

WALTER VON REICHENAU OFFICER, SPORTSMAN, IOC MEMBER, WAR CRIMINAL

by Karl Lennartz

Preliminary Note¹

Since the end of the Second World War German sport historians from both East and West have tried to come to terms with sports leaders in the Third Reich. [Turn- und Sportführer im Dritten Reich]². Detailed biographies were written about Edmund NEUENDORFF³, Hans von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN⁴, Theodor LEWALD⁵, Carl KRUMMEL⁶ and Guido von MENGDEN⁷. A few years ago a thesis on Karl von HALT⁸ was published by Peter HEIMERZHEIM. Carl DIEM received a lot of criticism in this work. You can even talk of waves criticism against him: Firstly from 1946 to 1950⁹, then 1968 to 1972¹⁰ and finally from 1990 to today¹¹. But so far there has not been a detailed biography of DIEM.¹²

Surprisingly Field Marshal Walter von REICHENAU deserved condemnation but was quite overlooked and at the most only mentioned in passing¹³. He died from natural causes in 1942 otherwise he would probably would have been condemned to death at the Nuremberg trials and executed.

Anyhow military historians have already given their judgement. The sport historians hardly considered REICHENAU'S behaviour during the Second World War¹⁴. Even the military historians have not been conscious of his activities in sport. There now follows a description of the sporting and military life of REICHENAU¹⁵.

The Athlete and the Young Officer

Walter von REICHENAU was born 16 August 1884 in Karlsruhe. He was the son of the Prussian Lieutenant General Walter von REICHENAU. His father lived in Dusseldorf after his retirement. He had been the manager of a gun factory He was a passionate "player of team sports" and the honorary chairman of the *Association of Dusseldorf Sport Clubs*¹⁶. In 1913 he wrote an article "A healthy soul in a healthy body"¹⁷, which was published in the *Fußballjahrbuch 1913* [Football Year Book].

His son, Walter von REICHENAU went to a high school and did his A-Levels. Afterwards he joined the Prussian army and became a second lieutenant on 18 August 1904 in the First Field Artillery Regiment in Berlin. In 1911 he was posted to the

War Academy and promoted to lieutenant. We don't know anything about his sporting activities at school or during his posting to the War Academy.

In Berlin he became member of the *Berlin Sport Club* (BSC), where he was personally active and also participated in the organisation. The *Berlin Sport Club* was one of the biggest sport clubs in the capital, which offered all the main sports at this time. In 1905, Carl DIEM became president of this club. DIEM was also the chairman of the *Deutsche Sportbehörde für Athletik* [German Association for Athletics], today's *Deutscher Leichtathletik-Verband* [German Athletic Federation] from this time. He gave up this position in autumn 1912, to dedicate himself to being the main secretary of the organisation committee for the planned games of the VI Olympiad 1916 in Berlin.



Walter von Reichenau as tennis player (Diem Archives)



General Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau (Diem Archives)

DIEM would have liked to become a professional soldier, but he failed as a one year volunteer, because he did not pass the A-Level and he was not of noble birth. Although he complained about the injustice of this system he still admired military virtues during his whole life.

It seems that von REICHENAU and DIEM got to know one another well through their work. After the death of von REICHENAU, DIEM wrote the obligatory obituary for IOC members¹⁸ in the *Olympische Rundschau* [Olympic Review], and even an eight pages biographical essay¹⁹, published in the *Olympische Flamme*²⁰ [Olympic Flame], a few month later, to commemorate what would have been his sixtieth birthday.

DIEM'S text is the only source of information on von REICHENAU'S sporting career - apart from other references in letters and diary notes - especially in the period before the first world war. DIEM expressed his sorrow at the death of his friend. Some of the things he said seem to be exaggerated and effusive.

How did von REICHENAU'S sporting career appear to DIEM?

Most importantly he played football as a midfielder for the first and second teams. As it is now this was a key role in football at the time. He stopped the opponents' attacks and kicked the ball long and high to the forwards in the other half of the field. They ran after the ball in classic kick and rush style.

According to DIEM he was

*"a tower of strength and he welcomed his opponents' attacks. At the end of the game the spectators would have liked to express their opinion, but seeing his massive frame and his unshakeable demeanour it was better not to do so."*²¹

Von REICHENAU did not appear to be a very fair player. He also had the eccentric habit of wearing his monocle, while playing. Most of the remaining pictures show him wearing his monocle.

DIEM points out that playing football in public at that time was something unusual for an officer. But it seems that he consciously avoided representing this attitude in 1942. Probably he wanted to emphasize that guard officers could make friendly contacts with their team mates and civilians. In the 20's and 30's football was the sport of the workers, tradesmen and the lower class civil servants. (*Schalke 04* was a team of the miners), but surprisingly before the first world war the young nobles and the upper class also treated football as a leisure time activity. Even the higher nobility accepted football to the extent of sponsoring it. The German crown prince attended the competitions and donated a cup. During the Olympic Games 1912 in Sweden the Swedish crown prince followed his example and met the players at half time. The tough way of playing football at that time, made it suitable as a combat sport for the Armed Forces. Von REICHENAU also played rugby: *"It became obvious, that his friends preferred to play with him than against him."*²² DIEM regarded boxing as the third sport. Boxing did not exist as a sport at that time. Public boxing was strictly forbidden in Germany. The young officers of the BSC wanted to change the image of boxing from just being something which happened in a pub brawl and invited the police president Traugott von JAGOW²³ to a demonstration of it. DIEM mentions further boxing enthusiasts like Prince FRIEDRICH KARL of Prussia²⁴, the emperor's nephew, the master of horse riding instruction van GÜLPEN and the *"pilot Garganico, who was known at this time"*²⁵

The ban on boxing was lifted at that time.

Von REICHENAU also took part in athletics. He participated not only in DIEM'S beloved cross country running, but was also very good in field events. DIEM even mentions his best performances.

He threw the javelin "48,1 metres" and the "discus 32,68 metres" and put the shot "10,31 metres". DIEM does not exaggerate, when he talks about good performances²⁶ "at this time".²⁷ Von REICHENAU ran, together with Prince FRIEDRICH of Prussia, Prince SIGISMUND of Prussia and lieutenant von KATZLER, in the 4x100metres relay. They broke the officers' record with a time of 48,1 seconds. The BSC was the Sport Club in Berlin, where the nobles and the young officers could become members. Soon an officers department was formed, which was run by von REICHENAU as "Obmannstellvertreter" [deputy chairman]²⁸ of the football section. Was this officer department founded in order to be an elite separated from the other sportsmen? DIEM disputes this "not in terms of a special group"! This department strives for the goal "to fight for the right of sport in the army".²⁹ Certainly this interpretation is not wrong. What sort of physical exercise did the Prussian army take? It was still influenced by the gymnastics of ROTHSTEIN, and still remains in the training of military instructors in the military school of gymnastic. According to DIEM it only consisted of "heavy postures exercises" This form of physical training actually corresponded with the conduct of war in the middle of the 19th century. The soldiers before the First World War were supposed to be mobile and flexible.

The head of training in the Prussian Ministry of War, Major Walter KORTEGAN³⁰, had recognized the value of sport. The participation of the officers of the BSC in sport was not only tolerated but also encouraged. Von REICHENAU was given the task of a memorandum for the introduction of sport into the armed forces. After this new regulations for gymnastics and competition between the Armed Forces were introduced, (first half of 1914) and a new military gymnastic stadium and sport fields were built.³¹

Because the US athletes proved to be superior to the athletes of other countries in the Olympic Games so far and the German athletes showed themselves to be only third class, the *Deutscher Reichsausschuß für Olympische Spiele* [German Reichs Committee for Olympic Games] sent a study group to America in the summer of 1913 under guidance of DIEM. They were supposed to research the reasons for the superiority of American sport and to appoint university sports professor as the Olympic trainer. After the proposal of major KORTEGAN, Walter von

REICHENAU went to the US in addition to the athletics coach Josef WAITZER and the press officer of the organisation committee for 1916 Martin BERNER.

The four young sportsmen insisted on training every morning on the ship, much to the astonishment and pleasure of the other passengers, von REICHENAU naturally wearing his monocle. Soon they were called "the four eccentrics".³² In the US they not only visited the sport fields and stadiums of the universities, but also the officer training in Westpoint and the Navy school in Annapolis. When they came back, DIEM wrote a memorandum entitled "Sport and physical education in America"³³, which also contains an extract of a report - "The Army and the Navy"³⁴, which was written by REICHENAU for the Ministry of War.³⁵

DIEM quotes from it:

*"A good sportsman with all his moral and physical strengths, both of them inseparably connected, will also always make a good soldier."*³⁶

In his report³⁷, which also contains some criticisms of the set up in the American Army, but REICHENAU praises the high local value of sport in the American army, especially in the officers' academies.

Carefully he questioned the physical education and the Swedish gymnastics and accentuates the great value of football (American Football) and athletics. These sports train courage, determination and the readiness to fight and to win and creates best "human material". He defends himself against the prejudice, which apparently exists that gymnastics is "hurtful for the discipline". The officers should get the opportunity to join civilian sport clubs. Officers-competitions should be organized.

His report ends with concrete suggestions for the organisation of athletics and football.

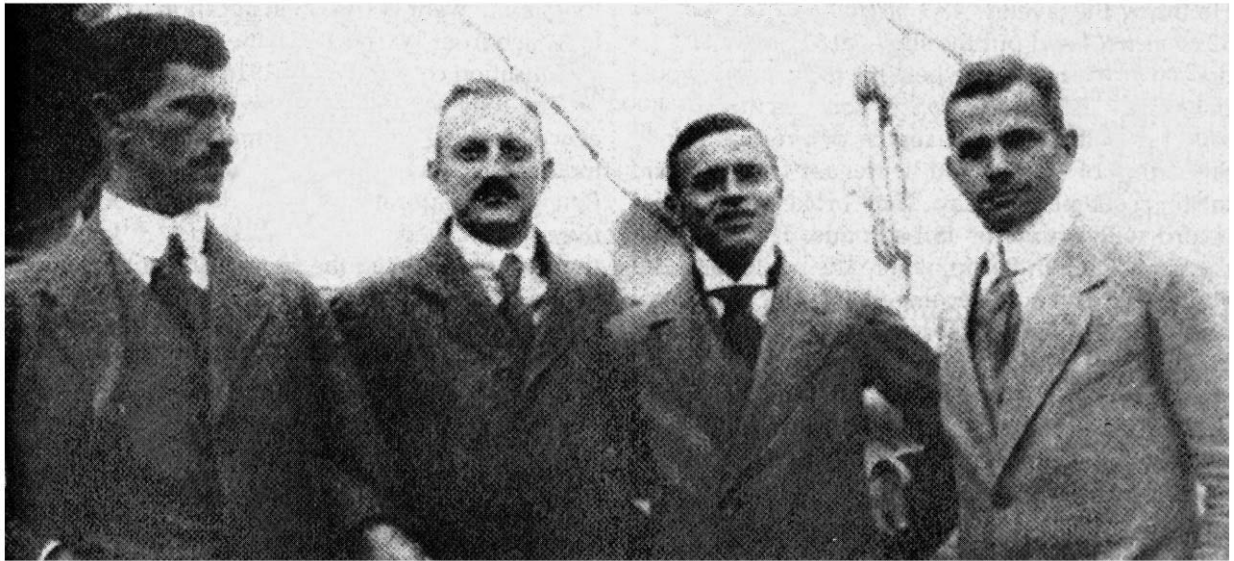
During his preparation for the Olympic Games 1916 DIEM tried to resurrect sport next to school also for the army. He exposes an exposé "Anleitung von Olympiaprüfungskämpfen für Regimenter und selbständige Bataillone" [Guidance for Olympic combat trials for regiments and independent

battalions]. For these competitions of the soldiers the emperor WILHELM II donated a special medal. It can be surely assumed, that von REICHENAU and Carl DIEM had supported this.

Von REICHENAU organized the procession,



Medal donated by Wilhelm II for the Olympic Combat Trials for Regiments and Bataillons; obverse and reverse (Private Archives Lennartz)



The four eccentrics on the journey to the USA 1913: Josef Waitzer, Carl Diem, Martin Berner, and Walter von Reichenau (Diem Archives)

when the German stadium, where the Olympic Games were supposed to take place was solemnly opened with the entering of the athletes.

As soon as the initiative from DIEM the German NOC introduced the *Sportabzeichen* [German sport badge], it was self-evident, that von REICHENAU would be one of the first (Nr. 4), who passed the fitness test.

Hitler's General

During the first world war, where von REICHENAU was deployed on the east and western fronts he led a battery west and the east front, he led a battery, was adjutant of a regiment and finally a general field officer. After the war he was assigned as a captain at the Hunderttausend-Mann-Heer [One hundred thousand man army] of the *Reichswehr* (since November 28th 1914). He married Alexandrine von MALTZAN and cemented relationships with the old Silesian nobility.

He was promoted three times before 1933, he became a Major on July 1st 1923, in April 1st 1929 Lieutenant Colonel and finally Colonel on February 1st 1932. After he served in different units from 1927 till 1929 as a general staff officer and was active in the inspection of the intelligence troops he was transferred in 1932 to East Prussia as a Chief of Staff. His commanding officer was district commander Werner von BLOMBERG.³⁸ At the borders there was close cooperation between the Red Army and the *Reichswehr*. In 1930 von REICHENAU was also in touch with the Soviet inspector of defence Michail TUCHACEVSKIJ³⁹, who visited East Prussia. Von REICHENAU remained an active sportsman but changed sports, probably because of his age. He still played Tennis frequently and depending upon his posting played for *Blau-Weiß Berlin* and

the *Leipziger Sport Club*. He even participated at the army championships and won the singles and doubles. He also was elected into the committee of *Blau-Weiß Berlin*. The club appointed him on December 29th 1939 as an honorary member. Even aged 55 he remained loyal to football so much so that the *Berliner SC* still gave him a player's pass. He also took part in the squad which won the road relay from Potsdam - Berlin.

In sport politics he probably drew the attention just once, when he held the commemoration speech on August 3rd 1929 for prince FRIEDRICH KARL of Prussia, who was killed during the war and whose coat of arms graced the badge of the BSC.⁴⁰ The prince fought in sport and in war, died for Germany and is an example.

Although von REICHENAU was a good friend of DIEM, the name von REICHENAU does not appear neither in the environment of the *Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen* [Committee of the Reich for Physical Education] nor the *Deutsche Hochschule für Leibeserziehung* [German University for Physical Education]. Didn't DIEM ask him for collaboration? Didn't von REICHENAU'S duties allow it?

The transfer in 1931 to East Prussia and the collaboration with von BLOMBERG were decisive for von REICHENAU'S further career and even for his future way of thinking and possibly for his behaviour during the Second World War in Russia. The units in East Prussia considered themselves as defenders of the east border and were scared of Polish attacks. According to the paramilitary unit of political organisation a system of defence was built up.⁴¹ Von REICHENAU even went as far as to order a First Lieutenant, under the pseudonym Hans NITRAM of one of his regiments to publish a brochure with the title: "Achtung! Ostmarkenrundfunk! Polnische

Truppen haben heute Nacht die ostpreußische Grenze überschritten" ["Attention! Eastmark Broadcasting! Polish Troops Crossed the East Prussian Border"].

The *Reichswehr* had problems with the organisations of the NSDAP [National Socialist Party], which fought among themselves and because they did not take part in the defence of the border, even hindered them. Von REICHENAU had complete responsibility for the command of the defence district, because von BLOMBERG was not present for long as a member of the German delegation at the disarming conference in Geneva.

In April 1932 von REICHENAU had his first talk, arranged by his uncle, with HITLER. His uncle was the chairman of the *Verein für das Volkstum im Ausland* [Club for the National Traditions in Foreign Countries], Not too much is known about the contents. It seems that von REICHENAU was impressed about HITLER'S political intentions. Probably he mentioned the troubles with the NS-units.

This he formulated in a written letter and sent it to HITLER via the Pastor in Königsberg, the future bishop of the Reich Ludwig MÜLLER⁴², who was also a convinced national socialist.

This was answered in a detailed letter on December 4th 1932. It was unusual as HITLER usually avoided expounding his opinion in long letters. He might have recognized that von REICHENAU was susceptible to his ideology. It would go too far to reproduce the whole contents of the letter. A few parts of the letter are enough to get an idea about HITLER'S attitude regarding Russia and the Marxism:

*"Russia is not a state, but a philosophy of life, which is, at this time limited to this territory, which maintains sections in all other countries, which not only strive for similar revolutionary aims, but are also subject to headquarters in Moscow. A victory in Moscow will lead to immeasurable consequences. [...] The German people are no less immune to the idea of communism as they were not immune in 1917 or 18 against the thought of revolution in itself."*⁴³

HITLER had to confront 13.4 million Marxists and 4 million centrists, more or less the same as the number of Nazis in Germany.

*"In the event of an aggressive war on Germany more than half the nation is Pacifist and not ready for defence. The opinion of some generals, the military formation [...] would eliminate the party political education and philosophical view of life is virtually infantile."*⁴⁴

HITLER formulates at the end of his letter the "German tasks of the future" from which just one needs to be cited here:

*"The overcome of Marxism and its results - until total eradication. Production of a willing unity of the nation."*⁴⁵

It did not seem that the letter missed its target. Because of it von REICHENAU was convinced of HITLER'S aims. Bernd BOLL writes:

*"Reichenau decisively contributed in leading the Reichswehr towards National socialism, he is credited as the only political force for the internal stabilisation and external reinforcement of Germany."*⁴⁶



Werner von Blomberg
(Private Archives)

On January 30th 1933 the president of the Reich Paul von HINDENBURG appointed Adolf HITLER chancellor. Von BLOMBERG became defence minister of the Reich in HITLER'S cabinet. Von REICHENAU accompanied him to Berlin and became chief minister of the office on February 13th 1934 (from February 1934 office of the *Wehrmacht*). Related to that he was promoted to the rank of Major General. He did not take an active part in the collapse of the Weimar Republic but did accept and approve the repression which followed the burning of the Reichstag, including the outlawing of trade unions etc. He exhibited the Nationalpolitischer Unterricht [national political instruction] in autumn 1933. He was significantly involved at the reintroduction. Initially he was sympathetic to the connection between the SA [storm troops] and the *Reichswehr*, but changed his mind soon and saw a competitor in the SA. To document, that the *Reichswehr* is a reliable partner of the NS-state von BLOMBERG established the Aryan paragraph. The uniforms included a badge with the swastika armband. Von BLOMBERG and von REICHENAU supported the elimination of the SA (Rohm-coup d'état) and facilitated the collaboration with the SS [paramilitary unit]. After von HINDENBURG'S death von REICHENAU was in charge of the soldier's new oath on the "*Führer des deutschen Reiches und Volkes*" [Leader of the German empire and nation]. Von REICHENAU worked closely together with Heinrich HIMMLER, Reinhard HEYDRICH and Sepp DIETRICH.⁴⁷ His monopolisation approval as the only "national carrier of arms" was supported by many officers, less the demand of a closer bonding of the army in the NS-regime. That's why he was characterized as a "political general".

On October 1st von REICHENAU was promoted to the rank of General Lieutenant in August 1935 deputized commanding general of the VII Artillery commando in Munich. On August 1st 1936 he became general of the artillery; Wilhelm KEITEL⁴⁸ was the successor in the *Wehrmacht* office.

Because von BLOMBERG was relieved of duty on February 5th 1938⁴⁹ and no new Reich minister was nominated, the *Wehrmacht* office obtained a bigger political influence. Werner Baron von FRITSCH⁵⁰ was relieved of duty at the beginning of 1938 as supreme commander of the army⁵¹, HITLER would have liked to see von REICHENAU as successor but KEITEL was strictly against:

*"Reichenau is not diligent and efficient, a jack off all trades, to superficial, hardly popular, a soldier, whose ambition is searching for fulfilment in the political, but not in the military arena."*⁵²

KEITEL prevailed. General Walter von BRAUCHITSCH⁵³ became commander in chief of the army and von REICHENAU commander in chief of the army group 4 and consequently successor of general Walter von BRAUCHITSCH. Von REICHENAU belonged together with Hugo SPERRLE⁵⁴ and Wilhelm KEITEL to the generals who threatened, at the visit of the Austrian chancellor Kurt SCHUSCHNIGG⁵⁵ on February 12th 1938 in Berchtesgarden, with the invasion. SCHUSCHNIGG had to concede an amnesty and a take-over by national socialists into the government. In March 1938 von REICHENAU marched with his army group into Austria. He argued for the invasion of Czechoslovakia and he was there as commander in chief of the 10th Army at the occupation of the Sudeten land.

IOC Member

Again von REICHENAU played a political role in sports during these years.

According to DIEM he firstly supported Carl KRUMMEL'S candidature followed from DIEM to become the leader of the "Reichs-Kommissariat für Körperliche Erziehung"⁵⁶ [Reich Kommissariat for Physical Education].

In 1931 the IOC designated Berlin for the games of the XI Olympics. Carl DIEM was the secretary general of the organising committee and remained so even after he was excluded from his other offices afterwards. The organising committee had

HITLER'S full support. An example been that four years previously the organising committee wanted to provide an Olympic village for the guests. DIEM thought firstly about the barracks at the training area Doberitz (there were little wooden houses in Los Angeles). On 19 August DIEM wrote to REICHENAU, and enclosed a copy of the *Official Report* about the Los Angeles Olympic Games and suggested to him that he read the pages concerning the Olympic village.

*"As you can see with how much love and care the Americans arranged their village you will agree with me, that we must not be beaten in that."*⁵⁷

Both of them met each other and drove to Döberitz.

*"We visited the camp together and found out what could be improved and parted company after we were convinced, that a satisfactory solution had been found. A few days later he invited me to visit the adjoining terrain in the direction of Nauen, we were both captivated by the beautiful countryside, and his decision grew to build a new Olympic village. He decided on the construction, allocation and also succeeded in getting the necessary acceptance of the ministers and even the Führer's affirmation."*⁵⁸

On 7 November 1933 the *Official Report*⁵⁹ describes in a more formal way and cites from the protocol:

*"The choice of the place was approved and is wonderfully suited in showing the German countryside in all its splendour."*⁶⁰

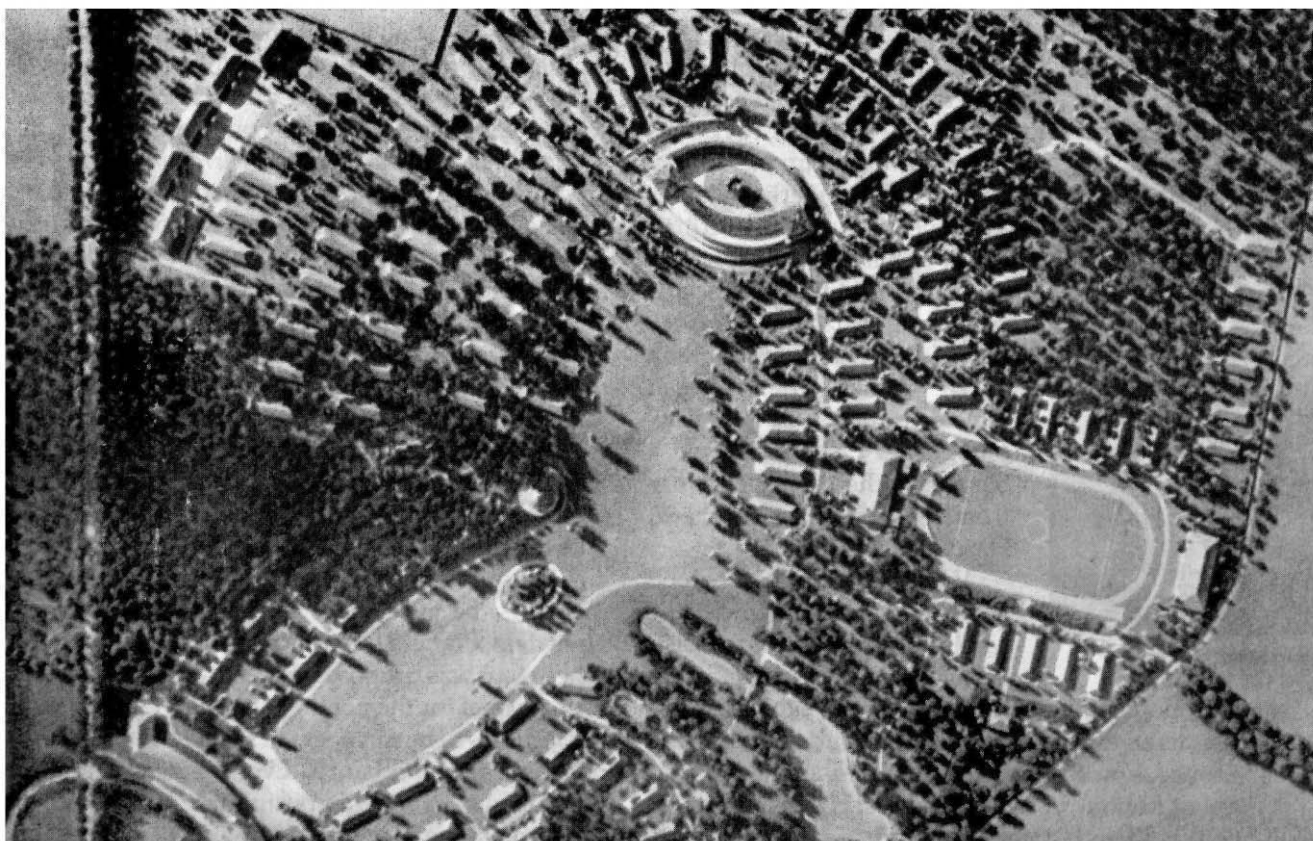
In the cited letter from 19 August DIEM complains about the actual German sport management in a round about way and asked von REICHENAU to intervene.

*"Up until now it has always like this that leaders in everyday life never became leaders in sports. That's why I would like to ask you, if you could accept this challenge."*⁶¹

On 17 March DIEM asked von REICHENAU to allow "a 400 metre exercise track close to the Olympic village" The *Reichswehr* should nominate an officer as a head of the Olympic village, "somebody who is eloquent with charming manners."⁶² Von REICHENAU had fulfilled this desire and Colonel Werner von GILSA⁶³ was nominated to manage and Captain Kurt FÜRSTNER⁶⁴ as his adjutant. DIEM complains in his letter, that von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN always try to hinder him, in opposition to the support of



General Field Marshal Wilhelm vom Keitel (from: *Verbrechen*, p. 514)



Model of the Olympic Village in Doberitz for the Games of the XIth Olympiad Berlin 1936 (Diem Archives)

the Reich ministry of the interior, with the preparation of the Games in Berlin. "He [von TSCHAMMER] does not have the intention to involve me correctly."

Finally DIEM became very clear, on the 10 July 1934 he portrayed the disability of the Reich sport leader "[...] I think, that everybody, who wants to see, has to see that German sport is without a leader." He comes to the conclusion and proposes:

*"Become Reich sport leader! But under retention of the Wehrmacht office function." At the end of the letter he annotated: "German sport will recuperate as soon as a professional leader takes the matter in hand. The occupying bureaucracy has to be deduced to a minimum. The sport must retain it's dignity in itself, and not in the representation of its leaders or its entourage."*⁶⁵

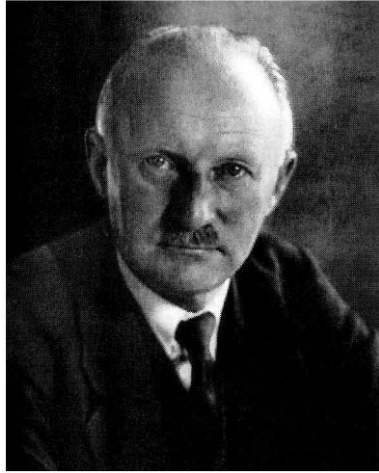
DIEM suggests a meeting. Whether this took place is hard to ascertain and any decisions taken remain unknown. In answer to DIEM'S congratulations on his fiftieth birthday von REICHENAU writes:

*"I will not abandon the hope of seeing you in this important position in order to influence the upward trend and development of our German sport."*⁶⁶

DIEM claims to von REICHENAU, that his proposal to take some earth from the Langemark's graves in an urn in the Hall of Honour in the Reich's sport field before the Olympic stadium in Berlin. This proposal was initially approved, but Hitler still hesitated. DIEM asked von REICHENAU for his support and help in establishing, which regiments fought in Langemark. He also asked if one should hang the flags beside the emblems. At the end of the letter he suggested to von REICHENAU, that he should be accepted as a member of the organisation committee.⁶⁷ This idea could only have come from DIEM. Von REICHENAU agreed to that.⁶⁸ On 17 June 1936 von BLOMBERG wrote a letter to the president of the Olympic-Committee Theodor LEWALD and asked to replace von REICHENAU with General Ernst BUSCH.⁶⁹ Von REICHENAU would have been "ordered abroad" and BUSCH as president of the Pentathlon adapted personality.⁷⁰ The request did not seem to be granted. In the official report, both of them - von REICHENAU and BUSCH - are noted as members of the board.⁷¹ Von REICHENAU was in Nanking during the Games as a military advisor but firstly as an observer of the Chinese Army, which was at war with Japan.⁷²

During the Games he sent a telegram of congratulation to the organising committee, which was then published in the *Dorfbote* [newspaper of

the Olympic village].⁷³ Probably, because of the rank (General) he held in Munich in Autumn 1935, he was subsequently made a board member of the Organising Committee for the Winter-Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.⁷⁴ Furthermore he was

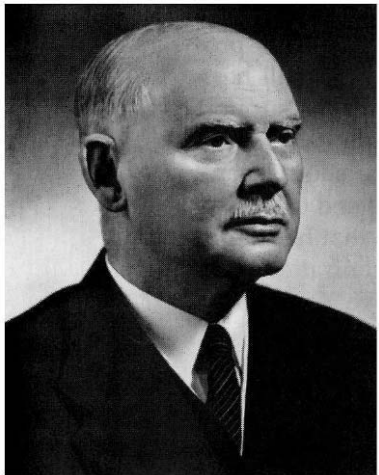


Carl Diem (Diem Archives)

also mentioned in the *Official Report* of the Berlin Games as a member of the German NOC.⁷⁵ This was probably due to the fact that he was also the president of the *Pentathlon-Committee*⁷⁶ and more than likely trained the German athletes (officers) in this discipline. After DIEM he played a big part in the Olympic victory from 1st Lieutenant Gotthardt HANDRICK.⁷⁷

Von REICHENAU had helped DIEM, in return, when the Ministry of the Interior resisted against an Olympic medal

of honour of the 1936 Games. DIEM expressed this idea as an example of Stockholm and the following Games. Von REICHENAU suggested a general symbol of honour in two categories. HITLER approved of this idea, but three instead of two categories. DIEM found it very amusing to observe the struggle between the inactive parties, who wanted to be rewarded with the first class.⁷⁸ During that time von REICHENAU was still physically very active. He



Theodor Lewald (Diem Archives)

participated in tennis tournaments and ran on a daily basis through the *Berliner Tiergarten* (city park). After his transfer to Munich in 1938 he became very "popular", with his subordinates for his suggestion to run with him every morning.

After the Olympic Games in Berlin the regime wanted to increase their influence on Olympic matters. Theodor LEWALD was half Jewish and allowed to retain his position as president of the organisation committee until the beginning of the games with the guaran-

tee of a secure pension, only on condition, that he would retire from his position as member of the Executive Committee. The IOC offered LEWALD the vice presidency, but without success. Karl Ritter von HALT was voted as his successor into the Executive Committee in Warsaw in 1937. Von HALT had been a member of the NSDAP (Nazi party), the SA and also department head of the personal office of the Deutsche Bank. He was also a confirmed National

Socialist. The IOC chose not to influence this decision. Von HALT had, been a member since 1929 and worked as president of the organising Committee of the Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen with great success. He was on the board of the *International Amateur Athletic Federation* and served on other committees of international sport organisations. He was also a friend of Sigfrid EDSTRÖM⁷⁹ and Avery BRUNDAGE⁸⁰. LEWALD finally resigned from the IOC in 1938. It was an unwritten rule that an important Olympic nation such as Germany could have three members of the IOC and that a member who resigned had the right to name his successor, the convention was that this nomination would be accepted. From the German point of view Hans von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN would have been the obvious choice. The Germans did not want to take this risk. This would have provoked resistance and caused animosity among the majority of IOC members, because the majority of IOC members were democratic. That's the reason why Walter von REICHENAU was proposed instead. Since 1894 it had been normal for the nobility and high ranking military officers to be members of the IOC Furthermore he was a fair sportsman. Even LEWALD proposed von REICHENAU for this position. It is not known, if a formal vote was taken, but less likely, that this was so. At the protocol of the meeting of the 38th session, which took place in Cairo on the Nile the German translation quotes:

*"Furthermore the committee welcomes General von Reichenau (Germany) and Mr. Coudert (USA) as third member to the Warsaw conference. Both of them took part for the first time."*⁸¹

The text of this protocol is not clearly composed. Frederic Rene COUDERT⁸² was accepted in Warsaw in 1937. Von REICHENAU was accepted later as described above. Actually it is strange, that a member is present, before the final decision has been reached. But for the IOC this was not unusual. The meeting took place on the 13th and also from the 15th to the 18th of March. The reason von REICHENAU believed, that his presence was necessary in Cairo is not clear from the minutes of this meeting. The *International Olympic Institute*, which was financed through the German Reich was not entirely neutral and had to be recognized. The magazine of the IOI, the *Olympische Rundschau* [Olympic Review], took over as a supplement to the *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique* [Official Bulletin of the International Committee], as well as the keeping of the minutes of the IOC. The IOC was not in the position to finance this magazine. Despite the Japanese-Chinese war, the 1940 Games which the Japanese NOC were preparing should remain in

Tokyo. At the decision about awarding the *Olympic Cup* the NS organisation *Kraft durch Freude* [Strength through Pleasure] and the *Tschechoslowakischer Sokolverband* [Czechoslovakian Sokol Association] were candidates. The IOC gave the award to *Kraft durch Freude* by 13 votes to 10. During the session von REICHENAU was under permanent pressure. The IOC held their meetings on the ship and during the breaks visited the Egyptians temples on the banks of the Nile, as Avery BRUNDAGE remembered. During one of these breaks a German plane landed and took von REICHENAU on board. His presence was required in Germany.⁸³ DIEM wrote in the night from the 13th to 14th March a letter to his wife. "*Von Reichenau has just decided to fly back today*".⁸⁴

Von REICHENAU had to join his troops, who had invaded Austria on 12 of March. In fact he arrived too late, because on the 13th of March the annexation of Ostmark [name of Austria in the ideology of National Socialists] was proclaimed. In August 1938 General Ernst BUSCH and REICHENAU were the only members of the OKW [Supreme Headquarter of the Wehrmacht], who approved of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In October REICHENAU was also involved with the invasion of Sudetenland.⁸⁵ In the middle of July 1938 Japan withdrew (First of all the state postings and then the NOC) the contract from the IOC regarding the 1940 Olympic Games. As substitute Helsinki and St. Moritz were named. Von Halt saw a chance for Garmisch-Partenkirchen to host the Olympic Winter Games again, because of the dispute between the IOC and FIS regarding the Swiss Ski Resort and the Amateur Ski Teacher's league and the indecision of the Swiss winter sport location. Together with the sports leader of the Reich and through the chief of the Reich chancellery Hans-Heinrich LAMMERS.⁸⁶ HITLER'S approval was acquired in the bid to host the Games at the next session at the beginning of June. Von REICHENAU also participated at the 38th session, which took place in London from the 6th to the 9th of June. At the beginning of the session von HALT was voted onto the executive committee for another four year period. The telegram sent from St. Moritz did not convince the IOC and the session decided unanimously to hold the V Olympic Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. It is still not clear to this day why the IOC permitted a country to hold the Games, who were also responsible for the *Reichspogromnacht* [attacks on Jews] on the 9th of November 1938. Did the IOC want the Games to take place at any price? A reason, which could explain this behaviour but is still not excusable, is the following. In the summer of 1939 the threat of war was obvious throughout Europe. To avoid an outbreak of war it was un-

derstandable to choose a country from which the danger was coming and who was also bidding for the Olympic Games that would last from the 2nd until 11th of February 1940. Therefore an outbreak of war was not to be expected in the year 1939. For HITLER and his Generals the invasion of Poland ("Fall Weiß") had already been decided. Was this a deception on HITLER'S part or did he really believe that Europe would accept this act of war as they did with the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

The following interpretation might explain this:

How did von REICHENAU'S conduct himself in London? DIEM informs us about that:

*"von Reichenau, whom I had not seen for a long time was on the plane on the journey to the I.O.C.-meeting in London. [...] He entered the cabin and said: 'guys, there is not going to be a war! And what prompted this, I asked?' and pointed out the volatile political climate. I was in the Reich chancellery to debrief and was invited by the Führer to supper. I told him about the atmosphere in London, which I had learned from my friend; According to Hitler a war on two fronts was unthinkable and therefore an attack on Poland was out of the question. So we lay back in our seats and made ourselves comfortable. During our first night at the Dorchester Hotel beside Hyde Park we were woken by the testing of the air-raid sirens. In your honour General thought I."*⁸⁷

In DIEM'S diary something similar:

*"Very interesting, what Reichenau said in his last report. In any case it was very reassuring - there will war fought on two fronts - especially where Gdansk is concerned."*⁸⁸

A few days after the IOC session a meeting took place with HITLER at Obersalzberg, where von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN and von HALT as president of the Organising Committee of the 1940 Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Carl DIEM as General Secretary of the Organising Committee and von REICHENAU also took part. Many details were dis-



Karl Ritter von Halt (Diem Archives)



Hans von Tschammer und Osten (Diem Archives)



War Correspondent: Leni Riefenstahl (Diem Archives)

cussed concerning the preparation and realisation of the Games. The matter of whether the Czech flag should be displayed and their national anthem should be sung was also mentioned. This shows that HITLER was not interested in an escalation of the hostilities after the invasion of Poland. Von REICHENAU, von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN suggested

"that the Czechs should be allowed to keep their independence, where sport is concerned. This would also mean, that they would have their own representative on the International Olympic Committee and in the international federation."

They argued that *"any other version would have political consequences and endanger the holding of the Winter Games."*

HITLER agreed to this, because under no circumstances he did not want to see *"the Czechs competing under the German flag."* He suggested they should have their own protectorate flag which had still to be agreed upon. In the case of victory as in the case of Great Britain's dominions, the German national hymn was to be played.⁸⁹

Even after 1918 and up until his death von REICHENAU voiced his opinion concerning military matters and also gave speeches on Remembrance days:

Schlachtfelder zwischen Alpen und Main [Battle Field between the Alps and the River Main], Munich 1938

Soldatenantlitz in der Schlacht [Soldiers' Visage during Battle] Berlin n.d.

The Carl and Liselott Diem Archives have possession of:

SportundKameradschaft, [SportandComeradery] manuscript of speech, n. d., 2 p.

"Erziehung zur Wehrtüchtigkeit" [Military

Training], in: *Der Leichtathlet* [Track and Field athlete] 12(1935)2, p. 4.

Zum Todestag von Major Schelle [Aniversary of Major Schelle's Death], speech manuscript, 1936, 2 p.

Heldengedenktag Marz 1936 [Remembrance of Fallen Heroes], speech manuscript, 1936, 2 p.

Ansprache anlässlich der Truppenvereinigung am 27.10.1936 [The Swearing in Ceremony of the Troops], speech manuscript, 1936, 4 p.

Zum Tag der Wehrhoheit [day of armed forces sovereignty], speech manuscript, 1937, 3 p.

Ludendorff, speech manuscript, 1937 4 p.

"Vom Rhythmus unseres Krieges" [The Beat of our War], in: *Westfront-Illustrierte* [West-Front Journal] (Weihnachten [Christmas] 1940)

War Criminal

A few months later von REICHENAU, who was then Commander in Chief of the 10th Army was responsible for the invasion of Poland and the destruction of her troops. His men struck out from Upper Silesia northwards and played an important role in the battles for Radom and Warsaw.

Afterwards:

*"many reports of plundering arson, rape and murder by his troops came to his attention and he then cracked down on discipline and ordered strict punishment of the culprits."*⁹⁰

This is confirmed by Leni RIEFENSTAHL⁹¹ who was present at one of the massacres.⁹²

She was ordered by HITLER to take a camera team to Poland and document the triumph of the German Army and the victory parade in Warsaw on the 5th of October. HITLER, von REICHENAU and many other Generals participated in the victory parade.

She witnessed the firing on civilians in the market place and the execution of four Jews, who previously had to dig their own graves. Apparently she fainted. Because of this she complained to von REICHENAU:

*"Reichenau was deeply shocked and disgusted as were we all. He said that such a despicable act had never before occurred in the history of the German Army and the perpetrators will be court marshalled."*⁹³

In fact the officer responsible for this massacre and who started shooting was sentenced to two years imprisonment for manslaughter and illegal use of weapons, but he and other officers guilty of similar

crimes was later pardoned by HITLER on the 4th of October through a general pardon.

DIEM describes in his detailed obituary in the *Olympische Flamme* [Olympic Flame], that von REICHENAU "fought side by side with his men in the trenches" He was "one of the first, who crossed the river Weichsel."⁹⁴

On the 30th of September von REICHENAU was awarded the *Ritterkreuz* [Knight's Cross] and was promoted in October 1939 to Colonel General. For tactical reasons von REICHENAU was against the military campaign on the west, but still participated with his men. He led the 6th Army through the Netherlands and swung the capitulation of Belgium. He then lead his troops through France, crossed the Somme River and occupied Orleans. On the 19th of July HITLER promoted him to General Field Marshal.

To what extent von REICHENAU'S participation in the attempt to topple the IOC president Comte Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR⁹⁵ and to subject the IOC to German influence is still undecided. This initiative was more influenced by TSCHAMMER and OSTEN.⁹⁶ Furthermore von REICHENAU was not in Belgium for long.

During the invasion of the Soviet Union von REICHENAU commanded the 6th Army and was also attached to the Army's southern division. In his advance he conquered many cities. He showed his true colours in October 1941 in his army command. That is why it is mentioned in its entirety.⁹⁷

As he himself said von REICHENAU fought a "war of destruction"⁹⁸. He tolerated and ordered countless murders. His orders were criminal. According to BOLL⁹⁹ he worked "hand in hand in with the SD-group C and their commandos" [SD - Security Service police of SS] in the execution of Jews. He was aware of the massacres at Luck, Shitomir, Lubny, Belaya Zerkov, and Kiev and he even supported them. His men participated greatly in the execution of prisoners under his approval that he was forced to restrain them in order that they not become barbarians. He did not prevent the SD from taking Jews out of the POW camps under his jurisdiction for execution. At the end July he ordered the 1st SS Infantry brigade to clean up behind the lines. This meant the murder of 6,000 people, mostly Jews. He ravaged not only against Jews, but also Russian commissaries and women in uniform. Even civilians and prisoners of war were not spared with the justification that they were partisans. Thousands of them were held in the camps and killed on "request". "The marsh route of the 6th Army was littered with the corpses of prisoners of war."¹⁰⁰ After HITLER replaced General Gerd von RUNDSTEDT¹⁰¹ von REICHENAU was given command on the first of December total command over the southern Army group.

On the 31st of December General Friedrich PAULUS¹⁰² took command of the 6th Army. In an orders of the day he warned "against the Soviet regime bestial lust to kill and the 'red animal' capable of anything"¹⁰³ His orders on the 28th of December 1941 were the following "that the Army in Russia had to exploit the occupied country in order to avoid further ration replenishment from home." This meant serious consequences for the native population in Charkow and surrounding areas long after REICHENAU'S death. Cities and countryside were exploiting ruthlessly. Up until the end of September 1942 12.000 people starved to death.¹⁰⁴

A single example was: In August 1941 the Lieutenant Colonel Helmuth GROSSCOURTH¹⁰⁵ failed to stop the murder of 90 Jewish school children in Bjelaja Zerkow in Kiev by the SS-special commando.

"On the 26 of August the General in chief of the 6 Army General von Reichenau after consulting with Blobel¹⁰⁶ fundamentally decided to continue with the already started procedure in appropriate measures."¹⁰⁷



Helmuth Grosscourth
(from: *Verbrechen*, p. 603)

The above described should be enough to condemn von REICHENAU as a despicable criminal of war. In the "Nuremberg Trials" many generals were sentenced to death and subsequently hanged. Because it was known in Nuremberg, that von REICHENAU'S orders from the 10th of October 1941 - document 411-D¹⁰⁸, it is more than likely, that von REICHENAU would also have been hung. A fortunate twist of fate saved him from this dire end.

Von REICHENAU suffered for a long time with heart disease. In spite of this he took his daily run on the 12th of January 1942 with a minus temperature. On his return he did not feel well and had several heart attacks. They lasted for five days and he then decided to go for treatment by plane to Professor Max HOCHREIN'S¹⁰⁹ clinic in Leipzig. Nearby Poltawa the plane crash landed and he suffered another heart attack and died (17 January 1942).

Obituary, Funeral and Reception

It is obvious, that the death of von REICHENAU was a great loss for HITLER and a bitter disappointment for the *Wehrmacht*. Many politicians and athletes spoke highly of him after his death. HITLER released a letter on the 18th of January 1940, praising his "military virtues" as well as "his leadership"

and "patriotic national socialist ideals." He honoured his "famous Field Marshal" and "brave warrior". The daily order was followed by a description of his military career.¹¹⁰

In the Court Yard of Honour in the *Berlin Zeughaus* [guild hall] the official funeral took place. To this act of state the high ranking personalities of the *Wehrmacht* and party and their allies were in attendance. The Guard of Honour was formed by four generals with drawn swords. Reich marshal Herrmann GÖRING held the main funeral speech personally. It was the usual run of the mill "Feld der Ehre" [field of honour] "Bis zum letzten Atemzug" [until the last breath] "unsere Bewegung" [our movement] "tiefe Veehrung für unseren Führer" [deeply honouring the leader] "In der vordersten Front" [at the foremost front] "Endsieg Deutschland" [final German victory] "Soldat und Kameraden" [soldier and comrades] closing with: "Niemals wird dieser gewaltige Kampf vergessen und niemals mit diesem Kampf der Name des General Feldmarschalls von Reichenau."¹¹¹ [Never will this battle be forgotten and neither will the name von REICHENAU]. Von REICHENAU was buried in the Invalidenfriedhof [military cemetery]. His grave still exists¹¹² but without a headstone.

In the *Diem Archives* copies of the obituary are to be found. It is to be noted, that the obituary from von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN is very brief and sobering and even von REICHENAU'S IOC membership is not mentioned:

Von TSCHAMMER und OSTEN, Hans, „Der Nachruf des Reichssportführers für den verstorbenen Generalfeldmarschall", in: *Der Leichtathlet* [Track and Field] 19(1942)2, S. 2; even in: *NS-Sport* (23.01.1942), p. 2, (very brief).

HALT, Karl von, „Der deutsche Sport senkt seine Fahnen", in: *Der Leichtathlet* [Track and Field] 19(1942)2, p. 1-2.

MENGDEN, Guido von, „Walter v. Reichenau - Feldmarschall und Kamerad", *NS-Sport* (23.01.1942), p. 1-2.

JAHN, Helmut, „Reichenaus letzter Sturmangriff", in: *Ostfront-Illustrierte* (April 1942)18, p. 49.

N.N., „Das tapfere Leben des Feldmarschalls von Reichenau", in: *Völkischer Beobachter* (19.01.1942)19, p. 6.

In addition to the above mentioned both obituaries of DIEM were published in English and French in the *Olympische Rundschau* [Olympic Review] and the detailed biography in the *Olympische Flamme* [Olympic Flame] as well as in *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung* [Physical Exercises and Physical Education].



Walter von Reichenau (Diem Archives)

It has already been mentioned at the beginning, that von REICHENAU up until this day is not really taken seriously in the history of sport. It might be good to analyse how DIEM behaved after the war? At the very least he might have suspected something. In his contribution to the 60th anniversary proclamation of the BSC he mentioned a football playing Lieutenant and excluded his own name. This is unusual for DIEM. Regarding this Lieutenant he was obviously referring to von REICHENAU. Just the name von "Reichenau"¹¹³ is mentioned. In *Ein Leben für den Sport* [A Life for Sport] the occurrences from von REICHENAU appears often in admiration and his full name is also mentioned.¹¹⁴ This book was only published in 1974 twelve years after DIEM'S death. DIEM often dictated his autobiographical scriptures. When the scripture was published in 1974 by Liselott DIEM and Bernd WIRKUS dozen of manuscripts were at their disposal.

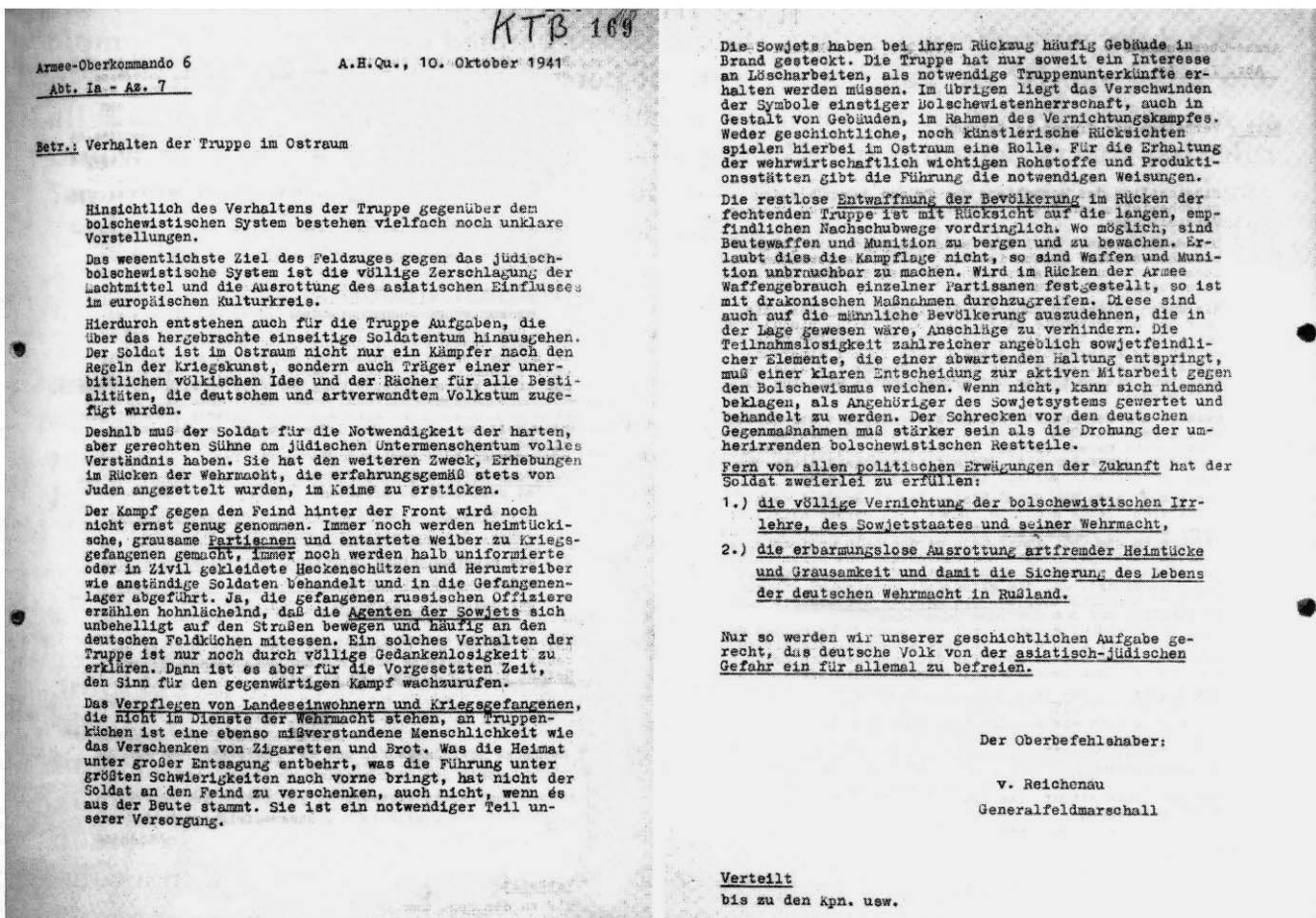
Finally it is still very difficult to discover just how much DIEM knew about von REICHENAU'S crimes.

Notes

- 1 In the text various names of German institutions, associations and journals are mentioned. I decided to use the original in the text but tried to present a translation in brackets.
- 2 So the title of the monographic series, of which the first volume about Edmund NEUENDORFF from Horst UEBERHORST appeared in Berlin 1970.
- 3 NEUENDORFF, Edmund (1875-1961), 1925-1932 president of the *Prussian University of Physical Education*, leader of the youth movement in German Gymnastics [Deutsche Turnerschaft], after the 2nd World War studies of theology and became pastor.
- 4 TSCHAMMER und OSTEN, Hans von (1897-1943), since 1929 NSDAP Member, 1933 sports commissioner of the Reich, 1934 sports leader of the Reich and chairman of the *Deutscher Olympischer Ausschuss*, [German Olympic Committee] permanent secretary, 1936 president of the *Reichsakademie für Leibesübungen* [Academy of the Reich for Physical Education].
- 5 LEWALD, Theodor (1860-1947), ministry employee, last permanent secretary, 1920 till 1933 chairman of the *Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen*, 1924 till 1938 IOC member, 1927 till 1937 in the executive committee, president of the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games 1936 in Berlin.
- 6 KRUMMEL, Carl (1894-1982), since 1934 director of the Department for physical education in the ministry for science, education and national education, ministry director, director of the Berlin University institutes for physical education and the *Reichsakademie für Leibeserziehung* [Academy for Physical Exercise of the Reich], 1942 killed in an accident.
- 7 MENGDEN, Guido von (1896-1982), president of the *Westdeutscher Spielverband* [Games Association of West Germany], general speaker of the sports leader of the Reich, editor of the journal *NS-Sport*, after the war general secretary of the *German Olympic Association* [DOG] and the *German Sport Federation* [DSB] for many years, member of the German NOC.
- 8 Sankt Augustin 1999. About HALTS Olympic biography see below.
- 9 DIEM founded in 1947 a German NOC and a Sports University in Cologne the same year, became honorary sport consultant of the German government.
- 10 The so said *New Left* in sport agitated against him and the Olympic Games 1972 in Munich.
- 11 An action, controlled by the *Green Party*, called for a cancellation of DIEM'S name from street signs.
- 12 Because of a for decades running dispute between DIEM defenders and DIEM critics the *German Sports University*, German NOC and *German Sport Federation*, gave, with the support of the *Krupp-Foundation* an order of research, which should completely and critically analyse DIEM'S biography.
- 13 Cp. KLUGE, Volker, *Olympische Sommerspiele. Die Chronik* [Olympic Summer Games. The Chronic], vol. 1, Berlin 1997, p. 873.
- 14 The author also takes a note for himself. The problem of REICHENAU was drawn to his attention, when he visited the exposition *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht* [Crimes of the German Army named *Wehrmacht* at this time]. There were several documents exposed, which dealt with REICHENAU'S war crimes in Russia and which moved the author to give publish this lecture.
- 15 It has to be particularly thanked the military historian Bernd BOLL, who gave me disposal of his scriptures and further literature.
- 16 DIEM, Carl, „Walter von Reichenau“, in: DIEM, Carl, *Olympische Flamme* [Olympic Flame], Berlin 1942, vol. 1, p. 474-475.
- 17 p. 45-47.
- 18 DIEM, Carl, „Reichenau“, in: *Olympische Rundschau* [Olympic Review] 5(1942)17, p. 28-29, also in French and English.
- 19 DIEM, Carl, „Walter von Reichenau“, in DIEM, Carl, *Olympische Flamme* [Olympic Flame], Berlin 1942, vol. 1, p. 474-475. Cp. also DIEM, Carl, "Erinnerung an Walter von Reichenau" [Memories to Walter von Reichenau], in: *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung* [Physical Exercises and Physical Education] 61(1942)1, p. 7-10.
- 20 Missing in the *Bibliographie Carl Diem* [Bibliography Carl Diem], Schorndorf 1968.
- 21 DIEM, "Reichenau", p. 474.
- 22 DIEM, "Reichenau", p. 475.
- 23 JAGOW, Traugott von (1865-1941), 1906-1916 police president of Berlin, belonged to the main cause of the Kapp-revolt.
- 24 FRIEDRICH KARL, Prince of Prussia (1893-1917), grand nephew of WILHELM II, Olympic participant in horse riding 1912 (bronze medal in military), was killed in the first world war as a combat pilot.
- 25 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 475.
- 26 Records.
- 27 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 475.
- 28 DIEM, „Reichenau“ p. 476.
- 29 DIEM, „Reichenau“ p. 475.
- 30 KORTEGAN, Walter (1878-1917), General Staff Officer, active in the war ministry of the infantry division of the general war department, member of the *Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Olympische Spiele* [German Reichs Committee for Olympic Games, name of the German NOC].
- 31 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 477.
- 32 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 477.
- 33 Berlin 1913.
- 34 REICHENAU, Walter von, „Armee und Marine“ [Army and Marine], in: DIEM, Carl, *Sport und Körperschulung in Amerika* [Sport and Physical Education in America] Berlin 1913, p. 40-42.
- 35 Copy in the *Diem Archives*.
- 36 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 477.
- 37 REICHENAU, Walter von, *Bericht über die Sport-Studienreise nach den Vereinigten Staaten* [Report about the Study Trip into the USA] Typo script, 12 pages (*Diem Archives*).
- 38 BLOMBERG, Werner von (1878-1946), 1933 Reichswehrminister (minister of defence), 1935 Reichskriegsminister (minister of war) und commander in chief of the Wehrmacht, 1936 General Field Marshall, 1938 dismissed from the army.
- 39 TUCHACEVSKIJ, Michail (1893-1837), soviet general, commanded the troops in the war against Poland, put down the rebellion in Brasov in 1921, 1921 head of the academy of war, 1931-1937 second in command war commissar, 1937 fated to die and executed, rehabilitated in order of the Stalinization dismantle.
- 40 REICHENAU, Walter von, *Der Deutschen Sportjugend ein Vorbild, [An Example for the German Sport Youth]* Typoscript, 6 pages (*Diem Archives*).
- 41 The following after VOGELSANG, Thilo, „Hitlers Brief an Reichenau vom 4. Dezember 1932“ [Hitler's Letter to Reichenau from the 4. December 1932], in: *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* [Quarterly Magazine for Contemporary History] 7 (1959); p. 429-457.
- 42 MULLER, Ludwig (1883-1945), May 1933 HITLER'S authorized representative for clerical affairs, August 1933 province bishop in Prussia, 1934 Reich bishop.
- 43 VOGELSANG; „Brief“ [Letter], p. 435.
- 44 VOGELSANG, „Brief“ [Letter], p. 436.
- 45 VOGELSANG, „Brief“ [Letter], p. 437.
- 46 BOLL, Bernd, „Generalfeldmarschall Walter von Reichenau“, in UEBERSCHAR, Gerd (Hg.), *Hitlers militärische Elite* [Hitler's Military Elite], vol. 1 Darmstadt 1998, p. 196. Also statements about the military career according to BOLL are designed widely.

- 47 DIETRICH, Sepp (1892-1966), butcher, 1928 commander of HITLER'S bodyguard, 1934 general of the weapon-SS, commander of the body standards "Adolf Hitler's", 1946 detained 25 years in Nuremberg, 1955 released.
- 48 KEITEL, Wilhelm (1892-1946), 1935-1938 Chef des Wehrmachtsamtes [chief of the Wehrmacht department], 1938-1945 chief of the supreme command of the Wehrmacht, May 8th 1945 signer of the surrender, condemned and hanged in Nuremberg.
- 49 The official reason was that the marriage ceremony was not on befitting on one's rank.
- 50 FRITSCH, Werner Baron von (1880-1939), 1934 general of the artillery and chief of the army, 1935-1938 commander in chief of the army, 1939 killed in Poland.
- 51 FRITSCH was wrongfully accused of homosexuality.
- 52 MULLER, Klaus-Jurgen, *Das Heer und Hitler* (Hitler and the Army), Stuttgart 1959, p.52, cited according to BOLL „Reichenau“, p. 198.
- 53 BRAUCHITSCH, Walter von (1881-1948), 1938-1941 commander in chief of the army he led 1939 the attack in Poland and 1941 in France, 1940 general field marshal, 1941 laid-off because of an argument with HITLER, died in British imprisonment.
- 54 SPERRLE, Hugo (*1885), 1935 general in command of Munich, 1939 officer commanding the third air force command and also west Munich.
- 55 SCHUSCHNIGG, Kurt (1897-1977), politician of the *Christian Social Party*, minister for multiple times, 1934 to 1938 under arrest, 1948 professor in St. Louis, lived in Mutters since 1967.
- 56 DIEM, Carl, *Ein Leben für den Sport [A Life for Sports]*, Ratingen 1974, p. 137.
- 57 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 58 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 478. In DIEM'S *Leben für den Sport [A Life for Sports]* the mention of the Führer's accordance is missing.
- 59 Was composed under DIEM'S responsibility.
- 60 Organising Committee for the XI Olympiad in Berlin 1936 (ed.), *Amtlicher Bericht [Official Report]*, Berlin 1937, vol. 1 p. 168-169.
- 61 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 62 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 63 GILSA, Werner von (1889-1945), officer since 1908, 1945 General and combat commander from Dresden, committed suicide after the war.
- 64 FURSTNER, Kurt (1896-1936) 1928 co-founder of the *Games Association in the Deutsch-Völkischen Offiziersbund* [German Officers Folk Association], since 1935 in the ministry of war, personal member in the organisation committee, committed suicide after the game, because of his not pure Aryan origin.
- 65 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 66 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 67 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 68 Letter von REICHENAU dated 30 July 1935 to DIEM, letter from DIEM dated 2 August 1935 to von REICHENAU (Diem Archives).
- 69 BUSCH, Ernst (1885-1945), 1940-1943 General and commander in chief of the 16th army in Russia, 1943-1944 of army in central Russia, 1945 General Field Marshal and commander in chief of the north west.
- 70 Copy of this letter is in the Private Archives Kluge.
- 71 Organisationskomitee für die XL Olympiade Berlin 1936 [Organising Committee for the XL Olympics in Berlin 1936] (ed.), *Amtlicher Bericht [Official Report]*, Berlin 1937, vol. 1, p. 35.
- 72 The city was from 1927 capital of the National government and was conquered by Japanese armed forces (massacre of civilian population). HITLER was still undecided whom he should support, the Japanese or the Chinese.
- 73 Copy in the Private Archives Kluge.
- 74 Organisationskomitee für die IV. Olympischen Winterspiele 1936 Garmisch-Partenkirchen [Organising Committee for the IV Olympic Winter Games 1936 Garmisch-Partenkirchen] (ed.), *IV. Olympische Winterspiele 1936. Amtlicher Bericht [IV. Olympic Winter Games 1936. Official Report]*, Berlin 1936, p. 13.
- 75 Organisationskomitee für die XI. Olympiade Berlin 1936 [Organising Committee for the XI Olympics in Berlin 1936] (ed.), *Amtlicher Bericht [Official Report]*, Berlin 1937, vol. 1, p. 39.
- 76 The above mentioned General BUSCH probably did not hold this position.
- 77 HANDRICK, Gorthardt (1908-1978), officer, learnt about the modern Pentathlon at the Army Academy of Sport in Wunsdorf in 1931. In 1933 German champion, transferred to the German air force in 1935, squadron leader of the battle group "Richtofen", fought from 1936 until 1939 in the "Legion Condor" in Spain, during the Second World War he was taken prisoner by the Americans, 1950-1960 sales manager for Daimler in Hamburg. HANDRICK'S true trainer was actually Heinz HAX, who won a silver medal in shooting in 1936.
- 78 DIEM, *Leben [Life]*, p. 192; letters to von REICHENAU dated 21 November 1935 and 8 May 1936 (Diem Archives).
- 79 EDSTROM, J. Sigfrid (1870-1964), industrial manager, Swedish minister of sport, from 1921 IOC Member, 1937 IOC Vice President, 1946-1952 President of the IOC.
- 80 BRUNDAGE, Avery (1887-1975), building contractor, American sport leader, since 1936 in the IOC, Vice President, 1952-1972 President of the IOC
- 81 In: *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique* 13(1938)37, p. 46. Because the general secretary of the IOC Albert BERDEZ was ill, the minutes were taken by Diem as director in the new founded *International Olympic Institute*. His closed associate Walter KLINGEBERG was to become the successor of Albert BERDEZ.
- 82 COUDERT, Frederic Rene (1871-1955), 1937-1948 IOC Member.
- 83 BRUNDAGE, Avery, *Die Herausforderung [The Challenge]*, Munich 1972, p.179.
- 84 Letter in the Diem Archives.
- 85 BOLL, „Reichenau“, p. 198.
- 86 LAMMERS, Hans-Heinrich (1879-1962), high level civil servant, 1933-1945 chief of the Reich chancellery, since 1937 as minister, was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment, 1952 released.
- 87 DIEM, *Leben [Life]*, p. 202.
- 88 DIEM, Carl, *Tagebuch London-Paris 1939 [Diary]*, Typoskript (*Diem-Archive*).
- 89 Protocol of the meeting in the *Diem Archives*.
- 90 BOLL, „Reichenau“, p.198.
- 91 RIEFENSTAHL, Leni (1902-2003), actor and producer, of *Das blaue Licht*, [Blue Light] on HITLER'S orders she filmed the propaganda films *Sieg des Glaubens* [Victory of the Faith] and *Triumph des Willens* [Triumph of Will Power] in 1933 about the Reichsparteitag [Political Meetings] 1933 respectively 1935, 1936-1938 *Pest der Völker* [Celebration of Nations] and *Pest der Schönheit* [Celebration of Beauty] about the Olympic Games 1936 after 1945 mostly employed as a photographer, because of her close relationship with HITLER and other NS-dignitaries she still remains controversial, but her method of presentation is either viewed as art or criticized as fascism.
- 92 Furthermore detailed TRIMBORN, Jurgen, *Riefenstahl*, Berlin 2002, p. 292-315.
- 93 RIEFENSTAHL, Leni, *Erinnerungen [Memories]*, Munich/Hamburg 1987, p. 351.
- 94 DIEM, „Reichenau“, p. 480.
- 95 BAILLET-LATOUR, Count Henri de (1876-1942), since 1903 IOC Member, since 1925 as successor of Pierre de COUBERTIN IOC President.

- 96 BAILLET-LATOUR dealt deftly. He offered no resistance but was of the opinion that any changes could only be made through the IOC, but could only be called into being after the war.
- 97 Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung [Hamburg Institute for Social Studies] (ed.), *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht* [Crimes of the Wehrmacht] *Ausstellungskatalog*, [Exposition] Hamburg 2002, p. 330.
- 98 BOLL, „Reichenau“, p. 199.
- 99 The following according to BOLL, "Reichenau", p. 199-200.
- 100 BOLL, „Reichenau“, p. 200.
- 101 RUNDSTEDT, Gerd von (1875-1953), 1932-1938 General in Command West.
- 102 PAULUS, Friedrich (1890-1957) 1942 Colonel General, 1942-1943 general in chief of the 6th Army, 1943 General Field Marshal, after the capitulation in Leningrad in Russian imprisonment, member of the *Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland* [National Committee of Free German] witness at the Nuremberg Trials, 1953 released from prison, lived in the GDR (former East Germany) afterwards.
- 103 BOLL, „Reichenau“, p. 200.
- 104 Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung [Hamburg Institute for Social Studies], *Verbrechen* [Crimes], p. 330.
- 105 1. General staff officer of the 295. Infantry division.
- 106 SS-officer Paul BLOBEL.
- 107 Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung [Hamburg Institute for Social Studies], *Verbrechen* [Crimes], p. 598.
- 108 Cp. KLUGE, *Spiele* [Games], vol. 1 p. 873.
- 109 HOCHREIN, Max (*1897) internist and specialist for coronary diseases, since 1939 professor in Leipzig, after the war in Ludwigshafen.
- 110 In: *Völkischer Beobachter* (20.01.1942) (copy in the Diem Archives).
- 111 In: *Völkischer Beobachter* (24.01.1942) (copy in the Diem Archives).
- 112 Department F, row 2, place 3.
- 113 DIEM, Carl, „Besonnte Vergangenheit“ [Rosy Past], in: *60 Jahre Berliner Sport-Club* [60 Years BSC], Berlin 1955, p. 19, 21.
- 114 DIEM, *Leben*, [Life] p. 66, 67, 69, 71, 90, 137, 151, 166, 167, 172, 202.



Reichenau's orders concerning the behaviour of the troops in the East (from: *Verbrechen*, p. 331)