

# Glickman's "Footnote" as a new Foundation myth?

By Volker Kluge



The lighting of the 'Maccabi Flame' in the Berlin Olympic Park. Nancy Glickman wore her father's 1936 vest as she ignited the cauldron.

Below: training during the crossing on board the S.S. "Manhattan": l. to r. Foy Draper, Marty Glickman, Sam Stoller and Matt Robinson.

Photo: bundespraesident.de, AP

That this year's European Maccabi Games in Berlin took place in that very Olympic complex built by Hitler, from was a powerful symbol, almost a "belated victory" because Jewish sportspeople were excluded from the Olympic Games in 1936. This was the focus taken by many articles published about the EMG2015.

In fact 2300 Maccabi sportspeople from 35 countries celebrated a relaxed festival in the German capital. The city proved a good host. It was here in 1903 that the Jewish Gymnastic Club (Jüdische Turnerschaft) the first federation with members from all over Europe had been founded. The opening ceremony was held in the Waldbühne – in 1936 the competition venue for gymnastics. The sporting competitions were trouble free but did not take place in the Olympic Stadium, which much too big for these purposes.

"It would not have been necessary to promote greatest European Jewish sports festival with the assertion that in 1936 the Jewish sportspeople had been excluded", said the well-known German sports historian Hans-Joachim Teichler.<sup>1</sup> And he was right, for only one athlete was excluded under the pretext of inadequate performance and injury: the German-Jewish high jumper Gretel Bergmann.<sup>2</sup> She had previously been criticized by the Paris émigré press along with the 'half-Jewish' fencer Helene Mayer just for wanting to compete in the Olympic Games.<sup>3</sup>

## What does a Jewish identity consist of?

Apart from the deception of Gretel Bergmann and those athletes who had followed the boycott call to by the 1935 Maccabi World Congress (made despite the protest of the German delegation)<sup>4</sup>, no Jewish athlete is to known to have been excluded from the 1936 Games.

On the contrary: just as many Jewish competitors took part as in earlier years, and some even became Olympic champions. For instance, the fencer Endre Kabos and the wrestler Károly Kárpáti both won gold medals for Hungary; their compatriots György Bródy and Miklós Sárkány were part of the victorious water polo team. Sam Balter was a member of the 'golden' US basketball team, and the Austrian Robert Fein won weightlifting gold. With other athletes their Jewish origin is uncertain. For instance, one might name the Hungarian fencing Olympic champion Ilona Elek-Schacherer.<sup>5</sup>

However the Hungarian high jump Olympic champion Ibolya Csák was not Jewish even though she often mentioned in this context.<sup>6</sup> In addition the Austrian fencer Ellen Preis – Olympic champion 1932 and bronze medallist 1936 – denied the Jewish ancestry often ascribed to her. Yet in 1939 fully a year and a half after the 'Anschluss' of her native country – she was second in the German championships.<sup>7</sup>

Elek und Preis are among those sportspeople who are presented as Jewish Olympic medallists in the book *Jews and the Olympic Games*. The author Paul Taylor however



expresses doubts that occurred to him when he tried to answer the question of the makeup of a Jewish identity. He names two central criteria: descent and religion.<sup>8</sup> In addition he writes:

*The force of ancestry is beyond question. We usually unhesitatingly call someone Jewish if both their parents are Jewish, and do so without checking whether they are committed to Judaism as a religion, and even if we know they are not. On the other hand, it is equally true that we sometimes call someone Jewish with non-Jewish parents who has become Jewish by conversion.*<sup>9</sup>

And not only that. What is the situation with those Jews who converted to Christianity, who are anti-religious or are fed up with the whole discussion? Many Europeans who lived happily in the diaspora were classified as 'Jewish', 'half Jewish', 'closely related to Jews' only as a result of Nazi racial laws.

### Owens only wanted to win three golds

Taylor's book has the sub-title "The Clash between Sport and Politics". This conflict – or is it a connection? – was revealed also at the opening of the European Maccabi Games 2015, whose dramatic climax was the arrival of the 'Maccabi Flame'. At the invitation of Maccabi USA, the Philadelphia-based branch of the Maccabi World Union sports federation, the final runner was 60 year old Nancy Glickman. Her father Marty was allegedly cheated out of the Olympic gold medal in the 4x100 m relay in 1936 along with his team mate and fellow Jew, Sam Stoller.<sup>10</sup>

The episode started at the Final Track & Field Tryouts on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1936, where the 100 metres result was as follows: "1. Jesse Owens 10.4 s, 2. Ralph H. Metcalfe 1½ m back, 3. Frank C. Wykoff close up, 4. Foy Draper, 5. Martin I. Glickman, 6. Sam S. Stoller, 7. Matthew M. Robinson. The first three had thus qualified for the US Olympic team." In addition the rules stated: "Last four finalists also make team for 400 Meters Relay."<sup>11</sup> The German specialist publication *Der Leichtathlet* also reported "For the relay the following will also travel: 4. Draper, 5. Glickman, 6. Stoller."<sup>12</sup> Besides the seven finalists Robert Packard, who had also qualified for the 200 m was nominated in the list sent to the Berlin Organising Committee as eighth runner.<sup>13</sup>

While Jesse Owens mentioned in a radio interview after his arrival in Berlin that he wanted only the gold medals over 100 m, 200 m and in the long jump<sup>14</sup>, the hopes of those who had not qualified for the individual events rested on the short relay. In his autobiography Glickman writes:

*My fifth-place finish didn't seem so vital at the time, though, because the general practice was to enter the*

*first three finishers in the 100-meter sprint, and then place the next four finishers, forth through seventh, on the 400-meter relay team. This enabled as many athletes as possible to compete in the Olympics. At least that was the way it had been done until then.*<sup>15</sup>

### The Meeting on Saturday Forenoon

Owens had undertaken an ambitious programme. In the space of four days, the superstar from Ohio had to take part in no fewer than ten competitions: four runs over 100 m, three over 200 m as well as the long jump with qualification and final. So when the *New York Times* appeared on 5<sup>th</sup> August with the headline "Owens Out of Relay: Glickman, Stoller, Draper and Wykoff Likely 400-Meter Team", it was entirely credible and understandable. Besides, *Associated Press* reported: "Jesse Owens will be all through with the eleventh Olympic Games after he has run the 200-meter semi-finals."<sup>16</sup> On the evening of that day Owens won his third gold medal in the 200 m final.

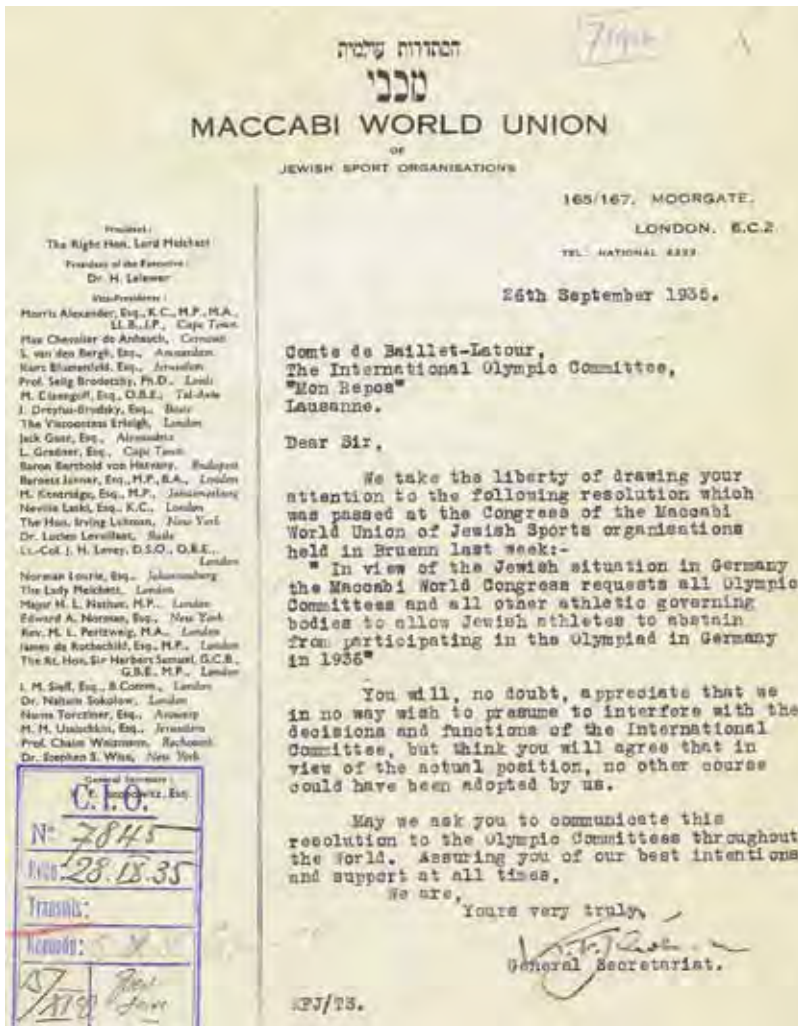


US Head Coach Lawson Robertson (far left) and Assistant Coach Dean B. Cromwell were responsible for team selection in the 4x100 m.

Photos: Report of the American Olympic Committee

In the meantime the remaining sprinters kept themselves busy at the Olympic Village under the direction of Dean Cromwell, who trained Draper at the University of Southern California and also looked after Wykoff. Glickman writes in his memoirs that he contested in total three races against Stoller and Cromwell's protégés, and that several relay variants were tested. Stoller was considered the fastest first runner. Glickman was booked for position two. Draper was to run the second bend, and Wykoff, who had previously fought well to be fourth in the 100 m final despite his 27 years, was expected as in 1928 and 1932 to be the last runner.<sup>17</sup>

The heat for the 4x100 m relay took place on the afternoon of 8<sup>th</sup> August, a Saturday. In the morning chief coach Lawson Robertson called the seven runners who had contested the 100 m final at the tryouts. None of the athletes knew that the American morning newspapers would appear with a report by the AP correspondent Alan Gould, who had learned from Robertson that the relay would be changed. Glickman described the meeting at which Cromwell was present, as follows:



The Maccabi World Union informed IOC President Henry de Baillet-Latour in 1935 of their decision not to take part in the 1936 Olympic Games. However the request to make this resolution public was refused.

Photo: IOC/OSCArchive

*With a grim face Robertson said he'd been told the Germans were hiding their best sprinters, saving them for the 400-meter relay to upset the heavily favored American team. Therefore, Stoller and I were to be replaced by Owens and Metcalfe. Draper and Wykoff, Cromwell's two USC runners, would stay on the relay squad.*

*There was stunned silence in the room. This came out of the blue to me. I was shocked and angry. Being young and brash, I said, "Coach, there's no reason to believe the Germans are any kind of threat to the relay. To be a world-class sprinter, you have to compete in world-class competition."<sup>18</sup>*

According to Glickman only the two coaches and Jesse Owens, who wanted to put in a good word for him and Stoller, spoke that morning, for which he had to be corrected by Cromwell. "Coach, let Marty and Sam run, they deserve it. I've already won three gold medals. I'm tired. They haven't had the chance to run." He is thus quoted by Glickman, who by his account said to Robertson as he left: "Coach, you know that Sam and I are the only two Jews on the track team. If we don't run, there's bound to be a lot of criticism back home."<sup>19</sup>

But in his hope that a storm of protest would break out, Glickman saw himself disappointed. Alan Gould did write about a "worrisome day", which had brought the American officials "some adverse comment over the dropping of two Jewish sprinters from the 400-meter relay"<sup>20</sup>, yet compared with the case of the pleasure-seeking swimmer Eleanor Holm Jarrett, who had been suspended during the crossing to Germany by the President of the American Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage, the interest was limited. "It is only a coincidence that they are also the only Jewish boys on the track team", wrote the *Herald Tribune*.<sup>21</sup>

Coincidence or not? – even by the afternoon nobody was asking that any more. In the heat, Owens, Metcalfe, Draper and Wykoff equalled the world record set in Los Angeles and were later rewarded with Olympic gold. This time the medal was not to be had so cheaply. Twenty-four hours later the Americans again ran two tenths of a second faster, by which they produced the proof that four fast athletes who pass the baton safely can get a better result than that by 'average runners' with fast changes.<sup>22</sup>

The opposite was proved in particularly by the German quartet. Until the appearance of 'wonder runner' Owens, the Germans laboured under the illusion that they could beat the Americans on home soil thanks to a perfect baton changeover technique, which had almost succeeded in Amsterdam.<sup>23</sup> After a bad change between first runner Wilhelm Leichum and Erich Borchmeyer the Germans would at the end be happy at least to have won bronze behind the Italians (41.1 s) in 41.2 seconds.

This weak performance by the German relay team was grist to the mill to those who suspected not so much a sporting motive as a political calculation behind Robertson's decision. To be sure it did not come to the broad discussion prophesied by Glickman, yet Brundage, suspected as being the real man behind it all, saw himself forced to issue a denial in his *Official Report* after the Games:

*An erroneous report was circulated that two athletes had been dropped from the American relay team because of their religion. This report was absurd. The two athletes in question were taken only as substitutes. Reference to the results of the two final tryouts will show that Owens, Metcalfe, Wykoff and Draper won the four places. These four men composed the four hundred meter relay team, won the event and broke the world's record. Their performance proved the wisdom of adhering to the rules.<sup>24</sup>*

Even officialdom denied it, to the end of his life, Glickman saw himself as the victim of political chicanery, even if as the years his anger faded and he became an "Olympic footnote", as he himself wrote.<sup>25</sup> There came sympathetic words from the likes of Ralph

Metcalfe, elected to the US Congress in 1970. He told Glickman "I'm convinced it was the Jewish thing that was behind it." Owens on the other hand kept his distance. He saw it instead as a conflict of interest with Cromwell, who was determined to see his two athletes in the relay: "I doubt that the Jewish factor was the deciding issue: The Germans didn't give a damn about who won then. Probably, if Glickman and Stoller had been from USC, they'd have run the relay."<sup>26</sup>

Glickman's fellow sufferer overcame the ejection, which had hit him on his 21<sup>st</sup> birthday of all days, less well. Sam Stoller's experiences, which he had noted down in a diary, were worked up by *Sports Illustrated's* senior writer, William O. Johnson, in his 1972 book *All that glitters is not good*.<sup>27</sup>

Stoller won the 100 yards at the Big Ten Conference and the NCAA championships a year after the Olympics. He began a singing career after his studies at Michigan, but this did not bring him any long-lasting success.<sup>28</sup> "My feeling is that the Olympic disappointment seriously affected Stoller's life"<sup>29</sup>, thought Glickman, who after the Games played professional football and basketball for a short time and then became a much sought after radio and television reporter. Even without the relay gold he enjoyed a fulfilled life.

### 'American Nazis' pulling the Strings?

Yet the ghosts of history do not rest. The person who brought them back to life was in 1983, Glickman's old friend, the Olympic filmmaker Bud Greenspan, invited him to his studio in preparation for a new documentary, to show him the newsreel footage of the 1936 trials. For Glickman it was a revelation:

*He showed it to me. The camera location is not quite at the finish line, perhaps ten yards short of it. It shows Wykoff and me in what looks like a dead heat for third place. But it clearly shows me at least a foot in front of Draper. Greenspan and I looked at the finish half a dozen times, and neither of us could separate Wykoff and me. There is no doubt, thought, that both of us were ahead of Draper.*<sup>30</sup>

Although, as Glickman had to recognise, the film material was no real proof, from that day forward he was convinced that he had been cheated at the trials. For him there was now a conspiratorial logic, formulated by Greenspan as early as 1981:

*Much has been said about what transpired during that pre-race meeting. The most dramatic story was that the president of United States Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage, along with Robertson and Cromwell, had bowed to pressure from Nazi officials to remove the Jewish runners so as not to embarrass Adolph Hitler's regime.*

*For many years, stories circulated that the Nazi minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, had appealed to the American officials not to enter a relay team that consisted of two black and two Jewish runners. The fact that Brundage later became associated with America First Committee, a group that many believed was sympathetic to Hitler and the Nazi regime, only added strength to the reports.*<sup>31</sup>

The circle closed in the summer of 1985 – a few weeks after Stoller's death – when Glickman visited Berlin for the first time for 49 years and visited the Olympic Stadium. On the tablets of honour at the Marathon Gate he read the list of gold medallists, which begins with the name of Jesse Owens, who had died of cancer in 1980. In the same year Frank Wykoff also passed away. Both outlived Ralph Metcalfe by two years, while bomber pilot Foy Draper had not returned from a Tunisian battlefield in early 1943. As Robertson, Cromwell and Brundage had long since passed away, with the exception of Glickman there was no living direct participant, which gave "a feeling of completion" as the last survivor.<sup>32</sup>

Photo from the German 1936 Official Report with the subtitle "'Come on!!' The 4x100 m relay team of the USA: Draper, Metcalfe, Stoller, Glickmann."



### Summary

So much has been written, numerous books and even films have appeared on the subject.<sup>33</sup> There is great sympathy for the two disappointed athletes but from an historical perspective we have to stick to the fact that until now no single piece of evidence has been presented to show that the athletes were really discriminated against because of their Jewish descent.

That the two coaches decided at the last minute to select the runners who had occupied the first four places at the tryouts was justified from a sporting point of view, even if there may beforehand have been other discussions or promises.

Nor is this contradicted by the fact that in 1932 in Los Angeles things were handled differently. On the contrary! One might equally recognise a political motive in the overlooking at that time of the best athletes, the black runners Eddie Tolan and Ralph Metcalfe, which could also have been valid in 1936 for a relay squad without Owens and Metcalfe.

The proof that no team can become Olympic champions with a "second string" came at those same 1936 Games. The American 4x400 m relay squad included four white runners and was easily beaten by two seconds by the British. The winner of the individual event, Archie Williams, and bronze medallist James LuValle – both black – could only watch from the stands.

Victory ceremony:  
gold for the USA,  
silver for Italy, bronze  
for Germany. The entire  
Nazi 'prominenti' were  
assembled in the  
"Führerloge" ('Führer's  
box').



Photo: Official Report Olympic Games Berlin 1936

Nor is there any proof that the coaches had acted on behalf of Avery Brundage to please the Nazi bigwigs. Certainly Brundage, a pal of IOC Member Karl Ritter von Halt since the Olympic Games of 1912, was a friend of Germany, but that alone did not make him into a 'Nazi', even if he – as maintained by Greenspan and Glickman – was said to have belonged as a founder member to the America First Committee (AFC).

Founded in 1940 with 800,000 members, this was largest organisation of isolationists which wanted to

keep the USA out of the war. Members came from all sections of society and included popular personalities like the pilot Charles Lindbergh, the industrialist Henry Ford and a then unknown student called Gerald Ford who eventually became US President. Among other numerous supporters one finds the author Sinclair Lewis, the film producer Walt Disney and Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the daughter of US President Theodore Roosevelt.

The notion that Brundage was supposed to have received instructions from Goebbels is almost absurd. It is even more unlikely because the NS regime was painfully determined to show its 'best' face, to present Germany as an 'island of peace'. The German press was instructed by the Reich Propaganda Minister on several occasions not to diminish foreign victories and in no circumstances to address the 'race point of view'.<sup>34</sup> The Gestapo was given the following orders:

*A generous and smooth running of the Olympic Games 1936 in Berlin is for the reputation of the new Germany in the eyes of all foreign guests of far-reaching importance. The Olympic Games are by the wish of the Führer to be a unanimous recognition of the German wish for peace and of German hospitality and to demonstrate to the foreign visitors the order and discipline of the National Socialist state.<sup>35</sup>*

Hitler behaved with the same spirit of pragmatism in regard to the participation of foreign Jewish sportspeople, whose presence he had not trusted himself – at least not officially – to question. Only with the concession to include 'non-Aryan' athletes in the German Olympic preparations<sup>36</sup>, did he refuse in retrospect to swallow the second pill after the first.

American IOC Member Charles Sherrill, a retired General and former US Ambassador to Berlin, was received by Hitler in Munich. He made the proposal to ask Jewish sports clubs in Germany to name a representative for the Olympic team, to ensure that Jewish athletes would not be excluded, something, which the American public would not understand; Hitler reacted angrily. In the Minutes it is stated:

*The Führer replied that such a solution appeared to him impossible. It would fail at the fact that in Germany a complete separation had been established between Jews and Germans. The Jews were not suppressed but only completely isolated from the Germans and could lead their own cultural life. But under these circumstances it was of course impossible to follow up the suggestion of Ambassador Sherrill. The Führer went on to explain that he could not recall the exact wording of the letter sent at that time by the Reich Interior Ministry to the Olympic Committee, but had retained with some certainty in his memory that the agreement had only referred in general to the*

participation of the Jews and that in no way had any sort of obligation been accepted to take responsibility for a Jewish participation within the German Olympic team. Germany had in accordance with the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and so Germany would make no objections if other countries included Jews within their national teams at the Olympic Games.<sup>37</sup>

Hitler kept to his undertaking but he sought information from the Reich Interior Ministry about what had actually been promised to the IOC and Avery Brundage personally during his stay in September 1934 in Berlin. The information was that the preparation of German Jews had indeed been guaranteed, but "that we are not obliged to ensure that Jewish athletes of German nationality reach a condition where they are ready for the Olympics".<sup>38</sup> Nomination was in the end left solely to the Reichssportführer, so that the decision about Gretel Bergmann had to all intents and purposes, already been made, regardless of the height she had jumped.

No matter how much empathy I feel, I cannot recognise a connection with the Glickman–Stoller story. Nor does this case in my view fit in as a new foundation myth of the Maccabi movement, which rose in the 1920s and experienced its first flowering in Berlin itself. The headquarters of the world organisation were in Berlin for a long time, before the organisation was forced to move to London in 1933. Anyone who experienced the happy EMG people in summer 2015 will have to admit that they quite obviously followed other motives than to let themselves be inspired by a story that cannot be conclusively cleared up. ■

1 Hans-Joachim Teichler, "Triumphe im Herzen der Perfidie", in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
 2 Taking it exactly, Gretel Bergmann, who with a height of 1.60 m was ranked together with two other athletes number three in the world's best list, was not nominated, the equivalent of an exclusion. Two weeks before the start of the Olympic Games her name was still among the sportspeople intended for Berlin, as can be seen in the notice of the Reich Propaganda Ministry for the press (all brought into line). It said: "This afternoon the complete list of German Olympic competitors is published, It is not be mentioned that among the women there are two non-Aryans (Helene Mayer and Fräulein Bergmann)." Bundesarchiv Berlin (Barch) Zsg 101/7/407/No. 707 (3), 16<sup>th</sup> July 1936.  
 3 *Pariser Tageblatt*, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1935. The editor-in-chief Georg Bernhard, driven out of Germany, described in a commentary Helene Mayer and Gretel Bergmann because of their readiness to appear at the Olympic Games as 'headlights' and 'living denials', who had been paid by Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels.  
 4 Anti-Olympics Stand Adopted by Maccabi Congress, *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, Prague, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1935.  
 5 *Jews in Hungarian Sports*, Exhibition of Museum of Physical Education and Sports Budapest, Tel Aviv, Maccabi World Games July 1993. The double Olympic champion is not mentioned in this reliable source.  
 6 Cp. Volker Kluge, "Scandal about 'Dora' and the 'Bergmann Case'", in: *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 26–27. The research

owes much to the Hungarian ISOH member Tamás Karakai, who made contact with the son of the Olympic champion, János Kádár.  
 7 Interview Volker Kluge with Professor Ellen Müller-Preis, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2001.  
 8 Paul Taylor, *Jews and the Olympic Games. The Clash between Sport and Politics*, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, Portland, 2004, pp. 224–246.  
 9 Ibid, p. vii.  
 10 Hitler's Olympics: Jewish runners 'betrayed' by U.S. Athletics", *CNN*, 31<sup>st</sup> July 2015.  
 11 Frederick W. Rubien (ed.), *Report of the American Olympic Committee. Games of the XI<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, Berlin, Germany*, New York, n. d., p. 121.  
 12 *Der Leichtathlet*, Vol. 13, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1936, p. 15.  
 13 Report, p. 100.  
 14 Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, XI. *Olympische Sommerspiele 1.–16. August 1936 in Berlin*, Interview with Jesse Owens in the Olympic Village: "I hope to win three medals", 28<sup>th</sup> July 1936.  
 15 Marty Glickman with Stan Isaacs, *The Fastest Kid on the Block, The Marty Glickman Story*, Syracuse University Press, 1996, p. 11.  
 16 *New York Times*, 5<sup>th</sup> August 1936.  
 17 Glickman, p. 17.  
 18 Ibid, pp. 18–19.  
 19 Ibid, p. 19. In his book „100 Greatest Moments In Olympic History“ (General Publishing Group, Inc., Los Angeles, 1995), p. 19, Bud Greenspan quotes Owens as follows: "We were stunned. The rumor was that the Nazi hierarchy asked our officials not to humiliate them further by using two Jewish athletes to add to the gold medals black athletes had already won. I protested, saying, 'I've won three gold medals, let Marty and Sam have their chance.' Quickly and forcefully I was told to shut up. We won the relay by ten meters, but we would have won just as easily with Marty and Sam."  
 20 *New York Times*, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1936.  
 21 *Herald Tribune*, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1936.  
 22 The world record of 39.8 seconds lasted until 1<sup>st</sup> December 1956, when a US quartet with Ira Murchison, Leamon King, Thane Baker and Bobby Morrow achieved 39.5 seconds at the Olympic Games in Melbourne.  
 23 A relay team of the sports club Eintracht Frankfurt equalled the world record of the US quartet (who had become Olympic champion in Paris-Colombes) with 41.0 seconds on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1928. The secret of the relay was the so-called Frankfurt change developed by coach Otto Boer and in which the baton was no longer – as had been the case – switched from the right hand into the left.  
 24 Report, p. 35.  
 25 Glickman, p. 7.  
 26 Ibid, p. 25.  
 27 William O. Johnson, Jr., *All that glitters is not gold: An Irreverent Look at the Olympic Games*, Putnam, New York 1972, pp. 177–184.  
 28 As "Singin' Sammy Stoller" he could be seen in nine films. Later he worked among other things as announcer for the baseball team of the Washington Senators.  
 29 Glickman, p. 32.  
 30 Ibid, p. 11.  
 31 Bud Greenspan, "Why Jesse Owens won 4 Gold Medals", in: *New York Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1981.  
 32 Glickman, p. 3. Robertson died in 1951, Cromwell in 1962 and Brundage, who spent his last three years mainly in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany in 1975.  
 33 Cp. Robert Rubinstein, *Ghost Runners*, All Things That Matter Press, 2010; Neil Best, *Who's Marty Glickman?*, HBO Documentary 2013; James L. Freedman, *Glickman*, HBO Home entertainment, DVD 2014.  
 34 Barch, Zsg. 101/8177/Nr. 790, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1936.  
 35 Ibid, R 58/2322, Decree about the Activity of the Political Police regarding the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1936.  
 36 CIO, Session de 1934 Athènes, *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, No. 26, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1934, p. 13.  
 37 Barch R 1501/5614. Notes about the reception of the American Ambassador S.H. Sherrill by the Führer and Reichskanzler in Munich, Prinzregentenplatz 16, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1935.  
 38 Ibid. "Re.: Participation of Jews in the Olympic Games", letter from State Secretary of the Reich Interior Ministry, Hans Pfundtner, to the chief of the Präsidialkanzlei Hans-Heinrich Lammers, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1935.