

Innsbruck '64: double silver, double happiness

By Volker Kluge



The victory ceremony in Innsbruck in the 1964 pairs figure skating event: gold for Belousova/Protopopov, silver for Kilius/Bäumler, bronze for the Canadians Wilkes/Revell.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

The American cocktail parties of the prohibition era fell out of fashion for quite a long period until the retro wave of the 1990s breathed new life into them. At one of these informal receptions a few years ago, the former American figure skater Vivian Joseph was introduced as the 'Olympic pairs bronze medallist from Innsbruck 1964'. A week later one of the guests got in touch and disputed her success. According to his information the then 19-year-old with her brother and skating partner Ronald had only achieved fourth place, and he cited the IOC website and other sources. "I wasn't very happy," Vivian Joseph was quoted in the *New York Times*.¹ Her annoyance was understandable, after all the bronze medal is nowhere else but in her ownership.

Fifty years after Innsbruck it is time to shed some light on one of the most confusing Olympic stories. The starting point is the 29 January 1964 when, in the Olympic Stadium in front of more than ten thousand spectators, the first medals of the Games were awarded. In the opinion of the masses who had made themselves comfortable in front of their televisions, there was no doubt about the "golden" achievement of the German "dream couple" Marika Kilius and Hans-Jürgen Bäumler.

Yet that Wednesday evening did not end with the expected victory which was supposed to crown their career and smooth the way to a richly-rewarded professional career. Instead, the married Leningrad couple Lyudmila Belousova and Oleg Protopopov, who were trained in classical ballet and had interpreted, with much feeling and effort, Tchaikovsky's "Swan Lake" – demonstrating perfect lifts, leaps, combinations of steps and an unsurpassed artistic death spiral as the pièce de résistance.

In contrast, the Germans looked weak and lacking in rhythm in comparison to their previous appearances. The loss of form had already been noticed at the German championships in Oberstdorf, but had been concealed by unjustifiably high marks from the judges, which sections of the well-informed public had met with cries of "Pfui" (Boo!) and "Schiebung" (foul play).² From column-length newspaper reports it could be deduced that the puzzling drop in performance of the celebrated couple had their origin outside the ice rink and were connected to a rich admirer who was said to have proposed to Marika Kilius. "A dark shadow hovers over our world champion couple", ran the rumour in *Bild-Zeitung*.³



However, the disappointed spectators, many of whom had come from nearby Bavaria over the border, regarded the Innsbruck judges as the only people to blame since they had by a majority of 5:4 put the Russians in first place. The wicked witch for them was judge number 4, the Canadian Dr. Suzanne Francis Morrow⁴, who had given the Germans only a 5.4 for artistic presentation, while she had marked her compatriots Debbie Wilkes and Guy Revell a tenth of a mark higher. But it was overlooked that the vet from Toronto had marked lower than her colleagues during the entire competition and continued to do so right to the end. If any non-sporting reason could be adduced, it was Bäumler's bad luck in having drawn the starting number 2.

The furious German TV audience, millions strong, was deaf to such arguments that evening. In the hall apples, oranges and drinks cans were thrown in protest on to the ice. During the clear-up even a wooden leg was found which nobody had collected.

Beside Francis Morrow the anger was directed especially at the Austrian referee Dr. Ernst Labin, who received 40 telegrams of protest, whose senders were mostly from the neighbouring country and of which one demanded a pistol "so that I can quickly shoot the Canadian".⁵ Hundreds, if not thousands, of defamatory letters arrived in editorial offices.

Besides Belousova/Protopopow there was another big winner that evening – the postcard sellers outside the hall who offered picture postcards with the Austrian ice-skating stamp and pictures of the German couple with the title “World champions and Olympic victors”, printed before the event, and now the hottest sellers. The Bertelsmann Olympic book also stated: “...out of the souvenir was made a curiosity, a macabre rarity at the cost of two young people ...”⁶

The Prague fall made the couple instantly famous

Even before their painful defeat it was clear to Marika Kilius and Hans-Jürgen Bäumler that after Innsbruck, and certainly after the approaching Dortmund World Championships in March, they would end their amateur career. If they were not travelling, they were on the ice for four hours of daily training – mostly in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Besides that, the delicate-looking Hans-Jürgen Bäumler had increasing difficulty in lifting Marika Kilius, who now weighed 55 kg. And just their five-minute free-skating exercise already contained 16 lifts.

Furthermore, this daughter of a Frankfurt hairdresser had been in competition for ten years. As early as 1955 the then eleven-year-old had taken part in the European Championships in Budapest and with her then partner Franz Ningel won the bronze medal. At the 1956 Olympic Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo the two managed a respectable fourth place, but already it was clear that the unequal pairing – Kilius was eight centimetres taller than Ningel – would not face a great future.

After the 1958 World Championships in roller figure skating, won by Kilius/Ningel, coach Erich Zeller placed the young blonde with Hans-Jürgen Bäumler – the 14 months her senior and at that time the best individual skater. After only six weeks of training together they became German champions, accompanied day in, day out by their mothers, who had long felt themselves to be experts and gave Zeller training hints until it became too much for him and he sent them to the cafeteria.⁷

The next year, 1959, Kilius/Bäumler became World Championship runners-up in Colorado Springs behind the Canadians Barbara Wagner and Robert Paul. The same happened at the 1960 Winter Games in Squaw Valley. As was then customary, the Olympic champions promptly retired. They went on tour with the show troop of the “Ice Capades”, until their fame had faded by 1964.

Although the path was thus cleared for the Germans, they had to wait for their really big success. The 1961 World Championships, which were intended to be in Prague, were cancelled by the International Skating Union (ISU), after a “Sabena” aircraft carrying the 17 members of the USA figure-skating team crashed on the approach to Brussels. At the Prague title championships of 1962 the pair clashed their skates together as

they started a sit-spin, which resulted in elimination when a piece of iron broke off Kilius’s skate and no replacement could be found quickly. The debacle did have an up side. The Prague fall had made the pair instantly famous, so that their popularity could only be topped by the 1963 world championship title. After five victories at the European Championships the longed-for result was attained in Cortina d’Ampezzo – in the open and at minus 18 degrees. The spectators – almost all Germans – celebrated the success until 3 o’clock in the morning.

The “sad fairytale prince” and the “ice-cold beast”

After the 1964 Winter Games Kilius/Bäumler lost the urge to defend their world championship title and risk another failure, which would only damage their market value. The doubts were fostered by a telegram directed to Kilius’s mother by the fortune-teller Buchela, who enjoyed a dubious fame as the “Bonn Seer”⁸ and who now prophesied the the pair would never win against the Russians.⁹



In any case, they had to think of the future which, for Marika Kilius who had the chance of a farewell tour of six months at most, looked different than for her skater prince. Also, to the displeasure of the fans, her plans to marry the junior boss of the Frankfurt cigarette lighter factory “Ibello”, Werner Zahn, looked more certain while Bäumler, the son of a civil servant (who, as an amateur, was officially allowed to accept gifts of a value of just 200 Swiss francs) continued to hope for a lucrative revue contract – which he could only get with his partner. Without her he was only worth half.

In the end it was the actor Thomas Fritsch, a friend of Kilius, who argued the most convincingly in favour of the World Championship, emphasising that the pair would have a home advantage with Dortmund as the venue. And Werner Zahn, who had no objection to a short revue tour for his fiancée, thought as a businessman: “If you

Judge No. 4, Canada’s Suzanne Francis Morrow (seated far left in the photo) was considered the “wicked fairy” because she had preferred her compatriots to the Germans and placed Kilius/Bäumler in third place.

Afterwards the German pair did not feel like giving more than a tortured smile. That even before the competition picture postcards were on sale contributed even more to the bad mood (right).

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive, Dr. Günther Heinze Collection



stop as world champions, your fee in the ice revue will be certainly higher."¹⁰ But how they were to get past Belousova/Protopopov even he was unable to say.

It was Marika Kilius who found a solution. She suggested to Bäumler and Zeller that they should present an entirely new routine. In the central part they would just copy the Russians and skate the same figures as them, which was not forbidden by the rules. And the whole thing could be sold as "Homage to Lyudmila and Oleg".

While the trainer refused to take responsibility for such a crazy plan, Bäumler – still upset that Morrow had "stolen" "his" gold medal – hesitantly agreed. There was no time to lose, for the competition was due to begin two weeks later. On Wednesday 26 February the Germans experienced an evening on television which could only be described as a blockbuster. The "Tagesschau" (News) on channel 1 was followed by "heiteres Beruferaten" ("What's My Line?") with Robert Lembke. After a 15-minute interview with the writer Erich Kästner the reporter Heinz Maegerlein came on air from the Westfalenhalle, which was full to bursting; in the event, he was not reporting on a grimly conducted rematch, but on a contest that poured oil on troubled waters and in which the German pair proved that sport and ballet need not be in opposition.

As deservedly as Belousova/Protopopov had won in Innsbruck, just as convincingly – if narrowly, as may be imagined – did Kilius/Bäumler win this time. And at the end of the programme the ARD broadcast a film report of the Boxing World Championship heavyweight match which a certain Cassius Clay had won in Miami Beach the previous day in the seventh round against title-holder Sonny Liston, after which the latter retired.

While Cassius Clay aka Muhammad Ali was still at the start of his career, Kilius/Bäumler had reached the zenith of their ability. "That was our absolutely best performance, there was nothing left," said Bäumler years later." Now the longed-for moneymaking could begin. In February 1964 shooting started for the film *Die große Kür*, which brought Kilius/Bäumler 170,000 DM playing the couple in love. It was the scenario the Germans dreamed of, although the reality was different. The contract with the Vienna "Stadthallen" production had given the two "skating mummies" generous rights, of which they made abundant use. And because of the "duel of the matrons"¹², which relied on the perfect and beautiful image of their progeny, the scenario ("...an especially straightforward story for especially straightforward people ..." ¹³) had to be rewritten several times, which almost drove the director Franz Antel mad.

At the same time, the songs from the films were pressed on to vinyl, and in the distance there beckoned a splendidly-endowed revue contract, shared by the American promoter Morris Chalfen with the Viennese ice revue. To start with, the pair were to appear in front of the



Austrians for 33 weeks in exchange for \$400,000, then for the same period again for Mr Chalfen's "Holiday on Ice" at a weekly wage of \$20,000. That sounded good.

And in the meantime there was a marriage. On 15 August Werner Zahn made an honest woman of his Marika, which drew no fewer than 10,000 people into the Bonifatius church in Frankfurt and was even transmitted live on television. Most of the onlookers were, however, certainly of the view that the wrong people had said "Yes" to one another. They saw the "legitimate" partner not in the genteel son of an industrialist but in the "sad fairytale prince" who had been harshly usurped by an "ice-cold beast".¹⁴

Silver for third-placers, the fourth receive bronze

In the midst of all this activity rumours spread that at the time of the Olympic Winter Games not everything was as it should be regarding the amateur status of the pair. Unknown people, it was said, had passed documents to the IOC to the effect that Kilius/Bäumler had signed commercial contracts before their move to the professional camp, transgressing Rule 26 of the Olympic Charter, which defined an amateur as an athlete,

*who participates and always has participated in sport solely for pleasure and for the physical, mental or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom participation in sport is nothing more than recreation without material gain of any kind, direct or indirect.*¹⁵

These regulations, which from their spirit derived from the previous century, did indeed sound extremely unworldly, but the IOC under the chairmanship of the rich building constructor Avery Brundage (who in 1912 had taken part in the Olympic Games as a pentathlete and decathlete) was rigorous in obeying the rules, provided

that a "sinner" could be caught red-handed, which only happened in the rarest cases.

Ignoring that, the American, who was no friend of the Winter Games because of their incipient commercialisation, intended to make an example. To start with, the NOC for Germany was asked for its position, whereupon it set up an investigative committee.¹⁶ This "neutrally cool way of behaving" caused astonishment and many people were warned not to "sacrifice a second medallist on the altar of an elastic Olympic sports morality 52 years after the decathlete Jim Thorpe".¹⁷ Their anger was directed above all at the "professional speculators" who had passed incriminating material to the IOC and whose identity remains unknown to the present day. "It won't have been a well-meaning friend," wrote Marika Kilius in her memoirs.¹⁸

While *Die große Kür*¹⁹ proved a box-office hit and the pair, after Marika's honeymoon, honoured their engagement with the Viennese ice revue, a time-bomb was ticking away unnoticed. People thought it had been defused when the four-member NOC investigating committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Günther Riebow,²⁰ director of the Hamburg regional court, declared that the pair had not offended against the amateur rules. To reach this verdict the committee had appealed to the case of the Murnau painter Hans Linus Engel,²¹ who had once portrayed the ice skaters before they were prominent, for which he had received their signatures under a "film, record and revue contract".²² Since in this contract – no matter under what conditions – other businesses had been involved, the commission regarded the "written temporary agreement" as non-existent.²³

This was completely in contrast to Brundage, who saw in it "a blatant offence against the spirit" of the Olympic Charter, which had to be met with the withdrawal of Olympic medals. The IOC President set up a three-man investigative commission, chaired by the Dane Ivar Vind and with Lord Killanin and the Norwegian Olaf Ditlev-Simonsen as members.²⁴ But when, at the next Olympic Session in 1965 in Madrid, there was still no result, Daume responded to questions with the words:

*Concerning the Kilius/Bäumler case about which a report had been handed over to a special committee named by the IOC. This report concluded that the couple was not amateur. Mr. Daume said that until now, no decision had been taken but the German Olympic Committee will do what is necessary.*²⁵

Daume (who at the same Session had to accept the recognition of the NOC of the GDR, by which the end of the common German Olympic team was sealed, as an unexpected and obvious slap in the face) saw every reason not to ruin things with his IOC colleagues. Directly after Madrid he had persuaded the Munich Lord Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel to put in an Olympic candidature for

1972, on which no shadow should fall, as Moscow, which until then had been considered the most likely candidate, had declared its lack of interest in the Games on 30 November 1965.

On the other hand, Daume was reluctant to punish the pair for a "sin of youth" by withdrawing their medals. In this crisis of conscience the television reporter Werner Schneider came to his aid. On 29 January 1966, he advised Kilius/Bäumler in the Saturday evening programme "Aktuelles Sportstudio" of the second tv channel (ZDF), to give up their medals voluntarily: "Whether you have the medals or not doesn't matter, you have enough medals."²⁶ The pair agreed at once, whereupon the agencies announced the return of the medals the next day.

Even Brundage was in agreement with this solution. The Session resolved to hand the silver medals to the third-placed Canadians Debby Wilkes and Guy Revell, and to pass on their bronze medals to the fourth pair, the Josephs. In addition, the auditorium had to endure a Philippic from their President:

*This example demonstrates clearly how very much sports are imbued with professionalism. Mr. Brundage considered that the dignity of the Olympic Games is gravely impaired when they are reduced to the role of a steppingstone on the way to a professional career. Sports that have openly passed over to professionalism should no longer be on the programme of the Games.*²⁷

The case seemed now to be closed, even if not a few Olympic statisticians had trouble in accepting the altered sequence, especially as the ISU Council hesitated to withdraw the 1964 world title from the pair, of which according to Brundage's logic they were no longer worthy.²⁸ At the next opportunity, the Canadian figure-skating championships in Peterborough, Ontario, the President

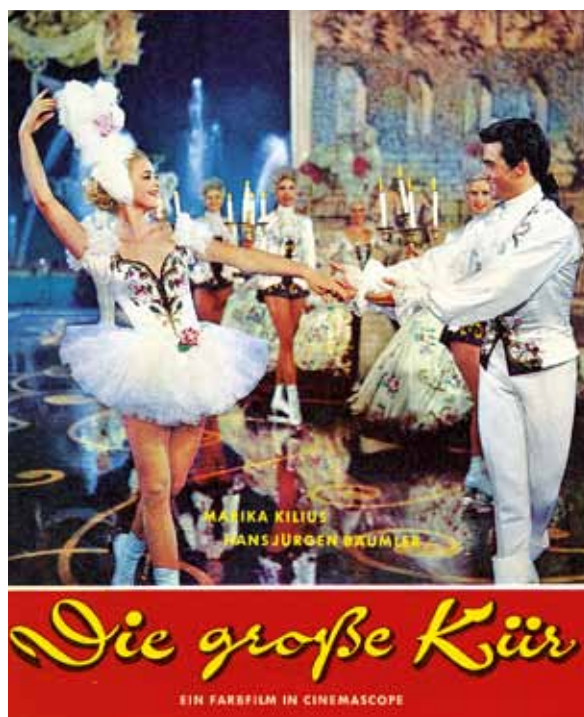
Satisfaction for the "dream couple": at the end of their careers Kilius/Bäumler narrowly defended their World Championship title in Dortmund against Belousova/Protopopov. Wilkes/Revell were third, as in Innsbruck.

Photo: picture-alliance



The story was retold on film in "Die große Kür", which had its premiere on 7 October 1964 in Nuremberg. The film attracted audiences of over three million in an 18 month period and won a "Golden Screen" award.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



of the Canadian Olympian Association, James Worrall, honoured Wilkes/Revell with the silver medals. The presentation of the bronze medals to the Joseph siblings, who had ended their careers after the 1965 World Championship, took place in the Chicago Sheraton Hotel.²⁹

Previously, however, Daume had once again turned to "dear Avery" and tried in vain to prevent the handing on of the medals:

From the rules of the IOC I could not take the obligation to award the medals to the runners-up. To my knowledge, the winners of the places 3 to 7 in Innsbruck have all turned professional. I take liberty to recommend that the medals now are not to be awarded subsequently to professionals but to keep them at the IOC-Office. They could possibly be exhibited in the IOC Museum, and if I were to be ironical: together with the entire-documentation of this case as an example of modern amateurism in figure-skating.

During the whole time of dealing with this case, it was my sincere desire to settle it as noiselessly as possible. In doing so, I often recalled the Jim Thorpe case whose affair would long have been forgotten, yet, who until today is still regarded a martyr because of an IOC decision reached at that time. We should avoid advertising of any kind for Kilius/Bäumler.³⁰

The legend of the lost silver medals

For Marika Kilius (who after 13 years was divorced from Werner Zahn and whose Las Vegas marriage to an American had lasted only four years) and for Hans-Jürgen Bäumler the ice revues were good business. In 1983 these came to an end – privately they had always

gone their separate ways. Although they never lost sight of each other.

Thereafter, the mother of two played the shows for some time throughout the USA before opening an up-market "Champagner-Imbiss" in Frankfurt, which turned out to be in the wrong place. Then she opened a boutique and developed her own line in cosmetics. Today she lives in Zürich. Bäumler, who also had had to take a few heavy blows of fortune and today lives near Cannes, turned to boulevard theatre, to which he has remained faithful.

Occasionally the pair could be seen on the screen, their appearance on 5 December 1987 remaining memorable. On that Saturday evening, in the same ZDF sports studio in which 22 years previously they had given up their Olympic medals, a "handmade new version" of the trophies was presented to them by Willi Daume.³¹ As he thanked the pair "for [their] noble behaviour at the time", Daume explained that he was unable to return the originals to them because they had got lost in the course of the years.

None of that was true! There was neither an IOC resolution which would have legitimised the handing back, nor had the genuine trophies disappeared. Nor had anyone been in contact with Debbi Wilkes and the Joseph siblings, who to this day are in possession of the originals. Guy Revell, who had taken his own life on 11 March 1981, took his silver medal with him to the grave.³² On the other hand, Kilius/Bäumler still hang on to the legend that no other pair had wanted to keep the silver medals after they had given them back.³³

It has proved difficult to unravel this confused mess. In advance of the 92nd IOC Session in 1987 in Istanbul one comes across the notice that the NOC Executive Board at its meeting on 9 April 1987 had "identified itself with the request by Kilius/Bäumler to get the medals back".³⁴ And after this wish had been fulfilled, one could read in the next edition: "In accordance with a declaration of NOC President Willi Daume this decision was reached on the margins of the 92nd IOC Session ..."³⁵

What was meant "margins" can only be guessed. During the Session, the handing back of the medals was, according to the minutes, not discussed. Far more discussion took place about the planned participation of tennis professionals in the Olympic Games of 1988 in Seoul, although in the concluding document of the XI Olympic Congress of 1981 in Baden-Baden, at which eligibility rules had been liberalised and placed on the responsibility of the relevant International Federations, it had still read:

There was no place in the Olympic Games for 'professional' or 'open' competition. The Principles of Rule 25 [!] must be retained and the bye-laws made suitable for each Olympic sport, but compliance with this rule should not create inequalities between competitors.³⁶

Since those days much water has flowed across Lake Geneva, and for quite a long time the view in the IOC Executive Board was that “the best” should in future take part in the Games. That was not only the heart’s desire of Willi Daume, who as chairman of the IOC Eligibility Commission sat at the decisive lever, but also relevant since in the Federal Republic of Germany the victories of Steffi Graf and Boris Becker had unleashed an unprecedented “tennis boom”.

Furthermore, this corresponded completely with the line taken by IOC President Samaranch. To be sure, he described the participation of the tennis professionals as an “experiment” and “provisional measure”, which would not put in question the basic principles of the Olympic Movement, but from the start it was clear that it was a question of getting one foot in the door so as to open up the Games permanently.³⁷

Probably Daume, who was in the best of moods, had then procured Samaranch’s agreement “on the margins” of the Session to reinstate Kilius/Bäumler as Olympic runners-up. Perhaps he had decided that on his own. Relevant documents have in any event not yet emerged, so we have to rely on contemporary witnesses. One of the most important is Walther Tröger, today an Honorary IOC Member, who at that time occupied the post of General Secretary of the NOC for Germany. He searched intensively in his memories and explained:

*According to that Willi Daume’s wish for a sort of reinstatement was accommodated, however without the sequence of results after the disqualification being changed in retrospect. So that means that Kilius/Bäumler were also named as owners of the silver medal and were provided with replicas, however without appearing in the documents. All that is irritating, but the arrangements between Daume and Samaranch were frequently like that.*³⁸

This reply can be trusted, even if questions remain open. According to this, there have been since 1987 two pairs who were awarded silver medals. Nor do the Josephs need to feel ashamed of their bronze medals. The Internet platform *sports-reference.com* has meantime accepted this result, which the IOC website still needs to catch up. Ronald Joseph, to whom Tröger’s information was given, had the last word: “There is a God!”³⁹ ■



On 5 December 1987 Willi Daume appeared on “ZDF-Sportstudio”, when he presented Marika Kilius and Hans-Jürgen Bäumler with “handmade new creations” of the 1964 silver medals.

Photo: Karl Lennartz Archive / ZDF

1 Amy Rosewater, “1964 Olympic Skating Pair Only Now Discovering Their Place”, in: *New York Times*, 13 December 2013.
2 *Der Spiegel*, No. 3/1964, p. 69.
3 *BILD*, 6 January 1964.
4 Suzanne Francis Morrow (1930–2006) with her partner Wallace Diestelmeyer won the bronze medal at the 1948 Winter Games, at the World Championships in the same year she also achieved third place. The couple were the first to demonstrate the “death spiral” with only one hand. In 1988 the veterinary surgeon pronounced the Olympic Oath on behalf of the judges.

5 Marika Kilius, *Pirouetten des Lebens. Erinnerungen*, Integral Verlag, München 2013, p. 138.
6 Robert E. Lembke (Ed.), *Die Olympischen Spiele 1964 Tokyo – Innsbruck*, Bertelsmann Verlag, Gütersloh 1964, p. 77.
7 Vgl. Kilius, p. 84.
8 “Madame Buchela” (1899–1986) was in reality called Margarethe Gousanthier. She was also known as the “Pythia of the Rhine”. In her heyday she had up to 40 customers a day, among them allegedly the German Federal Chancellors Adenauer and Erhardt. Thousands undertook the pilgrimage to her house for that very reason.
9 Cf. Kilius, p. 145.
10 Ibid, p. 142.
11 Interview with Hans-Jürgen Bäumler, 10 February 1999.
12 *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 30/1964, p. 65.
13 Ibid.
14 Interview Bäumler.
15 IOC, Olympic Charter, 1960, p. 11.
16 Minutes, EC meeting, Lausanne, 26–27 June 1964, p. 5, IOC Archives.
17 Karl Adolf Scherer, “Der Ausschuss”, *Sport-Informations-Dienst (sid)*, 21 January 1965.
18 Kilius, p. 148.
19 The colour film that had its premiere in Nuremberg on 7 October 1964 attracted more than three million cinema visitors, for which it received a “Golden Screen” award. The direction was by Franz Antel, the screenplay by Kurt Nachmann. Hans-Jürgen Bäumler’s film rival was played by the German pop star Peter Kraus.
20 From 1964 Dr. Günther Riebow, as representative of the German Football Federation (DFB), one of the deputies of the President of the German Sports Federation (DSB), Willi Daume. Because of his merciless harshness in the NS period in trials of homosexuals the then district judge was described as a “compliant judge”. Cf. Bernhard Rosenkranz/Ulf Bollmann/Gottfried Lorenz, *Homosexuellen-Verfolgung in Hamburg 1919–1969*, Lambda Edition, Hamburg 2009.
21 Engel (1921–1997) designed posters for the German cinema from the 1950s and portrayed actresses like Brigitte Bardot and other famous people. His works were exhibited in the castle museum in Murnau.
22 SID, 21 January 1965.
23 Ibid, 10 June 1965.
24 Minutes, EC meetings Lausanne 11–14 April 1965, p. 5; Paris 9–10 July 1965, p. 2, IOC Archives.
25 Minutes, 64th Session Madrid 6–9 Oktober 1965, p. 19, IOC Archives.
26 Kilius, p. 148–149.
27 Minutes 65th IOC Session Rome, 25–28 April 1966, p. 21, IOC Archives.
28 Letter from ISU Honorary Secretary Georg Häslar to Avery Brundage, 22 November 1965, IOC Archives.
29 *CBC News*, 19 January 2001.
30 Letter from Willi Daume to Brundage, 2 May 1966, IOC Archives.
31 *SID*, 5–6 December 1987.
32 *New York Times*, 13 December 2013.
33 Kilius, p. 149.
34 *NOK-Report*, No. 5, 1 May 1987, p. 19.
35 Ibid., No. 6, 1 June 1987, p. 9.
36 Minutes Annex 3, Final Declaration of the XIth Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden, IOC Archives.
37 Minutes, 92th Session Istanbul, 9–12 May 1987, IOC Archives.
38 E-Mail from Walther Tröger to the author, 10 December 2013.
39 *New York Times*, 13 December 2013.