

# Can Sport Exist Without Aggression? On a Certain Thought Experiment by Stanisław Lem

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## Summary

The main objective of the paper is to present and analyse a thought experiment concerning the existence and specificity of sport in a society completely devoid of aggression. The experiment comes from the novel *Return from the Stars* by Stanisław Lem, Polish writer and thinker. The article provides an explanation why sports, and boxing in particular, were included in Lem's reflections on the problem of evil and attempts to "improve the world". Lem's vision of sport in a society subjected to betrization – a procedure that eliminates aggression – is presented and commented on from the perspective of the contemporary philosophy of sport. The presented analysis of Lem's considerations focuses on their relationships with currently debated issues. An illustration of this thread of considerations is tchoukball – a sport designed to minimise players's aggression.

**Keywords:** Stanisław Lem, futurology, betrization, sport, boxing, aggression, tchoukball

"[Anacharsys] used to say that he found it surprising that the Greek lawgivers penalize the violent, but reward athletes for striking one another".

Diogenes Laertios, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 1, 103

## Introduction: sport and aggression

The close relationship between sport and aggression is beyond dispute – if aggression is not a necessary property of sport, it is probably the consequence of its necessary properties. It can be said that sport is, at least, a kind of playing with aggression. George Orwell's famous aphorism that sport is "war minus the shooting" – derived from an essay with the ironic title "The Sporting Spirit", can be interpreted as a classic expression of the belief in the existence and significance of such a relationship [Orwell, 1945]. Specific confirmation of Orwell's observations is the opinion of G. W. Russell, according to whom, apart from war, sport is probably the only area in which acts of interpersonal aggression are not only tolerated, but also enthusiastically praised by a large part of society [Tenenbaum et al., p. 10].<sup>1</sup> Professional boxing, which can be defined as a glorification of violence used for entertainment purposes, plays a special role here [Sithamparanathan, 2002]. However, aggression in sport is being increasingly viewed as

a problem and is, at least, in some forms, condemned.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it may be said that sport has a Janus-faced nature – in addition to allowing or even glorifying aggression, it also condemns it. From a philosophical perspective, this gives rise to, among others, the following questions: Could sport exist without aggression, and if so, in what forms? This text is intended as a contribution to the discussion on aggression in sport, presenting a more speculative approach to this problem, focused on the above questions. These considerations are inspired by the ideas presented in the novel *Return from the Stars* by Stanisław Lem.

## Reflections on sport in the work of Stanisław Lem

The works of Stanisław Lem pose considerable difficulties in terms of interpretation. One of their main reasons is the fact that Lem cultivated, at least in his most

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noticing here that the language of sport is full of military references, c.f. [Lipoński, 2009].

<sup>2</sup> In the extensive literature on aggression in sport, within the context of philosophy and sociology, attention should be paid to e.g. [Parry 1998; Young 2012].

interesting works, a tangle of disciplines that was difficult to unravel, which could be described as philosophy, futurology and science fiction, within the context of the development of science and technology. These three components appear in various works by Lem in different proportions, but they form an integral whole [Kobiela 2021]. Thus the subject of these considerations could be formulated as: the philosophical aspects of Lem's futurology of sport presented in his science-fiction novel *Return from the Stars*. But what is the reason for Lem's considerations concerning sport?

Prof. Hogarth, the hero of Lem's novel *His Master's Voice* states that he sought out evil [Lem, 1999, p. 6]. Given the breadth of Lem's reflections on evil,<sup>3</sup> the same can be said of Lem as a writer and thinker. His work is permeated with pessimism; theodicy as justification of God by the accusation of the presence of evil in the world is impossible, and man is "the predatory ape" [Lem, 1994]. Apart from the problem of the genesis and nature of evil, Lem also considered possible ways to prevent evil, mainly by the use of the means of technology. One of such attempts opens, *inter alia*, a discussion on rarely discussed issues, that can be classified as the futurology of sport.

Although game theory is one of the most important sources of inspiration for Lem's work,<sup>4</sup> games in a ludic sense, i.e. mind games – chess, checkers, bridge and sports – boxing, mountain climbing or athletics are rarely in the orbit of his interests. In an interview with Stanisław Bereś, Lem states sport is not the subject of his passion: "I throw sports inserts out of all magazines immediately, because I don't care how many metres or where Małysz<sup>5</sup> jumped. I don't even care if he jumped at all. To me, he might as well be jumping on the couch" [Lem, Bereś, 2002, p. 444, transl. F.K.]. He spoke with a somewhat similar tone in a column entitled "Sport" he wrote for *Tygodnik Powszechny*, in which he criticised the common practice of presenting sports events, especially football events in news programmes, right after the most important news: "I cannot watch numerous shows without disgust, such as <<boxing combined with kicking>> or American freestyle wrestling. At most, when jumping from channel to channel I accidentally come across it. But the worst thing is the close vicinity of news, often important, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall paired alongside this kicking – whether people or towards goals – because it disturbs my not-completely-spoiled opinion about *Homo Sapiens*. What *sapiens*, gentlemen?" [Lem, 1992, p. 10., transl. F. K.]. In another column he wrote for *Tygodnik Powszechny* – called "Rust of Commercialization", which is a brief overview of negative phenomena that occur in modern sport, Lem

returns to the problem of boxing: "But the most horrible things happen in America in professional boxing – it's just modern butchery. There was a joke in the <<New Yorker>>: the coach of one of the athletes approaches his friend and says – My guy will not come out into the ring until I find out that it can talk – and in the corner one can see a terrible pile of meat covered with hair" [Lem, 1995, p. 6, transl. F. K.].

Nonetheless, irrespective of Lem's *désintéressement* with sport, combined with the criticism of excessive sport exposure in news programmes, sport has found its place, albeit, somewhat sidelined in Lem's considerations regarding a certain variant of society's development.

Some forms of sports activity are associated with consciously taking unnecessary risks or not necessarily causing harm to others, so no wonder that they fall within the circle of Lem's considerations, in which he dealt with the problem of evil, and especially possible ways of preventing it, i.e. certain projects to improve the world.

Sport explicitly appears on the pages of the novel *Return from the Stars*, in which the implementation of a project to improve humans is presented. The attempts to eradicate evil described in it, follow an "internal" path. They are undertaken through the modification of people themselves – a radical reduction in the level of aggression. While these treatments are effective in some respects, their undesirable consequences make their value questionable. However, within the context of our interest, not so much the eutopian or dystopian aspects of these considerations are of importance, but rather the conclusions drawn from their interpretation as a kind of thought experiment. First, nevertheless, let us see why these forms of sport deserve an ethical reflection.

## Moral issues connected with some forms of sport

Although the links between sport and the development of good character traits belong to the traditional vision of sport, which suggests its inherent positive value, nowadays, this view is only of historical significance. As Wolfgang Welsch notes within this context, currently "no one believes in the affinity between sport and ethics" [Welsch, 2003, p. 215]. Out of the whole spectrum of sport-related phenomena that may arouse moral disapproval, three of them are particularly interesting to our context, which I will now briefly discuss.

The first is to expose oneself to unnecessary danger, which occurs in high-risk sports, including mountain climbing. In an article devoted to this type of sport in terms of classical aretology, Paweł Bany criticises them as an unnecessary exposure to danger. At the same time, however – this is the kind of dialectics associated with this type of activity – at least some of the motives for engaging in them are understandable. From an existential perspective, living in a society that is practically risk-free is dehumanising [Bany, 2010].

<sup>3</sup> The monograph provides some insight into the extent of Lem's relevant considerations in his non-fictional works [Okolowski, 2010].

<sup>4</sup> This can be clearly seen in such texts as, for example, "The Ethics of Evil", *Peace on Earth* or *The Dialogues*.

<sup>5</sup> Adam Małysz is a famous Polish ski jumper.

The second problem is intentionally inflicting pain and injuries on others, which especially takes place in boxing, and the reason for such actions is the participation in the game itself. The classic arguments justifying the immorality of professional boxing (in this form of boxing the problem is present in the greatest intensity) is given by Richard McCormick [1974]. He considers three reasons why professional boxing could be considered immoral. The first argument points to deprivation of the use of reason (caused by knockout) – which McCormick, however, dismisses, since the loss of consciousness is, in his opinion, something too short-lasting and insignificant to suffice the moral disapproval of boxing. Another argument – this time according to McCormick conclusive – is the intention to injure the opponent. In justifying the significant meaning of these injuries, McCormick cites medical data that clearly indicate serious damage to health caused by boxing. The rationale for the thesis regarding the intention to do this harm is based on considerations related to the structure of boxing as a certain game. He emphasizes that although the explicit goal of a boxing fight is to win, its implicit goal is to cause injury to the opponent: “can one choose to pound and sink a nail and yet disown the hole in the wood?”<sup>6</sup> McCormick’s distinction between an explicit goal and implicit goal corresponds to Bernard Suits’s distinction between a lusory goal, that is, a certain institutional fact (winning), and a prelusory goal, which is a brute fact, in case of boxing consisting in bringing the opponent to a state in which he can no longer continue fighting [Suits 214, p. 39]. The lusory goal in its basic form, which is the knockout (and not the victory based on points), can only be achieved by bringing about the prelusory goal of boxing. Thus, the defence of boxing, according to which the goal of this discipline is to win, not to damage the opponent, turns out to be merely a distraction from the real problem. According to Suits’s philosophy of games, the means leading to the achievement of the prelusory goal must comply with the rules of a given game [Suits 2014, p. 43]. While in most games breaking these rules may raise potential moral objections, the main problem in boxing is the goal itself, so even in the case of full compliance with the rules, athletes are exposed to the accusation of immoral action indicated above.

The third problem, which I will also discuss using the example of boxing, is the fact that watching sport promotes violent instincts. Modern professional fights provide the audience with an opportunity to enjoy watching the unnecessary suffering of others. In this context, McCormick cites Nat Fleischer’s observation of the Patterson-Johannson fight: “The crowd, sensing death, has gone mad” [McCormick, 1974, p. 275]. Apart from the excitement from violence, the audience enjoys watch-

ing someone else’s misfortune (*Schadenfreude*), which also raises serious moral concerns [McNamee, 2003, pp. 1–16]. According to McCormick also in this case we are also dealing with a conclusive argument in favour of the thesis about the immorality of professional boxing. It is worth adding here, that motives similar to McCormick’s arguments justified many years of banning professional boxing in Sweden and Norway.

Therefore, some forms of sport can even be described as a kind of anti-culture, related to the celebration of aggression. Of course, risk-taking, inflicting suffering and the joy of watching it are related only to limited number of sports disciplines, but they are real phenomena and naturally fall into the circle of problems related to Lem’s thought experiments.

I believe that the above considerations explain why the disciplines in question can indeed be considered inherently related to certain forms of moral evil. Hence, let us now return to Lem’s considerations, which were probably guided by moral reasons similar to those presented above.

## Sport in a society devoid of aggression

From a philosophical point of view, the novel *Return from the Stars* can be treated as a thought experiment consisting in considering social consequences of hypothetical procedure of depriving the entire population of aggression. The main character of the novel – the astronaut Hal Bregg – after making a ten-year (for him) trip to Fomalhaut – finds Earth 127 years older because of the effects of relativity. The most important change that took place on his home planet at that time was betrization – a common, compulsory procedure, permanently and biologically modifying the people who have undergone this procedure. Its effect is to block aggressive tendencies inherent in people – and thus, their “enhancement”. Although in the novel the term “betrization” comes from the names of scientists (Bennet, Trimaldi and Zakharov, Bregg’s contemporaries), who developed its theory [Lem, 1980, p. 118], one could derive its etymology from the English word *better*. The betrization procedure aimed at “humanising humanity” consists in acting on “the developing prosencephalon at an early stage in life by means of a group of proteolytic enzymes” [Lem, 1980, p. 119]. The effects of such a treatment are: “the reduction of aggressive impulses by 80 to 88 percent in comparison with the nonbetrizated; the elimination of the formation of associative links between acts of aggression and the sphere of positive feelings; a general 87 percent reduction in the possibility of accepting personal risk to life” [Lem, 1980, pp. 119-120]. Since this procedure does not allow to modify either intelligence or personality, the persons subject to it are the same persons, but not aggressive: “18 percent of those betrizated were able to perform a simulated murder, for example on a dummy, but the belief that they were dealing with an inanimate doll had to take the form of absolute cer-

<sup>6</sup> Here, McCormick quotes Sugar Ray Robinson, who, after the death of his opponent Jimmy Doyle, when asked if he noticed that his opponent was in trouble, he replied: “getting him into trouble is my business” [McCormick, 1974, p. 274].

tainty” [Lem, 1980, p. 121]. Thus, Bregg finds a society, in which there is no aggressiveness, but this is done – as he learns from professional literature – through the complete absence of command, and not by inhibition [Lem, 1980, p. 120].

Aggression, however, is not the same as evil – as Lem says, “There are very many people who are not aggressive at all, but are clearly evil” [Lem, Beres, 2002, p. 377, transl. F.K], therefore, blocking aggression will not block the tendency to do evil. In “Science Fiction and Futurology”, Lem points out the reasons for weakness of the betrization project as neutralising evil: “As a postulated aggressiveness depressor, betrization could only inhibit manifestations of intentional evil; while (...) forms of evil, inflicted unconsciously, conditioned by the social structure, could not be touched” [Lem, 1996, p. 350, transl. F.K]. Thus, it can be expected that, although no aggression will be visible in such a society in direct contacts – stadium hooliganism, street fights or raids (“they cannot look at blood”) – evil will be realized in other ways, it will be more hidden – Machiavellian.

Moreover, in *Return from the Stars*, exploitation against thinking automatons is mentioned, and the scene of an accidental visit to a repository of damaged machines [Lem, 1980, p. 134 et seq.] is a drastic counterpoint to the quasi-idyllic atmosphere of the world – “one great mess of pap”, as Olaf, Bregg’s friend from the expedition to Fomalhaut, maliciously describes it [Lem, 1980, p. 152]. Yet another problem related to betrization is its undesirable consequences: as Lem writes, a world of betrizated people “would be unbearable, because since aggression is sometimes a form of reacting to frustration, slamming it, alike a safety hatch, forces a person to slowly fry in his/her own spiritual sauce. In such a world, the number of anxiety neurotics, suffering from depression, from melancholy, would be much greater than in the present one” [Lem, 1996, p. 351]. For this reason, it can be said that betrization also has its Pyrrhic aspect [Swirski, 2015, p. 100].

However, regardless of these imperfections of betrization as a panacea for evil, Lem’s vision of a betrizated society can be treated as an inspiring description of some areas of social life in the absence of aggression. One such discipline, described by Lem, is sport, probably because of the role it plays in the lives of astronauts who are used to physical training. Below, I will present Lem’s considerations, beginning with Bregg’s reflections during his stay at the sports depot: “Here my disappointment had no limit. Athletics existed in a stunted form. Running, throwing, jumping, swimming, but hardly any combat sports. There was no boxing now, and what they called wrestling was downright ridiculous, an exchange of shoves instead of a respectable fight. I watched one world-championship match in the projection room of the store and thought I would burst with anger. At times I began laughing like a lunatic. I asked about American freestyle, judo, ju-jitsu, but no one knew what I was talking about. Understandable, given that soccer had died without heirs, as an activity in

which sharp encounters and bodily injuries came about. There was hockey, but it wasn’t hockey! They played in outfits so inflated that they looked like enormous balls. It was entertaining to see the two teams bounce off each other, but it was a farce, not a match. Diving, yes, but from a height of only four meters. (...) This disintegration was the work of betrization. That bullfights, cockfights, and other bloody spectacles had disappeared did not bother me, nor had I ever been an enthusiast of professional boxing. But the tepid pap that remained did not appeal to me in the least” [Lem, 1980, p. 80].<sup>7</sup> Bregg only tolerates the penetration of technology into tourism, especially underwater (speedboats, hydrofoils), but notes with distaste: “everything fitted with special safety devices to guard against accidents” [Lem, 1980, p. 81]. He is also considering buying a yacht, “but there were no decent ones, that is, with real sails, with centerboards, only some miserable boats that guaranteed such stability that I could not understand how sailing them could gratify anyone” [Lem, 1980, p. 81]. Automatic machines are replacing people not only in undertaking dangerous work, but also in dangerous play: “The racing, which enjoyed a considerable popularity, I could not consider a sport; no horses, of course, and no cars – remote-control machines raced one another, and bets could be placed on them” [Lem, 1980, p. 81].

In addition to the disappearance of aggressive and risk-taking sports, there is another change, not related to betrization, but probably related to overall high physical fitness and health, causing an additional decline in the importance of traditional competitive sports: “The limits of man’s physical capability had been reached and the existing records could be broken only by an abnormal person, some freak of strength or speed. Rationally, I had to agree with this, and the universal popularity of those athletic disciplines that had survived the decimation, deserved praise; nevertheless, after three hours of inspecting, I left depressed” [Lem, 1980, p. 81]. Lem’s futurological vision of sport in a society devoid of aggression is emphasized by the tastes of astronauts, contrasting with the customs prevailing in the betrizated society. Getting the sports equipment they need turns out to be quite difficult:

“Where did you get the gloves?”

“Hal, you would never guess.”

“You had them made?”

“I stole them.”

“No!”

“So help me. From a museum. I had to fly to Stockholm especially for them”<sup>8</sup> [Lem, 1980, p. 149].

<sup>7</sup> It is worth considering what mind sports, e.g. chess, would look like in such a society. Perhaps a defensive strategy would dominate, without spectacular tactical manoeuvres, sacrifices or combinations, draw proposals would be more frequent. It is possible that the medieval, more static rules, would be reverted.

<sup>8</sup> In 1969 (8 years after publication of *Return from the Stars*), professional boxing was outlawed in Sweden.

Ultimately, however, comes what is arguably the first boxing fight in over a century – Bregg and his companion Olaf presenting certainly a barbaric and shocking sight for those non-betrized. This fight can probably be interpreted not only as an example of archaic entertainment by aggressive giant-astronauts, but also a symbolic ritual of people from the previous, non-betrized era. As Marek Oramus aptly points out, the image of astronauts who returned to Earth evokes mythical-ancient associations: “two-metre tall superhumans, with muscles gigantic like gladiators’s (...), give the impression of people from another era, transferred from some myth (...), the superhumans found themselves among dwarfs, gods descended from outer space” [Oramus, 2007, p. 184, transl. F.K.]. Let us quote here the final fragment concerning the description of this fight; its course was influenced by the fact that Bregg noticed it being watched by his beloved Eri: “For the next minute he bombarded me with blows. The gloves struck my forearms with an appalling sound, but harmlessly. Once I barely dodged in time, his glove grazed my ear, and it was a roundhouse that would have decked me. Again we circled. He took a blow on the chest, a hard one, and his guard fell, I could have nailed him, but I did nothing, I stood as if paralyzed – she was at one of the windows, her face as white as the material covering her shoulders. A fraction of a second passed. The next instant, I was stunned by a powerful impact; I fell to my knees. <<Sorry!>> I heard Olaf shout. <<Nothing to be sorry about ... That was a good one>> I mumbled, getting up” [Lem, 1980, pp. 150–151].

Let us note that in a betrized society the disappearance of high-risk and particularly aggressive sports would not occur because of some higher legal or institutional actions (prohibitions, etc.), but would occur spontaneously: thus, for example, traditional boxing would not be performed – and because of the repulsion to aggression, it could not be practiced, for the same reasons that no one unbetrized would like to see it.<sup>9</sup> Some form of boxing in a betrized society could probably exist, although it would be more like a pillow fight (see Bregg’s comments on hockey in “inflated suits”). Due to the reduction of the tendency to undertake risky actions (possibly related to auto-aggression), mountain climbing will also disappear. Those sports that will survive (as well as new disciplines) due to the disappearance of so-called “sports anger” will be of a mild nature and the fair-play rule that prohibits causing unnecessary suffering to the opponent will be respected [Przyłuska-Fischer, Misiuna, 1993, p. 105–107]. Due to the change in social preferences, the institution of so-called “sports heroes” would also disappear. An admiration for them would be regarded – as the contemporary Swedish philosopher Törbjörn Tännsjö proclaims – as a cult of

strength underpinned by fascism and a condemnation of weakness [Tännsjö, 1998, pp. 23–34]. There would be no room for the astonishment expressed by Anacharsys (cf. the motto of this article) because there would be no “reverence for athletes pummelling each other” and sport would probably have a more innocent, ludic face. It is probable that in the mentioned museum in Stockholm, apart from gloves, there could be more exhibits, for example – weapons used for hunting, but functioning on a similar basis to the exhibits of modern torture museums.

Lem’s attitude towards this vision (if he can be identified here with that of the protagonist of *Return from the Stars*) is ambivalent. On the one hand – as can be seen in the statement quoted earlier – he would not regret the disappearance of blood sports. More importantly, however, in a society devoid of aggression, there would be no murders witnessed by Lem, himself being in danger during the German occupation of Lviv [Orliński, 2017, p. 50 et al.]. On the other hand, in *Return from the Stars*, the disadvantage of betrization – the excessive effeminate of society – is also discussed and criticised. The presentation of the astronauts shows the ethos of male friendship and the role of sport in toughening the body and spirit. Therefore, it turns out that – probably as with any new technology – the betrization treatment, apart from the good ones, also has bad results. In addition, Lem considered the aggressiveness of hominids to be an evolutionary condition for the development of their rationality (we owe universal reason to universal predation), hence, his name for the human species: “the Predatory Ape” [Lem, 1996a]. It is noted that the betrization procedure does not take place on hereditary plasma, thus, it does not interfere with this evolutionary heritage, but deprives the subjects of an apparently important attribute of humanity, which is something dehumanising. Lem himself states that *Return from the Stars* is an attempt to justify the thesis that “one should not surgically amputate <<evil>> because <<evil>> is integrally constitutive of a completed humanity” [Lem, 1996, p. 351, transl. F.K.]. That was probably why Bregg felt depressed in spirit.

In the introduction it was mentioned that the condemnation of aggression in sport, as the opposite of its acceptance or praise, aimed at its gradual elimination from sport, at least in the form of hostile aggression. Let us assume that various activities, e.g. educational measures guided by the ideals of fair play, will lead, in the long run, to a significant reduction in the role of aggression in sport. Then, the betrized society – considered within the context of sport – can be treated not as a result of the use of a special future technology, but as an ideal end to a certain process carried out by “moral” means. From this perspective, Lem’s considerations can be viewed as an attempt to consistently reflect on the consequences of a certain already present tendency.

The considerations, so far, have focused on the existence and possible modifications of some of the most popular sports disciplines. However, these considera-

<sup>9</sup> The theme of shock caused by the perception of aggression in a betrized person is interestingly discussed by M. Oramus in the story “Place on Earth”, which takes place in the world of “Return from the Stars” [Oramus, 2007].

tions can be supplemented with another thread – what new disciplines may emerge, or, somewhat less speculatively, which pre-existing disciplines may gain particular popularity. I am convinced that such an example is provided by tchoukball – a team game created in 1970 (nine years after the publication of the first issue of *Return from the Stars*) by the Swiss sports physician Herman Brandt, together with Michel Favre. The game is a hybrid of handball (it is played with hands), volleyball (the ball should not come into contact with the ground) and squash (the way the ball bounces plays an important role in the game) [Brandt, Favre, 2013, pp. 27–31]. The idea behind Brandt's efforts was the conviction that the objective of physical activity is not to create champions, but to build a harmonious society. Attempts to create a perfect team game have led to such a formalisation of constitutive rules, which, *inter alia*, by eliminating the physical contact between players, minimise the possibility of foul play, aggression and injury. However, what is very important, the course of the game is highly dynamic and attractive to the audience, but – largely due to the specific way in which points are scored – it does not cause aggression. It can be assumed that just this kind of new sports disciplines, or modifications of existing disciplines driven by similar motives, will play a special role in the future, provided that the further evolution of the sport will be closer to the state after betrization. So perhaps, the future equivalent of Hal Bregg will have no reason to complain about sports.

## Conclusion

The relationship between sport and aggression seems so strong that it is difficult to imagine that sport would survive unchanged in a hypothetical society completely devoid of aggression. On the other hand, the complete disappearance of sport in such a society seems equally unlikely. The answer to the title question of this article – “Can sport exist without aggression?” – would be ‘yes’, but not without significant modifications. Whereas some sport disciplines would remain relatively untouched (aesthetic sports such as figure dancing), others would completely disappear in their current form (professional boxing). The rest would undergo some modifications, both in their constitutive rules and in the strategies used in them.

The presented above Stanisław Lem's considerations constitute an original attempt to outline these modifications, which should be treated as something more than just curiosity from the border of science fiction literature and the philosophy of sport. The interpretation of betrization as an extrapolation of the process of minimising aggression in society, and in particular in sport, shows the topicality of Lem's considerations. Lem's ambivalence in the assessment of betrization – and thus, aggression – also finds its counterpart in the form of discrepancies in the assessment of aggression in sport. An important supplement to Lem's experiment, focusing on

changes in the already existing forms of sport, might be the search for new forms of sport, such as tchoukball, in which minimising aggression was the main idea guided creators of this game.

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