/PolicyStrategyandPlanning/PolicyPapers/PolicyPaperNo1DefenceDiplomacy.htm.

⁴⁶ York College of Pennsylvania and John Weaver, ‘The 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States’, *Journal of Strategic Security* 11, no. 1 (April 2018): 62–71, <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.1.1655>.

⁴⁷ Emma Ashford, ‘Great-Power Competition Is a Recipe for Disaster’, *Foreign Policy*, 1 April 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/04/01/china-usa-great-power-competition-recipe-for-disaster/>.

⁴⁸ Zach Cooper and Hal Brands, ‘America Will Only Beat China When Its Regime Fails’, *Foreign Policy*, accessed 19 February 2024, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/03/11/america-chinas-regime-fails/>.

In 2021, two senior military officers, one from the United Kingdom and the other from the United States, concluded that the aim of international military competition in the context of national security and foreign policy is, “to gain and retain access and influence to preserve a rules-based international order (RBIO) favourable to the West.”⁴⁹ Although the RBIO was established by the West, the officers argue that all countries that support the concept benefit because it encourages the growth of “economic prosperity, cooperation and international law to solve problems and spread democracy.” The authors recommend focusing on intentional, *narrative-led operations* to influence the complex, globally connected environment.

In the increasingly complex and interconnected information age, an effective narrative-led operation is essentially a story that shapes organisational and individual actions before, during, and after an operation. It achieves this by linking the strategic level (why) to the tactical levels (how and what).⁵⁰ One lesson pertinent to all diplomatic engagements is the challenge of creating a cohesive narrative that resonates with the intended audience. Military organisers must ensure the right tone and content to ensure consistency when reinforcing the RBIO, as “actions make the story true.”⁵¹

Having outlined the research questions and the context in which the study takes place, this research makes two contributions to diplomacy and strategic studies. Empirically, this thesis constitutes the first in-depth study into the intentional use of sports played among foreign militaries. By introducing four categories of MSD (Special Event, Enduring, Improvised, and Rehabilitative) within the competition continuum, one can understand how countries increasingly leverage the low-cost, seemingly simple, and universal appeal of sports to advance their state goals. Second, this thesis acknowledges that foreign militaries are increasingly tasked with collaborating as coalitions in both peacetime and combat environments. By identifying the structures and mechanisms that enable specific diplomatic

⁴⁹ Tom Armstrong and Jim Harper, ‘THE ERA OF CONSTANT COMPETITION – PURPOSE AND PRINCIPLES’, Creative Thinking about National Security and Defense, 29 July 2021, <https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/purpose-principles/>.

⁵⁰ Author Tim Keller argues that any story or narrative includes three elements: how life ought to be, something knocks life off balance, and the effort to restore the balance.

⁵¹ Armstrong and Harper.

outcomes, this thesis informs military strategy and national policy beyond the realm of sports.

Methodology: Thesis Structure

Following this introductory chapter, Part I contains chapters 1, 2, and 3. Chapter 1 analyses the evolution of Military Sports Diplomacy within the direct approach of the competition continuum, one that reflects a top-down, highly competitive approach to sports and warfare, pursuing a decisive victory. Chapter 2 explores Special Events MSD and the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. After WWI, the American YMCA, a non-state sporting entity with a history of success in sports and evangelism, collaborated with the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) to organise a “Military Olympics” among eighteen allied militaries during demobilisation. Chapter 3 presents Enduring MSD and traces the establishment and trajectory of the Conseil International du Sport Militaire (CISM), also known as the International Military Sports Council.⁵² Since its creation in 1948, CISM has evolved into a globally recognised institution with annual games among foreign militaries under the banner of friendship. The following table outlines the research aims of Part I:

Table 1 MSD in the Direct Approach

Description	The direct approach is based upon winning a decisive victory through a single campaign, whether on the battlefield or in sports.
Orientation	Top Down
Basic tenets and goals of war in the direct approach.	• Binary peace-war construct where state survival is paramount in a realist approach to international relations. • The ends justify the means. • A key goal is the establishment of geographical and/or ideological sovereignty, e.g., Capitalism vs. Communism in the Cold War. • The military strategist most closely associated with the direct approach is 19th-century Prussian theorist Carl von Clausewitz: Blood is the price of victory. War (absent of fog and friction) trends towards escalation and the absolute. War is compared to a duel on a massive scale or a battle of the wills.
MSD as a reflection of the direct approach to war.	• Goals: Win a decisive victory on behalf of the state. • Methods: Highly spectatorial displays of athletic excellence that reflect a nation’s strength.

⁵² It is referred to as CISM to reflect the French spelling – Conseil International du Sport Militaire (CISM).

	• Actors: Elite soldier-athletes trained and vetted to represent their service and/or country at the international level.	
Intended diplomatic outcomes of MSD as a reflection of the direct approach.	• Develop a fighting spirit that persists and even thrives in the face of inevitable hardship (in battle or sports). • Test one's mettle against another national military while demonstrating strength or exposing weaknesses in a low-risk setting. • Through grand displays of athletic prowess, militaries can instill a deep sense of pride in their forces, which can, in turn, boost recruitment and retention. Individuals are drawn to be part of a force that embodies such strength and resilience. • Facilitate discourse between military and civilian leaders who attend the athletic events. • Elevate the level of performance of participating forces through increased awareness of advancements in fitness education and training.	
Categories and Case Studies in the direct approach	<i>Chapter 2: Special Event MSD</i> • A unique event, limited in duration and scope. • Highly competitive, winner-takes-all format. • Case Study: 1919 Inter-Allied Games	<i>Chapter 3: Enduring MSD</i> • Continuous, diverse, centrally controlled, and corporate structure. • Case Study: 1948 Creation and Trajectory of CISM

Part II examines MSD as a reflection of the “indirect approach” of war. Chapter 4 defines the indirect approach as more nuanced, focusing on influencing through partnerships rather than merely winning. Chapter 5 analyses Improvised MSD, using the Jim Thorpe Sports Days as a representative case study. Beginning in 1975 at the US Army War College, the games involve senior military student-athletes who gather for a three-day event and play various individual and team sports alongside foreign military athletes. Today, the event includes over 400 military students and approximately 100 international officers from five senior war colleges throughout the United States. The games move away from the direct approach in MSD of “us against them” by enabling individuals from various countries and services to intermingle on teams and play with, rather than against, one another.

Chapter 6 introduces the fourth and final category within the indirect approach: Rehabilitative MSD. In 2014, the British-led Invictus Games invited past and present military athletes who suffered from physical or psychological injuries connected to their military service. Although the event began in 2014, its roots can be traced back to the changes in

perceptions of returning, injured soldiers following World War I and World War II. The Invictus Games are compared to the US Warrior Games and the CISM Paraspport movement. The following table outlines the structure and research aims of Part II:

Table 2 MSD in the Indirect Approach

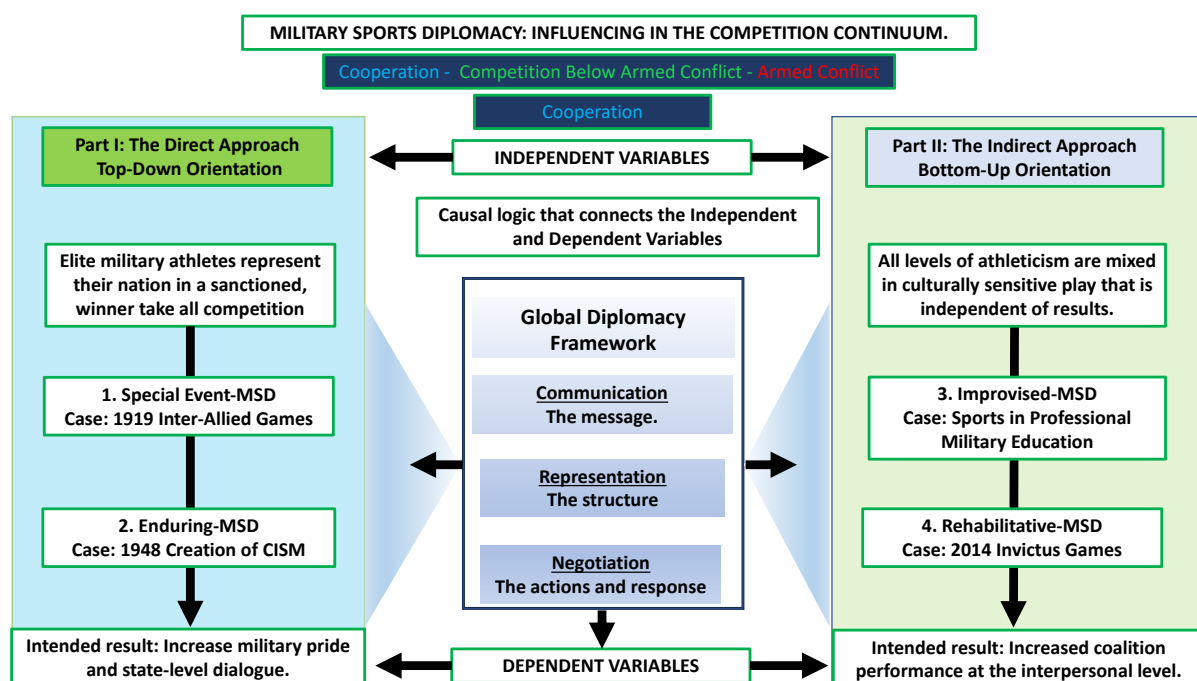
Description	The indirect approach is based upon influencing through the competition continuum (Cooperation, Operations below Armed Conflict, and Armed Conflict). The aim is continuous dialogue and building partnerships rather than ending the engagement through winning.	
Orientation	Bottom Up	
Basic tenets and goals of war in the indirect approach.	• Flanking: In the modern era, this includes risk-averse, highly technical military forces that prefer airpower and stand-off weaponry to boots on the ground. • The ends do not justify the means. With mass media coverage, conduct in war is as important as the results. • Warfare supports ethnic and religious identity politics that are constructed and supported by war. • The military strategist most associated with the indirect approach is 20th-century British theorist Basil Liddell Hart: Perfect strategy produces results without fighting. To Hart, the indirect approach (flanking, deception) is preferable to the direct approach (frontal assaults). In combat, Hart compares the indirect approach to feints that imbalance an opponent, allowing for quicker victories – the longest way around is often the shortest way home. In economics, Hart argues the indirect approach can be compared to a salesman who convinces buyers they want or need a product rather than forcing the product on them.	
MSD as a reflection of the indirect approach.	• Goals: Sports in the bottom-up orientation encourage the continuation of play rather than cessation after a decisive victory. • Methods: Structures encourage an attitude of playing with other national militaries rather than against them. • Actors: Diverse, and primarily amateur athletes of various skills who train and play with one another, regardless of audience participation.	
Intended diplomatic outcomes of MSD as a reflection of the indirect approach.	• Military sports can foster a fighting spirit that places humanity above nationalism. • Building trust and understanding among foreign militaries that translates beyond the sporting fields to the operational environment.	
Categories and Case Studies in the indirect approach.	Chapter 5: Improvised MSD • Spontaneous games organised by the soldiers and played with rather than against a foreign military. • Case Study: Jim Thorpe Sports Days	Chapter 6: Rehabilitative MSD • International, injured soldier sporting events that acknowledge the profession of arms as a universally recognised, uniquely human endeavour that includes sacrifice and service. • Case Study: The evolution of the US Warrior Games, the British Invictus Games, and CISM's Paraspport

Finally, Part III summarises the lessons from Parts I and II and recommends approaches for future engagements in MSD. Specifically, Chapter 7 reviews the primary takeaways from the four categories, drawing on the principles of Critical Realism and the English School of International Relations. Chapter 8 concludes that, although the study focused on sports, the four categories presented in this thesis apply to all diplomatic engagements involving foreign militaries. Before exploring the primary chapters, the following section examines the methodology employed in this thesis.

Methodology: Ontological and Epistemological Foundations

A theory consists of a “hypothesis stipulating an association between an independent and a dependent variable and a causal logic that explains the connection between those two variables.”⁵³ This thesis proposes that the logic or orientation (independent variable) influences the generative mechanisms (global diplomacy framework) that, in turn, causally affect diplomatic outcomes (dependent variable). The following figure illustrates the relationship.

Figure 1 MSD Variables



⁵³ Sebastian Rosato, 'The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory', *American Political Science Review*, November 2003, 585.

When exploring the generative mechanisms, this research is guided by Critical Realism's three core principles. First, *ontological realism* claims that a reality exists in the past, independent of the historian's perception or understanding of it. Second, *epistemic relativism* asserts that, with reality "out there," the historian's interpretation is contextual, fallible, and theory-dependent (not theory-determined). In this thesis, the historian posits that the structure and orientation of military sports reflect a nation's goals and influence diplomatic outcomes. Third, *judgemental rationality* asserts that, while epistemic certainty is impossible, the historian must choose "between conflicting truths while recognising that all such judgements necessarily remain open to further adjudication."⁵⁴ In this research, the lessons learned from the past can inform our understanding of present and future engagements. While acknowledging fallibility, the historian's role is to apply the appropriate models of explanation to construct a plausible reconstruction of the past and "reveal the reality behind it."⁵⁵

To achieve this, Critical Realism provides a theory-building process. The historian starts by generating novel insights and responding to new facts or old problems. The novel insight in this research is that one can better comprehend the complex evolution of military sports as a reflection of the direct and indirect approaches in the competition continuum. Next, the historian analyses the tendencies or generative mechanisms that enable or constrain past events.⁵⁶ This thesis posits that the structure of military sports facilitates experiences at both the individual and organisational levels which, in turn, lead to specific diplomatic outcomes. Whereas MSD in the direct approach builds pride in one's country and enhances dialogue among leaders, MSD within the indirect approach is characterised by a more networked, bottom-up structure that encourages trust and understanding on an interpersonal level. Finally, comparative historical analysis allows for corrections or modifications to the proposed insights.

⁵⁴ Andrew Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism: Ambiguity, Truth, and Theological Literacy*, New Studies in Critical Realism and Spirituality (London ; New York: Routledge, 2013), 9.

⁵⁵ Alan Munslow, 'Deconstructing History' (conference, British History in the Twentieth Century [E-seminars], Institute of Historical Research, 1997), 28, <https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4647/>.

⁵⁶ Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism*, 16.

The English School complements Critical Realism by offering a “holistic, integrative approach to international relations.”⁵⁷ Just as Critical Realism seeks to transcend the debate between extreme positivism and idealism, the English School attempts to “transcend the assumption often made in international relations studies that the realist, liberal, and Marxist approaches are incommensurable.”⁵⁸ In 1977, Hedley Bull posited that international relations are shaped by three constructs: the international system, the international society, and the world society. According to Bull, an international system arises when two or more states exert sufficient impact or influence to function as parts of a whole (rather than as separate entities). In turn, the international society exists when like-minded states “conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions.”⁵⁹ Importantly, institutions in the English School are not bureaucratic structures but rather long-term practices or norms that reflect a state’s orientation towards diplomacy, war, or, in this study, sports.⁶⁰ Finally, the world society acknowledges the significance of individuals in enacting change, for “the ultimate units of the great society of mankind are not states . . . but individual human beings.”⁶¹

When exploring MSD, this research starts with the premise that “states have similar interests in their self-preservation and conduct themselves in a mutually recognisable fashion.”⁶² Within the English School, shared interests mitigate self-interests and promote cooperation. Ultimately, the English School recognises the challenges of operating within a complex, adaptive system where alliances are influenced by norms or traditions that, in turn, shape one’s perception of who is considered a friend.

Significantly, both Critical Realism and the English School recognise the role of the agents or individuals who support or alter the system. In MSD, the leadership structures competitions either in a top-down (direct approach) or bottom-up (indirect approach) orientation, leading

⁵⁷ Barry Buzan, ‘The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR’, *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 3 (2001): 472.

⁵⁸ Buzan, 476.

⁵⁹ Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 13.

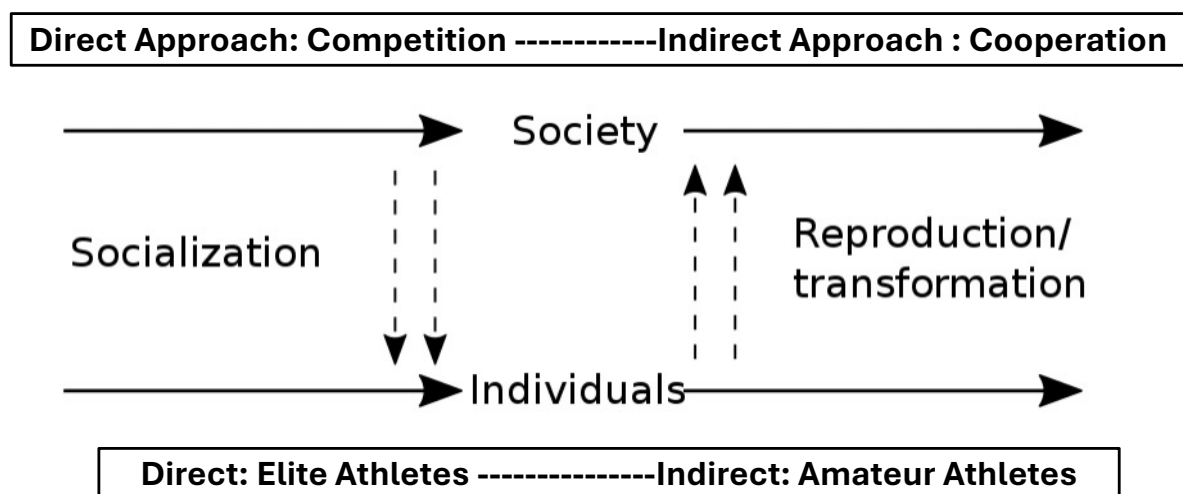
⁶⁰ Bull, *The Anarchical Society*.

⁶¹ Bull, 21.

⁶² Andrew J. Williams, Amelia Hadfield, and J. Simon Rofer, *International History and International Relations* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2012), 76.

to unique experiences for individuals who participate in or observe the events. This alignment corresponds with the Critical Realist approach, where “structures causally affect agents' actions and, in turn, structures are causally affected by them.”⁶³ In the direct approach to MSD, the elite soldier-athlete enters a pre-existing structure that prioritises winning and glory over cooperation. Soldier-athletes within this model strive to win while representing their nation. In contrast, the indirect approach values cooperation and the continuation of play over results. Yet, the soldier-athletes in both social structures possess the agency to reproduce or modify the pre-existing structure. They often do, as the subsequent chapters will highlight.

Figure 2 MSD Agency⁶⁴



To analyse the diplomatic mechanisms within the respective case studies, this research draws from professors Simon Rofo and Allison Holmes’s work on global diplomacy as a product of communication, representation, and negotiation.

⁶³ P. K. Edwards, Joe O’Mahoney, and Steve Vincent, eds., *Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide*, First edition (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014), 89.

⁶⁴ Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences*, 3rd ed, Critical Realism--Interventions (London: Routledge, 1998), 36, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=140475>.

Diplomacy is not some elusive creature that stays in the shadows of a shifting, fickle state, but a solid institution in its own right that has always sought to engage in a dialogue that can represent, negotiate, and, above all, communicate the needs of all people in any society to the rest of their world.⁶⁵

The global diplomacy framework is utilised in each of the four case studies across the relevant categories.

Global Diplomacy Framework⁶⁶

- (1) *Communication* refers to the intended message of each category. In MSD, this occurs at the strategic level of military operations and involves why a national military engages in military sports played against or with other nations.
- (2) *Representation* refers to the structural (operational) aspect of the games. In the direct approach, sports are played in a highly competitive, winner-take-all format. In the indirect approach, athletes are encouraged to play with rather than merely against one another.
- (3) *Negotiation* refers to access and feedback. This element includes the (tactical) actions of the players and leaders and the response from the intended audience, whether positive, negative, or neutral.

Methodology: Sources

This thesis cites various primary sources, including unpublished speeches from commanders, official and unofficial letters, and meeting minutes. The researcher also drew from secondary sources, including newspapers, academic journals, and past and present

⁶⁵ Alison Holmes and J. Simon Rofo, *Global Diplomacy: Theories, Types, and Models* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2016), 116.

⁶⁶ Holmes and Rofo, *Global Diplomacy*.

theorists in sports diplomacy and warfare. The following sections break down the respective sources within each category.

Chapter 2: Special Event MSD: 1919 Inter-Allied Games

The primary sources for the 1919 Inter-Allied Games were the YMCA archives in the United Kingdom and the United States. In the United Kingdom, the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham holds various archival references from the origins of the YMCA in 1844 to the present day. Three valuable resources included the meeting minutes from the UK-based YMCA leadership, the monthly *Red Triangle* magazine, which highlighted significant events from the period, and the first edition of *The Inter-Allied Games*, published in collaboration with the participating nations. In the United States, the Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota contain a comprehensive account of the games from the American perspective, including letters from the American Expeditionary Force and the American YMCA during and after the 1919 event. Lastly, the National Archives at Kew Gardens, the U.S. Army Education Center in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Royal Army Physical Training Corps Museum in Aldershot, England, provided source documents on the British and American responses to amateurism and professionalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Chapter 3: Enduring MSD: 1946 Allied Forces Sports Council and CISM

Based in Brussels, Belgium, the International Military Sports Council (CISM) maintains a rich repository of letters, magazines, and journal articles that proved critical in understanding Enduring MSD. The meeting minutes of 1946 demonstrate the intention of the Allied Forces Sports Council (AFSC) to create an enduring sports relationship among allied nations. The correspondence in the documents highlights the significance of the Track and Field event held in Berlin on September 6-7, 1946, which featured eight nations and drew over 120,000 spectators, making it the first major sporting event since the 1936 Berlin Olympics. They also highlight the early Cold War tensions that led to the disbandment of the AFSC and the establishment of CISM in 1948. CISM magazines were vital for understanding the organisation's focus on pursuing membership from a global military audience. Finally, the

National Archive provided documentation on why the British military chose not to participate in CISM.

Chapter 5: Improvised MSD: Jim Thorpe Sports Days

Reflecting the bottom-up nature of Improvised MSD, the sources for the Jim Thorpe Sports Days were primarily located at the US Army Heritage and Education Center Carlisle, Army Barracks, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In addition to hosting the annual event, the Army Barracks' library maintains correspondence and letters that highlight many of the challenges faced during the Jim Thorpe Sports Days, dating back to 1974. Lastly, the US Air Force Historical Research Agency, based at Air University in Montgomery, Alabama, provided archival data from the Air Force's perspective while attending the event.

Chapter 6: Rehabilitative MSD – The Invictus Games

When exploring the history of rehabilitative medicine and its connection to sport, the Wellcome Collection in London provided various archival documents, including minutes and transcripts from the British National Medical Services, spanning the 19th and 20th centuries. The archives also housed an extensive collection of letters and historical newspaper articles about Ludwig Guttmann, the founder of the modern Paralympic movement. To contextualise rehabilitative sports within the profession of arms, this chapter also drew upon the works of Morris Janowitz, Samuel Huntington, and Sir General Hackett. Regarding the Invictus Games, this research examined documents from the Invictus Games Foundation (IGF), as well as contemporary journals and news articles. For the CISM Parasport movement, the author referenced the after-action reports, the planning documents, and interviewed the director of sports. For the Warrior Games, the author referenced government source documents in addition to pre- and post-game reports.

PART I: The Direct Approach

Chapter 1: MSD as a Reflection of the Direct Approach

1.1 Introduction – *The Direct Approach to War*

In *Games and Empires*, author Allen Guttman argued that between the 18th and 20th centuries, Great Britain's influences through trade, colonisation, and imperial pursuits led to the diffusion of a distinctly British version of sport; one characterised by its secular, specialised, and codified nature. In the mid-to-late 19th century, the British effectively laid the foundations for the internationally accepted rules of the game, which enabled highly competitive play among various classes and nations. Yet, according to Guttman, after WWII, the Americans supplanted the British as the "primary agents in the diffusion of modern sports."⁶⁷ This chapter explores the highly competitive nature of MSD, where one side pursues a decisive victory over the other in either sports or warfare.

To explore the top-down orientation, this thesis adapts Mary Kaldor's research on 'old' and 'new' wars. In the old wars, opposing sides believed that "might is right" and that God would lead the righteous to victory. Aligned with this doctrine, warfare from the 19th century through the first half of the 20th century was fought either for "geopolitical interest or for ideology (democracy or socialism)."⁶⁸ Understandably, military sports via the direct approach also display a Clausewitzian inclination. Sports are an extension of policy "by other means" that drives an "us versus them" mentality.

The old wars were often romanticised as a sporting match on a grand scale, where one's opponent was expected to adhere to a shared sense of chivalry while attempting to best the other, whether in combat or sport. This view was evident at the outset of WWI when soldiers globally volunteered for service in droves, frequently expressing their fear of missing the greatest game of their lives. The Christmas Day Truce in December 1914, marked by singing and football, reflected the soldiers' shared vision of humanity and their expectation of a swift, glorious victory for their nation. However, after three years of

⁶⁷ Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 2.

⁶⁸ Kaldor, 'In Defence of New Wars', 2.

bloodshed and stalemates in the trenches, strategists continued to search for the elusive knockout blow that never materialised. By the war's conclusion, the glorified sports-war analogy had lost some appeal. War-torn societies were forced to concentrate less on winning the greatest game of their lives and more on domestic needs. War theorists during the interwar years shifted away from relying on pluck and numbers and towards technological innovations. The relatively brief history of airpower strategy aids in understanding the difference between the orientations towards warfare.

At the beginning of WWI, following the Wright Brothers' inaugural flight in 1903, aviation was primarily used for reconnaissance missions and remained attached to ground units for close air support. As technological advancements in speed and distance increased through WWI, the role of airpower expanded to include rudimentary bombardment and interdiction missions to cut off supply lines. When the war ended in 1918, the future of airpower appeared uncertain yet promising, raising the question: Could airpower finally deliver a decisive victory? Could the noble, sporting warriors of the past become pilots and reclaim the glory of warfare through a decisive victory?

Subscribing to this view, Italian artillery officer Giulio Douhet asserted that airpower was the key to future victories. Douhet attracted a following in military circles where a preemptive strike could neutralise the adversary's Air Force, after which those same forces would bomb enemy civilians into submission.⁶⁹ This approach has been characterised as a strategy of punishment, with the civilian population's morale or will to fight as the primary target. While this strategy was popular in the early and mid-20th century, airpower historian Robert Pape contends that a punishment strategy is neither practical nor acceptable in today's context. In contrast, Pape advocates for a denial strategy focusing on fielded forces and "uses military means to prevent the adversary from achieving its political objectives or territorial goals."⁷⁰ The connection to MSD is that, in both sports and warfare (airpower), the direct approach centres around creating conditions that yield a decisive victory. The ends

⁶⁹ Giulio Douhet et al., *The Command of the Air*, Fire Ant Books (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1998).

⁷⁰ Robert Anthony Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1996), 13.

often justify the means in the direct approach. French strategist Andre Beaufre summarised this sentiment in the following passage:

In the old type of warfare, the aim in most cases was to exact a political settlement after military victory. Military action was supposed to result in a psychological situation which would break the spirit of the enemy. When these strategies were no longer effective in obtaining such results, due generally to operational factors, the military effort was intensified – what we call escalation today...this is the phenomenon that Clausewitz called a “rise to extremes.”⁷¹

When examining old wars, Mary Kaldor employs the structure of “goals, methods, and actors.”⁷² This thesis finds it useful to adopt the same framework when defining the direct approach of MSD. Regarding timelines, this thesis supports the argument that the conclusion of the Cold War influenced the character of war, where “war-making started to become much less important in determining the relations between states.”⁷³ The shift resulted from globalisation, which, in this thesis, is defined as the increased interdependencies among societies and the shared consciousness of the world.⁷⁴ In the 1980s and 1990s, advancements in communication, media, and travel effectively compressed the globe, “magnifying and amplifying” the influence of international organisations and partnerships across all domains.⁷⁵

Importantly, this research does not emphasise a sharp distinction in timelines between the direct and indirect approach or old and new wars, as both orientations are neither new nor old—they have been around for millennia. Nevertheless, it is beneficial to explore each of Kaldor’s elements—goals, methods, and actors—as they relate to the different orientations.

⁷¹ André Beaufre, *Strategy for Tomorrow* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1974), 3.

⁷² Kaldor, ‘In Defence of New Wars’, 4.

⁷³ Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity-Press, 2011), 114.

⁷⁴ Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, *Globalization and Football* (Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2009), 2.

⁷⁵ Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, 2nd ed., repr (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 4.

1.2 The Direct Approach in MSD

1.2.1 Goals – Might is Right

The goals of the direct approach can be considered Clausewitzian. Carl von Clausewitz, having witnessed Napoleonic warfare in the early 19th century, compared battle to a duel on a massive scale where “blood is the price of victory.”⁷⁶ Kaldor writes that Clausewitz’s “most salient conclusion is the importance of overwhelming force and a readiness to use force.”⁷⁷ Correspondingly, MSD's first goal is simple in the direct approach: the athlete (like the elite soldier) enters the engagement to win. In Clausewitzian terms, military sports in this orientation foster an effective fighting spirit that “maintains its cohesion under the most murderous fire,” allowing soldiers to...

not lose strength to obey orders and its respect and trust for its officers even in defeat; whose physical power, like the muscles of an athlete, has been steeled by training in privation and effort.⁷⁸

Whereas the commander provides the overall direction, Clausewitz argued that there comes a point where the fighting spirit takes over.⁷⁹ Military sports in the direct approach can build a winning mindset that maintains discipline in the face of “murderous fire.” The ideal athletes of MSD in the direct approach are not thwarted by hardship or adversity but are fueled by it. Yet, thankfully, unlike combat, there are no casualties in (modern) sports. If both sides display the right fighting spirit, everyone still walks away, presumably with their heads held high, whether in victory or defeat. This idea is captured by authors Phillip Goodhart and Christopher Chataway in *War Without Weapons*.

In 1945, George Orwell criticised a sporting competition between rival nations after being told about (not witnessing) a particularly violent match between Russian and English

⁷⁶ Clausewitz et al., *On War*, 259.

⁷⁷ Kaldor, *New & Old Wars*, 25.

⁷⁸ Clausewitz et al., *On War*, 187.

⁷⁹ Clausewitz et al., 188.

football teams. In an article, Orwell condemned international sports as merely “war minus the shooting.”⁸⁰ In response, authors Phillip Goodhart and Christopher Chataway challenged Orwell’s statement as not being entirely negative. Isn’t Orwell’s statement the “ultimate justification” for sports?⁸¹ Would we not prefer sports that trade bullets on the battlefield for spirited play on the pitch? In this interpretation, perhaps military sports, in the direct approach, serve as a relief valve for international tensions. If not during the match, then perhaps after. Clearly, one cannot apply a victory in sports to territorial gains on the battlefield. However, Goodhart and Chataway argued that sports may be one of the few elements that can relieve international tensions by focusing on commonalities, potentially reducing the likelihood of military engagements on the battlefield.

Yet, in addition to victory, the question in diplomatic engagements is whether sports foster a military spirit that encourages respect and friendship off the playing field. Are diplomatic goals realistic in a binary, win-lose environment? This thesis contends that they are, but only through deliberate efforts by the athletes and organisers. In the direct approach, competitive events attract foreign militaries to a neutral location, with the hope of winning international acclaim. However, once there, it is the responsibility of the organisers, coaches, and athletes to ensure that foreign militaries engage on friendly terms—that the right military spirit is cultivated. The diplomatic challenge is to build rather than break down bridges among foreign militaries competing in top-down, international sports. Having discussed the objectives of MSD in the direct approach, the following section investigates the methods.

1.2.2 Methods – Spectatorial Displays of Elite Sporting Prowess

Author Joseph Nye introduced the term “soft power” in his 1990 treatise, *Bound to Lead*. Whereas the military is usually associated with hard power through coercion and force, soft power uses attractive measures to “get others to want what you want.”⁸² During the Cold War, Western nations leveraged soft power through ideological and cultural avenues such

⁸⁰ George Orwell, ‘The Sporting Spirit’, *Tribune* 10 (14 December 1945).

⁸¹ Philip Goodhart and Christopher Chataway, *War without Weapons* (London: W. H. Allen, 1968), 19.

⁸² Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 166.

as music, film, consumer products, and sports. Notably, Nye introduced his definition of soft power one year after David Hasselhoff sang “Looking for Freedom” on top of the Berlin Wall, signalling the end of the Cold War.⁸³ Others will argue that President Reagan’s command to “Tear down this wall!” was equally impactful.

Professor Nye recognised that soft power, while not new, became more intentional following the end of the Cold War. Due to the acceleration of globalisation in the 1980s and 1990s, militaries increasingly prioritised soft power as a proactive strategy rather than a secondary, supportive one.⁸⁴ In the direct approach, MSD is predicated on the great(er) powers influencing the lesser powers through demonstrations of high-profile, representative sports. However, for military sports to be effective in the direct approach, the methods must avoid “elitist or non-inclusive cultural portfolios that do not position sport as a potential deliverer of cultural relations or the common good.”⁸⁵ In this respect, MSD is one of many tools in a broader diplomatic toolbox that may be described as smart power. In 2008, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton spoke on smart power as leveraging...

the full range of tools at our disposal — diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural—picking the right tool or combination of tools for each situation. With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of our foreign policy. This is not a radical idea. The Ancient Roman poet Terence declared that “In every endeavor, the seemly course for wise men is to try persuasion first.”⁸⁶

Thus, as part of a smart power toolbox, military sports can leverage the competitive nature of states to meet on the fields of friendly strife. While Nye’s definition of soft or smart power has gained support among scholars and policymakers, it has also drawn critics. Niall Ferguson wrote that soft power is ineffective because it is “well, soft,” noting that Kim Jong Il may love pizza and Hollywood films while continuing to build a nuclear programme

⁸³ N. P. R. Staff, ‘How Mr. Hasselhoff Tore Down This Wall’, *NPR*, 9 November 2014, sec. History, <https://www.npr.org/2014/11/09/362595983/how-mr-hasselhoff-tore-down-this-wall>.

⁸⁴ Joseph S. Nye, ‘Soft Power’, *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 167, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148580>.

⁸⁵ Grant Jarvie, ‘Sport, Soft Power and Cultural Relations’, *Journal of Global Sport Management*, 4 August 2021, 6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/24704067.2021.1952093>.

⁸⁶ Hillary Clinton, ‘Former Secretary Clinton’s Remarks’, 21 January 2009, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/index.htm>.

directed towards the West.⁸⁷ Furthermore, Middle Eastern nations may enjoy Big Macs or wear Timex watches with little admiration for the Western way of life.

To comprehend the complexity of interactions in MSD, this research draws on Gordon Allport's work on social contact. In 1954, Allport stated, "*Under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between majority and minority groups.*"⁸⁸ Although rivalry or even hatred among groups has existed throughout human history, globalisation has brought previously separate groups into close contact where one cannot ignore others so easily. Still, we have not yet learned "how to adjust to our new mental and moral proximity."⁸⁹ According to Allport, not all is lost, as there is hope that human nature prefers kindness to cruelty and peace over warfare. While humanity generally favours peace, Allport contends that the conditions of contact between separate groups matter greatly. The three conditions that must be taken into account in MSD in either the direct or indirect approach include (1) equal status among groups, (2) common goals, and (3) support from authorities.⁹⁰ Allport stated:

[Prejudice] may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups.⁹¹

Although intended to address racial disparities within majority and minority groups, his conditions also pertain to military sports among nations. In the direct approach, the military teams are inherently unequal; the stronger side often prevails, while the weaker side typically loses. Competitions are designed to amplify, rather than alleviate, this unequal status. However, a crucial aspect that must not be overlooked is that, unlike the coercive

⁸⁷ Niall Ferguson, 'A World without Power', *Foreign Policy*, no. 143 (2004): 32–39, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4152908>.

⁸⁸ Edward Schiappa, Peter B. Gregg, and Dean E. Hewes, 'The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis', *Communication Monographs* 72, no. 1 (March 2005): 92, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0363775052000342544>.

⁸⁹ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Unabridged, 25th anniversary ed (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co, 1979), no. xiii.

⁹⁰ Allport, 30–45.

⁹¹ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Nachdr. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1985), 281.

nature of warfare, sports are (primarily) voluntary, with nations consenting to a shared set of rules for the games they play. In contrast to the anarchic world depicted by realists, the realm of MSD is governed by rules. For instance, in soccer, every nation recognises that players cannot handle the ball and run down the pitch. Equally significant is when a country decides not to compete, especially when others do. The absence of Great Britain in certain international military competitions will be examined in Chapters 2, 3, and 7.

Allport argues that members from disparate groups benefit when they work together towards a common objective—primarily when the objective can be achieved only by pooling together the disparate groups' efforts. Besides winning, the common goal in MSD is to test one's fighting spirit in a risk-free environment while improving military performance through the shared love of sports. In 1925, Pierre de Coubertin spoke presciently during his retirement address on the importance of inclusivity when pursuing common goals in international sports:

Is there any need to recall that the games are not the property of any country or of any particular race, and that they cannot be monopolised by any group whatsoever? They are global. All people must be allowed in, without debate.⁹²

The third condition is *support from the authorities*. In the direct approach, support from authorities is assumed as the representative militaries select their top athletes. These individuals are then routinely granted weeks, months, or even years to prepare for an event. However, for sports to act as a positive force in international relations, the diplomatic messaging from authorities must be received and understood at all levels. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, messaging can be viewed as part of a narrative-led operation that connects the intended message with the corresponding methods and actions.⁹³ Allport discusses four successive stages when building relationships at the interpersonal or group levels. The first is the contact stage, where different groups share the same space. The

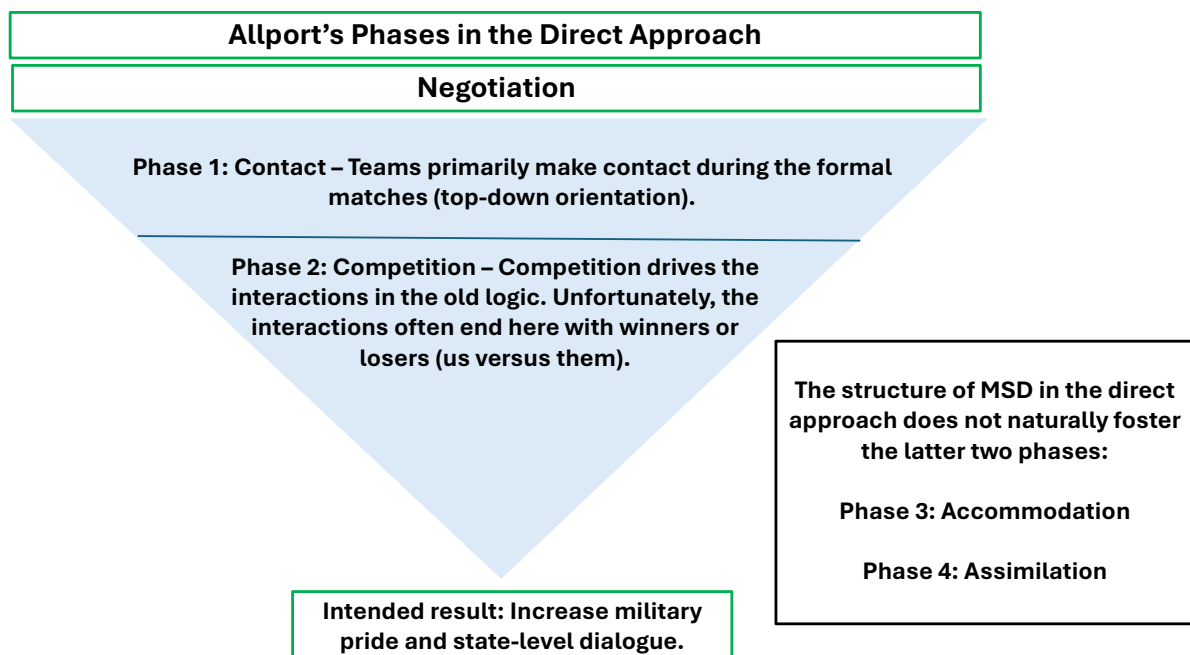
⁹² Theresa Macherer, 'Speech That Inspired the Modern Olympics Is Now the Most Expensive Sports Memorabilia Ever Sold', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 15 January 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/speech-inspired-olympics-return-now-most-expensive-sports-memorabilia-ever-sold-180973968/>.

⁹³ Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling* (London ; New York: Longman, 1987), 7.

second is the competitive stage, which leads to the third stage of accommodation and, if successful, the fourth stage of assimilation.⁹⁴

In the direct approach towards MSD, there is often only the time and conditions to allow for the first two stages—contact and competition. The participating militaries communicate that, by playing, they deserve to compete on a world stage. Yet, within the global diplomacy framework, the element of negotiation (for the players) typically occurs solely on the playing field, with the referee serving as the mediator in a tense, highly competitive environment. Off the field, in the stands, the spectators and leaders likely have more opportunities for the latter two elements—accommodation and assimilation. The figure below illustrates Allport’s four phases for the elite players in the direct approach.

Figure 3 Allport Phases in the Direct Approach



Although at times challenging, foreign militaries can still foster trust and understanding during these competitions. However, athletes must compete for the right reasons and in the

⁹⁴ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1979, 261.

appropriate manner. Countries that participate in MSD in using the direct approach must remain mindful of the tendency to prioritise winning at the cost of friendship or inclusivity.

When considering how sports are either embraced or rejected among foreign militaries via the direct approach, it is helpful to reference the work of Allen Guttman in *Games and Empires*. Guttman wrote on the “ludic diffusion” of sports by Great Britain and the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries. The adjective *ludic* describes something as spontaneous, undirected, lighthearted, or fun. Although cultures may adopt sports in a playful manner, the factors that drive the diffusion of sports often involve a combination of political, cultural, and economic factors. When the elements align against a weaker nation, this is considered cultural imperialism.⁹⁵ And, although hegemonic is often an appropriate term in describing the diffusion of sport, the relationship between the strong and the weak is rarely absolute. Guttman highlights how, in the more stable and lasting forms of governance, the weaker nations have a say.⁹⁶ This thesis argues that the mechanisms of this two-way road differ in the direct approach to MSD compared to those of the indirect approach.

The direct approach to MSD is more intentional compared to the indirect approach. As the figure above illustrates, much of the emphasis is on the contact and competition phases that occur during a sporting engagement. And yet, although the stronger nations may organise the events, the weaker nations often perform exceptionally well (either in the short term or the long term). The difference is that in the direct approach, most of the feedback from the ‘weaker’ nations occurs outside of the event itself. This phenomenon is evident in the various styles of football now played worldwide. Although the football rules were codified in England in the late 19th century and spread globally, over time, countries have innovated the game in ways that reflect their unique cultures. Germans now play an organised, offensive style, whereas the Spanish have developed a style that uses possession, fluidity, and rapid counterattacks. Brazil is known for their creativity and flair on the pitch. Importantly, all these styles have proven effective in the modern era.

⁹⁵ Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 172–73.

⁹⁶ Guttman, 6.

The takeaway is that the accommodation and assimilation phases of Allport's model still occurred, but often not during the event itself, and over a more extended period. This thesis argues that, if one of the goals of these diplomatic engagements in MSD is to elevate performance, history shows that this is a realistic objective. Equally important, weaker nations continue to compete, finding success through trial and error. Still, the method of the direct approach is inherently exclusionary, and organisers must be careful not to ostracise other national militaries. This thesis argues that the concept of the inner circle helps to understand the exclusionary nature of the direct approach.

In a 1944 commencement speech at King's College, the renowned English literature professor C.S. Lewis warned the graduating students that every human institution, whether academia, business, government, or the military, has two inner circles. The first is inclusionary and comprises skilled craftsmen or women. In MSD, all athletes are skilled professionals and deemed worthy of the first inner circle. They have *made the cut*. Lewis then warns of a "second or unwritten system" that "you discover gradually, in almost indefinable ways, that it exists and that you are outside it, and then later, perhaps that you are inside it."⁹⁷ Unlike the first system, the second is primarily exclusionary. It ensures that others remain outside the fold.

Lewis discusses the terror of being excluded from this second inner circle and how seemingly minor actions and choices can, over time and subtly, cause individuals to blur the line between right and wrong in their attempts to access this group. In MSD, athletes may no longer play for the right reasons, but only for themselves (and their nations, as an extension of their own success). From a Machiavellian perspective, any means can be justified to further one's own ambitions or the state's objectives—to gain entry into or remain within the inner circle.

⁹⁷ Alan Jacobs, *The Narnian: The Life and Imagination of C.S. Lewis*, 1st ed (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 181.

Yet, this thesis also argues that aspiring to high performance standards is not inherently negative. Guttmann recognises this aspect, writing how Third World governments routinely request Western help (European and American) in sports and understand “that an enthusiasm for modern sports can be shared by ethnically and religiously diverse populations that have very little else in common.”⁹⁸ Although the stages in the direct or top-down approach to MSD revolve around contact and competition, they often lay the groundwork for more substantial engagements in the future while providing a performance metric to work towards.

A final note on diplomatic methods in MSD is that there is no ludic diffusion without a messenger—some agent or organisation must carry the message. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the British and then the American military’s sporting cultures (that included a commitment to playing competitively and by internationally recognised rules), laid the foundation for a message that eventually took root in the various militaries around the globe; a message that ultimately became integral to modern militaries and how the individual or unit made sense of their lives. Still, this process did not happen overnight. As Dr. Campbell noted in *The Army isn’t all Work*, “The process of cultural imperialism, or the spreading of British culture around the world, is perhaps the longest-lasting result of the British Empire, and the Army was arguably one of the most powerful agents in that process.”⁹⁹

When considering methods, the direct approach recognises that in MSD, the initial contact is unlikely to be the final point of contact. Nonetheless, the messenger must be careful how they package and deliver the intended message. Having examined the goals and methods, the next section explores the actors involved in the direct approach of MSD.

⁹⁸ Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 183.

⁹⁹ Campbell, *The Army Isn’t All Work*, 79.

1.2.3 Actors –Elite Military Athletes as Ambassadors of the State

This section borrows from Clausewitz's paradoxical trinity of passion, chance, and reason to help understand the nature of actors in the direct approach to MSD. According to Clausewitz, the three elements of his paradoxical trinity act as...

a total phenomenon, its dominant tendencies always make war a paradoxical trinity – composed of...(1) the blind natural force (passion), (2) the play of chance and probability where the creative spirit is free to roam (chance), and (3) its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy (reason).¹⁰⁰

The trinity is paradoxical because each element “interacts within and among the other elements to create a pattern of behaviour that is understandable yet difficult to predict.”¹⁰¹ Clausewitz compared his primary three elements (passion/chance/reason) to what has been termed a secondary trinity of (1) the civilian population that fuels the passion (or hatred), (2) the military commanders who manipulate chance through creativity, and (3) the state or governments that supply the reason or logic.¹⁰²

In the direct approach, the secondary trinity of people, military, and government was logical because, during the Napoleonic wars of the late 18th century through to WWII, the only entity that could effectively compete on the battlefield was a state-sponsored, professional military. When applied to MSD, the first element, passion, is complicated. In Clausewitzian war theory, passion is associated with hatred and drives militaries to escalate violence to extremes. In contrast, the passion of MSD (in the direct approach) is directed towards fiercely competitive play. If not managed carefully, competition may escalate towards extremes, diminishing the likelihood of achieving diplomatic aims. The second element, chance, involves the leadership or organisers who manage the creative element in MSD while adhering to internationally recognised rules in the respective sport. Thirdly, as with warfare, in MSD, reason encompasses the government's purpose for engaging in the games.

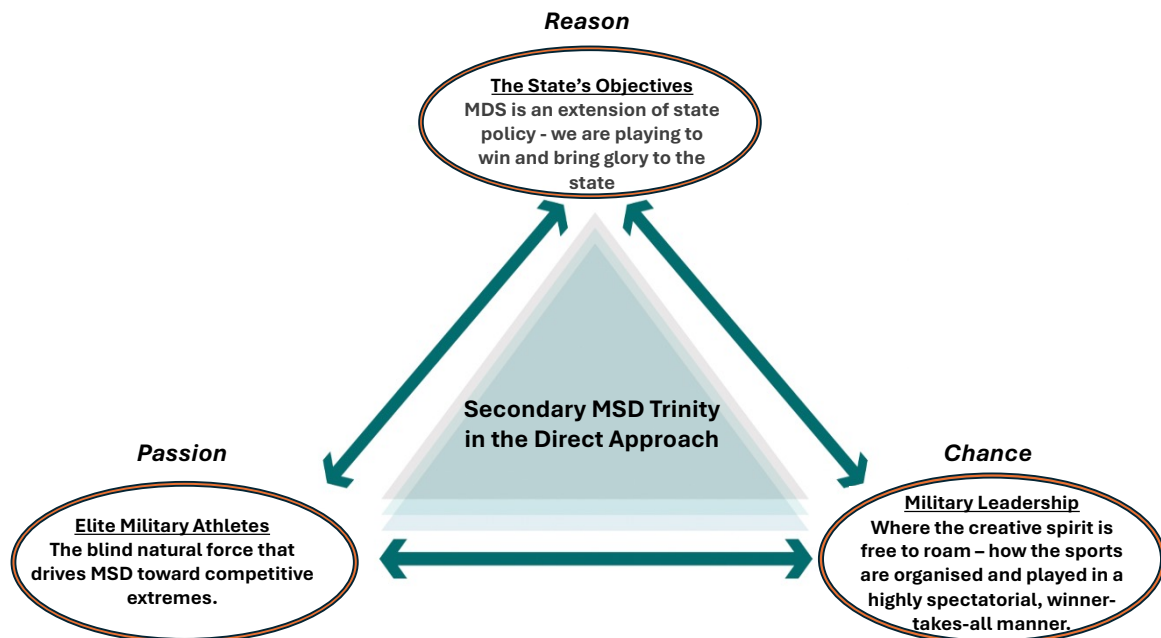
¹⁰⁰ Clausewitz et al., *On War*, 89.

¹⁰¹ Brian Cole, 'Clausewitz's Wondrous Yet Paradoxical Trinity: The Nature of War as a Complex Adaptive System', 2020, 8.

¹⁰² Clausewitz et al., *On War*, 89.

In the direct approach, the goal is to enhance one's standing while potentially forming military partnerships. Figure 4 visually represents the MSD trinity in the direct approach.

Figure 4 MSD Trinity in the Direct Approach



Ultimately, the actors of MSD reflect the realist approach to international relations in the competition continuum: the strong advance while the weak retreat in a global demonstration of Social Darwinism. The ancient Greek war theorist Thucydides summed up this sentiment in the Melian Dialogue at the height of the Peloponnesian Wars: "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."¹⁰³ And yet, international sports organisers, including the founder of the modern Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, routinely believe that sports can soften tension among the strong and the weak, the victor and the vanquished. Coubertin felt that, if effectively managed, soldiers would profit from sports, for they could be "more humane, during battle...able give their best when asked...and when, finally peace came, to put aside any personal differences and animosities and feelings of hatred that were created between them."¹⁰⁴ As a departure from the realist focus on survival alone, this section supports Coubertin's assertion that, with proper

¹⁰³ Thucydides et al., *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Rev. with a new introd. and app.[repr.], Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), bk. 5 chap 89.

¹⁰⁴ Pierre de Coubertin and Jean-Pierre Rioux, *Essais de psychologie sportive: 1913*, Mémoires du corps (Grenoble: J. Millon, 1992), 263.

control, the actors in MSD can strike a harmonious balance between competition and cooperation. In the competition continuum, the direct approach to MSD does not have to end in victory or defeat. It can and should set a foundation for future engagements.

1.3 Conclusion

Using Mary Kaldor's New War Thesis, this chapter adapted the goals, methods, and actors to military sports as a reflection of the direct approach. The direct approach in MSD encourages short encounters in pursuit of decisive victories. Yet, unlike Clausewitz's assertion that blood is the price of victory, this chapter argued that MSD can be a resource for hope—one that may take time but ultimately unites disparate cultures rather than simply conquering an opposing side.

Chapter 2: Special Event MSD – The 1919 Inter-Allied Games

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised into two main parts. The first part examines the origins of Special Event MSD, which was significantly influenced by the British codification of international sporting rules and the debate between amateurism and professionalism. The second part employs the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation to analyse the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. After WWI, the Americans communicated that they desired unity and friendship through sport. However, by reviewing the second element, representation, one realises that the 1919 Inter-Allied Games' highly competitive, spectatorial format did not naturally promote friendship among the foreign militaries. Finally, the third element, negotiation, explores the cultures of the participating militaries and their responses to the Americans.

2.2 The Foundations of Special Event MSD

The nature of Special Event MSD is threefold: (1) it raises awareness of cultural similarities due to its unique nature, (2) the events are highly competitive, and (3) they are limited in duration and scope.¹⁰⁵ Special Event MSD is structured to highlight the unique nature of military engagements, as demonstrated by the Kentish Football Cup, which began in 1919 and originally featured three Allied militaries (France, Belgium, and England), as well as the annual Sandhurst Competition held at West Point. During the Sandhurst competition, international service academies and a select few American University Reserve Officer Training Corps compete against one another in team-based obstacle courses. The second aspect comprises the event's invitational and competitive nature; only those recognised as worthy entities are invited. The final aspect concerns the event's limited duration and scope.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen J. Page and Joanne Connell, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Events*, Routledge Handbooks (London New York: Routledge, 2015), 105.

Professors Leo Jago and Robin Shaw identified the following characteristics of special events, whether in sports or other fields:¹⁰⁶

1. *Attract tourists or tourism development,*
2. *Are of limited duration.*
3. *Are a one-time or infrequent occurrence*
4. *Raise awareness, image or profile of a region*
5. *Attract Media Attention*
6. *Have a large economic impact*
7. *Are out of the ordinary or unique*

In this research, Special Event MSD aligns with each of these attributes to varying degrees. The engagements are limited in duration, occur relatively infrequently, and raise awareness due to their unique nature. This research introduces one additional element: the events are highly competitive. With a top-down approach, organizers in Special Event MSD have traditionally aimed to maintain control in two areas. The first is the dilemma between amateurism and professionalism. The second challenge is maintaining control in an international environment. These themes will be explored before delving into the case study—first, the challenge of maintaining amateurism in international military sport.

From the mid-1800s to the end of World War I, the British codified the rules of sport, allowing for highly competitive international play. Through colonialism and trade, the rules of sports spread globally. Yet, how the sports were played and who could participate often reflected British adherence to an amateur code—an ostensible commitment to playing the right way.¹⁰⁷ During this period, the definition of amateurism varied greatly. It generally included those who competed as a hobby, for the love of the game, and without compensation. In theory, the code had less to do with ability than with “games ethic.” Yet, skilled athletes from lower classes were routinely viewed with scepticism because they likely had some unfair advantage. Perhaps they were stronger from working in the docks or other

¹⁰⁶ Leo K. Jago and Robin N. Shaw, ‘Consumer Perceptions of Special Events: A Multi-Stimulus Validation’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 1 March 2000, 1, https://doi.org/10.1300/J073v08n04_01.

¹⁰⁷ Charles Tennyson, ‘They Taught the World to Play’, *Victorian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1959): 211–22.

manual labour, or maybe they were not raised in an all-boys public school that taught them chivalry and were thus more likely to cheat.

The most vocal advocates in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries were those in the upper echelons of society who sought to maintain their competitive advantage over the lower classes. These so-called codekeepers tended to frame amateurism as a moral commitment rather than acknowledging differences in skill. Thus, the noble class could easily excuse poor performance among their high society peers, provided they upheld the unwritten codes of nobility. However, the increase in leisure time due to industrialisation and the rise of the middle class throughout the 19th century resulted in improvements in the sporting skills of the lower classes. Consequently, those traditionally excluded from games (including lower socioeconomic classes, females, and minorities) began challenging the amateur code that barred them from participating in the sports they loved.

Amateurism's exclusionary nature is illustrated in a poem by Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics. Written in 1912, during the fifth Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden, Coubertin received a gold medal for the following anonymous submission in the literary category:

O Sport, you are Fecundity!

You tend by straight and noble paths towards a more perfect race, blasting the seeds of sickness and righting the flaws, which threaten its needful soundness. And you quicken within the athlete the wish to see growing about him brisk and sturdy sons to follow him in the arena and in their turn bear off joyous laurels.¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to ascertain whether Coubertin referred to a footrace or the human race, but based on his noble birth and emphasis on chivalry, it was probably both. What is clear, however, is that the games were meant for men. As the 20th century progressed through two world wars, the increasingly untenable defence of an amateur code led to more

¹⁰⁸ Pierre de Coubertin et al., '1906 "Advisory Conference in Paris" from Olympism: Selected Writings / Pierre de Coubertin' (International Olympic Committee, 2000), 629–30, <https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/65192/olympism-selected-writings-pierre-de-coubertin>.

questions of who could play and why. The lower socioeconomic classes could fight and die for their country, and yet they were banned from competitions in the sports they played for their services during the war. This leads to a second element in Special Event MSD: internationalism.

Before World War I, Great Britain considered themselves superior in sports. However, the first half of the 20th century marked the emergence of mega-sporting events, which gained popularity due to advancements in media, communication, and travel. The most notable examples include FIFA (established in 1904) and the modern Olympics (beginning in 1896), where a nation's absence could be viewed as a sign of weakness. To maintain or enhance one's standing, participation was essential.

With an understanding of Great Britain's tenuous position internationally and the growing connection between sports and the military, the original aims of the British Army Sport Control Board, created one week after the end of WWI in November 1918, are illuminating. The opening paragraphs of the first manual of the Army Sport Control Board were issued in March 1919. Although lengthy, it is worth including in full.

Policy: The saying, attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing field of Eton, provides the governing idea for the Control of Sport and Games in the Army.

Sport in all its branches furnishes in miniature many of the conditions in which confront the soldier in battle; this fact is so well known as to be almost a platitude, but were an additional authority required, many of us will recall the description of hunting given by the immortal Mr. Jorrocks as "The image of war without its guilt and only 25 percent of its danger."

It is unnecessary, therefore, to labour the comparison beyond admitting that physical fitness, comradeship, intensity of purpose and leadership go far to make either a team or an army invincible.

This manual is issued by the Army Sport Control Board with the object of enabling officers and other ranks to appreciate the value attached to sport and games, and set out the principles of organisation and control which the Board have in view.

It will be generally acknowledged that in this country, previous to the war, several forms of sport were becoming nothing more or less than a business, to which were attracted professional players by the very remunerative fees they were able to acquire; football and boxing were, in many cases, becoming practically gladiatorial combats participated in by a select few and attended by thousands whose interest in the sport was confined chiefly to partisanship, strengthened by the fact that they had backed their fancy.

Even the Army itself was not entirely free from these habits, which were gradually prostituting forms of healthy recreation and amusement. Our Army is composed of men whose natural inheritance is a love of games and a keen competitive spirit, but this spirit has been allowed to grow up uncontrolled and uncared for, and it was gradually being enfolded by the corrupting tentacles of professionalism. Take, for instance, the regimental football teams which were in many cases excused from parades in order to carry out their training. They got special diets and they lived and had all their meals in quarters separate from the remainder of the regiment. Their system of training was based on professional methods and ideas, in fact they ceased to be soldiers and became regimental gladiators.

The Army Sport Control Board has therefore been constituted to encourage and assist sport in the Army in such a manner as will raise the standard of sport by eliminating the taint of professionalism and gambling which resulted so often in unhealthy antagonism rather than healthy rivalry. This can be accomplished largely by providing the facilities for universal participation by officers and other ranks; by ensuring that the game is played in the proper spirit for the game's sake and for the

side, remembering that this great war has been won by all from nations to platoons “playing for the side.”¹⁰⁹

The document captures the long-standing British sentiments regarding sports in the latter part of the 19th century and early 20th century, including the close comparison between sport and war, the threats of losing control through the “corrupting tentacles” or “prostitution” of professionalism, and the value of reinforcing healthy rivalries. According to the early document, should the military allow such gladiatorial pursuits, the Army may lose its identity and, worse, the cohesive fighting spirit that won WWI.

The Royal Air Force and Royal Navy quickly followed suit by creating their own sports control boards, but focused more on funding and logistics than on the spirit of play. Perhaps they assumed their service members and the general public naturally accepted the importance of the amateur code. In their original board documentation, the Navy and Air Force struck a more practical tone. They realised they would be left behind in government funding, personnel, and facilities without a similar organisation to the Army. In the Navy’s original documentation, the author notes that the goals of their control board were to encourage the majority to play, to form a connection with similar organisations in the Army and Air Force, to assist in obtaining the necessary grounds for a large number of players, and to form and encourage recreational clubs in all fleets, stations, and ports.¹¹⁰

Thirteen years after the Army Sport Board’s creation, in 1931, British General C.H. Harrington was asked to write a preface to a book that explored the origins and history of the Army Sport Control Board. Aligned with the sentiment from the previous passage, Harrington argued that sports were integral in advancing the army’s goals, albeit only when played correctly. General Harrington posited that victory in battle was highly influenced by the correct military sporting culture.

¹⁰⁹ Army Sport Control Board, ‘1919 Army Sports Control Board Manual’ (London, 1919), 3, ADM.1/8566/237, The National Archives.

¹¹⁰ Navy Sport Control Board, ‘Games and Sports in the Navy’ (London, 1919), ADM.1/8566/237, The National Archives.

Many reasons were advanced on the cessation of hostilities to prove who or what won the War. No one could say for certain, but I am confident that “leather” played one of the greatest parts. Few have realised what we owe to the boxing glove and the football – the two greatest factors in restoring and upholding “moral.”

How many times did one see a Battalion which had come out of the line in the Ypres Salient and elsewhere, battered to pieces and sad at heart at having lost so many Officers and men, hold up its head again and recover in a few hours by kicking a football or punching with the glove? It had a magic effect on “moral” and was largely instrumental in suggesting to some of us who had always been enthusiasts for games for the men, that a time had come when games and sports in the Army should be efficiently organised and more grounds provided.

A scheme was submitted to and approved by the Army Council, with the result that the Army Sport Control Board was formed in November, 1918. I had the honour to be the first President, and Major B. C. Hartley was appointed Secretary and Treasurer.¹¹¹

After commenting on improving facilities and equipment through the Army Sport Control Board, General Harrington continued:

The Army example proved useful to others, the R.N. and R.M.¹¹² Sports Control Board and the Royal Air Force Sports Control Board being formed shortly afterwards. A very close liaison between the three Boards was quickly established. The aims and objectives of the three Boards are identical, the main objective being to provide recreational facilities for as many as possible and maintain sports and games at a high standard, in accordance with the best principles of sportsmanship and amateurism.

¹¹¹ *Games and Sports in the Army: 1937-38* (War Office Annex 59 Place St. S.W.1: The Army Sport Control Board, 1938), 25–27.

¹¹² R.N. – Royal Navy; R.M. – Royal Marines

Our inter-Service matches are a fine example; they are played in the very finest spirit. Can we not also go a little further and trust that our organisation of games and grounds has been a help to others? The encouragement of games in Foreign Armies, the establishment of sports organisations by the Forces of the Dominions, the Territorial Army, the Civil Service, the Police, etc.

The reason for including the early aims of the British Service Sports Control Boards, including the boards of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, is that they clearly sought control over their sports culture—"control" is even in the name of their boards. Without such control, sports would lose their identity and become just another form of big business, bereft of the altruism and selflessness asked of those who serve. By keeping the games limited in duration and scope, the Control Boards could maintain control. And yet, the boards still wanted to produce excellent athletes. In the concluding paragraph, General Harrington said the boards were proud when they saw "their men and women of the Army and sister services gaining international caps at Rugby and Association Football and Hockey; representing England in the Olympic Games; distinguishing themselves in the athletic world."¹¹³ Thus, the boards aimed to maintain control through amateur values while promoting excellence in international competition.

While one may assume that the British sporting influence was confined to close allies, colonies, or dominions, it was not. An example is the Russian sporting system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which, like Coubertin, questioned its nation's strength after poor military performances during the 1855 Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish Wars of the 1870s. As a result, in 1875, the Russian War Ministry sent a teacher of anatomy and physical fitness, Pyotr Lesgaft, on a fact-finding mission across Europe to study approaches to national health. During the trip, Lesgaft found the Royal Army Physical Training Corps at Aldershot particularly effective.¹¹⁴ The British model quickly became the standard for the Russian sports infrastructure.¹¹⁵ After Russia's shocking military loss to Japan in 1905, the

¹¹³ *Games and Sports in the Army: 1937-38*, 26.

¹¹⁴ Aldershot became the headquarters for the Army Sports Control Board.

¹¹⁵ James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR*, Soviet and East European Studies (Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 48.

desire for reform became more pressing. The stereotype of Russia as a slow, lumbering bear became an insult rather than a badge of honour. In 1912, the Tsarist government created the post of Chief Supervisor of Physical Development of the Population of the Russian Empire. The post was filled by Russian General Voyeikov, who, after the Red Army took control of the government during the Russian Revolution, was given control of all sports clubs in Russia, both militarily and in the civilian sphere.¹¹⁶

With the Bolshevik government in control, the future leader, Vladimir Lenin, himself a dedicated sportsman, held views aligned with the Muscular Christianity movement popularised in Great Britain and America. Through increased control over the sporting culture in Russia, known as *fitzkultura*, the Russian leader hoped to increase labour output and military efficiency.¹¹⁷ In the late 1930s, as war became increasingly probable, the *fitzkultura* was linked less with labour and more with military culture.¹¹⁸

One cannot help but connect Russia's early military sports developments to a more recent phenomenon. Nearly a century later, the annual Russian-based International Army Games were created in 2015. It includes more than thirty nations and is an excellent example of Special Event MSD. The event is limited in duration and scope, unique by nature, and highly competitive. It has been described as an adrenaline-soaked monster truck rally with tank races and muscled, shirtless soldiers breaking things with their hands while yelling at the audience. Various fitness and technical competitions involve aviation races, swimming, obstacle courses, and accuracy competitions with rocket-propelled grenades. Journalist Mark Galeotti attended the 2018 Russian games, writing in *Foreign Policy* that "Russia's successful blending of sport, warfare, soft power, and spectacle is a high-octane form of public entertainment."¹¹⁹ Although the event was held in 2022, it was postponed in 2023 and 2024 due to Russia's fear of minimal international involvement and lack of equipment while fighting against Ukraine.

¹¹⁶ Riordan, 37.

¹¹⁷ Mike O'Mahony, *Sport in the USSR: Physical Culture - Visual Culture*, Picturing History (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 16.

¹¹⁸ O'Mahony, 124.

¹¹⁹ Mark Galeotti, 'The International Army Games Are Decadent and Depraved', *Foreign Policy*, 24 August 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/24/the-international-army-games-are-decadent-and-depraved/>.

Outside of Russia, since 1919, various other versions have developed over the 20th century, including NATO Air Command's Headquarters Football Tournament or the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) Basketball Tournament. A separate event, the AIRCOM soccer tournament, includes the allied forces in Europe, including the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, the Royal Air Force, and Poland, in men's and women's competitions.¹²⁰ Although many examples exist, the rest of this chapter discusses one of the first special events of the modern era: the 1919 Inter-Allied Games.

In the years leading up to the 1919 event, the American YMCA had previously led successful international sporting events in the Philippines between Asian Countries in 1913, known as the Far East Games. In 1914, Elwood S. Brown, the YMCA organiser of the Far East Games, contacted Pierre de Coubertin to express interest in future collaboration. Coubertin, ambitious to expand the Olympic Games into Asia, fully supported Brown's aspirations. Yet, it was the American military forces in Europe that eventually collaborated with Brown. Perhaps Brown realised that a joint YMCA-American military effort could achieve two complementary goals: advancing Christian principles and promoting peace through sports, and spreading American exceptionalism through a unique, limited-duration, highly competitive, and international event during demobilisation. The remainder of this chapter explores the 1919 Inter-Allied Games as a representative case study of Special Event MSD.

2.3 Case Study: The 1919 Inter-Allied Games

The 1919 Inter-Allied Games met the special event criteria—allied nations competed against one another in (1) a unique environment, (2) by invitation in a competitive format, and (3) for a limited duration. The event exemplified the ability of sports to unite leadership and promote pride in one's nation while having a neutral or even negative impact at the

¹²⁰ 'USAFE Soccer Team Practices for AIRCOM Championship', Ramstein Air Base, 22 September 2017, <https://www.ramstein.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1320646/usafe-soccer-team-practices-for-aircom-championship/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ramstein.af.mil%2FNews%2FArticle-Display%2FArticle%2F1320646%2Fusafe-soccer-team-practices-for-aircom-championship%2F>.

interpersonal level. The experiences of Great Britain and America in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games highlight the complex nature of using military sports for diplomatic purposes.

The following sections are divided into the elements of the global diplomacy framework: communication, representation, and negotiation. In the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, communication centred on the messaging of the British and American YMCAs in the months leading up to the event. Representation explores the structure of the games, while negotiation reviews the response from the participating and, importantly, the non-participating militaries.

2.3.1 Communication

In Special Event MSD, the reason a nation engages in a sporting event must be intentional and clear. Although nations may be drawn in by the event's unique nature and highly competitive format, to achieve diplomatic goals, leadership must shape and disseminate the message through meticulous planning directed towards a specific audience.

A significant part of this section focuses on the American and British YMCA's role in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. In 1919, military sports had a decidedly amateur orientation, supported by the ideals of Muscular Christianity—a movement fully embraced by the American and British YMCA and expanded in the early 20th century by the indomitable personality of President Theodore Roosevelt. Muscular Christianity championed the value of selflessness and sacrifice for the good of the team. The YMCA naturally focused on team sports such as rugby and association football (soccer) as mechanisms to build robust, moral, and disciplined young men. Team sports were viewed as an antidote to the perceived trend toward effeminacy resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation. Yet how did the YMCA, originally a local, English movement, expand globally?

Although the YMCA originated in London in 1844, by the onset of WWI, the American YMCA had become a wholly separate and thriving organisation. To such an extent that the American YMCA had little involvement with the British YMCA during their post-war

reconstruction and demobilisation efforts. Rather than inviting the British YMCA to co-lead the event, the American YMCA sought assistance from the U.S. Army through the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). This decision reflects the differing approaches of the British and American YMCAs by the end of WWI. In 1919, the American YMCA was outward and globally focused, whereas the British YMCA was more inward and domestically oriented. To understand the nature of the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, it is helpful to grasp the different approaches of the American and British YMCAs.

The archives of the YMCA's *The Red Triangle* in the months preceding the 1919 Inter-Allied Games reveal a global, evangelical message communicated by the American YMCA director, Dr. John Mott. In contrast, the English YMCA director, Sir Arthur Yapp, aimed to maintain or even defend the British YMCA's status as a bastion of excellence on and off the sporting field. The tone is similar to that of the British Services Sport Control Boards created during the same period.

Dr John Mott, American YMCA Director

The YMCA took a chance in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. The organisation, funding, and cooperation with the European allies were an ambitious project that could have resulted in failure or embarrassment. And yet, the leader of the American YMCA, Dr John Mott, created a culture where bold risks were encouraged. In a series of articles published in the British YMCA journal, *The Red Triangle*, in 1918 and 1919, one perceives a distinctively outward and positive tone expressed by the American YMCA director. This tone contrasted sharply with the more defensive and domestic focus of the British YMCA during the same period.

In "The Time of Times" in 1917, Mott addressed the English YMCA and said there were "no limits to the opportunity at present open to the Association."¹²¹ Mott spoke of the YMCA's world impact and urged the English organisation not to confine itself domestically. Dr Mott implored the English association to focus on the "things that endure – faith, hope, love"¹²²

¹²¹ John Mott, 'The Time of Times', *The Red Triangle*, Sep 1917 - May 1918, 1, no. 9 (May 1918): 363.

¹²² Mott, 363.

and concluded his lecture on a charge to action as “this war is not going to work magic,” and goodness can only arise from “labour and prayer.”¹²³ Dr Mott saw the war as an opportunity to extend the YMCA’s global evangelical agenda and thought the British YMCA could partner in the joint effort.

Evidence of the American outward focus is apparent in a separate address to the English YMCA staff in late 1918. Mott spoke on the YMCA’s ambitious goals as the war concluded. First, the American director emphasised that religious work was the central part of the YMCA, as “divinely guided” by the British founder, George Williams.¹²⁴ Next, Mott reinforced the role of training the staff in the American YMCA: “The day is past when we could hope to make a religious appeal to leading men or even boys without training for the work.”¹²⁵ He stated that the YMCA’s religious message is enduring, but context must drive adaptation to meet the diverse challenges. Although the defence of Christianity is essential, it may appear in unexpected circumstances among the various faiths.¹²⁶ According to Dr Mott, the key to success was targeted training to prepare the YMCA leaders for various challenges. Finally, the director said that bible studies are the cornerstone of the American and British YMCA before pivoting towards psychology and how one must understand a young man’s mind to reach the current generation.

As an innovative thinker of his time, Mott maintained that the nature of the young man’s mind was not an obstacle but an opportunity that aligned with the YMCA’s global goals. Understanding the younger generation’s minds could meld the past with the present, thus producing further conversion. Mott concluded that the YMCA was not a stand-alone organisation but one that supported local churches and organisations rather than replace them. Finally, he said that by selecting and training the right leaders, the YMCA would continue to expand their grassroots movements.¹²⁷ In retrospect, one can see that the 1919

¹²³ Mott, 363.

¹²⁴ John Mott, ‘DO THIS AND YOU MAY SHAKE THE BRITISH ISLES’, *The Red Triangle*, Vol 2 Sep 1918-Aug 1919, 11, no. 10 (June 1919): 393.

¹²⁵ Mott, 393.

¹²⁶ Mott, 393.

¹²⁷ Mott, 394.

Inter-Allied Games were a logical extension of the American YMCA's outward, global message.

Sir Arthur Yapp, British YMCA Director

The director of England's YMCA, Sir Arthur Yapp, also published multiple articles in "The Red Triangle" in 1918 and 1919. Sir Yapp relayed several observations following a trip to the American YMCA in 1918. From the start, the British YMCA leader wrote that his visit coincided with the American "drive" for public funds, and his lectures to the American staff appeared to be part of the funds drive. He then expressed gratitude towards the American leader, John Mott, and highlighted his unique stature as "one of the biggest men in the United States" with a "worldwide vision."¹²⁸ Sir Yapp next transitioned to his impressions in three categories: (1) the men in the American movement, (2) the organisational model, and (3) the war efforts. Yapp relayed his thoughts to a British audience and emphasised the differences between the English and American YMCAs in each area.

To analyse the American YMCA movement participants, Sir Yapp visited headquarters and local associations in New York without advanced notice to ensure authentic experiences. Surprisingly, he found that the leading businessmen of the community were not only members of the local "Y" but also frequently used the gym facilities. Their involvement as active practitioners led the businessmen to give time and money to the American YMCA.¹²⁹ In New York, the work was administered "down to the last letter" and occupied many floors in a skyscraper building.¹³⁰ Sir Yapp noted the open office plan of the American system, where workers sat at table desks in a large room. This practice diverged from the small offices of the British system, but the Americans felt their model increased efficiency. Next, Sir Yapp addressed training in America and noted how, once a man "decided to give his life to the work, they (the Americans) take no end of trouble about his training." Despite his approval of the Americans' emphasis on training, in a separate passage, Sir Yapp ironically emphasised how both sides of the Atlantic (Americans and British) recognise that leaders

¹²⁸ Arthur Yapp, 'THE AMERICAN YMCA', *The Red Triangle* II, no. 5 (January 1919): 187.

¹²⁹ Yapp, 'THE AMERICAN YMCA'.

¹³⁰ Yapp, 188.

are born and not made. Yet, based on Dr Mott's progressive vision of training and psychology, it appeared that not all the American YMCA leaders shared Sir Yapp's belief in innate, born leadership.

Sir Yapp then visited the YMCA colleges located in Springfield, Massachusetts. In addressing the differences between the British and the United States, he focused on the size of the YMCA buildings. He was shocked by the buildings' magnitude, which included living quarters, natatoriums, education centres, gymnasiums, lounges, and medical personnel.¹³¹ He concluded that the need for a YMCA in America "may be more apparent" when compared with his homeland.¹³²

In the final section of his article, Sir Yapp explained the vast difference in funding between the United States and British YMCA. He specifically mentioned President Wilson's endorsement of a YMCA drive in 1918, which combined efforts with other sectors of society, including the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Army Board, and others. Notably, the American YMCA director, Dr Mott, led the campaign. Sir Yapp concluded his article with a defensive statement that the campaign earned the American YMCA, not the British, "more than twenty million sterling for war work."¹³³

If unkind people are tempted to ask, as they will do in times to come, what the English YMCA has done with its money, be it remembered that for a bigger war work, extending over 4 years instead of 1 ½, the total amount we have received from the public has been less than 2 ¼ millions sterling. The fact is, the American people realise the greatest asset-and they interpret that value into dollars. They believe it pays to put one's money into the building of character, and they are right!¹³⁴

In July 1919, Sir Yapp published another article titled "Notes of the Month." He began with the news that the Germans sunk their own ships, thus violating the terms of the armistice

¹³¹ Yapp, 188.

¹³² Yapp, 188.

¹³³ Yapp, 190.

¹³⁴ Yapp, 190.

and “showing, if evidence were needed, that a German is a German still.”¹³⁵ His article then shifted to internal troubles, explaining that housing was an enormous challenge in England. The primary role of the YMCA during demobilisation was to provide living facilities and employment for returning service members. Sports appeared to be a distant thought for the British YMCA. In August 1919, Sir Yapp noted that, although the public believed the war was over, much work still needed to be done.¹³⁶ He ended more positively that the British YMCA would rise to the challenge and that, although there is no monetary reserve, the money would come so long as the English YMCA continued to “deliver the goods.”¹³⁷

Sir Arthur Yapp was correct in taking a defensive posture because, in May 1919 (just a month before the 1919 Inter-Allied Games), the English YMCA published a letter defending expenses during and after the war. The report addressed damning accusations by the Bishop of Swansea, who demanded accountability for wasteful spending and profit by the English YMCA. The Bishop of Swansea declared that not all warriors had returned “enamoured” with the Red Triangle and that the public deserved a complete balance sheet of the enormous profits of the English YMCA.¹³⁸

Sir Yapp responded equally strongly that there never were enormous profits, and the work of the YMCA was fair, open and “highly appreciated by the troops.” Finally, while complaints were expected in a large organisation, “no good ground for such grumblings was indicated to us.”¹³⁹ While the English YMCA defended itself against allegations of waste, the American YMCA was busy building the thirty-thousand-seat Pershing Stadium in Paris to host the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. Reports of the time clarified that the rapid construction of Pershing Stadium was a joint effort between the French and Americans for the Inter-Allied Games in late June and early July. Regarding messaging, Dr Mott and Sir Yapp’s articles capture the country’s sentiment. The following section explores the individuals who brought America’s outward message to life through the 1919 Inter-Allied Games.

¹³⁵ Arthur Yapp, ‘Notes of the Month’, *The Red Triangle* II, no. 12 (August 1919): 407.

¹³⁶ Arthur Yapp, ‘Notes of the Month’, *The Red Triangle* II, no. 11 (July 1919): 446.

¹³⁷ Yapp, 447.

¹³⁸ R.V. Vassar-Smith and F Gore-Browne, ‘The Bishop of Swansea and the YMCA, Report of Lord Askwith’s Commission’, Response, *The Red Triangle Report* (English YMCA, 15 May 1919), University of Birmingham.

¹³⁹ Vassar-Smith and Gore-Browne, 8.

2.3.2 Representation

In Special Event MSD, representation includes how the organisers articulate the message through the event's structure. Due to the limited time and scope of Special Events MSD, the organisers must fully maximise each opportunity.

In the four years preceding the 1919 games, sports were “transformed from a mainly spontaneous and improvised pastime in the early stages of the war into a compulsory activity for troops...by the last months of the conflict.”¹⁴⁰ The American organisers of the 1919 games leveraged the military sporting movement and initially called their event a Military Olympiad. Yet, the term caused confusion among foreign militaries, who thought the Military Olympiad implied only military events, perhaps similar to the recent Russian Army Games' tank competitions or grenade tosses. The misconception was quickly corrected when the YMCA and American Expeditionary Force (AEF) assured the invited nations they would participate in internationally recognised games, as it would be “undiplomatic and unethical for the United States to even suggest the holding of games which would not be in line with universal standards.”¹⁴¹

On 25 March 1918, the US War Council approved a \$100,000 donation by the American YMCA to host an event in France that had “never been equalled in the history of sports.”¹⁴² Although hyperbolic, the event's military character and scope were historic. The newspaper article then clarified that the American Expeditionary Force asked for help from the YMCA staff. Colonel Waite C. Johnson, the chief athletic officer on General Pershing's staff, would lead the American military efforts while Elwood S. Brown, chief of the “Y” staff of physical directors, would coordinate the American YMCA's efforts. The article then discussed the preparations of American servicemembers in the weeks leading up to the more significant Inter-Allied event.

¹⁴⁰ Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, 80.

¹⁴¹ Wait C. Johnson et al., *Official Athletic Almanac of the American Expeditionary Forces 1919 : A.E.F. Championships, Inter-Allied Games* / Ed. by Wait C. Johnson, Elwood S. Brown ; Comp. by J. Newton Colver and William Unmack, Spalding's Athletic Library (American Sports Publ., 1919), 253.

¹⁴² ‘War Council Approves Appropriation of \$100,000 to Aid in Mammoth Athletic Program in France’, 1918, Miscellaneous, University of Minnesota.

An important aspect of the 1919 event was that, unlike many of the other participating countries, most American athletes were invited, vetted, and selected to represent the United States during internal service competitions prior to the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. The types of events for both the inter-AEF games and the subsequent Inter-Allied Games included familiar sports like basketball, baseball, and volleyball, as well as a handful of military-specific events, such as the military pentathlon. Interestingly, the article briefly mentioned that the British military authorities wholly approved the American plans and even asked for an American “Y” instructor to set up similar inter-unit competitions amongst their British troops.¹⁴³

The American YMCA’s comments are remarkable because the British Army had formalised its military-sports culture long before the Americans. In *“The Army isn’t All Work”: Physical Culture and the Evolution of the British Army, 1860-1920*, Dr James Campbell highlighted how sports were instrumental in the rapid professionalisation of British troops in the late 19th century. Between 1860 and the beginning of the Great War, sports helped the British military transition “from an anachronistic and frequently ineffective instrument into perhaps the best trained and most professional army in the world.”¹⁴⁴ By the beginning of WWI, group fitness programmes and sports had become standard activities within the British brigade, company, and platoon levels. Ultimately, the pre-war Victorian “games ethic” that promoted fitness, loyalty, teamwork, and resilience was “at least partially responsible for keeping morale at a reasonably high level,”¹⁴⁵ despite the heavy losses and the horrors of mechanised trench warfare.

Thus, the Americans’ magnanimous approach to sharing their sporting practices with the British is fascinating. The following reports by the AEF representative, Colonel Waite Johnson, and the American YMCA leader in Europe, Mr. Elwood S. Brown, highlight the disconnect between America’s intended message and their supporting actions.

¹⁴³ ‘War Council Approves Appropriation of \$100,000 to Aid in Mammoth Athletic Program in France’.

¹⁴⁴ Campbell, *‘The Army Isn’t All Work’*.

¹⁴⁵ Campbell, 167.

Col Waite Johnson, AEF Athletic Director

In late 1918, the AEF Athletic Staff's director, Col Waite Johnson, agreed with Elwood Brown's recommendation—a coordinated American YMCA-AEF effort would distract and entertain the thousands of Allied soldiers awaiting release from the military in Europe. The partnership was formalised and set into motion through General Order 241, issued in December 1918, which “established a complete programme and set forth the basis of a great joint effort between the army and the “Y” in the operation of the various activities.”¹⁴⁶ General Pershing sent invitations to twenty-nine allies, and eighteen replied favourably. The following is a copy of the letter sent to the Allies by General Pershing:

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES Office of the Commander-in-Chief.
January 10, 1919.

Sir:

The officers and men of the American Expeditionary Forces, being keenly appreciative of the splendid relations which exist among those who have borne arms in a great, common cause, and which, in the present instance, have so happily developed into such deep feelings of mutual respect and admiration, are most anxious to preserve and strengthen this relationship in every way possible.

Now that active military operations have ceased, they believe that nothing could be more conducive to this end than to gather in friendly competition on the field of sport, representatives of the Armies of each of the nations which have so long been associated together in the stern struggle for right.

Accordingly, they have decided to organize an Inter- Allied Athletic Meeting, to be held in the Colombes Stadium, Paris, during the month of May or June, 1919, in which the officers and men of all of these Armies shall be eligible to take part.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson et al., *Official Athletic Almanac of the American Expeditionary Forces 1919*, 15.

As Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, I have the honor, therefore, to invite, through you as their Commander-in-Chief, the officers and men of the armies of France to participate in these contests and to express the earnest hope that many of them may do so, so that the ties of the much cherished spirit of comradeship which have sprung from the gallant joint effort of our forces on the battlefield may thus be even more closely cemented.

Respectfully,

John J. Pershing.¹⁴⁷

The Inter-Allied Games Committee published a book that included the responses of most nations participating. Interestingly, Great Britain appeared not to send a formal acceptance, although they did send a small contingent of soldier-athletes to the event. (The Negotiations section will explore possible reasons for such low participation.) In the after-action report, Col Johnson discussed why Pershing Stadium was built specifically for the Inter-Allied games and why they did not use pre-existing fields. According to Johnson, international competitions had “always been carried out on fields on which the nation host competed for the first time, as did all visiting nations.”¹⁴⁸ This thesis argues that the decision to build a new stadium signalled that the American forces had incredible resources and that the games were meant to be a military version of the Olympics. Although General Pershing used the term “friendly competition” in his invitation, the American organisers wanted to ensure no nation would question a victor’s success—namely, their own.

Finally, Col. Johnson wrote how the Games Committee selected the sports and established the rules. In 1919, sports rules and regulations were not entirely codified or understood internationally. Johnson alluded to the “pitfalls which lay in the path” if not approached with inclusivity and sensitivity. To avoid conflict, the Games Committee consisted of three AEF officers and two American YMCA civilians (all Americans), who organised an advisory committee comprising two officers from each of the eighteen represented countries. Col.

¹⁴⁷ Johnson et al., 48.

¹⁴⁸ Waite Johnson, ‘Col Waite C. Johnson - 1919 Inter Allied Games Report’, n.d., 2, YMCA, University of Minnesota.

Johnson concluded that “our efforts to meet the suggestions of all nations were at least partially successful is evidenced by the fact that no nation withdrew from the competition.”¹⁴⁹

Figure 5 The Games and Advisory Committee¹⁵⁰

THE GAMES COMMITTEE	
Col. Wait C. Johnson, General Staff, (<i>Chairman</i>).	
Lt. Col. D. M. Goodrich, General Staff, (<i>Vice Chairman</i>).	
Lt. Col. T. C. Lonergan, General Staff.	
Elwood S. Brown, Y. M. C. A.	
W. A. Reynolds, Y. M. C. A.	
Capt. R. H. Waldo, Inf., (<i>Secretary</i>).	
THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE	
America:	Brig. Gen. H. B. Fiske.
	Brig. Gen. W. W. Harts, (<i>Chairman</i>).
Australia:	Lt. Col. C. V. Watson, D. S. O.
	Maj. S. A. Middleton, D. S. O.
Belgium:	Lt. Col. E. Martin.
	Maj. Raoul Daufresne de la Chevalerie.
Brazil:	Maj. Bréant.
Canada:	Lt. Col. H. G. Mayes, C. B. E.
	Maj. N. A. D. Armstrong, O. B. E.
China:	Brig. Gen. S. T. Liang.
	Brig. Gen. P. T. Dan.
Czecho-Slovakia:	Major Fierlinger.
	Capt. Smutny.
France:	Lt. Col. Sée (<i>Vice Chairman</i>).
	Maj. Barbier.
Great Britain:	Maj. B. C. Hartley.
	Maj. F. K. Hardy, D. S. O.
Greece:	Maj. George Bellias.
	Lieut. Jean Rozis.
Guatemala:	Dr. Rodolfo Robles.
	Capt. Miguel Ydigoras.
Hedjaz:	Mr. Aouni Abdul-Hadi.
Italy:	Col. Arturo Leone.
	Maj. Andrea Gastaldi.
New Zealand:	Maj. J. A. Cameron.
Portugal:	Capt. Antonio Mascarenhas de Menezes.
	Lieut. Mario da Cunha.
Roumania:	Lt. Col. V. I. Badulescu.
	Capt. Horace Eremie.
Serbia:	Capt. Andritch.
	Lieut. Matitch.
	Maj. L. B. Rogers, M. C., (<i>Secretary</i>).

After the event, Col. Johnson wrote a letter with a congratulatory tone: the American athletes represented themselves well, and the French appreciated the gifted stadium following the games. Transportation records showed that over 860,000 people were transported to the competition during the fifteen afternoons in late June and early July

¹⁴⁹ Johnson, 2.

¹⁵⁰ The Games Committee, *The Inter-Allied Games: Paris 22nd June to 6th July 1919*, n.d., 63–74.

1919.¹⁵¹ One grasps the importance of the American military's effort by comparing the level of participation between the competing countries. The chart below shows that Great Britain was represented by 32 athletes (5 British Army of the Rhine and 27 from England).¹⁵² In contrast, the United States sent 282 (vetted) soldier-athletes, and the French sent 253.

Table 3 1919 Inter-Allied Games competitors by nation¹⁵³

Country	Number of participants	final ranking and number of points
Australia	62	4th - 41 points
Belgium	157	5th - 27 points
Brazil	0?	
Canada	113	6th - 18 points
China	0	
Czechoslovakia	47	7th - 16 ½ points
France	253	2nd - 104 ⅓ points
Great-Britain	5 + 27	12th - 2 points
Greece	86	13th - 1 point
Guatemala	1	
Hedjaz	3	
Italia	132	3rd - 45 points
New-Zealand	17	10th - 6 points
Poland	1	
Portugal	51	8th - 12 points
Romania	110	9th - 6 points
Serbia	67	11th - 3 points
Newfoundland	1	
United States	282	1st - 120 points
Total	1415	

Elwood S. Brown, YMCA Director in Europe

A similar report to the AEF was recorded from the American YMCA's perspective after the event. In the summer of 1918, as the director of the YMCA Department of Athletics in

¹⁵¹ Johnson, 'Col Waite C. Johnson - 1919 Inter Allied Games Report', 2.

¹⁵² The Games Committee, *The Inter-Allied Games: Paris 22nd June to 6th July 1919*, 431.

¹⁵³ Thierry Terret, 'The Military "Olympic" of 1919: Sport, Diplomacy and Sport in the Aftermath of World War One', *Journal of Olympic History* 14, no. 2 (August 2006): 26; Compiled from The Games Committee, *The Inter-Allied Games: Paris 22nd June to 6th July 1919*, 422–75.

Europe, Elwood S. Brown was responsible for the following four items should the expected armistice occur: (1) mass athletic competitions for every soldier, (2) AEF championships (internal to the United States soldiers), (3) a demonstration of American sports to the French, and (4) the creation of an Inter-Allied Games.¹⁵⁴

Brown's report of the 1919 event, like Col Johnson's, concluded that the games were a resounding success and that the Allies, specifically the Belgians, were impressed by the skill level of the American troops. As a result, the president of the Belgian Olympic Committee, who oversaw the 1920 Olympics, asked Mr Brown to visit Belgium to "explain how the Americans were trained and to perfect arrangements to instruct their athletic leaders in our sports and mass games."¹⁵⁵ The report unsurprisingly highlighted that Brown's trip to Belgium was yet another resounding success.

Based on the reports by the YMCA following WWI, one can understand the disconnect between the intended message and the one received by the participating militaries. While the Americans sought to unite the allied countries under the shared love of sports during demobilisation, America also wanted to use sports to showcase exceptionalism off the battlefield. Notably, the Americans temporarily set aside the question of amateurism versus professionalism during the games. The only qualification for the Inter-Allied Games was that the athlete was part of the profession of arms.¹⁵⁶ One wonders whether America's lack of amateur-professional distinction and its focus on winning contributed to Great Britain's minimal involvement. While the American military focused on sports between nations, the British Army, like Sir Yapp's British YMCA, turned towards domestic needs, creating service-based sports control boards. The final section analyses the various responses before, during and after the games.

¹⁵⁴ Unknown, 'Elwood S. Brown - Inter Allied Games Report', n.d., YMCA, University of Minnesota.

¹⁵⁵ Unknown, 2.

¹⁵⁶ The Games Committee, *The Inter-Allied Games: Paris 22nd June to 6th July 1919*, 175.

2.3.3 Negotiation

In Special Event MSD, negotiation includes the intended audience's response. The participating countries' cultures and backgrounds must be considered. Ideally, feedback is gathered before and during the relatively short event to allow adjustments.

The official book on the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, published by the Games Committee shortly after the event, contains over 500 pages of detailed event analysis. The previous section referenced General Pershing's original invitation to the Allied nations, highlighting that the event would strengthen the bonds forged on the battlefield. After sending the invitation, fourteen nations responded. By reviewing the official letters from the diplomats, general officers, and presidents of the respective countries, one gains insight into the intentionality or goals of the countries involved. This thesis argues that the responses fall into three general categories. The first includes the nations that consider themselves peers of America. France, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand belong in this category. Generally, the responses from these countries are more formal and concise. Although the British military did not send a response, one assumes they fall within the category. Like a close family member, the British understood that their relationship was built on mutual trust and understanding, forged over the past century. After everything the two countries had endured during the war, the British understandably realised that a sporting event could not drastically alter their relationship. Still, their absence was noticed by the American organisers, as the last part of this section will explore.

The second category of responses encompasses the nations that sought to elevate their status through the games. The tone of their response borders on sycophancy. The replies from Belgium, Brazil, the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, China, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania, and Serbia belong to this second category. Certain statements within this group also reflect the culture of the signatory nations. Greece emphasised how sports were integral to their country's history and offered an Olympic laurel as a prize in the American games. Although China could not attend, they expressed the honour in being invited and provided trophies. Lastly, Romania indicated that they may not perform as well as other nations because certain sports had only recently been introduced in their country. Their response highlights

how Britain's influence in codifying and specialising modern sport had not yet spread globally.

The final category comprises two responses, one from Hedjaz (modern, Western Saudi Arabia) and the other from Guatemala. The tone and content of their responses are notably terse compared to the previous category. These two countries were neither a significant power of the time nor close allies of the United States. One might infer that the difference stemmed from language barriers or other pressing issues just after the war. Regardless, the responses, while friendly, do not convey a desire to be part of the inner circle when compared to those in the second category.

The following section presents the original responses from the respective countries, followed by a brief analysis.

Category I: Peers of America

France

Grand Quartier G6n6ral des Arm6es Frangaises de l'Est.

Le Mar6chal de France Commandant en Chef.

G.H.Q., 17 February, 1919.

Dear General:

You inform me that the American Army is organizing a great program of sports, to be held in Paris in May, at which it is desirable that the officers and men of the French Army take part in as large numbers as possible in order to keep up the excellent relations formed in the battle. I am entirely of your opinion and I am giving orders that every facility be given the Armies under my command.

It will be necessary, however, that your directing officers establish connections with my First Bureau and furnish it the details concerning the sort of contests which will take place.

*Most sincerely yours,
(Signed) Charles Petain*

Letter analysis: As host nation for the American-led games, General Philippe Pétain's reply was formal. Writing as an equal to General Pershing, he mentioned how sports can "maintain" the relations formed on the battlefield, but only after the Americans coordinate with the French Bureau.

Canada

*Canadian Corps H.Q.
Oxford Circus House 145, Oxford Street,
14th May. 1919.*

Dear Sir:

In the absence of Lieut. General Sir A. W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I write to thank you for so courteously extending to Canadians the privilege of competing in the Inter-Allied Games organized by you. We shall be pleased to send :

Lt. Colonel H. G. Mayes, C.B.E.

Major N. A. D. Armstrong, O.B.E.

as Canadian representatives on the Advisory Committee, and these two officers will be in Paris in time to take part in the first meeting of the Committee on the 25th inst.

*Most respectfully yours,
(Signed)*

J. M. Prower.

Lieut. Colonel, General Staff, Canadian Corps.

Letter analysis: Canada's letter was concise and to the point. There were Canadian officers in Paris who could provide further liaison, and no further effort was required.

New Zealand

Administrative Headquarters.

New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

29, 30 & 31 Bloomsbury Square, London,

W.C.I.

16 May, 1919.

My dear General Pershing:

In reply to yours of the 6th inst. I have very great pleasure in accepting, on behalf of the officers and men of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, the very kind invitation you have extended to them to take part in the Inter- Allied Games to be held in Paris from 22 June to 6 July next.

We have already many friends amongst the American Forces, particularly with the 7th Infantry, who, under the command of Brigadier General Jamieson, were attached to us for a considerable period in the Hebuterne Sector. It is sincerely to be hoped that these old friendships may be renewed and new ones formed.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. W. Melville.

Letter analysis: New Zealand recognised the bonds that already existed between the American and Kiwi forces. The letter was short and agreed that sports could strengthen the bonds that already existed

Australia

14 May 1919

I have to thank you very much for your kind letter of the 6 May, which I have not answered earlier as I have been away from my Headquarters seeing outlying detachments of the Australian Forces, and, I am glad to say, bidding Godspeed to some half dozen transports of men returning to their homes, in the knowledge that they have accomplished that which we all set out to do.

I so fully agree with all you say as regards the splendid relations which have existed between all our troops throughout this great fight for freedom, and I am very glad to know that you are so anxious, as we all are, to strengthen the ties which have been formed in the field. I quite agree that Inter-Allied Games of the nature you are organizing will do much to foster the good cause we have at heart, and I should be only too glad to do all that I possibly could to help in the matter in regard to the Australian troops whom I have the honour to command.

So many Australian athletes answered the call at the outbreak of hostilities — in a great number of cases unfortunately making the supreme sacrifice — and so many also have been away from home so long, and are above all things anxious to return, that I fear our team of athletes will not be as strong as we would all like to send you; but every effort will be made to send the most representative athletes in the A.I.F. to compete at this classic gathering of warrior sportsmen. The matter of selection of teams will be immediately taken up by my Sports Control Board, and I think we can count on being represented in some of the events under Boxing, Cross-Country Running, Rowing, Rifle Shooting, Swimming, Tennis, Track and Field Sports, and possibly Wrestling.

In accepting the invitation on behalf of the officers and men of the A.I.F. I wish to express my belief and sincere wish that this great sporting venture will be the unqualified success it so richly deserves.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) W. R. Birdwood.

Letter analysis: Although long-winded, the Australian reply focused on the games' intent; they agreed that strengthening the ties formed on the battlefield through sports was a worthy cause. The Australians also expressed regret that they could not send stronger athletes to this classic gathering of “Warrior Sportsmen” due to operational losses and demobilisation, thus hinting they understood how competitive the event would be.

Category II: Those nations desire a closer relationship with America\

Belgium

Brussels, 25 January 1919.

Dear General Pershing:

I have been greatly touched by the contents of your kind letter. The officers and men of the Belgian army will keenly appreciate the expressed desire of their comrades of the American Expeditionary Forces to commemorate by an Inter-Allied Athletic Meeting the long struggle in close cooperation on the battlefield.

They will be proud to meet the representatives of the Allied Armies in these peaceful contests.

Believe me always, dear General Pershing,

Your affectionate,

Albert.

Letter analysis: King Albert I of Belgium expressed great enthusiasm for Belgium to participate in these “peaceful contests.” He concluded with flowery language — “believe me always, your affectionate...”

Brazil

Paris, 20 January 1919.

My dear General:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter of the 9th instant. If I am still in France at the time of the establishment of the Inter-Allied Meeting you may well count on me and rest assured that I shall do all in my power to draw closer the bonds that unite our two countries. We have just seen what President Wilson has done for Brazil.

Constant attention to physical and moral development is the most commendable work a country can devote itself to, for it prepares its own future as well as that of humanity. Please accept, my dear General, in my name and in that of my officers, the expression of my highest feeling of admiration and thanks.

*(Signed) J. Nazoleao Felipe d'Ache,
General.*

Letter analysis: The Brazilian General enthusiastically supported involvement while mentioning the recent actions of President Wilson's work on behalf of Brazil. The writer also noted, albeit somewhat hyperbolically, that physical and moral development is "the most commendable work a country can devote itself to."

Czecho-Slovakian Republic

16 January, 1919.

My dear General:

I am deeply touched by the most flattering invitation made in your kind letter of 9 January to officers and men of the Czecho-Slovak Army to participate in the Inter-Allied Athletic Meeting to be held in the Colombes Stadium, Paris, during the month of May or June, 1919.

Our regiments, which have had the high honor of fighting on the side of your splendid boys in Champagne and at Vouziers, have now left for their home, and I am,

therefore, transmitting your kind letter to our Government at Prague. Words cannot express the great deep admiration our whole nation at home feels for the unequalled effort and high ideals put forth by American troops in France. Your men have been true champions of Right and best friends to ours in their hardship. Nothing could fill our officers and men with deeper satisfaction than your invitation to meet once more here in France with their comrades of past common struggle in a friendly competition on the field of sport, and I am certain that they will do their best to show themselves worthy of this favor.

For the Secretary of War,

*(Signed) Dr. Eduard Benes, Jr.
Secretary of Foreign Affairs.*

Letter analysis: Like Belgium, the rhetoric was quite flowery. They would be honoured to participate for “nothing could fill their officers and men with deeper satisfaction.”

China

*Chinese Military Mission,
7 Square Thiers, Paris (16^e).
20 January, 1919.*

My dear General:

I have the pleasure of acknowledging receipt of your favour of the 9th instant. We are certainly appreciative of the splendid relation with you in the great common cause and as keenly preserve and strengthen this relationship as you do. As chief of Chinese Military Mission, I have the honour to forward your message and kind invitation of the Inter-Allied Athletic Meeting to be held in the Colombes stadium, Paris, during the month of May or June, 1919, to our officers here at present.

With anticipation of the great honor to attend on the field of sport in friendly competition, I hope that some of us shall be able to participate in these contests. Allow us to express our heartiest thanks and earnest hope to the success in near future.

I am. Yours most sincerely,

(Signed Tang-Tsai-Li.

Also, China

fNo. 2)

Hotel Lutetia, Paris.

T. o. 5 May, 1919.

Dear Sir:

I have been instructed to present through you three trophies for competition during the Inter-AUied Games to be held in June and July. The trophies are the following:

One gold cup on behalf of General Chin Yun Pen, Minister of War. One silver cup on behalf of H.E. Lou Lseng Tsiang, Chief of the Chinese Peace Delegation. One Chinese vase on behalf of H. E. Hoo Wei Teh, Minister to France. It is requested that you designate the athletic events for which the trophies shall be awarded. I regret to say that China will be unable to enter teams. But I beg to assure you that we shall always be glad to do everything we can in cooperation with the American authorities towards making the Games a success. I have the honor to remain. Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

(Signed) S. T. Liang,

Brigadier General Chinese Army.

Technical Delegate, Chinese Peace Delegation.

PERSHING STADIUM — PARIS 55

Letter analysis: As the only Asian country to reply, it is interesting that the Chinese diplomat focused on the honour of the games and those who would participate. Although they could not compete, like Greece, China provided trophies, thus helping maintain or advance their honour.

Greece

General Headquarters Hellenic Army.

Salonica, 20 January, 1919.

My General:

It is with great pleasure that the officers and other ranks of the Hellenic Army received the kind invitation from you to participate in the Inter-Allied Games which will take place in Paris in order to cement our glorious victory and make more binding the links of our mutual esteem and sacred friendship, which grew, sprinkled by the noble blood of those who fell so gloriously during the present struggle, the most sacred struggle that Humanity has ever seen. The officers and other ranks of the Hellenic Army will be proud to compete with the heroes of the Eastern front. The rivalry between the contestants will be of the highest order because in these Games will participate the descendants of ancient Greece whose antiquity found so many fervent admirers in your beautiful country.

As in ancient times, the barbarous were excluded from the Games, it is the same today. In these Games will participate only the soldiers of the nations which fought for Right and the Liberty of the World. The thought makes us especially proud of your honorable invitation.

My General, I should be very much obliged if you would kindly give me information concerning the events of the competition. It would be an exceptional honor for us, the Greeks, if you would accept a branch of Olympia's laurel, and also a branch of the

Acropolis olive tree, to be among the other prizes which will crown the brows of the victors, considering as a continuation of the beautiful games of Ancient Greece, the games of today which will be undertaken at your noble initiative.

L. Paraskevopoulos.

Commander-in-Chief

The Allied Forces of Salonica.

Letter analysis: The Greek commander focused on the history of sports in their nation, while highlighting that it is right to exclude the “barbarians” who did not fight for “right.” Like the ancient Olympics, sports were clearly a place to build relations with those who fought for right.

Italy

Paris, 29 May, 1919.

Dear General:

I have greatly appreciated the invitation which I have received from the officers and men of the American forces to the officers and men of our forces asking them to take part in an Inter-Allied Athletic Meeting. It is also my opinion that to gather together in a friendly athletic contest the representatives of the courageous armies which contested fraternally on the battlefield in a spirit of sacrifice and of military virtue, would contribute to uphold and increase these bonds of comradeship, of deep respect and of reciprocal admiration which made of the combined forces, different in race, language and habits, a united and a most efficient army, and an unbreakable bulwark.

Permit me to express my most lively pleasure for the proposal of your officers and soldiers and I beg to inform you that the officers and soldiers of the Italian army are pleased to accept the invitation which has been extended to them, and that they are

proud to participate in the proposed athletic meet. Please accept the expression of my most sincere comradeship and regards.

Yours devotedly,

(Signed) A. Diaz.

Letter analysis: The Italian Chief of Staff, Armando Diaz, agreed with the American intent of the games to uphold the spirit of sacrifice and military virtues forged on the battlefield. The author also poignantly reminded the reader that sports can strengthen the unbreakable bonds formed in warfare, which transcend race, language, and habit.

Portugal

Roquetoise-sur-la-Lys, France, 2 May, 1919.

Dear General Pershing:

Having taken over the command of the Portugese Expeditionary Corps a few days ago, I beg to be allowed to present to you my compliments as the Commander of the American Troops in France, and, above all, to thank you for the honour conferred upon us by your letter, sent to the Commander of the Portugese Expeditionary Force, inviting us to take part in the coming athletic sports. It was with the greatest pleasure that I received your invitation, and I follow the organization of the sports with the maximum interest and enthusiasm. I am at this moment employing all my efforts to ensure that the Corps under my command, and my nation, will enter with the highest possible number of competitors and in the most brilliant manner. With my greatest consideration, believe me.

Sir, Your obedient servant,

AUGUSTO ROCADAS.

Letter analysis: Like the Belgians, the Italian general's language was quite deferential.

Roumania

Roumanian General Headquarters.

My dear General Pershing:

The officers and soldiers of Roumania are profoundly touched by the kind attention of their American comrades, who fought so valiantly on the French front, by inviting them to take part in the Inter-Allied Athletic Contests. Although the sports have only recently been introduced in our country, they will be glad to participate.

They pray you to accept for yourself and to transmit to their American comrades their cordial thanks for the great honor bestowed upon them and the joy which they feel in being considered by the Allied Armies and especially yours upon whom the admiration of the entire world has been drawn by the superb bravery and exemplary endurance.

Please accept, dear General, the expression of my best regards.

(Signed) Presan.

Letter analysis: The Romanian commander-in-chief was enthusiastic while mentioning that some of the sports had only recently been introduced in their country, thereby recognising the serious nature of the competition. The response concludes with gratitude for being considered part of the Allied Armies.

Serbia

General Headquarters of the Serbian Army,

General Chief of Staff.

Belgrade, 12 January, 1919.

My dear General:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 9th inst., by which you were kind enough to invite the Serbian officers and soldiers to take part in the sport

contests which will take place at Paris. I send you my hearty thanks for the happy initiative which you took in organizing this gathering, and in thus procuring for all the Allied Armies the opportunity of linking more closely the bonds of comradeship and friendship, by which they are already so closely bound. The Serbian Army, in particular, will be very glad to make a more intimate acquaintance with their comrades of the great and heroic American Army, not having had the honor to fight side by side with them in that epic struggle, and always avowing enthusiastic admiration for their chivalrous and nobly disinterested intervention, which has contributed so much to the splendid victory won over the enemy.

Please believe in my most affectionately devoted sentiments.

(Signed) Voivode Michitch.

Letter analysis: The Serbian Chief of Staff acknowledged that, although their country did not have the honour of fighting alongside the Americans in the “epic struggle,” they had always admired America’s chivalrous, noble, and disinterested intervention. They would be honoured to participate.

Category III: Those less concerned with gaining access to America and its allies

Guatemala

Paris, 5 May, 1919.

From: Legation^of the Republic of Guatemala.

To : General Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the A.E.F.

The Government of the Republic of Guatemala directs me to thank you for the kind invitation you were kind enough to send him, in order to have this Government represented at the Inter-Allied Games which will be held in the near future, at Colombes Stadium. I have also the pleasure to say that the Guatemalan Army, grateful and proud to find itself at the side of the gallant American Army, will be represented by a Captain of the Staff, Mr. Miguel Ydigoras, Military Attache of the

Special Mission of Guatemala which is already in Paris. I take this opportunity to assure you of my deep respect.

Matos Pacheco.

Hedjaz

Paris, 20 March, 1919.

My dear General:

I am deeply sensible of the honour you paid the troops under my command in inviting us to take part in the Inter-Allied Athletic Meeting to be held shortly in Paris. It will give us the greatest pleasure to participate. I have sent General Nuri Pacha Said of my staff to Damascus to choose such team as we can supply, and will send you details of our entry as soon as possible. I have the honour to be, sir

Yours very faithfully,

Faissal.

In addition to the responses above, there is a chapter on liaison efforts during the games, in which the American-led Games Committee mentioned the “entire question of British participation.”¹⁵⁷ The group decided that their absence was due to demobilisation efforts and consoled themselves that, despite the lack of British engagement, the British Dominions had a significant presence in the games.

Yet, one must ask why the British, with their deep commitment to sports in the military, chose to only participate on the margins in 1919. Perhaps the British thought it was not worth their time to play against an opponent who would take excessive pride in winning. The remainder of this section explores why the British were repelled rather than attracted by the American approach in 1919. As a representative case study, reviewing the British

¹⁵⁷ The Games Committee, 175.

background is illuminating as planners must account for various cultures when pursuing diplomatic goals, especially within the short duration of Special Event MSD.

Before exploring the British approach, it is essential to acknowledge how the Americans historically attempted to emulate the British adherence to amateurism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early 20th century, young men on both sides of the Atlantic entered the military as a logical extension of their competitive nature and love of sports. Yet, despite lip service to amateurism, Americans increasingly saw their future defined by “winning” rather than playing the right way. Being a beacon on the hill was only possible if one first scaled and conquered the hill. The sporting cultures within American Universities and Service Academies that developed in the late 19th and 20th centuries reflected this development. Student-athletes built a multibillion-dollar enterprise without compensation in a practice that has continued to this day.¹⁵⁸ The remainder of this section will attempt to answer why the British chose not to participate in the American-led Inter-Allied Games.

British Military Sports Culture in the Early 20th Century

Aligned with the amateur code, sports and warfare in the British military were often more concerned with how a soldier or athlete “played the game” rather than the outcome.¹⁵⁹ Was the soldier-athlete fair and courageous in victory or defeat? This thesis argues that the British deemed the binary win-or-lose nature of the 1919 Inter-Allied Games to be of little value, particularly as they had minimal control over how the games were conducted.

A separate factor for the British and French forces was fatigue. After three years of intense warfare, the United States joined the Allied war efforts in late 1917 and began contributing manpower to the war effort in early 1918. General Pershing’s doughboys wanted to prove their courage on the world stage, not as subordinate to the British or French militaries but as a stand-alone force. Following their successful albeit short stint in the war, America was encouraged to expand their influence beyond the battlefield. In contrast, the British and

¹⁵⁸ Davies, *Sports in American Life*, 91.

¹⁵⁹ Donaldson, *Sport, War and the British*, 30.

French militaries understandably focused on healing and rebuilding through domestic initiatives.

The Royal Army Sport Control Board and Amateur Traditions

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the British Army established the Army Sport Control Board shortly after WWI. Author Dr Campbell highlighted three reasons for the board's creation. The first was to manage the rapid growth of institutionalised sports within and among British army units during the War. For the first time after the war, Great Britain had the opportunity to focus on a comprehensive sports management programme. The second reason was that sports could aid in achieving recruitment goals. After WWI, the British were concerned they would struggle to maintain their imperial responsibilities if too many soldiers left the Army. The final reason was to address the rising threat of professionalism in military sports. The amateur tradition and spirit of fair play could only be upheld by those who understood and enforced the games ethic.¹⁶⁰ The right spirit, defined by the 1919 Army Sports Control Board, included several principles: (1) sports must allow for equal opportunity without specialisation, (2) sports must offer a variety of games to appeal to all temperaments and physiques, (3) sports should include championship formats to encourage *esprit de corps*, (4) monetary prizes should be avoided to ensure healthy rivalry without the "taint of professionalism," and (5) officers must actively participate to "gain insight into the true character of their troops" while building their own leadership power.¹⁶¹

In 2018, the Army Sport Control Board (ASCB) published a commemorative book celebrating 100 years of continuous service. The board reinforced the 1918 definition of a sportsman as one who:

Plays the game for the game's sake

Plays for his side and not himself

Is a good winner and a good loser, i.e., modest in victory and generous in defeat

¹⁶⁰ Campbell, *The Army Isn't All Work*, 193–94.

¹⁶¹ Navy Sport Control Board, 'Games and Sports in the Navy', 4.

Accepts all decisions in a proper spirit
Is chivalrous towards a defeated opponent
Is unselfish and always ready to help others to become proficient
As a spectator, applauds good play of both sides
Never interferes with referees or judges, no matter what the decision¹⁶²

The founding definition embodies a spirit instilled in the British school system from a young age and fully embraced by the British forces before, during, and after WWI. Specifically, the correct spirit of play must override the individual or team's desire to win at all costs.

Located directly next to the ASCB headquarters in the Aldershot Garrison (forty miles southwest of London) is the Royal Army Physical Training Corps (RAPTC). Since the late 1860s, the APTC has maintained a rigorous training program to ensure quality standards for Royal Army physical training instructors. Yet, besides retaining the right spirit within the British Army, there is a rich history of the RAPTC instructors looking down on other nations that did not maintain a similar commitment to the games ethic. Between 1921 and 1923, Royal Army Physical Training Corps staff visited various countries to assess their respective military sports and fitness programs. The reports were informative.

Following a series of visits in 1923 to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium, the British instructors concluded that, in comparison with their model, the military programmes of the other nations were substandard as "trainers of men."¹⁶³

Compared to our training it appeared dull and lacking in expression. The physiological aspect, the spiritual side was not contemplated at all. The instructional staff varied, as teachers they could not compare with our staff instructors and as performers in physical training, gymnastics and athletics, they were perhaps better, but had little or no knowledge of being able to organise games and inspire

¹⁶² Army Sports Control Board, *Celebrating 100 Years of The Army Sport Control Board*, 1st ed. (Royal Army, n.d.), 2.

¹⁶³ Colonel Inspector of PT, 'Report of Tours of Visits Carried Out In: Holland, Denmark Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Belgium', Military (Headquarters P.T. Aldershot, April 1923), 3, Royal Army Physical Training Corps Museum.

beginners. No country has staff with the same corps spirit which ours has. Outside their school they seemed to take little or no interest in what recruits did. Throughout there was a tendency to think more of self than cause. But the greatest conviction of my tour is that the British are immeasurably superior trainers of men than foreigners.¹⁶⁴

Two years earlier, in 1921, the chief British physical training instructor, Captain T.H. Wand-Tetley, visited America with a slightly more favourable report. Like Sir Arthur Yapp, Captain Tetley was impressed by the athletic facilities and the atmosphere of “healthiness, brightness and joy” in the US system.¹⁶⁵ Although there was uniformity in effort that reflected the American Army’s institutionalisation of sports during the war, the “specialisation and compulsion” to participate often “killed the spirit of play.” The spirit of play was killed by what appeared to be an alarming trend towards professionalisation.

In the small world of military sports, British Captain Tetley’s 1921 visit to West Point was hosted by American Colonel Waite Johnson, the same AEF coordinator who had coordinated the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. At West Point, Captain Tetley was impressed by the organisation and structure of physical training but recommended that future American officers train as instructors rather than solely practitioners of fitness. The officer candidates must learn how to teach others and “bring his group of men to the necessary physical condition.”¹⁶⁶ Tetley’s sentiment demonstrated a markedly different approach to physical training that persists to this day in British and American military systems. The American military still does not have a dedicated physical training corps and generally believes that providing facilities is sufficient. In contrast, the primary mission of a physical instructor corps within the British military is to train instructors who lead fitness drills and organise games within their respective bases. This practice stems from a tradition that, if not protected, could devolve into a culture that values winning over fair play.

¹⁶⁴ Colonel Inspector of PT, ‘Report of Tours of Visits Carried Out In: Holland, Denmark Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Belgium’.

¹⁶⁵ Capt T.H. Waid-Tetley, ‘Impressions on Physical Training and Sports in America Gained during the Tour with the British Fencing Team from 14th to 30th 1921’, Military (Headquarters P.T. Aldershot, 1921), 2, Royal Army Physical Training Corps Museum.

¹⁶⁶ Waid-Tetley, 5.

Ultimately, the British adherence to the correct spirit of play and their contempt for those who did not hold to their standard led to their selective engagement in military sports after WWI. The British example is illuminating because every national military brings its own biases and cultures into diplomatic engagements. The Americans ignored this factor when planning the 1919 Inter-Allied Games.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed how the unique nature of Special Event MSD brings disparate cultures together in a familiar setting, whether at home or overseas. The following paragraphs review the lessons of the 1919 Inter-Allied Games through the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation.

Communication

This study examined the complex nature of messaging in Special Event MSD. Although the American YMCA had pure intentions and seemingly shared the same games ethic as their British counterparts, rhetoric often differed from reality on the playing field. A review of the 1919 Inter-Allied Games illustrated how the message of a limited-duration event must be supported by its structure and corresponding actions. While Americans celebrated their role in uniting multiple nations under the banner of friendship, the effectiveness of the message was obscured by the overly competitive spirit of the American organisers and athletes. Unfortunately, America's drive to establish dominance, coupled with the event's short duration, prevented any shift in the messaging.

Representation

Although the 1919 event aimed to unite the Allies during demobilisation, its structure fostered highly competitive play. The athletes represented their nations in a binary win-lose format. Within this competitive atmosphere, this thesis argued that the Americans gained an unfair advantage by organising internal competitions and vetting their best athletes prior

to the Inter-Allied Games. The other nations merely sent those who were available. The takeaway for Special Event MSD is that if organisers wish to unite foreign militaries through sports, they must structure the events to support the intended message. Additionally, planners must be aware of the tendency towards extreme competition rather than cooperation.

Negotiation

In a paragraph titled “French Good Losers,” published after the event, the Americans claimed that the French journalists “were unanimous in congratulating America’s splendid showing in the invitation track and field meet.”¹⁶⁷ In a separate article, the French expressed surprise at how seriously the Americans were taking the games. One French journalist declared, “As soon as ‘La Guerre’ was ‘finie’ another ‘Guerre’ started, France against America.”¹⁶⁸ As for the British, their fatigued nation chose not to enter another battle on the sports field where the opponent did not adhere to the same games ethic. This is particularly interesting, considering that the American YMCA’s lead coordinator during the event, Elwood S. Brown, was a strong proponent of British amateurism and preached on the inherent ability of sports to transcend nationalism.¹⁶⁹ One lesson from this event is that the host in Special Event MSD must be sensitive to the various backgrounds and cultures of the participating nations. While competition may attract others to the event, cooperation must be encouraged before, during, and after the event, as organisers cannot assume sports always build bridges.

¹⁶⁷ Johnson et al., *Official Athletic Almanac of the American Expeditionary Forces 1919*, 271.

¹⁶⁸ Johnson et al., 129.

¹⁶⁹ Johnson et al., 129.

Chapter 3: Enduring MSD - The Creation and Evolution of CISM

This chapter explores the evolution of big business in MSD, where foreign militaries compete against one another within a structure that supports the parent organisation. Enduring MSD gained traction after WWI, partly due to the decline of Great Britain and America as the unchallenged bastions of sporting excellence. The world recognised that they too could compete in international sports. This chapter begins by examining the developments in civilian sports that laid the foundation for Enduring MSD. During the inter-war years, foreign militaries began to understand the power of sports to convey or reinforce a message. After introducing the foundations of Enduring MSD, this chapter analyses the evolution of the Conseil International du Sport Militaire (CISM) from 1948 to the present using the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation.

3.1. The Foundations of Enduring MSD

After WWI, “sport, and international sport at that, had an increasingly important role to play” in the return to normal.¹⁷⁰ Bolstered by mass media, author Tony Collins wrote that nations turned to sports to prevent uprisings, such as the 1917 Russian Revolution, by maintaining morale and staving off boredom in the masses. Sports were also increasingly used to build patriotic sentiment through the “binary, simple, and universal” nature of reinforcing the us versus them mentality.¹⁷¹

As countries attempted to rebuild their war-torn economies after WWI, autocratic governments increasingly used sports to bolster their authority. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini gained international acclaim through Italy’s winning the 1934 and 1938 World Cups. Certainly, a nation is on the right track if it wins two World Cups. The rise of Hitler’s Naziism was also reinforced through successfully hosting the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which “set the tone for the games that would occur after World War II (WWII), each of which had a sharp political edge to it until the end of the Cold War.”¹⁷² Although a popular narrative is

¹⁷⁰ Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain*, Historical Handbooks 5 (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 95.

¹⁷¹ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, 88–89.

¹⁷² Davies, *Sports in American Life*, 323.

that Hitler hijacked the games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) strongly supported Hitler's actions before, during, and immediately after the 1936 Olympic Games.¹⁷³ Avery Brundage, then president of the American Olympic Committee and later president of the IOC from 1952 to 1972, felt that opposition in 1936 from Communist and Jewish populations was good for business, as it "aroused interest."¹⁷⁴

In the years leading up to and during WWII, sports were used for various purposes: building pride in one's unit, staving off boredom when not on the front lines, and fostering a fighting spirit. Yet, by WWII's end, international sports were increasingly regarded "as a proving ground for a nation's strength."¹⁷⁵ Sports between foreign militaries reflected this trend. One notable development was the rest of the world's growing proficiency in sports during the first half of the 20th century. On the civilian side, England was shocked by losses in their national sport, Association Football, to the United States and Spain in their first World Cup appearance in Brazil in 1950. Although the FIFA World Cup was first held in 1930 in Uruguay, England chose not to compete until 1950. Why risk England's status as the best?

Despite these defeats, moments of brilliance occurred in British sport, including Roger Bannister's sub-four-minute mile in 1954 and England winning the 1966 World Cup, sixteen years after their poor showing in 1950. On the other side of the Atlantic, the United States did not qualify for another World Cup until 1990 but found solace in the dominance of their big three sports—American football, basketball, and baseball—sports that much of the world showed little interest in. Still, in the ultra-nationalistic post-WWII era, the United States was forced to value traditional Olympic sports, if only to remain relevant. They achieved this through the support structures of American universities and the US military.

A further significant development was the emergence of another great power after WWII – the Soviet Union (and particularly Russia). While the United States and Great Britain had taken sports seriously for decades (centuries in England's case), the Soviet Union's rapid

¹⁷³ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, 92.

¹⁷⁴ Carolyn Marvin, 'Avery Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games', *Journal of American Studies* 16, no. 1 (1982): 90.

¹⁷⁵ Goodhart and Chataway, *War without Weapons*, 44.

ascent in sports was alarming following WWII. During the interwar years, the Soviet Union perceived sports as a domestic tool to foster patriotism or entertain the masses. However, similar to Lenin after WWI, Joseph Stalin quickly recognised the diplomatic opportunities following WWII, where sporting victories over 'bourgeois' states would demonstrate the strength of the Soviet system.¹⁷⁶ Although the Soviet Union did not compete in the 1948 Olympics in London, it entered the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, Finland and achieved immediate success. The United States won 76 medals, whereas the Soviet Union won 71 (Great Britain won 11).¹⁷⁷ The Soviets' rise was cause for concern within the traditionally democratic IOC for two reasons.

First, the Soviet athletes were considered state-sponsored professionals and not the amateur athletes celebrated by the founder of the modern Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin. Second, the Soviet Olympic Committee operated not independently (as dictated by the IOC) but as a puppet organisation of their parent government, the Kremlin.¹⁷⁸ Still, the lack of amateurism in the Soviet Union should be balanced with a realistic assessment of "shamateurism" elsewhere during the same period. In America and Great Britain, the demands of WWII ushered in a more flexible attitude toward the professional-amateur debate than in WWI.

An example of the relaxation in attitudes occurred in a seemingly minor yet impactful way in Great Britain early in WWII. In 1941, as many professional athletes were called into service, the British newspaper *Wisden* decided to place one's rank before the athletes' names in their publications. Historically, the names of amateur athletes were printed with their occupational prefixes, such as Rev, Dr, Mr, or officer rank, while those of paid professionals were prefixed with their initials (or no prefix).¹⁷⁹ This was meant to delineate gentlemen—clergy, officers, and physicians—from those not considered gentlemen—dock workers, enlisted soldiers, and those in manual labour. The amateurs, in theory, had an unfair

¹⁷⁶ Jim Riordan, 'Rewriting Soviet Sports History', *Journal of Sport History* 20, no. 3 (1993): 298.

¹⁷⁷ IOC, 'Helsinki 1952 Olympic Medal Table - Gold, Silver & Bronze', Olympics.com, accessed 5 June 2024, <https://olympics.com/en/olympic-games/helsinki-1952/medals>. Note: in 1948, the United States won first place with 84 medals, while Great Britain won 27.

¹⁷⁸ Davies, *Sports in American Life*, 324.

¹⁷⁹ Tony McCarthy, *War Games: The Story of Sport in World War Two* (London: Macdonald Queen Anne Pr, 1989), 60.

advantage due to their increased time to train and, according to the British gentlemen, often did not play by the proper spirit of the games.

Yet, according to the British upper classes, it was not the fault of the lower classes, as they lacked an upbringing that instilled fair and chivalrous play, independent of outcomes or rewards. Interestingly, the distinction between amateurism and professionalism became blurred during WWII, as it was common for professional footballers or cricketers to join the Physical Training Corps and remain far from the front lines.¹⁸⁰ Amid complaints of favouritism, advocates for placing professionals in the Training Corps argued that their safety permitted service matches that attracted large crowds, thus raising support for the war efforts.¹⁸¹

The moderation of previously rigid social mores also occurred in other spheres of life, including both enlisted and officer ranks, as well as women's roles in the armed forces. In June 1942, 30,000 fans gathered at Tottenham Stadium in London to witness a boxing match between Pilot Officer Len Harvey and Flight Sergeant Freddie Mills (enlisted).¹⁸² Although Harvey was the favourite, Mills defeated him in under four minutes, resulting in chaos among the large crowd. The outcome of the fight was as shocking as an officer and an enlisted member facing off on equal footing. Regarding women in sports, Great Britain recognised women as Physical Training Instructors (PTI) in the Women's Auxiliary Air Service early in WWII. Nonetheless, not everyone was in favour; one female PTI returned to her room to discover her clothes had been burned after a particularly rigorous morning PT session.¹⁸³ In America during WWII, historian Wanda Wakefield highlighted that women were encouraged to participate in sports, albeit not too vigorously, as doing so could risk diminishing their desirability or availability to male soldiers.¹⁸⁴

In the rare moments when newspapers published accounts of women in sports during WWII, they often expressed surprise that women could perform so well. In one article titled

¹⁸⁰ Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, 185.

¹⁸¹ Chapter 2 mentioned how General Harrington disliked favouritism towards athletes during WWI.

¹⁸² McCarthy, *War Games*, 108.

¹⁸³ McCarthy, 131.

¹⁸⁴ Wakefield, *Playing to Win*, 131.

“Gentle Sex Proves Not So Much in AF Cage Battle,” the author states that “Six curvaceous little gals known as Bobby’s Rascals of the Second Air Division let down their hair here and grabbed themselves the 8th AF WAC basketball championship.”¹⁸⁵ En route to securing victory, one side “accidentally” delivered a black eye to the eventual winners while brawling for the ball – a spectacle that drew cheers from the male GIs. Thankfully, the author describes how the female athletes’ temporary aggression was calmed by a chicken dinner, after which they “once again proved their stamina by playing the leading roles in a dance” with the male GIs.¹⁸⁶ It is as if someone challenged the author to include as many casual, sexist references in the fewest number of words.

During WWII, sports in the military also challenged segregation policies. Whereas the British had played sports with indigenous colonial soldiers for years (especially in India), the British armed forces were not nearly as diverse as the American forces. Yet, despite the large number of African American soldiers in the United States, American units remained segregated through WWII. Sports in the American forces became one of the few areas where “black men played alongside white men on base football and baseball teams as they were not yet welcomed to do in civilian society.”¹⁸⁷

Thus, Enduring MSD was born out of the highly nationalistic post-WWII atmosphere, which challenged who could play and whether seemingly “inferior” nations, races, or genders could compete with “superior” ones. The remainder of this chapter explores the history and trajectory of CISM as a representative case study of Enduring MSD. As with the previous chapter, the study focuses on British and American influences.

3.2 Case Study: The 1948 Creation and Trajectory of CISM

CISM was established in 1948 following the disbandment of the Allied Forces Sports Council (AFSC). The AFSC was formed in 1946 by nine Allied nations: Belgium, Czechoslovakia,

¹⁸⁵ Bury St Edmunds, ‘Gentle Sex Proves Not So Much in AF Cage Battle’, *Stars and Stripes* March 1945, 8 August 2023, sec. 526.08, Air Force Historical Research Agency.

¹⁸⁶ St Edmunds.

¹⁸⁷ Wakefield, *Playing to Win*, 136.

Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Poland, and the United States. The stated purpose of the AFSC was twofold: first, to “cement further inter-allied relations,” and second, to influence the control of “any large tournaments between the Allied Armies.”¹⁸⁸

Exactly seven months after the inaugural meeting on 6-7 September 1946, the AFSC, sponsored and organised by the US Army, hosted a track and field meet at Berlin’s Olympic Stadium, attracting over 120,000 spectators and featuring eight participating Allied nations—the same nations that took part in the initial meeting minus Norway.¹⁸⁹ As with the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, the US Information Branch published a post-action report highlighting the exceptional performance of the American military, while the others “managed to star in one or more particular events.”¹⁹⁰

Although initially intended to be a limited-duration event like the Inter-Allied Games of 1919, the success of the 1946 track and field event prompted the AFSC to pursue long-term objectives. Unfortunately, conflicts arose within the AFSC because of Cold War tensions, leading to the swift withdrawal of several nations from the organisation. Nevertheless, the early efforts of the AFSC were carried on by two young officers: French Captain Henry Debrus and Belgian Lieutenant Raoul Mollet—the founders of the Conseil International du Sport Militaire. Yet, as this chapter will highlight, they achieved success by following a markedly different path compared to their predecessors in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games and the post-WWII Allied Forces Sports Council. The first element to be examined was CISM’s message.

¹⁸⁸ ‘First Allied Forces Sports Council Meeting - Minutes Feb 1946’, 6 February 1946, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/publications-downloads/publications>.

¹⁹⁰ Nee, William Lt Col, ‘1946 AFSC Track Meet Results Press Release’, 30 September 1946, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/publications-downloads/publications>.

3.2.1 Communication

Enduring MSD's message is that through highly competitive play, a nation can improve its international standing, enhance the performance of its organisations, and make military service more appealing domestically. Furthermore, the high-profile nature of the events encourages dialogue among foreign leaders and cautions those who choose not to participate, lest they be left behind.

This section examines CISM's message and the reasons behind the founding members' success. The first reason for their success is that they modelled themselves on a proven business: the Olympics, where participation symbolised prestige and power. The second reason for their success is that membership was essential for enhancing national military performance. The following sections delve into each of these components.

Message 1: CISM, much like the Olympics, is an elite and prestigious international competition.

Several similarities exist between the 1919 Inter-Allied Games and the early efforts of the AFSC. In both 1919 and 1946, the United States was the lead organiser in post-war demobilisation periods, where bored soldiers benefited from healthy outlets like sports rather than other available vices such as alcohol, sex, and gambling. Second, in 1919 and 1946, the United States aspired to champion the special bond between allies while simultaneously demonstrating American exceptionalism through sport. Finally, both events were directly compared to previous Olympics as a badge of pride: the 1919 Inter-Allied Games were compared to the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, and the 1946 AFSC track and field event was compared to the previous 1936 Berlin Olympics. Despite the similarities, the events also displayed notable differences, one being the lack of non-governmental support agencies in 1946 compared to 1919.

As Chapter 2 noted, in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, the American Expeditionary Forces shared the financial and logistical burden with the YMCA. Yet, by 1946, civilian involvement in the US military's sports infrastructure had decreased substantially. The decline resulted

from a break in military-civilian welfare agencies soon after WWI. As chairman of the United States Commission on Training Camp Activities during WWI, Raymond Fosdick believed in the value of sports to the fighting man. He often referenced the exemplary spirit of the English and Canadians in Europe, where their passion for sports was linked directly to combat effectiveness. Naturally, Fosdick supported the contribution of civilian organisations in a fiscally constrained environment. In 1917, Fosdick declared, "We do not desire to create any more additional machinery than is absolutely essential; hence, inside the camps, we are relying primarily upon such institutions as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Board for Welfare Work."¹⁹¹ In the same report, Fosdick wrote that the organisations worked in harmony rather than competition. Yet, in the post-WWI era, these same welfare agencies increasingly competed for smaller slices of the reduced post-war pie, leading to occasional embarrassments due to duplication of efforts or shortages of supplies.¹⁹²

In 1921, the American Military-YMCA relationship ended abruptly in response to a controversial article in *The New York Times*. The report alleged sexual misconduct involving YMCA's Christian ministers and American sailors at the Naval Hospital in Rhode Island during WWI.¹⁹³ Although an official inquiry cleared the clergy of charges, Secretary Fosdick recommended increased autonomy in military-led recreational activities. The US Military cut ties with the welfare agencies and developed its own sporting infrastructure. Notably, the decision to increase autonomy in the United States occurred when the British Armed Forces created their respective service-oriented sports control boards between 1918 and 1921. During the interwar years, military sports in the United States and Great Britain shifted their focus to service-oriented and domestic objectives. This trend continued in the years leading up to and during WWII.

Without the funding and expertise of the YMCA in the post-WWII environment, the American military in 1947 struggled to execute its ambitious strategy of sustaining sports

¹⁹¹ Raymond B. Fosdick, 'The Commission on Training Camp Activities', *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* 7, no. 4 (1918): 820, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1172212>.

¹⁹² Wakefield, *Playing to Win*, 55.

¹⁹³ Special To The New York Times, 'LAY NAVY SCANDAL TO F.D. ROOSEVELT', *The New York Times*, 20 July 1921.

among allies. The Americans also appeared to believe sports had their boundaries when fostering friendship, as they did not wish to expand the games beyond their close allies in the increasingly hostile Cold War era. Fortunately, the founders of CISM realised their business model needed to evolve rather than fold. To do so, they opened CISM's aperture to external supporters and welcomed more nations—all nations, in fact, regardless of friendly relations.

CISM's initial message was that it was more than a mere partnership between allies (historically based on the whims of the United States). By opening membership, the founders signalled that they were a stand-alone body, more like the Olympics or Coca-Cola, that could weather the winds of change and grow with the times. CISM's founders learned from the AFSC's missteps during their initial efforts in Berlin. In the 1946 Track and Field Event flyer, the AFSC listed Russia and Poland as two of the twelve participating nations.¹⁹⁴ Yet, in the post-event press release, it was clear that neither Poland nor Russia sent athletes to the event. Czechoslovakia sent only one. Despite the evident absence of the invitees, the post-event press release made clear that the US Army led the event, and although no nation was declared the winner, American athletes dominated the fields with 17 of the 55 first, second, or third-place finishes.¹⁹⁵

To increase membership in CISM, Debrus and Mollet realised that competition breeds interest. They may have also drawn lessons from the early years of the English Football Association (FA), which experienced rapid growth in the 1870s. Established in London in 1863, the organisation, like the Inter-Allied Games and AFSC, initially concentrated on friendly matches. However, in 1871, the FA saw a sudden rise in interest when it introduced the FA Cup—a knockout, winner-takes-all tournament that allowed the various, geographically separated gentlemen's clubs and regiments to test their mettle under a standard set of rules. The founders of CISM essentially mirrored the example of the Football

¹⁹⁴ '1946 AFSC Berlin Track and Field Flyer', September 1946, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles.php?d=ZmljaGlcnM=&f=QTFfMTk0NI9BbGxpZWRFm9yY2VzX3JlcG9ydF90b19jcmVhdGVfYXRobGV0aWNzX2NvdW5jaWwucGRm&s=a9d9e2a365d72ba29d78057e45892b40>.

¹⁹⁵ Nee, William Lt Col, '1946 AFSC Track Meet Results Press Release'.

Association, but on the international stage and with national militaries instead of amateur gentlemen's clubs.

Even as a young officer, Captain Debrus appeared to understand the fickle nature of international partnerships. He realised that an enduring organisation could not count on the goodwill or financial support of a handful of allied nations. To ensure its existence, CISM's initial message centred on inclusivity and competition—inclusivity for all nations, friends, and foes, and competition through membership among elite military athletes. Yet, increased competition does come at a cost, as reflected by the experience of the British Army's Royal Engineers Football Club in the FA Cup. The Royal Engineers achieved success in the early years of the FA competitions, winning the FA Cup in 1875. Yet, as competition and skill levels increased, the separation between amateurs and professionals became more challenging to police. In 1885, the FA permitted paid professionals to participate in competitions. Never again would a strictly amateur military regiment compete well in the FA Cup.¹⁹⁶ In the same way, CISM's decision to increase competition led to challenges, particularly when promoting inclusivity and friendship.

Message 2: Countries can enhance military performance through membership.

Since its inception in 1948, CISM has communicated that it is an extension of the Olympic movement, embracing highly competitive and apolitical international play. To achieve success, CISM initially argued for fewer high-profile events rather than numerous smaller ones, thereby increasing international awareness, participation, and profitability.¹⁹⁷ Although not explicitly stated, the message cautioned foreign militaries that chose not to participate lest they be left behind. While the aim may be “friendship through sport,” CISM's founders understood that the organisation must first generate interest.

¹⁹⁶ Author Tony Collins, in “How Football Began,” notes how the Royal Engineers found early success by running with the ball in their hands. In the early years, the differences were not significant between Rugby Football and Association Football. Not until 1870 would the FA ban handling the ball completely (page 7).

¹⁹⁷ Athinodoros I. Moschopoulos, ‘Olympic Games and CISM Villages: The Outreach of the International Military Sports Council in the Olympic Games’, *Storia Dello Sport. Rivista Di Studi Contemporanei* 2, no. 1 (2020): 36–45.

As a fellow Frenchman, Capt. Debrus was likely inspired by Pierre de Coubertin's example in the early 20th century. Coubertin instituted the modern pentathlon in 1912 with the military officer in mind: a young soldier ordered to deliver a message across enemy territory by riding a horse through rough terrain, duelling with an enemy by pistol and sword, and completing his journey by swimming across a river and running through the countryside. In the ultra-specialised era of modern sport, it is surprising that this mix of seemingly disparate activities has survived.¹⁹⁸ Emulating the Olympics, CISM has incorporated various versions of the pentathlon into their games. The first was aptly named the "military pentathlon" and featured shooting, a particularly challenging obstacle course, swimming (also through pool obstacles), a grenade toss, and a track run. CISM also introduced an aeronautical and naval pentathlon with events tailored to the respective services.

In addition to the event profiles, CISM embraced the inclusivity advocated by Pierre de Coubertin: "The games are not the property of any country or of any particular race, and that they cannot be monopolised by any group whatsoever. They are global."¹⁹⁹ Perhaps the CISM founders realised that the 1919 Inter-Allied Games and its successor, the AFSC, were monopolised by one group: the Americans. And, although the rhetoric was "friendship through sport," the Americans often valued winning over inclusivity or friendship.

The end was in sight during the sixth and final assembly of the AFSC in February 1948, as the future president of CISM, Capt. Debrus provided an update on the nations that had departed from the AFSC. While the United States offered an encouraging response for future participation, Great Britain indicated that they could not continue due to material costs. The Russians, Poles, and Czechs did not respond because the Cold War had severed communication channels. When considering the future of CISM, the minutes note that all future members must pay an annual fee of 500 Swiss Francs. By requiring payment into the organisation, CISM fostered a sense of belonging and created an expectation of returns on investment. Lastly, Capt. Debrus emphasised that the new organisation would be

¹⁹⁸ Sandra Heck, 'Making Debrouillards: The Modern Pentathlon and the Pursuit of Completeness', *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 19 (1 January 2010): 139–58.

¹⁹⁹ George Hirthler, 'Paris 1924 and Pierre de Coubertin's Enduring Love for France', International Olympic Committee, 9 August 2023, <https://olympics.com/ioc/news/paris-1924-and-pierre-de-coubertin-s-enduring-love-for-france>.

progressively open to all nations.²⁰⁰ Perhaps this element was unanimously agreed upon beforehand, or nobody was paying attention. Either way, the decision for inclusivity by the young Captain would impact sports between foreign militaries to the present day.

In September of 1948, Capt. Debrus clarified his vision for CISM during the first general assembly. In the French minutes, Debrus highlighted that after three years of success with the AFSC, it was unfortunate that the Russians, Poles, and Czechs simply disappeared while the Americans and British resigned.²⁰¹ Undeterred, Debrus quickly transitioned to the future. He argued that CISM must utilise the media to ensure future success. Additionally, while membership was necessary, the nations must understand there was no obligation to participate in every CISM event, for each country has unique military schedules and challenges.²⁰² Finally, Debrus provided his purpose for pursuing military sports between nations. Sports between foreign militaries provide opportunities to establish friendly contacts between staff at the organisational level and military athletes during competitions.²⁰³ This, in turn, enabled militaries to know, understand, and appreciate one another better. Ultimately, Debrus' words reinforce MSD as a reflection of the direct approach; while winning is important, sports can also foster pride in one's military, enhance performance, and increase opportunities for dialogue with foreign military leadership.

As this thesis has emphasised Great Britain's unique influence on military sports among nations, it is fascinating that CISM included three paragraphs on Britain's absence in their first meeting. Translated from the original document in French, the document states:²⁰⁴

The situation remains confusing. It seems that Great Britain agrees on the principle of participation, but there is no centralising body for sports in the British military, which makes discussions difficult. The hope is that discussions will continue to

²⁰⁰ 'AFSC: 6th Session' (Nice, France, 16 February 1948), 2, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/publications-downloads/publications>.

²⁰¹ None of the correspondence appears in English this time – potentially to distance themselves from American influence.

²⁰² 'CISM: The First General Assembly' (Vichy France, September 1948), CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/publications-downloads/publications>.

²⁰³ 'CISM: The First General Assembly'.

²⁰⁴ 'CISM: The First General Assembly', 4.

resolve the difficulties that prevent full accession of Great Britain. Where appropriate, separate affiliations will be considered for the British Army on the one hand and for the RAF on the other.

CISM understandably desired Great Britain's membership and was willing to make concessions to secure it. The long history of Great Britain's sporting excellence and their professional military reputation would lend credence to CISM's early start. The minutes of the first assembly note how the French General Chassin reminded Great Britain that many international military athletes compete in their Britannia Shield, a sporting event held in London each year. Therefore, it was only fair that British athletes participated in military events held in other countries.²⁰⁵ General Chassin wisely appealed to the British ethos of fair play.

After transforming the model from a weak partnership to a robust business, the organisation needed to fulfil its promises. The original goals of the modern Olympics were "not to intensify nationalism" but to champion individual excellence.²⁰⁶ Similar to the Olympics, CISM indicated that, through membership, militaries could enhance their performance and access strategic communications between leadership.²⁰⁷ As noted in Chapter 1, there is often a fear of exclusion from the inner circle when using the direct approach. "If we choose not to participate, will critical decisions be made without our military?" or "Will partnerships form in opposition to our country's ambitions?" Although perhaps not intentionally, CISM established a powerful inner circle from which few nations desired to be excluded.

Having examined the element of communication, the following section investigates how CISM structured its approach in two domains: highly competitive events and innovations in sports science.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ 'CISM: The First General Assembly', 4.

²⁰⁶ Davies, *Sports in American Life*, 322.

²⁰⁷ Moschopoulos, 'Olympic Games and CISM Villages', 39.

²⁰⁸ R. Mollet, 'The Young History of the C.I.S.M.', *C.I.S.M. Magazine* 1, September 1958, 10.

3.2.2 Representation

In Enduring MSD, results are significant only if they reinforce the status and support the continuation of the parent organisation. This section analyses the structure of CISM as an example of the Enduring MSD.

Unlike Special Event MSD, which prioritises a national agenda or specific partnership, Enduring MSD is not affiliated with any particular country or military, thus attracting a broader range of participants. In this regard, CISM resembles a successful business model that must continuously adapt to market demands. The founders of CISM adjusted their focus in two areas: (1) expanding the schedule, locations, and options for events, and (2) utilising the emerging but promising field of sports science. In 1958, the Secretary-General of CISM and future President, Major Raoul Mollet, reviewed CISM's ten-year history. Mollet observed a quiet period from 1953 to 1956, during which the Swedish Major Thorburn led the organisation. However, in 1956, Mollet remarked that his old friend, now Colonel Debrus, returned from duty in Indochina to establish a “remarkable calendar” while re-emphasising a focus on “medical sports and technical progress.”²⁰⁹ One gets the impression that Colonel Debrus returned to the organisation he founded and loved, burst through the door, and yelled, “Advance!”

Any effective business or military operation incorporates redundancy into its system; if one effort fails, a contingency plan must be in place. CISM exemplifies Enduring MSD's capacity to succeed through various lines of effort—first, by implementing a robust and competitive schedule of events.

A Robust, Competitive Schedule

As a reflection of the direct approach, competitions in Enduring MSD often escalate into intense rivalries rather than promoting cooperative engagements, unless meticulously managed. This section examines how CISM successfully channelled the soldier-athletes'

²⁰⁹ Mollet, 'The Young History of the C.I.S.M.'

passions by providing numerous competitive opportunities. During CISM's inaugural General Assembly in September 1948, the new leadership presented an ambitious sporting schedule for the forthcoming year.

Skiing was scheduled to occur in France in February 1949 and would feature military teams from Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway; the games would not be open to all members but would remain limited in scope. Cross-country skiing and boxing would be hosted and organised by the Dutch military. Basketball was under discussion with the Americans (who had joined), with Luxembourg proposed as a possible location. Fencing would take place in Sweden, swimming in Denmark, athletics in France, and football potentially in the Netherlands. In addition to these sports, the assembly considered the possible inclusion of motorcycle racing, cycling, shooting, hockey, yachting, and an aeronautical pentathlon.²¹⁰

By distributing events among foreign militaries, CISM's founding members ensured that each nation was "bought in." Like the Olympic model, hosting competitions was perceived as a reflection of a nation's military capabilities and strength. Furthermore, by utilising the facilities of CISM's member countries, the parent organisation could reduce its costs. In this sense, CISM resembled large corporations that regularly outsource factory work to various locations. This approach enables businesses to create jobs and shield themselves from the unpredictable demands of the corporate landscape. Numerous aeronautical firms have adopted this strategy in producing aircraft, knowing that politicians will support job retention in their cities or states. Similarly, the CISM founders embraced this strategy by inviting members to contribute financially to the organisation and host events. The foreign militaries effectively became stakeholders in the business of military sports.

In addition to outlining the proposed schedule of events, CISM's General Assembly featured an interesting section on future prizes and awards. The leadership advocated for the discontinuation of medals while permitting the participating militaries to select their course—a course that would "suit their army."²¹¹ This approach, though noble in intent,

²¹⁰ 'CISM: The First General Assembly'.

²¹¹ 'CISM: The First General Assembly'.

appears to have been swiftly abandoned, as there is a clear record of winners and losers throughout CISM's history. One cannot help but compare the origins of CISM to those of the modern Olympic movement.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Coubertin consistently advocated for a reduced emphasis on awards. If awards were given, they should possess “low intrinsic value” and be “preferably artistic” in character.²¹² Coubertin believed that the ideal sports ceremony resembled that of a knight in the Middle Ages who, after demonstrating chivalry, received his prize while kneeling humbly before a lady.²¹³ Anything more would jeopardise the spirit of the games and blur the distinction between gentlemen amateurs and paid professionals. Coubertin had witnessed the consequences of such corruption in sport, where he contended that “repugnant snobbery, the habit of lying, and the spirit of gain” take over.²¹⁴ In a separate letter, Coubertin commended the example set by England, which managed its sporting culture through independent athletic committees capable of rendering unquestioned judgments free from the influence of “any form of camaraderie.”²¹⁵ One cannot help but think that Coubertin must have wholeheartedly endorsed the establishment of Britain’s service-based Sport Control Boards from 1918 to 1921, each designed to encourage and uphold the proper way to play within the British Armed Forces. Nonetheless, similar to the Olympics, CISM quickly realised that fierce competition generates interest, and interest yields the profit that sustains businesses.

In Enduring MSD, organisations must achieve recognition as independent entities rather than loose partnerships among nations. Over time, the organisation gains the authority to grant or deny membership, and by hosting high-profile events, it maintains its status and influence. In the decades following CISM’s humble beginnings, leadership transformed the

²¹² Pierre de Coubertin et al., ‘1902 “Charter for Amateurism” from Olympism: Selected Writings / Pierre de Coubertin’ (International Olympic Committee, 2000), 681, <https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/65192/olympism-selected-writings-pierre-de-coubertin>.

²¹³ Coubertin et al., ‘Olympism’, 2000, 615.

²¹⁴ Pierre de Coubertin et al., ‘1906 “The Athlete’s Oath” from Olympism: Selected Writings / Pierre de Coubertin’ (International Olympic Committee, 2000), 599, <https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/65192/olympism-selected-writings-pierre-de-coubertin>.

²¹⁵ Pierre de Coubertin et al., ‘1907 “Opposition to Athletic Unionization” from Olympism: Selected Writings / Pierre de Coubertin’ (International Olympic Committee, 2000), 699, <https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/65192/olympism-selected-writings-pierre-de-coubertin>.

structure from opportunistic engagements between allies into a highly competitive and diverse schedule of events, irrespective of previous relationships. Regarding the structure of events, the following six types are outlined in CISM's policy manual:²¹⁶

1. *Military World Games*: These events are organised every four years, and all member nations are invited. An entire section is dedicated to the World Games, but in short, this event includes all member nations, a large ceremony, and many officials; medals must be awarded. The first World Games occurred in 1995 in Rome, and the scope of events has only grown since then. In addition to CISM's Winter and Summer World Games, there are also the Cadet World Games and the CISM World Football Cup, beginning in 2012.
2. *World Championship*: This annual or biannual, sport-specific event involves at least eight nations for men and four for women from at least two continents. The event must include official ceremonies, with medals being awarded. An example is the 34th World Military Naval Pentathlon Championship.
3. *Continental Games*: This event is sport-specific, and invitations are extended to all member nations within a continent. The event requires at least six nations for men and three for women. The event must include official ceremonies, again with medals being awarded. An example was the 1999 European Military Handball Championship.
4. *Regional Championships*: These are sport-specific events extended to CISM members within a particular region, although inviting nations outside the region is possible. At least four nations must participate for men and two nations for women. Medals may be awarded. The example provided was the 2000 Middle East Military Basketball Championship.

²¹⁶ CISM, 'CISM Policy Manual 2009: Chapter III - General Regulations' (International Military Sports Council, July 2009), 34–36.

5. *Events and Tournaments*: These events are also sport-specific but less geographically constrained. At least two other nations must participate, and medals may be awarded. The example provided is the 2001 Military Fencing Tournament.
6. *Bilateral Competitions*: These are sporting events between two member nations. The example provided is a 2000 Bilateral Boxing Competition.

In addition to the event profiles, CISM recognises the following sports at the World Level (everything above continental): aeronautical pentathlon, basketball, boxing, cycling, equestrian sports, fencing, football, golf, handball, judo, military pentathlon, modern pentathlon, naval pentathlon, orienteering, parachuting, sailing, shooting, skiing, swimming/water polo, diving/lifesaving, taekwondo, track and field/cross country, triathlon, volleyball, and wrestling. All other sports may be recognised at the Continental level and below.²¹⁷

The reason CISM specifically lists the structure of sports is that, in highly competitive international sports, the organising committee must be clear on the rules and regulations before anyone enters a match. In 1919, the Americans recognised the importance of such practices when organising the Inter-Allied Games. As discussed in Chapter 2, the YMCA and AEF requested two representatives from each participating nation to agree on the rules. They even constructed a thirty-thousand-seat stadium to ensure no perception of favouritism or unfair advantages for the host nation.

Yet, by introducing such a broad range of games and countries, the participating member nations can lose sight of CISM's enduring goal—to build friendships through sport. When considering the original question of whether to include medals in events, it is telling that the criteria specify that medals must be awarded to the winners in the three largest formats (The World Games, World Championships, and Continental Championships). In contrast, in the three smaller formats, medals are optional. To date, it is challenging to find any match that does not include medals. At the 6th CISM Military World Games held in South Korea in

²¹⁷ CISM, 36.

2015, the final medal count provides insight into the value that participating countries place on the competition. Russia placed first with fifty-nine gold medals, Brazil ranked second with thirty-four gold medals, and China secured third place with thirty-two gold medals.²¹⁸ Interestingly, the United States placed 23rd (behind Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Kenya, Algeria, Iran, and Kazakhstan) with two gold medals. Certain countries clearly view the games as opportunities that must not be wasted. Reflecting on the early discussions within the Olympics or CISM about downplaying competitions in favour of camaraderie, it is amusing to consider the emphasis placed on winning. As Avery Brundage noted during the 1936 Olympics in Nazi Germany, competition breeds interest and, unfortunately, Enduring MSD relies on interest.

While some may interpret the performances of historically disadvantaged nations in military sports as signs of unfair play, this thesis argues that this is not the case. In many respects, the outcomes of the Olympics have become tiresome and predictable. Final medal counts often reflect a nation's gross domestic product, with a few exceptions, such as African distance runners and Jamaican sprinters. However, unlike the Olympics, in CISM, no one knows until game day which countries will participate. As the founders emphasised, membership does not necessitate participation, as each nation has its own priorities. Although one can reasonably expect Russia, China, and Brazil to be strong contenders in CISM World Competitions, it is noteworthy that historically less competitive countries, including Kenya, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan, also perform well.

If CISM is to moderate the escalation towards extreme competition, it must continue to celebrate the achievements of smaller countries, as it has since its establishment in 1948. The preceding section examined how CISM organises its events. The following section focuses on another area: CISM's academic endeavours in sports sciences.

²¹⁸ CISM Organising Committee, '6th CISM World Games: Mungyeong Korea 2015 Final Report', n.d., sec. Overall Results, CISM Headquarters, Brussels Belgium.

In September 1958, ten years after the first General Assembly in 1948, CISM published the inaugural edition of its monthly magazine. In the introduction, the newly appointed president of CISM, Colonel Henri Debrus, outlined his vision. He emphasised that the primary mission continued to be the use of sports as a medium for fostering friendships among member nations. However, he also indicated that CISM must support this primary mission by advancing scientific practices through clinics and research. CISM could enhance the performance of the masses while “multiplying exchanges.”²¹⁹ Debrus realised that leveraging developments in sports sciences could bolster CISM’s brand, thereby increasing interest among both member and non-member nations.

Author Athinodoros Moschopoulos, in his comprehensive history of CISM, provided a list of scientific activities during the organisation's early years, which included aircrew physical training in France from 1948 to 1950, sports training for pilots in Sweden in 1952, and physical training for soldiers in Germany in 1952.²²⁰ The list extends into the 2000s. One notable aspect is that outreach expanded significantly in the 1980s, primarily in Western Europe during the earlier years (up to the 1960s), evolving into a truly international presence that encompassed South America, North America, and Africa. In conjunction with their international outreach, the focus on performance science increased in written form with the introduction of the CISM Magazine. The magazine offered detailed descriptions, in both French and English, of the correct technique for performing mouth-to-mouth breathing (rescue breathing),²²¹ along with articles on swimming techniques aimed at enhancing speed and stamina, and best practices for cold-weather mountain survival.²²² In addition to practical military applications, CISM emphasised physical fitness, discussing the significance

²¹⁹ Henri Debrus, ‘C.I.S.M. Magazine 1 - Editorial’, *C.I.S.M.*, September 1958.

²²⁰ Athinodoros I. Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018* (Athens, Greece: Stratigikes Ekdoseis, n.d.), 228.

²²¹ CISM, ‘CISM Magazine 1960: Sport International’, 1960, 33, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

²²² CISM, 22.

of interval training for improving speed and distance, while also providing guidance on circuit training that closely resembles modern-day CrossFit training.²²³

*Table 4 CISM Scientific Activities*²²⁴

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Table 13. Table of scientific activities of C.I.S.M.

N/A	YEAR	COUNTRY CONDUCT.	MAIN TOPIC
1	1948	France	Aircraft Crew Athletic Training I
2	1949	France	Aircraft Crew Athletic Training II
3	1950	France	Aircraft Crew Sports Training III
4	1951	Belgium	Athletic Crew Training IV
5	1952	Sweden	Military and sport training for pilots
6	1952	Monaco	Medical aspects of sport (swimming, rescue, artificial respiration)
7	1952	Federal Republic Germany	Study of sports training for soldiers I
8	1953	France	Study of sports training for soldiers II
9	1954	Sweden	A comparative study of different methods of physical and athletic training
10	1955	Portugal	Training in hand-to-hand combat and overcoming obstacles
11	1956	Italy	Track and Field Training
12	1959	Spain	Swimming, diving, rescue, artificial respiration
13	1961	France	The dual role of training in sports: Military and National
14	1962	Greece	Development of effective sports planning
15	1967	Italy	The role of the Armed Forces in the training of high level athletes
16	1981	Federal Republic Germany	General Coaching Training: Application in Football and Swimming
17	1982	Venezuela	Sports Medicine
18	1983	Brazil	Technical aspects of the sport of Orientation
19	1983	Bangladesh	Volleyball
20	1984	Algeria	Football Refereeing
21	1984	France	Modern Pentathlon: intensity and recovery
22	1985	Brazil	Medical aspects of altitude training
23	1986	Canada	Scandinavian Biathlon
24	1986	Italy	Endurance Training
25	1987	Swiss	Parachuting
26	1987	Federal Republic Germany	New results on strength training and overtraining syndrome

²²³ CISM, 'CISM Magazine 1959: Sport International', 1959, 15–17, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

²²⁴ Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018*, 228.

Other articles resembled philosophical musings rather than applied sciences. In 1959, the Greek physician and vice president of CISM, Colonel Nicos Paparescos, explored the future limits of human potentiality in track and field, noting that “the entrance of new racial stock . . . will help man to reach very soon the highest possible speed limit of 60 km per hour instead of the 45 km per hour in our days.”²²⁵ Although slightly off, Usain Bolt's top instantaneous speed was 44.72 km/h during the 100-meter dash (his average speed was 37.58 km/h)—the author's predictions were logical for his time. In the late 1950s, Colonel Paparescos wrote that athletes of better quality and selection were “assaulting” the old records through improved diets and scientific training. He concluded the article by acknowledging that all his projections were mere conjecture but based upon two developments in the atomic age, including increased leisure time and higher living standards. The combination of the two allowed more time for international sport, building “stronger and healthier human beings, and principally the right man (morphological readiness) for the right place (right event).”²²⁶

Throughout the 1960s, CISM magazines increasingly featured photographs, diagrams, and graphs in their articles. A 1968 edition included a study with the photograph to the right. The study was conducted by scientists at the US Air Force Airspace Medical Laboratory, Wilford Hall, who discovered that cardiovascular-pulmonary training was more beneficial for aviation performance than weightlifting or gymnastics. Deficiencies in heart and lung capacity, rather than strength, led to significantly higher rates of grounding flying personnel, separation from service, or premature retirement.²²⁷ To test the data, the staff asked



The method used for determining the oxygen cost of cycling measured distance at various speeds.

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²²⁵ Nicos Paparescos, ‘CISM Magazine 1959: Sport International - What Are the Limits of Human Potentiality in Track and Field’, January 1959, 22, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

²²⁶ Paparescos, 24.

²²⁷ CISM, ‘CISM Magazine 1968: Sport International’, 1968, 18–19, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

aircrews to pedal their bicycles behind trucks, connected by hoses on their face—an exercise that seems far more dangerous than most aviation training. Nonetheless, the results would assist militaries interested in retaining their highly trained, costly aircrew members.

As the decade progressed, health and fitness science continued to advance, and CISM emerged as a logical platform for gathering and disseminating information to its members. The subsequent table of contents from the 20th-anniversary edition of CISM Magazine in 1968 highlights the focus on physical science.²²⁸ What is particularly interesting is the diverse range of topics and global contributors mentioned on the page.

²²⁸ CISM, 'CISM Magazine 1968: Sport International', 1968, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

Figure 6 Country Contributions to CISM Magazine

SPORT international  OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY SPORTS COUNCIL Editorial staff — Subscription : General Secretariat, CISM-House, 119, avenue Franklin Roosevelt, Brussels 5 (Belgium) — Tel. : 72.19.18 — Telegr. address : CISMILITAIR-BRUSSELS. <i>Whole or part reproduction of an article with the mention « Copy- right » is subject to the Secretary General's authorization. The other articles can be reproduced and distributed if their origin and author's name are mentioned.</i> SUBSCRIPTION RATES : Cur- rent copy : 25 Belgian francs. Per year, (4 vol.) : 100 Belgian francs (\$ 2.00) Ac. N° 427.385, CISM, Banque de Commerce — 51-52, av. des Arts, Brussels, Belgium EDITORIAL STAFF <i>Direction</i> <table> <tr> <td>R. Mollet</td> <td>Belgium</td> </tr> </table> <i>CISM Academy</i> <table> <tr> <td>Colonel G. Tatarelli, M. D.</td> <td>Italy</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Médecin Cdt M. Vrillac</td> <td>France</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lt Colonel E. Gueguen</td> <td>France</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Major J. A. Pires Goncalves</td> <td>Brazil</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lt Colonel K. Römppötti</td> <td>Finland</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mr R. Döring</td> <td>Germany</td> </tr> </table> <i>Information Chief</i> <table> <tr> <td>Mr W. G. McNamara</td> <td>USA</td> </tr> </table> <i>Photos</i> — Kurafiskot (Finland) — Sports Schools Pictures Services (Sontheofen/Allgäu) — Ministry of Information (R. O. K.) — Photo « fm » (Brussels)	R. Mollet	Belgium	Colonel G. Tatarelli, M. D.	Italy	Médecin Cdt M. Vrillac	France	Lt Colonel E. Gueguen	France	Major J. A. Pires Goncalves	Brazil	Lt Colonel K. Römppötti	Finland	Mr R. Döring	Germany	Mr W. G. McNamara	USA	10th year 40 3/1968/E Contents <table> <tr> <td>Current tendencies of Modern Training</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">R. Mollet (Belgium)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sports Units</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Contribution of the Armed Forces to the Representative Sports of the Country</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Lt Col. K. Römppötti (Finland)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>The Organization and the Aim of Sports in the German Armed Forces</td> <td>14</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">R. Döring (Germany)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Body Weight & Physical Fitness</td> <td>21</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Captain E. Van Win (Holland)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>General Bases of Sports Dietetics</td> <td>22</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Major Leger, M. D. (France)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>The U. S. Marine Corps Physical Fitness Academy</td> <td>27</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Major G. E. Otott (U. S. A.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Taekwon-Do</td> <td>28</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Major Kim, Seung Kyu (Korea)</td> </tr> </table> <i>Cover photo : Running is fun ! Even beginners enjoy after a short time their increasing physical fitness.</i>	Current tendencies of Modern Training	2	R. Mollet (Belgium)		Sports Units		Contribution of the Armed Forces to the Representative Sports of the Country	9	Lt Col. K. Römppötti (Finland)		The Organization and the Aim of Sports in the German Armed Forces	14	R. Döring (Germany)		Body Weight & Physical Fitness	21	Captain E. Van Win (Holland)		General Bases of Sports Dietetics	22	Major Leger, M. D. (France)		The U. S. Marine Corps Physical Fitness Academy	27	Major G. E. Otott (U. S. A.)		Taekwon-Do	28	Major Kim, Seung Kyu (Korea)	
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In the 1990s, a shift occurred from sports science back to a focus on the sporting events. This thesis contends that this shift can be attributed to the impacts of globalisation. From the 1950s through the 1980s, armed forces worldwide sought best practices to enhance their military performance. CISM satisfied this demand by publishing accessible, timely articles. However, the various advancements in communication and media during the late 20th century led to greater interconnectivity between previously separate communities: military, medicine, and sport. Unsurprisingly, CISM lost its grip on the niche field of military sports science, and the CISM Academy was dissolved in 1998. In 2009, CISM re-established

its Academy to promote collaboration, support research, and disseminate scientific data beneficial to the armed forces.²²⁹ The new orientation prioritised synergy in scientific practices over data production.

In Enduring MSD, representation encompasses how the organisation structures events to convey the intended message. CISM promoted a message of inclusion and friendship by creating a competitive, international schedule that leveraged the facilities and enthusiasm for sports within its member nations. Additionally, only through membership could a nation access the latest research in the burgeoning field of performance sciences. The structure implicitly cautioned those who chose not to join, lest they be left behind. The following section examines how the nations responded to CISM's message and structure.

3.2.3 Negotiation

Negotiation refers to access and feedback from the international audience. Within Enduring MSD's competitive format, there is a constant temptation to bend or break the rules while attempting to elevate one's military's status. This section explores how CISM responded to these types of actions.

Effective negotiation depends on recognising the “rules of the game.”²³⁰ But what are the rules of diplomacy in international military sports via the direct approach? Unlike tennis or football in the modern era, nothing is fixed in Enduring MSD, and questions continually arise. Can professional athletes with loose military affiliations participate? Do reservists or security forces (police) qualify as military personnel? The limited scope and duration of Special Event MSD allows the organisers to control the message and respond in a targeted manner. In contrast, the permanent nature of Enduring MSD forces the organisers to anticipate and stay ahead of any problems that may arise. CISM must identify cultural trends and respond in a way that prevents the escalation of issues or the cessation of relations among its diverse members.

²²⁹ Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018*, 171.

²³⁰ J. Simon Rofo, 'Sport and Diplomacy: A Global Diplomacy Framework', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 2 (June 2016): 229, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2016.1169785>.

In Chapter 1, globalisation was defined as the increased interdependence and connectivity among societies, accompanied by a shared consciousness.²³¹ The following section explores how CISM has adeptly navigated the numerous challenges of organising competitive international sports events while fostering friendship—two potentially conflicting objectives. The first challenge involves the debate between amateurs and professionals in the 20th century.

The Professional-Amateur Debate

In 1961, an article in CISM Magazine by the French tennis champion and WWII hero Jean Borotra explained that “sham amateurism” was on the rise. According to Borotra, this alarming trend was characterised by athletes feigning amateur status, despite potential support from their university, state, or club, which should categorise them as professionals. Borotra then made a surprising pivot. Instead of condemning the trend towards professionalism, he asserted that the blurred lines between amateurs and professionals represent a logical progression in sports, particularly in an increasingly egalitarian environment no longer limited to gentlemen with leisure time and financial means. Sport had become more accessible to the masses, irrespective of race, gender, or class. Moreover, there was no universally accepted definition of amateurism in the highly competitive arena of international competition. Thus, the rise in professionalism was inevitable and should be embraced rather than rejected. Ultimately, talent in sports ought to be likened to that of a professional artist, where society should honour the best and compensate them accordingly. Borotra concluded that amateurism can no longer be enforced in international sport, as it is merely a state of mind. Regardless of one’s professional or amateur status, one should embody the spirit (if not the reality) of amateurism, which encompasses virtues such as “honesty, fair play, and fighting spirit.”²³²

²³¹ Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization and Football*, 2.

²³² Jean Borotra, ‘CISM Magazine 1961: Sham Amateurism’, July 1961, 20, CISM Publications and Library.

CISM fully embraced Borotra's stance. But how did CISM arrive at this nuanced, forward-thinking conclusion before others—approximately 30 years ahead of the IOC? And why did CISM feel the need to publicly declare its stance on professionalism in international military sports? The answer lies in the complex relationship between amateurism, professionalism, and the military in the years following WWII. Ultimately, CISM's perspective represented a new generation of athletes who valued performance in the globally recognised profession of arms over the class distinctions associated with the right spirit of play.

Considering the connection between professionalism and the military after WWII, one must appreciate the ultra-patriotic atmosphere in which sports could be weaponised. The victors and the defeated of WWII craved recognition for their wartime efforts, and politicians assured the public that their sacrifices were not in vain. Sports became a path to redemption, and nations realised they could capitalise on the military structure and the many fit young men and women who remained on active duty during demobilisation to train for their respective sports. In the United States, this practice was evident in the significant number of military athletes competing in the Olympics. The US military-sports machine took a decade to reach its peak, with 79 military athletes representing America during the 1956 Olympics.²³³ In the 1956 Winter Olympics, an even higher number of athletes were in military service, with the US Army comprising roughly 25% of the American Olympic team.²³⁴ Olympic records indicate that US military athletes favoured certain sports, including track and field, canoeing, shooting, and the pentathlon (see Appendix 1²³⁵). Outside of the Olympics, 35% of the US athletes participating in the 1955 Pan American Games were from military ranks.

The 1960s continued to feature a significant percentage of military athletes in international sports; however, the increased allowances for professionals in international sport resulted in a decline in military participation during the 1970s. The final decision to admit recognised professionals into the Olympics in the late 1980s marked the end of US military athletes'

²³³ John Moler, *Achieving Excellence: The Story of America's Military Athletes in The Olympic Games* (United States Army Heritage and Education Center: US Army Military History Institute, 1988), 45.

²³⁴ Moler, *Achieving Excellence: The Story of America's Military Athletes in The Olympic Games*.

²³⁵ Moler, 45.

presence in international sports. The United States recognised that the university system and the professional leagues offered better pathways than the military. Similar to the Royal Engineers' dominance in the early years of the FA Cup, the American military would not experience the same level of success in the professional era.

Determining the number of British military athletes in the Olympics after WWII is challenging. This difficulty arises partly from the British emphasis on a service-based orientation and their strict interpretation of amateurism, especially compared to the US military's more holistic and relaxed approach. As fierce critics of the growing professionalism seen in the Fascist West and the Communist East, the British government after WWII was notably more vigilant about keeping sports insulated from government influence. For instance, records from the Royal Army Physical Training Corps (RAPTC) indicate that, since 1908, numerous enlisted athletic instructors were excluded from international sports due to their stringent interpretation of the amateur code. The historian at the RAPTC museum commented on their fencing champions in the following excerpt:

Participation in the Olympics was strictly the preserve of the amateur, an issue that would linger until late in the 20th Century. Considered to be physical training professionals, Army Physical Training Corps-Instructors were barred from competing in the Games at this period, a decision that excluded many of its greatest fencers.²³⁶

The RAPTC instructors who competed in the Olympics during the first half of the 20th century were primarily from the officer ranks. Unlike the enlisted instructors, the officers were regarded as gentleman athletes who participated in their spare time rather than as paid professionals. The American military did not have the same moral dilemma when pursuing medals. Ultimately, the contrast between the American and British approaches reflects their differing interpretations of amateurism. A strict adherence to an unwritten amateur code was neither ingrained in American culture nor advantageous for the international advancement of sports. In contrast, many of the finest military athletes in

²³⁶ Jarrodd Steadman, 'History of RAPTC Instructors in the Olympics', n.d., RAPTC Museum, accessed 5 October 2023.

Great Britain considered themselves to be professionals. Consequently, their ambition was to represent their service rather than seek glory for their country.

Determining the number of Soviet military athletes who participated in the Olympics during the Cold War is also challenging. However, in contrast to Great Britain's commitment to amateurism, the uncertain number of military athletes in the Soviet Union largely arises from the close ties between the Soviet state, the military, and the Central Army Sports Club—a club dedicated to training elite military athletes.²³⁷ There is little distinction when listing the affiliations of Soviet Olympians, as all athletes, whether civilian or military, were effectively state-sponsored workers.

Although the practice of state-sponsored military athletes diminished in the West after the Cold War, it remains prevalent in certain countries. This phenomenon is evident in CISM's 2019 Military World Games. The chart below illustrates the disparity in total medal counts among the competing militaries in Wuhan, China.

²³⁷ 'Olympic athletes in uniform: how Russian sportsmen receive salaries from the Russian defence ministry and openly campaign for military service', *Slidstvo.info* (blog), accessed 23 May 2024, <https://www.slidstvo.info/english-stories/olympic-athletes-in-uniform-how-russian-sportsmen-receive-salaries-from-the-russian-defence-ministry-and-openly-campaign-for-military-service/>.

Table 5 List of CISM Country Medallists in the 2019 CISM World Games²³⁸

7th CISM Military World Games – Wuhan China 2019

Country	Medals	Country	Medals
China	239	Belarus	14
Russia	161	Switzerland	13
Brazil	88	Kazakhstan	12
Poland	60	Iran	11
France	57	Egypt	9
Germany	45	Mongolia	9
Ukraine	33	Norway	8
PRK-DPRK	32	Slovenia	8
Italy	28	Romania	8
Rep of Korea	24	Czech Rep	8
Bahrain	17	United States	8

One CISM staff member highlighted that the difference in medal counts between recognised professionals and amateurs is a known challenge in certain sports. To address this challenge, CISM's sports committees considered separating amateur competitions from those for recognised professionals. Yet, others on the CISM staff argue that including professional athletes in the games elevated the performance of amateur athletes, thereby increasing the games' status.

The following chart of the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio is also illuminating.²³⁹ It displays three outcomes: (1) the countries with CISM athletes who participated in the Olympics, (2) the respective CISM athletes who won medals for each country, and (3) the overall number of medals won by country. It is evident that some countries continue to utilise their military resources to develop, train, and support their elite athletes. Brazil, Italy, and Germany lead this list in terms of the number of CISM athletes who competed in the Olympics and the number of CISM athletes who medalled in 2016.

²³⁸ MWG Executive Commission, '7th CISM Military World Games Results' (3 November 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20191103060748/https://results.wuhan2019mwg.cn/file/RESULTS-7th%20CISM%20Military%20World%20Games-%E6%80%BB%E6%88%90%E7%BB%A9%E5%86%8C.pdf>.

²³⁹ CISM, 'CISM Headquarters - 2016 Rio Olympics - CISM Medal Count', January 2024, CISM Headquarters, Brussels Belgium.

Table 6 Comparison of CISM competitors to the total medal count in the 2016 Rio Olympics²⁴⁰

CISM Athletes in the 2016 Rio Olympics compared with Olympic Medals				
Country	CISM athletes	CISM Athletes that Medalled	Total Olympic Medals	Percentage of Medals from CISM athletes
Germany	131	22	42	52%
Brazil	125	14	19	74%
Italy	125	19	28	68%
Poland	40	1	11	9%
France	37	14	42	33%
Austria	36	2	1	200%
China	27	3	70	4%
Russia	27	9	56	16%
Romania	23	4	4	100%
Algeria	13	0	2	
Czech Republic	13	5	0	
Greece	11	1	6	17%
India	11	0	2	
United States	11	2	121	2%
Kenya	10	3	13	23%
Japan	8	1	41	2%
Morocco	7	0	1	
Estonia	6	1	1	100%
Belgium	5	0	6	
Jordan	5	0	1	
Slovenia	5	2	0	
Armenia	3	0	4	
Cameroon	3	0	0	
Hungary	3	1	15	7%
Namibia	3	0	1	
The Netherlands	3	0	19	
Tunisia	3	1	3	33%
Argentina	2	0	4	
Syrian Arab Rep	2	0	0	
Bulgaria	1	0	3	
Chile	1	0	0	
Denmark	1	0	15	
Finland	1	0	1	
Latvia	1	0	0	
Serbia	1	0	8	
UAE	1	0	1	

Another comparison can be drawn between the CISM athletes who medalled at the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and the total number of medals by country.²⁴¹ The chart is organised in descending order, beginning with the countries with the most Olympic medals (gold, silver, and bronze). Seventy per cent of Italy's Olympic medallists were active-duty CISM competitors, compared to 36% in Russia and 21% in China. In contrast, fewer than 1% of the US medals were earned by their CISM athletes. Notably, of the 150 medals won by CISM athletes at the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, the tally was fairly even between men and women—76 male medallists and 74 female medallists.

²⁴⁰ The Austrian sailing team won a single silver medal – two sailors were part of this team.

²⁴¹ CISM, 'CISM Headquarters - Tokyo Olympics CISM Medal Count', January 2024, CISM Headquarters, Brussels Belgium.

Table 7 Comparison of CISM Medallists to Olympic Medallists in Tokyo 2020²⁴²

Country	Total Medals in Tokyo/CISM Medallists	Country	Total Medals in Tokyo/CISM Medallists
USA	113/1	Brazil	21/8
China	89/19	New Zealand	20/0 (not CISM)
Russia	71/26	Hungary	20/5
Great Britain	64/0 (not CISM)	Rep of Korea	20/0
Japan	58/0	Ukraine	19/0
Australia	46/0 (not CISM)	Spain	17/1
Italy	40/28	Cuba	15/0 (not CISM)
Germany	37/2	Poland	14/11
Netherlands	36/0	Switzerland	13/0
France	33/16	Turkey	13/0
Canada	24/0		

A common refrain among CISM athletes and staff is that if CISM were considered a nation, its athletes would secure more medals than any other individual country. The chart below illustrates that this assertion was true during the 2020 Olympics—150 medals were won by CISM athletes, compared to the United States’ 113.

²⁴² IOC, ‘Tokyo 2020 Olympic Medal Table - Gold, Silver & Bronze’, Olympics.com, accessed 8 July 2024, <https://olympics.com/en/olympic-games/tokyo-2020/medals>.

Table 8 CISM athletes who won Olympic Medals in the 2020 Tokyo Olympics

CISM Medallists in the 2020 Tokyo Olympics

Country	Medals	Country	Medals
Italy	28	Czech Republic	4
Russia	26	Germany	2
China	19	Iran	1
France	16	Slovenia	1
Poland	11	USA	1
Brazil	8	Saudi Arabia	1
Switzerland	7	Spain	1
Austria	6	Kazakhstan	1
Hungary	5	India	1
Dominican Republic	6	Qatar	1
Romania	4	Total	150

If effective diplomacy relies on all parties recognising the established “rules of the game,” the debate between amateurism and professionalism highlights the challenge of adhering to this principle in the real world. CISM wisely emphasised the “spirit” of amateurism rather than a rigid interpretation. Nevertheless, the outcomes of such a choice carry consequences, as certain nations continue to utilise their military forces to support athletes who would otherwise struggle to earn suitable salaries in the civilian sector. In an informal interview with a representative from a leading CISM nation, the individual remarked that their country acknowledges that many elite soldier-athletes have minimal military commitments. The state endorses its professional athletes through ostensible military affiliations, believing that the arrangement enhances the performance of the state’s athletes while bolstering the military’s credibility and helping reach recruitment goals.

In the Clausewitzian sense, this thesis argues that the amateur-professional debate can be seen as the “fog and friction” of MSD. Just as the fog and friction of war limit escalation to extremes, the combination of professionals and amateurs may help moderate MSD’s tendency towards escalation. If all CISM athletes were professionals, the shared bonds of the profession of arms might be lost. The inclusion of recognised professionals enhances the

performance of all nations, while the presence of amateurs preserves the military character of the games. Moving beyond the challenge of professionalism in elite military sports, the following section analyses another aspect of Enduring MSD: maintaining control.

The Challenge of Control

A delicate balance exists between international inclusivity and maintaining control in Enduring MSD. Over the years, CISM's leadership has approached this challenge with expertise and grace, granting member countries a voice while upholding their commitment to friendship through sport. Despite altruistic intentions, challenges inevitably arise when countries attempt to coordinate elite international sports. This section highlights some of these challenges, including personnel turnover, sponsorship, sports in times of conflict, and membership. The first part of this section focuses on internal affairs and how the organisation adapts its internal structure to meet the various challenges. The second part analyses the role of CISM's General Assembly.

While CISM shares numerous characteristics with a business, it remains a military organisation that experiences a continuous personnel turnover. By examining the records, one can appreciate how each new leader has influenced the organisation's character in their efforts to cultivate “friendship through sport.” Over the years, certain initiatives were discontinued due to inactivity, only to be revived later with a renewed focus. One example is the “Open the Gates” initiative, which encouraged military bases in specific locations to grant local populations access to their barrack facilities.²⁴³ One can appreciate that this effort raised security concerns. Another initiative was CISM's Regional Development Centers (RDC), established in Africa (Kenya) and South America (Brazil) in the early 2000s; this movement aimed to enhance outreach and training opportunities for less privileged nations. While ambitious, securing funding and support for many of these initiatives has proven challenging.

²⁴³ CISM Headquarters, ‘CISM Sports for Peace: 10 Projects’, 2010, CISM Headquarters, Brussels Belgium.

Another example reflecting leadership priorities was the CISM Alumni Club. Introduced in a monthly issue of CISM Magazine in 1962, the president at the time, US Air Force Brigadier General Royal Hatch, stated that the new club was open to anyone who had participated in any CISM activities in the past.²⁴⁴ By joining, members could stay informed about international military sports, maintain the friendships formed in the past, and contribute to improved international relations—the primary goal of CISM.

The CISM staff realised that meeting occasionally on the “friendly fields of strife” for a highly competitive match may not be enough to build lasting bonds. Yet, despite early success with 800 members, the numbers dwindled to double digits by 1968. As a result, the CISM Club was dissolved. In 1973, the CISM Foundation was established to grow the organisation’s sponsorship base while fostering relationships with other high-profile supporters.²⁴⁵ Over the years, the CISM Foundation has succeeded in securing sponsorships, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from the March issue of CISM Magazine 1984:

It is obvious that without an additional source of funds it will be difficult, if not impossible, to organize on a regular bases the big CISM world championships such as Track & Field and Swimming. The Permanent Secretary General is of the opinion that we should – within the scope of our relations with the Military High Authorities of our member countries – take a page out of the Olympic scenario where the Olympic Games are organised with the involvement of selected Corporate Sponsors.²⁴⁶

The author concluded that partnerships would benefit all parties: CISM would receive funding from their new sponsor, Anheuser-Busch, which would enhance its brand internationally. What was particularly interesting was the author's respectful tone in advocating for sponsorship, expressing *the opinion that we should act within the scope of higher authorities*. One can imagine that some countries were less enthusiastic about having an American beer company as the lead sponsor for the games.

²⁴⁴ Royal Brig Gen Hatch, ‘CISM Magazine 1962: Sport International - CISM Alumni Club’, 1962, 3, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

²⁴⁵ Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018*, 116.

²⁴⁶ CISM, ‘CISM Magazine 1984: Sport International’, March 1984, 27, CISM Publications and Library, <https://www.milsport.one/medias/fdvprfiles>.

While remaining apolitical may be a commendable rallying cry, CISM's leadership could not satisfy everyone. On one occasion, a state was expelled from the Military World Games for persistently displaying political statements on their athletes' uniforms that offended other member nations, despite numerous requests from CISM to cease such behaviour.

One particularly challenging event occurred in 1991 after Iraq invaded Kuwait.²⁴⁷ Following the Iraqi invasion, CISM quickly became aware that Iraq's forces had ransacked its liaison office in Kuwait.²⁴⁸ In response, CISM's leadership suspended Iraq's membership. Considering CISM's reaction to Iraq in 1991, roughly thirty years before Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, the lack of response to Russia is notable. Perhaps banning Iraq was justifiable because, in 1991, their actions were directly against CISM rather than against another nation. This thesis argues that the inconsistency reinforces CISM's top-down, realist orientation as an example of Enduring MSD—a reflection often described as “obsessed with national interests and survival.”²⁴⁹ In Iraq's case, the international community recognised early in the campaign that the aggressor would likely lose in a war against the United States and the stronger coalition forces. In contrast, in the current situation with Russia, there is no clear indication of who will prevail. To complicate matters further, Russia has a strong history of supporting CISM. Perhaps the differing approaches reinforce Thucydides' statement: “The strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must.” Russia appears strong and “does what it can,” whether militarily or in sports, and the international community must react accordingly. In contrast, Iraq's weaker position in 1991 led them to “suffer what they must.” CISM reinstated Iraq's membership in 2003.²⁵⁰

While Iraq created a problem, another development in 1991 proved to be an opportunity. In 1991, one of CISM's primary competitors in terms of membership was the SKDA, a Russian organisation established in 1958, translated as the *Sports Committee of Friendly Armies*. Its

²⁴⁷ Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018*, 148.

²⁴⁸ 'CISM: Minutes of the 46th General Assembly in Arusha' (CISM Headquarters, 1991), Appendix 10, CISM Secretariat General.

²⁴⁹ Stuart Murray, *Sports Diplomacy: Origins, Theory and Practice*, First issued in paperback, Routledge New Diplomacy Studies (London New York: Routledge, 2019), 60.

²⁵⁰ Sayed Ali, 'Iraq Seeks to Reclaim Membership in CISM', Gulf News, 16 May 2003, <https://gulfnews.com/uae/iraq-seeks-to-reclaim-membership-in-cism-1.356493>.

members included the armies of the Warsaw Pact, as well as several from Africa and Asia, specifically Czechoslovakia, Albania, East Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yemen, China, Vietnam, Mongolia, Angola, Somalia, and Afghanistan.

After SKDA dissolved (along with the Soviet Union), its member nations were quickly welcomed into the CISM fold. CISM recognised the importance of incorporating the SKDA countries for two reasons. First, the increase in member nations enhanced the organisation's prestige and generated more revenue through membership fees. Second, the long-awaited recognition by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was finally granted; a decision that the IOC could not make while SKDA existed.²⁵¹ Like CISM, the IOC sought to remain apolitical in a highly politicised environment. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and SKDA, CISM issued the following statement: "In the space of just four years (1991-1995), 31 new member countries joined the organisation. Such rapid progress led to recognition by international institutions such as the IOC."²⁵²

Summit Diplomacy and the General Assembly

In more recent external developments, in 2015, CISM hosted the 6th World Games in Korea. In the final report, the games were lauded as a "Quadrennial Olympic Games for Soldiers," featuring participants from 134 member nations and 7,045 soldiers competing in 24 sports. The report stated that the event was "widely recognised as one of the three major multi-sports events along with the Olympic Games and Universiade."²⁵³ Unlike the global popularity of the Olympic Games, the Universiade (renamed the World University Games in 2020) is an international university-centred competition held every two years, having begun in 1959. Interestingly, it remains one of the few international sporting events that has remained amateur.

Despite the grand declarations and claims of exceptionalism, other international multi-sport events exist apart from the Olympics, CISM, and the World University Games, including the

²⁵¹ CISM, 'What Is CISM - History', 23 January 2018, <https://www.milsport.one/cism/what-is-cism>.

²⁵² CISM.

²⁵³ CISM Organising Committee, '6th CISM World Games: Mungyeong Korea 2015 Final Report', 52.

Maccabiah Games for Jewish athletes and the Gay Games for LGBTQ+ athletes.²⁵⁴ Both are internationally recognised, multi-sport events that, like CISM or the World University Games, use sports to unite athletes under a common bond. The Maccabiah Games promote the shared Jewish heritage of their athletes, whereas the Gay Games celebrate diversity in relationships. The reason for referencing these various types of mega-sporting events is that, in addition to gathering athletes and spectators, each event enables community leaders to convene in an informal, friendly environment.

CISM's General Assembly (GA) is a clear example of summit diplomacy. The GA comprises representatives from every CISM member nation (currently 141) and is held in a different member country each year. As evidence of the international focus, from 2014 to 2018, the GAs were held in Ecuador, Kuwait, Estonia, Greece, and the Dominican Republic; each was well attended by senior officials from the respective member countries.²⁵⁵ Still, few decisions come without risk when multiple countries are involved. In CISM, even the choice of GA location must be made with care. A recent example of such challenges occurred in 2023.

In 2021, CISM decided to host the 2023 78th General Assembly in Moscow, Russia. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 caused complications. The member militaries that did not support Russia's invasion were forced to convene at the CISM headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. At the same time, those with a friendly stance towards Russia travelled to Moscow. The CISM delegates held meetings via teleconference from their respective locations.²⁵⁶ While the circumstances were regrettable, this thesis contends that the mere existence of the 78th General Assembly is a testament to sport as one of the few mechanisms that allows hostile countries to communicate amidst conflict. The introduction of this thesis posits that diplomacy can occur throughout the continuum of cooperation, competition below armed conflict, and armed conflict. Despite being fierce adversaries, Ukraine and Russia continued to engage in CISM discussions during the war. An examination of the General Assembly's minutes throughout CISM's history reveals that senior military

²⁵⁴ Murray, *Sports Diplomacy*, 153.

²⁵⁵ Moschopoulos, *The Birth and Evolution of C.I.S.M. 1948-2018*, 224.

²⁵⁶ '78th CISM General Assembly & Congress - Moscow, Russia & Brussels, Belgium', www.milsport.one, 10 November 2022, <https://www.milsport.one/news>.

members discuss and adjudicate critical sporting issues. Yet, in addition to maintaining CISM's robust schedule, these meetings create opportunities to foster relationships beyond the often formal military settings. Conversations near the water fountain or over a cold beverage in the evening allow leaders to discuss pertinent issues beyond sports.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine posed yet another challenge to CISM after the IOC banned athletes representing Russia or Belarus from competing in Olympic events. Despite external pressure to follow suit, CISM's GA remained steadfast in its commitment to inclusivity within the CISM games. So much so that it decided to keep the 2022 3rd Cadet Military World Games in St. Petersburg, Russia, only six months after the invasion of Ukraine. In response to increasing pressure, CISM emphasised that it had "always been out of politics" and was "now the only international sports organisation in the world to refuse any sanctions against Russia."²⁵⁷

The results of the 2022 Cadet World Games in Russia are illuminating. Venezuela, a historically close ally of Russia through trade and military support, was the only South American country to compete among the twenty participating nations. The remaining nations from Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East were either friendly or at least accommodating towards Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The runner-up in the 2022 games was the only other country banned by the IOC, Belarus, which won sixty-six fewer gold medals than Russia during the event. The following chart compares the gold medal counts of the participating countries from the 2014 (2nd) and 2022 (3rd) Cadet World Games.²⁵⁸ The 2022 games understandably showcase a higher percentage of countries sympathetic to Russian ambitions in Ukraine. Yet, on a positive note, it is surprising how many countries still participated in 2022—only five fewer than in the previous games in 2014.

²⁵⁷ Geoff Berkeley, 'Military World Cadet Games to Stay in Russia as CISM Refuse to Impose Sanctions', 25 April 2022, sec. Non-Olympic Sports, <https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1122351/world-cadet-games-to-remain-in-russia>.

²⁵⁸ CSKA Moscow, 'The III CISM Military World Cadet – St. Petersburg, August 4 – 12, 2022', accessed 5 December 2023, <https://cska.ru/cadetgames/en/>.

Table 9 Comparison of the 2nd Cadet World Games (2014) to the 3rd Cadet World Games (2022) ²⁵⁹

2nd CISM Cadet World Games (2014)		3rd CISM Cadet World Games (2022)	
Ecuador		Russia	
Country - Gold Medal Count		Country - Gold Medal Count	
Russia - 40	Estonia - 0	Russia - 73	Cameroon - 0
Ecuador - 14	Macedonia - 0	Belarus - 7	Mozambique - 0
Brazil - 13	Kuwait - 0	Armenia - 4	UAE - 0
Finland - 6	Lithuania - 0	Mali - 2	Palestine - 0
Columbia - 5	Mali - 0	Venezuela - 1	Tanzania - 0
Venezuela - 4	Mexico - 0	Iran - 1	Tajikistan - 0
Uruguay - 1	Qatar - 0	Syria - 1	
Kazakhstan - 1	Sri Lanka - 0	Myanmar - 1	
Peru - 0	Suriname - 0	Zimbabwe - 0	
Germany - 0	Sweden - 0	Saudi Arabia - 1	
The Netherlands - 0	Turkey - 0	Eswatini - 0	
Chile - 0		Azerbaijan - 0	
Argentina - 0		Burkina Faso - 0	
Denmark - 0		Republic of Guinea - 0	

Listing the challenges of organising international military sports in a politically charged environment might lead readers to assume this is an argument against Enduring MSD. It is not. By prioritising the human domain and diplomatic engagements over the relentless pursuit of technical innovation and efficiency, CISM reminds us that a globally recognised profession of arms can and should place humanity and a global conscience above blind nationalism. In support of this ambitious goal, CISM's General Assembly enables military leadership to meet and discuss ongoing challenges (whether internal or external to sport) in a non-threatening environment. Sports remain one of the few arenas where diplomatic

²⁵⁹ CISM, 'Brochure - Ecuador 2014 - 2nd World Cadet Games' (International Military Sports Council, August 2014).

channels remain open amid conflict. Still, certain countries choose not to participate and as the introductory chapter of this thesis noted, the British Military has elected to not be part of CISM. The remainder of this chapter explores the reasons why.

The Question of British Participation in CISM

After reviewing the British government's unofficial and official memos regarding CISM from 1952 to 1963, two primary reasons for non-membership emerge. The first was cultural differences, whereas the second was the excessive costs. From 1948 to 1952, much like the 1919 Inter-Allied Games, the British military appeared to be involved in CISM in a half-hearted manner. Yet, only four years after the organisation's start in 1948, an internal memo dated 14 February 1952 from the British Embassy in Paris wrote the following:²⁶⁰

Our withdrawal from C.I.S.M would undoubtedly make an adverse impression on the French – and not only on the Service elements, but on public opinion generally. I think it is only natural that it would tend to be interpreted as conforming to our allegedly lukewarm attitude towards a European Army.

Unfortunately, the divergent attitude of ourselves and the French towards the whole C.I.S.M. project arises from a fundamentally differing concept of the part which sports play in Service life. Sport in the French Services is a formal element of military training, and is organised, executed and paid for as an official commitment. In the British Services, on the other hand, sport (as distinct from pure Physical Training) is a wholly voluntary affair, financed from non-public funds (i.e. the subscriptions of individual units and personnel). Sports in the British Services is, moreover, conducted solely in accordance with the rules of the various national governing bodies (e.g. the Rugby Football Union, the Amateur Athletics Association, etc.), and our representatives on C.I.S.M. are in no position to align themselves with that body when – as it sometimes does – it seeks to abrogate to itself the power of altering the

²⁶⁰ R.A. George, 'British Inter-Service Participation in CISM Events: British Embassy Paris' (British Ministry of Defence, 14 February 1952), Recreation, National Archives.

rules for the conduct by the Services of particular sports. I need, perhaps, hardly add that we have always had great difficulty in getting the French to understand this.

From the note prepared by the Principal Personnel Officers' Committee it would seem that the immediate problem precipitating a decision to withdraw from C.I.S.M. is financial; and the only alternative to withdrawal would presumably be to seek a subsidy from Public funds. It might, perhaps be possible to obtain such a subsidy (though that is something outside our province here and seems in any case doubtful in the present economic atmosphere), but I think it must be fully appreciated that such a solution would still not meet the wider problem which I have outlined in the previous paragraph and which may, I hope, explain the British Services' misapprehension vis-à-vis the C.I.S.M. organisation.

The correspondence over the next decade reinforced elements in the memo above. Culturally, the British consistently emphasised that their services and country played sports in the proper manner, and other countries may not be trusted to do the same. To protect this unwritten code, the culture of British military sports was service and unit-oriented rather than outward and nationally focused. This is reiterated in a 1961 memo, where the Ministry of Defence noted how all CISM requests were delegated to (and rejected) by the Royal Air Force Sports Control Board.²⁶¹ Another memo dated 5 May 1961, re-emphasised the message above that the orientation of continental countries towards military sports is more training and results-based, often blurring the line between amateurs and professionals. As a result, "it is very likely that our teams, playing as amateurs on a sort of Saturday afternoon basis, would probably figure at the bottom of the results tables pretty consistently. If this is so it is probably just as well for us to keep out."²⁶²

The second reason is cost. Time and again, the British military emphasised to CISM officials that, unlike other countries whose national militaries fund their service sports under the

²⁶¹ 'British Inter-Service Participation in CISM Events: Ministry of Defence' (British Ministry of Defence, 4 May 1961), Recreation, National Archives File 28/04.

²⁶² A.R. Aslett, 'British Inter-Service Participation in CISM Events: Minutes Sheet - Foreign Office' (Under Secretary of State, May 1961), Recreation, National Archives.

auspices of training, British military sports were financed through non-public funds.²⁶³ Should they rejoin CISM, the British Ministry of Defence (MoD) would be expected to host events and cover costs for foreign militaries that exceed their budgetary allowances for sports. Furthermore, the British military would have to adhere to the schedule set by CISM instead of pursuing its own international interests through sports. A memo from the directors of the three British Sports Control Boards in December of 1953, just one year after they left CISM, reinforced these reasons.²⁶⁴

A large number of athletes in the Services are required to take part in Olympic games, Empire games and in many games for the respective countries in all forms of sport. In addition there are the different Combined Services games, individual service games and the calls of the different formations within each Service. Already it has been stressed that too many games are being played with the consequent loss of training time.

According to the directors, taking on yet another commitment would only exacerbate the problems of staffing and funding, while more important and prestigious events would suffer as a result. Almost ten years later, a 1962 memo from the British Embassy in Washington reinforced these reasons, stating that the British neither had the funds nor the organisation to commit to CISM fully, and “anything less than whole-hearted participation must be unsatisfactory.”²⁶⁵ In January 1963, an internal memo from the MoD struck a more frustrated tone regarding membership in CISM. After an invitation from the French Minister of the Armed Forces to an international fencing event, the staff wrote the following:²⁶⁶

This is a long standing problem. We were a member of the International Council of Military Sport up to 1952 when we withdrew. The difficulty was that Service sport in this country is basically an amateur affair financed from non-public funds whereas

²⁶³ Non-public funds include donations rather than the normal defence channels.

²⁶⁴ Aslett.

²⁶⁵ P.D. Martyn, ‘British Inter-Service Participation in CISM Events: Ministry of Defence’ (British Defence Staff, 11 October 1962), Recreation, National Archives.

²⁶⁶ E. Aldington and R.L. Allen, ‘British Inter-Service Participation in CISM Events: Principal Personnel Officers’ Committee’ (British Ministry of Defence, 1 February 1963), Recreation, National Archives File 28/04.

with many continental countries it is a formal part of military training, highly organised and paid for from official funds. The Services felt at the time that we could not compete on these conditions and that we ought to withdraw.

Since then there has been a good deal of pressure from host countries for various games for us to take part in international events. We have always refused. The last time that the matter came to Ministerial notice was in 1954 when Mr Sandy agreed that we should, on the grounds set out above, refuse an invitation to take part in International Fencing Championships under the auspices of the Council.

In view of the consistent attitude we have adopted over the last 10 years or so I do not think that Messuer will assume that our refusal to participate on this occasion has any bearing on our current relationships with the French and I recommend that you should reply to him on the lines of the attached draft.

By this time, the British forces were wholly committed to international military sporting events they felt were more prestigious; events they also knew would be played correctly, because the British were oftentimes the lead coordinators. The Kentish Cup, beginning in 1919, was one of these. Whereas the CISM question appeared to diminish in the service records after the early 1960s, the question of participation in the Kentish Cup increased. The annual meeting minutes of the British military's Combined Services Football Association (CSFA), established in 1922, reveal a notable shift in the association's focus towards the Kentish Cup. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the Kentish Cup is heralded as the oldest continuous football tournament in Europe and originally included France, Belgium, and Great Britain.

In the early minutes of the CSFA, the Kentish Cup was rarely mentioned. Yet, as the decades progressed, the CSFA clearly began to prioritise winning such a prestigious, internationally recognised event. By the late 1970s, questions arose as to whether the British Army FA should remain the lead coordinator for the British military (rather than a combined forces team). By 1979, the Kentish Cup was a wholly separate topic in the annual minutes of the CSFA. In 1982, the tournament was recognised as “the most prestigious and valuable

competition in Military football.”²⁶⁷ Soon thereafter, the minutes regularly mentioned the coaches, players, physiotherapists, and the preparation matches that took place before this important event. In 1986, the British expressed “surprise and amazement” when the French Commissaire aux Sports Militaires suggested that France may need to withdraw from the competition.²⁶⁸ Perhaps the French were more concerned with CISM events. The CSFA agreed that their chairman must write to the British military attaché in Paris to convince the French to stay in the competition. If the French did leave, they concluded that West Germany or the Netherlands would have to be invited to take their place. The following year, France left the Kentish Cup despite Great Britain’s influence, and Holland joined in their place. When considering why Great Britain did not join CISM, this thesis argues that the British approach to the Kentish Cup is illuminating. The original aim of the CSFA included the following six objectives:²⁶⁹

1. To promote the image of the Services.
2. To Encourage Tri-Service cooperation and comradeship.
3. To improve the standard of play within the Services by providing an opportunity for Service adult and youth players to play in a higher grad of football.
4. To win the Kentish Cup.
5. To promote the recruitment, training, and continued development of a corps of Referees and a corps of coaches.
6. To maintain the standing of the Services within the FA.

What is interesting is that this service-oriented culture still exists and thrives in the British Military. Today, each service (RAF, Navy, Army) has a robust non-public funds system that pays into their respective sporting programs. In 2023, the Army Sports Lottery reported approximately £4 million funds towards the “objective of the charitable fund.”²⁷⁰ The

²⁶⁷ Major Dobson, ‘Combined Services Football Association Minutes’ (Army Football Association, 20 June 1982), 2023-11-14-9-2, Templer Study Centre: National Army Museum.

²⁶⁸ ‘Combined Services Football Association Minutes’ (Army Football Association, 23 June 1986), 2023-11-14-9-3, Templer Study Centre: National Army Museum.

²⁶⁹ ‘Combined Services Football Association Minutes’ (Army Football Association, 30 June 1994), 2023-11-14-9-3, Templer Study Centre: National Army Museum.

²⁷⁰ Army Sports Lottery, ‘How Funds Are Used – Army Sports Lottery’, May 2025, <https://www.armysportlottery.com/how-funds-are-used/>.

lottery, established in 1993, aims to support numerous Army Sporting efforts, with a major focus on Overseas Sports Visits (OSVs). After reaching out to the Army Sports Control Board located at Aldershot, their staff gave the following reasons why international sporting visits are important:

1. They are part of “The Offer” that attracts individuals to enlist.
2. They allow teams to train and prepare for a specific competition or season.
3. The trips can reward or incentivise the team’s commitment to their sport.
4. It can, if planned, include Engagement activity (partnership building) as Sport is common in any language or society.
5. They often involve competitive fixtures, but the Corps and Army teams may want a consolidated period of training, which may not contain competitive fixtures.
6. It provides the opportunity to conduct ‘fair-weather training’ or access high-quality sporting facilities that are not readily available in the UK.

In 2023, the British Army completed over 150 international trips, ranging from cross-country running in Kenya to women’s golf in Thailand. A snapshot of the list of OSVs is provided in Appendix 2. What is also noteworthy is that while the athletes are likely talented, many teams may not be considered elite or highly vetted. The trips were often conducted at the unit level rather than acting as representatives of their service or country (as in CISM). The objective was not to defeat the host country, but to develop their own forces while building partnerships with the host nation.

A notable comparison can be drawn with the US Armed Forces. While the United States is a member of CISM, sports within the American Armed Forces lack the same robust service orientation and international focus as those within the British military. Outside of CISM, US military teams rarely travel overseas to compete on behalf of their units. One might surmise that this difference arises from a century of cultivating the right service-oriented games ethic in the British military through the highly trained soldiers in each of the services’ Physical Training Corps. This, combined with the substantial contributions towards service sports from non-public funds in the British Armed Forces, creates a markedly different

atmosphere when compared to other national military sports programmes, including that of the United States.

3.3. Conclusion

Despite various challenges, Enduring MSD can enhance opportunities for engagement between leadership while fostering pride in one's military. This chapter applied the global diplomacy framework to analyse CISM as a representative case study of Enduring MSD. The emphasis on coalition partnerships and cooperation in today's highly polarised and complex global era underscores the importance of pursuing innovative forms of diplomacy. The following paragraphs offer a brief recap of each element related to CISM:

Communication

The message of CISM is twofold. First, CISM is comparable to the Olympics—prestigious and designed for elite athletes. By signalling its inclusive nature in the early days, the founders recognised that the future success of their organisation could not depend on the whims of unstable partnerships. Through membership fees, foreign militaries expected something in return. In this regard, CISM resembled a permanent and successful business model rather than a temporary alliance. The founders also realised that their success could not rely solely on the generosity of one country – the United States. Although the Americans spearheaded the Inter-Allied Games in 1919 and the initial efforts of its successor, the Allied Forces Sports Council, the tensions of the Cold War led to America's withdrawal from the organisation in 1947. Although they eventually rejoined, the British decided to withdraw completely in 1952. To avoid such difficulties in the future, the CISM's founders focused the initial efforts on broader membership rather than unpredictable trans-Atlantic relations. The efforts and insights proved fruitful.

Representation

The second element, representation, reflects how Enduring MSD structures events to achieve maximum interest and participation. CISM achieved this through a robust and

competitive schedule designed to engage its member nations. Similar to the Olympic model, the events in CISM were distributed among the members. This section highlighted how, over the years, CISM expanded its sporting offerings while establishing its unique martial identity through events such as the military and naval pentathlons. Ultimately, to emulate a successful business, Enduring MSD must incorporate redundancy into its system. By creating multiple lines of effort, CISM ensured that the organisation's success was not reliant on any single event or relationship. Lastly, this section explored how, in the mid and late 20th century, CISM recognised that its member nations sought access to the rapidly growing field of sports science. To achieve this, CISM authored and distributed developments in sports sciences through its monthly magazines. CISM's structure reinforced the message that militaries should participate in CISM, lest they be left behind.

Negotiation

The final element, negotiation, explored how CISM navigated the challenges of organising highly competitive international sports between foreign militaries. This chapter focused on the debate between amateurism and professionalism, as well as the General Assembly's role in addressing these issues.²⁷¹ In the amateur-professional debate, CISM wisely emphasised the spirit of amateurism and a commitment to fair play, chivalry, and competition. CISM, as an example of Enduring MSD, reflects the traditional, top-down orientation that supports summit diplomacy among leadership, where highly competitive, mega-sporting events enable military leaders from the many member nations to forge relationships in a non-threatening environment.

²⁷¹ Various other challenges for CISM were not addressed in this chapter. Author Athinodoros Moschopoulos lists CISM's difficulties when organising soccer (football) matches and leagues from 1969 to 2011 (pg 202-204, *The Birth and Evolution of CISM*). There were continuous acts of violence and unsportsmanlike conduct. Still, CISM successfully organised a CISM World Football Cup in 2012 (Azerbaijan) and 2017 (Oman). In addition to the challenges of soccer, in 2019, the Chinese were caught and penalised for cheating in orienteering races during the 7th Military World Games in Wuhan, China. The host team had marked paths, beating the other military's times. These and other incidents highlight the tendency for sports to escalate to extremes if not actively managed.

PART II: The Indirect Approach

Chapter 4: MSD as a Reflection of the Indirect Approach

4.1 Introduction – The Indirect Approach to War

Part I highlighted how the direct approach's competitive structure in MSD reflects the traditional, top-down orientation in warfare. In contrast, Part II focuses on the indirect approach—an approach that emphasises engagements “with” rather than “against” another nation's military through sports. As with Part I, this chapter adapts Mary Kaldor's elements of goals, methods, and actors to MSD.

Although the boundaries between old and new wars are fluid, Kaldor contends that the new wars “evolved out of the classic civil wars of the 1960s and 70s, which were largely about rebels fighting authoritarian or colonial regimes...usually led by Marxist-Leninist intellectuals.”²⁷² The ideological wars ceased around the end of the Cold War, as the 1990s experienced a decline in state legitimacy, which, in turn, resulted in warlords competing for power.²⁷³ Consequently, the logic of the new wars is less concerned with geographic sovereignty or ideology and is more centred on what Kaldor refers to as identity politics. Identity politics encompasses ethnic and religious factors that are supported or amplified through warfare. In Kaldor's assessment, combatants often have no incentive to win or end new wars, as violence generates support for one's side; thus, influence becomes more important than winning.²⁷⁴ This thesis posits that the same concept applies to sports in the indirect approach, albeit in different ways.

Whereas Part I compared military sports to a contest of wills, the indirect approach is a more nuanced, networked enterprise.²⁷⁵ Warfare in the indirect approach is characterised by technological innovations designed to reduce risk to one's troops while maximising effects against the enemy. In *The New Western Way of War*, author Martin Shaw describes this approach as “risk-transfer,” where forces “rely heavily on airpower and look to others—as

²⁷² Mary Kaldor, *The New Logic of Warfare*, Green European Journal, 28 March 2019, <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/the-new-logic-of-warfare/>. Kaldor.

²⁷³ Kaldor, *The New Logic of Warfare*.

²⁷⁴ Kaldor calls it “New Wars.” For simplicity and continuity, this thesis uses the term “new logic.”

²⁷⁵ Kaldor, ‘In Defence of New Wars’, 1.

far as possible—to take risks on the ground.”²⁷⁶ As discussed in Part I, the rise in airpower can be helpful to understand the indirect approach within the competition continuum. In the indirect approach, stand-off precision strikes are seen as an effective alternative to the risks associated with ground operations that may lead to a quicker, decisive victory. However, for those on the receiving end, it is often perceived as a cowardly method of indiscriminate killing without the risks of the old wars. As Kaldor correctly asserts, “It is impossible to control the situation on the ground from the air.”²⁷⁷

In addition to the tactical elements, the indirect approach is concerned with advancing interests to reach one’s economic or political goal, often independent of winning. Virtues beyond the state are prioritised, such as the Wilsonian ideals of self-determination, free trade, and human rights.²⁷⁸ Whereas MSD in the direct approach had a realist obsession with hierarchy, the indirect approach is more heterarchical, recognising interactions between various entities “determined by the context and the players involved.”²⁷⁹

The US military has embraced this shift in strategy, as evidenced by a 2019 release from the US Department of Defence, Joint Doctrine Note 1-19 (JDN 1-19), which states that conflict in the modern age does not fit within the outdated, binary framework of peace and war. Instead, a competition continuum “describes a world of enduring competition conducted through a mixture of cooperation, competition below armed conflict, and armed conflict.” JDN 1-19 outlines how the Joint Force must structure itself through flexible and adaptive mechanisms to realise “strategic advantages in a manner not to trigger our legal or institutional thresholds for armed conflict.”²⁸⁰ The authors wisely acknowledge that, although it is easier for large, bureaucratic organisations such as militaries to employ a binary scale of peace-war, it is a false orientation within the competition continuum.

²⁷⁶ *The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War and Its Crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2005), 81.

²⁷⁷ Kaldor, *Global Civil Society*, 125.

²⁷⁸ Holmes and Rofo, *Global Diplomacy*, 64.

²⁷⁹ Holmes and Rofo, 4.

²⁸⁰ Joint Chiefs of Staff, ‘Joint Doctrine Note 1-19 (JDN 1-19): Competition Continuum’ Washington DC (June 2019): 1.

JDN 1-19 further outlines the three elements of the competition continuum. First, armed conflict encompasses declared kinetic hostilities. Second, competition below armed conflict comprises military actions that are typically nonviolent, such as diplomatic and economic activities, political subversion, intelligence, and counterintelligence—all below the threshold of armed conflict. The third element, cooperation, is where the indirect approach in MSD occurs most frequently. However, cooperation through MSD can still take place within the first two elements.

Cooperation does not preclude some element of competition or even armed conflict when their objectives are not in complete alignment. Within cooperation, joint force actions may include security cooperation activities, multinational training and exercises, information sharing, personnel exchange programs, and other peaceful military engagement activities. Military cooperation may also occur in the form of multinational operations and activities during an armed conflict or adversarial competition.²⁸¹

Ultimately, if one removes the element of winning as the primary or only objective, efforts become less time-constrained, thereby allowing a shift to the long game. JDN 1-19 reinforces this assertion, noting that “long-term relationships can pay dividends in unanticipated ways.”²⁸² Part I highlighted MSD’s obsession with victory as a reflection of the direct approach to warfare. The following three sections explore the goals, methods, and actors of MSD as a reflection of the indirect approach; one that tends “to spread, persist, and recur” rather than leading to a decisive victory.²⁸³

4.2 The Indirect Approach in MSD

4.2.1 Goals – Access and support virtues higher than nationalism.

Kaldor argues that in the new logic of war, armed forces should support and defend all humanity rather than minimising risk to one’s forces while maximising violence against the

²⁸¹ 2.

²⁸² Joint Chiefs of Staff, 10.

²⁸³ Kaldor, ‘In Defence of New Wars’, 3.

opponent.²⁸⁴ To affect positive change and reduce violence, Kaldor argues that militaries should embrace an approach she terms “cosmopolitan law enforcement.”²⁸⁵ In cosmopolitan law enforcement, the soldier protects and defends “cosmopolitan norms, i.e., enforcement of international humanitarian and human rights laws.”²⁸⁶ Kaldor makes an important distinction that this approach is neither *peacekeeping* nor *peace enforcement*. Whereas *peacekeeping* is generally directed towards post-war conditions through consent and impartiality of the population and without the use of force, *peace enforcement* may be considered warfighting on behalf of the side deemed “right” by the international community. Importantly, by definition, force is permitted in peace enforcement.

In advocating for a bottom-up orientation in the new logic of war, Kaldor emphasises that soldiers must not see their lives as more privileged than the civilian population they are fighting for.²⁸⁷ Whereas the traditional soldiers accepted risks to life and limb for their country while destroying the enemy, the international soldier/police officer is increasingly asked to risk his or her life for humanity.²⁸⁸ In a sense, the cosmopolitan regime already exists through a network of transnational actors (NATO, the EU, the Red Cross, etc.), but according to Kaldor, what is missing is the enforcement element. Her vision of military policing could “fill the security vacuum and enhance the legitimacy of international institutions.”²⁸⁹ Thus, the soldier’s role would fall between traditional peacekeeping (separating sides) and traditional enforcement (taking sides).²⁹⁰ Kaldor concludes that some may argue that this approach is unrealistic or utopian, but counters that the idea is not so far-fetched for two reasons. First, while high-risk situations exist in cosmopolitan law enforcement, it is considerably less dangerous than conventional warfare; perhaps a closer comparison is domestic policing or firefighting, only on a global scale. Second, the

²⁸⁴ Mary Kaldor and United Nations University, eds., *Restructuring the Global Military Sector. 3: Global Insecurity* / Ed. by Mary Kaldor (London: Pinter, 2000), 185.

²⁸⁵ Kaldor, ‘In Defence of New Wars’, 14.

²⁸⁶ Kaldor, *New & Old Wars*, 132.

²⁸⁷ Clearly, soldiers prioritise their lives over the enemy – this is the point of warfare. Yet, “new wars” are often fought in closer proximity to local populations. The separation between combatants and non-combatants is less clear.

²⁸⁸ Kaldor, *New & Old Wars*, 139.

²⁸⁹ Kaldor, 188.

²⁹⁰ Kaldor, *Global Civil Society*, 134.

commitment to nationalism, while still present in the new logic, can be subordinated to other virtues.²⁹¹

To build an internationally recognised cosmopolitan law enforcement, soldiers must internalise and support the virtues (moral standards) of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The IHL, originating from various treaties, “attempts to strike a balance between legitimate military action and the humanitarian objective of reducing human suffering.”²⁹² The IHL’s underpinnings are found in treaties, like the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and customary international law. Notably, the IHL, also called the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC), does not regulate the use of force.²⁹³ Yet, regarding conduct in war, the IHL stipulates that a military force should act with humanity, distinction, and proportionality: the *humanity* to avoid unnecessary suffering; the *distinction* between civilians and combatants; and *proportionality* in employing violent measures when weighed against the anticipated military gains.

When attempting to understand the new logic of wars, author Robert Cooper argues there has been a magnification and intensification of globalisation after 1989, resulting in a reduction in Machiavellian amorality and *raison d’état* in favour of a global commitment to a shared moral conscience.²⁹⁴ If the direct approach supports a fighting spirit that pursues victory in the face of hardship, perhaps the indirect approach supports a different type of fighting spirit—one that defends humanity and the virtues found in the IHL/LOAC.²⁹⁵

The British Royal Navy’s attempt to ban slavery in the early to mid-19th century is a fitting example of the indirect approach. Despite King George III formally abolishing the slave trade within the British Empire in 1807 (with the help of pivotal figures like William Wilberforce),

²⁹¹ Kaldor, 136.

²⁹² ‘International Humanitarian Law’, British Red Cross, accessed 7 March 2024, <https://www.redcross.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/protecting-people-in-armed-conflict/international-humanitarian-law>.

²⁹³ Although unenforceable, the United Nations Charter contains regulations on military forces’ conduct in warfare, including the right to self-defence. It is impossible to account for every situation.

²⁹⁴ Kaldor, *Global Civil Society*, 137.

²⁹⁵ When considering the recency of nationhood as an acceptable concept to fight and die for, the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 is generally considered the beginning of the state’s preeminent position in international relations. This thesis argues that the idea of nationhood increased through the 20th century.

many British colonies continued the lucrative slave trade long after 1807. Brazil and Portugal were particularly committed, believing the revenue could help rebuild their war-weary economies following the Napoleonic Wars, with the practice seemingly far removed from British intervention.²⁹⁶ After multiple failed attempts to enforce the ban against slavery through legal channels, the Royal Navy created the West Africa Squadron in 1808.”²⁹⁷ By 1860, the Royal Navy had captured over 1,600 slave ships and freed more than 150,000 slaves. Roughly 2,000 Royal Navy sailors lost their lives while attempting to stamp out the slave trade.²⁹⁸ The British decision to outlaw and then enforce the ban on slavery lends historical support to Kaldor’s argument; a renewed focus on humanity and equality is realistic.

A more recent example was the coalition partnership in Afghanistan that supported rescue operations. From the beginning of the conflict in 2001, the International Security Assistance Force’s (ISAF) mission shifted from not only defeating Al Qaeda but also winning the hearts and minds of the Afghan population. In support of the secondary mission, the British and American militaries consistently provided rescue support to the coalition forces, the civilian population, and the Afghanistan police and army. This effort was significant because the coalition forces were often placed in harm’s way for the Afghan civilian population. Throughout the war, multiple coalition helicopter crewmembers were injured or killed while attempting to rescue Afghan civilians.

Because the orientation of military sports reflects shifts in the profession of arms, these same attributes can be applied to MSD. In contrast to the goals of MSD in the direct approach that builds pride in one’s forces while facilitating dialogue between leaders, the goal of MSD in the indirect approach is to access and prioritise a shared commitment to humanity. Success in the indirect approach is no longer dependent on only winning but also

²⁹⁶ Andrew Lambert and Robert Tombs, ‘The Royal Navy’s Campaign Against the Slave Trade - History Reclaimed’, 10 December 2022, <https://historyreclaimed.co.uk/the-royal-navys-campaign-against-the-slave-trade/>.

²⁹⁷ Andreas Koureas, ‘Britain’s Remarkable Fight to End the Slave Trade’, *The Spectator*, 5 February 2023, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/britains-remarkable-fight-to-end-the-slave-trade/>.

²⁹⁸ Koureas.

on mobilising around a shared set of virtues that elevate humanity over nationality. As with the direct approach, the methods must support the goals of the indirect approach.

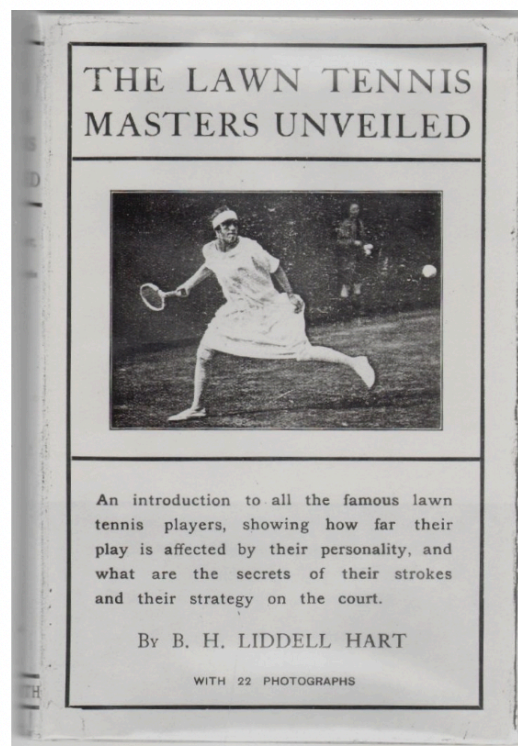
4.2.2 Methods – Non-spectatorial sports with varying degrees of talent.

Part I argued that a renewed focus on narrative-led operations can connect strategic-level messaging to tactical-level execution. To ensure effective narrative-led operations, military leaders begin with “why” and develop a story that gives meaning to the operations. Ultimately, the methods must support the strategic messaging that, in turn, generates the actions. This section reviews the primary methods of the indirect approach to MSD.

Kaldor argues that diplomatic negotiations should be grounded in principles and values rather than territorial control. Moving away from Clausewitz, the writings of British war theorist Basil Liddell Hart elucidate the tenets of the indirect approach that apply in both warfare and sport. After sustaining an injury during WWI, Hart embarked on a career as a sports journalist. In 1926, the year before penning *Great Captains Unveiled*, Hart published *Lawn Tennis Master Unveiled*. In it, Hart promised to reveal the secret strategies of professional tennis players.²⁹⁹ Hart clearly saw a connection between sports and warfare.

²⁹⁹ B.H. Liddell Hart, *The Lawn Tennis Masters Unveiled* (Arrowsmith, 1926).

Figure 7 Lawn Tennis Masters Unveiled



After transitioning to a war strategy, Hart was critical of Clausewitz's emphasis on violence and proposed that an ideal strategy could "produce a decision without any serious fighting."³⁰⁰ The effective strategist should seek a "situation so advantageous that if it does not of itself produce the decision, its continuation by a battle is sure to achieve the desired result. In other words, dislocation is the aim of strategy."³⁰¹

In line with Hart's theory, the methods of MSD via the indirect approach can temper the blind loyalties of soldier athletes to their countries, effectively shifting the focus "left of the boom"—a military phrase that refers to the time before an explosion occurs when one still has a chance to prepare for or even avert a crisis. Once the "boom" occurs, it triggers a reactive mode rather than a proactive one. In the 21st century, the mission to capture "hearts and minds" in Afghanistan and Iraq was a strategy to get "left of the boom." The aim

³⁰⁰ Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, 2012, 190.

³⁰¹ Liddell Hart, 192.

was to attract the host nation's civilians to the Western way of life before they joined terrorist organisations.

When advocating for a method that diverges from frontal assaults in pursuit of decisive victories, Hart argued the indirect approach is not only valuable for military strategy but also a “law of life in all spheres, a truth of philosophy.”³⁰² Whereas the direct approach was exemplified by the frontal assaults in WWI's trench warfare, which frequently strengthened rather than weakened an opponent's resolve, Hart argued that the indirect approach could attract others to one's side. To underscore the superiority of the indirect over the direct approach, Hart employed an economic analogy: “In commerce, the suggestion that there is a bargain to be secured is far more potent than any direct appeal to buy.”³⁰³ In diplomatic engagements, the indirect approach is comparable to Nye's definition of soft power—both strategies utilise attractive measures rather than coercive ones. Hart discussed how the indirect approach can create psychological or physical uncertainty in an adversary. In combat, the indirect approach may involve a deceptive frontal assault followed by a primary attack on the flank or rear.

The preceding discussion examined war theory in relation to diplomacy within the indirect approach. This section now transitions to MSD and the application at the interpersonal level, employing Gordon Allport's conditions of contact—equality, common goals, and support from authorities.

First, equal status among teams or individuals varies significantly between the direct and indirect approaches of MSD. In the direct approach, the unequal status among elite competitors reinforces the spectatorial nature; one team wins while the other loses. In the modern Olympics, athletic ability embodies nationalism within a framework where the better-trained and better-funded teams often overpower the weaker ones. In contrast, athletes compete *with* one another in the indirect approach. Equality is woven into the fabric of the games. Unlike the elite-level spectatorial displays seen in the direct approach,

³⁰² Liddell Hart, 18.

³⁰³ Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, 2nd rev. ed (New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Meridian, 1991).

team compositions in MSD are based on criteria independent of ability—perhaps military occupation, a shared deployment location, or, in rehabilitative sports, a common bond through injuries. These concepts will be examined in the following chapters and case studies.

The second element, common goals, was discussed in Chapter 1 as being oppositional within the direct approach. Cheering for our nation equates to cheering against yours. While diplomatic outcomes can emerge in the direct approach, positive engagement must be intentionally and continually nurtured at every level, including among players, coaches, and organisers. In contrast, the indirect approach involves common goals, such as playing alongside foreign athletes to bridge the cultural, racial, or religious differences that exist off the playing field. In the following excerpt, Allport emphasised the power of sports to mitigate potential conflict.

The nub of the matter seems to be that contact must reach below the surface in order to be effective in altering prejudice. Only the type of contact that leads people to do things together is likely to result in changed attitudes. The principle is clearly illustrated in the multi-ethnic athletic team. Here the goal is all-important; the ethnic composition of the team is irrelevant. It is the cooperative striving for the goal that engenders solidarity.³⁰⁴

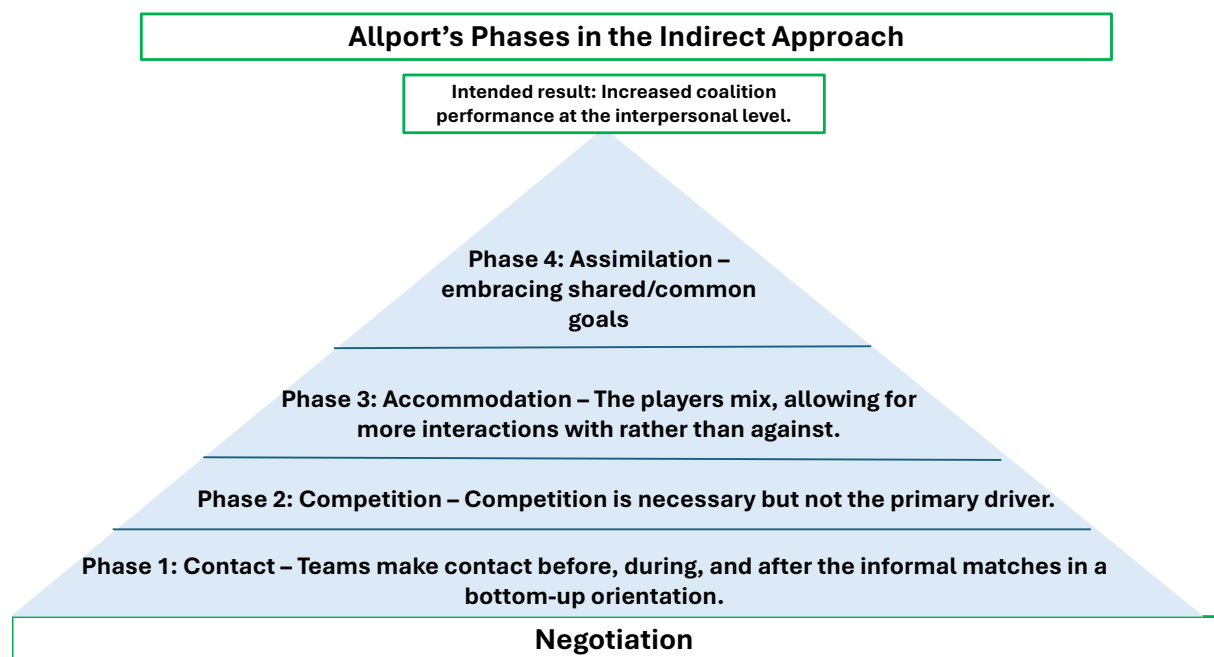
The final element, support from authorities, differs significantly in the indirect approach. In the direct approach, coaches or military leaders often deliver an inspiring speech before a significant match, such as: “You have been hand-selected among your peers to represent your nation in sport... others would give much for the opportunity; you embody a legacy of victory... now go out and win!” In the indirect approach, however, a message may or may not be conveyed by the authorities, as they are likely unaware of or unconcerned with the competitive aspect of sports. Interestingly, the authorities themselves may choose to participate in the games, in which case the message (if conveyed at all) will possess a different tone. Ideally, it would be some variation of the following: “Let’s enjoy ourselves

³⁰⁴ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1985, 276.

out there. The sports played today are an opportunity to understand our partner’s culture—the relationships you forge on the pitch will make our jobs easier when we must work and potentially fight side by side in a more dangerous environment.”

Part 1 explored how intergroup relationships are built in four phases: contact → competition → accommodation → assimilation and, in the direct approach, these phases are often truncated to contact → competition. In contrast, the structure of MSD in the indirect approach supports interactions in all four phases. The figure below provides a visual representation of this phenomenon. Each phase occurs within the negotiation element of the global diplomacy framework.

Figure 8 Allport's phases in the Indirect Approach



The indirect approach acknowledges that historically hierarchical relationships often develop into more hierarchical ones over time; ones where the weaker (or dominated) nations frequently influence the sporting culture of the stronger (dominant) ones — like the

direct approach, the path is two-way.³⁰⁵ The biennial cricket match between Australia and England, now called *The Ashes*, is an example of this phenomenon. Although England introduced cricket to Australia in the 19th century, Australia defeated their colonisers in an international match in 1882. After the game, British newspapers humorously eulogised English cricket as having died, been cremated, and the English cricket ashes sent to Australia. In the century that followed, this two-way relationship was characterised by Australia and England trading players and techniques.

While acknowledging cultural imperialism plays a factor, author Allen Guttman cautions a reductionist approach that suggests “European missionaries, military men, and civil administrators propagated modern sports simply as a convenient form of social control.”³⁰⁶ One cannot ignore that there were oftentimes more noble motives at play, including improving the health and reducing animosity between cultures (either within the foreign country or between the coloniser and the colonised).

In *The Army isn't all work*, Dr. Campbell supports this assertion, writing that although British imperial goals may have been a catalyst for the diffusion of sports, over time, the process in the visited countries “followed many of the same paths that it did when applied to the British Army: establishment of instructor cadre and schools, construction of facilities, debates among the leadership over methods and practices, and finally, overwhelming acceptance and success.”³⁰⁷ This thesis argues that the bottom-up, indirect approach to MSD, begins with acceptance among those who choose to play, and the more formal structure follows. A loose but fitting comparison in the continuum of competition is the efforts of ancient Rome’s military to establish an extensive road network that allowed their culture to spread. The acceptance of spontaneous sports, much like the early roadwork of the Romans, fostered more structured interactions in the years, decades, and centuries that followed. Taking the roads analogy one step further, whereas the direct approach is more

³⁰⁵ Allen Guttman, ‘Sports Diffusion: A Response to Maguire and the Americanization Commentaries’, *Sociology of Sport Journal* 8, no. 2 (June 1991): 185–90, <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.8.2.185>.

³⁰⁶ Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 174.

³⁰⁷ ‘The Army Isn’t All Work’: Physical Culture in the Evolution of the British Army, 1860-1920’, 80, accessed 31 March 2023, <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1141&context=etd>.

like a stoplight, the indirect approach is akin to a roundabout. The flow of cars or cultural values is more fluid in the latter.

To highlight the differences between the indirect approach and the direct approach, as discussed in Chapter 1, this section employs the primary and secondary inner circles. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, C.S. Lewis noted that, in most organisations, a primary inner circle is generally inclusive and based on trade skills or objective standards. In contrast, there is also an exclusionary secondary inner circle, which relies on other subjective criteria such as class, race, or gender. Individuals may compromise their moral standards to gain entry or remain in this secondary inner circle. Ideally, in the indirect approach, the additional contact time during the accommodation and assimilation phases reduces the boundaries of the exclusionary secondary circle. The sole criterion for admission in the indirect approach to MSD is a shared passion for play. As a result, participants from both sides build trust and understanding more quickly when compared to the traditional, top-down orientation of the direct approach. The final section examines the individuals who bring passion to the games.

4.2.3 Actors – Come as you are.

While we often view national militaries collectively, it is helpful to remember that militaries are a confluence of individual soldiers who pull the trigger, take the hill, or, in MSD, play sports with or against other foreign militaries. When analysing the individual military athletes who participate in MSD, this research distinguishes between the “warrior” and the “soldier.” Author and historian Max Boot writes that the warrior is frequently associated with “virtues such as courage, honour, loyalty, and strength.”³⁰⁸ Historically, warriors pursue personal glory and fame over unit cohesion and discipline; the warriors of old “fought alone, seeking one-on-one duels with enemy warriors to prove their manhood.”³⁰⁹ In contrast, the soldier prioritises efficiency, cohesion, and camaraderie over personal glory. In other words, the soldier is a part of a cohesive unit, while the warrior acts as an independent fighter,

³⁰⁸ Max Boot, *War Made New: Weapons, Warriors, and the Making of the Modern World*, 1. pbk. print (New York: Gotham Books, 2007), 53.

³⁰⁹ Boot, 53.

even when assigned to a unit. This study argues that the direct approach towards military sports aligns with the warrior mentality, where elite athletes seek personal or national glory through winning in a spectatorial display. In the indirect approach, winning is not paramount; soldier-athletes engage in games within an inclusive, non-spectatorial setting designed to enhance cohesion among foreign troops. However, without the drama, one may ask if anyone truly cares. Can MSD positively influence foreign partnerships in the indirect approach if nobody wins? It can, but is best understood through Clausewitz's definitions of the primary trinity of passion, chance, and reason.

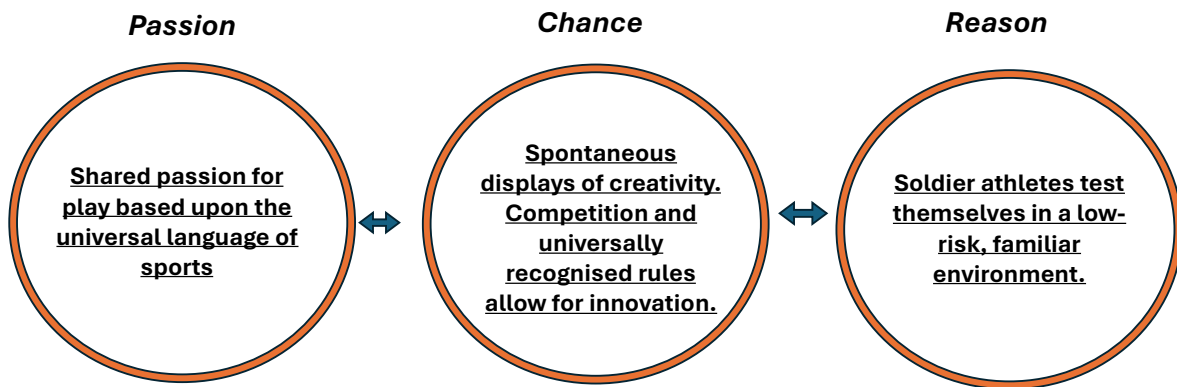
In Part 1, this thesis examined MSD as a reflection of Clausewitz's secondary trinity of the commander, state, and population. Although the trinity remains applicable in the indirect approach, the elements are more fluid when compared to the direct approach. In this regard, increased globalisation has flattened the hierarchy of the secondary MSD Trinity, transforming it into a heterarchy. In the old hierarchical system, the great(er) nations often demonstrated exceptionalism through sports. In contrast, in the heterarchical system of the indirect approach, diplomatic outcomes are influenced less by power differentials and more by the context and character of the players involved.³¹⁰ In applying the trinity to the indirect approach, this thesis concurs with Kaldor's assessment that one's interpretation of Clausewitz's trinity is significant.³¹¹ MSD, in the indirect approach, downplays the secondary trinity of the state, military, and people, favouring the primary trinity—passion, chance, and reason.

³¹⁰ Holmes and Rofo, *Global Diplomacy*, 4.

³¹¹ Kaldor, 'In Defence of New Wars', 11.

Figure 9 MSD Trinity in the Indirect Approach

MSD Trinity in the Indirect Approach



In the indirect approach, passion refers to the internal makeup of the represented militaries—moral and physical—that embraces all levels of ability.³¹² The element of chance includes the convergence of creativity, innovation, and competition when soldiers from different nations mix on the playing field. Finally, the element of reason or why one plays includes three features. The first is the joy of playing sports while staving off the natural tendency towards boredom in the military. The second is the desire to experience familiarity in an unfamiliar environment. The third is to test one's pluck in a low-risk atmosphere.

4.3 Conclusion

Certain philosophical approaches may contend that nothing is worth fighting for, as all virtues are subjective.³¹³ If this is the case, asking militaries to risk life and limb for the principles of International Humanitarian Law is futile. Kaldor counters this apathy by asserting that objective values or virtues are indeed worth defending; however, to do so,

³¹² Holmes and Rofo, *Global Diplomacy*, 64.

³¹³ Existentialism – morality is merely a human construct rather than a universal truth – human existence is not tethered to any higher virtues so one must act in their best interest (Nitzche, Jean-Paul Satre, Simone de Beauvoir). Phenomenology – consciousness and morality must not be separated from the context in which it occurs. Virtues are situational (Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger).

modern militaries must shift away from traditional soldiering grounded in nation-based violence to a form of soldiering that protects all lives in support of International Humanitarian Law—a shift she describes as “cosmopolitan law enforcement.” Finally, similar to Kaldor’s research, the objective of this study is less concerned with specific time periods and more focused on the different orientations within the competition continuum.

This chapter explored MSD as a reflection of the new logic of warfare. In summary, the goal of the new logic in MSD is to access and prioritise cosmopolitan norms (such as humanity and equality) over winning in a single, decisive campaign. Ideally, sports can energise social relations between foreign militaries rather than ending them through the event.³¹⁴ To do so, the methods outlined in this chapter emphasise play *alongside* foreign soldiers rather than *against* them. Unlike the elite or vetted soldier-athletes of the direct approach, the participants in the indirect approach include everyday soldiers, regardless of their athletic ability. The following two chapters delve into the new logic in military sports, focusing on Improvised MSD in Chapter 5 and Rehabilitative MSD in Chapter 6.

³¹⁴ Jean-Michel Faure and Peter Snowdon, ‘Forging a French Fighting Spirit: The Nation, Sport, Violence and War’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 2 (August 1995): 79–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523369508713896>.

Chapter 5: Improvised MSD – The Jim Thorpe Sports Days

5.1 Introduction

As the first category of the indirect approach, this chapter explores the nature of Improvised MSD, where foreign militaries play with one another in a bottom-up, often impromptu manner that fosters camaraderie among soldiers from different nations. Although soldiers have been playing impromptu games in their free time for millennia, closer contact through globalisation, combined with the recognition of established rules in sports over the last century, has increased opportunities for this type of informal play.

The chapter begins with a short definition of Improvised MSD and an overview of possible environments in which it occurs. Next, it examines how Improvised MSD has taken root in Professional Military Education (PME), an integral component of the modern profession of arms. Finally, this chapter concludes with an in-depth analysis of Improvised MSD within a representative case study: the Jim Thorpe Sports Days at the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Improvised MSD: Definition and Environments

Merriam-Webster defines *improvisation* as creating or inventing “at the spur of the moment, without planning.”³¹⁵ In the context of MSD, this definition emphasises the temporal aspect of improvisation. For instance, the limited downtime before a soldier must return to the front lines. The second aspect of Merriam-Webster’s definition builds upon the first and pertains to the creative dimension—using “what is conveniently on hand.”³¹⁶ In Improvised MSD, soldier-athletes must organise their games with the resources and players available at that moment.

³¹⁵ ‘Improvise Definition & Meaning | Merriam-Webster’, accessed 30 July 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/improvise>.

³¹⁶ ‘Improvise Definition & Meaning - Merriam-Webster’.

Compared to MSD as a reflection of the direct approach, Improvised MSD is more influenced by the environment in which the games are played. In *War Games*, author Tony McCarthy highlights that sports played during wartime are often a result of the “dedication, selflessness and imagination” of troops to “arrange events for the benefit of all.”³¹⁷ As an example, McCarthy included rugby matches played with a medicine ball on the Dutch ship, the *New Amsterdam*, among English and South African soldiers during WWII. Improvisation is borne from necessity in Improvised MSD, which leads to the standards or results being less important than the continuation of play. McCarthy even noted a brief reduction in the long-held animosity between the Rugby League (historically professional since 1895) and the Rugby Union (historically amateur) during WWII. While troops were stationed in North Africa, a competitive team was formed comprising equal parts League and Union players from various rugby-playing nations.³¹⁸

A common theme in Improvised MSD is that organisers or athletes acknowledge limitations in their abilities or resources, often leading to humorous exchanges. The following quote by McCarthy captures this sentiment.

There was eternal improvisation. This included a very impromptu football match (of the sort much played informally wherever two piles of coats can be set down in a public park) on a beach on D-Day, which was abandoned when the goal blew up. There was also a curious game of baseball in which the pitcher was a captured German gun: it fired either a rubber ball or a milk tin. The striker, 75 yards away, did not know which it was going to be.³¹⁹

This same commitment to play could be found in the PoW camps of WWII. Before reviewing the sporting culture within in PoW camps, this chapter distinguishes between PoW Diplomacy and Military Sports Diplomacy. Whereas MSD aims to foster good relations between foreign militaries, PoW Diplomacy seeks to prevent poor relations. Just as nuclear deterrence relies on the threat of retaliation, so does the treatment of captured soldiers—a

³¹⁷ McCarthy, *War Games*, 144.

³¹⁸ McCarthy, 145.

³¹⁹ McCarthy, 137.

practice that can “escalate into a vicious cycle of tit-for-tat reprisals” between adversarial nations during war.³²⁰ In the early and mid-20th century, sports played within the PoW camps became one way to signal a commitment to treating prisoners with respect and dignity.

Within the more humane PoW camps during WWII, sports aligned with the intent of Article 17 of the 1927 Geneva Convention, which stated, “belligerents shall encourage as much as possible the organisation of intellectual and sporting pursuits by prisoners of war.”³²¹ Following WWII, the 1949 Diplomatic Convention of Geneva updated the language in Article 38: “Prisoners shall have opportunities for taking physical exercise, including sports and games, and for being out of doors. Sufficient open spaces shall be provided for this purpose in all camps.”³²² In these grim settings, sports were among the few activities that reminded the prisoners of their homes and their humanity.

The global nature of WWII, with naval power and airpower in the European and Pacific theatres, led to increased opportunities for countries to either fulfil or ignore the directives of the Geneva Convention. One British article covered a group of soldiers from Yorkshire who were being held in by Germany’s Stalag during WWII. Of the 173 British prisoners interviewed, only twenty-one did not participate in sports. In contrast, the remaining 152 were permitted to play cricket, soccer, basketball, softball, and rugby.³²³ The article notes that the prisoners often created cricket balls or sports nets from the strings used to secure packages, thus reinforcing the element of improvisation. In a separate Nazi-led PoW Camp, Stalag 353, the staff permitted the PoWs to organise their version of the Empire Games (the previous name of the Commonwealth Games). On ANZAC Day, prisoners from ten allied countries organised competitions in an environment often bereft of joy.³²⁴

³²⁰ Neville Wylie, *Barbed Wire Diplomacy: Britain, Germany, and the Politics of Prisoners of War, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 2010), 6.

³²¹ ‘Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Geneva, 27 July 1929.’, accessed 26 September 2023, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/gc-pow-1929/>, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/gc-pow-1929/article-17>.

³²² ‘Convention (III) Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949.’, accessed 26 September 2023, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/gciii-1949/>, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/gciii-1949/article-38>.

³²³ McCarthy, *War Games*, 153.

³²⁴ McCarthy, 156.

Interestingly, the role of non- or quasi-governmental welfare agencies was pivotal in supporting PoW camps in the Western and Pacific theatres during WWII. After WWI, the 1929 Geneva Convention recognised the function of these third parties, detached from political animosity, in arbitrating and monitoring the status of prisoners under foreign control. Article 79 stated, “A central information agency for prisoners of war shall be created in a neutral country. The International Committee of the Red Cross shall propose the organisation of such an agency to the interested Powers if it considers it necessary.”³²⁵ Although a split between welfare agencies and the US Military regarding sports occurred after WWI (and, as outlined in Chapter 2, after the 1919 Inter-Allied Games), welfare agencies were critical in monitoring and promoting health and recreation within PoW camps during WWII.

The inclusion of Improvised MSD within PoW camps illustrates the myriad of environments in which spontaneous, bottom-up sports foster trust and understanding among foreign soldiers. The remainder of this chapter explores a setting integral to the military where sports have evolved into a preferred method of diplomacy: Professional Military Education (PME). Historically, PME has been associated with the officer corps, whereas the enlisted and non-commissioned officer (NCO) corps partake in technical training throughout their careers. Yet, in the modern profession of arms, the enlisted and NCO corps are more similar to the officer corps in that they are also regularly required to attend PME. Although the historical references in the remainder of this chapter primarily refer to the officer corps, the researcher asks the reader to apply the analysis to all soldiers—enlisted, NCO, and commissioned—in the modern profession of arms.

Improvised MSD within Professional Military Education

In 1984, the academic and former British Army General, Sir John Hackett, wrote that the purpose of the military is “the ordered application of force in the resolution of a social or

³²⁵ Howard S Levie, ‘1929 GENEVA CONVENTION RELATIVE TO THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR (27 July 1929)’, n.d., art. 79.

political problem.”³²⁶ His definition aligns with Clausewitz’s writing on the military’s role as an extension or continuation of policy by other means. To support the ever-changing and increasingly complex environment in which the military operates, General Hackett argued that the professional soldier must remain well-informed of developments in various disciplines—military law, technology, tactics, strategy, and diplomacy. Furthermore, the modern soldiers’ evolving levels of responsibility require them to return to school throughout their careers. In this respect, the military differs from other professions, such as the law or clergy, who have an initial dose of intense education followed by a career in which the practitioner is considered qualified (while continuing to learn).³²⁷

Before General Hackett’s writing, in 1957, Samuel Huntington wrote the following regarding the importance of continuous education in the modern profession of arms:

The intellectual content of the military profession requires the modern officer to devote about one-third of his professional life to formal schooling, probably a higher ration of educational time to practice time than in any other profession. In part this reflects the limited opportunities of the officer to acquire practical experience at the most important elements of his vocation. But to a large degree it also reflects the extreme complexity of the military expertise.”³²⁸

Like Hackett, Huntington emphasised that the military profession was unique, for unlike physicians or lawyers who learn their craft by shadowing more experienced professionals in their trade, professional soldiers ideally learn their craft removed from the combat environment. Advanced militaries have instituted rigorous education throughout the professional soldier’s career to narrow the gap between theory and practice. During these periods, a curriculum on warfare theories or the technical aspects is enhanced through informal interactions with foreign and domestic students who share their “so there I was” stories from their operational experience.

³²⁶ John Winthrop Hackett, *The Profession of Arms* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 9.

³²⁷ Hackett, 197.

³²⁸ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 19. print (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1957), 13.

This section examines how PME has developed into an internationally recognised model and why sports have become a part of the soldier's experience within the institution of PME. To understand the role of sports in PME, the following section outlines the evolution of officer education across four historical phases.

5.2 Sports and the Phases of Officer PME

In 2020, Dr. Tamir Libel introduced four phases in the evolution of PME. Before presenting his phases, Libel made an important distinction: PME differs from Military Education (ME). While ME is “a subset of the wider institutions of non-professional type command” and includes training to become an expert in various fields, with or without the command element, PME focuses on officer education and establishes “the social rules, norms and ideas” in the modern profession of arms.³²⁹ Libel argues that formal schools help construct and reproduce military culture through two concepts: critical junctures and path dependencies.³³⁰ A critical juncture is an uncommon moment when an agent is faced with “a wider range of policy options than usual.”³³¹ Upon choosing a novel course, the new arrangement develops into the second concept—path dependency. Path dependency refers to the resistance to change in large bureaucratic institutions like the military, where inertia and the status quo prevail. With these two concepts defined, Libel posits the following historical phases of PME:

Phase I

Phase I: The advent of undergraduate Military Academies for commissioning officers. The first phase of PME was a response to the Gunpowder Revolution between 1500 and 1700, which marked a critical juncture in PME. During the 17th and 18th centuries, officers

³²⁹ As mentioned previously, this thesis does not make the same distinction between the enlisted/NCO and officer corps regarding military education—senior NCOs routinely lead/command teams in the modern profession of arms.

³³⁰ Tamir Libel, ‘Professional Military Education as an Institution: A Short (Historical) Institutional Survey’, *Scandinavian Journal of Military Studies* 4, no. 1 (15 April 2021): 122, <https://doi.org/10.31374/sjms.79>.

³³¹ Libel, 123.

increasingly studied ballistics and the logistical challenges that transformed the command and control dynamics of large standing armies. The Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst was established during this period in 1741. Additionally, France developed various technically oriented military academies from the late 17th to the early 18th century.³³² The technical schools in France were generally attended by the sons of bourgeois families rather than nobles, who deemed technical trades beneath their status. Catering to the nobility, the Ecole Royale Militaire was established in Paris in 1751 for those wishing to pursue a more theoretically based military education. Although originating during Phase I, advanced militaries faced increasing challenges in two areas. First, whether nobility provided the best or only leaders, and second, whether a classical or technically oriented military education best served their nations.³³³ This second dilemma continues to this day.

Notably, in the United States, hereditary landowning classes did not possess the same social distinction as in Europe. Since its inception in 1802, cadet admission to the US Military Academy has been by nomination from Senators and Congressmen, which attracted a broader section of the public. Once admitted to the academy, no distinctions were made regarding social status within the cadet ranks. To address differences in educational backgrounds, the American military academies placed greater emphasis on general education over an extended period.³³⁴

Sports were not yet specialised or codified during Phase I of PME. As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, they were still in the germinal phase and were seen as an extension of religious or village festivals rather than a separate endeavour.³³⁵

³³² Libel, 125.

³³³ Libel, 125.

³³⁴ Richard A Preston, 'Perspectives in the History of Military Education and Professionalism', no. Issue 22 of Harmon memorial lectures in military history, United States Air Force Academy Department of History (1980): 22–23.

³³⁵ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, 2.

Phase II

Phase II: The introduction of War/Staff Colleges. This phase of PME aimed to integrate the expanding “cornerstones” of the military force during the First Industrial Revolution (1750-1900), including the combined arms of massive professional armies during the Napoleonic Wars. After Napoleon defeated Prussia at Jena in 1806, the Prussians established their first staff college, the *Kriegsakademie*. The Prussian graduates were expected to advise the general officer corps on issues ranging from tactics to strategy to technical challenges. In the mid to late 19th century, the Prussian staff colleges were regarded as instrumental in the victorious wars of German unification, prompting other European powers to implement similar structures.³³⁶

Notably, Phase II of PME took place during sports' incipient phase. As discussed in the introductory chapter, this phase was characterised by the codification and dissemination of sports, primarily through Great Britain's influence via colonisation and trade, which laid the foundation for international play during the subsequent take-off phase of sports.

Phase III

Phase III: The Command and Staff College (CSC) for Intermediate Officers. The Second Industrial Revolution (1900-1940) ushered in the third phase of PME, focusing on the education of mid-level officers. Unlike the previous staff colleges, which targeted more senior officers being groomed for generalship, the CSCs focused on inter-agency coordination while emphasising concerns beyond direct combat, including the military connections to foreign policy and civil-military relations. The United States created the Army War College in 1901 as the first professional military education institute, which was not primarily trade or technically focused. In Great Britain, the Imperial Defense College was created in London in 1927 to meet the changing dynamics of command and the growing colonial concerns.³³⁷ As large standing armies continued to exist after WWII and during the

³³⁶ Libel, 'Professional Military Education as an Institution', 126.

³³⁷ Libel, 127.

Cold War, command and staff colleges became more standardised internationally. They also became required for promotion during times of peace. Phase III in the development of PME coincided with the take-off phase of sports when highly codified and specialised games were increasingly played within and between foreign militaries.

Phase IV

The fourth and final phase encompasses “PME as a system.” In the latter half of the 20th century, military education headquarters were established in various countries to standardise the extensive array of PME institutions that increasingly included civilians and foreign exchange officers.³³⁸ This standardisation resulted in internationally recognised practices and an enhanced crossflow of students and faculty between institutions and nations. Moreover, as the officer corps became more democratised and less separated from civilian spheres, sports assumed a more significant role in PME. Rather than imposing sports on the troops, the troops infused their passion for play into military culture. This phase of PME aligns with the continuum phase of sports, in which various top-down and bottom-up approaches are promoted within the profession of arms.

Having defined the character of Improvised MSD and the evolution of officer PME, this chapter focuses on a setting where Improvised MSD has grown considerably over the past century, particularly in Western, in-residence military educational institutions classified as intermediate staff colleges and senior war colleges. These programs take approximately one year and culminate in an accredited master's degree. Both intermediate and senior levels of education aim to transition officers from their previous level of responsibility to the next. In the case of staff colleges, the transition is from the tactical to the operational or Joint level of warfare. In the (senior) war colleges, officers move from the operational to the strategic/inter-agency level. Whereas the staff colleges target officers in the O-4 rank (e.g., Major in the US Army), war colleges are intended for officers in the O-5/6 ranks (e.g., Lieutenant Colonel or Colonel in the US Army).³³⁹

³³⁸ Libel, 128.

³³⁹ Appendices 3, 4, and 5 provide a more in-depth explanation of the current models of officer PME in the United States.

The selected case study is the Jim Thorpe Sports Days. The author chose this event for three reasons. The first reason includes access. The author has been involved in sports as a student and teacher for over two decades within the American PME system.³⁴⁰

Consequently, he has access to locations, archives, and personnel that might otherwise be challenging to obtain. Second, this thesis posits that the improvised nature of sports played within the American PME system is traceable and generalisable. Unlike other instances of Improvised MSD that are entirely impromptu, the archival records of sports at the Army War College over the past five decades provide historical data that can be analysed through the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation. Third, this thesis argues that knowledge acquired during in-residence education occurs in both formal classroom settings and informal environments. A common refrain in military aviation is that aircrews learn to fly effectively through notes on bar napkins while listening to more experienced aviators. The same phenomenon occurs within the in-residence PME programs—perhaps it is on the sports fields, at the water coolers, or during breaks between classes, where timely knowledge is exchanged among officers of varying expertise, services, and nations.

5.3 Case Study: The Jim Thorpe Sports Days

Every April for the past fifty years, senior military students from war colleges across the United States have gathered for three days at the Jim Thorpe Sports Days (JTSD) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to participate in individual and team sports. Since its creation in the early 1970s, the games have expanded to include over 400 military athletes from five senior war colleges. An important aspect as a representative case for Improvised MSD is that the service members attending the in-residence war colleges are selected based on their exemplary military record, not their sporting prowess. Following the ten-month in-residence course, the senior military students are expected to continue in senior leadership positions in their respective militaries. The connections built on the fields of friendly strife help

³⁴⁰ This includes the undergraduate and graduate levels—specifically at the Air Force Academy as a student and instructor (NCAA Division 1), Squadron Officer School as a student (PME for Captains), and Air Command and Staff College as a student and instructor (PME for Majors).

support the original intent of the Army War College as conceived by Secretary of War Elihu Root in 1901: "To preserve peace by intelligent and adequate preparation to repel aggression."³⁴¹

The Jim Thorpe Sports Days are named after an athlete whose history epitomises the tension between race, class, nationalism, and sports during the first part of the 20th century. The Native American athlete Jim Thorpe had an incredible athletic career. In 1911 and 1912, Thorpe was an All-American American Football player for the Carlisle Indian School, during which the team held a record of forty-three wins, eight losses, and two ties. Under the direction of the famous American coach Pop Warner, the small Indian University defeated early sporting powerhouses such as the Naval Academy, West Point, Harvard, and Princeton, among others. Because of Jim Thorpe's incredible speed and strength, he was invited to the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, Sweden, where he won gold in the Pentathlon and the Decathlon and placed fourth in the broad jump. After college, he had a successful professional career, playing six baseball seasons in the National League (1913-1919) and fifteen football seasons for various professional teams (1915-1929). In 1920, Thorpe became the first president of the American Professional Football Association, the precursor to the National Football League in 1924.³⁴²

In a short article highlighting significant stories of the 1912 Olympics, the International Olympic Committee wrote the following on "Mighty Jim":

Jim Thorpe, an Indigenous man from Oklahoma, won the pentathlon and decathlon by huge margins, and was described by King Gustav V of Sweden as "the greatest athlete in the world." He was later disqualified when it was discovered that he had accepted a modest sum to play baseball before the Games. In 1982, the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee decided to reinstate Jim Thorpe and to give back to his daughter the medals that were rightfully his.³⁴³

³⁴¹ '1992: JTSD History and Opening Remarks', n.d., US Army Heritage and Education Center.

³⁴² 'Jim Thorpe - Biography', Olympics.com, 15 July 2022, <https://olympics.com/en/athletes/jim-thorpe>.

³⁴³ IOC, 'Stockholm 1912 Summer Olympics - Athletes, Medals & Results', Olympics.com, 25 April 2018, <https://olympics.com/en/olympic-games/stockholm-1912>.

Jim Thorpe's story illustrates the shift in amateurism through the 20th century. In the 1912 Olympics, Jim Thorpe's uncanny athleticism was too great to ignore. Yet, no one protested when his medals were stripped in 1913 due to technical breaches of an unclear amateur code—he had previously been paid for playing baseball. Nevertheless, the IOC should be commended for its course reversal, albeit one that occurred decades later. The decision to give Thorpe's medals to his daughter highlighted a change in the strict interpretation of amateurism to a broader understanding that eventually permitted the “barbarous, paid professionals” of the lower classes to compete on equal grounds.

The essential element of JTSD as an example of Improvised MSD is that, unlike the traditional orientation of MSD, where military athletes represent their nation or service against other countries, the military athletes in JTSD compete under the school banner and play *with* foreign soldiers. Each year, approximately 100 foreign officers compete in JTSD, representing their respective War Colleges. The five War Colleges that routinely attend the event include the Army War College, Air War College, Naval War College, National Defense University, and the Eisenhower School of National Security. The remainder of this chapter explores the event using the global diplomacy framework.

5.3.1 Communication

In Improvised MSD, soldiers from different countries signal that, through continuous play with one another and independent of ability, foreign militaries can build relationships that will continue beyond the confines of the playing fields.

In March 1945, *The Stars and Stripes* published an article highlighting an insignificant boxing match between American and British soldiers that occurred “somewhere in England.” General Doolittle, the famous aviator who led the retaliatory raid on Tokyo after Pearl Harbor, visited a small post to award American and British servicemembers medals. In congratulating the boxers, General Doolittle “said a few words, brief and to the point.” The

efforts of the British and American servicemembers in the ring exemplified “the same fighting spirit and sense of humour that is whipping the axis.”³⁴⁴

It is fascinating that General Doolittle connected sports with a fighting spirit *and* a sense of humour. Although the General’s observation may have been an off-hand comment, a review of sports and military archives reveals a consistent tendency to highlight the ridiculous—whether through abilities or the discrepancy between combat and play. This tendency highlights an essential component of Improvised MSD, specifically, that the games are more about the ambience or character of play rather than the results or level of competition. Does the messaging attract others in an appealing manner? Does the message persuade those who may otherwise remain on the sidelines to play? This thesis argues that, through consistent messaging and a sense of humility and humour, the leadership of Jim Thorpe Sports Days found an effective formula to attract a unique military audience.

In 1980, the opening speech of the JTSD was made by Major General Dewitt C. Smith, then the commandant of the Army War College. In his comments, Smith noted how the event had occurred for quite some time and, although seemingly lighthearted, was also a “very serious occasion.”³⁴⁵ Smith also noted that 1980 was the first time the event was named after Jim Thorpe. In honour of the event’s namesake, the organisers asked that Jim Thorpe’s son and daughter be the guests of honour during the event. The commandant then gently jested the commanders of the other schools, who he said were exceedingly skilful in golf but downplayed their ability to gain a competitive advantage. Smith said he was reminded of the importance of winning by then Chief of Staff of the Army, General Shy Meyer, who told him that if the Army War College lost, he would retire on the wings of a court-martial. Before closing, he gave the following commander’s intent of the games:

This is an occasion for all of us to have fun, and we genuinely hope you will—you, the competitors, your families, everyone here. That’s why we’re gathered. We’re

³⁴⁴ Mark Fannon, ‘General Doolittle Presents 8th A.A.F Boxing Awards’, *Stars and Stripes March 1945*, 9 August 2023, sec. 526.08, Air Force Historical Research Agency.

³⁴⁵ D.C. Smith, ‘1980 JTSD Maj General Smith Opening Ceremony Comments’, 3 May 1980, US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

also gathered for one other purpose, and that has something to do with what most of you do, either in a direct or supportive or intergovernmental sense. Where the air gets cold, or where the water gets rough, or where the land gets sort of spare, that's where most of you do your work. It's a special kind of work requiring a special kind of commitment and dedication, a special kind of understanding of what it is that makes this a very great marvellous country. To do that kind of work, to hang in there where others aren't, to put your foot forward where there aren't any other people to stay there requires a closeness, a fraternity which stretches across the army, the navy and the air force and the marine corps and the coast guard and those civilian officials who work with us and over us. It requires a special leaguing together, a fraternal sense of uniqueness and it's that too today that we're trying to underscore and underline. And so, while we compete, we really are thinking in a larger sense of brotherhood and hope you'll feel that too.³⁴⁶

Since the event's inception, a recognisable pattern in the messaging has emerged. Leadership begins by setting a tone of respect, acknowledging the contributions of Jim Thorpe and the Native American heritage of the land on which the event takes place. Next, the leaders remind the diverse senior military students to approach the event with a blend of charity and a fiercely competitive spirit. Somewhere in between, the leadership humorously reminds the athletes that they are competing past their prime—most are over 40—but are still expected to win on behalf of their school. Finally, the leaders conclude by emphasising the importance of teamwork and camaraderie between services and nations, where partnerships are increasingly vital in a dangerous world.³⁴⁷

Four years after General Smith's remarks, the Air War College commandant, Major General Paul Hodges, circulated a fictitious operational order, OPORD #1-84, to his students in response to an invitation to the JTSD from the Army War College commandant, Major

³⁴⁶ Smith.

³⁴⁷ Smith, '1980 JTSD Maj General Smith Opening Ceremony Comments'.

General Thomas Healey.³⁴⁸ As part of "Task Force Falcon," the Air War College disseminated the following document to its students.

Figure 10 1984 Air War College OPORD

UNCLASSIFIED

Copy 1 of 6 copies
Air War College
Maxwell AFB AL
231330 Apr 1984

OPORD 1-84

Reference: Letter of invitation from MG Healy, dtd 11 Jan 84; Map, Carlisle Barracks; Map, motel and restaurant

Time Zone Used Throughout the Order: Local

Task Organization:

Task Force Falcon
AWC Students (149)
AWC Faculty (8)

1. SITUATION

a. Enemy Forces. Selected elements from the Army War College, Navy War College, National War College and ICAF will be encountered. A small token force from IADC will be present but not competitive. Strongest resistance is expected from the Army. Heavy covert activity in the form of scouting can be expected at all events.

b. Friendly Forces. AWC will be operating independently. No other friendly forces are expected in the area. Reinforcements from the Air University can not arrive prior to 291200 Apr.

2. MISSION

AWC Class of '84 conducts a no-quarter attack commencing 270800 Apr and terminating approximately 281630 Apr; Jim Thorpe (Commandant's) Trophy is to be secured and returned to Maxwell AFB.

3. EXECUTION

a. Concept of Operation. Task Force Falcon will airlift to objective area on afternoon of 25 Apr. Staging areas will be on Carlisle Barracks and local motels. Team practices will be conducted on 26 Apr following the Air-Land Symposium. Unarmed conflict will begin at 0800 hrs 27 Apr and stop at approximately 1630 hrs 28 Apr. The Commandant's Cup will be received on night of 28 Apr and returned to Maxwell AFB on 29 Apr.

b. Movement. Military airlift has been approved. Aircraft will be C-141 in P-1 configuration (airline seats) with no comfort pallet. Departure and arrival points at Maxwell AFB will be base operations. Harrisburg airport will use the ANG ramp. Students and faculty will depart AWC at 1300 hrs via bus to base operations. Baggage must be at AWC NLT 0930 for transport to base operations to be palletized. Flight Schedule is as indicated below:

Depart Maxwell AFB	251400 Apr (CST)
Arrive Harrisburg	251650 Apr (EST)
Depart Harrisburg	291200 Apr (EDT)
Arrive Maxwell AFB	291300 Apr (CDT)

³⁴⁸ The invitation from the Army War College states that the 1984 JTSD was the 12th year of the event, although various names and structures existed previously.

c. Quarters. TF Falcon will be divided between facilities on and off post. On post include host families, guest house and post dorm. Best Western and Holiday Inn are the only local motels used by the TF.

d. Air-Land Symposium. Will be conducted on morning of 26 Apr.

e. Jim Thorpe Sports Day. Round-Robin competition in twelve sports on 27 and 28 Apr (schedule enclosed). Primary threat is Army on morning of 28 Apr.

f. Social. Events are planned each night at the Officers Club (schedule enclosed).

g. Uniform. Travel to and from via military airlift is Class B. There is no requirement for Class A or civilian coat and tie. All socials are casual.

SERVICE SUPPORT

a. General. Welcome Center will be located in Post Chapel and will function as administrative center.

b. Post Facilities. See enclosed list.

c. Transportation. Buses will run between Carlisle Barracks, motels, and off-post sports competition.

d. Class I. Officers Club will be open for all meals.

e. Class VI. Consumption by athletes should be held to a minimum and monitored by the respective coaches. Conversely, friendly forces are encouraged to purchase and entice Class VI spirits for opposing forces. This act will not be considered as fraternizing with the enemy.

COMMAND AND SIGNAL

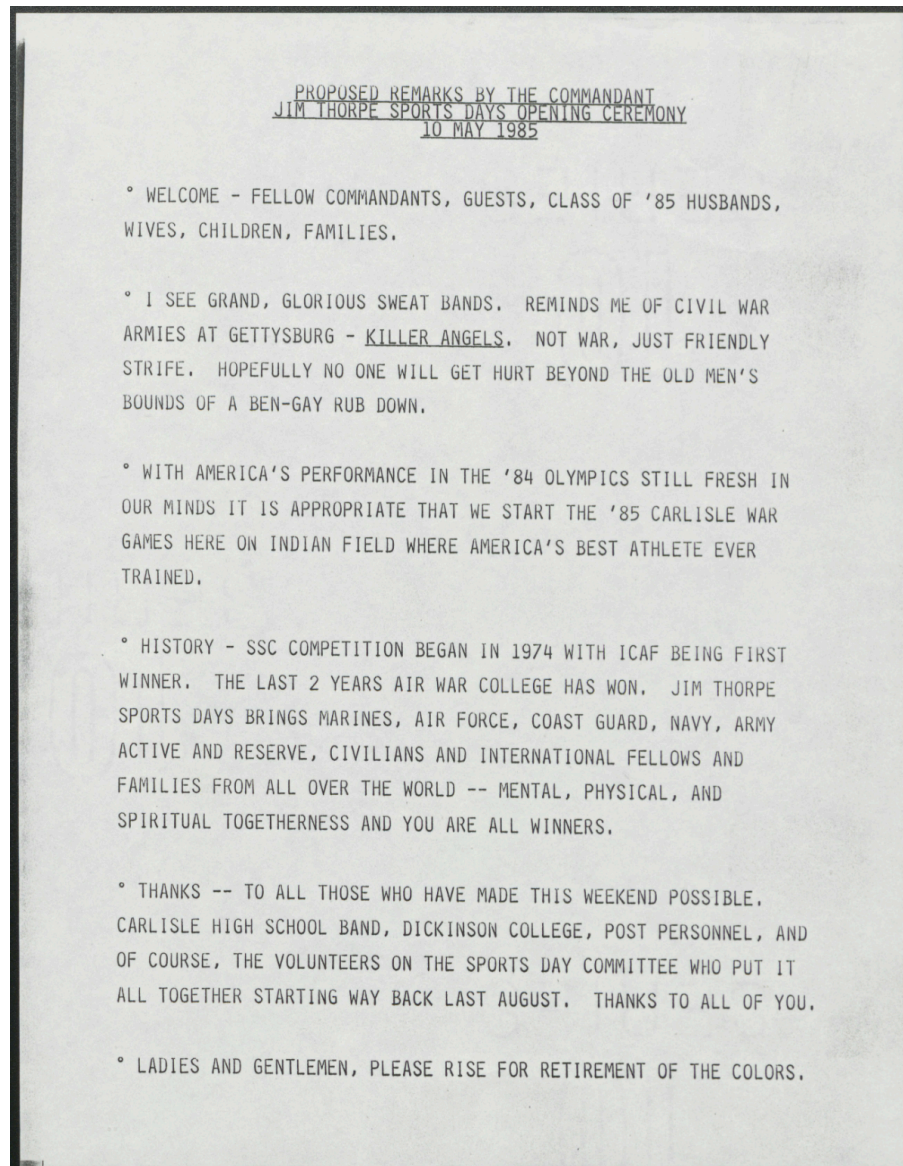
This paragraph is not used since it is impossible to command, direct, suggest, intimidate, or coerce 157 Air War College colonels.

The document identifies the enemy forces as the competing Senior War Colleges, with the Army being the greatest threat to the Air War College. The OPORD then outlines the transportation, uniforms, and expectations of winning, concluding that, although alcohol consumption should be minimised and monitored by respective coaches, friendly forces are encouraged to mingle with opposing forces. The final section acknowledges that despite the formal tone of the OPORD, it is "impossible to command, direct, suggest, intimidate, or coerce 157 Air War College colonels." The leadership realised that the JTSD was unlike other military obligations. As an example of Improvised MSD, student participation was non-compulsory. The humorous yet grave tone of the OPORD cannot help but attract the military audience.

The remarks by the Army War College Commandant in 1985 were more concise. Still, one can quickly identify each item mentioned in previous speeches—a nod to Jim Thorpe, the

similarities between sports and war, the importance of competition, and a commitment to building relationships.³⁴⁹

Figure 11 Proposed Opening Remarks from the Army Commandant, 1985



In the 1992 welcome address to the JTSD, the commandant first welcomed the attending war colleges, including the Air War College, the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and the newly created Marine Corps War College. He then humorously

³⁴⁹ 'JTSD Commandant Opening Remarks - 1985', 10 May 1985, US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

mentioned the absence of the Naval War College, which is likely “somewhere at sea.” After acknowledging the history of Jim Thorpe, the commandant ends with the following:³⁵⁰

Finally, let me briefly reemphasize the purpose of this event. The goal is to use the games as not only an opportunity to demonstrate the athletic skills and physical prowess accumulated in the more or less 40-year-old bodies assembled here, but to initiate and renew acquaintances that will continue both professionally and personally in the years to come. Take the time to meet each other, to share the experiences of the past academic year and the years that preceded it. We look forward to watching the competition and getting to know as many of you as we can. Let the Games Begin.

In 2001, the Army War College took an even more drastic and comedic approach to generating interest in the JTSD. The Army War College’s enlisted and officer leadership performed a “Hans, Franz, and Ivans” skit in an elaborately scripted sketch. The act was modelled after the Saturday Night Live comedy sketch where comedians Dana Carvey and Kevin Nealon posed as muscle-bound Austrian bodybuilders (in the mold of Arnold Schwarzenegger). Even the commandant, Major General Robert Ivany, was part of the sketch in 2001. Through the following humorous conversation, the leadership relayed that the event could only occur through the student’s participation.

Hans: Over 500 athletes (will gather), enemy colleges sending only girly-man athletes.

Frans: Ya, so Army must win all the big trophies and the little tiny medals.

Hans: Two socials, fun for whole family.

Frans: Ya, massive quantities of beer at socials.

³⁵⁰ ‘JTSD Opening Remarks - 1992’, n.d., US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

Hans: You know, only way we break even is through T-Shirts and socials.

Frans: Ya, dat means...we need your money.

Hans: So, here's da schedule. When the enemy arrive, you'll know what to do.

Frans – Ya, grab them by the nose and kick their girly-man butt.

Hans – Friday, Noon, Opening Ceremony, you don't want to miss.

Frans – Ya, dat means you have to go.

Hans and Franz then introduce "Ivans," played by the commandant, General Ivany. The script writer recommended that General Ivany include the following points to "pump up" the crowd:

Here's a few ideas: "After 26 years of hosting Jim Thorpe Sports Days, the Army has lost only twice. Believe me, you don't want to come back here if you lose. This will be a great time to see friends from other schools and engage in healthy and professional competition in the spirit of Jim Thorpe. The sport events and social events are great for the whole family. Above all, I want you to be great hosts, play hard and WIN."

The reason for including past scripts is to highlight the leadership's intentionality in creating an environment that is competitive, inclusive, and attractive, one where participants want to play but, more importantly, play the right way. One should note that in military environments, attempting such humour can be risky, especially in front of a distinguished, senior audience like those attending the Air War College. Should the attempt at humour fall flat, senior military leadership may appear foolish or shallow. And yet, time and time again, the organisers of JTSD appear to strike the right balance. Interestingly, in contrast to the previous messages, the comedy sketch was delivered thirty-six days before the event, giving

ample opportunity for the Army War College to fundraise and train intentionally. Although humorous, the following two slides drove home the message that was relayed by Hans, Frans, and Ivans in 2001³⁵¹

Figure 12 2001 Primary Objectives of JTSD



In April 2023, the researcher attended the JTSD in person. As with previous speeches, humour was mixed with more serious themes. A mascot ran out on stage, and the leadership concluded that the intent was “to win” before breaking down what that meant for the more “simple-minded” Marine Corps audience. The final comment was that, although the event was competitive, building relationships was the primary goal of JTSD. The students should have fun by engaging in sports that allow them to connect with international officers and old friends.

Chapter 4 referenced Mary Kaldor’s arguments for a global conscience that protects all nations rather than merely advancing one’s own nationalist goals, often at the cost of civilians. Ultimately, the message of Improvised MSD reminds the participants they are part of a community—the profession of arms.

³⁵¹ ‘2001: Schedule and Intent’, n.d., US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

“We versus Me”

To understand the outward, community-focused approach in MSD's messaging, it is helpful to reference the work of Austrian psychotherapist Alfred Adler in the early 20th century. Whereas other psychotherapists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries focused solely on the individual, Adlerian psychology argued that social problems arise from pursuing personal goals at the expense of others. One must look beyond the individual and to their position or role amongst the team. Individuals often learn that to succeed, one must “achieve! arise! conquer!”³⁵² —An orientation that values winning against those who may stand in our way. Adler argued that individuals are routinely guided into these channels of behaviour through social pressures that lead to roles for which they are not suited. In turn, “lives become overly complicated, relationships are robbed of candour, they become surfeited with fallacies and prejudices, in the face of which hope of happiness vanishes.”³⁵³

In response, he encouraged individuals to emphasise cooperation over competition: “When we speak of virtue we mean that a person plays his part; when we speak of vice we mean that he interferes with co-operation.”³⁵⁴ The individuals who compete in JTSD ideally focus less on themselves and more on others, fostering an atmosphere where cooperation flourishes. JTSD acknowledges the role of competition but attempts to mitigate the tendency to extremes through humorous reminders of the student’s age and ability. The leaders and coaches consistently remind the students that the objective of the games is to foster camaraderie among the different services and nations. In Adlerian terms, “the individual's proper development can only progress if he lives and strives as a part of the whole.”³⁵⁵

³⁵² Alfred Adler, *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler: A Systematic Presentation in Selections from His Writings*, ed. Heinz Ludwig Ansbacher, First Harper torchbook edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 103.

³⁵³ Alfred Adler and W. Béran Wolfe, *Understanding Human Nature* (New York: Fawcett Premier Books, 1957), 120–22.

³⁵⁴ Alfred Adler, *Social Interest: A Challenge to Mankind*, vol. translated by John Linton and Richard Vaughn (24 Russell Square London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1948), 283.

³⁵⁵ Adler, translated by John Linton and Richard Vaughn:282.

In light of the above review of communication in Improvised MSD, the following section examines *Representation*—how the JTSD organisers structure the games to temper the athletes' natural tendencies to conquer through competition rather than foster relationships through cooperation.

5.3.2 Representation

This section explores how the structure of Improvised MSD either supports or detracts from the intended message. Rather than representing their nation (or themselves) and pursuing a decisive victory that brings glory to their side, the actors in Improvised MSD represent the globally recognised profession of arms. The JTSD supports the message of cooperation by structuring the engagements to occur not only during the sanctioned matches but also before and after the matches.

When analysing the structure of Improvised MSD, some may argue this section makes *much ado about nothing*. “Sports are not a big deal!” Or worse, sports detract from more serious pursuits in the military. Regardless of one's stance, sports have become an integral part of the profession of arms, where diplomatic engagements occur through intentionally structured interactions recognised by all participants. Even in the case of mob ball during the Christmas Day truce of 1914, the soldiers from England and Germany understood that one must kick and not throw the ball towards a goal. To understand the structure and role of sports within Officer PME, it is helpful to look at the reasons and background for including foreign exchange officers.

In 1881, the commanding general of the US Army, William T. Sherman, directed the establishment of the US Army Command and General Staff School in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas – the intermediate level of professional military education (PME) for officers. Thirteen years later, in 1894, the first international officer, a Swiss officer named Henri

LeComte, attended the school.³⁵⁶ Since 1894, the role of international officers (IO) attending the intermediate and senior level PME has significantly increased.

Today, any class of students attending intermediate or senior officer PME includes 10-20% international fellows.³⁵⁷ One study completed in 1994 analysed the role of international officers in the US Army Command and Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, noting that since 1881, 5,598 international officers had graduated from the program, representing 122 countries. Roughly one-third of these graduates became general officers in their resident countries, and, at the time, 164 graduates from forty-seven countries had become their country's top military officer. Additionally, twenty-three international graduates from fifteen countries had become the head of their state. When explaining the importance of their "Leavenworth year," the author included the significance of the annual, end-of-year International Officer-American Officer soccer match; an event that the American students have "actually won, on occasion."³⁵⁸

An important part of the international officers' experience while in the United States is a program mandated by the US Department of Defense called the "Field Studies Program." The program states that including international fellows reinforces the premise that "democracy, respect for human rights, peace, and equitable economic growth depend primarily on cooperation of people and governments."³⁵⁹ The instruction requires the various Officer PME institutes to develop syllabi that inform the international fellows on the "Diversity of American life," defined as follows:

How the United States fosters political, economic, and social pluralism; the geographic, religious, and social diversity of American life; progress in applying American ideals to ethnic minorities and women, including how they address

³⁵⁶ John Reichley, *International Officers: A Century of Participation at the United States Army Command and General Staff College* (United States Army Heritage and Education Center: US Army Military History Institute, 1994), 1.

³⁵⁷ Carol L. Atkinson, *Military Soft Power: Public Diplomacy through Military Educational Exchanges* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

³⁵⁸ Reichley, *International Officers: A Century of Participation at the United States Army Command and General Staff College*, 32–36.

³⁵⁹ Ryan Henry, 'DoD Instruction 5410.17 Field Studies Program - US PME' (Department of Defence, 15 September 2006), 2, <https://www.esd.whs.mil/Portals/54/Documents/DD/issuances/dodi/541017p.pdf>.

genderbased violence. How American families live and work in cities, towns, and rural areas; how Americans function in communities, worship, work together in organizations, and participate in and support cultural and historical events; the role of volunteerism in American life.³⁶⁰

Notably, the Department of Defence does not dictate how the staff or war colleges must organise the field studies program. Examples from intermediate and senior PME institutions include field trips nationwide, electives on American culture, and attendance at local sporting matches. The international officers who travel to the United States often accomplish parts of their field studies during the two months before the official start of their ten-month course. This thesis argues that Improvised MSD and the JTSD directly support the Field Studies Program by exposing international officers to various aspects of American culture, namely the sporting culture in America.

In addition to the Field Studies Program, the Officer Professional Military Education Policy (OPMEP), published by the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, outlines the requirements of US Staff and War Colleges. Aligned with Libel's fourth phase of PME (PME as a system), the instruction ensures standardisation between the various institutions. Officer education must demonstrate effective outcomes-based learning in various areas to maintain accreditation. One outcome, *Joint Learning Area Six*, states that graduates of PME should be able to "creatively apply U.S., allied, and partner military power to conduct globally integrated, all-domain operations and campaigns." Furthermore, the officer's actions must be "consistent with law, ethics and the shared values of the profession of arms."³⁶¹ In addition to the outcomes-based learning areas, common education standards are expected of the various staff and war colleges. Academic experiences should promote student engagement with fellow students and faculty to ascertain diverse perspectives through active learning.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Henry, 4.

³⁶¹ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 'CJCSI 1800.01F, Officer Professional Military Education Policy', (Department of Defence, 15 May 2020), app. A, <https://www.jcs.mil/Doctrine/Joint-Education/>.

³⁶² Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, app. C.

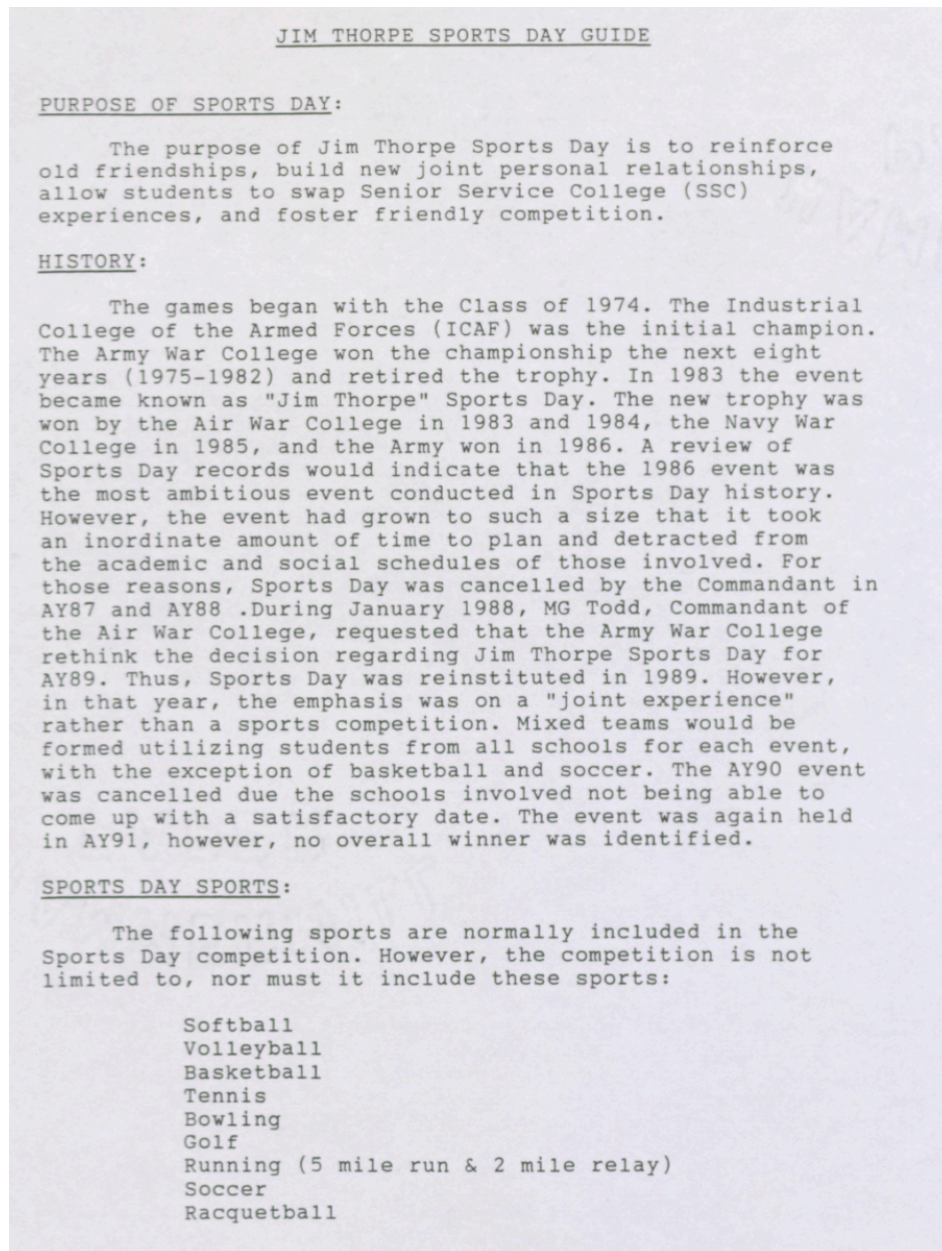
The structure of JTSD is a positive example of Improvised MSD that supports the institutional goals of PME. However, one must ask why these distinguished officers must be challenged in diverse thought when they have already proven themselves in their craft. As the previous section highlighted, Alfred Adler argued that all humans are driven by self-interest. This drive is instinctive but also reinforced through our social institutions. The officers selected to attend the war colleges have proven adept at rising up, achieving, and conquering, whether in combat or their professional lives. As a result, while the schools may ask the officer-students to engage with others, many will naturally gravitate to like-minded peers who share a language, service orientation, or occupational expertise, thereby reinforcing rather than challenging their beliefs.

To combat this tendency, the structure of JTSD forces players not to play for themselves, their countries, or their service, but for their schools. In addition to mixing the athletes, the focus on their schools affords a wide range of athletic abilities. Most students competing in JTSD are past their prime, forcing them to question their motivation. Will the sports make them look good in front of peers, commanders, or faculty? Probably not. Thus, the structure of the Improvised MSD can disrupt extreme allegiances that may present an obstacle to one's personal growth. The allegiance to one's school, however, can also be problematic.

The previous section discussed how JTSD's structure follows an established, successful pattern from year to year. Yet, the opening page of the 1992 guide provides a rare glimpse into the fragility of the games.³⁶³ The following excerpts explain how the games were created in the early 1970s but had become overly competitive by 1986. As a result, the commandant of the Army War College cancelled the games in 1987 and 1988. At the request of the Air War College, the Army War College re-instituted the games while planning to institute a different structure in 1989 that mixed students between the schools (rather than representing one's school). Yet, by the time the guide was published in 1992, the games had returned to their original structure of school representation: Army War College versus Air War College, etc.

³⁶³ '1992 JTSD Guide', n.d., 2, US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

Figure 13 JTSD Guide 1992



This thesis argues that mixing the students within the schools did not stick because the event lost its representative nature. As a bottom-up example of MSD, the student-athletes cannot be forced to play. To facilitate engagement, the event coordinators pit schools against one another, albeit lightheartedly. Furthermore, the students and faculty within the respective war colleges engage with one another in the months leading up to the event, forming teams that practice weekly. The 1992 guide alludes to the event as a “culmination

of the individual and team physical fitness programs.”³⁶⁴ The element of competition between schools breeds interest in the event.

Although it is impossible and beyond the scope of this study to ascertain the nature of training for every staff or war college, the 1992 guide provides the following recommendations for each of the competing colleges:³⁶⁵

1. Organise and select the best teams possible by using a format that actively solicits participation by all students, i.e, ensure try-outs are open to all students.
2. Prepare the teams by conducting practices, inter squad competitions, playing in organised leagues, or any other method that works.
3. Place strong emphasis on safety and proper conditioning to reduce injuries.
4. While winning is important, our emphasis must be on teamwork and good sportsmanship. It's nice to win, but it's not that important.
5. If uniforms are normally worn while playing a particular sport, encourage the team members to go that route. While it isn't necessary, it adds to the aura and team concept.

The 1992 JTSD Guide is useful as it acknowledges the tendencies towards extreme competition (even in the bottom-up orientation) while expressing optimism for cooperation and inclusion. When discussing logistics, the document notes that the Army War College serves as the permanent host for the event. Although the Air War College expressed interest in hosting, the distance was too significant for the other war colleges in the District of Columbia. Additionally, while the National War College was interested and situated in the centre of Washington D.C., it lacked the necessary facilities, and lodging off-post would be prohibitively expensive. Consequently, the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, remained the most sensible choice. The document then adopts a personal tone: “For most of us, it (JTSD) may be our last real chance to participate competitively in some of the sports such as basketball, soccer, etc., considering our age, busy schedules, family commitments,

³⁶⁴ ‘1992 JTSD Guide’, 2–3.

³⁶⁵ ‘1992 JTSD Guide’, 8.

and old bodies.”³⁶⁶ The JTSD serves as an excellent example of Improvised MSD as it refocuses the modern, ultra-tech-oriented profession of arms on the human domain and, specifically, the elements of humility and humour that unite military members.

Interestingly, the guide swiftly transitions to the sports typically included in the JTSD schedule. This rapid shift highlights an aspect of Improvised MSD that may be overlooked—the limited time available to reach a consensus on every possible decision. Whether in PoW camps or the myriad other environments where Improvised MSD takes place, someone must determine the sports to be played and, if necessary, any deviations from the norm. As the hosts of the games, the Army War College dictates the structure of the events and, over the years, the civilian staff at the Army War College have ensured continuity in the logistics. When listing the sports in 1992, the coordinators acknowledged the internationally established rules of various sports, followed by any deviations. The following are two examples from the 1992 guide:

Basketball: Competitions will be in accordance with the National Federation of State High School Association.

Soccer: FIFA rules apply except games will consist of two 30-minute halves, a 10-minute halftime and unlimited substitution is allowed as controlled by the referee.

The guide concludes that the “rules for competition may not be changed. Rulings, clarifications, and explanations will be by the committee of the Sports Day Chairpersons, U.S. Army War College Chairperson presiding.”³⁶⁷ While some rules may be challenged, the structure is intended to foster a cooperative environment where the goal is not to win but to establish lasting bonds with other services and nations.

During the author’s conversations with numerous students across various war colleges, one aspect that emerged was the emphasis on softball throughout the year. Upon the students’

³⁶⁶ ‘1992 JTSD Guide’, 4.

³⁶⁷ ‘1992 JTSD Guide’, 8.

arrival at the war college, the staff explained that baseball and softball are American pastimes and encouraged the students to view it as an opportunity to exercise while experiencing American culture. To learn the game, all students played with their assigned seminar at 1400 each Thursday. Notably, each seminar included a diverse mix of military expertise, services, and nationalities, reinforcing the idea that the students play alongside rather than merely against one another. Frequently, the students brought their families to the events and barbecued with participants from other seminars. In the early sessions, American students who had played baseball in their youth provided coaching and instruction for American-style softball. Despite their recent introduction to the game, international students reported that it was common for non-Americans to become quite adept at softball over the ten-month course, leading to significant representation in the JTSD.

Incorporating softball into American PME is significant because Improvised MSD does not minimise cultural attributes. Just as international officers played baseball in America, American officers should engage in rugby, cricket, or any other “non-American” sports when asked during their visits to foreign countries.

Continuation of Play

A key aspect of Improvised MSD is that the structure supports the continuation of play rather than results or viewership. In this vein, the JTSD is not solely based on the three-day event, but also encompasses the months leading up to the event and the interactions outside of the sanctioned matches. Soon after the academic year begins, a fellow student or seasoned professor typically organises an informal practice for the respective sports that will be included in the JTSD competitions. All students are encouraged to attend one of the practices, independent of ability. The practice allows seminar students to mix and play with one another in the months leading up to the JTSD. In turn, the student-athletes improve in a sport while building a network outside the classroom.

Once the student-athletes arrive at the JTSD, they will likely compete for their team in some capacity. If they are not selected or choose not to play, they are still encouraged to join the

team, travel to the event, and be part of something greater than themselves. In one conversation, the coach of a war college tennis team reinforced the idea that bonding occurred well before the competition. In one instance, two international fellows from traditionally adversarial countries played as doubles partners in training and within the JTSD. Furthermore, the tennis coach mentioned that the coaches of all the teams emphasised that training was not mandatory; students could come and go as they pleased throughout the year. Ironically, the coach highlighted that the choice to make training optional attracted more students. She believed this was because some could be put off by yet another compulsory event in their busy schedules.

Finally, during JTSD, each day concludes with social activities for the officers and their families, including live music, food, and alcohol, as well as the participating athletes reuniting with their teammates and competitors. In JTSD, the commanders may dictate the games' intent, but the students are entrusted to play appropriately—in a manner that reinforces selfless attributes within the profession of arms. To achieve this, the players must navigate the occasionally murky distinction between cooperation and competition, order and chaos, and virtue and vice. Nevertheless, the athletes do so quite well. The preceding discussion examined the structure of JTSD as an example of Improvised MSD. The following section explores the element of negotiation.

5.3.3 Negotiation

In Improvised MSD, the athletes are often asked to police themselves, thus reducing the tendency towards extreme competition. This form of negotiation occurs in numerous ways during the JTSD.

The data in this section was collected while the researcher observed the 2023 Jim Thorpe Sports Days (JTSD). The researcher chose an ethnographic approach because “how people construct and make meaning of their worlds and their lives is highly variable and locally specific.”³⁶⁸ When one considers the role of observation in support of historical work, the

³⁶⁸ Margaret Diane LeCompte and Jean J. Schensul, *Designing & Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction*, 2nd ed, The Ethnographer's Toolkit 1 (Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, 2010), 16.

contributions of French aristocrat and diplomat Alexis de Tocqueville provide a worthy model. In 1831, Tocqueville wrote about the nature of the American democratic system. He could easily have read the US Constitution and written about American democracy in abstract terms. Yet, he chose to immerse himself in the realities of American life. Only through direct observation could Tocqueville write about the unique interplay between democracy and society. In *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville contended that his work sought to portray “the influence which the equality of conditions and democratic government in America exercised on civil society, on habits, ideas and customs.”³⁶⁹ In doing so, he humbly stated that his goal was not to “mould facts to ideas” but rather to conform “ideas to facts.”³⁷⁰ Similarly, this study intends to support facts with ideas rather than fall into the trap of finding and manipulating facts to support one’s beliefs.

As with Tocqueville’s work, this section argues that observation in Improvised MSD adds depth to the archival work. Still, while at the event, the researcher remained cognizant of positionality, recognising the “structural relationship between the ethnographer and the people under study and the way those relationships are perceived and reflected by both.”³⁷¹ The researcher did not actively manipulate variables but observed from a distance, with occasional interactions that occur naturally during any sporting event. Finally, the researcher decided to preserve the anonymity of participants as their data would add minimal value to the study.³⁷²

Based on the researcher’s observations during JTSD, two themes emerged. The first is the element of democratisation, and the second is the value of indirect experience. Both themes have a long history that will be explored in the remainder of this section.

³⁶⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, First (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), 15.

³⁷⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, 16.

³⁷¹ Stephen L. Schensul, Jean J. Schensul, and Margaret Diane LeCompte, *Initiating Ethnographic Research: A Mixed Methods Approach*, Ethnographer’s Toolkit 2 (Lanham: AltaMira Press, a division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2013), 34.

³⁷² As senior military members, most are understandably hesitant to go on record.

Democratisation

Before the 20th century, the officer corps of most national militaries was drawn from nobility. The old narrative is that leaders are born, and those of lesser station should naturally follow. In Great Britain, even after the abolition of purchasing rank in the late 19th century, the British military maintained a belief in innate leadership for decades.³⁷³

A defensive rationale for privilege or discrimination was that the public schools produced the ideal officer, who radiated self-confidence and took a courteous, if paternalistic, interest in his men. He was a sportsman rather than an intellectual, and field sports, the hunt, and stalking and shooting were assumed to be the qualities most needed by an officer. Officers were thus still believed to be "born" and not made. The troops, coming from a vastly inferior socio-economic class, took it for granted that such men were their natural leaders who knew very much more than they did.³⁷⁴

What is equally fascinating is that those under the command of the "highborn" generally accepted the arrangement without question. In *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence*, author Norman Dixon proposes three reasons for committed followership. First, in combat environments, one tends to "clutch at straws"—young soldiers make the best of a situation, knowing they have no choice in their leadership. The second is invisibility. In the traditional command structure, those who carry out the orders have minimal contact with those who give the orders. Dixon posits that a third reason was the perception of superiority through education, experience, or birth, which was sufficient rationale for the subordinate troops to carry out orders unquestioningly.³⁷⁵

As discussed in Chapter 4, the indirect approach is not as concerned with winning as it is with influencing across a competition continuum that includes cooperation, operations

³⁷³ Public Schools in Great Britain are the equivalent of Private Schools in America because they are paid for by the public. State Schools in Great Britain are the equivalent of Public Schools in America.

³⁷⁴ Preston, 'Perspectives in the History of Military Education and Professionalism', 219.

³⁷⁵ Norman F. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (London: J. Cape, 1976), 218–22.

below armed combat, and armed conflict. The indirect approach acknowledges that exchanges between the traditionally separate echelons of command occur frequently. Lower ranks understandably ask why when they are placed in harm's way, be it during medical support missions in Haiti or taking a hill during counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan. As a result, the profession of arms has experienced a shift in how one approaches command: "Command by domination has long given way in significant degree to command by consent."³⁷⁶ Effective leadership centres on influence rather than coercion.

Democratisation has also led to changes in the recruitment and makeup of the profession of arms, which, for the officer and enlisted corps, "no longer targets a narrow, relatively high-status social base but a broader, lower-status, and more representative social base."³⁷⁷ As a reflection of this trend in today's military, it is common for the enlisted forces to have bachelor's, master's, or even doctoral degrees. Whereas the traditional soldier's prestige originated from family and wealth, respect in the modern profession of arms is more nuanced and layered. "Every professional soldier, like every businessman or government official, must represent his establishment and work to enhance the prestige of the professional military. --- objective control gives way to subjective identity."³⁷⁸ Because of the flattening between ranks, the "invisibility" of command has decreased significantly.

The second theme involves sports as a means for indirect experience—the ability to practice methods of influence in the modern military outside combat. In the early and mid-20th century, Liddell Hart wrote extensively on the importance of indirect experience within the profession of arms. Whereas direct experience is inherently limited and often hardens the structure of thought, the value of indirect experience "lies in its greater variety and extent."³⁷⁹ In 1931, in a review of the short history of the British Army Sports Control Board, General C.H. Harrington recognised the value of sport in exercising leadership.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Hackett, *The Profession of Arms*, 199.

³⁷⁷ Morris Janowitz and James Burk, *On Social Organization and Social Control*, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago London: University of Chicago press, 1991), 105.

³⁷⁸ Janowitz and Burk, 106.

³⁷⁹ Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *Why Don't We Learn from History?*, Revised and expanded ed. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 8.

³⁸⁰ *Games and Sports in the Army: 1937-38*, 26–27.

The secret of command rests on gaining the trust and affection of all those under their respective commanders. That trust is best gained by working for and with every member of the team. Trust is gained by teamwork.

Although previously mentioned, the British found it vital to consistently remind their servicemembers of the definition of a sportsman. A sportsman:

- 1) Plays the game for the game's sake.
- 2) Plays for his side and not for himself.
- 3) Is a good winner and a good loser, i.e., modest in victory and generous in defeat.
- 4) Accepts all decisions in a proper spirit.
- 5) Is chivalrous towards a defeated opponent.
- 6) Is unselfish and always ready to help others to become proficient.

The British argued that such a mindset in sports transfers to the world of combat leadership. Returning to the JTSD, a particular episode exemplifies the importance of democratisation and indirect experience—one that aligns well with the definition of a sportsman above.

On the last day of the JTSD, two War Colleges played in a soccer match. The officers on both teams were fatigued after two days of continuous sports, yet both sides clearly wanted to win. As the previous section highlighted, standard forty-five-minute halves were reduced to thirty minutes, with unlimited substitutions. As the second half progressed, spectators noticed a large, muscular male athlete on one team becoming increasingly aggressive and agitated after his team fell behind by a goal. While attempting an awkward header, the large male unintentionally pushed over one of the smaller women on the opposing war college team. This same athlete (unaware of his foul) continued to lumber towards the ball while shoving to the ground two more athletes who were helping their teammate back to her feet. Understandably, benches cleared, and players began to assemble in the middle. As an observer, the researcher expected the game to be cancelled. Yet, very rapidly, the aggressive player's foreign and American teammates pulled him to the side and asked him to sit out for the remainder of the match. He did so begrudgingly, and players from both sides shook hands, reminding one another that it was a friendly competition and that

winning ultimately did not matter. Astonishingly, the centre referee never raised his voice nor gave a yellow or red card throughout the incident.

After the match, the researcher spoke with the referee, who said that JTSD was enjoyable but more challenging than the typical civilian match he officiated. Whereas he routinely gave yellow or red cards in civilian matches, in JTSD, he purposefully avoided formal reprimands as it would embarrass the senior military members in front of their peers. A simple reminder always sufficed, after which the players would police themselves, thus reinforcing the concept of Improvised MSD as player-led cooperation. The players were given opportunities to lead in dynamic and potentially volatile environments.

The researcher also observed various, less extreme examples over the three days. Seemingly minor interactions fostered an atmosphere of fair play and goodwill. A sign at the entrance to the volleyball/basketball court stated, “The cost of admission is fair play.” In an instance of self-awareness, the researcher conversed with an athlete who explained that he preferred volleyball over basketball because he tended to play aggressively, which could lead to issues for himself or his team. Finally, while charitable thoughts and actions may have been easy at the start of the games, the commitment to fair play became increasingly challenging as fatigue set in. Nevertheless, during JTSD, the players seemed to recognise this tendency, consistently monitoring and encouraging one another to act with charity towards others.

A vital part of Improvised MSD is the continuation of play. To avoid tendencies towards aggression, practitioners must creatively shift directions when inevitable conflicts arise. A 1988 report highlighted the alarming escalation of a “win-at-all-costs” attitude within the JTSD that the report's author said detracted from the objective of building trust and understanding between services and nations. If the games continued, they needed to return to their cooperative foundations. The author recommended various solutions to temper the overly competitive environment, including reducing the number of competitions or not selecting an overall school winner.³⁸¹ Ultimately, the practitioners found ways to continue

³⁸¹ ‘1988 Information Paper: Critique on JTSD Being Overly Competitive’.

the games through consistent reminders from peers and leaders alike. Author Morris Janowitz described the necessity of such actions in the following excerpt:

The entire process of training and career development places a premium on the ability to curb, or at least repress, the direct exercise of aggression. The cult of manliness and toughness . . . is often a reaction against profound feelings of weakness.³⁸²

JTSD reframes weaknesses or differences as opportunities to promote cooperation and lift others. Ideally, the students share a common goal and structure the events to play with rather than against foreign military students and the other war colleges. The 1992 JTSD Guide concluded that the purpose of the JTSD is to promote “friendly competition between Senior Service Colleges.” To elevate friendship, the students should place a “strong emphasis on conditioning, safety, and good sportsmanship....at our age, some injuries can be tough to recover from! Good Luck!”³⁸³

5.4 Conclusion

Those who champion the role of sports in the profession of arms routinely quote the Duke of Wellington, who purportedly said, “The battle of Waterloo was won here,” while visiting the sports grounds of Eton. More than a century later, a critic of sports in international relations, George Orwell, penned that, while the Battle of Waterloo may have been won at Eton, “all subsequent battles have been lost there.”³⁸⁴ This chapter addresses the often-tenuous relationship between sports, the military, and academia, examining the balance between cooperation and competition.

³⁸² Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*, Free Press trade paperback edition (New York: Free Press, 2017), 223.

³⁸³ ‘1992 JTSD Rules and Protest Procedure’, n.d., US Army Heritage and Education Center, <https://ahec.armywarcollege.edu/visit.cfm>.

³⁸⁴ George Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, Penguin Classics, Penguin Modern Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2018).

The chapter began with the premise that Improvised MSD occurs in many venues, including PoW camps or breaks between combat operations. Despite these varied settings, this chapter highlighted a generalisable character of Improvised MSD as one that values cooperation and building relationships over winning through power imbalances. To further the understanding of the nature of Improvised MSD in the modern profession of arms, this chapter reviewed the four phases in the evolution of officer education. Finally, this chapter explored the role of sports in fostering social interactions among foreign soldiers in a specific setting—the Jim Thorpe Sports Days.

Chapter 4 compared the direct approach to an intersection with traffic lights; the structure is more rigid, resulting in predictable paths. In contrast, the indirect approach resembles a roundabout with built-in flexibility. The configuration can change rapidly to meet the players' needs. Although this thesis focuses on British and American influences, a Nordic event that began in 1950 also exemplifies this aspect of the indirect approach. The event is now called "NOKA Days."

NOKA Days originated as a sporting event among cadets from the Norwegian and Swedish Military Academies in 1950. Denmark joined in 1952, followed by Finland in 1962. Since then, the event has included cadets from all four Nordic Cadet Academies (Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Norway). In the early years, the event included vetted, elite athletes from each academy, representing their nations in track and field, football, orienteering, pistol shooting, and swimming. In the mid-1990s, the organisers decided to incorporate additional military events into the programme, such as an obstacle course and a military pentathlon. The organisers placed obstacles into the 200-metre swimming relay race, giving it a more military character.

In 2004, the academy commandants implemented further changes. Due to rising costs, the number of cadets selected from each academy was reduced from 52 to 40. The organisers also decreased the number of sporting events, and, most importantly, the commandants chose to combine cadets from each nation into mixed sporting teams instead of having them represent their respective nations. They believed this would enhance opportunities for multinational cooperation. Finally, in addition to increasing the military character of the

sporting events and mixing the teams, the organisers incorporated academic seminars during the event. The 2024 event agreement provides the following guidance:³⁸⁵

The responsibilities of the seminars in NOKA are: tactics (host nation), leadership (previous year's host nation), strategy (next year's host nation), ethics/history (host nation two years later).

While this thesis argues that the initial event would be considered as Improvised MSD due to its impromptu nature, the modern NOKA Days combine elements from the Special Event, Enduring, and Improvised categories. It has developed into an ongoing event that supports the parent organisations, thus reflecting its enduring nature. Yet, it uniquely focuses on Nordic countries while proving to be quite adaptable over the years, thereby reflecting Special Event and Improvised MSD. The published intent of NOKA Days is “to increase the friendship between the participating cadets from the Nordic Military Academies and to prepare them for international co-operation.”³⁸⁶ The organisers have shaped the games to meet the diplomatic objectives, while signalling that friendship through sports is a worthwhile endeavour. In the continuum phase of MSD, the NOKA Days underscore the global trend of incorporating sports into PME and how sports can serve as a catalyst for more enduring relationships.

Communication

The message of Improvised MSD is that all players are welcome, independent of ability. Ideally, soldiers will want to play because the games are enjoyable. As a representative case study, the leaders of JTSD use humour to attract the student population. Although they hope their war college will win, they also recognise the student-athletes' ages and the vast range of abilities that temper their ultracompetitive tendencies. The leadership routinely concludes that the event aims to foster old and new friendships in an increasingly dangerous world.

³⁸⁵ Commandants from the four Academies.

³⁸⁶ Commandants from the four Academies.

Representation

The second element, representation, reflects how the structure of Improvised MSD influences outcomes. This section reviewed how, in JTSD, engagements with foreign militaries occur not only during the competition but also before and after the event. Before the events, the faculty works with the students in the respective war colleges to form inclusive teams. During and after the event, the Army War College ensures opportunities to interact with one another in informal settings.

Negotiation

The final element, negotiation, explored how Improvised MSD reflects a bottom-up orientation in which athletes must monitor one another. This section analysed how democratising the modern profession of arms has resulted in changes in soldiers' perceptions of the command structure. Historically, officers were viewed as leaders by birth or class, but contemporary leaders must earn the respect of others through their actions. JTSD, as an example of Improvised MSD, offers indirect experiences outside of combat to practise this form of influence.

Chapter 6: Rehabilitative MSD – The US Warrior Games, British Invictus Games, and CISM Parasport

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 analysed the role of improvised sport in fostering diplomatic relations between foreign militaries. The central argument was that the unstructured, player-driven interactions led to interpersonal bonds that carried beyond sports into operational environments. This chapter focuses on a final category: the evolution of sporting events for injured soldiers in the 20th century.

Various sporting events for injured soldiers emerged in the 21st century. The “Wounded Warrior Project,” an American non-governmental organisation, began in 2003 and incorporated adaptive sports into the recovery programs for injured US service members. Canada’s “Soldier On” was launched in 2006 with positive outcomes. Separately from the US “Wounded Warrior Project,” the US Department of Defence established the “Warrior Games,” while Australia’s military instituted the “Defence Force Sports Program” – both were created in 2010. Yet, in 2014, the British-led “Invictus Games” set records for attendance and participation in events for injured soldiers. Ten years later, in 2024, the British government initiated a £26 million bid through the British Office for Veterans' Affairs to host the 2027 Invictus Games in Birmingham, England. It is a testament to the global nature of the games that the originators must compete to host the event on their own soil.

This chapter examines the rise of international diplomacy through Rehabilitative MSD (R-MSD). Similar to Improvised MSD in the previous chapter, the structure of R-MSD shifts the focus away from winning a campaign (in either sports or combat) to influencing through the competition continuum. Although the players often still don their country’s uniform, in R-MSD, they ultimately play with one another rather than against one another to support a common goal of physical healing and social reintegration.

This chapter is broken into four sections. The first part reviews the major events and individuals who laid the foundation for sports among injured soldiers in the late Victorian

Era and the early and mid-20th century. The structure of the following three sections mirrors that of the previous chapters on Special Events, Enduring, and Improvised MSD by again applying the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation to the chosen case study. First, the event organisers and athletes, through R-MSD, communicate that injured soldiers are respected members of the profession of arms and valued by the society they serve. Second, representation examines how the structure of the sporting events impacts diplomacy among foreign soldiers. Finally, negotiation includes how the injured soldiers and the represented societies interpret their sacrifice.

This chapter applies the global diplomacy framework to the following cases: the US Warrior Games, the British Invictus Games, and the International Military Sports Council's (CISM) Paraspport movement. While the previous chapters focused on a single case, this chapter argues that examining various models provides a more robust understanding of R-MSD. Beginning in 2010, the Warrior Games became an annual American-led effort. From 2010 to 2014, the event was affiliated with the US Olympic Committee and held at the Olympic Training Center in Colorado Springs. Since 2014, the US Department of Defence has organised the event. After Prince Harry attended the Warrior Games in 2013, he remarked that the US games were such a good idea that "it had to be stolen."³⁸⁷ Shortly after visiting America, the Prince led efforts in the United Kingdom to create a more comprehensive event, which he named the Invictus Games. First held in 2014, the Invictus Games invite past and present military athletes with physical or psychological injuries to partake in an international sporting event. Although similar to the US version, the Invictus Games have taken a far more international approach. The third category, CISM's Paraspport, is in the initial stages but aims to fill a gap in the market by including more nations, regardless of friendly relations.

When analysing the nature of MSD, this chapter uses the attributes of the profession of arms that make the military and R-MSD a uniquely human enterprise. The term *profession* was "adopted by 19th and 20th-century social scientists to examine similarities and

³⁸⁷ ABC NEWS, 'Prince Harry Admits to Stealing an American Idea', ABC News, 6 March 2014, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/entertainment/2014/03/prince-harry-admits-to-stealing-an-american-idea>.

differences among characteristics present in human organisations for work—medicine, law, and clergy.”³⁸⁸ Unlike trades that prioritise efficiency or productivity, professions place value on effectiveness. In medicine, the sick wish to be cured, not merely seen; in religion, the sinner seeks salvation; in law, the accused strives for exoneration; and in the military, societies rely on soldiers for protection.³⁸⁹

In 2017, the US National Defence University released an updated version of *The Armed Forces Officer*; the original work was published in 1950. In the text, the respective US Service Branches—Army, Navy, and Air Force—provide inputs on what constitutes the profession of arms in the 21st century. Although written in the United States, the text pulls from various sources and periods, including ancient Greek philosophers and the work of the late Australian-British officer turned academic, General Sir John Hackett. The text offers four attributes that distinguish a profession from a trade, including *ethos*, *expertise*, *corporateness*, and *responsibility*.^{390,391} These attributes are shared within the recognised professions. In the military, the attributes foster an immediate bond among soldiers that transcends nationality and, as this thesis contends, directly influence the nature of R-MSD.

Ethos

The first element, *ethos*, refers to culturally based norms. *Ethos* encompasses the unwritten customs and expected behaviours passed down from one generation to the next within a profession. In R-MSD, the *ethos* involves a shared commitment to the attributes that render the profession of arms a uniquely human enterprise, one that transcends national boundaries. This includes a dedication to serving others despite the known risks to oneself.

³⁸⁸ Richard M. Swain, Albert C. Pierce, and National Defense University Press, *The Armed Forces Officer* (Independently published, 2022), 18.

³⁸⁹ U. S. Army, *The Profession of Arms: An Army White Paper* (Independently published, 2019), 2.

³⁹⁰ Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 1957, 8.

³⁹¹ Swain, Pierce, and Press, *The Armed Forces Officer*, 18.

Expertise

Expertise refers to the specific skills or knowledge acquired through targeted education and relevant experience. While expertise was critical in their previous occupations as active soldiers, this thesis argues that expertise after the injury is (correctly) downplayed in R-MSD to elevate the other three professional attributes.

Corporateness

The third element, corporateness, refers to “a sense of organic unity and consciousness of themselves as a group apart.”³⁹² In contrast to trades that value factors such as salary or other extrinsic benefits, professionals knowingly enter their vocation through “inspirational, intrinsic factors” such as the pursuit of knowledge, the privilege of service, camaraderie, or the membership in an “ancient, honourable, and revered occupation.”³⁹³ In R-MSD, the tendency for extreme patriotism is reduced in favour of solidarity with fellow soldiers who have also been injured while serving in the profession of arms.

Responsibility

Finally, responsibility encompasses the obligation between soldiers and the societies they serve. In R-MSD, service members carried out their duty to protect and defend their nation. During their service, they sustained injuries (not necessarily in combat or of a physical nature), and the nation is now responsible for supporting them. R-MSD reminds the global community of this shared responsibility.

The remainder of this chapter uses these four attributes to examine the evolution and impact of R-MSD on a foreign military audience. Before presenting the case study, the following section reviews the development of rehabilitative practices in Great Britain and the United States throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

³⁹² Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 19. print (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 2002), 10.

³⁹³ Army, *The Profession of Arms*, 2.

6.2 The Rise of Rehabilitative Medicine and Sport

The term “rehabilitative” requires clarification. In the early and mid-20th century, rehabilitation became a “fashionable word” in the military, often referring to innovative methods for quickly returning injured soldiers to the front line.³⁹⁴ By the 1960s, the term was increasingly linked with correcting behaviour, primarily within the criminal or youth population.³⁹⁵ As a departure from merely returning soldiers to the front line or correcting behaviour, this thesis proposes that rehabilitation in R-MSD entails both physical support and re-negotiating the role of the injured soldier within society. Importantly, the soldiers participating in R-MSD are either still in the military or have transitioned to the civilian sector. In either case, their roles have likely undergone drastic changes compared to their previous service. When tracing the origins of modern rehabilitative medicine, it is helpful to begin with the field’s professionalisation during the middle and late Victorian era.

Certain individuals have shifted medical approaches from viewing the human body as a machine with separate components (each treated in isolation) to recognising the interactions within the body as a complex adaptive system, where each component uniquely and unpredictably affects others. Nurse Florence Nightingale played a transformative role in the early stages of this movement. Appalled by the health standards of civilian hospitals in Turkey during the Crimean War (1854), Nightingale recognised that more soldiers were dying from infections than battle wounds. She reduced soldier mortality by improving sanitation, ventilation, handwashing, and clearing backed-up sewers.³⁹⁶ Her innovations and results garnered attention worldwide and led to improvements in civilian society, including the dire state of healthcare in the workhouses of the United Kingdom.

Another step in the evolution of rehabilitative medicine occurred in 1894 when four young British nurses and midwives formed the Society of Trained Masseuses (STM) in response to an article in the *British Medical Journal*. The widely read journal claimed that massage

³⁹⁴ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation*, Cultural History of Modern War (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 79–80.

³⁹⁵ Anderson, 4.

³⁹⁶ Lee Sidney, *Dictionary of National Biography (2nd Supplement): Nightingale, Florence*, vol. 3 (Smith, Elder & Co, 1912), 17, <http://www.archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati23lees>.

parlours were smoke screens for brothels. Although true in some instances, others were legitimate medical practices intending to help the injured or sick.

The Journal was capitalising on two troubling developments in the late 19th century. The first was a public outcry that innocent middle and upper-class women were being lured into prostitution rings by seemingly altruistic massage parlours. The second was the alarming rise of sexually transmitted diseases, particularly syphilis, which were wreaking havoc on the young, fit men who were expected to defend the Pax Britannica.³⁹⁷ As early as 1864, reports indicated that one in three sick soldiers, frequent patrons of London's brothels, suffered from syphilis. By 1894, the effects of this disease were "felt throughout society at a time when Britain was aggressively pursuing its military conquests, fighting insurgencies in the colonies and driving industrialisation in its cities and towns."³⁹⁸

Consequently, the burgeoning massage industry became an easy target. In response to the accusations, the legitimate massage parlours established the Society for Trained Masseuses (STM) and implemented standardised training and examinations for all their members. To further distance themselves from allegations of prostitution, the STM only accepted women as patients, save for exceptional cases. As a result, the massage industry withstood the criticism, and in the years leading up to WWI, the profession gained respect from the society it served.³⁹⁹

The staggering number of returning war-wounded during WWI demanded a more holistic approach to rehabilitative medicine. Massage therapy turned into physiotherapy, becoming an integral component of the injured soldier's recovery.⁴⁰⁰ On the other side of the Atlantic, physical therapy in the United States also became recognised as a legitimate profession during WWI.

³⁹⁷ David A. Nicholls and Julianne Cheek, 'Physiotherapy and the Shadow of Prostitution: The Society of Trained Masseuses and the Massage Scandals of 1894', *Social Science & Medicine* 62, no. 9 (May 2006): 2340, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.09.010>.

³⁹⁸ Nicholls and Cheek, 2341.

³⁹⁹ Joy Higgs, ed., *Contexts of Physiotherapy Practice* (Sydney [u.a]: Elsevier Churchill Livingstone, 2009), 36.

⁴⁰⁰ Higgs, 37.

The First World War marked the start of the profession. Throughout the world, 16 million people were engaged in the battlefield. In 1917, the US entered the war and the need to rehabilitate injured soldiers was recognised by the army. This led to the formation of a special unit of the army medical department. They also developed 15 'reconstruction aide' training programs in 1917 to meet the demand of medical workers who were specially trained in rehabilitation. In the 1920s, a partnership grew between PTs and the medical and surgical community, which boosted public recognition and validation.⁴⁰¹

In America, advancements in radiography, antiseptics, and anaesthesia significantly reduced the mortality rates associated with amputations; 25% perished during the Civil War compared to 5% in WWI.⁴⁰² The improved survival rate, along with innovations in manufacturing, led to the mass production of prosthetic limbs that had previously been accessible only to the upper class. During and after WWI, effective medical practices were increasingly shared among advanced academic institutions in the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth, and the United States. These developments were propelled by advancements in communication established during WWI and the global response to the polio epidemic.⁴⁰³

As international tensions escalated in the 1930s, militaries began preparing for another global conflict. Soldiers injured in WWI, if sufficiently recovered and young, were asked to enlist again. To complicate matters, during the inter-war years, the world experienced the Great Depression, where the fitness of the masses was replaced with worries about getting the next meal. To aid in this recovery, the British Army turned to physical development centres throughout the United Kingdom. Drawing on knowledge gathered over the previous half-century, the centres implemented a rigorous regimen of physical training and health

⁴⁰¹ Abdul Shaik and Arakkal Shemjaz, 'The Rise of Physical Therapy: A History in Footsteps', *Archives of Medicine and Health Sciences* 2 (1 July 2014): 257, <https://doi.org/10.4103/2321-4848.144367>.

⁴⁰² Charles Van Way, 'War and Trauma: A History of Military Medicine - Part II', *Missouri Medicine* 113, no. 5 (2016): 336–40.

⁴⁰³ Higgs, *Contexts of Physiotherapy Practice*, 37.

education (nutrition and movement) to transform young men's bodies and meet the minimum requirements for military service.⁴⁰⁴

As with WWI, rehabilitative practices during WWII were forced to keep pace with the increasingly global and violent nature of the war. The aim of rehabilitation in the United Kingdom during WWII was "the restitution of maximum soldierly efficiency, both mental and physical, in the minimum time."⁴⁰⁵ In the age of industrialised warfare, replacing well-trained soldiers proved to be a persistent challenge. As war strategist Liddell Hart aptly noted, the Royal Air Force commander, Hugh Dowding, was more concerned with "men, not planes" when assessing tactical losses.⁴⁰⁶ Consequently, the respective British services' Physical Training Corps aimed to restore injured soldiers to "maximum efficiency, both mental and physical, in the minimum amount of time."⁴⁰⁷ Outside the military confines and towards the end of WWII, a small hospital located forty miles northwest of London made significant waves in the medical community by connecting war injuries and rehabilitation to sports.

Stoke Mandeville Hospital and Military Sport

One cannot exaggerate the work of Dr. Ludwig Guttmann at Stoke Mandeville Hospital. Before 1944, individuals with spinal paralysis had a life expectancy of just three years, and only if they survived the initial three months following their injury.⁴⁰⁸ Dr. Guttmann, who fled Nazi Germany with his family in 1939, transformed the perception of those with spinal injuries. He established his practice at Stoke Mandeville Hospital in 1944 and immediately implemented innovative methods, including incorporating sports into his patients' early recovery. His techniques advanced, and by 1950, Guttmann had founded a competition known as the Stoke Mandeville Festival of Sports, which featured events like wheelchair

⁴⁰⁴ Frank Howitt and Wesson, Arthur, 'Army Physical Development Centre', *The Lancet*, 28 March 1942.

⁴⁰⁵ W.S. Tegner Major, 'Research Board for the Correlation of Medical Science and Physical Education Services Sub-Committee' (Royal Army Rehabilitation, 1943), SA/RBC C.7/5, Wellcome Trust, London.

⁴⁰⁶ Sir Basil Liddell Hart, *History Of The Second World War* (MACDONALD, 1989), 93.

⁴⁰⁷ Tegner, 'Research Board for the Correlation of Medical Science and Physical Education Services Sub-Committee'.

⁴⁰⁸ Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain*, 132.

polo and archery. These activities enabled injured soldiers to “reinvent a recognisable notion of the self.”⁴⁰⁹

Dr. Guttmann’s Stoke Mandeville Games were linked to the London Olympics as early as 1948. The games became international in 1952 when he invited competitors from Israel and the Netherlands to England. His vision ultimately led to the first official Paralympic Games, which coincided with the 1960 Olympics in Rome. Dr. Guttmann’s work had reached a global audience, uniting multiple sectors of society—military, medicine, sports, and industry. During the 1960 Paralympic Games in Rome, Pope John met with over 400 disabled competitors from twenty-four countries while also speaking individually with Dr. Guttmann.⁴¹⁰ Four years later, at the 1964 Olympics and Paralympics in Tokyo, the Japanese Empress expressed her gratitude to Dr. Guttmann for his work with the war-wounded. Six months later, the Japanese government built a factory to employ paraplegics.⁴¹¹

In the United Kingdom, Queen Elizabeth knighted Dr. Guttmann in 1966. A letter from the Director of Spinal Cord Injuries at the Veterans Affairs (VA) Hospital in Long Beach, California, sent a congratulatory note to Dr. Guttmann: “It is a pleasure to us professionals that recognition which you have found in our circles has now been extended to a public and high honor.”⁴¹² A separate congratulatory letter from the Australian Council for Rehabilitation of the Disabled contained the following:

While many people achieve fame within their own countries there are not many whose name is so well known in many countries such as yours is. Australia owes a great debt to you for your revolution of the approach to the care and management of paraplegics. Although we are so far behind in our work in this area we know that with your guidance as develops it will follow the methods you have devised.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Anderson, 145.

⁴¹⁰ Sidney Fields, ‘He Never Loses Hope’, *Daily News*, April 1970, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection.

⁴¹¹ Fields.

⁴¹² Ernest Bors M.D., ‘Congratulations on Knighthood - VA Hospital’, 31 January 1966, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/fg9v6pk3>.

⁴¹³ Jean Garside, ‘Congratulations on Knighthood - Australia’, 4 March 1966, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/fg9v6pk3>.

These notes hold significance for two reasons. Firstly, they recognised that Dr. Guttman's influence reached far beyond the shores of Great Britain. The second reason was linked to Australia's inadequate standards of care compared to Dr. Guttman's advancements in Great Britain. The world had clearly noticed Dr. Guttman's exceptional results. Four years after his knighthood, in 1970, Dr. Guttman undertook a two-week tour of the United States. During his visit, he assessed hospitals across America and reported on the unsatisfactory standards of care. A series of US newspaper articles published after his visit featured the following headlines:

"English Doctor Raps Standard Spinal Cord Treatment in U.S."⁴¹⁴

"British Surgeon Assails Spinal Injury Care"⁴¹⁵

"U.S. Paraplegic Plight Termed Heartbreaking."⁴¹⁶

Dr. Guttman concluded, "A fantastic waste of money and people occur in the United States because of inadequate treatment."⁴¹⁷ Compared to the 85% of paraplegics who returned to work after receiving care at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, fewer than half did so in the United States.⁴¹⁸ In the decade following his visit to America in 1970, the United States improved treatment for those with spinal injuries. One physician, Dr. John Young, agreed with Dr. Guttman's assessment. As a member of the International Medical Society of Paraplegia (established by Guttman in 1961), Dr. Young received a federal grant in 1971 to standardise paraplegic care in Arizona. Young followed Dr. Guttman's example, and his centre became the standard of care for spinal cord rehabilitation in America.⁴¹⁹ An important consideration is that Dr. Guttman began his work with the war-injured but quickly

⁴¹⁴ Ronald Kotulak, 'English Doctor Raps Standard Spinal Cord Treatment in U.S.', *Chicago Daily News*, 30 March 1970, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection.

⁴¹⁵ 'British Surgeon Assails Spinal Injury Care', *Los Angeles Times*, 31 March 1970, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection.

⁴¹⁶ Guy Savino, 'U.S. Paraplegics Plight Termed "Heartbreaking"', *The Evening News - New Jersey Edition*, 26 March 1970, Guttman, Ludwig, Sir, 1899-1980, Wellcome Collection, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/fg9v6pk3>.

⁴¹⁷ Kotulak, 'English Doctor Raps Standard Spinal Cord Treatment in U.S.'

⁴¹⁸ Kotulak.

⁴¹⁹ Samuel L. Stover, Michael J. De Vivo, and Bette K. Go, 'History, Implementation, and Current Status of the National Spinal Cord Injury Database', *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation* 80, no. 11 (November 1999): 1365–71, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0003-9993\(99\)90246-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0003-9993(99)90246-0).

branched out into civilian society. When he visited America in 1970, there seemed to be less emphasis on treating the war-wounded compared to his efforts during and after WWII. One can only imagine this was due to the unpopular views towards combat operations in Southeast Asia, particularly at the end of the Vietnam War.

Dr. Guttmann passed away in 1980. Reviewing his work from 1944 to 1980, one wonders how he managed to reach such a global audience. Much of his impact stemmed from his commitment to the professional attributes of expertise, corporateness, responsibility, and ethos. He was an unwavering authority figure in his field and felt a profound sense of responsibility towards those in need. Yet, many ambitious, intelligent professionals fail to mobilise and inspire others and consequently fizzle out. This thesis argues that Dr. Guttmann's impact was realised through his diplomatic skills. In his autobiography, published in 1969, Dr. Guttmann wrote the following passage regarding his initial difficulties when treating spinal injuries:

No physiotherapist worth her salt could ever be expected to treat only “those chronic cripples”. At my instance, however, it was the late Mrs. Joan Maynard who “nobly” stepped into the breach. She very soon realised the thrill of treating paraplegics to re-adjust themselves to their physical deficit by new techniques and to a new life of activity. Her devotion, enthusiasm and success spread amongst all her younger colleagues, and in the end, physiotherapists became most anxious to work entirely for paraplegics and tetraplegics and thus became most important members of my team.⁴²⁰

Dr. Guttmann realised that he must combine a clear message with the requisite skills to make an impact. Yet lofty visions lead nowhere unless one can rally others to the cause. Dr. Guttmann successfully achieved this by leveraging the power of sport and laying the foundations for future innovations in R-MSD. The following section explores the message, structure, and response of R-MSD in the modern era.

⁴²⁰ Ludwig Guttmann, *Ludwig Guttmann Autobiography 1969*, n.d.

6.3 Case Studies: The US Warrior Games, The Invictus Games, and CISM Parasport

6.3.1 Communication

In R-MSD, the injured soldiers are part of the profession of arms—an inherently dangerous profession. Because the soldiers willingly entered the military with this understanding, the message of R-MSD is that their sacrifice and service are valued before, during, and after their service. This section explores the attribute of ethos as an integral component of communication.

When considering the message in R-MSD, this section focuses on the professional attribute of ethos. Whereas ethics are rule-based and often found in official documents, ethos forms part of a professional identity that guides members on what they should and should not do. Importantly, ethos is not inherently good, as history is filled with instances where professional militaries adopted an ethos contrary to virtuous behaviour. Nonetheless, this section argues that R-MSD promotes an ethos that supports virtuous behaviour, specifically the moral treatment of others regardless of race, nationality, or physical ability. The two components of professional ethos, whether explicit or implicit, are esprit de corps and a corresponding creed. Regarding these two elements, the philosopher of war, Christopher Coker, comments on a concerning trend.

Even the professional soldier who volunteers to fight sees war increasingly as a trade rather than a profession, a job like any other, even if it differs from every other in the fear and anxiety it generates...War in the twenty-first century does indeed seem to the rest of us rather barren, bereft of that (existential) dimension that made the warrior a human type as Hegel understood the term, a man who through war perceives his own humanity.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ Christopher Coker, *Waging War without Warriors? The Changing Culture of Military Conflict*, IISS Studies in International Security (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 160.

Coker's statement suggests that today's military lacks a shared commitment (esprit de corps) to virtues that are greater than the self (a virtuous creed). If the military is merely a trade, why would airmen willingly fly into enemy fire? Why should young Marines charge the beach? It certainly is not for their salary. The esprit de corps has been described as "the common spirit existing in the members of a group and inspiring enthusiasm, devotion, and strong regard for the honour of the group."⁴²² However, the Nazis also possessed a strong esprit de corps. The issue was that their creed supported the elevation of the Aryan race and the eradication of what they considered inferior races. For the profession of arms to be virtuous, the esprit de corps must uphold (and be upheld by) virtues that transcend the state.

An example of professional ethos is when new physicians are asked to recite the Hippocratic Oath. Although various versions exist, the oath serves as a reminder to young physicians that they are part of a society with special obligations and must not only address a patient's illness but also treat the whole person, as well as all humans generally, with respect and dignity.⁴²³ Yet, flowery rhetoric without supporting action is hollow. Physicians must embody the values expressed in the oath when underpaid or tired. Similarly, athletes are ideally encouraged to play fairly, regardless of whether they are winning or losing, fatigued or in top form. Their actions reinforce a belief in virtues that transcend victory or personal gain. R-MSD connects the esprit de corps of athletes and military personnel with a belief system that virtues that transcend the state. Acknowledging and honouring wounded soldiers within R-MSD fosters a positive ethos that, in turn, influences the globally recognised profession of arms. Ultimately, R-MSD conveys that all individuals deserve moral treatment, regardless of their race, nationality, or rank.⁴²⁴

The founder of the modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin, championed a similar Olympic ethos in 1892, four years prior to the first games in Athens, Greece. He asserted that runners, fencers, and rowers could represent "the free trade of the future" ... "a new and

⁴²² Merriam-Webster, 'Definition of ESPRIT DE CORPS', accessed 1 May 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com>.

⁴²³ 'The Hippocratic Oath Today', 27 March 2001, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/article/hippocratic-oath-today/>.

⁴²⁴ Julia Driver, 'Cosmopolitan Virtue', *Social Theory and Practice* 33, no. 4 (2007): 596.

mighty ally” of peace transcending European boundaries.⁴²⁵ This ethos was subsequently termed Olympism. Just as Coubertin conveyed an ethos of inclusivity and respect, so did the United States, Great Britain, and CISM in their respective versions of R-MSD. The following sections analyse the message of each movement.

The US Warrior Games: Internal Healing

Published Message: “First and foremost, the Warrior Games are designed to enhance recovery by engaging wounded, ill, and injured service members outside of traditional therapy settings. The program hopes to inspire recovery and physical fitness and encourage new opportunities for growth and achievement.”⁴²⁶

The primary goal of the US Warrior Games is to support the recovery of American service members through adaptive sports. When considering the internal message and focus of the US model, it is interesting that a role reversal occurred compared to the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. After WWI, through a coordinated effort between the American YMCA and the American Expeditionary Force, the Americans built a stadium in record time, invited all the allied nations to participate, and successfully hosted a major sporting event over two weeks. In contrast, the British military’s involvement in the 1919 games was marginal.

As Chapter 2 highlighted, America’s active international role in the 1919 “Military Olympics” resulted from two factors. The first was the relatively short but intense combat period in WWI, compared to the four years of sustained combat experienced by the British and other Allied European soldiers. The second was America’s aspirations to be a player on the international stage. In contrast, in 1919, Great Britain justifiably focused on rebuilding its war-torn society.

⁴²⁵ Smithsonian Magazine and Theresa Machemer, ‘Speech That Inspired the Modern Olympics Is Now the Most Expensive Sports Memorabilia Ever Sold’, Smithsonian Magazine, accessed 14 April 2024, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/speech-inspired-olympics-return-now-most-expensive-sports-memorabilia-ever-sold-180973968/>.

⁴²⁶ ‘Warrior Games’, accessed 18 April 2024, <https://dodwarriorgames.com/about>.

This thesis argues that the internal focus of the US Warrior Games mirrored that of the British in 1919; specifically, the Americans lacked both the capacity and desire for international outreach in 2010. The US Warrior Games were established in 2010, following nine years of continuous fighting in the Middle East and the attacks on 11 September 2001. By 2010, American forces in Afghanistan had suffered four times more casualties than any other nation.^{427,428} Once their version of R-MSD was established, it became easier to maintain an inward, national focus. As highlighted in the previous chapter, path dependency within large bureaucracies, such as the US Department of Defence, often complicates and discourages change. While the United States turned inward in 2010, the British recognised the opportunity for international outreach in 2013.

The Invictus Games: International Solidarity

Published Message: “Our Vision and Mission: Inspiring international communities through the power of the unconquerable human spirit. Our Mission is to encourage a greater international understanding of and respect for those who serve their country by inspiring recovery and supporting the rehabilitation of wounded injured and sick (WIS) service personnel and veterans.”⁴²⁹

The British message is far broader than that of the US Warrior Games. The goal is not only to rehabilitate British soldiers but also to inspire a global movement. Regarding ethos, the British version of R-MSD champions an international commitment to equality, solidarity, and playing the right way.

One reason for emphasising international solidarity is Great Britain’s history of sport within the Commonwealth. The first Commonwealth Games occurred in 1930, eleven years after the American-led 1919 Inter-Allied Games in France. Since 1930, the Commonwealth Games

⁴²⁷ This number should be balanced against the comparatively large number of troops deployed to the Middle East from the United States. Other reports have accurately stated that the relative figures of other nations are quite high due to multiple factors, such as protective technology and MEDEVAC assets.

⁴²⁸ Noel Dempsey, ‘Afghanistan Statistics: UK Deaths, Casualties, Mission Costs and Refugees’, 29 April 2024, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9298/>.

⁴²⁹ The Invictus Games Foundation, ‘The Invictus Games: How We Work’, The Power of Sport, 2023, <https://www.invictusgamesfoundation.org/how-we-work>.

have gathered athletes from former British territories and colonies every four years. The name of the games has undergone several changes, reflecting an increased emphasis on cultural sensitivity and inclusivity. Initially, the games were known as the British Empire Games. In 1954, the event was renamed the British Empire and Commonwealth Games, and in 1978, the name changed to its current title – the Commonwealth Games. Often referred to as the “friendly games,” the event features an equal number of men’s and women’s sports and has included elite athletes with disabilities (EAD) since 2002.⁴³⁰ Although they are friendly, the Commonwealth Games remain an elite-level competition. This thesis argues that the ethos and success of the Commonwealth Games significantly contributed to the creation of the Invictus Games. The Commonwealth Games Federation emphasises that the games are internationally oriented:

Sport underpins the unique connections and friendships which bring together a third of the world’s population as citizens of the nations and territories of the Commonwealth. For more than nine decades the Commonwealth Games Federation has taken a global leadership role in uniting the Commonwealth’s athletes, citizens and communities through the transformative and connecting power of sport. We’re inspired by the diversity and dynamism of the Commonwealth itself—a voluntary association of 74 nations and territories—and its enduring commitment to human rights, democracy and the rule of law.⁴³¹

A second reason for international outreach at the Invictus Games is the inclusion of foreign soldiers in the British Armed Forces. A 2019 report from the British Parliament noted that over 6,000 personnel from foreign and Commonwealth countries were serving in the British military, accounting for approximately 4.5% of all British Army personnel. Most of these individuals hailed from Commonwealth countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Islands, primarily serving in non-commissioned (enlisted) infantry units.⁴³² In contrast,

⁴³⁰ ‘Commonwealth Sport’, Commonwealth Sport, 19 April 2024, <https://www.commonwealthsport.com/www.commonwealthsport.com/>.

⁴³¹ ‘Commonwealth Sport’.

⁴³² Paul Sweeney, ‘Commonwealth Personnel in the Armed Forces - Hansard - UK Parliament’, 30 April 2024, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2019-05-08/debates/3468AACC-1059-41E2-821F-EA20D21754FD/CommonwealthPersonnelInTheArmedForces>.

roughly 0.5% of US Army personnel were designated as naturalised citizens.⁴³³ The number of foreign-born military personnel appears to fluctuate significantly in Great Britain and the United States, influenced by entry requirements and military needs. In 2023, the US military reported 45,000 immigrants serving among roughly 1.3 million servicemembers⁴³⁴—still less than 0.5%. Given Great Britain’s strong connections with Commonwealth nations through sports and military service, organising an R-MSD event that promoted international inclusivity and solidarity was a natural progression.

The influence of Prince Harry as the patron and founder of the Invictus Games is significant. Just as Queen Elizabeth II was actively involved in the Commonwealth Games in the 20th century, Prince Harry has taken on the mantle for the Invictus Games. In his personal life, Prince Harry did not merely occupy symbolic positions in the British Army; he engaged in combat roles as a soldier and later as an AH-64 Apache pilot. Having piloted American helicopters in Afghanistan during the same period as Prince Harry, the author of this thesis can attest that there was nothing routine or safe about his service in these hostile environments. The enemy neither knew nor cared that he was royalty. His direct combat experience, alongside the monarchy’s historic role (whether official or symbolic) in the Commonwealth Realm, rendered Prince Harry’s decision to focus internationally a logical progression in the evolution of rehabilitative military sports.⁴³⁵

CISM’s Parasport: Global Inclusivity

Published Message: “CISM strongly believes in the right of all human beings to pursue their physical and intellectual development without discrimination. One important principle is to promote models of best practice that encourage inclusive

⁴³³ ‘Military Naturalization Statistics | USCIS’, 8 November 2023, <https://www.uscis.gov/military/military-naturalization-statistics>.

⁴³⁴ Gil Guerra, ‘Military Enlistment Is in Crisis. Immigrant Recruitment Can Help - Niskanen Center’, Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, 25 October 2023, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/military-enlistment-is-in-crisis-immigrant-recruitment-can-help/>.

⁴³⁵ An important distinction between the Commonwealth Realms and the Commonwealth of Nations is that the realms still recognise the British monarchy and include 15 entities (compared with the 74 countries in the Commonwealth of Nations). Among the Commonwealth Realms, only the more prominent countries – New Zealand, Australia, and Canada – are represented in the Invictus Games. This selection reflects their military presence and sacrifices in recent conflicts and their partnership with the British armed forces.

opportunities and recognition for athletes with disability equal to those of their non-disabled peers.”⁴³⁶

Although still in the developmental stages, CISM has hosted eighteen Parasport events from 2013 to 2024, with records indicating that these events often include approximately thirty injured soldiers.⁴³⁷ Due to their decentralised efforts and personnel turnover—an inherent aspect of any military organisation—less formal documentation is available compared to the American and British-led events. Fortunately, after visiting the CISM headquarters in Brussels in early 2024, the researcher interviewed their Director of Sport, Lt. Col. Jan van Dool, who elaborated on the objectives for CISM’s Parasport movement in the coming years.

A significant aspect of the CISM message, whether conveyed through sports for injured soldiers or elite-level competition, is to promote international friendship while enhancing the performance of all CISM military personnel. In contrast to the United States, which invites a handful of close allies (in 2022, Canada and Ukraine) and includes over twenty nations in the Invictus Games (historically close allies), CISM extends invitations to 141 member nations, regardless of friendly relations. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Great Britain is not a member of CISM, while the United States is, albeit selective about which engagements to participate in.

Lt. Col. Jan van Dool explained the rationale behind CISM’s inclusive stance. Imagine if CISM prohibited Russia or Belarus due to their involvement in a global conflict.⁴³⁸ What would prevent the organisation from banning the smaller CISM member nations for potentially lesser infractions in internal or external conflict? In considering whether CISM should ban Russia, the staff realised such a decision would set a negative precedent. After deliberation,

⁴³⁶ ‘Parasport in CISM, a True Inclusion’, 16 February 2023, <https://www.milsport.one/sports/cism-parasport>.

⁴³⁷ ‘Parasport in CISM, a True Inclusion’.

⁴³⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 2, after invading Ukraine in 2022, CISM was forced to decide whether to include Russia and Belarus in future competitions. The last time a country was banned from competing in CISM sports was in 1991, when CISM banned Iraq after invading Kuwait – partly because Iraqi forces ransacked CISM’s office in Kuwait. Iraq needed to return Kuwait’s CISM office to its original working condition to be reinstated into the CISM fold. Yet, when Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, CISM decided not to ban either Russia or Belarus from competing.

CISM remained committed to its principle of inclusivity and welcomed participation from Russia and Belarus in military sports. CISM justified its actions by arguing that sports represent one of the few areas in an increasingly volatile world where rival nations may meet on friendly terms. Perhaps, as the introductory chapter to this thesis mentioned, CISM truly believes sports can act as a relief valve for international pressure.⁴³⁹

6.3.2 Representation

Representation refers to the structure of the events in R-MSD. In R-MSD, efforts are applauded over results. Still, challenges remain when considering who qualifies or what nations should participate. This section explores how the different structures of R-MSD accommodate the professional attributes of corporateness and expertise.

In R-MSD, representation is best comprehended through the professional characteristics of *expertise* and *corporateness*. The first element, expertise, encompasses two components: a comprehensive understanding of one's position within the structure of society and the specialised training necessary within one's selected field.

In the legal profession, lawyers must possess a strong understanding of their representative legal system before becoming experts in their respective fields, such as environmental, criminal, or health law. In the medical profession, young physicians cultivate their medical expertise through specialised residencies—cardiology, paediatrics, internal medicine, and the like. In the military, the young pilot obtains initial qualifications (wings) but must undergo rigorous follow-on training in their primary airframe—fighters, bombers, cargo, or rotary aircraft. Without such follow-on training, each of these professionals would remain an amateur.

The structure of R-MSD intentionally focuses on the first element of expertise—the broad understanding of one's role within society. The soldiers who compete in R-MSD are

⁴³⁹ Goodhart and Chataway, *War without Weapons*.

considered professionals because they “serve the state (and by extension, the people), and not the other way around.”⁴⁴⁰ In R-MSD, the role of specialisation is subdued to allow the other attributes of the profession of arms to be magnified. Although the biographies of the soldier-athletes who compete in these events are routinely published and include the soldier’s current or former Military Occupational Specialty (MOS)—medical, maintenance, special operations—the injured soldier-athletes may not identify with their previous MOS. Perhaps their injury has taken away their ability to work in their previous role. Consequently, the structure of R-MSD is designed so that one’s skill in sports does not influence the entry criteria. In each example below (Warrior Games, Invictus Games, and CISM Parasport), the entry requirements are intentionally minimised to promote another attribute of the profession of arms—corporateness.

Corporateness denotes the distinction between professional members and the society they serve. Whereas MSD in the direct approach emphasises an “us” and “them” mentality by structuring events that amplify nationalism, the structure of R-MSD stresses a commitment to the globally recognised profession of arms, regardless of nationality. Highlighting the international nature of the military, Samuel Huntington noted in 1957:

The peculiar skill of the military officer is universal in the sense that its essence is not affected by changes in time or location. Just as the qualifications of a good surgeon are the same in Zurich as they are in New York, the same standards of professional military competence apply in Russia as in America and in the nineteenth century as in the twentieth. The possession of a common professional skill is a bond among military officers cutting across other differences. The vocation of the officer also possesses a history.⁴⁴¹

Huntington expands on the universal nature of the profession of arms, stating that the all-encompassing work of professional soldiers, including their uniforms, separates them from society. And yet, while the military profession is separate, modern technological

⁴⁴⁰ Swain, Pierce, and Press, *The Armed Forces Officer*, 15.

⁴⁴¹ Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 1957, 11–12.

developments have changed the dynamics between the military and civilian sectors. Whereas in previous eras, the military expanded in preparation for war and then dismantled after, in modern times, technological innovations have driven the civilian and military sectors closer together. The integration and support of civilian businesses such as Boeing and Raytheon have become crucial to the success of modern militaries. Today, contracting officers ensure that program costs and timelines remain in the best interest of the represented militaries and the taxpayers. The military is perpetually preparing for conflict in what has been described as a permanent military character.⁴⁴²

Despite the increased overlap between the military and civilian sectors, the military must remain distinct, for “unlike the civilian sector, the military professional must abide by a special code of honour.”⁴⁴³ The subsequent sections examine how the American, British, and CISM structure their events to uphold their corporate “otherness” while acknowledging the service of those in the profession of arms.

US Warrior Games – Highlighting Service-Level Efforts

Since its inception in 2010, the Warrior Games have focused on injured US servicemembers: “Men and women representing the U.S. Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, Space Force, Coast Guard, and U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) will compete in a variety of adaptive sports.”⁴⁴⁴ While remaining selective in the invitees—Ukraine, Canada, Great Britain, and Australia—the focus is clearly on American service members. One interesting factor is that USSOCOM is among the represented teams. This inclusion resulted from the rise in special operations in the Middle East in the early 21st century. Since 2001, the high operational tempo of USSOCOM, frequent deployments, and combat exposure have placed significant stress on the organisation. In 2010, the same year as the inaugural Warrior Games, USSOCOM established the Preservation of the Force and Family (POTFF), which concentrates on five domains: physical, psychological, spiritual, social/family, and cognitive.

⁴⁴² Janowitz and Burk, *On Social Organization and Social Control*, 104.

⁴⁴³ Morris Janowitz, *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*, Expanded ed. of *The military in the political development of new nations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 201.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘Warrior Games’.

Although support programs like the POTFF are altruistic, the DoD also aims to retain its highly trained professionals where possible. Similar to the RAF in WWII, USSOCOM recognised that its members require considerable time and financial investment to train; thus, rehabilitating and retaining its personnel would be more cost-effective and efficient than training new recruits. In a 2024 report to the US House of Armed Services Committee, USSOCOM leadership stated the following regarding the POTFF:

The primary objective is retaining talent and returning our personnel to their unit so they can continue serving. The combination of POTFF and the Warrior Care Program provides a continuum of support for our personnel through performance enhancement, injury recovery, and transition assistance.⁴⁴⁵

The reason for highlighting the POTFF is that, like the US Warrior Games, it is just one of a host of programs that are part of the more extensive DoD-led Warrior Care Program, each directed toward rehabilitating the injured or sick US service members so that, if possible, they can rejoin the ranks. The Warrior Games is one of a host of different programs specific to each service. Whereas the primary objective of the Warrior Games is to support the recovery of US service members, the secondary goal is to “raise awareness about the resources available through the DoD Warrior Care programs.”⁴⁴⁶ Within this larger framework, the organisers make clear that the Warrior Games are not meant to be qualifying events for the Paralympic Games.⁴⁴⁷

The Warrior Games highlight that, while the classification systems for various adaptive sports may resemble those of the International Paralympic Committee or the Invictus Games, the rules used in the US versions are “separate and distinct.”⁴⁴⁸ It underscores the size and scope of the Invictus Games that the Warrior Games are now compared to them.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Special Operations Command Hearing - Committee on Armed Services’ (United State Senate Hearing, 10 April 2024), 5, https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/maier_statement.pdf.

⁴⁴⁶ ‘Warrior Games’.

⁴⁴⁷ ‘2019 Tampa Warrior Games Rules and Classifications’ (US Department of Defence, 21 June 2019), 5, https://www.woundedwarrior.af.mil/Portals/23/documents/06_EVENTS/06_WARRIOR%20GAMES/Rules%20and%20Classifications%20Ver%203%2023%20Jan%2019.pdf.

⁴⁴⁸ ‘2019 Tampa Warrior Games Rules and Classifications’, 6.

Lastly, a review of the specific rules for adaptive sports in the US Warrior Games reveals that the entry criteria consistently include a disclaimer stating that the sports will adhere to the World Paralympic standards with certain modifications.

To conclude, the Warrior Games are part of a broader outreach initiative led by the US DoD (Warrior Care Program) that integrates the efforts of various service-based programs—the Air Force Wounded Warrior Program (AFW2), the Army Recovery Care Program, the Navy Wounded Warrior, the SOCOM Warrior Care Program, and the US Marine Corps Wounded Warrior Regiment. While the spirit of the games is important, the primary objective of all these efforts is to rehabilitate US service members. Unlike the domestic focus in America, the international character of the Invictus Games champions resilience while emphasising the importance of playing, competing, and living the right way—also reminiscent of the British approach to military sport before and after WWI.

Invictus Games- The Unconquerable Spirit

When considering entry requirements, the Invictus Games Foundation (IGF) focused less on details and more on the spirit of the games. The IGF is deliberate in its rhetoric, opting for the term "disciplines" instead of "sports" and referring to participants as "competitors" rather than "athletes."⁴⁴⁹ In doing so, the IGF champions effort over expertise to foster a positive, uplifting environment.

In Chapter 1, this thesis reviewed Great Britain's rich history of encouraging the proper spirit of selfless play through team sports, namely rugby, football, and cricket, in the all-boys public schools of the Victorian era. This emphasis was connected to the Muscular Christianity movement and reinforced by the YMCA's efforts on both sides of the Atlantic. One reason for Great Britain's limited participation in the 1919 Inter-Allied Games was that the British representatives could not control the Americans' lack of *games ethic* when organising their military version of the Olympics. In the post-WWI era, the British turned inwards in military sports, but perhaps they realised that the Invictus Games provided an

⁴⁴⁹ The Invictus Games Foundation, 'The Invictus Games: How We Work'.

opportunity to regain control of the narrative. The Invictus Games clearly builds upon a rich tradition of playing the right way, as the IGF states:

The Invictus Games is different to other sporting competitions in terms of its unique aims. The Games are not about high-performance sport or winning medals but rather, in keeping the right spirit of the games through a commitment to fair play. Thus, in addition to supporting excellence on behalf of one's nation, the games foster goodwill at the interpersonal level.

All competitors are eligible to participate in the Invictus Games regardless of their impairment type—this includes competitors traditionally excluded from para-sport, and each nation selects, trains and manages their team differently and has varying degrees of experience with adaptive sport.

The categorisation process, run by the Invictus Games Foundation with thanks to 22 international volunteers, uses a more subjective approach to enable wider participation, and differs from International Paralympic Committee (IPC) sport classes in number, format, naming and inclusivity, such as including psychological injuries and chronic health conditions.⁴⁵⁰

Thus, the Invictus Games, like the Warrior Games, prioritise inclusivity over athleticism and results. However, in contrast to the Warrior Games, the IGF places greater emphasis on embodying the right spirit of the games. Just as the Army Sports Control Board did in 1918 when it deemed it necessary to define the ideal sportsman as one who “plays the game for the game’s sake, plays for his side and not himself, and is modest in victory and generous in defeat,”⁴⁵¹ the IGF appears to believe that by achieving the right spirit, the details will naturally follow. This thesis contends that their strategy has been successful.

CISM Parasport—An Alternative Route to Compete

⁴⁵⁰ The Invictus Games Foundation.

⁴⁵¹ Army Sports Control Board, *Celebrating 100 Years of The Army Sport Control Board*.

The CISM Parasport movement values inclusivity at a level that surpasses both the Warrior Games and the Invictus Games. When discussing the vision of Parasport, the CISM sports director clarified that Parasport does not aim to compete with the Warrior Games, the Invictus Games, or any other injured soldier sporting events. Instead, CISM Parasport can complement these events by providing a logical progression for the competing injured athletes. The Invictus Games and Warrior Games convey that these events should not be viewed as a pathway to the Paralympics. The sports director explained how many injured soldiers are limited to participating in no more than two competitions in their nationally organised games. This limitation is reasonable and intended to provide more athletes with an opportunity to compete as part of their recovery. Because of this approach, CISM Parasport can serve as a follow-on step for those wishing to continue their journey in adaptive sports.

In terms of structure, CISM's Parasport resembles the Commonwealth Games in that the sports for injured soldiers are integrated into its other events—the annual single-sport championships and quadrennial world games. This approach provides injured athletes a larger platform while minimising the logistical footprint. However, akin to the US Warrior Games and Invictus Games, CISM understands the need to be deliberate about which sports are included and who qualifies. During the author's conversation, Lt. Col. van Dool indicated that CISM may limit the number of sports to accommodate more injured military athletes at a single event. He gave an example in swimming, where CISM might restrict events to one stroke and two distances rather than offering various strokes that address every type of injury.

CISM Parasport intends to serve as a middle ground between the highly inclusive nature of the Warrior and Invictus Games and the intensely competitive nature of the Paralympics. Lt. Col. van Dool concluded that he saw no reason why the CISM Parasport Games could not qualify for the Paralympics, particularly in timed, individual disciplines such as running or swimming.

6.3.3 Negotiation

This section explores how nations respond to R-MSD and, in particular, how the different structures of R-MSD foster a commitment to virtuous thoughts and actions within the profession of arms.

After reviewing R-MSD's message and methods, one might question whether these events contribute to building a global conscience that, in Coubertin's words, could serve as a powerful ally for peace. This section argues that they do, as *external actions influence internal beliefs*. To understand this concept, it is useful to reference a recent study at the University of Rochester, where participants were presented with complex tasks. When persisting through a challenging undertaking, those instructed to cross their arms and sit up straight persevered twice as long as those directed to slouch and let their arms droop. The act of standing alters individuals' perceptions of how they engage with the world.⁴⁵² One's outward actions shape one's internal thoughts. When applied at a group or societal level, the seemingly minor actions of a team or cohort frequently influence the larger population and potentially even an entire nation. In a negative sense, this can lead to the dehumanisation of certain "lesser" groups, as exemplified by Nazi Germany during WWII. Over time, and through thousands of permissible, minor actions, the Nazis' external actions influenced their internal thoughts, ultimately activating a "death drive" leading to genocide.⁴⁵³ In contrast to the negative developments in Nazi Germany, the remainder of this section underscores the positive impacts of external actions.

One illustrative connection between external actions and internal beliefs is through the use of uniforms. Professional uniforms embody a sense of corporateness—we are not you, and you are not us. However, uniforms not only signal to those outside the profession but also shape the internal thoughts and actions of the members within the profession.⁴⁵⁴ Regarding

⁴⁵² Ron Friedman and Andrew J. Elliot, 'The Effect of Arm Crossing on Persistence and Performance', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 38, no. 3 (2008): 449–61, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.444>.

⁴⁵³ Stewart Gabel, *How Dehumanization Leads to Murder and Genocide: Lessons from the Nazi Era* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9798887193045>.

⁴⁵⁴ The Stanford Prison Experiment in 1971 led to different, negative results when the uniforms deindividuated the "guards," leading to the inhumane treatment of the "prisoners."

the use of habits in the Catholic faith, the author and historian Dr. Peter Kwasniewski stated the following:

Even the word itself “habit” give us an indication of the importance of the clothing. Aristotle taught us that virtues are good habits. We acquire interior virtue by *doing* exterior actions. We form our heart and soul by exterior means. If we desire to be generous, we begin by “making” ourselves do generous things. If we persist in doing generous deeds, generosity will begin to grow in our heart. We will *become* generous and we will begin to *love* doing generous deeds. The external forms the internal.⁴⁵⁵

The profession of arms is responsible for protecting and defending their represented nations. However, if soldiers, sailors, and airmen act in accordance with Mary Kaldor’s argument for cosmopolitan law enforcement, they must also adhere to the principles of the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC). In Kaldor’s view, armed forces should safeguard *all* human life rather than merely pursuing their own national interests at the expense of others, including civilians and foreign militaries. This mindset can be nurtured through R-MSD, where active-duty military members observe or engage in the inclusive, charitable nature of the events, reminding them of their obligation to protect and defend others, including, when necessary, through violent yet humane measures. Thus, the external actions of R-MSD influence the profession of arms because, as Dr. Kwasniewski noted, the external shapes the internal.

US Warrior Games – Continuous Support

As discussed, the US Warrior Games are part of a broader Warrior Care program designed to support injured US service members. The event was established in response to the increasing number of war injuries resulting from multiple conflicts in the Middle East. Professor Ian Brittain compiled the following table based on casualty numbers reported by

⁴⁵⁵ Peter Kwasniewski and PhD, ‘The Symbolism of Religious Clothing: Why Nuns Wear What They Do’, OnePeterFive, 7 October 2020, <https://onepeterfive.com/the-symbolism-of-religious-clothing-why-nuns-wear-what-they-do/>.

Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States up to December 2011, illustrating the relatively high number of American casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan.⁴⁵⁶ Importantly, these figures represent totals rather than the percentages of those serving by nation. An article by The Guardian challenged the notion that ISAF—International Security Assistance Force—stood for “I Saw Americans Fight,” noting that British soldiers were 12% more likely to be killed in combat than American service members.⁴⁵⁷ Additionally, Canadian troops faced a higher risk than Americans, partly due to a lack of mine-resistant ambush-protected vehicles (MRAPs) and troop helicopters compared to American forces. Regardless of percentages or risk, numbers hold significance in the 21st century just as they did in WWI. The British lost 885,138 servicemen in combat during WWI compared to the 116,708 American casualties.

Figure 14 War Wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan through 2011

Country	War	Killed in action	Wounded in action
Australia	Afghanistan	32	Unknown
	Iraq	2	Unknown
Canada	Afghanistan	158	675
	Iraq	0	Unknown
UK	Afghanistan	390	9734
	Iraq	179	5791
USA	Afghanistan	1849	10,018
	Iraq	4430	31,995

In 2010, the United States was responding to an internal demand to retain its highly trained personnel in combat operations that lasted significantly longer than anticipated while also caring for injured troops. Furthermore, the American games intended to promote the efforts of the United States Department of Defense while bringing attention to the broader network of support programs. The Department of Defense engages three audiences through their version of R-MSD, all domestic: the active-duty soldiers who continue to serve, the injured athletes who have served, and the civilian society that the soldiers support.

⁴⁵⁶ Ian Brittain and Sarah Green, ‘Disability Sport Is Going Back to Its Roots: Rehabilitation of Military Personnel Receiving Sudden Traumatic Disabilities in the Twenty-First Century’, *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 4, no. 2 (July 2012): 250, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2012.685100>.

⁴⁵⁷ Julian Borger, ‘British Troops Were Twice as Likely to Be Killed in Afghanistan as US Forces’, *The Guardian*, 12 May 2021, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/12/british-troops-were-twice-as-likely-to-be-killed-in-afghanistan-as-us-forces>.

Knowing that one's country will not forget their sacrifice is essential for those still serving. In the author's previous role as a Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR) pilot, the message was similar: should the circumstances of combat lead to personal injury in the field, the country is committed to the soldier's recovery. This strategy and message instilled confidence in the soldiers who entered dangerous environments. R-MSD is an extension of this message. Competing with others who have been injured in the profession of arms reconnects them with their corporate bonds and the society they served while simultaneously conveying a strong message to those who continue to serve. Ironically, although the intent of US efforts was domestic, the United States engaged the British Armed Forces in 2013, leading to immediate feedback from Prince Harry.

The Invictus Games—Control

The Invictus Games differ from the Warrior Games in that they are a stand-alone international event intended for those fortunate enough to be regarded as friends of Great Britain.⁴⁵⁸ In many respects, the Invictus Games resemble the 1919 Inter-Allied Games. As discussed in Chapter 1, the 1919 Inter-Allied Games celebrated US exceptionalism in an American-led event alongside its closest allies. Just as the Americans controlled the narrative in 1919, the British can do the same in their version of the games. The Invictus Games reflect a strong emphasis on control and playing the right way.

The creation of the Invictus Games was a response to a gap in the market. The United States had already committed substantial resources to its national version of the games, and it would be challenging to shift its structure to an international model (even if they were inclined to do so). Great Britain and Prince Harry recognised the opportunity to extend their influence. However, unlike the Americans, who emphasised service-level competition, the Invictus Games would prioritise international competition. Like the Americans at the 1919

⁴⁵⁸ There does not appear to be a set criterion for a country's inclusion in the Invictus Games. It likely involves various collaborative engagements and relationships built in military operations external to the games.

Inter-Allied Games, the British realised that by leading the event, they could shape the narrative and select their audience.

Yet, unlike the recent American model, the British did not indicate that the games were intended to return soldiers to operational status. Instead, they sought to champion the indomitable spirit of the globally recognised profession of arms. To achieve this, the British emphasised playing the right way—with an unconquerable spirit, independent of victory or defeat.

CISM Parasport—Lack of Control

This thesis contends that one reason for the success of the Warrior and Invictus Games is their limited scope, which facilitates control. In contrast, CISM has relinquished some control by maintaining a commitment to international inclusivity at a level that Pierre de Coubertin would have praised. Although still in its early stages, CISM occupies a unique niche in the market. Just as the Invictus Games champions solidarity and playing with the right spirit (unconquerable), CISM promotes genuine inclusivity and friendship through sport. This theme was analysed in depth in Chapter 3: Enduring MSD.

6.4 Conclusion

Military culture and sports reflect broader societal trends. The shifting attitude towards injured soldiers over the past century is no different. The rise of rehabilitative MSD since WWI resulted from two factors. First, during WWI, society changed its perception of returning injured soldiers from unlucky or unfortunate to war heroes. Second, the professionalisation of rehabilitative medicine was driven by the massive number of survivable war injuries and advancements in medical practices during the industrialised era of warfare.

This chapter argues that the status of rehabilitative practices has evolved alongside the profession of arms in the 20th century. The term “professional” within any field is a negotiated concept between the respective field (medicine, law, clergy, armed forces) and the society it serves. Maintaining professional status requires ongoing dialogue regarding

expectations from both parties. To analyse the diplomatic aspects of R-MSD, this chapter drew upon the attributes common to all professions—ethos, corporateness, expertise, and responsibility.

Utilising the global diplomacy framework—communication, representation, and negotiation—this chapter compared the message, structure, and responses to various forms of R-MSD: the nationalised version of the US Warrior Games, the international yet highly selective structure of the Invictus Games, and the ultra-inclusive nature of CISM’s Paraspport. Ultimately, all three examples of R-MSD exemplify Mary Kaldor’s argument for modern militaries to prioritise humanity and equality over extreme nationalism. As Kaldor stated,

I do not see any other way out of the current dangerous impasse than trying to establish a set of global rules based on consent. We have to find ways to minimise violence at a global level, in the same way that early modern thinkers envisaged civil society as a way of minimising violence at domestic levels. And this means opening up the conversation about what might be done.”⁴⁵⁹

R-MSD is one step towards reducing global violence. The highly spectatorial nature of the events enables soldiers from various nations to observe the human cost of war while experiencing firsthand how nations can collaborate through a shared passion for sports. If extreme nationalism fuels violence, perhaps R-MSD can mitigate it by redirecting attention to the qualities that render the profession of arms a uniquely human endeavour—one aimed at protecting and defending those who are unable to do so themselves. In contemplating the rationale for R-MSD, Dr. Ludwig Guttman’s original motivations for the Stoke Mandeville Games remain relevant. First, rehabilitative sports can serve as a physically curative factor for the participating athletes; second, the events can promote psychological well-being through recreation; and thirdly, they can promote and support social reintegration.⁴⁶⁰ The remainder of this chapter reviews the elements of the Global Diplomacy Framework applied to R-MSD.

⁴⁵⁹ Mary Kaldor, ‘The Idea of Global Civil Society’, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 79, no. 3 (2003): 593.

⁴⁶⁰ Brittain and Green, ‘Disability Sport Is Going Back to Its Roots’, 245–46.

Communication

The message of R-MSD is that all participating soldiers share a professional ethos composed of an esprit de corps and a corresponding creed. The esprit de corps encompasses a sense of passion and unity, while the creed comprises the supported virtues. In R-MSD, the ethos is that everyone deserves ethical treatment, irrespective of race, nationality, rank, or ability. After years of sacrifice in Afghanistan and Iraq, the message of the US Warrior Games was one of internal healing. Recognising a gap in coverage and a unique opportunity to assist those who have suffered, Prince Harry established the Invictus Games to promote international solidarity and playing the right way (with allies). Lastly, CISM advocates for true inclusivity in its model, inviting all member nations, whether historical allies or adversaries.

Representation

The structure of R-MSD underpins the principles of expertise and corporateness within the profession of arms. Expertise in rehabilitative sports signifies an understanding of one's role in the broader society, rather than merely the specific skills acquired through years of training and experience. Despite the injuries sustained by military personnel (whether physical or psychological), the structure of R-MSD fosters a corporate, enduring sense of belonging among members of the profession of arms. The US Warrior Games support service members and their families while encouraging and aiding those who can return to operational capacity.⁴⁶¹ The Invictus Games' structure champions the indomitable spirit of the profession of arms. Lastly, CISM promotes distinct competitive pathways between the Invictus/Warrior Games and the Paralympics, should participants pursue adaptive sports further.

Negotiation

⁴⁶¹ While altruistic, rehabilitative sports reduce the cost of years of Veterans Affairs disability payments and loss of service.

In R-MSD, external actions positively influence the internal belief system of the globally recognised profession of arms. In the United States, the Warrior Games serve as a testament to American society's support for its military professionals during and after their service. The games instil confidence that their service and sacrifice will not be forgotten. In the Invictus Games, the British ensure that the events are played in the right spirit—a spirit that values competition and the unconquerable spirit, irrespective of the results. Finally, although still in its early stages, CISM has broadened its scope to include all member nations, signalling a genuine commitment to friendship through sport. Most nations with standing militaries (141 and counting) have chosen to participate.⁴⁶² However, by opening the games to all nations, the organisation risks losing control over the engagements.

⁴⁶² Great Britain has not joined CISM.

Part III

Parts I and II explored the structures and diplomatic outcomes of the direct and indirect approaches in Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD) following World War I. Part III reflects on the insights gained from this historical analysis and explores the significance of these findings beyond the realm of sports. While “friendship through sports” is commendable, event organisers and practitioners should recognise that merely hosting events and participating does not guarantee successful diplomatic outcomes.

Part III comprises Chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 begins with an analysis of Critical Realism and the English School of International Relations in relation to MSD. This is followed by a discussion on the ethical implications of using sports to enhance relationships between foreign militaries. Chapter 8 extends the insights of Chapter 7 beyond sports.

Chapter 7: MSD in the Continuum Phase: Integrating the Direct and Indirect Approach

7.1 Critical Realism and MSD

The introductory chapter argued that Critical Realism helps develop theory for various reasons. First, the Critical Realist acknowledges rather than rejects two conflicting views of reality. The first, extreme positivism, centres on empirical observation, whereas the second, idealism, prioritises perceptions, experiences, and rationality in shaping reality.⁴⁶³ A third approach, postmodernism, or pure relativism, dismisses objective reality completely. The late curator of Critical Realism, Roy Bhaskar, argued that positivism and idealism often commit an “epistemic fallacy” by reducing reality to the researcher’s knowledge of reality. Idealism commits the epistemic fallacy by basing ontology on experiences, whereas positivism bases reality on the objects of experience—the “reduction to atomised events.”⁴⁶⁴ This fallacy is more readily accepted in controlled, closed systems that do not reflect the complex realities of our world.

This thesis acknowledges that human enterprises such as sports and warfare occur within a complex adaptive system where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The nonlinear nature of each sport leads to unpredictability between the agents and the environment in which they operate. When approaching research, the Critical Realist asks, “What must the world be like to enable a particular phenomenon that interests us?”⁴⁶⁵ Applied to MSD, the question is, “What must the nature of sports in the profession of arms be like to enable particular diplomatic outcomes?” The researcher then looks for generative mechanisms that influence (enable or restrict) the phenomenon in question. Aligned with Critical Realist reasoning, this thesis proposed four broad event categories—special, enduring, improvised, and rehabilitative—each containing specific structures and generative mechanisms that lead to different diplomatic outcomes.

⁴⁶³ Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, Verso Classics 9 (London: Verso, 1997), 13.

⁴⁶⁴ Bhaskar, 16.

⁴⁶⁵ Edwards, O’Mahoney, and Vincent, *Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism*, 225.

The following section expands upon the three core principles of MSD outlined in the introductory chapter: ontological realism, epistemic relativism, and judgmental rationality. The first principle, ontological realism, asserts that objective reality exists independently of our perception or knowledge of truth. The second principle, epistemic relativism, posits that knowledge of reality is transitive, finite, contextual, and fallible. Still, through the third principle, judgmental rationality, researchers decide between conflicting truths, selecting the most logical or virtuous path while recognising that future refinements will be necessary.⁴⁶⁶

In military sports, ontological realism distinguishes between “the intransitive realm of objects and events, and the transitive realm of our knowledge of them.”⁴⁶⁷ One does not merely perceive players as biological, social, and moral; each player is intrinsically and simultaneously biological, social, and moral.”⁴⁶⁸ An intentional MSD strategy, whether in the direct or indirect approach, must account for each element: (1) biologically—sports enhance fitness and health among soldiers in participating nations; (2) socially—sports can foster cohesion or competition through a shared love of play; and (3) morally—sports (played in the right spirit) can promote virtues that transcend oneself or the state. Concerning the moral element, the starting point in MSD is that an objective, universal morality exists independently of the knower. Just as the rules of tennis or football can be considered “real,” so too are the virtuous thoughts and actions that exist apart from the knower. Ideally, sports assist in adapting an individual or group’s character to these higher virtues. Chapter 8 explores this concept more thoroughly.

The second principle, epistemic relativism, bridges the gap between absolute certainty and extreme scepticism.⁴⁶⁹ Military practitioners may erroneously look to history to solve their current dilemmas, but “the past is infinitely various—an inexhaustible storehouse of events from which we can prove anything or its contrary.”⁴⁷⁰ Despite acknowledging shortcomings, the researcher has a rational warrant to embrace and act on conclusions “until they

⁴⁶⁶ Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism*, 9.

⁴⁶⁷ Wright, 11.

⁴⁶⁸ Wright, 12.

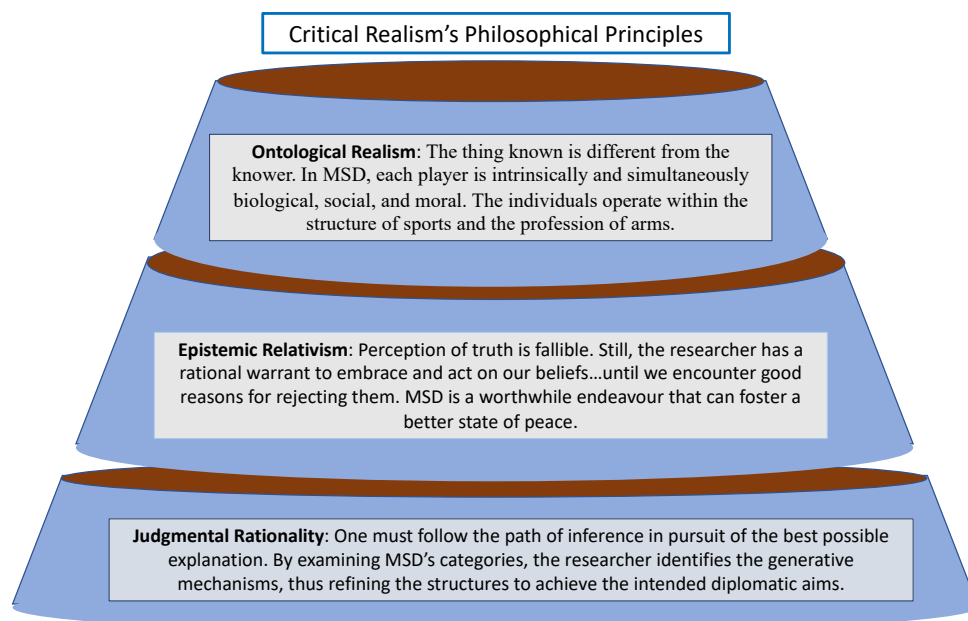
⁴⁶⁹ Wright, 14.

⁴⁷⁰ Michael Howard, *The Lessons of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 11.

encounter good reasons for rejecting them.”⁴⁷¹ Having reviewed the four categories, this thesis argues that sports can facilitate positive interactions between foreign militaries yet, planners and practitioners alike must be wary of prophetic declarations on the inherent nature of sports to effect positive change without appreciating the potential downsides. Within the competition continuum, this includes tendencies towards extreme competition and violence (direct approach) or a lack of engagement (indirect approach).

Finally, judgmental rationality asserts that “all accounts of reality are not of equal value,” yet the historian “must follow the path of inference in pursuit of the best possible explanation.”⁴⁷² Having examined the types of events in Parts I and II, the challenge lies in structuring the interactions to achieve the diplomatic ends, whether within sports or other domains. The following figure visually depicts the principles of Critical Realism as they pertain to MSD.

Figure 15 Critical Realism’s Core Principles and MSD



⁴⁷¹ Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism*, 14.

⁴⁷² Wright, 15.

In addition to the three principles explained above, Critical Realism attempts to remove obstacles in the path to knowledge.⁴⁷³ It does so by presenting a depth or layered ontology to include three domains: the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*. The domains give structure to the “generative mechanisms or social structures...and the relations that govern them”⁴⁷⁴ In contrast to the positivist approach that reduces phenomenon to events or the idealist focus on experience, the Critical Realist argues that, in a complex-open system, the acknowledgement of domains allows the historian to penetrate behind the surface of events, experiences, and perceptions.⁴⁷⁵ The following graph provides an overview of the domains and phases in Critical Realism. The real domain includes the causal relationships that produce events in the actual domain that, in turn, provide structure for the experiences in the empirical domain.

Figure 16 Bhaskar’s Critical Realism Domains⁴⁷⁶

	<i>Domain of Real</i>	<i>Domain of Actual</i>	<i>Domain of Empirical</i>
<i>Mechanisms</i>	✓		
<i>Events</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Experiences</i>	✓	✓	✓

In MSD, the domains have clear boundaries. The real domain contains the social structures (mechanisms) that constrain or enable the events in the actual domain. These structures exist independent of the players' perceptions of them. The events in the actual domain are the matches or practices that “create, maintain, and change” the generative mechanisms or structures in the real domain.⁴⁷⁷ Finally, the empirical domain includes the experiences of the soldier-athletes, organisers, and spectators who participate in the events.

⁴⁷³ P.J. Dobson, ‘Critical Realism and IS Research - Why Bother with Philosophy?’, *Information Research*, 2002, 7(2).

⁴⁷⁴ Stephen Ackroyd and Steve Fleetwood, ‘Realism in Contemporary Organisation and Management Studies’, 1 January 2000, 13.

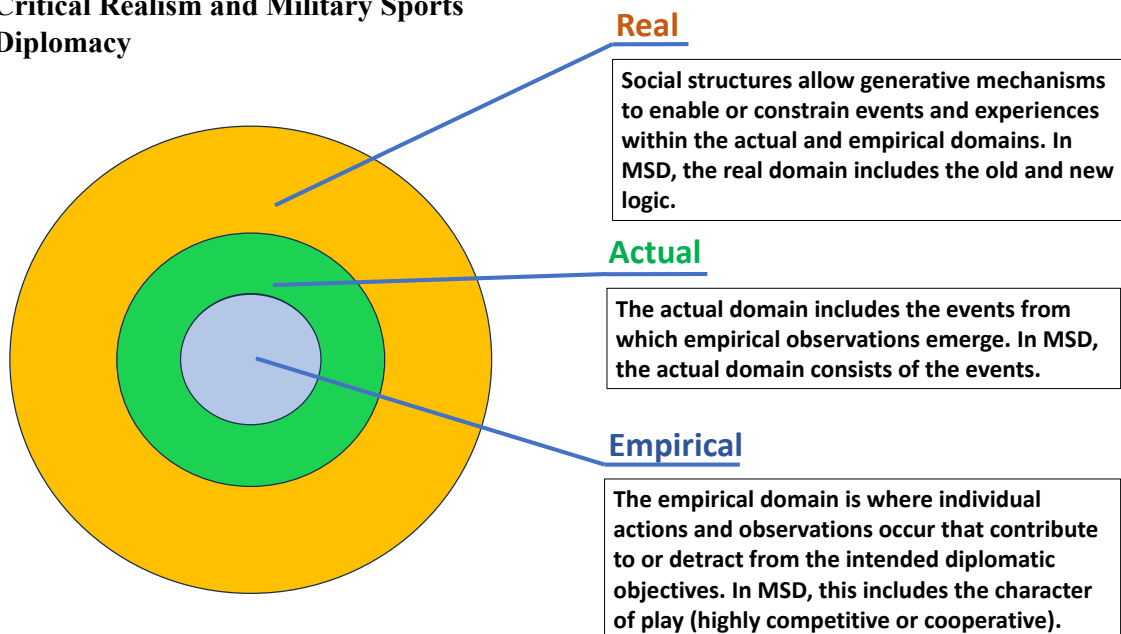
⁴⁷⁵ Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 13.

⁴⁷⁶ Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, 2.

⁴⁷⁷ Brad C. Anderson, *Developing Organizational and Managerial Wiosdom* (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, 2020), <https://kpu.pressbooks.pub/bcanders2000/>.

Figure 17 CR's layered ontology in MSD. Adapted from Jessica Cockburn's figure⁴⁷⁸

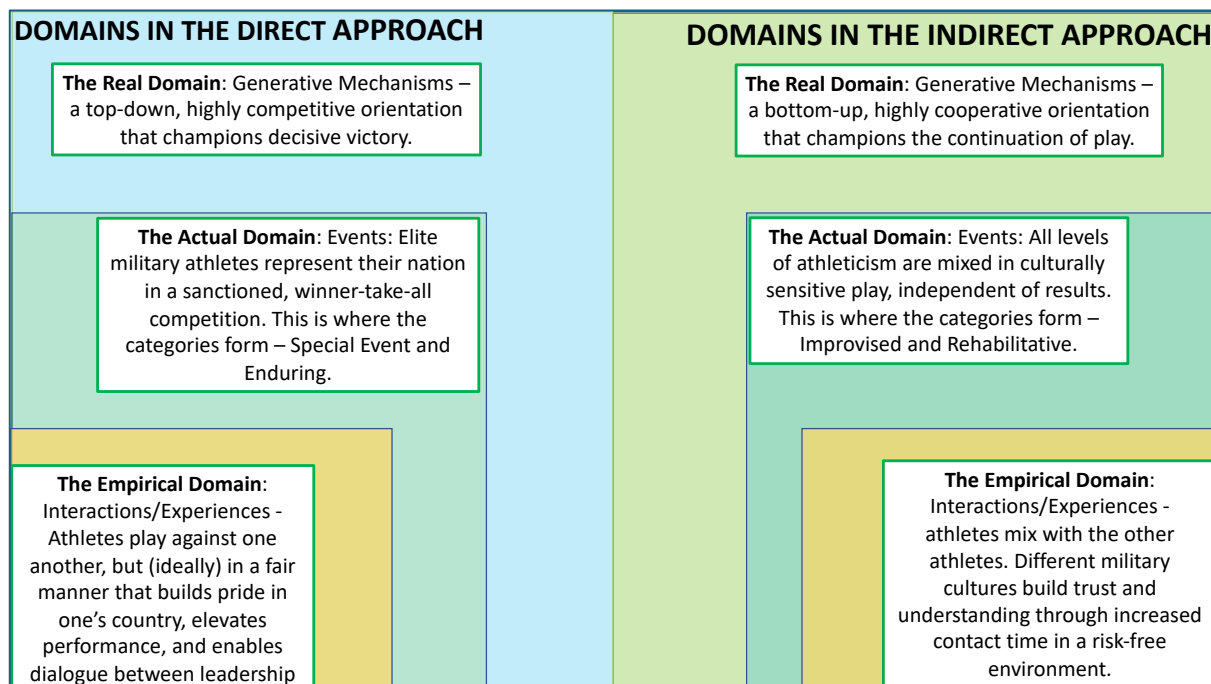
Critical Realism and Military Sports Diplomacy



The decision to implement a top-down (direct approach) or bottom-up (indirect approach) strategy depends on the diplomatic aims, the available resources, and the ability to modify the social structure to achieve the desired outcomes. As stated, the structure and mechanisms in the direct approach encourage national pride and increased dialogue between leadership in a more rigid format whereas the indirect approach of MSD promotes trust, understanding, and increased cohesion at the interpersonal level via a more flexible format. The following chart elaborates on the domains within the respective orientations.

⁴⁷⁸ Jessica Cockburn, 'Knowledge Integration in Transdisciplinary Sustainability Science: Tools from Applied Critical Realism', *Sustainable Development* 30 (16 December 2021): 362, <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.2279>.

Figure 18 Domains in the Direct and Indirect Approaches to MSD



Domains of the Direct Approach

The *Real Domain's* generative mechanisms: An ultra-competitive orientation influences events in the actual domain. While it may seem negative, Part I emphasised that competition alone is not morally wrong. When properly managed by organisers and players, competition can encourage virtuous behaviour.

The *Actual Domain*: The events are designed to reward elite, highly trained athletes who represent their military well by competing fiercely with the objective of winning.

The *Empirical Domain*: Interactions primarily occur among the vetted members of the same team who train and compete together or among the leadership who attend the highly spectatorial events. The only interaction with the players of opposing teams takes place during the competition itself.

Mitigation factors within the categories of events in the direct approach to MSD:

- a. Special Event: The tendency for extreme competition is mitigated by limiting the duration and scope of the event, actively managing the players' actions, and reinforcing a message of cooperation.
- b. Enduring: The tendency for extreme competition is moderated by prioritising inclusivity (all nations) while celebrating the efforts of nations or teams that may not traditionally perform well.

The Domains of the Indirect Approach

The *Real Domain's* generative mechanisms: a shared passion for play influences events in the actual domain. As discussed in Part II, the challenge of this type of play is maintaining interest. Humanity is motivated by outcomes—winning and losing. The emphasis on playing with others may not provide sufficient incentive to engage players.

The *Actual Domain*: The events are designed to promote the continuation of play “with” rather than “against” one another.

The *Empirical Domain*: When teams are mixed, interactions occur among the various groups rather than solely within them.

Mitigation factors within the categories of the new logic of MSD:

- a. Improvised: The ad-hoc and spontaneous nature of these events encourages a cooperative rather than competitive mindset. The games often provide a respite from the other stresses encountered in the military profession. The focus on individual abilities is reduced in favour of continuous play.

- b. Rehabilitative: The events remind soldiers and the society they serve of the attributes inherent to the profession of arms: ethos, expertise, responsibility, and corporateness.

7.2 MSD and the English School of International Relations

Having examined the ontological and epistemological foundations through Critical Realism, this section transitions to the English School of International Relations (IR). The English School complements Critical Realism by accounting for the complexity of individual and group interactions. This thesis argues that rival schools in international relations often oversimplify the nature of state interactions. Realism overstates its case by suggesting that nations focus solely on competitive survival. The study of MSD views competition as necessary but not the only factor in state relations. Conversely, Liberalism places significant emphasis on the internal makeup of states—both moral and physical—arguing that cooperation can prevail over competition through shared interests. If this thesis were to “choose a side,” it would lean towards Liberalism. Still, the English School of IR acknowledges that all international relations involve a mix of competition and cooperation. MSD in the direct approach prioritises competition, while MSD in the indirect approach prioritises cooperation. Nonetheless, a combination of both will always exist within each orientation.

Finally, Constructivism emphasises the importance of ideas and norms. According to constructivists, a state's internal nature shapes its citizens' values, which they express externally. Military Sport Diplomacy (MSD) is not solely about competition, cooperation, or the convergence of shared or divergent values and norms; any sporting event involving foreign militaries comprises a mix of these elements to varying degrees. This thesis posits that the English School serves as an appropriate model that acknowledges each of these components.

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Hedley Bull, a professor of international relations in the 1970s, argued that three constructs shape international relations: the international system, international society, and world society. The international system

occurs when two or more states have enough influence or impact to behave as parts of a whole (rather than separate entities). Next, an international society exists when like-minded states “conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules.”⁴⁷⁹ It is important to note that institutions in the English School are not merely bureaucratic structures; rather, they emerge from the practices and norms that influence a state’s approach to external relations in areas such as diplomacy, warfare, and sports.⁴⁸⁰ The third element, world society, highlights the importance of individuals, for “the ultimate units of the great society of mankind are not states . . . but individual human beings.”⁴⁸¹

In MSD, the international system encompasses the decisions of like-minded militaries that work together towards a common objective. Although seemingly straightforward, in today’s globalised era, the choice to partner with a foreign military is intricate, as illustrated by the militaries of Israel and the British military, which, for logical reasons, have never joined the 141 nations currently part of CISM. Chapter 3 examined the reasons for the British military’s absence. Concerning Israel, one could surmise that it prefers not to jeopardise further escalation with its Arab neighbours, which are part of CISM, including Lebanon, Egypt, Palestine,⁴⁸² and Iran.

While some countries choose not to participate, this thesis contends that, within an international society, sports possess a unique ability to transcend cultural boundaries and unite diverse cultures under a shared set of rules (norms). Ultimately, the world society in the English School acknowledges the significance of the individual in bringing about change. The final section of this chapter examines the ethical implications of the world society concerning MSD.

⁴⁷⁹ Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, 13.

⁴⁸⁰ Bull, *The Anarchical Society*.

⁴⁸¹ Bull, 21.

⁴⁸² Mentioned in Chapter 3, but CISM expanded the definition of a nation in 2014 to include Palestine.

7.3 Ethical Considerations of MSD

Although often not explicit, this thesis argues that the profession of arms (and all mankind) recognises the existence of a moral code (also referred to as a moral law) that stands apart from the individual knower.⁴⁸³ To access these virtues, the modern profession of arms prioritises ethics training and education through three approaches. The first, ethical consequences, focuses on the outcomes of a given moral action, where the consequences occur in the future. The second approach, ethical duty, pertains to the present and is rooted in the Kantian notion of the “categorical imperative.” One must act “as if the maxims of your action were to become a universal law of nature.”⁴⁸⁴ In this regard, an act is moral if it is deemed fitting for mankind, even if damaging in the short term. The first two approaches can pose risks in military settings; for instance, some subordinate troops have claimed they were merely following the orders of their superiors when questioned about immoral actions. Lastly, virtue ethics emphasises “not on weighing outcomes or following rules but on building moral character.”⁴⁸⁵ A focus on virtue ethics is not solely about a specific action or the consequences of that action, but about developing the moral character of an individual or group. In this research, virtues such as fairness, equality, and justice are viewed as universal traits that military sports can foster, thereby reducing the likelihood of immoral practices within the profession of arms.

This thesis posits that MSD can cultivate virtue ethics in individuals or groups by (1) fostering a Socratic, dialogic attitude that questions right and wrong, (2) developing the soldier’s commitment to virtuous thought and action, and (3) understanding how to embody one’s internalised values in the face of inevitable hardships.⁴⁸⁶ While it may be convenient to blame a single “rotten apple” when a moral crisis occurs, the crisis is often symptomatic of an extended gestation period of blurred standards. In the context of multinational military operations, one factor to consider is the diffusion of responsibility.

⁴⁸³ Cowardice and avarice are considered immoral, regardless of the culture.

⁴⁸⁴ Désirée Verweij, Peter Olsthoorn, and Eva van Baarle, eds., *Ethics and Military Practice*, International Studies on Military Ethics, vol. 9 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill Nijhoff, 2022), 18.

⁴⁸⁵ Verweij, Olsthoorn, and Baarle, 19.

⁴⁸⁶ Verweij, Olsthoorn, and Baarle, 21.

A diffusion of responsibility is often necessary when military personnel are tasked with accomplishing a wide range of operational objectives. Junior troops are seen as technical experts and granted considerable autonomy. Consequently, leadership becomes disconnected from the tactical levels, and junior soldiers may simply "check the box" or go through the motions while collaborating with a partner nation. As the diffusion of responsibility increases with the introduction of more instructors and checklists, who is ultimately accountable when a moral dilemma arises—the young enlisted soldier or the disengaged leadership?

MSD can minimise the likelihood of adverse actions at both individual and group levels. When approached correctly, sport can foster a value-based, just culture that celebrates differences while promoting dialogue before engaging with a partner nation. All parties should be encouraged to express their concerns when ethical challenges arise.

7.4 Conclusion

Within today's competitive landscape, the human element is often overlooked in favour of technological advancements such as artificial intelligence, intelligence-surveillance-reconnaissance, or precision engagement from remotely piloted aircraft. However, this thesis argues that "skill, leadership, morale, discipline, and unit cohesion" are equally vital in determining outcomes in the operational environment.⁴⁸⁷ If true, MSD, whether through the direct or indirect approach, can positively influence these elements, leading to more effective performance on or off the sports field.

Ultimately, this thesis is realistic, recognising that most contemporary militaries are more concerned with enhancing operational effectiveness than on promoting abstract concepts such as "virtues" or a "global conscience." However, if the modern profession of arms acknowledges that its primary purpose is to protect and defend the societies it serves—doing so, when necessary, through the threat or use of force—this thesis argues that

⁴⁸⁷ Edward Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*, Rev. and enl. ed (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 105.

practicing virtuous thoughts and actions in sports can enhance effectiveness among foreign militaries. The concluding chapter examines how insights gained from a historical review of MSD can inform military doctrine beyond the sporting arena.

Chapter 8: Towards Military Diplomacy Doctrine

The US Joint Publication *Doctrine for the Armed Forces* states that doctrine is built upon historical analysis, providing fundamental principles to help achieve national objectives.⁴⁸⁸ In support of this definition, Chapter 8 identifies core principles in military diplomacy that can guide planning and application. The US Joint Publication 3-16 on *Multinational Operations* states, “After World War II, General Dwight D. Eisenhower noted that “mutual confidence” is the “one basic thing that will make allied commands work.”⁴⁸⁹ The document then lists the tenets of multinational military operations as “respect, rapport, knowledge of partners, patience, mission focus, teambuilding, trust, and confidence,” before issuing a warning that neglecting these tenets can result in mission failure due to a lack of unity of effort.⁴⁹⁰ Over the subsequent 180 pages, the authors elaborate on command structures, funding, rules of engagement, the avoidance of friendly fire, and various other tactical concerns in multinational operations.

This thesis argues that Joint Publication 3-16 mistakenly begins diplomatic planning at the tactical level.⁴⁹¹ However, when preparing for diplomatic events across the competition spectrum—whether in sports, training exercises, or diplomatic interactions during combat operations—planners must define the desired outcomes and understand the nature of the event before focusing on tactical details. This chapter aims to bridge the gap in the literature by establishing fundamental doctrine in the emerging field of military diplomacy. Before moving forward, it is helpful to clarify what this thesis means by military diplomacy (MD). MD encompasses the various approaches utilised by the profession of arms “to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust, and assist in developing democratically accountable armed forces, thereby contributing significantly to conflict prevention and resolution.”⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁸ ‘Joint Publication (JP) 1’, *Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office [GPO]*, 12 July 2017, pt. I–I, https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp1_ch1.pdf;

⁴⁸⁹ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ‘Joint Publication 3-16: Multinational Operations’ (12 February 2021), chap. I–2, https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp3_16.pdf#page23.

⁴⁹⁰ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, loc. I–2.

⁴⁹¹ In Critical Realist terms, the tactical level can be compared to the experiences in the empirical domain. This thesis attempts to “zoom out” to the events in the actual domain.

⁴⁹² “‘Defence Diplomacy,” MoD Policy Paper 1’.

Whereas MSD focuses on sports, MD incorporates various methods to foster friendly engagements between foreign militaries, including education, training, coalition exercises, health care, and humanitarian/disaster relief efforts. As the first chapter stated, research into sports history offers a “dynamic and accessible window” into various other fields.⁴⁹³ The lessons of Parts I and II provide the historical analysis to help build doctrine in the broader field of military diplomacy.

The subsequent sections begin with a brief overview of the categories—special, enduring, improvised, and rehabilitative—applied to MD. This is followed by an analysis using the concepts from the English School of International Relations (IR). Each section concludes with a summary of the global diplomacy framework (communication, representation, and negotiation) in relation to the broader field of MD.

8.1 The Direct Approach in Military Diplomacy

Special Event MD

In military diplomacy, like MSD, an event is regarded as "special" if it is limited in duration and scope and is unique. The event may involve a dinner among foreign military leaders or a short-duration exercise concentrating on a specific military capability. In the researcher's previous community, the US Air Force hosted an annual rescue exercise, inviting numerous nations to participate. For a week, foreign militaries travelled to Tucson, Arizona, where rescue professionals shared best practices in areas such as close air support, night aviation operations, advancements in location technology, and life-saving medical procedures. The event was named Angel Thunder, and the emphasis on rescue operations is what rendered it "special."

The English School of International Relations: An international system emerges in Special Event MD when two foreign militaries establish sufficient contact to behave as part of a

⁴⁹³ S. W. Pope, ed., *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives*, Sport and Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 3.

whole, albeit for a limited time. In the case of Angel Thunder, the US Air Force invited seasoned helicopter crews from the Pakistani Air Force to participate and share their best practices. Despite operating alongside other nations, each side opted not to disclose certain elements and practices due to their classification levels. They remained separate while collaborating. The second concept of the English School encompasses the international society, which pertains to the rules or norms shared during the limited engagement. In the case of Angel Thunder, the helicopter pilots tended to congregate with their fellow helicopter pilots, while medical personnel naturally gathered with similar, foreign medical professionals. In the brief duration of Special Events, individuals who share similarities in their professional practices (norms) naturally liaised with one another. Finally, the World Society involves interpersonal interactions that foster a team mentality. As a uniquely human enterprise, this is where the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation comes into play.

Communication: By allocating resources and personnel to the special event, the participating militaries indicate that the partnership is worth pursuing, although in a limited capacity. As with the other categories, the rationale for engagement must be clear to all parties.

Representation: The structure of the special event is typically formal, providing clear objectives for the engagement. However, the different groups often do not mix but maintain their distinct identities. In the case of Angel Thunder, the Pakistani pilots did not fly with the American pilots in a mixed crew. The limited time available during the engagements often increases the pressure to make each interaction count, leaving little room for interactions in informal settings.

Negotiation: Typically, one nation acts as the host to enhance the performance of other nations. In the case of Angel Thunder, the US Air Force shared unclassified best practices with the participating foreign militaries. Relationships established over a relatively short period often provide the foundation for future, lasting connections.

Enduring MD

In military diplomacy, a relationship is deemed enduring if intended to support the participating nations over an extended period. Unlike Angel Thunder, where nations gather, learn, and then return home after a brief period, Enduring MD acknowledges the advantages of prolonged engagement. An example of Enduring MD is the United Nations-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which lasted from 2004 to 2014. While conducting medevac missions in Afghanistan, US forces regularly collaborated with British helicopter teams to bolster ISAF efforts. During his "day off" in 2010 at Camp Bastion in Afghanistan, the author worked at the British Joint Helicopter Forces Afghanistan (JHFA) Headquarters every Monday. The decision to assign an American liaison to the British staff exemplified the commitment in Enduring MD, as the goal was to ensure continuous cooperation and deconfliction between the allied nations.

The English School of International Relations: The international system of Enduring MD arises when two or more foreign militaries decide to collaborate over an extended period. Their commitment to long-term, shared objectives surpasses the limited focus of Special Event MD. In terms of the international society, this partnership may stem from a mutual threat or a shared interest in future security initiatives. Countries joining NATO or ISAF serve as examples of Enduring MD. The world society of Enduring MD encompasses a practical evaluation of the soldiers' capabilities and the potential for future collaboration. In a realist sense, there is an expected return on investment in these engagements. Finally, enduring MD acknowledges that the individuals in the profession of arms are the key players in diplomatic engagements. While leadership may sign the agreements, it is the soldiers, rather than aeroplanes, ships, or tanks, who cultivate trust and understanding among the partner nations.

Most literature from the United States and Great Britain pertains to Enduring MD. US Joint Publication 3-20 on *Security Cooperation* (SC) states that the purpose of engagement is "to develop partnerships that encourage and enable partner nations (PNs) to act in support of

aligned US strategic objectives.”⁴⁹⁴ The text elaborates that SC “benefits the US military through theatre and sociocultural orientation that improves readiness for training and advising foreign security forces (FSF).”⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, efforts should support one or more of the following three categories: (1) capability/capacity building, (2) global access, or (3) advancing US interests. Whereas capability refers to the PN’s skill at executing a given task, capacity refers to the PN’s ability to “self-sustain and self-replicate a given capability.”⁴⁹⁶ The second category includes supporting and sustaining global access to US defence forces, and the third category is the alignment of strategic partnerships to support US interests.

Although using different terms, modern militaries grapple with their shifting role in the 21st century. The United States and Great Britain emphasise the importance of “upstream conflict prevention” through intentional military action.⁴⁹⁷ The United States uses *security cooperation*, while the British Ministry of Defence uses *stabilisation efforts*. In support of stabilisation efforts, the British Ministry of Defence states that the military must be part of an integrated approach, as understanding international relations and security is critical for progress. Additionally, the British text states that, when possible, defence engagement should be an intentional military contribution to soft power, where all actions are planned and executed to support a narrative that advances peace.⁴⁹⁸

When pursuing a better state of peace, each element of the global diplomacy framework has a specific meaning within Enduring MD.

Communication: In Enduring MD, there is sufficient overlap in cultural values, shared interests, or a common threat to merit a formal, lasting agreement between the foreign militaries. In contrast to Special Event MD, Enduring MD often encompasses the potential or reality of future combat operations.

⁴⁹⁴ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ‘Joint Publication 3-20: Security Cooperation’, 23 May 2017, pt. I–2.

⁴⁹⁵ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, pt. I–2.

⁴⁹⁶ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, pt. I–3.

⁴⁹⁷ Chiefs of Staff, ‘Joint Publication 05 Shaping a Stable World: The Military Contribution’, March 2016, 29, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/516849/20160302-Stable_world_JDP_05.pdf.

⁴⁹⁸ Chiefs of Staff, 121.

Representation: Although differences between the militaries persist, the extended duration of these events encourages collaboration. The arrival of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in late 1917 in Europe during WWI exemplifies the relationships among foreign militaries in Enduring MSD. The AEF worked with the Allies towards a common goal but remained distinct throughout WWI.

Negotiation: Unlike Special Event MD, the nature of Enduring MD provides further opportunities to cultivate relationships with foreign partnerships. Promoting engagement at all levels (tactical, operational, and strategic) is crucial for maintaining and enhancing the coalition's effectiveness.

8.2 The Indirect Approach in Military Diplomacy

Improvised MD

The nature of Improvised MD is spontaneous and bottom-up. Although challenging to define and easy to overlook, this method is common in security, stabilisation, and other diplomatic engagements among foreign militaries. Improvised MD often occurs during downtime before or after formal training or exercises. In *Theatre of Power*, author Raymond Cohen argues that a significant component of diplomacy occurs in settings that can be likened to theatre, where the “backdrop, performances and appearances are used to carry political messages.”⁴⁹⁹ In Improvised MD, the context influences relationships.

The English School of International Relations: In Improvised MD, the international system is less defined than in the previous two categories (Special and Enduring MD). It may encompass opportunities for cultural crossover through shared language, food, professional skills, or sports. Unlike Enduring MD, a formal statement of intentions from either party rarely occurs in Improvised MD. The international society involves acknowledging the rules or norms that connect foreign militaries, a component that does not always extend to leadership levels. The bottom-up nature drives more interactions at the personal level that

⁴⁹⁹ Cohen, *Theatre of Power*, 7.

enables the partner nations to act as a unified whole rather than as separate forces occupying the same space. Finally, the world society in Improvised MD emphasises the individual soldier's ability to foster trust and understanding with one another. The soldiers are the ones who identify and leverage the commonalities of the partner nations..

Communication: The message of Improvised MD encourages soldiers from all nations to engage. The differences between foreign cultures often make interactions attractive, drawing in the troops. The starting point is curiosity—a desire to learn about the partner nation.

Representation: The structure of Improvised MD is contingent upon the backdrop, meaning what or who is available. In these engagements, there is a reduced emphasis on nationality.

Negotiation: In Improvised MD, interactions often arise from the initiative of soldiers at the tactical level. This may involve an impromptu concert or a cricket match in which one nation teaches another how to play. Leadership should recognise and encourage these activities rather than suppress them, as they foster trust and reinforce the concept of collaborating with, rather than against, or merely alongside, another group.

Rehabilitative MD

The final category, Rehabilitative MD, is valuable when addressing or anticipating challenges among foreign militaries. Since this thesis centres on the human domain, diplomatic strategists must recognise that “to err is human.” Awkward missteps inevitably occur. For instance, a younger troop may make a mistake that casts a negative light on the visiting or host nations' military. When the author was a younger pilot flying in Japan, he frequently transported American and Japanese military leadership to meetings where they discussed the most recent civil-military challenges.

The English School of International Relations: In Rehabilitative MD, both parties must first recognise their tendency to make mistakes. Only by admitting fault or acknowledging their inclination to err can they begin to operate as a cohesive entity again—as part of an international system. Within the context of international society, one party may have violated a shared norm, practice, or value. Ultimately, the world society includes the individual soldiers, sailors, and airmen who possess the capacity to forgive and move forward.

Communication: Rehabilitative MD emphasises that, even with noble intentions, operating within a coalition environment presents challenges at both the individual and group levels; errors are likely to occur. Nonetheless, personal and team growth can still take place.

Representation: To strengthen relationships, leadership must emphasise the common qualities inherent in military service. *Ethos:* What is the shared reason that troops participate as a coalition? *Expertise:* How can troops improve their skill levels and efficiency by collaborating with partner nations? *Corporateness:* Despite cultural differences, soldiers belong to a globally recognised profession of arms, committed to protecting those who cannot defend themselves.

Negotiation: It is helpful to recognise potential friction points between foreign militaries before, during, and after engagements. Acknowledging mistakes is the first step towards restoring diplomatic relations. Planners should not overlook infractions; instead, they should address them and explore ways to overcome them.⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ This thesis recognises that “acknowledging” an infraction does not mean amplifying it. Sometimes, it is better to handle the problem internally.

8.3 Conclusion

Today's militaries recognise the need for centralised control and decentralised execution when operating in the competition continuum. Commanders must not, and should not, micromanage every decision. The term "mission command" has emerged as a significant concept for describing unit effectiveness. It is defined as "the empowerment of subordinates to make decisions in decentralised environments and appropriate to the situation."⁵⁰¹

When attempting to facilitate effective mission command in diplomatic engagements, this thesis argues that the cardinal virtues of ancient Greece are valuable. These include wisdom, courage, justice, and temperance. In diplomatic contexts, wisdom involves understanding the nature of the situation and how to connect the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. Courage encompasses both physical and moral dimensions, as well as persevering through unforeseen challenges. Justice entails treating others fairly and charitably, regardless of gender, race, or nationality. Finally, temperance (or moderation) signifies knowing the appropriate limits and not exceeding them. Thus, utilising the four cardinal virtues, effective mission command requires knowing when to engage (wisdom), what tools to use and how (courage and justice), and perhaps most importantly, when to stop or disengage (temperance). The absence of virtuous mission command is characterised by a lack of the cardinal virtues—ignorance, cowardice, injustice, and recklessness—terms that no soldier or group, at any time or in any culture, would wish to be associated with.

The question of virtuosity in the military remains as relevant today as it was in ancient Greece. In 2023, a US Congressman questioned the Commandant of a United States Service Academy, Lt. General Richard Clark, regarding certain training initiatives that emphasised ethical leadership at the expense of technical or tactical proficiencies. Representative Matt Gaetz argued that the training was merely a distraction that weakened the military rather

⁵⁰¹ ADP 6-0 *Mission Command*, Army Doctrine Publication (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2019), 3.

than enhancing efficiency.⁵⁰² As evidence, Gaetz referenced the Mongols, who likely did not prioritise training outside combat but were remarkably effective warriors. However, Representative Gaetz overlooked the fact that the profession of arms is not solely about efficiency. By employing the logic of the Mongols, Representative Gaetz could just as easily have cited the Nazis' brutal efficiency, aimed at eradicating "lesser races" from their nation. This thesis contends that a mission command grounded in virtuous thought and actions would recognise that while the Mongols (and the Nazis) might be efficient, they acted for the wrong reasons and in the wrong manner.

The categories presented in this thesis aim to access these higher virtues, whether in sports or other diplomatic engagements. Special Event MD achieves this through a unique, brief, and intense engagement, highlighting commonalities between diverse groups. Enduring MD reaches the higher virtues through lasting formal agreements. Improvised MD employs a bottom-up approach that leverages available resources (personnel and materials). Lastly, Rehabilitative MD acknowledges humanity's tendency to err while maintaining faith in the capacity for forgiveness, healing, and growth.

⁵⁰² This thesis does not analyse the methods or the time allotted to D&I training, which may sometimes be misplaced.

Conclusion

In the author's previous role as a rescue pilot, every training sortie began with a briefing outlining the desired learning objectives (DLOs). Ideally, the DLOs were *specific, measurable, and attainable*, assisting crewmembers—including pararescuemen, flight engineers, gunners, and pilots—to concentrate on their daily tasks. Following the sortie, the DLOs provided a framework for perhaps the most critical phase of a training sortie: the debrief. Since there was never a perfect flight, the aircraft commanders would review each phase—including take-off, mission, terminal area, refuelling, and gunnery—while referencing the DLOs. The debrief allowed for a review of lessons learned and an acknowledgment of mistakes. The remainder of this chapter examines the DLOs of the thesis: the research questions and research aims outlined in the introductory chapter and explored in Parts I, II, and III.

Research Questions

Two key questions were posed in the introduction of this thesis. The first research question (RQ1) examined the past and how Great Britain and the United States influenced the orientation of Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD) after World War I. The second question (RQ2) inquired about how modern militaries should utilize sports (or other innovative methods of diplomacy) to foster trust and understanding through the continuum of competition, encompassing both direct and indirect approaches. To answer the first question, this thesis proposed that during the 20th century, the orientation of sports played between foreign militaries reflected shifts in warfare from an approach prioritising decisive victory to one that values influencing through the competition continuum. Notably, there is no clear chronological demarcation between direct and indirect approaches, but in hindsight, one can observe the acceleration of this shift after WWII, during the Cold War. This thesis introduced four categories of MSD to analyse this transition: two in the direct approach and two in the indirect. The direct approach comprises Special Events MSD and Enduring MSD, while the indirect approach consists of Improvised MSD and Rehabilitative MSD. Each category was analysed using the global diplomacy framework of communication

(intended message), representation (structure), and negotiation (access and feedback). The following sections will review the characteristics of both the direct and indirect approaches.

The Direct Approach

Special Event MSD is characterised by limited objectives and a shorter duration, attracting participants through its unique appeal. As it falls within the direct approach, this category is highly competitive, rewarding winners. The 1919 Inter-Allied Games was examined as a representative case study. The second category, Enduring MSD, is longer and includes sports recognised worldwide. Like Special Event MSD, the structure of Enduring MSD is highly competitive. The formation and evolution of CISM was chosen as a representative case study for Enduring MSD. Both categories are characterised by the highly spectatorial nature of the events that engage competitors and audiences alike. Ideally, the events increase the performance of the competing nations while fostering cohesion within the participating teams. Simultaneously, they offer opportunities for leaders to convene on friendly terms, promoting summit diplomacy. However, the nature of these events also tends towards extreme competition that can erode diplomacy, if not actively managed. Organisers must continually remind the athletes that the reason for the competition extends beyond the sports fields. The case studies in Part I underscore the tendency of MSD within the direct approach to be eclipsed by the pursuit of personal or team glory.

The Indirect Approach

Improvised MSD is characterised by the creative ability of troops to utilise what they have on hand, including time, equipment, fields, and personnel. As a result, these events place less emphasis on ability or sporting acumen. Players prioritise the continuation of play rather than the cessation of play through winning. The bottom-up nature of Improvised MSD is challenging to define due to the vast spectrum of settings in which it occurs. This research focused on the Jim Thorpe Sports Days (JTSD) held annually in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, among senior war colleges. The event aligns with the definition of Improvised MSD, but unlike most events that remain undocumented, the JTSD maintained archival data, including opening speech scripts, game formats and results, and correspondence between the respective

schools. Finally, in an environment that increasingly emphasises technological advancements over positive engagements in the human domain, Rehabilitative MSD acknowledges that sacrifice is inherent to the profession of arms. Like Improvised MSD, the emphasis in Rehabilitative MSD is not (only) winning but on the shared attributes of the globally recognised profession of arms that includes an ethos, responsibility, corporateness, and expertise. Whereas the challenge of MSD in the direct approach is escalation towards extreme competition, the challenge of the indirect approach is to attract and engage players and the audience.

Research Aims

In addition to the research questions, the introductory chapter posited that this thesis contributes to diplomacy and strategic studies in two ways. Empirically, it is the first in-depth historical analysis of foreign militaries' intentional use of sports for diplomatic aims with other foreign militaries. The second aim was to identify structures and mechanisms within the respective diplomatic categories that can inform policy beyond the playing field.

The first aim was undeniably ambitious. While it is impossible to encompass every possible engagement between foreign militaries in sports following WWI, the four categories of MSD allowed the researcher to focus on the nature of the events rather than merely cataloguing the entire history. This thesis argues that globalisation in the 19th century—driven by capitalism, advancements in communication and travel, and increased leisure time among the expanding middle class—resulted in the universally recognised rules of sport that we now take for granted. Additionally, this thesis maintains that the contributions and influence of Great Britain and the United States were integral to the evolution of MSD. In the 19th century, Great Britain established the rules for international play and disseminated them to their many friends and foes. Between 1914 and 1918, hundreds of thousands of soldiers left their hometowns to serve in the military. In Western militaries, participation in sports was mandated for various reasons: to enhance fitness, foster camaraderie, strengthen teamwork, develop resilience, and provide a respite from combat. After WWI, sports continued to serve these purposes but increasingly involved foreign militaries playing with or against one another. By focusing on the four categories of MSD, the researcher explored

historical events that reflected the nature of each. The study of sports also provided the researcher with insight into the evolution of other fields in the 19th and 20th centuries, including rehabilitative medicine and the evolving role of the military profession within the larger society.

To aid in understanding the second aim of the thesis—to inform diplomatic strategy beyond sports—this thesis argues that intentional methods of diplomacy can foster unit cohesion and enhance performance off the playing field. In *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*, author Edward Luttwak wrote that unit effectiveness is a product of the individual and team attributes, which depend on the competence of leaders.⁵⁰³ While the objective dictates what needs to be done, team leadership determines how those objectives are accomplished. Like Clausewitz and Hart, Luttwak recognised that unique stresses are inherent to the profession of arms, including bodily harm, death, and the powerful instinct to avoid personal risk. Although individual morale and group discipline are essential components of unit effectiveness, unit cohesion is often the most significant “because the willingness of men to fight for one another survives the terrible impact of battle far better than any other source of morale.”⁵⁰⁴ Naturally, leaders strive to foster unit cohesion. Yet, this task becomes exceedingly more complicated when multiple nations must work together in dangerous environments. Sports and other forms of diplomacy can enhance unit cohesion by tapping into the common, universal virtues explored in this thesis. Chapter 8 presented a structure for future military diplomacy doctrine, utilising the four categories and focusing on the nature of the events rather than the tactical elements.

Challenges and Critiques

In *The Lessons of History*, author Michael Howard stated, “If the past has anything to teach us, it is humility—and suspicion of glib formulae for improving the lot of mankind.”⁵⁰⁵ This thesis does not present a formulaic method that guarantees success; instead, the four categories aim to guide understanding in the pursuit of a better state of peace. Still, like an

⁵⁰³ Luttwak, *Strategy*, 104.

⁵⁰⁴ Luttwak, 105.

⁵⁰⁵ Howard, *The Lessons of History*, 5.

effective training sortie, any significant academic work must consider potential shortcomings that may strengthen the argument or the supporting evidence. In this thesis, the author acknowledges three areas that may invite criticism, including the philosophical foundations, the structure, and the selection of case studies. The final paragraphs address each of these in turn.

When considering the philosophical underpinnings, an important distinction exists between the natural law and positivist law. Advocates of the natural law argue that certain rights or values are enduring and apply across all cultures. In contrast, the positivist law is based on relativism and the notion that cultures should determine their own “truths” at the individual, community, societal, or state levels. Each perspective carries consequences. This thesis supports the argument for natural law. The implications are that individuals and units within the profession of arms have obligations to treat others with charity and justice. If this were not the case—as proponents of positivist law claim—it would be impossible to advocate for universally recognised virtues within the profession of arms or any other pursuit in life, including sports or diplomacy. This research supports this position using the principles of Critical Realism: ontological realism, epistemic relativism, and judgemental rationality.

Regarding the structure of this thesis, a critic might argue that any sporting event involving foreign militaries encompasses attributes from all four categories. Although the category boundaries are fluid and porous, they offer a useful tool for analytical purposes in a context where foreign militaries increasingly seek coalition partnerships. Equally important, the structures enable the researcher to identify typical weaknesses or limitations within each category. In Special Event MSD, the 1919 Inter-Allied Games exemplified a situation in which the diplomatic goals were not met. The competitive nature of the United States alienated its closest allies—the British and French—rather than bringing them together. The event ultimately served as a celebration of American exceptionalism rather than a competition that promoted friendship. Enduring MSD, on the other hand, must consistently navigate the challenges of unfair play or escalation towards competitive extremes. The study on CISM underscored this tendency in various ways, including the friction between professionalism and amateurism. Finally, Improvised and Rehabilitative MSD do not attract the same

interest as the previous two categories, as humanity enjoys the drama of competition. Consequently, organisers and participants within the indirect approach to MSD must employ alternative methods, such as the shared love of play, sacrifice and responsibility, and humour. Humour was a recurring theme in the Jim Thorpe Sports Days (Improvised MSD). In contrast, Rehabilitative MSD underscored the sacrifice of soldiers and the public's responsibility to recognise their service.

Finally, one might question the selection of historical case studies. Perhaps the author has focused too narrowly on Western military sports, overlooking developments in the Far East and the Global South. The response is twofold. First, while certain types of sports have existed for millennia, the British codification of sports in their all-boys public schools during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, along with their integration into the standing army, laid the groundwork for the sports played among foreign militaries during and after WWI. Furthermore, this thesis did not aim to review every possible instance of MSD that occurred post-WWI; rather, it sought to provide a guide to understanding the significant developments in this emerging field by positing theories, types, and practices: theories through the direct and indirect approaches in the competition continuum, types through the four categories, and practices through the historical case studies.

To conclude, this thesis borrows a passage from Alexis de Tocqueville's introduction to *Democracy in America*, which he wrote after visiting the United States in 1831.

Those readers who may examine it closely will discover, I think, in the whole work a dominant thought that binds, so to speak, its several parts together. But the diversity of the subjects I have had to treat is exceedingly great, and it will not be difficult to oppose an isolated fact to the body of facts which I cite, or an isolated idea to the body of ideas I put forth. I hope to be read in the spirit which has guided my labors, and that my book may be judged by the general impression it leaves, as I have formed my own judgment not on any single consideration but upon the mass of evidence.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 17.

Similar to Tocqueville's exploration of democracy in early America, the institutions of warfare and sport are highly complex, uniquely human endeavors. By presenting theories, types, and practices in MSD since the end of WWI, this thesis aims to bind together several ideas, namely the complex interplay between cooperation and competition, under the unifying theme of diplomacy.

This thesis argues that understanding the four categories of MSD (special, enduring, improvised, and rehabilitative) helps strategists link the ends, ways, and means. When events are intentionally structured—observing the global diplomacy framework of communication, representation, and negotiation—planners increase the likelihood of building trust and understanding among foreign militaries asked to work together in the competition continuum.

Terminology

American Expeditionary Force (AEF): Established in July 1917 in France, this force fought on the Western Front during WWI under the command of Major General John Pershing.

Attributes of the Profession of Arms

Ethos: The unwritten customs and expected behaviours handed down from generation to generation—culturally based norms.

Expertise: The specific skills or knowledge gained through targeted education and experience.

Corporateness: The sense of unity and consciousness that sets the military profession apart from the society it serves.

Responsibility: The obligation to protect and defend the societies they serve.

Amateurism: A code or spirit of play developed in the 19th century that championed unpaid hobbyists who played the right way—fairly and courteously in victory or defeat. Although not explicit, the amateur code often excluded tradesmen or lower classes who had to be reimbursed for pursuing their sporting passions.

Carl von Clausewitz: Early 19th-century Prussian war strategist who wrote *On War*. Contributed significantly to understanding warfare as a complex, adaptive system rather than a prescriptive science.

Categories of MSD

Direct Approach – Top Down

Special Event – Events are limited in duration and scope and intended to deliver a targeted message.

Enduring – Events are built around perpetuating the parent organisation through successful business models.

*Indirect Approach*⁵⁰⁷ – *Bottom-Up orientation*

Improvised – Events are creative and use what's on hand with little regard to abilities or results.

Rehabilitative – Events reinforce the attributes of the globally recognised profession of arms, including ethos, corporateness, responsibility, and expertise.

Competition Continuum: Describes a “world of enduring competition conducted through a mixture of cooperation, competition below armed conflict, and armed conflict.”⁵⁰⁸

Conseil International du Sport Militaire (CISM): Established in 1948 and headquartered in Brussels, CISM is the second-largest multidisciplinary sports organisation after the International Olympic Committee.

Contact Theory: A theory proposed by Gordon Allport in the 1950s that interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between groups when the contact occurs under appropriate conditions, including equality, support from authorities, and shared goals.⁵⁰⁹

Critical Realism: A branch of philosophy developed by the English philosopher of science, Roy Bhaskar, that distinguishes between the real world and the observable world. According to critical realists, unobservable structures cause observable events, and the real world can be understood only if people acknowledge the structures that generate events. This thesis attempts to understand the structures that generate different forms of diplomacy through sports.

⁵⁰⁷ Others have used the term *New Wars* (Mary Kaldor) or *New Ways* (Martin Shaw)

⁵⁰⁸ Joint Chiefs of Staff, ‘Joint Doctrine Note 1-19 (JDN 1-19): Competition Continuum’.

⁵⁰⁹ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1979, 281.

Direct Approach: An orientation in sports or warfare that pursues a swift, decisive victory.

English School: An international relations theory “based upon the conviction that ideas, rather than simply material capabilities, shape the conduct of international politics.”⁵¹⁰ This thesis builds on the English School’s definitions of the international system, international society, and world society related to MSD. In MSD, the international system refers to the globally recognised profession of arms. The international society in MSD refers to when foreign militaries share in the institution (practice) of sport. Finally, the world society signifies the individuals who play the games.

Grammar of War: The “how” of fighting; the details of war that include operational and tactical imperatives.

Historical Phases of Military Sport

Geminal Phase (Middle Ages – Early 19th century): Sports played in the military were uncoded and, when played, usually an extension of civilian or religious festivals.

Incipient Phase (19th Century): Sports began to take on the characteristics of modern-day sports – highly coded, specialised, and standardised, allowing for worldwide recognition and increased international competitions.

Take-off Phase (late 19th through WWI): The fortification of the sports-military complex.

Young men joined the military in the years leading up to and during WWI as an extension of the Muscular Christianity movement. WWI cemented the relationship where a generation of young men played for their units and returned home with loyalty to sport and country.

Continuum Phase (Post-WWI): Embraces various forms of formal and informal play amongst foreign militaries.

Indirect Approach: An orientation in sports or warfare that pursues multiple methods of influence and is less concerned with winning.

⁵¹⁰ Holmes and Rofe, *Global Diplomacy*, 300.

Lidell B. Hart: Early and mid-20th century war theorist who advocated for an indirect approach to warfare. Hart harshly criticised the direct approach, a strategy he felt wasted lives and resources through ineffective frontal assaults during WWI.

Logic of War: The “why” or overall direction of fighting, i.e., winning a campaign (direct approach) versus influencing across the competition continuum (indirect approach).

Military (Defense) Diplomacy – “To provide forces to meet the varied activities undertaken by the Ministry of Defence to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust, and assist in developing democratically accountable armed forces (thereby contributing significantly to conflict prevention and resolution.”⁵¹¹

Military Sports Diplomacy (MSD): The intentional use of sports among foreign militaries “to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust, and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces, thereby making a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution.”⁵¹²

New Diplomacy: A more “inclusive, amateur and networked model that embodies state and non-state and public partnerships”⁵¹³ that reflects the forces of globalisation.

Soft Power: Author Joseph Nye introduced the term “soft power” in his 1990 treatise, *Bound to Lead*. Whereas the military is usually associated with hard power and force, soft power uses attractive measures such as media and culture to “get others to want what you want.”⁵¹⁴

Soldier: For brevity, “soldier” in this thesis will be used as a broad term for any member of the profession of arms, regardless of service orientation—sailors, airmen, or army soldiers.

⁵¹¹ “Defence Diplomacy,” MoD Policy Paper 1’.

⁵¹² “Defence Diplomacy,” MoD Policy Paper 1’.

⁵¹³ Murray, *Sports Diplomacy*, 89.

⁵¹⁴ Nye, *Bound to Lead*, 166.

Successful Diplomacy: Promoting friendly relations between the sending and receiving polities irrespective of differing constitutional and social systems to develop economic, cultural, and scientific relations.⁵¹⁵

Traditional Diplomacy: The execution of foreign policy and the management of international affairs between internationally recognised state representatives—this type has a realist bent.⁵¹⁶

Virtue: Merriam-Webster: “conformity to a standard of right.”⁵¹⁷ St. Augustine:⁵¹⁸ “The ordinate condition of the affections in which every object is accorded the degree of love which is appropriate to it.”⁵¹⁹ Socrates: Virtue is knowledge. Aristotle: The aim of education is for students to like and dislike what they ought. Virtues in this research are absolute truths not relative to cultures or circumstances. Sports, when played in the right manner, can access these higher truths.

⁵¹⁵ United Nations, ‘Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961’, 1–3.

⁵¹⁶ Rofo, ‘Global Diplomacy – Diplomacy in the Modern World’.

⁵¹⁷ Merriam-Webster, ‘Definition of Virtue’, Merriam-Webster.com, 11 April 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/virtue>.

⁵¹⁸ Adapted from Summa Theologia – St Augustine’s work.

⁵¹⁹ C. S. Lewis, *The Complete C.S. Lewis Signature Classics*, 1st ed (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 473.

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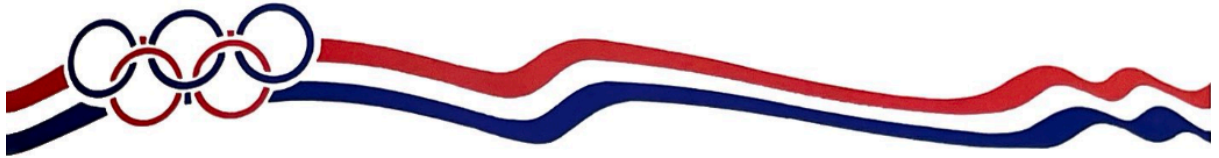
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of the Participation of US Military Athletes in the Olympics 1948-1988.⁵²⁰



SUMMARY OF THE PARTICIPATION OF MILITARY ATHLETES IN THE OLYMPICS SINCE WORLD WAR II

YEAR	WINTER/ SUMMER	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (Athletes only, including alternates)	MEDALS		
			Gold	Silver	Bronze
1988	W	3	0	0	0
	S	25	3	1	1
1984	W	4	0	0	0
	S	27	5	3	3
1980	W	3	0	0	0
	S	— 23 military athletes made American teams; none participated because of the boycott			
1976	W	5	0	0	0
	S	29	5	4	0
1972	W	30	0	5	0
	S	47	4	1	5
1968	W	23	0	0	0
	S	50	6	5	3
1964	W	17	0	0	0
	S	51	11	6	8
1960	W	7	3	0	0
	S	58	9	2	4
1956	W	12	0	7	0
	S	79	18	11	5
1952	W	2	0	0	0
	S	55	15	3	5
1948	W	1	0	0	0
	S	28	6	7	2

⁵²⁰ Moler, *Achieving Excellence: The Story of America's Military Athletes in The Olympic Games*, 45.

Appendix 2: Snapshot of the 2023 British Army's Overseas Visits⁵²¹

Sport	Unit	Country	From	To
GOLF	Int Corps	USA, Florida	04-Sep-23	15-Sep-23
ATHLETICS	Army Athletics XC Team (Mixed)	South Africa	08-Jan-23	22-Jan-23
HOCKEY	AMS	South Africa	05-Apr-23	16-Apr-23
CRICKET	Royal Logistic Corps Cricket Club	Antigua	01-Mar-23	15-Mar-23
GOLF		USA, Florida	01-Mar-22	13-Mar-22
ICE HOCKEY	RLC	Canada	25-Mar-23	09-Apr-23
BASKETBALL	REME Basketball	USA	18-Mar-23	26-Mar-23
FOOTBALL	5 Fusiliers	Cyprus	28-May-23	04-Jun-23
ATHLETICS	Royal Signals Athletics	Tenerife	04-Jan-23	11-Jan-23
CYCLING	Army Cyclocross Team (Men and Women)	Cyprus	15-Apr-23	20-Apr-23
WATERSKI & WAKEBOARDING	AAC	Turkey	01-May-23	01-May-23
MARTIAL ARTS	Adjutants General Corps Brazilian Jiu Jitsu Team	USA, Miami	19-Feb-23	01-Mar-23
CYCLING	Infantry Road Cycling	Cyprus	27-Mar-23	02-Apr-23
GOLF	AGC	Portugal	24-Apr-23	28-Apr-23
BASKETBALL	RLC	USA	12-May-23	27-May-23
NETBALL	REME	South Africa	26-Jul-23	06-Aug-23
ATHLETICS	HQ 104X	USA, Miami	22-Jan-23	02-Feb-23
GOLF	Army Ladies	Thailand	13-Apr-23	25-Apr-23
ATHLETICS	Army	Australia	16-Feb-23	04-Mar-23
CYCLING	Royal Signals	France	03-Jun-23	10-Jun-23
VOLLEYBALL	RLC	Nepal	09-Jan-23	20-Jan-23
RUGBY UNION	AAC	Poland	25-May-23	29-May-23
CRICKET	Army Ladies	Barbados	17-Aug-23	31-Aug-23
TRIATHLON	RLC	Spain, Lanzarote	21-Feb-23	28-Feb-23
ATHLETICS	Intelligence Corps Athletics and Cross-Country Male and Female Teams	Kenya	20-Jul-23	04-Aug-23
FOOTBALL	154 Regt RLC	Cyprus	13-May-23	21-May-23
FOOTBALL	1 YORKS FC	Spain	25-May-23	06-Jun-23
RUGBY UNION	The Royal Artillery Rugby Football Club	USA	26-Jul-23	09-Aug-23
CYCLING	Royal Artillery Cycling Association	Germany	01-Jun-23	08-Jun-23
TRIATHLON	3 Para	Spain, Lanzarote	10-May-23	22-May-23
MOTOROSPORT	Army Motorcycle Road Race Team	Spain	26-Feb-23	06-Mar-23
FOOTBALL	3rd Battalion The Rifles	Portugal	04-Jun-23	13-Jun-23
POLO	Royal Signals	South Africa	26-Mar-23	05-Apr-23
BADMINTON	Army Badminton Team	USA	15-Apr-23	29-Apr-23
CYCLING	Women's Army Cycling Race (Development) Team	Cyprus	08-May-23	21-May-23
CYCLING	Women's Army Cycling Race (Senior) Team	Cyprus	08-May-23	21-May-23
RUGBY UNION	1 RIFLES	Gibraltar	16-Jan-23	22-Jan-23
CYCLING	3 PARA Road Cycling Team	Cyprus	25-Mar-23	03-Apr-23
ATHLETICS	2 FS Bn REME Cross Country Team	Cyprus	21-Nov-23	28-Nov-23

⁵²¹ Obtained directly from the British Army Sports Control Board in 2024

Appendix 3: United States Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Policy on Professional Military Education

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff published the “Officer Professional Military Education Policy” in May 2020, which provided a review of the different levels of U.S. PME within the continuum of military education. Each level intends to build on the previous education and experience of the officer and include the following five definitions:⁵²²

- (1) Precommissioning. Military education programs producing commissioned officers with a basic awareness of military Services upon graduation.*
- (2) Primary. Entry level education received at grades O-1 through O-3 focused on specialized skills and tactical knowledge in Service-specific constructs with an introduction to Joint matters.*
- (3) Intermediate. Mid-career education received at grade O-4 that prepares officers to conduct operations and campaigns in Service-specific and Joint constructs.*
- (4) Senior. Education programs received at grades O-5 or O-6 that prepare officers to develop and implement military strategies with an emphasis on Joint operations and some attention to Service-specific contribution.*
- (5) General/Flag Officer. Education received at grade O-7 and above with emphasis on executive leadership in joint, interagency, intergovernmental and multinational (JIIM) environments.*

⁵²² Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ‘CJCSI 1800.01F, Officer Professional Military Education Policy’, apps. 2–3.

The following figure provides a visual representation of the continuum of military education generally embraced by advanced militaries worldwide. It shows the construct and emphasis of each level of officer education.

Appendix 4: U.S. Officer Professional Military Education Continuum⁵²³

EDUCATION ↓	CADET/MIDSHIPMAN PRECOMMISSIONING	O-1/O-2/O-3 PRIMARY	O-4 INTERMEDIATE	O-5/O-6 SENIOR	O-7/O-8/O-9 GENERAL/FLAG
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COURSES	SERVICE ACADEMIES ROTC OCS/OTS	• BRANCH WARFARE OR STAFF SPECIALTY SCHOOLS • PRIMARY-LEVEL PME COURSES	• Air Cmd and Staff College • Army Cmd and Gen'l Staff College • College of Naval Cmd and Staff • Marine Corps Cmd and Staff College	• Air War College • Army War College • College of Naval Warfare • Marine Corps War College • Eisenhower School • National War College • JFSC: It & Combined Warfighting School, AJPME • JFSC: It Advanced Warfighting	• CAPSTONE • Jt Functional Component Cmdr Courses • SJOAC • JFOWC • PINNACLE
LEVEL OF WAR EMPHASIZED	Conceptual Awareness of all Levels	TACTICAL OPERATIONAL STRATEGIC			
FOCUS OF MILITARY EDUCATION	• Intro to Service Missions • U.S. Constitution • U.S. Gov't	• Assigned Branch of Staff Specialty • Domain Knowledge (Land, air, sea, space & cyber)	• Warfighting w/in context of Op Art • Intro to Theater Strategy, Plans, NMS, NSS • Op Art in All Domains	• Svc Schools: Strategic Leadership, NMS, Theater Strategy • NWC: NSS • Eisenhower: NSS w/emphasis on resource components • All: Interagency; Multi-nat'l Ops; Cross-Domain Ops at Nat'l Strategic Level	• Jt Matters & Nat'l Security • Interagency Process • Multinat'l Ops
CAREER-LONG DEVELOPMENT	LIFE-LONG LEARNING SKILLS/SELF-DEVELOPMENT/ADVANCED EDUCATION CULTURAL EDUCATION: FROM AWARENESS TO COMPETENCE				
JOINT EMPHASIS	<u>Joint Introduction</u> • Nat'l Military Capabilities (in all domains) & Organization • Foundations of Joint Warfare	<u>Joint Awareness</u> • Joint Warfare/Cross Domain Fundamentals • Joint Campaigning • Operational Adaptability	<u>JPME Ph I</u> • Nat'l Mil Capabilities Cmd Structure & Strategic Guidance • Jt Doctrine & Concepts • Jt & Multinat'l Forces at Operational Level of War • Jt Planning and Execution Process • Jt C2--emphasis on Mission Cmd • Operational Adaptability	<u>JPME Ph II</u> • NDS, NSS & NMS • Jt Warfare, Theater Strategy/Campaigning in Jt, IA, Intergov't & Multi-Nat'l Envirnt • Nat'l & Jt Planning Systems and Processes • Integration of Jt, IA, Intergov't & Multinat'l Capabilities • Design • Strategic Adaptability JCWS	<u>CAPSTONE</u> • NSS • Jt Op Art • Jt Func Component CC courses & JFOWC • NSS • Nat'l Planning Systems & Org • Theater Strategy, campaigning and mil ops in Jt, IA, Intergov't & Multinat'l Environments • IO PINNACLE
DESIRED LEADER ATTRIBUTES	1. UNDERSTANDING SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY 2. ANTICIPATING AND RESPONDING TO SURPRISE AND UNCERTAINTY 3. ANTICIPATING AND RECOGNIZING CHANGE AND LEADING TRANSITIONS 4. OPERATING IN INTENT THROUGH TRUST, EMPOWERMENT, AND UNDERSTANDING 5. MAKING ETHICAL DECISIONS BASED ON THE PROFESSION OF ARMS 6. THINKING CRITICALLY/STRATEGICALLY AND APPLYING JOINT WARFIGHTING PRINCIPLES AT ALL LEVELS OF WARFARE				

⁵²³ Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, app. 15.

Appendix 5: List of Equivalent International Staff and War Colleges

In 2019, the U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff published a list of overseas CSCs and WCs that American officers could attend in lieu of attending one in the United States. The comprehensive list of international schools illustrates the standardised nature of PME internationally and a commitment to building relationships through military education in the globalised era. Most nations listed below have multiple colleges available for either CSC or WC.⁵²⁴ In addition to sending selected officers overseas, today, the United States invites many non-American officers to attend their versions of CSC or WC.⁵²⁵

<i>International Intermediate Level (OF-3 NATO Rank) – Recognised by the U.S. Department of Defence</i>		<i>Senior Level (OF-4/5 NATO Rank) recognised by the U.S. Department of Defence</i>	
Argentina	Malaysia	Argentina	
Australia	Mexico	Australia	
Austria	Morocco	Bangladesh	
Baltic Nations	Nepal	Belgium	
Bangladesh	Netherlands	Brazil	
Belgium	New Zealand	Cameroon	
Botswana	Norway	Canada	
Brazil	Oman	Chile	
Brunei	Pakistan	Colombia	
Bulgaria	Peru	France	
Cameroon	Philippines	India	
Chile	Poland	Indonesia	
Colombia	Romania	Israel	
Finland	Singapore	Italy	
France	South Africa	Japan	
Germany	Spain	Jordan	
Greece	Sri Lanka	Kenya	
India	Sweden	Korea	
Indonesia	Switzerland	Malaysia	
Ireland	Thailand	Mexico	
Italy	Tunisia	Morocco	
Japan	Turkey	NATO Defence College (Italy)	
Jordan	United Arab Emirates	Inter-American Defence College	
Kenya	United Kingdom	Pakistan	
Korea	Uruguay	Peru	
Kuwait			

⁵²⁴ Within this list of countries, there are often multiple schools, including a Joint, Navy, Army, or Air Force program. The total number of international schools for intermediate development is 84 whereas the total for senior development is 46.

⁵²⁵ Daniel O'Donahue, 'Program for Joint Professional Military Education Phase I Equivalent Credit' (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction 1800.01 series, 2 December 2019), <https://www.jcs.mil/Doctrine/Joint-Education/>.