

Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

When last autumn I asked former IOC Director Monique Berlioux if she could write about her experiences in Lausanne for the first 2015 edition of the Journal on the theme "100 Years of the Olympic Capital" she hesitated and replied that she had to look after her husband, the journalist Serge Groussard, who was dependent on care.

But then an essay quickly arrived, to which she had given the title "Managing a 'Gentlemen's Club'". It was exactly what I had hoped for: a splendidly readable mixture of information, analysis and gossip. In her veins there still flowed a great deal of journalistic blood.

It was also her idea to write a pen-portrait of the late IOC President Lord Killanin. She wrote that she should have done it earlier – in 2014 for his centenary. She continued: "Do you (or did you) know that the French Ministry of Sports and NOC celebrated the 100th anniversary of Coubertin's birth one year later? They were not ready in time." Now I did know it. And on 16th March – five and a half months before her death – this article also arrived, accompanied by this short e-mail: "At last ... here under is Lord Killanin's portrait." Merci, Madame!

It is also the anniversary of the 1940 Games, which never took place. They were supposed to take place 75 years ago in Japan, which was at war with China. The diary of Werner Klingeberg, who was sent to Tokyo as Technical Adviser of the IOC, gives many details on the background to events which forced Tokyo to hand back the Games.

As Klingeberg also moved to Helsinki to advise its Organising Committee, which had jumped in to replace the Japanese, it was appropriate to open another chapter, which is documented by Manfred Bergman, former Coordinator of the IOC Commission for Collectibles, with the numerous designs for special issue postage stamps.

There is an abundance of myths and legends still about the 1936 Games. At the opening of this year's European Maccabi Games in Berlin, the "Glickman-Stoller-Story" played an important part – and was the subject of much discussion. It is also reviewed in this magazine, as is Hungary's swimmer Ferenc Csik, who sensationally defeated the Japanese over 100 m freestyle. Katalin Csik has dedicated a very personal portrait to her father, who lost his life in the war.

Less well-known was until now the Hungarian author Éva Földes, who in 1948 was awarded Olympic bronze in the Art Competitions. Her biography has been researched by her compatriot Annamária Holler and reveals that Éva Földes had survived three Nazi concentration camps.

What else does the magazine offer? Tony Bijkerk writes about the youngest Olympic champion – the Netherlands cox of 1900, a French boy, remains unknown. Bep van Houdt remembers the Australian Anthony Wilding, who was once the world's best tennis player. New books are presented and deceased Olympians honoured. We have reached part 19 of the IOC biographies. ■

ISOH Executive Committee | 2012–2016

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Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

I am pleased to call attention to the relaunched ISOH web site (<http://isoh.org/>), which has been designed by and is maintained by ISOH member Mark Maestrone.

Among the elements that can be found on the site are:

- Descriptions of the contents of the most recent issues of the *Journal of Olympic History*, as well as guidelines for submitting articles for publication
- A Members Only section that includes articles not published in the *Journal* and information on how to obtain access to this section
- A sampling of more than 100 articles from the *Journal of Olympic History* searchable by name, sport, country or Olympic year
- The Oleg Milshteyn Collection of Audio Interviews
- A list of winners of ISOH awards, including the Lifetime Award, the Vikelas Plaque and the Karl Lennartz Memorial Book Award
- An application form for those wishing to join ISOH
- Brief biographies of members of the ISOH Executive Board and of the staff of the *Journal of Olympic History*
- Links to all National Olympic Committee web sites; other organisations involved in Olympic history and research; and other Olympics-related web sites

It is our hope that the relaunched site will make information about ISOH more accessible to the general public and will encourage students and others to learn more about the history of the Olympic Movement.

Beijing – first city to host Summer and Winter Games

The IOC named Beijing as the host city of the Olympic Winter Games 2022. The Chinese capital was chosen over Almaty in a vote at the 128th IOC Session in Kuala Lumpur on 31st July 2015. Beijing received 44 votes to Almaty's 40 (one abstention). As a result, Beijing will become the first city to host both a summer and winter edition of the Olympic Games, following the city's successful staging of the Summer Games in 2008.

Although the bid process for 2022 began before the approval of Olympic Agenda 2020, the reforms have already had a

significant impact on Beijing's Olympic plans. Olympic Agenda 2020 calls for a stronger focus on sustainability, legacy, and transparency, while making it easier for host cities to tailor Games that meet their needs rather than trying to fit a template.

Beijing took advantage of the flexibility provided by Olympic Agenda 2020 to improve its plans for the Games and reduce costs. The city will rely heavily on existing venues, including those built for the Games in 2008, such as the iconic Bird's Nest stadium.

From 31st July to 3rd August I attended the 128th IOC Session in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Although the "headline" storyline of the Session was the choice of Beijing to host the Winter Games of 2022, what I found most interesting was the shift in emphasis in the ways in which the IOC intends to reach out to the public.

In the keynote address by advertising executive Martin Sorrell and in the presentation by Olympic Broadcasting Services CEO Yiannis Exarchos it became clear that the IOC wants to appeal to a younger audience and to people in less-developed regions and nations.

To do so, the IOC intends to make greater use of the Internet and social media, in particular by providing content that can be viewed on mobile phones. I believe it is possible for members of ISOH to work with the planned Olympic Channel to create and augment such content.

On a more personal note, on the final evening of the Session, the Olympic Council of Malaysia hosted a farewell dinner. I found myself at a table with seven others.

As the conversation progressed from the Olympics to personal beliefs, we discovered that the eight of us represented six different religions, and we discussed our varying worldviews. For me, this unexpected and refreshing experience was a reminder that, at its heart, the power of the Olympic Movement is to bring together people from all nations to promote harmony and peace. ■

Beijing's proposed budget for investment in Olympic villages, sports venues and other infrastructure totals 1.5 billion US dollars – significantly less than for Olympic Games in the past. The proposed operational budget should be fully offset by revenue from ticket sales, marketing sponsorships and other income.

Thanks to an additional contribution from the IOC of approximately \$880 million to support the staging of the Winter Games in 2022, Beijing is confident that it will either break even or make a profit.

(IOC/JOH)

Message from the Secretary-General



Anthony Th. Bijkerk
ISOH SECRETARY-GENERAL

Again I would like to start this Message with congratulations to two ISOH members: President David Wallechinsky (USA) and Professor Bob Barney (CAN/USA).

Professor Robert Knight Barney received a Doctorate in Law from Western University, Canada, on 17th June 2015, where he was honoured for his long and outstanding career as a teacher and (Olympic) researcher over several decades; even long after his retirement.

President David Wallechinsky because on 6th November he received the Honorary Doctorate of the United States Sports Academy (USSA) from its President, Dr. Thomas P. Rosandich. Earlier this year, David was elected to the North American Trivia Hall of Fame.

With great regret I must inform readers of the passing of our illustrious member Monique Berlioux, recipient in 2010 of the ISOH Award for her lifetime dedication to the history of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. Monique served under three IOC Presidents: Avery Brundage, Lord Killanin and Juan Antonio Samaranch.

I first met her in 1968 at the IOC Headquarters where we discussed the controversy between the United States of America and the Netherlands about who actually won the silver medal in the tug-of-war competition at the Games of the VIIth Olympiad in 1920 in Antwerp, Belgium. Both countries claimed the medal, but during my visit I was able to show Monique Berlioux a photograph of the official Diploma and the silver medal of the 1920 Games showing that it had been awarded to Mr. Sybren Jansma. This convinced her and, a short time later in 1968, she corrected the record in "Olympic Review",

acknowledging that the silver medal belonged to the Dutch team. You will find her biography in this issue.

On 14th August 2015, the Netherlands Munten en Postzegel Organisatie (Coins and Stamps Organisation) organised the auction of the largest-ever collection of memorabilia on the Games of the IXth Olympiad, Amsterdam 1928; better known as the "Jaco Treurniet" collection. This magnificent collection was to be auctioned because Jaco Treurniet could not find any interested party willing to take the collection as a whole. Because of health problems, Jaco decided, with huge regret, to auction his collection. On the viewing day he was interviewed by Dutch television and confided that his house, the glass cases and the room where he had stored the collection were miserably empty.

There was a huge turn-out for the auction on 14th August 2015, with no fewer than 998 lots going under the hammer. Highlights included the original poster of Amsterdam 1928, for which the publishing rights still rest with the family of the designer and not with the IOC – it sold for € 7000.

Another interesting lot was a wooden shoe with the signature of, among others, Olympic swimming champion Johnny Weissmuller; this sold for € 1000. There were many more interesting lots, and details can be found at www.mpo.nl. There remained 186 unsold lots and these can still be acquired by contacting Jaco Treurniet at his home address in Harderwijk, the Netherlands (see the ISOH Directory).

Proceeds from the auction were valued at around € 155,000. ■

Olympic Pentathlon around the Games of 2024

Five cities – Budapest, Hamburg, Los Angeles, Paris, and Rome – will compete to host the 2024 Olympics. The decision will be made at the 2017 Session in Lima.

With their candidatures, the cities commit themselves to respect the Olympic Charter and the Host City Contract for all participants and all Games-related matters. In this context, the IOC made changes to the Host City Contract, including:

- Reference to sexual orientation in the non-discrimination clause as part of the Host City Contract Principles with overarching significance for the entire Games' project.
- The freedom of media to report on the Games is now integrated in the Contract Principles
- An amendment on labour law compliance that states: "The City, the NOC and the OCOG

shall take all necessary measures to ensure that development projects and other projects necessary for the organisation of the Games comply with local, regional and national legislation and international agreements and protocols, applicable in the Host Country with regard to planning, construction, protection of the environment, health and safety, labour and anti-corruption laws." (IOC/JOH)

ISOH Lifetime Award for Professor Roland Renson

By Anthony Th. Bijkerk



Olympiad in Antwerp in 1920. The result of his research was written in the book: *The Reborn Games – The VIIth Olympiad, Antwerp, 1920*, published in 1996, which was first published in the Flemish and the French language (1995). In addition, emphasis was given to his research about Flemish Folk Sports.

He was also honoured for his role as initiator and chairperson of the Flemish Folk Games Central, the Centre for Sport Culture; and as chairperson of the Sports Museum Flanders, which in 2008 was changed into "Sportimonium".

Internationally, Renson's career blossomed as President, first of the International Association for the History of Physical Education (HISPA) from 1985 to 1989; later of its successor the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport (ISHPES) from 1989 to 1993.

After the description of these achievements, ISOH President David Wallechinsky, assisted by Secretary-General Tony Bijkerk, presented Dr. Roland Renson the ISOH Lifetime Award, together with the diploma and the booklet with his biography.

David Miller and Carlos Hernández Schäfler awarded the Vikelas Plaque

On Tuesday, 20th October 20, ISOH President David Wallechinsky and ISOH Secretary-General Tony Bijkerk had traveled to Great Britain. At the Adidas Headquarters in Stockport, the British Olympic Association had organised a meeting of the National Olympic Committee,



during which time was made available to perform the presentation of the Vikelas Plaque to David Miller (GBR). Among those in attendance were representatives of national sports federations and the two British IOC Members, Her Royal Highness Princess Anne and Lord Sebastian Coe.

Around 13:30, the President of the British Olympic Association Lord Sebastian Coe welcomed the two ISOH representatives and gave the floor to ISOH President David Wallechinsky.

The ISOH President mentioned that David Miller came from a family with a deep history in journalism as in 1752, the family of Miller's mother had founded one of the earliest British newspapers. Thus it was no wonder that David Miller inherited the wish to become a journalist.

But he was also a good sprinter himself and it was not surprising that he has reported on track and field and the Olympic Games since 1957.

In 1960, he moved to the *Daily Telegraph* and became football correspondent of the newly launched *Sunday Telegraph* in 1961. Later he first transferred to the *Daily Express* and nine years later moved to become chief sports correspondent of *The Times*.

David Miller has covered twenty-two Olympic Games, including Tokyo 1964 for which he travelled across Siberia by train.

He has written twenty-four books, including the well-known biography of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, *Olympic Revolution*, and the *Official History of the Olympic Games and the IOC, 1894–2004*, which was commissioned by Samaranch; the book was updated in 2008 and 2012 and translated into Chinese, Russian, Polish and Portuguese. In 2016, he intends to publish a fourth edition after the Olympic Games in Rio.

In August 2015, Miller was inducted into the inaugural class of the Hall of Fame of the Olympic Journalists.

After this introduction, David Wallechinsky presented the Vikelas Plaque to David Miller, together with the Diploma and the booklet with his biography, assisted by Secretary-General Tony Bijkerk.

A further Vikelas Plaque went to Mexico. On 17th November – after the magazine went to press – it was awarded to the longtime Director of the National Olympic Academy of Mexico, Carlos Hernández Schäfler. He earned an MBA and also studied Sports Management at the Olympic Institute of Sports Sciences (Complutense University of Madrid and Catalonia Open University), and Sports Organisations Management at the German Sports Confederation (Berlin, Germany). He has a master in Sports Organisations Management within the "Olympic Studies, Olympic Education, Executive Masters in Sport Organisations Management (MEMOS) programme held by the International Olympic Committee.

A hockey player for more than 30 years, he later served as President of the Mexican Hockey Federation



Carlos Hernández Schäfler travels through the Mexican Republic to give conferences, seminars and talks about Olympism in at least 10 different cities.

Photos: Sarah Lamprouh, Bregt Brosens, Mexican Olympic Academy

(1972–1988) and President of the Pan-American Hockey Federation (1979–1987).

Since 2015, he has been National Director of Sports Administration courses, endorsed by the International Olympic Committee, and has lectured on Olympics topics at several institutions in Mexico and abroad. He has been President of the Mexican Olympic Academy since 1993 and has worked actively in the dissemination of the Olympic principles. ■

Season's Greetings and Happy New Year 2016

International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH)



Copa Cabana Beach, Rio de Janeiro, 2nd October 2009, as the International Olympic Committee chooses Rio as the host city for the 2016 Olympic Games. Photo: picture-alliance

The Flemish Sport and Olympic Museum "SPORTIMONIUM" was the scene of the award to Professor Renson, who received the ISOH Lifetime Award 2014, from the hands of ISOH President David Wallechinsky.

On Friday, 16th October 2015, the Flemish Sport and Olympic Museum "SPORTIMONIUM" hosted an international symposium about the subject "Geheugen van de Sport" (Memory of Sport). About ninety persons from several countries, including the host country Belgium, its neighbours France and the Netherlands, and the USA attended the symposium. These included Honorary IOC President Jacques Rogge, Alain De Waele, general secretary of the Baillet-Latour Fund and Philippe Paquay, general administrator Flemish Sports Agency (Blosa).

By special request of the recipient Dr. Renson, the ceremony of the presentation of the ISOH Lifetime Award was included at the end of the programme.

Therefore around noon ISOH President David Wallechinsky took the floor. He informed the audience about the long and distinguished career of Professor Emeritus Roland Renson, starting as a student at the Institute Physical Education of the Catholic University Leuven and graduating to become full Professor at the same Institute Physical Education of the Catholic University Leuven. Of course special attention was given Dr. Renson's work as an Olympic historian, especially his longtime research on the history of the Games of the VIIth

In the presence of Lord Sebastian Coe, President of the British Olympic Association (far left), David Miller (second from right) was awarded the Vikelas Plaque. Second from left: David Wallechinsky, far right: ISOH General Secretary Anthony Th. Bijkerk.

Monique Berlioux

*22nd December 1923 in Metz
†27th August 2015 in Paris

Monique Berlioux was the daughter of the well-known swimming trainer Suzanne Berlioux. She started her competitive swimming career in 1938 and between that year and 1952, she won no fewer than 40 national French titles. However, due to the turbulent times during and after the Second World War, she never received the acclaim she deserved.

She was holder of multiple French swimming records and even won English titles in 1947. In 1948, she participated in the Olympic Games in London and in the 100 m backstroke made it to the semi-finals, finishing in sixth place in her heat.

When her swimming career came to an end, *Editions Rencontre* wrote: "If the War had not intervened, Monique Berlioux's name would have been mentioned as one of the greatest swimmers of all times."

During the Second World War, Monique Berlioux took part in the French resistance movement, and several times swam across the River Seine to carry messages and material.

In 1947, she studied at the Lycée Fénelon and finally graduated from the Faculty of Human Science at the Sorbonne in Paris, where she received her Master's degree.

She started as a journalist and sports reporter for *l'Aurore* and *Le Figaro* and did research for the BBC



and the *Observer*. She also produced films for French television and the IOC. In 1961, she was appointed chief of the press department of the Cabinet of the then State Secretary for Youth and Sport Maurice Herzog and retained her position in that Ministry under Sports Minister François Missoffe until 1966.

A year later, she became director of press and public relations at the IOC in Lausanne, which post she held until 1969, when she became head of the administration of the International Olympic Committee under IOC President Avery Brundage. In 1971, she became the regularly nominated Director of the IOC.

In the male-dominated IOC, she was without doubt the first woman and gained deserved respect for her work. She was regarded as the "right hand" of Avery Brundage and, from 1972, also of his successor Lord Killanin. She conscientiously guarded the Olympic rules, and organised all the Sessions of the IOC.

However, when Juan Antonio Samaranch became IOC President in 1980, the working relationship was uneasy ("No two captains on one ship!") and her contract was finally terminated in 1985.

Monique Berlioux's credo start to finish was: "... to serve the Olympic Movement". She remained connected to the Olympic Movement, even after her estrangement from the IOC. From 1985 to 1996, she worked as technical advisor for the Mayor of Paris and was also engaged in the promotion of the French capital to obtain the bid for the Olympic Games in 1992. In 1996, she received the *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* from the French President Jacques Chirac.

Monique Berlioux joined the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) in 1993.

On 7th October 2010, she received the ISOH Award for her lifetime dedication to the history of Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games.

She will be remembered by all her friends. ■

Anthony Th. Bijkerk

The Quiet Irishman – a final portrait of Lord Killanin

By Monique Berlioux (†)

'A hand of iron in a cashmere glove.' This is how I portrayed Lord Killanin in 1976, before the Innsbruck Games. The description appeared in a chapter of the book *The Olympic Games*, a book which the President co-authored with the English journalist, John Rodda.

I had first met Lord Killanin in London. Our second interview took place in September 1967, in a car driven by Johann Westerhoff. We were travelling from Lausanne to Grenoble on a visit of inspection for the forthcoming Winter Games. The two men sat in the front of the Mercedes. I saw only the very wide back of the future IOC President, and understood not a word of what he said, given his habit of mumbling, with his pipe clamped in his mouth. Against the background of the engine noise his low-pitched rapid delivery was full of pitfalls. Seeing him in profile during the lunch which followed enabled me to reply 'of course' whenever he ended his sentences with 'what?'

He was a man of imposing stature: square-shouldered with a rounded abdomen planted on two massive legs. Standing as upright and erect as a rider, he resembled a rock. His thick chestnut hair was greying at the temples. Pickwickian side-whiskers descended low on his cheeks, whilst round blue eyes peered out above his half-moon spectacles, perched on a rather pointed nose above an impish grin. His pink cheeks attested to a love of VAT 69 after 6 p.m. and the double chin was proof that good food held no terror for him.

Michael Morris was born on 30th July 1914 in London. A month later, on 1st September 1914, his father lost his life in France the early days of the First World War at the Battle of Villers-Cotterets. In 1927, at the age of 13, he inherited the title of 3rd Baron Killanin through his uncle, who had died without issue. He was very proud of his peerage, whilst all the time loudly protesting his liberal views. He never tired of pointing out that his family name, Morris, belonged to one of the fourteen clans of Galway, whose motto was 'Si Deus Vobiscum, quid contra nos' ('if God is with us, who is against us?')

Naturally he had been educated at Eton and Magdalene College Cambridge, where he was President of the renowned 'Footlights' dramatic club, and had studied at the Sorbonne. He ran and had boxed, and rowed. No sport was alien to him. His taste for classical culture had led him to take up a career in political



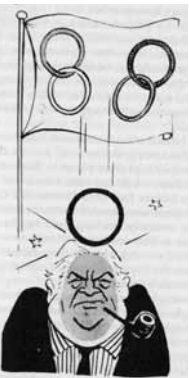
journalism, and as a foreign correspondent. From 1937-38, he was war correspondent for the London *Daily Mail* newspaper. He followed the Sino-Japanese conflict before signing up with the British Army for the duration of the Second World War. He reached the rank of Major, and took part in the planning of D-Day and the Normandy landings in 1944, acting as Brigade Major for the 30th Armoured Brigade, part of the 79th Armoured Division. Subsequently, he was appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE). After demobilisation, he moved to Ireland.

He married Mary Sheila Dunlop in 1945. She herself had worked at the decoding centre at Bletchley, Oxfordshire, during the war for which work she too was awarded the MBE. The daughter of the Very Reverend Canon Douglas Dunlop, an Australian-born clergyman who became Church of Ireland Rector of the parish of Oughterard, near Galway, in the West of Ireland, Sheila was uncertain of her date of birth, having been born in India, and knew only the date of her baptism. They met at the famous Galway Races, and shared a love of horseracing. They had four children together: three sons and a daughter.

Sheila had a handsome face with high cheekbones, light-coloured eyes which looked you straight in the face, and thick, curly hair. She was embarrassed by nothing and no one. The perfect lady of the manor, and an accomplished hostess, she watched jealously over

The Final Journey: Opening of the Olympic Games in Moscow 1980

Photo: IOC/OSCA Archive



"Walkout of the Africans from Montreal" as portrayed by the British cartoonist "Jon"

Cartoon: *Daily Mail*, 20th July 1976

Lord Killanin, took part in the Normandy landing as a Brigade Major and was subsequently honoured with the Order of the British Empire. After demobilization in 1945, he married Sheila Mary Dunlop, who gave him three sons and a daughter.



her husband's health and comfort during his years as president, and incontestably influenced his decision not to seek a second mandate. 'Michael's health takes priority over everything', she told me one day.

At the end of a long hard day during Sessions or the Games, Sheila would pour out Michael's whisky. The President was as sober as judge during the day but, in the best British colonial tradition, once the sun was over the yardarm, he enjoyed relaxing with a Scotch, (or more often, an Irish), and animated conversations with friends in which the events of the day were reviewed with that characteristically British humour which makes light of everything.

Lord Killanin was an authoritative man with a strong sense of hierarchy and social differences. He was also a loyal friend. But one had to earn his friendship, and this took time. He greatly enjoyed rumour and small talk, and never tired of gossip and witty remarks. He punctuated his anecdotes with a 'yes?' or a 'what eh?', whilst arching his eyebrows and drawing on his pipe.

In 1950, he was elected President of the Olympic Council of Ireland. He was co-opted as a member of the IOC on 13th February 1952 during the 46th Session, held in Oslo, to replace John Joseph Keane, who had been elected in 1922. In 1967, in his role as Chairman of the IOC Press Commission, he was given the task of heading an enquiry into Apartheid in South Africa. His report resulted in that country not being invited to participate in the Mexico Games. He was elected Vice-President in Mexico in 1968, and in 1972, at Munich, he was elected President.

In 1952, he threw himself with enthusiasm into the world of cinema alongside John Ford, collaborating with him on the production of his masterpiece *The Quiet Man*. The author of several books, including a remarkable guide to Ireland, and a non-executive director of many companies, he was always a very busy Dubliner. He received numerous awards and honours,

was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and given Honorary Doctorates by the National University of Ireland, and the University of Ulster. He was a member of the International Association of Art Critics, a life member of the National Union of Journalists, a life member of the Association of Cinema and Television technicians, a member of the Red Cross Council (1947-1972), Chairman of the National Monuments Advisory Council until his death, a member of the Cultural Relations Committee (1947-1972), and one of the first persons to be elected an Honorary Life Member of the Royal Dublin Society when it celebrated its 250th anniversary in 1981. From 1961 to 1984 he was also Honorary Consul General for Monaco, and closely acquainted with the Grimaldi family, and of course Grace Kelly, who had been one of John Ford's favourite actresses.

A highly cultivated man, and an artist to the tips of his fingers, Lord Killanin was also passionate about equestrian sport and racing in particular. A member of the Irish National Hunt Steeplechase Committee, he was for many years a Steward of the Irish Turf Club. He was delighted when one of his twin sons, Michael, brother of John, and nicknamed 'The Mouse', became a jockey, and took part in the Grand National, before becoming a professional trainer.

All his children chose careers close to his heart: the eldest, Redmond, became a film producer; John is a talented photographer, with an interest in falconry, and his daughter Deborah trained as a potter.

I telephoned him one spring evening in 1977; we spent a long time going over various outstanding issues. I asked him how he was; 'I couldn't feel better', he replied.

The next day he went racing; his son Michael was competing in a steeplechase. He watched the race standing up, holding his breath. 'Mouse' won. Five minutes later, an ambulance was taking him to hospital following a heart attack.

Juan Antonio Samaranch, who had just taken possession of his Embassy in Moscow, learnt the news. He was then First Vice-President of the IOC. The statutes of the organisation provided for the First Vice-President to take over should the President be incapacitated. He lost no time in telephoning me, worrying about the President's health, and insisting that he was ready to step into his shoes, in accordance with the statutes. I replied that everything was in order, that the reports from Dublin were good, and that it would just be a matter of days.

'There's nothing urgent', I added before hanging up. A little later, I received the copy of a telex which he had sent to Dublin: 'my insistence on seeing you may seem excessive. But it is only my desire to fulfil the functions with which I am charged by our colleagues, and to lighten your load ...' Lord Killanin thanked him, but did not forgive or forget.

Hard-working but disorganised, forever losing things in the most unlikely places, his hand-writing was illegible, and his speech inaudible. He gave his secretary Norma a hard time.

Norma MacManaway was a pretty blonde with creamy skin. Her workload did not allow her much of a private life. Devotion personified, she arrived smartly dressed before each meeting but at the end of the day was one of the last to depart, looking drawn and dishevelled.

Lord Killanin had fitted out the basement of his house on Lansdowne Road, Dublin, as an office for Norma and her part-time assistant, Bridget Foley.

The President adored gadgets, and had purchased a couple of miniature dictating machines on which he would spend hours recording correspondence, notes, memoranda, and accounts of various conversations. Norma transcribed tirelessly. Lord Killanin re-wrote. Norma re-typed, all day long. She quickly absorbed the details of the Olympic Movement and its players. She also developed muscles from having to carry enormous bags full of files up and down the two flights of stairs which separated her office from the President's.

At the end of eight years, Norma returned to university in Dublin to study French Literature, in which she was highly successful. She later occupied a prestigious post at the University of Oxford, becoming a Fellow, and later an Emeritus Fellow, of Somerville College, before retiring to live in France.

The Killanins lived in a very beautiful house, situated close to the famous Lansdowne Road Rugby Stadium, built by Lady Killanin's grandfather, Henry Wallace Doveton Dunlop. It was where the Five Nations rugby matches were played. The roar of the crowd could be heard beyond the two bay windows of the dining room, at which hung two porcelain parrots, mounting an imperturbable guard.

One entered through a Georgian doorway, painted bright blue, with a brass doorknocker, to be welcomed by Shem and Shaun, two unruly rough-haired dachshunds, named in honour of two characters in *Finnegan's Wake*, by James Joyce, one of their master's favourite authors. They never left his side for a moment.

The hallway and staircase attested to the owners' love of painting, mostly figurative, and of a high standard. Certificates and diplomas had their place in 'the smallest room', situated on the first floor landing.

The president's office was on the first-floor return. It was a sanctuary of solid, comfortable furniture. Lovingly chosen books covered the walls, and photographs of his life and career were wedged in wherever there was a space. The room was a glory hole of statuettes, objects, and medals. It was hard to find a place to sit near the high windows amongst the newspapers and cups of tea, discreetly carried in by the thoughtful Sheila. It was easy to see that he felt comfortable there, with

everything close at hand, and the elaborate telephone, with all its buttons and loud-speaker, ready for use.

He would drag out a copy of a letter or telex from underneath an unstable pile of dossiers and hand it to you to read, steadying the wobbling stack of correspondence; then forage in another heap and pull out a different file. The muddle was deceptive however; Norma watched over it with order and method, each file labelled in its transparent plastic folder.

In the garden there was a circular pond about seven or eight metres in diameter. It was the swimming pool. Every day, weather permitting, Lord Killanin swam round it with great dignity in a sort of breast stroke, almost upright in the water.

He had invited me to Dublin in 1971 to give a lecture during a seminar on Olympism. The other lecturers were Hans Klein, whom I had nicknamed 'Lieber Hans', Press Chief for the Munich Games (he would later become an influential member of the GFR parliament), and Victor Savin, Secretary General of the USSR Volleyball Federation. Victor Savin was at the time the official interpreter of Konstantin Andrianov, the Soviet member of the IOC.



Proud of his Irishness, Lord Killanin drove us around to visit his country, explaining in detail the origins of the tombs of his distant ancestors 'who had discovered America long before Christopher Columbus'. One sensed his deep knowledge of his subject and his delight in telling us about Ireland and its passionate, adventurous, and brave people.

'I know exactly where I want to go and what I want to do', he used to say, 'but I don't always move in a straight line'. He would also remark: 'anything can be said if it is honest'.

When he had an important decision to take he would consult his friends and those around him, discussing it with this or that person, not so much in order to disclose to them what he had in mind, but rather to enable him

Relaxing in Honolulu on the return journey from the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne: left 1500 m gold medallist Ronald Delany, centre, the American film director John Ford, a long standing friend of Killanin.

Photo: Honolulu Advertiser

to think through his ideas more clearly. He was a man of profound intellectual honesty made all the more scrupulous by his doubts and hesitations.

He had a close-knit group of friends amongst the accredited journalists and his press conferences were a delight! Avery Brundage had of course attracted media interest; as soon as he opened his mouth he made the headlines. But alas, he was not well liked. First and foremost, this was because he himself did not like journalists. The trans-Atlantic press had often treated him roughly over the years and so he would arrive at a press conference in a grumpy, not to say aggressive, mood, and would deliberately use esoteric language before this pragmatic throng.



Silent Post: Lord Killanin, The Marquess of Exeter, Sylvio de Magalhães Padilha from Brazil, and President Avery Brundage.

Photo: IOC/IOC Archive

Lord Killanin was a member of the press himself and not only did he feel at ease in the presence of journalists but he clearly sought to help them. 'First of all, let's see what we have that would make a headline' he would say at the start. And he always had one or more funny stories to tell. He knew exactly how not to reply to embarrassing questions and when he had to face up to a problem he explained it with frankness and simplicity.

When I arrived at the IOC he was Chairman of the Press Commission and in this role he had got into the habit of talking to those journalists who followed the work of the IOC at the end of each meeting. He asked me to accompany him to these sessions and, in a way, taught me the job. He would hand over to me to speak on subjects I knew well, keeping back the tricky or spectacular ones for himself.

For many years, we were a double act, him speaking in English, and me in French, for the benefit of those of our audience who did not understand the language of Shakespeare and did not like using the simultaneous translation service. My old friend Gaston Meyer, then Editor-in Chief of *L'Equipe* was the first to protest

against the supremacy of English, going so far as to stay away from the press conferences held after the IOC meetings. He told me, furiously, 'in any case, my article is already written'.

Lord Killanin's approach was quite different to that of Avery Brundage where the minutes of meetings were concerned. The notion of a secrecy shocked his democratic ideals and his vision of Olympism. In his time, de Coubertin had already stressed the need for the IOC to be transparent. Passionate about history and modern technology, he was concerned to create archives worthy of the Olympic Movement. He decided to allow access to the minutes to any outsider on condition of a three-year embargo on Sessions, and a six-year embargo for meetings of the Executive Board. This liberal gesture made many people happy. Up until my departure I continued to respect Lord Killanin's decision, not having received any counter-order from Samaranch since he took office.

It was in January 1986 that I learnt from a young German researcher that his request to consult minutes of meetings of the Executive Board dating from before 1981 had been refused on the grounds that there was a total embargo on all Olympic minutes. As for recordings, they could never be consulted, other than for internal needs. Lord Killanin believed, as did Avery Brundage, and I quote, 'if certain improvisations are published they would make mountains out of molehills'.

Avery Brundage did not like Lord Killanin. Firstly because he was the protégé of his great rival, Marquess of Exeter. Secondly, as a decent American, he was impressed by, but also envious of, his aristocratic title. And besides, he sensed in him a potential successor, an eventuality that he did not like to think about. Finally, their political ideas were completely opposed.

Jean de Beaumont, Lord Killanin's unlucky rival for the presidency, did not appreciate him much either. He could neither understand nor accept how someone with a lesser title and what is more, a lesser fortune, had been preferred over him. He was the instigator of a question which was to cost him votes on that 22nd August 1972.

The IOC Session was taking place in the palatial Maximilianeum in Munich, in the meeting room of the Bavarian Parliament. Throughout the evening and late into the night the Soviets had tried, in vain, to persuade Brundage to remain in the presidential seat if only for two more years. There were debates about the electoral procedure: should the vote be carried out immediately? The elections were either the first thing on the agenda, or were held at the end of the Session. General Stoychev (Bulgaria) had then submitted an amendment to the rule relating to the presidential mandate, suggesting that it be reduced from eight to four years. Finally, should the number of votes obtained by each candidate be disclosed?

The ballot took place. It was decided to maintain the *status quo*: the vote would be held immediately, the mandate would be for eight years, and the number of votes would remain secret. Before proceeding to a ballot the members questioned the two candidates on their motivations. Lord Killanin declined, in a dignified manner, to make an electoral speech, promising only that if elected, he would try to work in the spirit of the Olympic Movement, and for its development. As for the Count de Beaumont, he made it clear that he wished to be elected for a mandate of four years.

It was then that a recently elected member, Louis Guirandou N'Diaye (Ivory Coast), a supporter of the French candidate, asked Lord Killanin if he had the means to bear the financial burdens of the presidency. Now everyone knew that Lord Killanin, although well-off, did not possess a fortune on the scale that of Brundage or de Beaumont.

The question shocked those present. The Frenchman lost votes and as soon as Lord Killanin was elected members voted a budget to enable the new President to cover the costs of his secretariat in Dublin and his travel expenses. The sum of 200,000 Swiss francs seemed exorbitant at the time but Killanin did not have the same delusions of grandeur as his successor.

Avery Brundage had nominated King Constantine and Vitaly Smirnov as scrutineers. The two men, although different in every way, got along well. They took an oath not to reveal the number of votes obtained.

Once the voting slips had been collected Vitaly and Constantine installed themselves at a table in the middle of the room to count the votes. Vitaly divided them systematically into two piles and counted the ballot papers one by one. The whole room counted with him. Constantine tried to say something to him, because the results were supposed to be a secret, but he continued imperturbably. It was thus that we knew, long before Brundage announced the result, how many votes the winner had obtained against his opponent.

Once it had been announced that Lord Killanin had obtained the majority of the votes, Constantine and Vitaly sought to dispose of the voting papers; they succeeded in blocking all the lavatories on that floor.

Of the 71 votes, only one, marked with a cross, was null and void, and that cross was traced to Brundage.

De Beaumont's sole consolation was to become Second Vice-President, occupying the place left vacant by Killanin.

Stepping into the shoes of so powerful a personality as Brundage was no easy matter. The group which had helped Lord Killanin to become president, the Marquess of Exeter and Jonkheer van Karnebeek, weighed heavily on him. Once the euphoria of victory had passed, he faced difficult beginnings which his predecessor had no intention of facilitating.

Killanin was the elected President, but during the period of the Munich Games which followed the Session, Brundage alone remained in command, right up until the flame was extinguished. Not once did the outgoing President deign to consult with his successor.

Successor! The word made Avery Brundage tremble in horror. As for Lord Killanin, he delighted in hitting back by referring to 'my predecessor'.

There had been no shortage of opportunities on which to speak with a common voice: the drama of the Israeli hostages; the disqualification of the American swimmer Rick DeMont, after he tested positive for a banned substance contained in his asthma medication, and the Puerto Rican basketball player Miguel Coll, the refusal to allow a convicted criminal to participate in boxing events, and others.

Early on the morning of 5th September Avery Brundage had been alerted by the Germans of the taking of hostages in the Olympic Village. He decided to act alone, with the Organising Committee. Circumstances served him in this: Lord Killanin and Jonkheer van Karnebeek had left for Kiel the day before where the yachting events were taking place.

When I finally managed to see Brundage, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, I asked him if I should warn Lord Killanin.

He looked me straight in the eye without replying. I sent a message to the President-elect.

Throughout the day, the members of the IOC paced about in the Hotel *Vierjahreszeiten* like lions in a cage. Samaranch burst into my office, in shirtsleeves and slippers, looking for news from the secretary on duty. Jean de Beaumont held a meeting in his suite. Maurice Herzog tried to collect enough signatures to call an extraordinary meeting.

Brundage remained sealed off in the Olympic Village with the Krisenstab (German crisis committee). When I told him that I had alerted Lord Killanin he sent back a message saying that the latter's presence was not required in Munich ...

Lord Killanin, having heard the news on the radio that morning, arranged to return to Munich immediately. He had received Brundage's message after mine and had ignored it. He counter-attacked and called a meeting of the Executive Board, which he asked Brundage to attend.

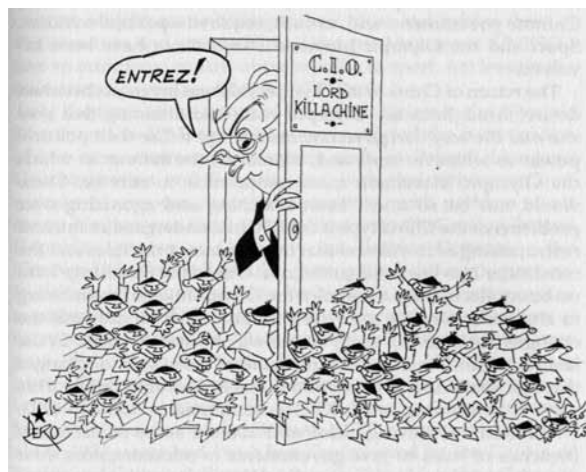
Once the President of the IOC had arrived, intentionally late, Lord Killanin announced, 'we have decided to call a meeting of the Session'.

Brundage was against it. On his own initiative, he had decided to suspend the Games for twenty-four hours, and Willi Daume, the President of the Organising Committee, had announced this to the Olympic Village. Lord Killanin pointed out that members had a right to know what was going on, and to voice their opinions.



The Quiet (Olympic) Man. Together with his friend John Ford, Killanin produced the film *The Quiet Man* in 1952 based on a short story by Maurice Walsh. The movie, with John Wayne in the leading role, received two Oscars. Killanin's son Red Morris, born in 1947 also became a producer. After his father's death in 1999 he inherited the title and became the fourth Lord Killanin. His last great film was *The Reader*, made in 2008, based on a novel by Bernhard Schlick, which was also nominated for an Oscar as "Best Film".

Photo: IOC/IOC Archive



Some might be worth considering. Brundage gave in. It marked the end of his reign as President.

The emergency meeting was scheduled for 9 p.m. One by one each member gave his opinion on what should be done. From time to time Daume left the room to check on what was happening in Fürstfeldbruck, the German Air Force base where the eleven Israeli hostages, and the eight members of the Palestinian group 'Black September' who had taken them prisoner, had been transported by helicopter from the Olympic Village, the terrorists believing that they would be flown from there to a friendly Arab nation.

Towards 11 p.m. he appeared in the doorway and cried 'Wir haben gewonnen' (we have won). The members applauded, and then, relieved that the drama had ended happily, left the room without delay. Alas! The information was incorrect; the hostages were all dead.

At 10.30 a.m. on 6th September a memorial service was held in the Olympic Stadium for the eleven Israeli victims of the Games' greatest tragedy. Gustav Heinemann, President of the German Federal Republic, Willi Daume, Ben Horin, the Israeli Ambassador, Shmuel Lalkin, the Head of the Israeli Delegation, and Avery Brundage were each due to speak.

But Avery Brundage had yet another message to pass on. Come hell or high water, and against all advice, the old lion would not let go of his objective. In his speech, in addition to paying tribute to the victims of terrorists, he condemned the pressures brought to bear on the IOC by African countries. The latter had threatened a boycott if Rhodesia were permitted to participate in the Games. As a result, Rhodesia's invitation had been withdrawn by the IOC just four days before the Opening Ceremony.

In the car taking us to the Olympic Stadium Avery read out his text. Fritz Ruesegger and I tried to make him change it. Why include the Rhodesian question in a ceremony to honor the dead? No argument found favour in his eyes. For him, in both instances the IOC had brought under attack, and this should be recognised. He agreed to soften one or two words, but no more.

'The bigger and the more important the Olympic Games become, the more they are subjected to commercial, political and even criminal pressure. The Games of the 20th Olympiad have been subjected to two savage attacks. We have lost the battle for Rhodesia in the face of cynical blackmail.'

It was his parting shot. Lord Killanin was determined not to let the matter pass. The Executive Board backed him up and insisted that Brundage publish a correction, which he did on 7th September.

In taking on the presidency of the IOC Lord Killanin did not seek revolution but evolution. Three-quarters of a century after its creation, the organisation was in need of a shake-up. Avery Brundage had set the tone at the last Session over which he presided before the Munich Games by accepting the deletion of the word 'amateur', from the Statutes.

A huge step had been taken, although this was not fully recognised for several years. Killanin, a democrat at heart, who wanted sport to be open to all, had played a role in bringing about this change.

At the end of that September in 1972, Lord Killanin took stock. There were so many problems waiting for him.

First of all: resources. Since 1967 the IOC had been living off a loan advanced on the television rights for the Munich Games. Everything had gone well at the Winter Games in Sapporo earlier in 1972. The Munich Games having ended, and the loan paid off, it would be another four years before the next Games. Denver (USA) had been elected to host the Winter Games but these were now in doubt. In Montreal, host city for the Olympic Games, French and English speaking Canadians were locked in a bitter battle which, together with the problems raised by local unions, did not augur well.

In addition, the Varna Congress planned for the autumn of 1973 was a heavy burden. There had not been a meeting of IOC Members together with representatives of the International Federations and the National Olympic Committees since 1931 and the Olympic Movement had changed a great deal over forty years. New ways had to be found to organise a Congress, in a new spirit. Bringing four hundred people for a week in a Socialist country behind the Iron Curtain was no easy matter.

There were also the bigger issues. Lord Killanin wanted to see progress and liberalization. The return of continental China to the Olympic family was something particularly dear to his heart. The organisation needed to be opened up and modernized. In addition to the problems of doping and apartheid, there was the matter of relationships with other major international organisations, which had been banned by his predecessor. Finally, the IOC had to get to grips with the famous 'Rule 26', which at the time governed the eligibility of athletes for the Games.

This was the programme he had to tackle, and the eight years ahead of him seemed very short. Happily for him, he was unaware of what the future held for him with the Montreal and Moscow boycotts, not to mention lawsuits, for the IOC was to break new ground in this domain.

Up until the Munich Games, the IOC had carried on its business in relative tranquillity, settling all problems behind closed doors. Brundage had been intransigent on the issue of contracts. 'The best contract is based on word of honor' he had told me when I arrived at the IOC and was surprised not to have received any document confirming my employment. This was in fact how presidents and members had acted ever since the organisation had been set up.

We were entering the era of money, and with money came contracts, and lawsuits. A permanent legal adviser was needed, to whom was added a lawyer, and then several others, depending on the laws of the country with which the IOC was negotiating.

At the end of 1972, a referendum was held in Denver. The citizens of Denver had to vote for or against hosting the Winter Games. They voted against. Lord Killanin, the newly-elected President, lost no time in sending out a call for candidates. He received applications from Innsbruck (Austria), Lake Placid (USA), Mont Blanc (France), and Tampere (Finland), and having obtained views on the candidates from the Winter Sports International Federations, they were put to the vote by the Executive Board alone. Innsbruck, which had already hosted the XIth Winter Games in 1964, was selected on 4th February 1973. There were only three years left in which to organise the Games.

It was at this same meeting of the Executive Board that Killanin proposed that the election of the Winter and Summer Games take place at two separate Sessions, with a year apart. The Executive Board approved the suggestion but it was not voted in by the Session.

In 1974, when the organising cities for the 1980 Games were being nominated, I suggested that on the day of their election the successful bidders be asked to give a binding written promise to bring the Games to a successful conclusion. A document consisting of two paragraphs, tantamount to a contract, was drawn up and initialled by the Lake Placid and Moscow delegations. This undertaking was to prove very useful on numerous occasions in bringing pressure to bear on the organising committees whenever they tried to flout the rules or break promises that had been made.

Over the years the two paragraphs have turned into complex and elaborate conventions. They have become like these interminable American documents in which different situations are scrutinized but which remain nonetheless open to interpretation. At least they make the work for lawyers!

Lord Killanin's presidency ended at the Moscow Games. This time the handover between the outgoing and incoming President was carried out in a different style.

At the Moskva Hotel, Lord Killanin, Mr. Samaranch, and I all had apartments on the same floor. Anyone arriving on the floor passed the Spanish Ambassador's suite first of all. And so visitors to the President could be not only watched but intercepted. This was before the election. When the new President was elected, the footsteps ended more often at the top of the corridor, and the number of visitors to Lord Killanin diminished. A new court formed. Lord Killanin remained alone with a few old friends.



He had written a long Note on the IOC's state of affairs for his successor, adding his recommendations. He also asked that the handover ceremony be held at the end of the Games, in Moscow. It took place before a small group consisting of the two Presidents, Vitaly Smirnov, then First Vice-President, myself, and a few photographers. The ceremony began at 9.30 a.m. and lasted as long as it took to take a few pictures.

Lord Killanin and his wife left the same afternoon for Dublin, travelling with the Exeters. I accompanied them to Cheremetievo Airport. He was now an Honorary Life President, and although he must have felt sad he did not let this show, but talked about the book that he was planning to write about his experiences, *My Olympic Years*, and all his other projects. Sheila was relieved. She no longer had to worry about her husband being overworked. Henceforth he would follow Olympic Sessions and Games as a spectator. ■

Departure from the IOC: the symbolic handing-over of the key.

Photo: IOC/IOC Archive

“The Tokyo Olympic Games will and must go on”

By Volker Kluge



Meiji Shrine Games 1933 in the Meiji Jingu Stadium. “Sport in the group and no individualism” – such was the demand of the Japanese Education Minister. Adjacent: IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour in confidential conversation with Japanese IOC Member Jigorō Kanō.

In June 1930 a Japanese athletics team travelled to Europe to take part in the World Student Games in Darmstadt. The delegation was led by Prof. Dr. Tadaoki Yamamoto¹. On his return he made a proposal to the Mayor of Tokyo Hidejirō Nagata that the city should host the Games of the XII Olympiad in 1940. This would also celebrate 2600 years of the imperial dynasties.

Even before the 1932 Games in Los Angeles, where Japan had a large team, the project gained impetus. At the request of IOC President Count Henry Baillet-Latour, the Japanese IOC Members Professor Jigorō Kanō² and Dr. Seiichi Kishi³ made an official invitation for 1940 in the name of their government.

Shortly afterwards Japan found itself in a difficult political situation. After the occupation of Manchuria, it was at war with China. When on 25th February 1933, the League of Nations condemned Japan as an aggressor, her government responded by resigning from the organisation.

In the following period, the Olympic candidature for 1940 and the organisation of a Grand International Exposition in the same year gained prominence, as the Japanese government promised to put an end



to international isolation and hoped for a greater influence in a global sphere hitherto dominated by the West.

In this Tokyo focussed especially on Fascist Italy, where in 1935 the diplomat Yotaro Sugimura served as Ambassador. Two years before, he had been co-opted to the IOC.

Before the Session in Oslo, where the decision about the host city of the 1940 Games was to be taken, Sugimura and Count Michimasa Soyeshima met Benito Mussolini, in order to persuade Rome, another candidate city, to withdraw. As a quid pro quo there was the prospect of support for a Roman bid in 1944.⁴

Sugimura also promised that the European NOCs would have their travel costs reimbursed. He discussed matters with the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, following which the USSR government undertook not to cause any difficulties in the use of the Trans-Siberian railway.⁵

There were greater doubts as to whether Japan would be in a position to make use of its option to stage the Winter Games as well. If that were to prove not to be the case the Italian Count Bonacossa and the Finn Ernst Krogius offered their countries as alternatives.

The IOC was about to proceed to the vote on 1st March 1935 when Bonacossa withdrew Rome's application. In order to give other interested parties time to consider a bid, Baillet-Latour postponed the decision until the following year. Besides Tokyo and Rome he had on his list Athens, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Dublin, Helsinki and Lausanne.⁶

A 'Technical Adviser' as a Condition

On 18th December 1935 at the residence of the Japanese Prime Minister, an "Invitation Committee for the XIIth Olympiad" had been constituted under the chairmanship of Prince Iyesato Tokugawa⁷. Baillet-Latour, who probably had little confidence in Asiatic organisational abilities, decided to see the Far East for himself. He arrived in Yokohama on 19th March 1936 for a 'private' visit.⁸ In the three weeks of his stay he was received by Emperor Hirohito, met a number of key personalities and visited possible sports facilities.

Among the authorities with whom he spoke was the Honorary Secretary of the YMCA, Russell Durgin⁹, who strengthened Baillet-Latour in his resolve to give the Japanese the assistance of an IOC adviser in the event of a decision in their favour.¹⁰ In fact this idea stemmed from Carl Diem, who wished to secure long term German influence. Diem envisaged his faithful adjutant Werner Klingeberg for this task. Even during the 1936 Winter Games Diem noted:

5.2.1936 Garmisch

*Had lunch in the Alpenhof with Lewald and Baillet-Latour plus Klingeberg. Took the opportunity to present Klingeberg for his work in Japan. Baillet-Latour is prepared to impose the condition on the Japanese that they engage one of my colleagues for the organisation of the Games. I am to work out a document for him to say what demands are to be placed on the Japanese.*¹¹

When the IOC Executive Committee met in Stockholm in early June 1936, the number of Olympic candidates had been reduced to three. Tokyo and Helsinki were still present, and new to the game was London. This came as a surprise to Soyeshima and Kanō who only learnt about it after their arrival in Berlin, where the next Session was due to take place before 1936 Games. To their great relief, their British colleague Lord Aberdare declared himself ready to withdraw the London application, as it had been made very late on. As a precautionary measure he made an advance claim for 1944.¹²

At the same meeting Baillet-Latour described his travel impressions. He praised the "purely unselfish sporting spirit" of Japanese youth, and he stressed the willingness of the organisers to employ a "technical adviser" and a "sufficient number of interpreter

attachés".¹³ Most IOC Members took his report as a recommendation, so that they voted the next day for Tokyo – however the result of the vote was not announced.¹⁴

On 14th December 1936 the Olympic Organising Committee for the XIIth Olympia Tokyo 1940 (OOC) was constituted with Prince Tokugawa as President. The Prince had taken the place of Sugimura as IOC Member at the Berlin Session. At its 13th meeting on 16th March 1937 the OOC officially accepted Baillet-Latour's condition to 'invite' Klingeberg to Tokyo.¹⁵ His employment began on 1st April 1937 as "Technical Adviser of the IOC". This also meant that for the first time, the IOC had a full time employee. The annual salary – demanded by Klingeberg and paid by the IOC – was set at 1200 pounds.¹⁶

It was agreed with Baillet-Latour that he would begin his work on 1st November 1937. Klingeberg had only visited Japan once before, whilst returning to Europe from the USA in 1934. But as early as 8th June, he made a report on Tokyo's preparations at the IOC Session in Warsaw. This he had formulated on the basis of conversations with Japanese NOC representatives. It was yet to be decided exactly when the Games would take place, and Klingeberg presented three variants: 1st last week August/first week September; 2nd 10–25th September; 3rd first two weeks of October. At the vote the first variant received the most votes.¹⁷ However one year later, the decision was taken to go for the period from 21st September to 6th October 1940.¹⁸

The second important point was the Winter Games, for which the Japanese offered Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido. This was questioned by some Europeans. Just in case the Norwegian Thomas Fearnley announced the interest of Oslo, whereupon Baillet-Latour postponed discussion of this subject for a year to await developments.¹⁹



Special thanks to ISOH member Bernd Wagner, who placed the photos and documents from the estate of Werner Klingeberg at our disposal for this article.

The arrival of Werner Klingeberg in Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido, where the Vth Winter Games were due to take place in 1940. Yet by the end of 1937 an Organising Committee had not even been formed.

Sent into the desert: General Secretary Nagai in Gizeh. Right: In the summer-house of German Ambassador Eugen Ott, Klingeberg's secretary Susi Knoller and the journalist Dr. Richard Sorge had a good time. In his photo album Klingeberg later described Sorge as a "spy", after learning that Sorge, executed in 1944, had been head of the Soviet cell "Ramsay". Moscow had learned through him on 20th May 1941 that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union on 22nd June with at least 150 divisions, but Stalin refused to believe it. But another piece of news was decisive for the war: despite the Three Power Pact, said the radio, Japan would not attack the USSR, so that a war of two fronts was avoided.



Spion Sorge
Sorge Susi + Susi

To impose 'Quarantine' on the Aggressors

While Klingeberg was preparing for his departure, the second Chinese-Japanese war began on 2nd July 1937 after a clash on the Marco-Polo Bridge. The war was fought with great brutality. It reached its tragic climax at the end of the year with the Nanking massacre, during which at least 200,000 Chinese civilians and prisoners of war were murdered. Without explicitly naming the states of Germany, Japan and Italy, allied in the Anti-Comintern Pact, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had already demanded that other nations impose a 'Quarantine' on the aggressors.²⁰

Ignoring that, the Japanese stuck to their plan to host the 1940 Games. They saw in them not just "a simple international sports competition, but as an event to improve our nation's physical strength and to foment nationalism".²¹ This also was stated by the Education Minister: "We must strive to improve our mental discipline and physical strength by exerting our best efforts to cultivate the spirit that would die for the group and would extinguish the individual."²²

Despite this unmistakable effort to misuse the Games as a vehicle of Japanese nationalism, the IOC continued to assume that the Games would still take place in 1940 in the land of the Rising Sun. By then, it was widely believed

that the war would be over. These were also Klingeberg's instructions when he met IOC Secretary André G. Berdez in Lausanne and then visited Honorary President Pierre de Coubertin in Geneva before his departure. The handwritten letter that he requested on this occasion was intended as a message for the Japanese.²³

Like Diem, his pupil Klingeberg, infected early by Nazism, kept a diary. Regrettably only two books in his estate for the years 1935 to 1937 can be found.²⁴ Although they only provide fragmentary memories, these are still authentic documents from which one can learn much about the background as to why the 1940 Games were cancelled. Accordingly extracts from these diaries, much reduced, but only marginally edited, are quoted as an appendix to this introduction.

The Games ultimately planned for Helsinki did not take place because of the war. Military events ultimately proved decisive in causing the cancellation of the Tokyo Games but they were not the only reason. Before that decision was finally taken, the great inexperience and lack of unity of the prospective 1940 Olympic hosts, showed that the IOC had not made a good choice. All the greater was the contrast to 1964, when Tokyo, elected as hosts for the second time, carried out excellent Games. They set standards which should be a good omen for Tokyo Olympic Games in 2020.

Klingeberg's "Travel Impressions"

21st July 1937

At great speed the light express takes me to Lausanne. [...] Only once does the train stop, in Berne, otherwise it races through the Swiss Alpine foothills to the banks of Lake Geneva. [...] Here Berdez²⁵ meets me, and in his aged (10 years old) Fiat we go to Lausanne. I stay in the Hotel 'Mirabeau', in a quiet little square near the station. Then we go straight to 'Mon Repos', but I am unlucky! Everything is packed! Central heating is being installed, and so nothing can be seen!

To all my requests to see Coubertin's publications, good old Berdez shrugs his shoulders! He himself has certainly not worked much in the not exactly systematically ordered papers and collections. Above all, oh, poor German, pre-loaded with all thinkable conceptions, with the 'Diem School', with ideals of a world-encompassing Olympic Movement, screw back the measure of your expectations!²⁶

In the picturesque calm of Lausanne, far from the bustle and thus the critical eye of the big wide world, slumbers the headquarters of the IOC! If the Olympic idea was not stimulated anew every four years, Lausanne would let it fall asleep.

Berdez shows and tells me what would be possible, but then he refers me again to Coubertin. The old gentleman lives in Geneva, I will visit him there. I am warned about his wife, who is said to make his life hell. Never mind, I can cope with that.

In the afternoon we discuss the points I have noted in Berdez' apartment. I can sort out everything more or less. The meetings with Müllegg²⁷ and Huguenin²⁸ are

agreed, and leaving Berdez alone with his dog, after his charming young wife on a visit from Milan had taken her leave, I go down to the lake. A swim in one of the great beach bathing resorts refreshes me! Not so much the pretty girls, for they are missing. As Dr. Messerli²⁹, similar to Dodi Schmidt³⁰ in his activity, tells me in the evening, a new swimming pool is being built. As for mountains, lake, climate, Lausanne is blessed, also there is said to be more life in winter than now. [...]

Messerli complains to me, that he was not elected as President of the Swiss NOC as the new member of the IOC in Switzerland really upsets him. He has worked for 25 years, others have always taken the fruits of his labours, now he wants to give up his friendship with the Olympic idea.

I hear the same reproaches against the IOC, as I have heard them at home. Both sides have one thing in common, which is all too human: offended vanity!

But he will come to Tokyo, and on the evening steamer trip by moonlight over Lake Geneva new plans will be forged. Messerli will organise a great study trip with the League of Nations and the Japanese government (will both of them be found again?) for doctors, engineers and academics, for the Olympic sportsmen and women are too stupid, too one-sided, as he has established in his 25 years as General Secretary of the Swiss NOC.

25th July 1937

The success of the nice evening chez Berdez has results! The first train to Geneva which I intended to take, I missed by oversleeping. Ah well, the journey is not so far, and there is a second train which will get me there early enough. My first path led to Coubertin; he lives somewhat outside the centre in the small boarding house 'Melrose', prettily hidden in a garden. How will

Werner Klingeberg

Born in 1910 in Hanover; he studied at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen (DHfL) in Berlin from 1929 to 1932. This was an institution where Carl Diem was principal. By 1930, Klingeberg had already joined the NSDAP and the SA flying corps. As masseur of the German NOC he travelled to the Olympic Games of Los Angeles in 1932 and for the next 18 months he studied at the University of California. For the Berlin Games he led the sports department of the Organising Committee.

In the three years after these Games from he served as IOC Technical Adviser



first in Tokyo and then Helsinki. From May 1940 to the end of the war, he served in the German News Service (DNB) as branch director of the radio listening service for transmissions abroad in Paris.

When the war was over, Klingeberg became a textile salesman and on the recommendation of Avery Brundage and Bill Henry, translator for the American and British occupying powers in Germany. He also became as well as director of publishing. In 1952 he entered diplomatic circles, among other things as press attaché and as an Olympic and sports consultant. From 1963 to 1966 he was on the staff of the German Embassy in Washington, D.C. Over the next eight years he was posted to Gabon as ambassador and later served in Trinidad and Barbados. Klingeberg died in 1982 in Itzehoe, Germany.

A week before his death, Pierre de Coubertin is pictured with his friend Dr. Francis Messerli.



he receive me? I wait tensely in what seems to be the best room in the boarding house – here he comes! With a somewhat halting gait after his heart attack the 74 year old enters the room. He greets me in a friendly way, he knows already what my plans are. He enquires in an interested way about everything to do with his Olympic Movement.

Again and again he returns to Germany and the Berlin Games, and again and again he emphasises that only Germany has properly understood his ideas!

He enquires about CD³¹, about Tschammer³², of whom he has an especially good opinion and about whose hidden desire to join the IOC he knows about. While speaking his temperament comes to light – remarkable the relatively large, snowy-white head on the small body! His eyes lively, but now and again somewhat tired.

He has no faith in Italy for his Olympic Movement, no faith in England and at the moment just as little for his France. As for the Tokyo Games he has, which surprises me, certain reservations about, whether they will understand modern Olympism. He is disappointed about Kanō's behaviour. He fears a too nationalistic course of the Games.

He enquires in an interested way about everything, he freely gives his opinion about the development of the IOC, whereby he regards Baillet as too 'British' for his idea. The time passes very quickly, and after more than an hour I take my leave. As I leave he gives me an edition of his memoirs with a friendly dedication.³³ He also asks to be informed confidentially about Japan, and I leave him with his best wishes for my tasks in Tokyo.

Will I see him again? In contrast to Berdez' and Messerli's opinion I found him very fresh and very interested in all questions about this great movement which he called into life.[...]

The day of my visit to Coubertin with the unforgettable impression of this man was not yet over. Hardly had I arrived in Lausanne than Messerli fetches me, touchingly concerned, from the hotel. It is to be a nice and interesting evening on the terrace of Messerli's house, where Berdez later joins us. Doctor, architect, engineer with exams, diplomas and honours of all sorts, the good Messerli can still not forget that after 25 years of activity

for the Olympic Movement, the IOC has elected not him, but a general as Blonay's successor.³⁴

And although he knows in what capacity I am here, he cannot stop talking about his services and the failings of others. Perhaps he forgets too much that this presentation of himself alienates the others too much.

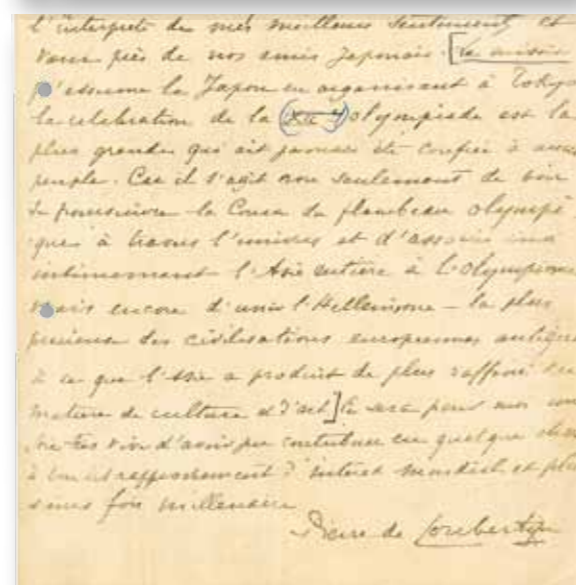
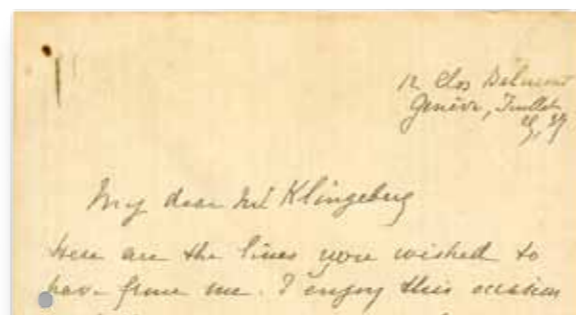
Berdez thinks in stoic calm: "Tout s'arrangera"³⁵ – I too listen to everything, see the villa 'Helios' which is interesting with its six-cornered plan with main frontage and seven balconies facing the sun and overlooking the lake, and ask myself, why is this all needed? What others have too little of, he has too much in his busyness.

His library is interesting and contains exceptionally valuable editions. But everything is built up on French influence. In this connection his openly expressed enthusiasm for the Soviets has much damaged him.

Whatever happened, it was again late when Berdez with his dog 'Gips' and his old Fiat unloads me in front of the hotel. I say farewell to the General Secretary of the IOC, whom I have got to know well in these days before we work together in Tokyo. [...]

19th August 1937

The day for a new start in the world came quickly nearer. I had covered 7000 km all over Europe and all in all collected considerable material to prepare for the Tokyo Games.



Coubertin's message to the Japanese people, which he sent to Klingeberg after their meeting. The document is dated 29th July 1937.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

It still looked as if the war in the Far East would soon end, after Japan reached its objective, the dominance over North China as military flank security and basis to attack Russia as well as raw material sources and economic area on the other hand. But things were to turn out differently, for the newspapers are already reporting incursions by Japan into Shanghai and the Chinese interior. I hope that Tokyo does not become impossible as the site of the Olympic Games!

My date of departure is in any case fixed, come what may! [...] Suddenly there came yesterday a call [from Reichssportführer Tschammer], inviting me to breakfast and then a conversation! At breakfast in honour of the Chief Scout of the Japanese Scouts, Count Futara³⁶ and his twelve boy scouts, Hal³⁷ and CD were invited: Tschammer was once again bewitchingly polite and very interested, by which means he certainly wins many friends abroad. [...] Our discussion went better than I had supposed. Tschammer laid his cards openly on the table, but not without leaving himself an exit route.

I told him that I 'have not yet had the advantage of working with his trust', but as far as my international task permitted would willingly represent the interests of German sport. On this basis we agreed. [...]

4th September 1937

Riverton Farm. Two days of New York were enough – in addition nothing but disturbing news:

1. Japan intends to cancel the Olympic Games because of the war! I think of my task, my contracts and become an optimist again.

2. My ship from San Francisco, the 'Asama Maru', is stranded in the typhoon near Hongkong. I hope for another ship and remain optimistic

3. By chance I read, besides the many war reports from Spain and the Far East, that Coubertin has died, and the thought shoots through my head, how good he was, that I spoke quite freely with him, and silently hope that the Olympic Insitute now becomes a reality.

Then his last message to the Japanese occurs to me, until then well protected. At this moment I think it important to send it direct to Tokyo. The Domei News Agency is called, and soon the message is wired to Tokyo. Will it stir up the minds there to think of something else other than war? [...]

8th September 1937

The days passed far too quickly, but I must return to New York, as I only have two days left there. New York had cooled down somewhat in the meantime, despite which it was still hot enough in this incubator of skyscrapers.[...]

Mr. Hargawa³⁸ of the Domei Agency tells me that my Coubertin message arrived in Tokyo just when the IOC was about to meet – then it was definitely decided to

continue to prepare for the Games. Both of us think the war will be over by Christmas. Besides I heard that Mr. Nagai³⁹, the former Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, has been named as the new General Secretary. Even if he has no idea about sport, one can at least speak 'German' with him! [...]



14th September 1937

Chicago. Another day has passed, and in a few hours my night train leaves to take me back to Toronto. With Brundage⁴⁰ I have been able to discuss all points I wanted to. He has come back somewhat tired and seemingly disappointed from New York, so that at present there is no point in putting pressure on him. In November is the deciding session of the American Olympic Association, and there the new committees for the next Games will be chosen. At this meeting they will try to kick out Mahoney⁴¹!

The situation in American sport looks at the moment very dismal. The prohibition on German athletes has provoked energetic protests from the international association, and the USA has made a serious blunder. The London congress of the IAAF will deal with the matter!

In the meantime the influence of Mahoney is growing, and Mrs. Brundage told me that most people now are suddenly deserting Avery Brundage and are trying to feather their own nest with Mahoney's political trajectory. How strong on the one hand Mahoney's influence is and how little he cares about sport, I heard at a luncheon that Brundage gave me in the Chicago Athletic Club. Here too was again the unlimited recognition of the Berlin Games and of CD, who is well known to everybody. [...]

In the following days Klingeberg travelled to Vancouver and from there via Seattle to Berkeley, where he had studied for a year and a half. In Los Angeles he met Bill

Professor Jigorō Kanō (second from left) and Avery Brundage, much later IOC President. The American who had no faith in the Japanese organisers and pleaded early on for a postponement of the 1940 Games.

The Olympic Organising Committee for Tokyo 1940. In the front row, fourth from right, the Technical Adviser of the IOC, Werner Klingeberg. Next to him his two German secretaries A. Hartmann and Susi Knoller.



Henry, who led the sports section of the Organizing Committee at the 1932 Los Angeles Games. The pair had become friends. He also visited IOC Member William May Garland, who in 1932 had been President of the Organising Committee and was considered an influential supporter of the Games in Tokyo.⁴² On the 20th October 1937 the eight-day long crossing to Japan at last began. At around the same time two German secretaries, Miss A. Hartmann and Miss Susie Knoller, started their journey to the Far East to support Klingeberg in his office work.

29th October 1937

Arrival in Yokohama. Reception by Ri⁴³, Takashima⁴⁴ and other representatives. Travel to Tokyo, then visit in the OOC to Dr. Nagai. He proposes that I should spend a few weeks acclimatising. Only one room is at my disposal as an office.

In the forenoon visit Professor Kanō, Count Soyeshima, the Deputy Mayor Minabe, Iwahara (Physical department of the Education Ministry) and Prince Tokugawa.

30th October 1937

Forenoon in the OOC discussion with Nagai. He informs me that he would be going on a lecture tour for eight days and proposes to wait for his return before I begin my work. To my request to give me a list of visits, he says that is unnecessary as 'Japan is not so conventional' as Europe. In the week of his absence Ri is to help us.

Noon lunch with Soyeshima, Nagai and Ri in the Tokyo Club. Discussion about the international situation. I emphasise that I essentially build up my work with international cooperation, without any interference in national issues. I give a report about the international situation in respect of the Winter Games. [...]

31st October 1937

Noon visit to the Meiji Shrine Stadium. Presentation by Prince Chichibu⁴⁵ and Prince Kaya⁴⁶. Prince Chichibu shows great interest in the 1940 Olympic Games and enquires in detail about the international situation and whether in the light of the warlike developments a boycott movement is to be expected.

I reply that from the point of view of the IOC no boycott movement would be expected, as long as OOC keeps to its undertakings to the IOC and that on the other hand President Baillet-Latour would see it as a sign of Japanese weakness to cancel the Games

1st November 1937

Visit to the German Embassy. Ambassadorial adviser Noebel⁴⁷ informs me that to his knowledge of the situation the rumours about the cancellation of the Games by Japan only resulted from an uncontrolled message of the ***⁴⁸. After Japan has now got more than a million soldiers ready for action it is the wish of the military to increase national enthusiasm and initially suppress all international matters.

Noebel also informs me that the embassy some time ago sent a long report about the technical difficulties to Germany, which would result in a big expedition of visitors. [...]

2nd November 1937

Durgin visits me in the OOC and informs me that the latter is at present in a serious financial position. The OOC had received undertakings from the state and from the city which however were not adhered to. At the start of the works a series of colleagues was employed and the office opened, but when the cash did not arrive some of the employees had to be dismissed.

Durgin has the impression that at the moment everything is quiet. He further informs me that Kubota⁴⁹ had turned to him in April to help him with the international correspondence. With the deterioration of the financial position he was again dismissed. Letters which Durgin had started to answer had not been sent even now.

2nd Visit: Architect Petzold⁵⁰, who has lived for 20 years in Japan and knows especially the relationships in the field of building technology. He informs me that until now there has only been talking but no worked-out plans put on paper. Besides at the moment all building activity has stopped, as the architects are only allowed to have a maximum of 50 tons of iron.

The military are trying to end the war quickly by making very great sacrifices. That is why there is concentration only on the war and armaments. [...]

3rd Visit: St. Ekstrand, special correspondent of Swedish newspapers with special task of reporting on preparation for the Olympic Games. From him I hear that he is receiving no support from Nagai and gets no chance to visit the sports arenas to be used for the Games. Until now he has been unable to discover any enthusiasm for the Olympic Games. [...]

3rd November 1937

Visit to the Meiji Games: archery, fighting with sticks wrestling, gymnastics. From the Japanese sports there is a good programme with musical accompaniment.

Short visit to the stadium. The condition of the facility and the track is lamentable. Despite little use of the streets the traffic conditions are bad. [...]

4th November 1937

[...] Discussion with Durgin, who gives a picture of the developments which led to the present conditions.

1st The basis (visit by Baillet-Latour in spring 1936) on which Japan was entrusted with the Olympic Games, is already buried. [...]

2nd The assurances which Count Soyeshima had given at the Warsaw Session do not correspond to the actual views, rather are they regarded by wide circles as being of a private nature. The fact is that a year has gone by without any progress on the basic project.

3rd The reasons for Kubota's resignation are unknown. One assumes that he was not recognised by the sports federations and thus forced to resign. [...]

4th The simplest bases of office work are missing. [...] Letters are neither answered nor registered. [...] It would be necessary to look through all the international correspondence since the handover of the Games to Japan. As nobody dared to show himself responsible, no correspondence until now has taken place.

5th Of Soyeshima's private correspondence with the IOC nothing is known. A very serious letter from Brundage

to the OOC three months ago was handed over to Soyeshima after a long time. Then nothing more was heard of it.

6th Through personal friction of a political nature between Soyeshima and Kanō, there has been no cooperation between them.

7th The new Mayor of Tokyo shows in no way a similar interest in the Games as his predecessor. [...]

9th It is advisable to make Prince Tokugawa quite clear [literally, 'pour out very clear wine'] about the situation. A decision about the participation must follow at the Session in Cairo.

10th [...] The press service was taken over by the Japan Board of Tourist Industry without cooperation with the OOC. [...] After long difficulties it has only now become at all possible to link this position and the OOC.

11th The sport department is in the General Secretariat. The leader, Dr. Goh, is in a responsible position in an insurance company and has little time to concern himself with the activity of his employees [in the OOC].

12th The office of the General Secretary is composed of a series of young employees, of whom very few speak English. Work will hardly be done by these employees.

13th Dr. Takashima, who has excellent knowledge of Japanese sport, has after the death of Dr. Kishi opened his own legal practice and thus has little time to look after the demands of the OOC.

14th The greatest difficulties are at the moment financial. Dr. Nagai is trying to bridge these, but all his actions are influenced by his political training.

15th There is no clear answer to be had about the stadium. It is probable that a compromise will be reached between the Interior Ministry and the OOC. As a number of years ago it was officially announced to the spirit of the Emperor Meiji that the works in Meiji Parc were finished, people thought impossible to transmit new plans to the spirit of the Emperor!

Modest work conditions: Klingeberg and his colleagues were only allocated a single room in the Mantetsu Building in Tokyo.



The compromise is probably that reconstruction in the stadium will be undertaken to increase the capacity to 75,000 seats. However the Interior Ministry has demanded that these works be carried out under his leadership and to the exclusion of the OOC. But that is impossible, as the OOC must possess a voice in the erection of the facilities.[...]



Christmas 1937: skiing on the Shiga Heights near Sapporo, which experienced Olympic Winter Games only 32 years later.

16th When the news of the withdrawal of the government grant for the Games reached the press through the Cabinet Secretary, Soyeshima went the next day to the Prime Minister to cause him to take a final position. This step followed without the knowledge of Prince Tokugawa, who the next day came to the Prime Minister. While much was reported about Soyeshima's visit, there was no announcement of that of Tokugawa. People say that Tokugawa is offended by the arbitrary step.

There are various rumours about Dr. Nagai's takeover of the office of General Secretary. People say that he took it on at the personal request of. They say further that Soyeshima had pushed himself forward to go to Warsaw and that he was allowed to go under the condition that he would never again appear as IOC representative for Japan. In favour of that is his message to me that he will not go to Cairo for health reasons.

A proof of the [bad] cooperation between the individual gentlemen is that Dr. Nagai was named General Secretary in August, but only got in touch with Soyeshima, who after all had led the entire pre-discussions for the Games, two days before my arrival. According to Durgin Nagai has so far not succeeded in working his way into the pre-history of the Games.

Visit Weise, representative of the German news agency. Weise has been in Japan for ten years and knows the Japanese press relatively well. He informs me that the situation seen internationally is very difficult. A great part of the international journalists only get

their information from the American press, because they are by reason of language difficulties seriously handicapped. As anyone can express themselves in the Japanese press without any ado, the picture often appears as if the Japanese are completely disunited about serious problems. The international press – sports specialists are not here – is not interested in Olympic questions, and publish only announcements taken from the daily papers. [...] Thus the notice spread by United Press and Associated Press about the withdrawal from the Olympic Games by Japan. [...]

Weise's opinion about the present political situation is serious, as the Japanese forces have ventured far into the Chinese interior and are fighting under the greatest difficulties. The victory celebrations of recent days about a capture of Shanghai are far ahead of the facts, as Japan (though with enormous losses) is only in process of surrounding Shanghai, and is being held up by a second strong line of defence.

The advance is being held up on all fronts – not least due to the German advisers who for twelve years have been working in the Chinese military service. The military attachés of the foreign powers and their press very often emphasise the two-sided picture: Japan's army fights supported by the German military attaché in Tokyo General Ott⁵¹, against China's forces, whose tactical and strategic leadership is in the hands of General Falkenhausen⁵² and his German colleagues in Nanking [...] The fact that the German economy is delivering weapons to China and [Hitler] at the same time is striving for an alliance with Japan is in foreign circles of diplomacy and economy regarded with extreme disapproval. [...]

5th November 1937

In the morning visit to Prince Tokugawa. In a short, around 20 minutes long discussion the Prince informs me that the Organising Committee continues to insist on the dates for the 1940 Olympic Games [...] He would on no account follow the political wishes of some nations to cancel the Olympic Games for Japan.

I report to the Prince that his participation in the Session in Cairo is absolutely necessary. The way the conversation went proved that Prince Tokugawa with the best will in the world is not at all aware of the actual situation or of his tasks as President of the OOC. [...] In general goodwill is to be expected from Prince Tokugawa, who speaks very good English. To what extent this goodwill can be transformed into actual work, to ensure a successful execution of the Games, the future must decide.[...]

Visit from Buckberrough, Canpag⁵³, who was informed from his HQ in Montreal. B.B. describes as a [Japanese] characteristic their enormous slowness and sluggishness. He informs me that in his view

Japan at the moment is not all all suitable to execute a large international event, as in all areas slow work, indecisiveness and great financial difficulties are to be expected. [...]

7th November 1937

Afternoon visit to the tennis matches, which were conducted in a friendly mood under the impression of the concluded Italian-Japanese Komintern Pact. The Italian Ambassador as well as the doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, the Belgian Ambassador, were present. The courts were good, on the contrary very bad traffic organisation. The only possibility with these narrow streets to achieve a smooth flow of traffic is the ruthless creation of one-way streets, which must be in place after a definite principle far in advance of the competition site.

In the evening reception with Dr. Noebel. General Ott informs me briefly that he will place his entire influence at my disposal to ensure the participation of the Wehrmacht [in the Games]. He believes that even in the present circumstances of the Wehrmacht it is possible to nominate a capable General Staff officer for the tasks of the OOC.[...]

8th November 1937

At 17.00 meeting with Dr. Donat⁵⁴ of the German-Japanese Cultural Institute. He gives me, from his many years of experience, his impressions of the way of working of the Japanese. He advises me to go, when important decisions are to be made, not directly to the gentlemen with the titles, but always to use the third line in preparation, e.g. 1st line: Tokugawa, 2nd line: Nagai, 3rd line: Goh. This organisation in three lines would always be the case. [...]

Donat also informs me that he will get me a link with the German-Japanese Comradeship and its leader Matsumoto Tokumei⁵⁵. This society was founded after the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact and is friendly to Germans. Tokumei himself is a red-hot supporter of the Third Reich. In this comradeship a large part of very active elements are united, at at the moment it is unclear to what extent these will be used in the event of a regime change, which is expected after the return of the troops from China. About the general situation Donat informs me that Japan is very close to becoming a totalitarian state, however because of its inner structure will never follow the 'Führerprinzip' but always have a group economy

Discussion with Major Scholl⁵⁶. The assistant to General Ott advises me to learn only the very simplest bases of the Japanese language, as it would be an unnecessary load. He himself had for three years only followed Japanese language studies and was, just like the Japanese today not yet in a position to conduct an

important discussion purely in Japanese. The Japanese themselves had always to write the characters on their hands with difficult technical expressions, before they could understand them.

About the general situation Scholl informs me that until now he was convinced that Japan would carry out the Olympic Games. Meantime however a new, very interesting current has spread: the Ei-KOKU UNO – the Patriotic Front, which has a strongly nationalistic political programme and rejects the Olympic Games as an international event.[...]

9th November 1937

Noon: discussion with Natori⁵⁷, who informs me that propaganda money in Japan is to be found in the Transport Ministry, Foreign Ministry and Army. The responsible propaganda office of the Army, which is to be regarded as decisive for future development and as a secret cell of the Propaganda Ministry, is an office that is under the direct control of Prime Minister Kono⁵⁸.

Natori informs me that the only place that would be decisive for the Olympic Games is the Army. It works very closely with the office mentioned above. [...] The following three facts are known to this place:

- 1st That Japan cannot allow the chance of the Olympic Games to escape for political and national reasons;
- 2nd that the present condition of the Organising Committee is not at all satisfactory for the demands for a smooth execution of the Games;
- 3rd that the advertising measures of the Organising Committee, which at present are handled by the Japan Tourist Bureau, are unsatisfactory and that there is a lack of personalities who would suffice in this as in other areas.[...]



Two Olympic generals: Carl Diem, who after the Berlin Summer Games also directed the preparations 1940 Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, which the IOC had removed from St. Moritz at short notice in 1939. These were later cancelled. Left: Matsuzo Nagai, from 1933 to 1934 Japanese Ambassador to Germany.

10th November 1937

First discussion with General Secretary Nagai, who gives me a report on the situation which I already knew. New to me is that Nagai – as he stresses – through his knowledge and experience as Ambassador in various foreign postings through the mediation of Dr. Kanō by the Foreign Ministry, has been asked to take over the General Secretariat.

The rumours about a cancellation of the Games were resolved by a visit by Count Soyeshima to the Prime Minister, whom he knows well. The press notice about the intended withdrawal of government support came from Cabinet Secretary Kasami.



IOC Session in 1938 on the Nile: the Technical Adviser makes his report. Left next to Klingeberg IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour.

[...] A few days later President with the members of the Executive Committee and the General Secretary and Mayor Kobashi⁵⁹ officially visited the Prime Minister. At the meeting the Prime Minister had explained that the Olympic Games were not being handed over to the government, so that the government could not withdraw. Taking back the state support would however not be intended.

As far as the financial position of the OOC was concerned, Nagai informed me that parliament had voted in the previous year 750,000 Yen essentially for the buildings. Only a little of this sum could be used for the ongoing work.

Additionally an ongoing grant from the city of Tokyo was agreed, which however through the illness of the Mayor and the delayed (for that reason) calling of the city council could not be paid in full. However the OOC received regular monthly payments. The financial basis was secure, even if in short supply. [...]

Nagai explains to me the organisation of the OOC, which has a whole series of committees. I tell him that on the basis of my Olympic and his diplomatic experiences these committees must be able to work together, but that the active work and initiative must also start from the responsible leaders. I express just as openly my doubts about the leadership of the sports department.

Nagai shares these doubts, but at the same time emphasises that his plans up to now for reorganisation of the office have failed because of the lack of resources. He has given Goh the job of presenting him with a plan how to use the workers they have and share out the work. He is also informed about the momentary insufficiency of the office work. [...]

In the afternoon tea with the office employees to get to know each other. My impression: nice, willing, but for the tasks which they will be expected to do, not at all capable. I had given Nagai to understand in the afternoon that he does not need an office with 15 employees, but that the ongoing work at the moment can be done with three capable heads and three secretaries.

11th November 1937

Forenoon discussion with Nagai. I inform him about the report [of the IOC Session] in Warsaw, which he already knew. I inform him that it is high time to tackle the necessary tasks and set up a sports committee. But Dr. Goh and Takashima are occupied for five days so there will be further delay. [...]

In the afternoon discussion with Kodaira, Sport Editor of the 'Japan Advertiser', who informs me of his view of the activity of the OOC.

At the moment a decision is being taken about the Meiji Stadium as the main site of the Olympic Games. Also the rowing course is being chosen, whose laying out is in the hands of the city administration of Yokohama and the Japan Yachting Club. To build the regatta course Dr. Kobayashi was added as technical adviser – he has invented a special construction to break the waves.

About the role of the [previous] General Secretary Kodaira informed me that Kubota as President of the Ice-skating Association has been asked by the sports associations to take over the position. Not much later he was however forced by them to resign, because he would not work with them. [...]

Responsibility for mail had not yet happened, because in the office there were no linguistically capable secretaries or translators. English-speaking journalists and foreigners who by chance called in were asked to translate the mail that had arrived. [...]

The fact that Soyeshima has demanded an additional five million Yen for the Olympic budget without discussing it with Tokugawa and Kanō and the reasoning that prices had risen because of the war, of course aroused discontent nationally and in the government. The sports associations and the press do not trust Soyeshima. His arbitrary actions and his standpoint that he is the only competent representative in the IOC have undermined his position of trust in Japanese sport.

"Constructive work is necessary" is the last entry in a diary that Klingeberg ended with a Japanese proverb. Adapting John Muir one might translate it thus: "Climb the Mountains and get their good tidings".

Yet although Klingeberg regularly spoke in his reports to Baillet-Latour about progress that the OOC was allegedly making, his optimism gradually diminished. This was just as in February 1938 Soyeshima had for the first time hinted at handing back the Games in a confidential letter to the IOC President.⁶⁰ A few days later, questioned by journalists about the growth of a boycott movement the IOC President responded: "The Tokyo Olympic Games will and must go on."⁶¹

It was a game of hide-and-seek, which continued at the IOC Session, which opened in mid-March 1938 in the Cairo opera house. Neither Soyeshima nor Tokugawa took part, so that the responsibility remained with the 77 year old Kanō alone, who in answer to the IOC President's question as to the state of affairs answered, according to the Minutes: "Mr. Kanō sees no reason why Japan should not organise the Games or the nations refuse to participate."⁶²

At the start of the discussions, which took place during a Nile boat trip from Luxor to Cairo, Klingeberg experienced an unexpected promotion, when he together with Diem, who had joined the party as IOI director, was nominated as representative of Berdez who was ill. He reported to the Session not just about the state of affairs in Japan, but also took the Minutes. Scholars Garth Paton and Robert Barney have assessed Klingeberg's progress "Diem's young protégé was 'moving up' in the hierarchy of IOC 'power' positions".⁶³ The OOC General Secretary Nagai suffered by comparison with this eloquent and energetic 28 year old.

Above all, it was the Winter Games that brought on stomach pains after the International Ski Federation (FIS) had decided to permit ski instructors who had been regarded as professionals to compete. The IOC now had three courses of action open to them: 1 To give up the Winter Games; 2 To keep them, but to cancel them for 1940; 3 To conduct the Vth Winter Games without skiing events. They decided on option three.

To the question whether Sapporo, whose Organising Committee until then had not contacted either the NOCs or the international sports federations and not appointed a General Secretary, could carry out the Winter Games under these conditions, Kanō again agreed.⁶⁴ Three weeks later on 4th May 1938 he died of a lung inflammation on the ship that was taking him from Greece to Japan.

Before the IOC dispersed after their meetings in Cairo, Baillet-Latour had in a "message to the Japanese people" appealed to them under any circumstances to

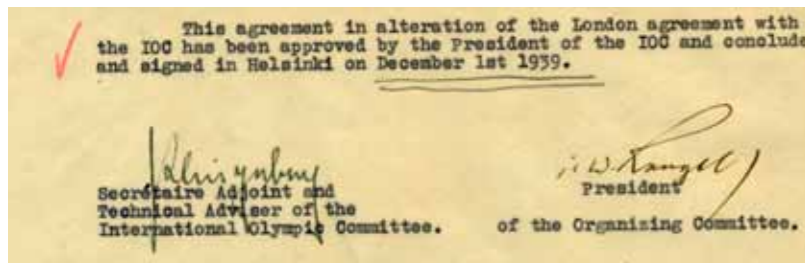
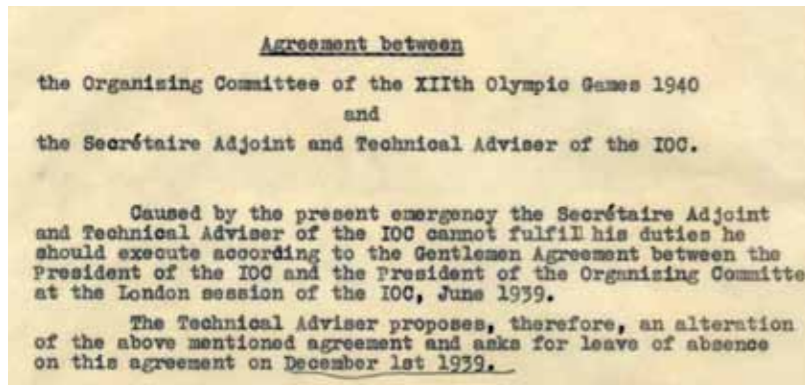
execute the Olympic Games. Otherwise the Organising Committee would bear "the entire responsibility for the fact that thousands of young people, who had been preparing since Berlin and in part have the only opportunity in their lives to take part in the Olympic Games, would be robbed of it".⁶⁵

Yet Baillet-Latour was mistaken in his confidence that Japan would recognise its duty. On 23rd June 1938 Prime Minister Kono announced a "New Austerity Plan", in consequence of which the Finance Ministry was reducing the Olympia budget by 30 to 40 and the amount for the steel needed for the buildings by 30 per cent. On 14th July the Grand Exposition planned for 1940 was cancelled, and the next morning the cabinet decided to withdraw from hosting the Olympic Games.⁶⁶

The following day Baillet-Latour asked his Finnish colleague Krogius for an alternative plan. He did not have to wait long. On 19th July 1938 he was able to inform the IOC that Helsinki would take over the Summer Games and Oslo the Winter Games. However Klingeberg's mission was not yet over. After his return from Japan in September 1938, he accompanied the film director Leni Riefenstahl on her ten week journey through the USA to market the two 1936 Olympia films. The journey was made on behalf of Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels but failed due to the boycott of the cinema proprietors.⁶⁷ After that Klingeberg moved to Helsinki to advise the Organising Committee there. On 31st August 1940 his contract expired – one year before, the Second World War had broken out. ■



Olympic Jiu-Jitsu: Judo inventor Jigorō Kanō versus decathlete Karl Ritter von Halt. On the return trip from Greece to Japan shortly thereafter, Kanō died.



Klingeberg's contract with the Helsinki Organising Committee. The start date was fixed as 1st December 1939. In May 1940 his work was already over.

- 1 Yamamoto (1881-1951) was Professor at the Waseda University and member of the Japanese NOC. In the Organising Committee for the 1940 Games he was President of the Commission for the Building of the Stadium.
- 2 Kanō (1860-1938) was co-opted by Coubertin in 1909 as the first Asian in to IOC. In 1911 he founded the Japan Amateur Sports Association, which de facto represented the NOC.
- 3 Kishi (1867-1933) was in 1921 Kanō's successor as President of the Japanese Olympic Committee (JOC) and in 1924 second IOC Member in Japan.
- 4 Cf. Sandra Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games. The Missing Olympics. Japan, the Asian Olympics and the Olympic Movement*, Routledge, London and New York 2007, p. 59-60
- 5 Minutes, IOC Session Oslo, 26th February 1935, p. 1-2, IOC/OSC. The journey on the 'Transib' from Moscow to Vladivostok lasted around four weeks. Today the journey of 9288 km only takes seven days. Various shipping companies also offered journeys from Europe to Japan in 17 days.
- 6 Ibid, p. 17.
- 7 Prince Tokugawa (1863-1940), known in Japan as the 'Last Shogun', President of the House of Peers from 1903-1930. At the age of almost 73 he was elected to the IOC at the 1936 Session in Berlin, and remained a member till 1939. After the foundation of the OOC he served as President.
- 8 Cp. Collins, p. 67. The travel costs were however borne by the Japanese.
- 9 Russell Luther Durgin (1891-1956) worked a total of 33 years for the YMCA in Japan, where he had lived since 1919. In 1942 he was evacuated to New York. After the Second World War he served as a civilian employee in the Army of occupation on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur. In 1946 he became President of the Committee of the American School in Tokyo.
- 10 Durgin, Draft of a summary of conversations with Count Baillet-Latour during his visit to Tokyo, 24th March 1936, IOC/OSC.
- 11 Carl Diem, *Diaries*, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 5th February 1936, Vol. 9, p. 49.
- 12 Minutes, IOC Session Berlin, 30th July 1936, p. 2-3, IOC/OSC.
- 13 *Report of the Organizing Committee on its Work for the XIIth Olympic Games of 1940 in Tokyo until the Relinquishment*, The Organizing Committee of the XIIth Olympiad, Tokyo 1940, p. 8.
- 14 Cp. Collins, p. 74. Allegedly Tokyo received 37 of 66 votes, in regard to which the author relies on a publication of *Asahi* of 1st August 1936. However at that time the IOC had only 65 members, of whom only 47 were present. As Collins describes the result of the vote as close, the statement is doubtful..

- 15 Report 1940, p. 24-25.
- 16 Federal Archive Berlin (Barch), former BDC, Military Government of Germany, questionnaire, 20th May 1946. Converted this corresponds to 12,000 Reichsmark – an unusually high demand for those days, which Klingeberg justifies by saying he would have a better offer as a diplomat.
- 17 CIO Session de 1937 Varsovie, *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, No. 35, July 1937, p. 10.
- 18 Minutes, IOC Session Cairo, 15th March 1938, in: *Olympische Rundschau*, No. 2, July 1938, p. 48. The choice was between the periods from 24th August to 8th September and from 21st September to 6th October. After Klingeberg had recommended the later date because of the danger of typhoons, the IOC voted 17:8 for this period.
- 19 Minutes, IOC Session 1937, p. 11.
- 20 Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945*, Oxford University Press, New York 1995, p. 152.
- 21 Quoted from Collins, p. 99: "Establishing the Guiding Principles, Impression for the First Year of Preparing for the Tokyo Games", in: *Asahi Supōtsu*, 1st January 1937, p. 6-7.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 The letter to Klingeberg, to which was added the words of greeting for the Japanese Olympic organisers, bears the date of 29th July 1937. It was probably one of the last letters Coubertin ever wrote, if not the very last. It was published after Coubertin's death in the Olympic edition of *Japan Magazine* and later – in 1940 – in the report of the Organising Committee about the preparation of the then abandoned Games. Cp. Also Rüdiger Fritz/Volker Kluge, PdC. *Pierre de Coubertin und die Olympia-Philatelie*, Alpheios Publications, Halle/Saale, p. 253.
- 24 The first volume contains the notes of a journey to Greece (4-24 September 1935) which was used to establish the route of the first Olympic torch relay, as well as the period from 15th July 1937 (Klingeberg's 28th birthday) to 20th September 1937. The second volume begins – not very logically – on 15th June and ends on 11th November 1937. Klingeberg probably reworked his diary entries and typed them up later. The notes published here had to be abbreviated for reasons of space. In a few rare cases, where Klingeberg only jotted down a few notes, they were expanded. The endnotes, which give more details, will make the text more understandable. Wrongly written names and figures have been corrected by the author of this article.
- 25 André G. Berdez (1888-1940), Swiss artillery Lieutenant-Colonel and Honorary Secretary of the IOC since 1925. Berdez fell seriously ill in 1939, when his duties were taken on by his designated successor Werner Klingeberg. The administration in Lausanne was kept going by the secretary Lydie Zanchi (1905-1993), who worked by on an hourly basis. The workload of the IOC Secretariat was still relatively light at the time
- 26 Klingeberg's journey obviously served the aim of having a good look on behalf of Diem over Coubertin's written estate. This was to be passed to passed to the International Olympic Institute (IOI) in Berlin. Coubertin had set down the instructions in a letter of 16th March 1937 to the German Consul-General in Geneva. The Institute was founded on 9th February 1938 under the presidency of the Reichssportführer and with Diem as director. It was from this office that the *Olympische Rundschau* was published as the official IOC bulletin. The headquarters of the IOI was at the Berlin Reichssportfeld. It was struck by a bomb during an allied raid on 3-4 September 1943. Much of the Coubertin archive was destroyed.
- 27 Gaston Müllegg (1890-1958), 1926-1928 and in 1949 Vice-President, 1928-1949 General Secretary and from 1949 to 1958 President of the International Rowing Association (FISA).
- 28 Alphonse Huguenin, 1932-1949 President of the Technical Committee (Men) of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG).
- 29 Dr. Francis Messerli (1888-1975), doctor, director of the health office and founder of the medical faculty in the University of Lausanne, founder of the Swiss NOC and General Secretary from 1917 to 1954, director of the Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportives from 1920 to 1936 and thus Diem's opponent in the question of the IOI and the Coubertin estate.
- 30 Dr. Theodor Schmidt (1891-1973), known as 'Dodi' from 1928 until the 'Anschluss' with Nazi Germany, he was IOC Member in Austria. After this Schmidt's status was seen as extinguished as his country no longer existed. Ignoring that, Baillet-Latour sought a solution to keep Schmidt in the IOC. At the meeting of the IOC Executive



Farewell dinner for Werner Klingeberg in Tokyo. Opposite him sits the German Ambassador General Ott, who used inadvertently used Dr. Richard Sorge as an informant and was for that reason was recalled in 1942, after the "Ramsay" group had been unmasked.

- Committee before the start of the Session in Cairo he proposed to nominate Schmidt as Honorary Chancellor for the duration of the illness of IOC Secretary Berdez, which was agreed. But at the next Session this decision was not mentioned. Obviously it conflicted with the interests of the Nazi regime, which had intended Klingeberg as the successor to Berdez. In addition Schmidt was Jewish, and – to escape persecution – he had every reason after his return from Egypt and Greece to go to Italy would later emigrate to the USA.
- 31 Abbreviation for Carl Diem, used by his intimates.
- 32 Hans von Tschammer und Osten (1887-1943), 1933-1943 Reichssportführer, President of the German NOC, from 1937 SA-Obergruppenführer.
- 33 German edition of the *Olympic Memoirs* from 1936. The book was offered a few years ago at the auction of 'Olympic Memorabilia' by Ingrid O'Neil for 1250 USD.
- 34 The reference is to General Henri Guisan (1874-1960), co-opted to the IOC at the Session in 1937 in Warsaw. He resigned from the IOC in November 1939 following his nomination as General Commander in Chief of the Swiss Army at the start of the Second World War..
- 35 "Everything will work."
- 36 Count Yoshinori Futara (1886-1967), 1922 Co-Founder of the Boy-Scouts of Japan and thereafter Chief-Scout, 1931-1939 member of the World Scout Committee, President of the Cycling Federation of Japan.
- 37 Dr. Karl Ritter von Halt (1891-1964), 1929-1964 IOC Member in Germany, 1932-1946 member of the IAAF Council.
- 38 Probably Chuzo Hagiwara (1901-?), chief of the Domei News Agency in New York.
- 39 Matsuzo Nagai (1877-1957), 1925-1930 Japanese Ambassador in Sweden and Finland as well as from 1933 to 1934 in Berlin, 1936 Minister of Transportation, 1920 member of the Japanese delegation to the League of Nations.
- 40 Avery Brundage (1887-1976), 1929-1954 President of the American Olympic Committee, 1936-1972 IOC Member, 1952-1972 IOC President.
- 41 Jeremiah T. Mahoney (1875-1970), 1925-1928 Judge in the New York Supreme Court, 1933-1937 President of the American Athletic Union, leading boycott advocate and Roman Catholic.
- 42 William M. Garland, Oakland Speech, 17th June 1938, Avery Brundage Collection, Box 56.
- 43 Sōhaku Ri, companion of Count Soyeshima at the IOC Session 1937 in Warsaw.
- 44 Probably Dr. Choji Takashima, who had been referee in the 1936 Olympic basketball tournament in the game Switzerland-Germany.
- 45 Prince Yasuhiro Chichibu (1902-1953), second son of Tennō Taishō and brother of Emperor Hirohito.
- 46 Prince Tsunenori Kaya, former Deputy Minister of Finance.
- 47 Willy Noebel (1887-1965), German ambassadorial adviser and in 1938 for a short time Ambassador.

- 48 Anonymous or secret person.
- 49 Keiichi Kubota (1881-?), former General Secretary of the OOC, President of the Japanese Ice-Skating Federation. Vice-Minister of Railways and member of the House of Peers.
- 50 Arnulf H. Petzold (1905-1985), Architect of Buddhist temples.
- 51 Eugen Ott (1889-1977), from 1934 as a Colonel military attaché in Tokyo, in 1937 Major-general, from 1938-42 German Ambassador in Japan and recalled after the capture of the Soviet spying group 'Ramsay' around Richard Sorge.
- 52 Alexander von Falkenhausen (1878-1966), Lieutenant-general and from April 1934 military adviser in China to Chiang Kai-Shek in the struggle against the Japanese. From 1940-44 military commander in Belgium, where in 1951 he was sentenced to twelve years hard labour for war crimes. However after only three weeks he was deported to the Federal Republic of Germany.
- 53 W. Buckberrough, Canadian Pacific Agent in Tokyo.
- 54 Prof. Dr. Walter Donat, Director of a German Reich foundation for Länderkunde.
- 55 Dr. Tokumei, Director of the German-Japanese Camaraderie; was in 1932 given a doctorate by the University of Bonn.
- 56 Major Friedrich-Wilhelm Scholl (1898-1981), Assistant to General Ott and involuntary source of the Soviet spy Richard Sorge; in 1942 Colonel and military attaché in Bangkok.
- 57 This is probably Tadayoshi Natori (1866-?), member of the House of Peers.
- 58 In fact Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945), Prime Minister from 1937 to 1939 and 1940 to 1941. committed suicide on 16th December 1945 to avoid being charged with war crimes.
- 59 Ichita Kobashi, Vice-President of the OOC and former Minister of Education.
- 60 Letter Soyeshima to Baillet-Latour, 2nd February 1938, IOC/OSC.
- 61 "If War Continues, England Won't Participate", *Asahi*, 12nd February 1938.
- 62 *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, Vol. 13, No. 37, April 1938, in: *Olympische Rundschau*, No. 2, July 1938, p. 35.
- 63 Garth Paton/Robert K. Barney, "Adolf Hitler, Carl Diem, Werner Klingeberg, and the Thousand Year Reich", in: *Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ICOS, London, Ontario, October 2002, p. 95.
- 64 Minutes, IOC Session Cairo, 16th March 1938, p. 2, IOC/OSC.
- 65 Bulletin CIO, April 1938, p. 40.
- 66 Report 1940, p. 119-121.
- 67 The journey lasted from 4th November 1938 to 15th January 1939. Because of the protests against the Nazi regime the films could only be shown twice at private events: At the house of Avery Brundage in Chicago and in Los Angeles on 21st December 1938 – an event to which William M. Garland had invited 140 guests.

Stamped but never posted – The Olympic Philately of Helsinki 1940

By Manfred Bergman



The 1st prize in the philately competition went to Gustaf Adolf Jysky for this design. Modified from a photo it shows the Olympic discus victory of the American Kenneth Carpenter in 1936.

Illustrations: Manfred Bergman, Volker Kluge Archive

Helsinki first announced its interest in organising the Olympic Games at the 1930 Olympic Congress in Berlin. At that time people were still focusing on 1936. The plans became concrete six years later when the Finnish capital stood as candidate for the 1940 Games against Tokyo and lost.

The Japanese were at war with China but it was not until 1938 that they accepted that they would not be in a position to host the Games of the XIIth Olympiad. All the more credit to the Finns that they declared themselves ready to take over, only four days after the Japanese NOC had given the Games back to the IOC. That was not altogether surprising, for the Finns had been known for many years as a people obsessed with sport and had taken part in all Olympic Games since 1906.

In Finland a career as a well-known athlete always proved a good reference for a top job later. Some examples: The head of the NOC and of the Finnish Sports Association was Urho Kekkonen, 1924 national standing high jump champion and since 1937 Interior Minister. He also became state president in 1956 a position he held for 25 years.

The Deputy Mayor of Helsinki was called Erik von Frenckell, who from 1940 was permitted also to bear the honourable title of "city manager". He had led the Finnish Football Association since 1918.

The banker Jukka Rangell, Finnish triple jump champion in 1912 and 1913, became President of the Olympic Organising Committee for 1940. He was also co-opted to the IOC by postal ballot on 15th September 1938. He remained a member until 1967. Rangell attained an even higher office at a difficult time for his nation in a time of war when they were moving towards closer relations with Nazi Germany. In 1941 he was named Prime Minister.

Special issue stamps as a source of income

Finland had not embarked on the Olympic challenge unprepared. Even before they were officially named as hosts on 12th June 1938, the new Olympic Stadium was opened on the Tivoli grounds. Its capacity was extended from 40,000 seats to 61,463. The exhibition hall, completed in 1935 in close proximity to the stadium was intended to stage indoor sports. At the end of 1938 construction work on the swimming stadium and the velodrome began. In 1939 there followed the completion of the rowing venue and the topping-out ceremony of the Olympic Village, built on a former trotting track in Käpylä.

Despite the American slump of 1937, which had also severely damaged the Finnish economy, the government earmarked 300 million Finnmarks for the Olympic building programme. The shortfall was to be financed through the sale of bonds to a value of 200 Markkaa each.

Another important source of income was the issue of special postage stamps. The Organising Committee modelled their scheme on that used for the Games in Berlin, when Olympic stamps with supplements had



Manfred Bergman *1928 in Berlin. Emigrated to Palestine in 1938. Israeli citizen, lives in Geneva. Medical studies 1947–1953. Retired from medical activities in 1993. Spectator at the 1936 Games in Berlin, 1948 as journalist at the Winter Games in St. Moritz; member FIPO, member and Coordinator of the IOC Commission for Collectibles; organiser of Olympihelix and Collectors Fairs; author of articles and studies on Olympic history documented and told by Olympic collectors.



first appeared on a large scale. The profits from these flowed into the "Hilfsfonds für den Deutschen Sport", founded in 1933 by the Reichssportführer. From 1934 this was known as "Deutsche Sporthilfe" – a foundation which served to prepare German athletes for the 1936 Games and give them social backup.

Throwing the discus – not an unprofitable skill

At the start of 1939 the Helsinki Organising Committee announced a competition to run from 20th April to 16th June 1939. What was sought was a set of special issue stamps covering the full range of values. The designs that have been preserved, show clearly that Berlin was the model. The values indicate a supplement, customary in Finland since the beginning of the 1930s with charitable issues in aid of the Red Cross.

Participation was lively. Ten artists handed in no fewer than 103 designs, to be judged by a six-member commission headed by Rafael Blomstedt, Rector of the Central School of Arts and Craft. The jury, met in the City Hall. It comprised representatives of the Finnish designer and philatelist association, and chose ten proposals, which they passed on to the Finnish post office administration, even before they had established a final ranking.

The post office favoured the artist Signe Hammersten-Jansson (1882–1970), with whom they had worked for a long time, and had printed numerous colour proofs from her works and three collective proofs in black, blue and brown. Yet the jurors did not ultimately give the prize to her, but to the graphic designer and painter Gustaf Adolf Jysky (1893–1966), who had apparently not taken any great trouble searching for his motifs.

His design shows a discus thrower, which can be clearly recognized as the American Olympic champion of 1936, Kenneth Carpenter. The image was identical to number 55 in a popular collectors photo card series distributed in great numbers by the Hamburg Cigaretten-Bilderdienst.¹ Why the artist gave his design the title "Limppu", which

in Finnish means a thick piece of bread, was not revealed. Perhaps this was because his work was awarded 5000 Finnmark, and therefore proved anything but an unprofitable skill ...

Wirkkala's "galloping horses"

The prize of 4000 Finnmarks went to the then little known designer Veli Tapio Wirkkala (1915–1985). He had taken his degree in Helsinki School for Sculpture in 1936. (The centenary of his birth has been marked with exhibitions this year in Finland)

For the 1940 Games Wirkkala had envisaged a stamp with two runners, to which he gave the title "Parivaljakko", by which in fact two galloping horses are intended. But especially the "balanced stride" of the two athletes reminds us of Wirkkala's famous fellow-countryman Paavo Nurmi, who put Finland on the world map in the 1920s.

Wirkkala's great career did however not take off until 1946 when he won a competition organised by the glass manufacturer Littala. Today his works are to be found in the collections of the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris as well as in the New York MoMA. They include glass ware with ice like surfaces which command great sums of money.

But Wirkkala remained tied to sport. Although the 1940 Olympics were cancelled Helsinki did ultimately host the Games of the XVth Olympiad in 1952. Four stamps were produced in late 1951 in connection with these. Two of these bear his signature. This time, however, he had decided on two footballers and a sprinter at the start and in front of the background of his predecessors of antiquity.

The shared third place

The 2500 Finnmark prize was shared between brothers Eino Rafael Rapp (1902–1953) and Aarne Alexander Rapp (1897–1939) and competition winner Jysky. As appropriate

When Helsinki made an application to stage the 1940 Games, an advertising vignette was produced. Adjacent: Tapio Wirkkala's "Duo" which won second prize.



The design by Eino and Aarne Rapp featured a shot-putter and a javelin thrower. They received third prize, but had to share this with Gustaf Adolf Jysky. The competition winner presented a design with the Helsinki stadium tower. Twelve years later this was used for an Olympic stamp. But the doves were missing on the 1952 version.

Two of several proofs from designs by Signe Hammersten-Jansson, who drew on Finnish national feeling with her work. Right: the face of an Olympic champion. The flags in the background indicate that he is a Finn. Adjacent: the Paavo Nurmi statue by Wäinö Aaltonen.

for brothers, the Rapps also drew two athletes, to whom they gave the title "Kuula ja keihäs" – thus shot and javelin.

The choice of disciplines was understandable: the silver medal of the shot-putter Sulo Bärlund in 1936 in Berlin was still fresh in the popular memory. As for the javelin, it was at the time unquestionably a "Finnish" domain. In 1912 – in throwing with both arms – and in 1920 the Finns occupied the first four places, and in Jonni Myyrä they produced the 1924 winner. In 1932 they also won all three medals. Only in 1936 did they have to hand over the title to the German Gerhard Stöck.

Whether Jysky was also inspired by javelin throwing when he sent in a design with the stadium tower, which brought him a further prize, can only be guessed at. In any case the legend endures to this day that stadium architect Yrjö Lindegren and his partner Toivo Jäntti had fixed the height of the tower, on whose top the

Olympic Flame was to burn, at exactly 72.71 metres – the distance with which their countryman Matti Järvinen had become Olympic champion in 1932 in Los Angeles. In reality the builders did not have that in mind. Instead, the height of the tower, which in fact is only 72 metres, resulted from the calculations of the structural engineers.

Twelve years later Jysky came along with his design, to which he had given the name "Nyt se alkaa" – "Now it begins". Nonetheless he did without the white doves in the Olympic stamp of 1952. Perhaps the symbols of peace at a time of danger of atomic war appeared to him unsuitable or somewhat naive.

In this later work, however, there is a remarkable similarity with a design by Signe Hammersten-Jansson, who had gone unrewarded for her stadium stamp in 1939.

Secret winner: Signe Hammersten-Jansson

Born in Sweden, she was undoubtedly the busiest and best stamp designer. Between 1929 and 1963 she designed no fewer than 173 postage stamps – among the most used was a stamp with the lion coat of arms from the year 1954/1955. Besides she worked as an illustrator, designing letters and banknotes. She also worked as a cartoonist under the pen name "Ham". Her daughter Tove Jansson, who developed the well-known Mumin comic books, clearly drew on the mass of work she left behind.

Despite her reputation, this highly regarded lady did not emerge from the competition as the winner. This is an indication that the Finnish postal administration



was poorly or not at all represented on the jury. For the post office she remained number one, as the three collective proofs show.²

Mrs. Hammersten-Jansson chose universal motifs like the Olympic Flame of Myron's Diskobolos. She also drew on Finnish national feeling. This is shown most clearly in the stamp with a portrait of an athlete withdrawn into himself at the moment of the prize-giving, symbolised by her with the wreath on his head and three Finnish flags on their masts – possibly recalling the clean sweep by the 10,000 metres runners at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.

Of course in this connection one must not forget Paavo Nurmi, whom the sculptor Wäinö Aaltonen, then only 30, had sculpted in bronze as early as 1925 after his five Olympic victories in Paris, commissioned by the Finnish government.

One of Signe Hammersten-Jansson's designs shows this famous statue, which at that time still stood in the Atheneum of Helsinki, until it was moved before the 1952 Games to the square outside the stadium, where today the monument to Lasse Viren keeps it company.

Helsinki 1940 – the "Centre of the World"

As far as the remaining placings are concerned, there remain some mysteries. The heraldist Olof Eriksson (1911–1987) is named as a prize winner. His entry bore the title "Hellaasta", showing the beautiful head of a Hellenistic athlete with a victor's ribbon in his hair and which brought him the fifth prize. More significant is however the fact that Eriksson created the present-day Finnish state coat of arms, showing a golden lion with the European sword in its right paw, while it tramples down a crooked Tatar sword with its rear paws.

While only the name of the sixth-placed has come down to us – Bertel Lindholm – and nothing is known of his design entitled "Elizabeth", we discover from the preserved meeting minutes that the jury awarded an additional three prizes. One went to Aarre Karjalainen

(1905–1966), who had entered a sketch named "Urheilujuhla" ("Competition"), showing a long-distance runner with the stadium tower as background.

Six years later at the end of the war, Karjalainen was to design the first series of Finnish stamps which showed five athletes from sports in which Finland had been particularly successful: wrestling, horizontal bar gymnastics, long-distance running, cross-country skiing and javelin.

A consolation prize went to Signe Hammersten-Jansson as well, whose work in the minutes is described as "4 + 1". Whatever is meant by that – perhaps the nominal value of the stamp: 4 + 1 Markkaa.

The Greek head of a young victory won fifth prize for heraldist Olof Eriksson (far left). Adjacent: extra prizes were given to Signe Hammersten-Jansson, to Aarre Karjalainen for his runner design and to Henry Czarnock, who had placed Helsinki into the "Centre of the World" in his design.

Allegorical: A map of Finland as the goddess of victory Nike.



Fascination with the torch relay race: three artists, whose names remain unknown, took this as their theme.



Finally Henry Czarnack (or Czarnacki?) is named, of whom we only know that he also handed in a design with the stadium tower as a motif. The title "Maailmankeskkipiste" ("Centre of the World") – is justified by a globe.

Finnish Nike, torch relay and marathon race

Among the designs whose creators are unknown is an abstract sketch of the map of Finland, which soon afterwards as a result of the "Winter War" of 1939/1940 was reduced in area by the eleven per cent that Finland had to hand over to the Soviet Union. During my researches it turned out that various stages of development of this motif exist. Once the unknown artist laid a laurel wreath and the Olympic rings on the map of Finland, the next time he transformed the outlines into an allegory – the goddess of victory Nike.

The artist had also found inspiration in the torch relay. The planned route was in its first part to a great extent identical with that of 1936 – however with a "jump sideways" to Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, independent since March 1939.

From Berlin the relay was to carry the flame to Copenhagen, in order to make the crossing in rowing boats from Helsingör over the Öresund to Sweden. From there the route led via Oslo and Stockholm and finally along the Swedish-Finnish south-east coast to Helsinki.

The second great theme was the marathon race,

in which the Finns had achieved victories in 1920 and 1924 through as Hannes Kolehmainen and Albin Stenroos, later groundsman at the Olympic Stadium. Here too there was reference to Paavo Nurmi, for the "Wonder Runner" had planned to end his sporting career in 1932 with a victory in Los Angeles. But then he had invoiced expenses for races in Königsberg and Danzig. These were considered excessive by officials. The German IOC Member Karl Ritter von Halt had handed over incriminating material to IAAF President J. Sigfrid Edström and Nurmi was banned.

Ignoring the ban which had already been pronounced, Nurmi competed on 26th June 1932 in Viipuri in the Finnish Olympic qualification race. This was in what the Finns described as a "short-marathon" of 40.2 km. It was his first attempt over the distance but he won in a record time of 2:22:03.8. The Finnish NOC then nominated him for Los Angeles, and when the entry was rejected, Kekkonen, then also President of the Finnish athletics federation, protested in vain.

While the IAAF excluded Nurmi, he retained his amateur status in Finland. He contested his last races in 1934, and with 15:20 min over 5000 m and 31:39,2 min over 10,000 m the 37 year old proved that he was still world class. His fellow citizens nominated Nurmi to be the last torch-bearer in 1952. This may well have annoyed Edström, by then IOC President.

Baillet-Latour officially announced the cancellation of the Games

Despite the Second World War, preparations in Helsinki initially proceeded according to plan. After the victory over Poland Hitler briefly allowed the rest of Europe a short respite, but Stalin extended his sphere of control by annexing the Baltic states. However his policy of expansion failed temporarily in Finland, as it was not prepared to concede a security zone in Karelia, whereupon on 30th November 1939 the Soviet attack began.

The "Winter War" changed the situation. The conflict also cost the lives of Olympic competitors Gunnar Höckert (gold 1936 in the 5000 metres), Birger Wasenius (silver in speed-skating 1936) and Mauri Noroma-Nyberg (gymnastics bronze 1932/36). The Finns were able to hold out until March 1940, but after 105 days the mediator Juho Paasikivi was visibly relieved to negotiate a peace treaty with the Kremlin.

Only when the German troops marched into Denmark and Norway did the Helsinki Organising Committee on 23rd April 1940 draw a final line under their withdrawal. IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour officially cancelled the Games of the XIIth Olympiad on 2nd May.

Epilogue

The variety of philatelic material shows that the Games of 1940 in Finland were in good hands even in the view of a collector. Knowledge of it is especially due to the marathon runner and Olympic philatelist Ossi Virtanen, who searched the Helsinki city archives, where the original designs had once been kept.

His article, published in 1991 in the *SPI Journal* remains the best that has been written on this subject.³ He only had various loose colour copies and photocopies of the prize-winning designs at his disposal, and these then disappeared after an exhibition.

A great deal has been lost through carelessness and ignorance, so that in retrospect it can still be regarded as a stroke of luck that the city administration of Helsinki at one stage gave the caretaker permission to keep the competition documentation which was regarded as superfluous when they were moved.

He took them to an auction house, where they were sold into private collections. In the late 1990s some of the objects eventually made their way into the philately collection at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. ■

1 Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Berlin und Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Vol. 2, published by the Cigaretten-Bilderdienst Hamburg-Bahrenfeld 1936, p. 45.
 2 Helge Nygrén, *Olympiatuli joka sammui sodan tuuliin: XII olympiadin unelmakisat Helsingissä 20.7.-4.8.1940*, Suomen Urheilumuseosäätiö, Helsinki 1991, p. 57.
 3 Ossi Virtanen, "Finland's 1940 Summer Olympic Games: Stamps, Essays and Vignettes", in: *Journal of Sports Philately*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1991, pp. 13-16.



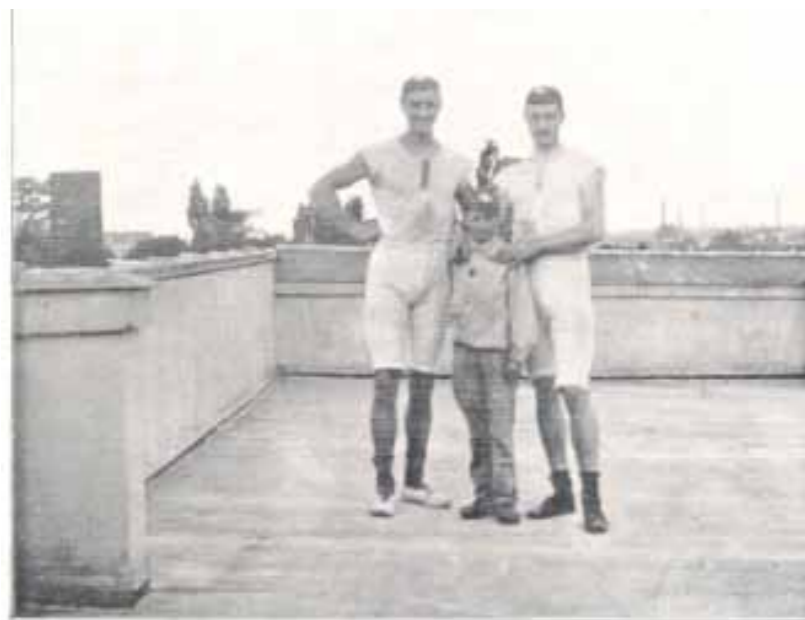
The eternal marathon proved a popular theme. The unknown artist who created the design above, however gave the athletes a running style reminiscent of a sprinter. Top left: "The three victors". The original design is in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Left: in the "Winter War" in 1939/1940 the Swiss gave their support to the Finns with charity stamps.

Designs by Signe Hammersten-Jansson: gliding, which was part of the programme for the first time in 1940. Adjacent: typically Finnish – javelin throwing. Neither of these won prizes.



The Mystery Remains

By Anthony Th. Bijkerk



PARIJS — 1900

F. A. Brandt en R. Klein met hun „gamin“ na het winnen van het Wereldkampioenschap gestuurde twee.

The victorious Dutch pair with the “gamin” (kid) as cox. Below: that the little Frenchman was not the only boy to steer a boat is proved by this photo from the magazine *La Vie au Grand Air* of 1900, which shows the cox of the four from Club Nautique de Lyon. Even his name is unknown.

Photos: Anthony Th. Bijkerk Archive, *La Vie au Grand Air*

In 1997 and in 2001, I wrote about “Rowing at the Games of the 2nd Olympiad in Paris 1900” and informed our readers in both about the winning team from the Netherlands who had an unknown French coxswain. In 2014, I wrote about the magnificent bronze statue that winners received as their prize.

But going back to the young French boy who steered the two Dutch rowers, Roelof Klein and François Brandt, to victory, there have been some developments.

During the visit of the President’s and me to Ukraine to present the Vikelas Plaque to Professor Dr. Maria Bulatova, we were both given a set of her two beautifully-illustrated books *History of the Olympic Games*, co-written with Sergey Bubka and Vladimir Platonov.

To my great surprise, the authors gave in a special note a name for that young French coxswain. His name seemed to be: Marcel Depayet.

When I asked Professor Bulatova where she had found

this name, she answered that it was well known in her country and that they had found it in Stan Greenberg’s *Olympic Almanac*.

On returning home, I naturally asked Stan Greenberg by e-mail where the name came from, but he declined any knowledge of it. When I checked his Almanac from 2004, I found only that he had cited “the unknown French coxswain”.

So the question remains: how did the name Marcel Depayet crop up, and is it correct?

Then another problem arose: in an old copy of the Dutch newspapers *Handelsblad*, it was mentioned that the coxswain was a Belgian boy. However, this is completely contrary to the description of what happened in Paris on 26th August 1900, by François Brandt himself, who in 1926 published an article about his experiences in Paris 1900. He wrote:

The circumstances between the contestants were not equal: all the French teams rowed with children as coxswains, who were replaced by others as soon as they reached the weight of 25 kg. And we had to pull a weight of 60 kg [Dr. Brockmann, the original coxswain; TB]. When we received the message that we, “as fastest losers”, should be rowing in the final, our coach Dr. Meurer decided after consulting the other members of the board, that we should also search for a boy. Between the already as too heavy regarded “gamins”, one was found easily, who had originally coxed teams of the Société de la Basse Seine and had been discarded because of his weight. He weighed 33 kg, but when he took his place in the “A.P. Petrie” [Klein and Brandt’s boat, TB], the rudder was still above the water and thus we had to compensate and place an extra weight of 5 kg behind the rudder, which then brought the fin of the rudder under the level of the water. In total we gained a weight of 22 kg.²



The conclusion must be that this boy, who originally coxed teams from the French rowing club *Société de la Basse Seine*, was a French boy, and that he was already older than the coxswains used by the French rowing teams.

In all my contacts with French researchers, the name of this boy has never been found.

Which is why I still think that the name Maria Bulatova and her co-authors used is cannot be the truth! ■

¹ *Journal of Olympic History*, 1997, Vol. 5, No. 3; 2001, Vol. 9, No. 1.
² *GEDENKBOEK VAN DE DSRV “LAGA” 1876 – 1926*, Roelof Klein and François Antoine Brandt were students in that University and graduated as Engineers in 1901/1902. The article and the photograph does not come from a magazine, but from the Memorial Book of 1926 from the Dutch Student Rowing Club “LAGA” in Delft based in the Technical University Delft.

Memorabilia: Lost and Found

By Volker Kluge

At the end of July, a kindergarten was being renovated in the community of Kleinmachnow in the south of Berlin. As a worker in the upper storey was tearing down an unnecessary wall, he came on a hollowed-out place in which a metal chest was hidden. After it had been forced open, the first reaction of those present was disappointment. No treasure – nowhere! The contents were merely an unassuming brown box, in which lay a gilded medal with the inscription “Xth Olympiad Los Angeles 1932”. It was an Olympic gold medal.

The find set off a feverish gold prospector’s thought process. The head teacher of the kindergarten had found out that in 1932 Germany had only had three Olympic champions: Rudolf Ismayr (weightlifting), Jakob Brendel (wrestling) and the coxed fours. Logically the owner of the medal had to come from this circle of seven (That Germany had also won gold in the Art Competitions and in alpinism was unknown to her.)

Yet the woman proved she had a good nose for detective work when she thought it was most likely one of the oarsmen from the Berlin Rowing Club. Who of the victorious quintet was the rightful owner? As all four oarsmen and their cox were long since dead and as no-one else was lacking a gold medal, the only thing to do was to make the issue public. The very next day the question was answered.

Years before I had found out that one of the crew, Horst Hoeck, lived in Kleinmachnow and worked in the neighbouring town of Teltow. There he was manager of the BIOMALZ factory, which made tonic drinks from barley. Not much imagination is needed to imagine the panic which broke out among the inhabitants when in April 1945, the Red Army captured Berlin from the south. Then the word was: *Sauve qui peut!*

Under adventurous circumstances – there is talk of arrest and conviction – Hoeck escaped to the British sector of divided Berlin. From then on he ran a pub, which he had taken over from his father.

Even if he thought of the medal at all, it was impossible

for the next two decades to search for it in the hiding place, which was now in the territory of the GDR. The house, which had meantime been confiscated, had been used since 1960 as a kindergarten. To travel from the walled-in West Berlin to Kleinmachow, only a few kilometres away, a special permit was needed. Hoeck died in 1969 without any hope of ever recovering the medal. It is to be handed over to his eldest daughter after clarification of the legal issues. She reported that he had never complained about its loss.

Independent experts wanted

One person’s loss, another’s gain. After the “sensational find” had been exhaustively discussed in the German media, a Berlin pensioner got in touch. He had inherited a 1936 medal from his father who had found it after the war during removal of rubble in the ruins of a house. Now, after 70 years, the son wanted to give this relic back to its rightful heirs. It was slightly blackened by the fire storm so whether it is gold or bronze is still to be ascertained. This is likely to be difficult, as the details about the place it was found are so vague. But the search goes on!

That is also true of the Olympic diploma of 1896, whose chequered history readers found in the last Journal (pp. 68–69). It is known that the grand-daughter of the German-Jewish Olympic gymnastic champion Felix Flatow, who died in 1945 in the concentration camp Theresienstadt, was selling the certificate through a Dutch auction house in the USA. However the purchaser soon sent it back, for once she had removed it from the frame, she established that it was merely a coloured copy. Three experts came to the same conclusion.

Now good advice is needed. Especially it has to be clarified as to who carried out this cunning swindle. It is unlikely that the late son of the Olympic champion could have exchanged a copy for the original. The few objects left by his father were punctiliously honoured by Stefan Flatow. His grand-daughter is also blameless. However it is also known that Flatow objects are occasionally lent out. Perhaps therein lies the solution to the puzzle.

Rare Olympic memorabilia has fetched remarkably high prices in the last few years. This brings problems of its own. There has already been a series of thefts. Also various forgeries have been and continue to be circulated. Independent experts are needed, competent enough to distinguish an original, (which should only be sold with a certificate of authenticity), from a copy. ■



The Olympic gold medal of Los Angeles 1932, which belonged to the German oarsman Horst Hoeck. At the end of the war it was interred in a house in a small town south of Berlin, until it was found again after 75 years during building works. One year after his Olympic victory Hoeck had joined the Reiter Sturm of the 6th SS standard. After the war he was interned by the Soviet military administration.

Photo: Gemeindefam Kleinmachnow

Remembering my Father Ferenc Csik

By Katalin Csik

The Hungarian medical student Ferenc Csik was European 100 m freestyle champion and Olympic gold medalist in 1936.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



“Go Ferkó! Go Ferkó! Push, push, push!” It’s as if there isn’t a single day, that István Pluhár’s legendary words of encouragement during his radio commentary in the decisive moments of the 100-metres freestyle finals at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin would not be ringing in my ears. Watching the worn movie footage, listening to the lone radio commentator’s anxiety and encouragement, reliving the heroic struggle and the extraordinary victory brings tears to my eyes, time and again.

The world was awe struck. Everyone was at a loss for words! A Hungarian?

We Hungarians are very fortunate, for we have a remarkable pool to draw from. From Alfréd Hájos the list of names just keeps growing. Amongst them Ferenc Csik – and not only because of this publication – deserves a special note. Without diminishing the achievements of Alfréd Hájos and Zoltán Halmay, Ferenc Csik was our first ‘classical’ Olympic champion.

It was at the 1936 Berlin Games, that swimming was first presented in its the modern format (preliminary heats, semi-final and final events) in a 50-metres pool. The field consisted of the world’s top swimmers only.

That and the sheer number of the participants warrant the classical appellation. Additionally, his swimming coach, József Vértesy, had also contributed immensely to strict programme of conditioning and training.

Experts and trainers in the field are of the opinion that it was Vértesy who laid down the foundations of modern training methods through elevated performance levels in conditioning, through the introduction of phased training periods from one end of the year to the other, and through increased level of training intensity. The merits of this approach was amply illustrated in the last 20 metres of the finals, when Csik was able to take his performance to a new level, a result of his intensive and methodical training programme.



Katalin Csik | *1944, Sports journalist, lives in Keszthely. Publications about her father: articles: “Memories of my father” (1989), *Hungarian Sport Magazine*; “Csik Ferenc” (2004), *110 Years of the Hungarian IOC*; “In Memoriam Ferenc Csik” (2013), *Somogyi Hírlap*. Books: *Mens sana, in corpore sano, in Memoriam Ferenc Csik* (2003); *In Memoriam my father, Ferenc Csik would have been 100 years old* (2013).

Ferenc Csik happened to be an ideal subject of this champion-molding method. He can be an example for today’s competitors as well as for our era’s young people in because he was also an exceptional human being. Not only immediately following his Olympic victory, but also subsequently thereafter for years published articles in various papers and in books mentioned his name, analyzed his persona.

Without the need to go into its entirety, through a few episodes of his private life, I wish to describe the environment which was instrumental in forming Ferenc Csik’s character, and to introduce the swimmer who until now was only known through fragments of newspaper articles, and also through this doctor’s hitherto unknown side.

He lived in Keszthely, the town on Lake Balaton, so he also loved the Balaton in winter since during that season it’s as charming and magical as it is in summer. He truly enjoyed this magic whenever he skated or went ice sailing. In the summer, he was swimming, swimming and more swimming. In summary, the list of sports, which he cultivated, is the following: swimming, sailing, tennis, skating, skiing and folk dancing.

Following his graduation from secondary school, Ferenc Csik, in 1931, enrolled as a student at the Péter Pázmány Medical School in Budapest. During his years at the university, he swam as a member of the Budapest University Athletic Club, or BEAC.

At the very beginning, his trainer was István Bárány, than in 1932 he had transferred to be under József Vértesy’s guiding hands. His new trainer had at times

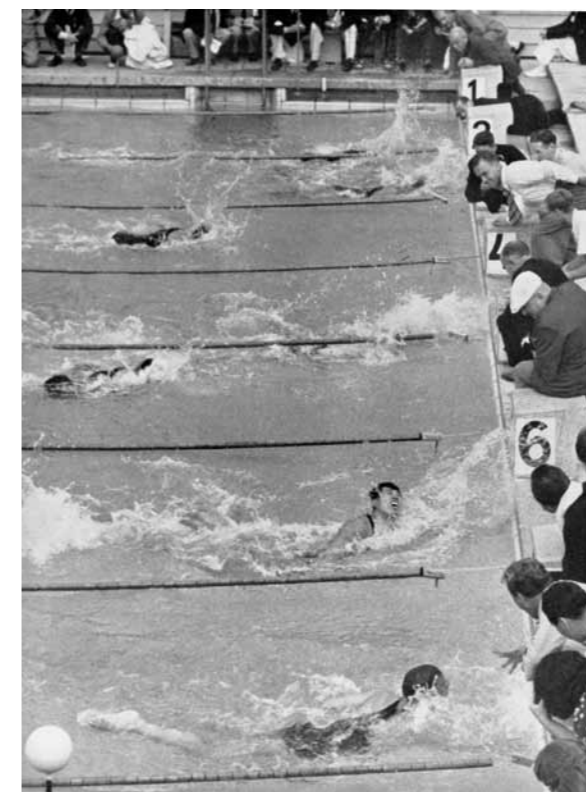
assigned him to the water polo team, but finally had molded him to be a freestyle sprinter.

One day Ferkó was eagerly searching for reports from the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics with his brothers when all of a sudden he remarked: “Somehow, we would have to find a way to attend the next Olympic Games.” No one at the time thought that his dream would actually pan out because that’s all it was – a dream!

The year 1935 was when his swimming career began on its upward spiral towards its zenith. He was the recipient of the Signum Laudis prize, the highest possible form of recognition for his achievements in swimming. This Medal of Honor bears the sign of the Royal Hungarian crown.

Then at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin his dream came true! Following his Olympic victory, he returned home from Berlin as the world’s happiest individual. The adulation, which he received upon his return, seemed never wanting to abate. In recognition of his achievements in the realm of sports, he was decorated with the Regent’s recently instituted Miklós Toldi Gold Prize. He included his mother in the congratulatory gala receptions held in his honor at Kaposvár, the city of his birth, and at Keszthely, the city of his upbringing.

The popularity had not altered his personality for he remained very much the same modest and quiet Ferenc Csik. One of his swimming buddies had noted that his presence at the pool wasn’t even noticeable. Whenever someone who didn’t know him was taken by surprise when it was discovered that he was the Olympic champion.



Ferenc Csik surprisingly won the final in the outside lane – lane seven. He had the luck of the virtuous that the two favourites, the Japanese Shigeo Arai und Masanori Yusa had drawn lanes 1 and 2, so that they lacked contact with the speedy Hungarian. Adjacent: small victory ceremony in the swimming stadium. The medals and the oak tree for the winner were only handed over the next day in the Olympic Stadium.



One of the last photos of Dr. Ferenc Csik with his family. In the end of the Second World War he worked as a doctor in Sopron. He died in a bombing raid on 29th March 1945. His wife and children waited for him in vain in Badgastein in Austria.

Photo: Katalin Csik Archive

My father's Farewell Letter

My dear Sweetheart,

October 1944

Now, that I had received my conscription papers and more than likely I will have to report for military duty – without the least bit of pessimism or feelings of faint of heart –, I sit down to write to you, just in case something should happen. You know of course, that I always viewed my fate with a certain optimistic fanaticism, and now too I look forward to the future with tranquility, and with hopes, but without a doubt, we are living in troubled times, and we must be prepared for any eventuality. Knowing you, I don't want to unnecessarily alarm you, and that's why I leave for posterity what I would like to express in a farewell, in case I would not be granted that opportunity.

Whatever material possessions, movables I may leave behind, naturally you are free to dispose with as you choose, ...

The two little children, Ferke and Kati, on whom you can base your future, represent a much greater treasure. I know that they mean a great burden, and will place a great load on your frail shoulders, but parental love will make you stronger, and my mother and your kind parents will support you, and I will be beside you too, just as our father was with us, even in death.

Always, especially in times of difficulty, think of how these sweet little munchkins – our possessions – grow, develop just the way you bring them up by putting your heart and soul into it, with love and with hard work. I know that they will not be suffering a lack of love, and if fatherly sternness is required, you will provide that too, and I only want to ask one thing of you, regardless what problems you may have, don't be agitated and don't ever let them feel that it's a burden for you. ...

My dear Sweetheart! Regardless how much I would love to live, to be with you and to enjoy the warmth, love, which I received from you and the family, still I calmly resign myself to the possibility of passing away too. The knowledge reassures me that here too I am doing my duty, and I'm certain that if it all turns out for the better, I will return.

In parting, I thank you for everything–everything. I know that it's easier for the one departed, on the other hand you should find solace in our Ferke and Kati, whom along with you and my mother, and together with the entire family, I leave behind with a heavy heart. Kissing you ever so many times from beyond the grave too, your loving

Ferkó

At the Budapest Medical School he still had to complete his last year. His professor remarked that though he was very happy for Csik's victory, he would congratulate him only after he successfully passed his final exam. And so it was, on 27th November 1937 that he successfully earned his medical diploma and the university conferred the degree of doctor on him. He spent the ensuing four months in Berlin as an intern, which at the same time was an excellent opportunity to study medical literature.

A lot of people didn't understand how he could possibly have been satisfied with only this much material compensation as opposed to the immensely high honorarium he was offered for exhibition swimming. He could have taken the offer, but declined because he felt that becoming a professional swimmer was ethically unacceptable. His goals in life were all encompassing, thus the exclusive pursuit of his sport would not have provided for him a complete sense of satisfaction.

Starting in 1938 at the Péter Pázmány University's Department of Internal Medicine in Budapest, he worked for free as a clinical trainee. Over and above looking after the patients' well being while preparing for the exam in his field of specialization within the medical profession. The clinical trainee's duties included related researching and publishing, as well as participation in the students' training and lecturing. The completion of these tasks was a prerequisite for gaining recognition as an assistant professor. He taught anatomy to freshmen at the College of Physical Education. He was editor-in-chief of the medical bulletin *Orvosi Közlemények*.

Stemming from his obligations to sports in general and his fervent emotional ties to athletic life, on 31st May 1939 in Budapest he re-launched the long ago magazine *Képes Sport (Sports Illustrated)*. Between 1939 and the end of 1944, the executive editor's functions are linked to Ferenc Csik's name.

In October of 1944 the world war took him away from his editorial post at *Képes Sport*. Dr. Csik was conscripted into the service to serve as a doctor at a military hospital. As the front retreated westward, the military hospital was then relocated first to Budapest and by December to the town of Sopron.

In March of 1945, every hospital was completely filled up with soldiers; so much so that the hospitals were unable to accommodate any more of the wounded. Public buildings were then converted into hospitals and Dr. Ferenc Csik was stationed in one of the converted buildings. More and more bombing raids struck the town. The army corps was dissolved on 28th March, so everyone packed their belongings and embarked on their journey to the West.

Dr. Ferenc Csik alone stayed at the hospital. The next day, on 29th, as he left the hospital the air-raid sirens sounded. A blast struck nearby and then all went quiet again. A relative was the first outside searching for him. He was found lying next to a bush by foundation wall, as if he were asleep.

But fate was unmerciful to him. The bomb blast killed him. It's as if life would repeat itself. Ferenc Csik was one-year old when his father died in the First World



War. I, as Csik's daughter, was also one-year old at the time of the bomb blast. Together with my brother, Ferke, and our fragile mother, only the three of us remained.

My mother could only say good things about him. "He was an infinitely good person, good father, and a conscientious medical doctor, who could always cope with any situation. During the 32 years fate had allotted to him, he accomplished as much as others could only hope to accomplish in a long-long lifetime. How was he able to find time to do all that? That is something that should be taught!" – She would say, every time they asked about him.

His career

In a newspaper article of his, Pál Peterdi reflected on exactly how Ferenc Csik's trainer evaluated him.

Any time I quizzed József Vértessy about him, his words turned much more passionate than usual: "Ferkó ... Ferkó, ah, Ferkó ... – that's all he said every time, meanwhile his arms gesturing with broad arm swings, with upward swelling movements. Saying that Ferkó was the ultimate pupil, the perfect competitor, the purest human being ... ah! – there was a dreadful necrology in that gesture.

One time, he produced a black elastic band from his briefcase. That too was once Ferkó's, with which he used to tie his feet together, whenever he wanted to swim using his arms only. Vértessy had it with him for



over twenty years, waiting for anyone worthy of Ferkó's elastic band."

His master immensely valued his attitude towards training and towards his fellow human beings. During his entire competitive career he participated in every event as a BEAC member.

This list of his victories is compiled from the 1940–1941 editions of *Képes Sport*:

- 1934: Winner of two gold medals in the European Championships held in Magdeburg. Member of the 4x200 metres freestyle relay team (Gróf, Maróthy, Lengyel, Csik)
- Winner of the 1934 "Grand Prix" held in Paris. In recognition of his victory, from the French hosts he received a giant cobalt blue Sèvres vase and a blue-red silk ribbon with a sterling silver tassel bearing the inscription "Grand Prix de Paris, 1934".
- Started in 55 races in 1934; 39 times in the 100 metres freestyle.
- 1935: Two gold medals in the World Student Games. He set a world record in the 100 metres with time of 59.4 seconds.
- 1936: gold medal in the 100 metres freestyle, bronze in the 4x200 metres freestyle relay at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games at the pinnacle of his career.
- 1937: 100 metres freestyle champion of Hungary and was a member of BEAC's 4x200 metres relay national championship team (Dienes, Lengyel, Kiss, Csik).

Congratulations for the winner: far left from the Dutch world record holder in 100 m freestyle Willy den Ouden. Ferenc Csik grew up on Lake Balaton. His father fell in the First World War. Yet his adoptive father, Dr. Laszlo Csik, a well-known oarsman, enabled him to have a good education.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



A monument to Ferenc Csik had already erected during his lifetime in Keszthely, where he grew up. In the photo can be seen his daughter Katalin and the local mayor.

Above: Ferenc Csik Street. In his birthplace Kaposvár there is also a Ferenc Csik Promenade. Swimming baths in Sopron and Keszthely and a primary and secondary grammar school in Budapest also bear his name.

Photo: Katalin Csik Archive

Won four gold medals in the World Student Games: 100 metres freestyle, 200 metres breaststroke and was a member of the victorious relay team in the 4x200 metres freestyle and 3x100 metres medley.

- 1937: Hungarian national champion in the 100 metres freestyle. The *Pesti Hirlap's* (*Budapest Chronicle*) 1938 yearbook published the following statement: "It is virtually impossible to list all of Ferenc Csik's victories; he participated in invitational competition events from Africa to Stockholm, practically everywhere."
- 1939: He achieved his most significant victory at the traditional "Grand Prix of Paris", where he won the 100 metres freestyle with a time of 59,9 seconds.

Summary of his achievements:
 Olympic Games: 1 gold, 1 silver
 European Championships: 1 gold
 World Student Games: 7 gold, 1 silver, 1 bronze
 National Championship: 16 gold

My father was visiting Belgium in 1937. Oskar von Godssenhoven wrote the following:
Csik, as they see him in Belgium
Not every day and not every year do Belgians get a chance to see a real world champion freestyle swimmer compete. Csik is the exact opposite of Weissmuller. The American big guy is always laughing, jovial, playful, fun loving. The Hungarian is calm, serious, almost stern. A soft-spoken individual avoids being in the limelight. Quietly, almost unnoticed he mounts the starting block, swims, wins, and then just as inconspicuously leaves the area. But one has to know Csik more intimately, to understand this likeable athlete and polished gentleman, who just a week ago had passed his doctoral exams with distinction. With this he proved that serious schoolwork and methodical



athletic training could coexist very well. Csik is does not swim to set times, he is an excellent challenger. He is a swimmer, who takes every one of his races very seriously. I don't wish for anything else, than for all Belgian swimmers to look up to him as their role model.

Dr. Ferenc Csik made a presentation "Driven individuals' rewards", and its main points are quoted hereunder:
In the human male's psyche, there is this unquenchable desire to excel, to break out of the crowd, to stand taller than his peers, and to create something, great, beautiful, everlasting and invaluable. Today's male is in search of this perfection in three different dimensions; physical culture, vocation and his contributions to society. It is undeniable, that in its noble meaning, sports imparts a strong physique that lasts an entire lifetime and is an excellent tool for guiding and developing the young generations. It is also undeniable that mental strength is rather more important than physical attributes for producing great performances, for attaining outstanding results. Puritan lifestyle, moderation, total abstinence from excesses, soundness of mind, unflinching tenacity, willingness to sacrifice, are indispensable for completely focusing the physical and mental energies in the pursuit of great sports achievements. The very same thing applies to any vocation. The era demands of us only that we develop and cultivate the moral virtues, without which there are no results and no achievements, and there is no normal, productive male individuality either. ■

Katalin Csik: "Test és lélek harmóniájában, Csik Ferenc emlékezete".
 Translated by Frank Csik (Montreal)

New life is moving back into the Olympic Village of 1936

By Volker Kluge

Scaffolding has been erected on Building No. 81, which bears the name "Berlin". Even if there can still be no question of a reconstruction of the "House of the Nations", where almost 80 years ago the male Olympic competitors are their meals, the equipment does awaken a shimmer of hope. A Nuremberg renovation company intends to invest 31 million Euros in an initial partial section to fill the 1936 Olympic Village with new life. In the former refectory apartments are to arise, which would be a start. Long term, the Mayor of the community of Wustermark, on whose territory the Olympic Village stands, hopes to accommodate 1000 new inhabitants. The total cost of the reinstatement of the entire garden city is however estimated at 150 million Euros – at least.

The Olympic Village of 1936, 14 kilometres west of Berlin, has a unique selling point. It is the only surviving living area which has been preserved from the early days of the Olympic Games and in addition it is of all Olympic Villages the only one that can be viewed as a heritage site. At least what remains after eight decades – and half a century of military use. Of the original 159 buildings there exist only 29, among them nine of 13 houses on Sachsenweg, in which the US team lived.



Every year there are around 20,000 visitors, who want to see with their own eyes in the "Haus Meissen" where Jesse Owens was accommodated. What harm does it do that he actually lived in the nearby, unrestored, "Haus Bautzen" and that the furniture, with which "his" room is equipped, are merely copies recreated from photographs?

After the withdrawal of the Soviet/Russian forces, who occupied it from 1945 to 1992, the Olympic Village was placed under protection as a listed monument. But in the ensuing period many buildings decayed as a result of poor maintenance as well as through vandalism and arson, so that some of them could not be saved.

Further deterioration could only be stopped when in 2005 the foundation of a bank (DKB) bought the ground. Since then some interesting concepts were developed, whose realisation failed due to the lacking viability. Nonetheless it was a success that the Olympic Village was accepted into the programme "National projects of city building" ["Nationale Projekte des Städtebaus"] from whose financial means the external shell of the historic swimming hall could be renovated.

And the future? It stood in the centre of a first specialist workshop on 13th July 2015, whose participants allowed no doubts to emerge that for the Village only a polyvalent concept of usage of "Living, Experiencing, Working and Remembering" can be considered. To begin with the architects, engineers and investors want to concentrate only on the first half of the 50 hectare-sized area. And yet it is still only a vision, in which the museum aspect is already firmly fixed. ■

First specialist workshop in the gymnasium of the 1936 Olympic Village, which was in the community of Wustermark.

Below: the town coat of arms – 'W' and Olympic rings.

Below left: the swimming pool roof, destroyed by arson in 1993, was restored in 2010/2011 with the help of state funds.

Photos: Peter Frenkel, Emanuel Hübner



From Games Symbols to Historical and Cultural Representations: The Summer Mascots*

By Larry Gerlach

The city pictogram of Mexico City in 1968 was characterized by the dove of peace.



Summer Olympics not only produced the first official mascot, but also the best-known examples of the genre. In contrast to Winter Games mascots (JOH, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 24–31), they have received greater media publicity and more extensive utilization because of the scope and international exposure of Olympiads. But also, given unrestrained design possibilities, they have been more ambitiously creative and commercially oriented – and successful – than their winter counterparts.¹

The first de facto Summer Olympic mascot, in the original French sense of a good luck charm, is lost in time and subject to interpretation. In 1932, forty years

Unmistakable – a dog as mascot of the 1932 Games.

Photos: Official Report 1932 and 1968, Volker Kluge Archive



before the first official mascot debuted, an unofficial talisman appeared during the Los Angeles Games. A black Scottish terrier, presumably a stray, wandered into the Olympic Village, whereupon athletes anointed “Smoky” a mascot. A photograph of the dog wearing a white blanket bearing the designation “Mascot” below the Olympic rings is all that is known of mysterious canine.² Thirty-two years later, in recognition of the Olympic debut of judo, the martial art and combat sport that originated in Japan, the official Tokyo Games pin featured an unnamed cartoon-like figure wearing a judo headband.³

Smoky was indeed a mascot, but only as a personal talisman for some athletes, not as a totem for the Games, and the Tokyo figure was a souvenir image, not a mascot, despite frequently being inaccurately so labeled by Olympic memorabilia merchants and collectors. Nonetheless, the age of the Olympic mascot was at hand.

1968 Mexico City. The 1968 Summer Games had no mascot, but perhaps because of the publicity accorded earlier that year to Schuss, Grenoble's unofficial Games icon, a red jaguar and white dove are sometimes

incorrectly described as Mexico City's mascots. El Jaguar Rojo de Chichen-Itza emblemized the red jaguar throne in the pre-Columbian pyramid, “El Casatillo”, in the Mayan city Chichen Itza in the state of Yucatan, while Paloma de la Paz, a stylized white dove designed by Eduardo Terrazas and Lance Wyman, represented the Games' slogan: “Los juegos de la Paz” (the Games of Peace), symbolized by the 10,000 white doves released in the opening ceremony. An emblem and a logo respectively, the images were never presented or utilized as mascots.⁴

1972 Munich. As the visual design commissioner for the 1972 Olympics, premier German designer Otl Aicher, creator of the Lufthansa logo, produced what is still regarded as “indubitably one of the most systematic and well-thought designs in the history of the Olympic games”.⁵ Among his creations was “Waldi” (“Woody”), a Dachshund who launched the tradition of official Olympic mascots. He modeled Waldi after his longhaired Cherie von Birkenhof, Aicher chose the Dachshund (“badger dog”), a breed internationally associated with Germany, because the determination, speed and agility of Bavaria's favorite hunting dog coincided with desired personal and athletic traits. Apropos Munich's “Rainbow Games”, Waldi appeared vertically stripped in a variety of the pastel colors used in the Olympic Stadium, colors that were intended to represent individual sports, national flags and even the uniforms of Games personnel. Aicher vetoed red and black, colors identified with the Nazis.

Design simplicity enhanced the appeal of the multi-colored canine. An instant success, Waldi was used extensively in pre-Games publicity. Even the marathon course through downtown Munich followed the dog's outline with runners starting at the back of the neck and racing counter-clockwise around the head, legs and belly to the tail, thence along the back until exiting into the Olympic Stadium. He appeared on a variety of merchandise from pins and posters to cups and toys, but more importantly for the future, some fifty licensees sold two million plush Waldis in twenty countries. Waldi's commercial success portended the revenue potential for mascots.⁶

1976 Montreal. For the first Olympics in Canada, the Graphics and Design Directorate, a committee made up of prominent graphic artists – Yvon Laroche, Pierre-Yves Pelletier, Guy St-Arnaud and George Huel – produced a minimalist mascot, the beaver, an industrious indigenous animal to represent the country's dual heritages. The name “Amik”, chosen in a public contest, means “beaver” in Anishinaabe of the Algonquian linguistic family, the most widespread language among eastern Canada's First Peoples. The beaver, an important part of Canada's early economic and demographic

development because of its role in the fur trade, has always been depicted on Montreal's coats of arms and in 1975 became the national symbol. Amik was the first mascot to represent local and national history as well as the Olympics: The red sash with rings corresponded to the ribbons attached to the medals awarded at the Games.

Presented without embellishment, Amik was the first and last mascot portrayed realistically without cartoonish features or anthropomorphic qualities. A furry mass without personality, charm or distinguishing characteristics, the asexual Amik was one of least popular mascots in Olympic history.⁷ Amik reflected the designers' intent to create a “symbol, clean and simple”, but given the cool reception mascots henceforth would be enlivened with cartoonish, anthropomorphic qualities in an effort to create broad popular acceptance, especially among children, and commercial appeal.

1980 Moscow. The 1980 Games was the first to employ two mascots. Vigri, a baby ringed seal, was the talisman for the yacht races held in the Baltic Sea off the Pirita district of Tallinn, capital of Estonia. Perhaps nationalistic sensibilities prompted a separate mascot as the USSR had annexed Estonia after the Second World War. (“Vigri”, a common Estonian term for seal, an important fishing resource, was also the name of a café and professional football club in Tallinn.) The adorable mascot, commonly featuring long silk whiskers, multicolored cap and a ribbon in Olympic colors around his neck, attracted little attention because of limited exposure.⁸

In contrast, Moscow's ursine mascot became a beloved international icon. A bear was the overwhelming favorite among the 45,000 suggestions obtained from a public poll sponsored by the newspaper *Soviet Sport* and the television programme *Animal World*. And from sixty graphic designs produced by members of the Artists' Union of the USSR, Victor Andreyevich Chizhikov, renowned illustrator of over 100 children's books, produced the winning entry. The result, after six months and over a hundred sketches, was Mikhail Potapych Toptygin, better known as Misha, the diminutive of “Mikhail”. Both the choice of the animal and name were obvious and appropriate. The bear had been the national symbol of Russia since the 17th century and since 2001 of the United Russia Party, and most bears in Russia fairy-tales are named Misha, from Mishka, diminutive for Medved (bear).⁹

Misha was acclaimed for two reasons. First and foremost was path-breaking design. Whereas the previous Summer Games mascots, Waldi and Amik, were expressionless and emotion-free symbols, the cuddly bear cub exuded personality with a warm smile and playful demeanor. The second was political. With



“Waldi” – the dachshund as symbol of Bavarian “Gemütlichkeit” (comfort). However: this short-legged German hunting dog has a strong self-awareness and too often too a lack of respect for bigger dogs.



“Amik” – the Canadian beaver with a belt in the COJO colours. The name, taken from the language of the Algonquian Indians who used to live in Québec, was chosen by public competition.

"Misha", the bear, took his leave in 1980 in Moscow with a tear in his left eye.



Moscow becoming the first Communist country to host the Games, Misha conspicuously honored the Olympic Movement by wearing an iconic belt that displayed the five Olympic colors and featured a gold buckle shaped like the rings. Misha's friendly, welcoming image was politically apropos given Cold War politics and the subsequent US-led boycott of the Moscow Games by sixty-five nations in retaliation for the Soviet's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

Misha was the first mascot to appear as a costumed human and to be integrated into the Games themselves. He was on hand to welcome the torch relay when it reached the Soviet Union and in the opening ceremony dozens of "Mishas" danced on the stadium floor while a card mosaic of the mascot appeared in the stands. During the closing ceremony's Grand Finale, another mosaic in the stands formed an image of the bear carrying a bouquet of flowers. It was called "Crying Misha" because a tear fell from his left eye as the words flanking him wished everyone a "happy journey"; an inflated effigy of the mascot then entered the stadium and, following the singing of the finale song, "Farewell Moscow", it was released and floated out of the stadium.

There were other firsts. Misha appeared in an animated short film and a cartoon television series, both of which became common usage for mascots in future



"Sam", the eagle – mascot of the 1984 Games.

Games. And he was the first Olympic icon in space, accompanying Cosmonaut Vladimir Kovalyonok to the Salyut 6 Laboratory in 1981. Misha was also a diplomat, meeting Mickey Mouse in 1988 in Red Square during his first official public appearance behind the Iron Curtain three years before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Most significant for future local Olympic Committees, Misha was the first mascot of a sporting event to achieve large-scale commercial success. Inspired by the merchandizing of Waldo, Moscow organisers marketing his likeness on 100,000 posters and more than a million each of metal and plastic objects; some 1.1 million plush toys were sold worldwide.¹⁰ Despite the politicized context of the boycotted Games, the cute and cuddly Misha was enormously popular and remains one of the most beloved Olympics mascots, perhaps the best of all time.

1984 Los Angeles. From the numerous animation and film studios in the Los Angeles area, the Organizing Committee chose legendary Walt Disney Productions to devise a mascot for the 1984 Games. Unable first to devise acceptable representations of Southern California life and then precluded by Moscow's Misha from using a grizzly bear, the state symbol, designers sought to exemplify the entire nation. The logical choice was the Bald Eagle, the official emblem of the United States. Created by Disney artist C. Robert Moore, "Sam the Olympic Eagle" was a cheerful, cartoonish character with arms and fingers for wings, a red and white striped bow tie and a red-white-and-blue top hat that, Olympic rings notwithstanding, was similar to that worn by his namesake, Uncle Sam, the personification of the American national government. As an eagle Sam not only conformed to the local Organizing Committee's "red, white, and blue" patriotic theme for the Games, but also personified the ideals of the Olympic motto – "Citius, Altius, Fortius" – swifter, higher, stronger.

Sam was both popular and controversial. Some people found the mascot's name and dress an appropriate expression of the strong nationalistic flavor of the 1984 Games given the Soviet-led boycott in retaliation for the American-led 1980 Moscow boycott. Others found of the first and only blatantly political mascot objectionable for a supposedly apolitical Olympics. Still others felt Sam denigrated the national symbol. Intended to project a "warmer, more friendly" image of the eagle, he looked more like a gregarious, bulbous-nosed, pot-bellied chicken than a stern, regal and powerful eagle. Like his 1980 counterpart, Misha, Sam was purposefully designed for use as a graphic symbol, a stuffed toy and a costumed character with special appeal to children. He appeared in numerous promotional activities and was highly successful commercially as a plush doll and emblem on a wide variety of products; ten million replicas of Sam alone were sold.¹¹

1988 Seoul. By means of monetary incentives, the Seoul Olympic Committee sought unprecedented public input in the selection of a mascot. A month long contest in 1982 offering a cash prize for mascot suggestions produced 4344 entries classified into sixty categories from which a rabbit, tiger, squirrel and a pair of Mandarin ducks were finalists. The Seoul Executive Board then chose the tiger, a predictable selection given the Amur (Siberian) tiger's prominence in Korean foundation mythology and folklore. Seven persons were selected to submit designs for the mascot; Kim Hyun of Design Park won the competition. The Organising Committee then sponsored another public cash prize contest to name the tiger. From the 6117 names proposed, a screening panel, which included folklorists, recommended Hodori in April 1984. His name is literal: a "boy tiger" – Ho from tiger (*horangi*) and *dori* a masculine diminutive. Seoul initially continued Calgary's dual gender representation with Hosuni (a female "little tiger"), but she quickly and inexplicably disappeared, perhaps for marketing reasons, leaving Hodori to serve as the lone mascot. (Hosuni, however, became a rare and expensive collectible.)

The Seoul committee officially said Hodori represented the "vigorous and marching spirit of the Korean people", but the amicable feline more popularly was thought to represent the hospitality and friendliness of the Korean people. He also conformed to the cultural concept of the tiger as a sacred guardian that does not harm people, but instead through its courage and power brings good luck and drives off evil spirits.

Just as the Seoul Games symbol, the tri-colour Sam Taegeuk, embodied traditional values, Hodori clearly represented Korean culture as well as the Games. Around his neck he wore a pendant in the shape of the Olympic rings attached to a band comprised of Olympic colours, and on his head was the popular *Sangmo* dance hat with its customary streamer shaped like an "S" for the host city. That Hodori bore a striking resemblance to Tony the Tiger, the "grrreat!" spokes-cat for Frosted Flakes cereal, prompted rumors, unsubstantiated, that the Kellogg Company had considered filing a lawsuit for copyright infringement. Hodori lives today as the symbol of Korea's National Tae-Kwon-Do Demonstration team.¹²

1992 Barcelona. The home of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch presented a confusing and controversial mascot. That Barcelona was the capital of Catalonia, an autonomous region within Spain, presented a challenge to mascot design in terms of political and cultural identity as well as modern versus traditional artistic concepts. Valencian cartoonist Javier Mariscal emerged from a competition with six designers with the winning mascot, a cubist Catalan Sheepdog named "Cobi".

In contrast to previous conventional animal mascots, clearly Disneyesque in origin, Mariscal produced an avant-garde drawing of a human-like canine. Cobi was "flat" in dimension, texture and color, and despite open arms was guarded in expression and gesture. Mariscal, creatively influenced by Pop art, initially commented that a Cobi was inspired by Picasso's interpretations of Diego Velázquez's masterpiece, *Las Meninas*, but later said: "I drew him when I was stoned." More clearly, Mariscal drew upon his earlier career as a "countercultural" artist. His popular party-going dogs, "The Garriris", created for the underground comic *El Viborakook* very much like Cobi.¹³

The vanguard, even subversive, design of a surreal dog, a stylish sharp dresser with a wry (or sly?) smile, was initially disliked, even derided. Some people considered him an artistic bastardization of Picasso. Others were outraged by the failure to depict Catalan heritage. A month after Cobi's debut, more than half the population registered disapproval, in large part because of the crude, sketch-like design. To make the mascot more acceptable to the general public, graphic designer Josep M. Trias used computers to soften the shape. Still, on the eve of the Games, fully one-third of the population disliked the mascot.

Nonetheless, with alterations Cobi became wildly popular with children. He was featured in an animated television programme, *The Cobi Troupe*, directed by Mariscal and produced by the Barcelona Organising Committee, which ran for a season on Spanish television as a Games promotion. He was also featured in a children's book of the same name illustrated by Mariscal and written by Jaume Ferrerri-Ferran. Prior to the Games, Cobi was ubiquitous, appearing in the guise of athletes engaged in all twenty-eight sports; during the Olympics he hovered as an inflated effigy at the Barcelona waterfront and toward the end of the closing ceremony a balloon-like Cobi floated up and away from the stadium. Differences of opinion aside, Cobi was one of the most successful financial mascots in history, raising mascot-related revenue double that of Los Angeles and Seoul. He adorned an extensive array of souvenirs called *Cobiana*, and saw unprecedented use in advertisements for products ranging from Coca Cola to Dannon yogurt. (Paradoxically, his image was also used in an "anti-Cobi campaign" to protest Olympic commercialization.) Despite his popularity, Cobi failed to meet the basic mascot criterion. The name (originally CoBi) incorporated the initials of the Barcelona Olympic Organizing Committee (COOB), but the mascot otherwise did not reflect anything about the city, the country or the Games.¹⁴

1996 Atlanta. After reviewing suggestions from a newspaper promotion and submissions from twenty designers, the Atlanta Organizing Committee decided



"Cobi" – Mariscal's friendly mountain dog with a human body. Above: "Hodori" – Korea's tiger cub with the traditional farmer's hat "sangmo".

What is it? "Whatizit". The name of the Atlanta mascot was later changed to "Izzy". It was to fascinate children.

Photos: Official Reports 1996 and 2000



on a radical departure from tradition with the first amorphous, computer-generated mascot. He was named Whatizit, aka Whatizhee, because the abstract figure could easily be reconfigured to resemble athletes in a variety of sporting poses.

The concept was innovative, but there were two immediate problems. Because the name was confusing, the committee invited youngsters to come up with a new name; but the recommendation, Kirby, was a Nintendo trademark, so he was dubbed "Izzy", short for of Whatizit or Whatizhee. If the innovative design was au courant with digital art coming of age in the 1990s, the break from traditional animal-people and national-cultural presentations was controversial. The designer, John Ryan, senior animation director of DESIGNefx, said: "The idea was to inspire the imagination." But Izzy was ridiculed and mercilessly mocked in the press as "a Sperm in Sneakers" and "Quasismurf"; television broadcaster Bob Costas called it "a genetic experiment gone horribly, ghastly wrong".

The tear-shaped blue blob with bulging eyes, white hands, red boots and a multi-colored ringed tail underwent numerous modifications partly to assuage public opinion, but primarily to meet the challenge of successfully adapting a computer image to costumes and merchandise. Among other things he was slimmed down and given a nose; stars were removed from the pupils in his eyes, a mouth replaced lips and lightening bolt eyebrows were relocated on his boots and the two caps atop his head. It was to no avail. Vastly unpopular, Izzy generated less revenue than expected and was absent from the opening ceremonies and other formal

Olympic activities. But if the amorphous figure was unpopular with adults, he was enormously popular with children, accustomed to abstract animated characters. Izzy starred in a cartoon television programme as well as a video game, "Izzy's Quest for the Olympic Rings," and a computer adventure game, "Izzy's Adventure".

What wuzzi? Nobody then – or now – knows what "Izzy" is or was. Without an identity or appealing attributes, the indeterminable fantasy figure rivals Magique, Albertville's 1992 Winter Games icon, as the least successful Olympic mascot. As Laurie Olsen, ACOG communications director put it: "The pain and suffering inflicted on an Organizing Committee for a failed mascot is not easy." Still, futuristic Izzy presaged the age of digitally designed mascots.¹⁵

2000 Sydney. Sydney presented the first mascot trio. The Organising Committee wanted to return to native animal representations, but decided against the globally familiar Kangaroo and Koala. Katoomba graphic designer and illustrator Matthew Hattan and design consultant Josef Szekeres agreed, producing three indigenous creatures less well-known outside of Australia – a Kookaburra (terrestrial tree kingfisher bird), a Platypus (venom-producing semi-aquatic mammal with the duck-like beak, body of an otter and beaver tail that is the animal emblem of New South Wales) and an Echidna (spiny anteater). The mascots were unusual – the Platypus and Echidna are the only mammals in the world that lay eggs (monotremes), while the Kookaburra is known locally as a laughing jackass. They eschewed previously successful life-like representations (Misha) and avant-garde images (Cobi) to craft cartoonish likenesses of the animals. Their names, chosen from hundreds of public entries, represented place and time: Olly (Olympic), the Kookaburra; Syd (Sydney), the Platypus; and Millie (Millennium), the Echidna.



Allow me! "Olly" (Olympic), the Kookaburra; "Millie" (Millennium), the Echidna; and "Syd" (Sydney), the Platypus – the mascots of 2000 (left to right).

Hoping to increase public acceptance, the committee gave them forced and unconvincing layered meanings: Olly supposedly represented air as well and universal generosity; Syd represented the earth, the environment and the energy of Australia and its people; and Millie represented water and was a techno-whiz and information guru.¹⁶

The Organising Committee regarded the trio as "a key element of marketing and general games promotion in the public mind". But the public was ambivalent about the trio and they soon were subjected to considerable ridicule. The triumvirate was eventually overshadowed by an unofficial mascot, Fatso the Fat-Arsed Wombat, created by Sydney cartoonist Paul Newell. Fatso, whose sheepish smile and protruding rear-end spoofed Olympic commercialization and hypocrisy, was popularized by the comedy team Roy & HG on their satirical sports/comedy programme *The Dream*. While efforts by the Sydney Organising Committee to marginalize Fatso failed, the official mascot trio ultimately carried the financial day with sales exceeding \$300 million.¹⁷

2004 Athens. Hoping to use the Olympics to emphasize heritage, the Athens Organising Committee initially considered using the Minerva owl, sacred symbol of ancient Athens, as its mascot. It was a historically appropriate idea, but one with limited promotional or commercial prospects. Connecting ancient and modern Greece was more effectively realized when out of 196 worldwide submissions from companies and individual designers, Spyros Gogos of the Greek design agency Paragraph Design Ltd. won the mascot competition with ancient figurines presented as brother and sister "dolls."

Instead of a modern design, the dolls, clumsy-looking – especially in costume – with triangular bodies, long necks and club feet and virtually indistinguishable save for the colour of their tunics, Athena orange, Phevos blue, were close replicas of archaic 7th century BCE terra-cotta *daidala* (objects of worship). Their names were drawn from multifunctional deities of Ancient Greek mythology: Phevos, also known as Apollo, the god of light, medicine, law, philosophy, music; Athena, the goddess of wisdom, courage, civilization, heroic endeavor and patron of Athens. To the Organising Committee, the mascots represented "participation, brotherhood, equality, cooperation, fair play [and] the everlasting Greek value of human scale."

Historical representations are normally lauded, but despite support by curators at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens some Classical scholars and anthropologists denounced associating religious icons with modern concepts of toys as insulting, even blasphemous. Dr. Panagiotis Marinis, President of the Societas Hellenica Antiquariorum,



Divinities from Hellenic Post: "Phevos" (blue) and "Athena" (orange) – a reverence to the god of light Apollo (Phoebus) and Athena, the protecting goddess of the 2004 Olympic city.

charged the mascots "mock the spiritual values of the Hellenic Civilization by degrading these same holy personalities that were revered during the ancient Olympic Games." A threatened lawsuit to ban the mascots never materialized, and the attempt to forge an historical connection between Ancient Greek history and Modern Greece was both popular and effective.¹⁸

2008 Beijing. While a team led by Min Wang, the design director for the Beijing Olympics, developed emblems, symbols and pictograms, "China's Picasso", folk artist Han Meilin from Jinan, Shandong Province, fashioned the most numerous, elaborate and culturally multilayered mascots in history. Originally called "The Friendlies", the five mascots were renamed after three months because local officials feared the title might be misinterpreted as "friend lies" or "friendless". Now collectively known as "Fuwa", literally "good-luck dolls", they represented four of China's most popular animals and the Olympic flame – Beibei the Sturgeon, Jingjing the Giant Panda, Huanhuan the Olympic Flame, Yingying the Tibetan Antelope and Nini the Swallow. (The panda and antelope are endangered species.) They were five because it is a lucky number that corresponds to the number of Olympic rings and the Chinese elements – fire, water, wood, gold and earth.

Han drew 1000 models before deciding on child-like characters stylistically reflecting traditional folk art and ornamentation. Designed to appeal especially to children, they were given two-syllable rhyming names, a traditional Chinese means of expressing affection for youngsters. More subtle was the political implication: The first syllable of each name formed a sentence, "Bei Jing Huan Ying Nin" ("Welcome to Beijing"), an adroit greeting given the initial worldwide controversy over Beijing's hosting the Games and the subsequent international protests over the occupation of Tibet during the torch relay. Following the ancient Chinese tradition of using symbols to spread blessings, each mascot was identified with cultural blessings: Beibei prosperity, Jingjing happiness, Huanhuan passion, Yingying health and Nini goodness. They were also given athletic representations: Beibei aquatic sports; Jingjing, strength

"Bei Jing Huan Ying Nin". Five dolls say: "Welcome to Beijing". The red "Huanhuan", here on a Chinese stamp block, symbolized fire and Olympic Spirit.



sports; Huanhuan ball games; Yingying: track and field; and Nini gymnastics. And their colors matched the Olympic rings: Beibei blue, Jingjing black Huanhuan red, Yingying yellow and Nini green.

The undeniably cute mascots were controversial. Confusion and misunderstanding arose from their excessively elaborate headdresses, multiple representations and strained associations. Internet bloggers, eventually censored by the Chinese government, called them "Wuwa" (witch dolls) and blamed "The Curse of the Fuwa" for recent calamities: Jingjing for the earthquake in Sichuan, Huanhuan for international torch relay protests, Yingying for rioting in Tibet, Nini for a Mongolian locust infestation and Shandong train wreck, and Beibei for South China floods and even fears the Yangtze River's Three Gorges Dam might fail. Although a nationwide survey showed forty percent of the people were indifferent or disliked the mascots, the Fuwa eventually became enormously popular, especially with children, thanks in part to the government's massive, nationwide merchandizing campaign. They also appeared in theatrical performances, a video game and an animated cartoon television series, *The Olympic Adventures of Fuwa*.

If the mascots were commercially popular, netting in excess of \$300 million, their creation was problematic. Han Meilin, who had suffered, even been tortured, during Mao's Cultural Revolution 1966–1976, was familiar with Olympic design having created the granite and copper Five Dragon Clock Tower sculpture for Atlanta 1996. But he became thoroughly disenchanted with the creative process and the final products for his home Games. The Beijing Organising Committee kept pressing for animal mascots, making new proposals and requesting changes during the design effort. That Han, who tried unsuccessfully to quit the assignment, had two heart attacks during the design process added to the notion the Fuwas were a curse. After the Games he completely disavowed the mascots, even banning them from an exhibition of his work. The Beijing committee, he said, refused to compensate him for his labor: "I was supposed to be paid one Yuan for making the Fuwa, but haven't yet even gotten that."¹⁹

One-eyed: "Wenlock" greets the Olympic guests at London Airport.

London 2012. With single Olympics and Paralympics mascots, London both returned to the lone talisman tradition of the first seven Summer Games while breaking new ground with futuristic high-tech creations for the digital age. Designed by Grant Hunter of the London-based design firm, Iris Agency, both anthropomorphic characters, shiny metallic animations supposedly formed from the last two drops of steel left after the Bolton steelworks forged the final support girder for London's Olympic Stadium, dramatically extended the boundaries of mascot design. If the ingeniously avant-garde creations looked to the future, London organisers turned to the past by explicitly honoring history in naming them Wenlock after William Penny Brookes' Much Wenlock Games in Shropshire, immediate precursor to the Modern Olympics, and Mandeville after the Stoke Mandeville hospital in Buckinghamshire, where Ludwig Guttmann's rehabilitation programme was the forerunner of the Paralympics.

The names were universally lauded, but the designs were widely lamented, not unlike the reaction to Wolff Olins' controversial Organising Committee's logo. The heads of both decidedly non-British, Cyclopean Semenoids, bore a single eye, purportedly a camera lens to "record everything" and a yellow taxi light paying homage to London's iconic black cabs. The three points atop Wenlock's head represented the medals podium and thus achievement, while Mandeville's helmet-shaped head featured three crescents in the Paralympic colours. Wenlock on each arm wore five Friendship bands in the five colours of the Olympic rings, while Mandeville's right arm boasted a single "Personal best timer" to monitor performances. The sleek steel droplets lacked a mouth, ears and nose; their streamlined arms and legs had no fingers or feet. Body colouration was symbolic: Mandeville's steely blue symbolized determination, while Wenlock's combination of gold, silver, bronze, and orange supposedly exuded warmth. Each displayed the logo of their respective London Games.

Because the playful Pixar-like creatures, personifying friendship and striving to do one's best, were expressly



designed to appeal to youngsters, the London committee hired Michael Morpugo, prominent juvenile literature author whose work includes *War Horse*, to write a children's book, *Out Of A Rainbow: The Original Story of the London 2012 Mascots*, to explain the origin and nature of the mascots. The book was subsequently adapted as an animated film. Wenlock and Mandeville also appeared in comic strips and animated shorts. Nonetheless, the designs and the efforts to cloak the unconventional mascots with variegated personalities and interests increased confusion and prompted heavy criticism in the British media. A columnist for *The Globe and Mail* described them as resembling the offspring of a "drunken, one-night stand between a Teletubby and a Dalek" (extraterrestrial mutant). If the London mascots were not adorable, fetching or cuddly, they may well prove prototypical in developing futuristic designs.²⁰



Rio 2016. Instead of representing folklore, culture, or symbolism, the 2016 Rio mascots, are humanoid ambassadors reinforcing internationally held impressions about the natural and musical enchantments of Brazil.²¹ The Olympic mascot, Vinicius, with the physical attributes of a bird, cat, and monkey, represents the diversity of exotic wildlife inhabiting the tropical jungles. The Paralympic mascot, Tom, his head covered with leaves, embodies the vast forest flora. Their names, chosen after three-week public voting on three sets of possibilities, honor Vinicius de Moraes and Tom Jobim, pioneers of the Bossa Nova, Brazil's best-known musical genre, whose work includes the classic *The Girl from Ipanema*. Created by Birdo Producoes in Sao Paulo, each magical male mascot embraces the popularity of social media with its own Facebook and Twitter account.

Since their debut in 1972, mascots have become increasingly conspicuous and important components of Summer and Winter Olympics. Unique to a particular Games and designed for maximum popular appeal, they have appeared in a variety of guises, most often an emblematic native animal, but also invented

creatures and abstract animations popular in the age of high-tech computer graphics and even historical human figures. Whatever the form, they are invariably anthropomorphized, enabling them to project human-like personalities, qualities and activities. Initially, a single talisman sufficed, but from 1988 to 2016 multiple figures have been the norm; twelve of the sixteen Games have created two to five mascots. The characters are normally asexual, but five times distinctly male and female mascots were paired. To enhance the perception of mascots, Organising Committees, especially since Sydney 2000, have imposed on the icons strained, invariably incongruous, functions, social values and cultural belief systems. And to increase public acceptance of mascots, the committees have broadened popular participation in the selection and naming process as exemplified by Sochi's electronic balloting. Although the quality and appropriateness of design has varied considerably, giving rise to "best" and "worst" lists.²² All mascots, designed by preeminent artists and endorsed by the local committees, are significant Olympic icons to be appreciated and understood for the rationale and roles they represent.

The transformation in design concepts followed the dramatic changes in the conception and utilization of mascots. The role of mascots quickly expanded from peripheral publicity marks for a particular Olympics to prominent corporate advertising ambassadors with an extensive presence, including people dressed in costume, in community relations, pre-Games promotions, appearances during opening and closing ceremonies and attendance at sports events. The commercial potential suggested by Waldi and Misha led Organising Committees, most dramatically after Barcelona, to contract with a numerous licensees to market mascots as toys and especially as emblems on souvenir products as a means of generating ever more substantial revenue, upwards of one-third of recent local budgets. Cultural representation has always been the initial consideration in conceptualizing mascots, but expanded media coverage and especially, the poignant example of Salt Lake 2002, has accentuated their use in depicting the distinctive cultural and historical heritage of the host city, region and country. Of course as official Games symbols they must graphically represent the Olympic Movement; every mascot except Waldi 1972 has in some fashion displayed the five rings, the IOC mark; some, by virtue of their physical traits, have personified the Olympic motto. The global exposure of mascots on licensed products and promotional materials produced by sponsors and suppliers likewise transmits widely the Olympic brand.

Mascots have achieved a conspicuous place in Olympic history. To William Wardle, President of the Olympic Trust of Canada, and his associates the significance of mascots

"Vinicius" (Olympics/ left) and "Tom" (Paralympics) will dance the Bossa Nova in 2016 in Rio.

is fundamental: "Within the Olympic Movement, the emergence of the mascot concept symbolizes, perhaps better than anything else, the transition of the Olympic Games from a contest of elite athletes to a sport festival as a component in the promotion of the Olympic principles throughout the world."²³ Whatever the case, that the evolution of mascots does mirror larger developments within the Olympic Movement underscores the basic point: The significance of mascots extends far beyond the visual image they project. Once peripheral talismans, they have become important chapters in the history of specific Games and the overall Olympic Movement. Their story, individually and collectively, remains to be fully told. ■

- 1 The best treatment of summer mascots through Beijing is olympic-museum.de/quickview/all_mascot.htm; see also <http://www.olympic.org/results?q=mascots> and <http://www.topendsports.com/events/summer/mascots.htm>.
- 2 olympics.time.com/2010/05/21/those-loony-olympic-mascots.
- 3 www.theolympicdesign.com/deu/olympic-collection/.../mascots-2d.
- 4 <http://2012olympicsblog.co.uk/2011/05/top-five-best-olympic-mascots>. The *Official Report of the XIX Olympiad*, four volumes, does not mention either the jaguar or the dove.
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An Olympian who Survived Three Concentration Camps

By Annamária Holler Mecséri



2014 was a notable year for anniversaries: the start of the First World War 100 years earlier, the beginning of the deportation of Hungarian Jews 70 years earlier, and the Tokyo Summer Olympics held 50 years earlier.

The life of Dr. Éva Földes was also connected to those years: she was born on 6th July 1914, she lived through the horrors of the holocaust in 1944, and her Ph.D. thesis was published in 1964.

Dr. Földes is famous for her Olympic bronze medal in the Art Competitions at the 1948 Summer Olympics in London but she was also made a name for herself as a sport journalist and historian, a scholar, and she also survived the darkest events of the twentieth century. However, the story of her life has been little documented, even by sport historians.

Éva Földes was born in the western Hungarian city of Szombathely, and from an early age had a close connection with sport. Her father, Sámuel Földes, was the president of the local, tradesmen-founded football club, Szombathelyi Athletikai Klub. Éva regularly attended their matches and remembered them as the as marking the beginning of her interest in sport.

In 1925, the Földes Family moved to Budapest, where Éva pursued her studies. She left school with excellent grades and went on to graduate from Pázmány Péter University, receiving a doctorate in Italian Philology, History of Art and Pedagogy in 1937. She became a high school French, Italian and Latin language teacher.

She was interested in journalism as a student, and after getting her diploma, she began to contribute at the *Dolgozó Asszonyok Lapja (Worker Women's Journal)*. She attended different events and scrupulously reported from there. Sport was a recurrent theme of her early reports. One of her first articles was about the athletes of Budapest University Athletic Club (BEAC).

Her talent was discovered at the paper, and she was entrusted to write more and more articles. She spoke and wrote no fewer than seven foreign languages, so had the opportunity to publish interviews with famous international women. She cared greatly about the rights of women in Hungary and abroad.

She quickly became a familiar and popular journalist. Her humorous style was expressed in written articles as well as in oral performances, shows and stand-up comedies. She also participated in the work of the first Hungarian women's sport association, "Olympia, Worker Women's Sport Association", which was founded in 1932.

This organisation instituted the first conference on women's sport in Hungary in 1935, where Földes made a presentation. The lecture, entitled 'Women's sport and the press', addressed the relationship between those two sectors with typical wit. It drew attention to the difficult situation of the infancy of women's sport.

Éva Földes took an active part in the success of this conference, which laid the ground for the resurgence of women's sport in Hungary, and made Éva Földes a force to be reckoned with in the sport editorial office. She had the opportunity to attend the most important



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The Hungarian journalist and historian Dr. Éva Földes (1914-1981) was forbidden to work in 1941 because she was Jewish. After the liberation she became a member of staff at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Photos: Annamária Holler Mecséri Archive

The KZ Mauthausen. After a two week rail journey 500 Hungarian Jewish women arrived here on 4th May 1945. Half of them died en route. They had previously worked in the Junkers aircraft and engine works in Venusberg. The survivors, among them Éva Földes, were liberated one day after their arrival by the US Army.

sport events, and interviewed some of the women of the Olympic team of 1936 Berlin Olympics, including two Olympic champions: fencer Ilona Elek-Schacherer and high jumper Ibolya Csák.

Ravensbrück, Venusberg, Mauthausen



Lucas Cranach's painting *The Fountain of Youth of 1546*, which inspired Éva Földes to her prize-winning epic *The Well of Youth*. Old women climb into a bath, to emerge on the other side rejuvenated. The fountain of youth as a dream of humanity of eternal life was a favourite motif of the Renaissance.

Photo: Staatliche Museen Berlin

Her success in journalism extended worldwide. At university, in her thesis 'Mussolini, the journalist', she analysed the publicism activity of the Italian politician. She travelled to Italy to research for her paper, visited the village of Benito Mussolini and even had an interview with his wife, Rachele Guidi. Unfortunately, she couldn't meet with the Duce himself, because his invitation arrived only after Éva got home from Italy. The resulting story of this visit was bought by a French press agency along with the rights to publish her article internationally.

Because of her Jewish descent, Földes was persecuted during Second World War. After the second anti-Jewish law of Hungary came into effect, she was barred from journalism. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, like hundreds of thousands of her

fellow Jewish Hungarians, she was obliged to wear the yellow badge. Until autumn that year, she was Labor Servicewoman, and in December she was deported to Ravensbrück concentration camp for women. She was then transferred to the camp in Venusberg in Saxony, then an outdoor camp of Flossenbürg in Bavaria, where she had to work in a aeroplane factory. From there, she was carried forward to the Mauthausen camp, which was eventually liberated by the Americans. She had been to three different camps, she had suffered a lot, physically, mentally and financially. However, she survived it.

Inspired by Lucas Cranach's painting

The first Olympic Games after the war were held in London. Hungary was represented by 128 competitors. This was the last Olympics to include Arts Competitions. Ten writers from Hungary applied for participation in the epic works category. The domestic jury supported and entered two of them for the Olympics. They were *Modern Pentathlon* by Miklós Jós and *The Well of Youth* by Éva Földes.

Földes's work summarises the history of women's physical education and sport from antiquity to the 1600s. The work was inspired by Lucas Cranach's painting of the similar title, *The Fountain of Youth*. In this picture is a marble pool set in a park, with women and girls swimming in it. The pool is the well of youth. On the left of it, disabled and old women get in the pool, and after swimming through it, emerge on the right side, healthy and young.

Éva Földes was motivated by the fact that such work has never been published before. She was doing researches home and all across Europe for 12 years, worked and searched for details day and night, besides doing her job, and even in the darkest times.

The writing was only an abstract of Földes's full, detailed work. In the competition the limit was 20,000 words, so she had to shorten her original version. And, of course, had to translate it to English. In the competition, 50 works by writers from 20 nations were submitted. The Hungarian was the only woman to enter.

In the category of epic works, the jury adjudged the gold medal to Gianni Stuparich of Italy, for his *La Grotta (The Cave)*. Second place was awarded to Danish Josef Pedersen and his work *The Olympic Champion*. And Éva Földes was awarded third place and an Olympic bronze medal for *The Well of Youth*. An achievement all the more impressive considering the jury consisted of English, Swiss Italian and Danish members, so they could review the works of the first two medallists in their original version, but only the translation of Földes's work.

"Mister Földes, Hungary ..."

The London Olympics began on 29th of July, but the results of the Art Competitions were announced weeks earlier. Thus Éva Földes became the first Hungarian medallist of the Games. Her success was proudly reported in the national press, especially in those papers where she worked. The daily sports paper *Népsport (People's Sport)* included the news on the front page, along with an interview with Földes. In that report she admitted she was totally surprised, she was not expected the medal at all. "Not even privily. I just wanted to participate. That's all."

Originally she travelled to London as the secretary and interpreter to the Hungarian Olympic team management, and to send reports to her newspaper – from the point of view of women, of course. But her presence also became necessary at the medal ceremony of the Art Competitions. It was held on 8th August in the Victoria & Albert Museum. The medals and the diplomas were presented by IOC President Sigfrid Edström. The ceremony, however, didn't go smoothly. As Éva Földes remembered later: "When



it came to the ceremony, to my biggest surprise, they announced: Mister Földes, Hungary. It was really hard to explain to them that although I am not Mister, I should be awarded." In fact, there were only a few women medallists in the Art Competitions: only 4 of 33 in London.

Her achievement was also recognised in Hungary: she received state honours: the Bronze Class of the Order of Merit of the Republic in 1948, and the Silver Class of the Sport Order of Merit of the People's Republic in 1952.

Tragic death in a boat accident at Lake Balaton

After the war she continued to contribute to a few papers and participated in women's sport associations. Besides that she was tenured as professor in the PE College the year after the Olympic Games. She participated in the reform of the faculty and was a significant figure in the college. She became the first

head of the newly founded Department of Sport History. She taught History of Sport and Physical Education. She inspired her students to form scientific groups. She was the librarian in the sports library and was also elected to the Scientific Committee of PE. She wrote textbooks of her own subjects – which are being used even now, decades later. With her main writing, *History of Hungarian Physical Education*, earned her her doctorate, which made her the owner of the first academic degree in sports history in Hungary.

The Olympic medal, her books and her doctorate made Éva Földes an international name in sport science. She was invited to various conferences, including the International Olympic Academy's Session of Young Participants. Meanwhile, after teaching 15 years at college, she was relocated to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the top society of Hungarian science. She worked there until her tragic death in 1981, in a boat accident at Lake Balaton.

Éva Földes left a legacy worth preserving. She survived three hells, but she wasn't broken, she recovered from the physical and emotional trauma. She made a successful career as a sport historian and college professor. As an Olympian, her name will be remembered in sport almanacs. Her bronze medal was historic: it was the last Hungarian medal in Arts Competitions, and it was the first Hungarian medal after the 12-year Olympic break because of Second World War. ■



Annamária Holler Mecséri's book appeared as part of the series *Famous Women of Szombathelyi*.

Rewarded with Olympic bronze.

Extreme left: Entry of the Hungarians in London 1948. In the fourth row Éva Földes, who was part of the team as secretary and interpreter.

Tony Wilding: Tennis's first matinée idol

By Bep van Houdt

"The pair sitting in the park at Brookwood after a practice session": The Australian Norman Brookes (right) was the first non-Englishman to win Wimbledon. New Zealand's Anthony Wilding won from 1910 to 1913. In the 1914 final Wilding was beaten by Brookes.



Photo: Gianni Clerici, THE ULTIMATE TENNIS BOOK, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1974.

It was an article in the *Journal of Olympic History* (2014/2) that inspired me to investigate the life and death of Tony Wilding, the best tennis player New Zealand ever produced. The cover story of that issue was titled 'Peace and War at the Olympics' and it carried the astonishing statistic that 154 Olympic athletes died in First World War between 1914 and 1918, which had a total of 10 million casualties.

I have been covering national and international tennis for half a century, so I looked for tennis players among those deaths for an article in my Dutch magazine *TENNIS*. There were three more tennis players who died.¹ Tony Wilding was the most interesting figure in my opinion: the New Zealander had been four-times Wimbledon champion, from 1910 to 1913, he won six double titles in London and also won a bronze medal at the 1912 Olympics at Stockholm.

It is an amazing story that a soldier from very Down Under died in a small French village, called Neuve-Chapelle on 9th May 1915, less than a year after the start of the war on 28th July 1914. But perhaps not so strange, because charming Tony Wilding was not only one of the best players of his time, but also a kind of an

international playboy – he was a friend of the Swedish King Gustaf V (with whom he played tennis and whom he addressed as 'Gussie'), and with the British Prime Minister, Lord Balfour. He was invited to a ball by the German Emperor Wilhelm II.

The facts look simple, but it took me a month of chasing internet sites, sending e-mails all over the world, making phone calls, making contact with his niece, the actress/producer Anna Wilding who herself took a world journey, because no one else of the Wilding family ever did, to eventually find his grave and photograph it. Other people² helped me and the result was more facts about Tony Wilding's life and death coming to light. Then there was the article in my tennis magazine at a moment when the world was remembering that 100 years ago a world war started with so much tragedy.

Every war should be forbidden, war is useless and it's always the innocent people who become victims. Tony Wilding died innocently. He even did not know he was going to die. At the time of attack he found himself in the wrong place. A grenade on the roof of the shelter where he was hiding caused his sudden death.

Born in New Zealand with English roots

When Tony Wilding won Wimbledon for the first time in 1910 at the age of 26, the tournament was called The Championships but it is known worldwide simply as Wimbledon.

Wilding was born on 31st October 1883 in Opawa, near Christchurch, New Zealand, where his English parents had lived since 1879, and his roots brought him to England, where he studied law at Cambridge.

He first entered Wimbledon in 1904 and won the Australian Championships in 1906 and 1909. He also entered tournaments at the Riviera, in the south of France, where kings, queens, the rich and famous – and



Bep van Houdt *1940. He started a career in sport journalism in 1962, worked 12 years for Dutch newspapers before joining Dutch radio. Covered five Olympic Games from 1972 on, 17 Wimbledons since 1977. Visited Roland Garros 25 times. Works for Dutch *TENNIS* magazine, for soccer team Sparta Rotterdam, web editor Sociëteit Olympisch Stadion and as editor sports and law for *Sport FM* magazine. Lives in Hilversum, the Netherlands.

tennis-players – gathered in winter and early spring. One of the players was young Suzanne Lenglen (b. 1899) who later became famous, winning both the French Open and Wimbledon six times and a gold medal at the 1920 Olympic Games at Antwerp. Tony Wilding saw her playing and was interested in her game, so he invited her to play mixed doubles with him. And so they did.

In 1905 he participated in London his first Davis Cup matches in a team called Australasia, which included



players from both Australia and New Zealand. There he met Australian Norman Brookes, winner of Wimbledon in 1907 and Australia in 1911. They won their first Davis Cup in 1907 in London, beating the USA in the only first round match and then beat the *British Isles* in the Challenge Round. Today it is called the Davis Cup Final, but until 1972 the winner of the Davis Cup automatically played the final the next year. Together the pair won it four times, including Melbourne in 1908, Sydney in 1909 and New York in 1914.

In 1912, a year after he was crowned world number 1, Tony Wilding participated in the indoor tournament at the Stockholm Olympics which was played in May, two months prior to the official opening (there was also an outdoor one in July but Wilding and other great players did not play, preferring to play at Wimbledon).

The indoor tournament took place in a big bright red pavilion on a hill between Stadium and Östermalm Athletic Grounds. The hall was built in 1900 and was the leading hall in Stockholm until destroyed by fire in 1920. The opening was described by Leif Yttergren and Hans Bolling in *The 1912 Stockholm Olympics*: 'At 1.15 pm precisely on May 5, 1912, the referee made signal to the umpire for the game to start. Carl Kempe gave the first serve [against Jaroslav Hainz of Bohemia] thereby beginning the Games of the Fifth Olympiad, a very simple ceremony.'

Wilding first beat Lennart Silberstolpe of Sweden, the next day another Swede, Thorsten Grönfors and in the quarter-final beat British player George Caridia. He only lost 16 games in three best of five matches. In the semi-

final he was beaten by the British topped Charles Dixon (6-0, 4-6, 6-4, 6-4) and then won the match for the third place (and bronze) against another British player, Gordon Low (4-6, 6-2, 7-5, 6-0). Frenchman André Gobert won gold in the final against Dixon (8-6, 6-4, 6-4).

Popular, dashing and handsome

What kind of a player was Tony Wilding? In *Modern Encyclopedia of Tennis* American friend and college Bud Collins, describes it thus: 'Wilding played the classic game in vogue at the time. His drives were the strength of his attacks and his defense was outstanding (...) he played faultlessly from the baseline.'

In *Encyclopedia op New Zealand*: "Anthony Wilding was popular, dashing and handsome, and was described by his first biographer as tennis's first matinée idol. Women were said to swoon at the sight of his 'manly brand of tennis'. Wilding was renowned for his attention to physical fitness, something that was inculcated in him by his parents and distinguished him from other players, particularly the British".

That's why he chose to practice with the world boxing champion Bob Fitzsimmons, also a New Zealander 'He was in prime physical condition', wrote British tennis authority A. Wallis Myers.



Tony Wilding, photographed in England in 1908, was a passionate motorcyclist. He undertook several long journeys. In 1909 he opened a motor cycle workshop in New Zealand. Above: Wilding in action.

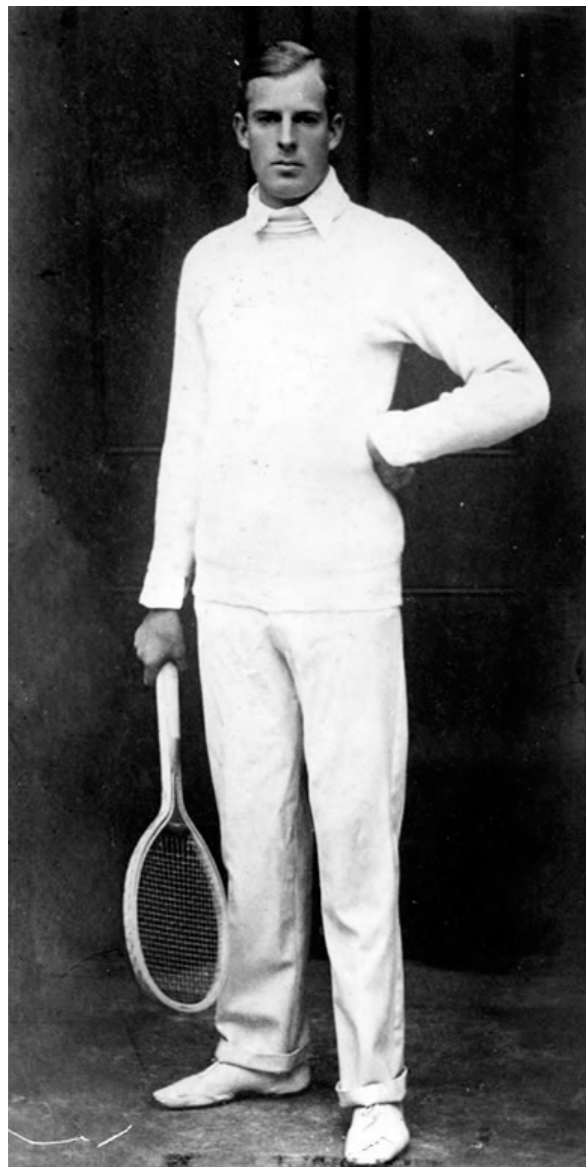
Photos: Bep van Houdt Archive

John Barrett in *100 Wimbledon Championships* wrote: 'He was suave and the unbeatable amateur in all he did. He replaced the Doherty brothers³ as Wimbledon's idol and his popularity caused congestion at the Championships. He was also a pioneer motorcyclist and aviator.' His motor brought him from one tournament to another and later helped him gain promotion in the British Army.

Wilding's last match was the Davis Cup

Wilding's career culminated in 1914 in New York when he won the Davis Cup again with the Australasia team that beat the USA: 3-2. Tony Wilding beat Richard Norris Williams in the first rubber in straight sets and with

Tony Wilding, No. 1 in tennis before the First World War, fell on 9th May 1915 in the second battle of Flanders.



His niece Anna at his grave. Wilding was first buried near Neuve-Chapelle and after the war in a military cemetery near Richebourg-l'Avoué.

Photo: Stefano Semeraro



Ridge, about half an hour south of Arras, that the life of Tony Wilding came to an end. The night before his death he wrote a letter:

For really the first time in seven and a half months I have a job on hand which is likely to end in gun, I, and the whole outfit being blown to hell. However if we succeed we will help our infantry no end.

Before falling asleep in Neuve-Chapelle he spoke with another soldier about his defeats by Norman Brookes in the Wimbledon 1914 final and McLoughlin in the Davis Cup final: 'We can't always be at our best.' The next day, at 17.15 he was killed instantly. Only his face was intact and a gold cigarette box that had fallen out of his pocket.

Captain Tony Wilding was buried the next day and a second time, 10 kilometres further on at the military cemetery in Rue-des-Berceaux in the French village of Richebourg-l'Avoué, about 30 kilometres west of Lille, where 238 more soldiers are buried. Tony's grave is at D37. His niece Anna Wilding, whom I tracked down by Internet, took me there, with Italian journalist Stefano Semeraro. He sent me more information and also the picture of Anna at her uncle Tony's grave. She was very much impressed to see the lawns so beautifully cut: 'It looks like a tennis court.'

Handsome Tony Wilding never married but was engaged to Broadway star Maxine Elliott, 15 years his senior. Most probably she was not far from him when he died, serving as a nurse and helping the Belgian population financially, for which she later received the Order of the Belgian Crown. She too never married. ■

Norman Brookes won the doubles. After Brookes had secured the victory, Wilding lost to a great American player, Maurice McLoughlin, known as the Californian Comet.

It must have been his last tennis match: because of the war he chose not to play the US Championships but returned to England, where Navy Secretary Winston Churchill advised him to join the Royal Marines. He became Second Lieutenant, moved to the Intelligence Corps. Because he was familiar with Europe and, moreover, was a good motorcyclist, he joined the Royal Naval Armoured Car Division in Northern France. On 16th March 1915 he was promoted to First Lieutenant in a new squadron equipped with armoured Rolls Royces and on 2nd May became Captain.

In May he found himself in the thick of the fighting in northern France. On 9th May 1915 fighting continued at the Battle of Artois near Arras, where 1909 Tour de France winner Francois Faber from Luxembourg died on the same day as Wilding. It was in the Battle of Aubers

- 1 Other tennis players who died in First World War: Briton Kenneth Powell who played doubles in the 1908 Olympic Games at London, Canadian Bobby Powell (no family), also participant in the 1908 Olympics and Arthur Wear, semi-finalist at the 1904 Olympics in St. Louis. He died five days before the Armistice. Another soldier who just died before the war ended was not an Olympian, neither a great tennis player. He died on 5th October, just one day before his 20th birthday. This French aviator was never a famous sportsman but his name is well-known nowadays all over the world: Roland Garros. Also the Scottish 400 m Olympic Champion from 1908, Wyndham Halswelle, was killed on 31st March 1915 near Neuve-Chapelle.
- 2 May thanks and respect goes to Tony's niece Anna Wilding, Italian journalists Stefano Semeraro and Gianni Clerici, Bud Collins from Massachusetts, USA, John Barrett from Great Britain, Swedish writers Leif Yttergren and Hans Bolling and Dutch sports historians Jurryt van de Vooren and Tony Bijkerk. Also to Robbert Peter van Koldenhoven, who helped with the translation.
- 3 Laurence Doherty (1875-1919) played with his elder brother Reggie (1872-1910). Laurence developed into one of the most spectacular, aggressive, stylish and successful of British players. He and Reggie were one of the greatest doubles partnerships in the history of the game. Together they were eight-times Wimbledon doubles winners. Reggie won the Wimbledon singles from 1897 to 1900 (beating his brother in the 1898 final) and Laurence won from 1902 to 1906. Reggie was a notable stylist of early lawn tennis. Contemporary observers called his backhand a model of perfection. (John Barrett in his book World of Tennis.) Laurie also fought in the war, was invalidated out and died in 1919.

Maria Hors *25 March 1921 in Piraeus; †16 September 2015 in Athens

The dancer and choreographer Maria Hors, who has died aged 94, was synonymous with the Olympic Flame lighting ceremonies at Ancient Olympia for much of her life.

In 1936, her teacher, the renowned dancer Koula Pratsika invited her to take part in the lighting of the Olympic Flame destined for Berlin. Pratsika was the high priestess for what was then a new addition to the ceremonial. Maria was only fifteen years old at the time.

"She told me, you must come to Olympia! I had been her student since the age of eight so I participated in that first ceremony. I particularly remember that German woman Leni Riefenstahl who filmed it."

In adult life she enjoyed a successful career in the theatre. She taught drama at the Athens Conservatory became a specialist in the choreography of ancient Greek tragedies and was a teacher at the National Theatre. She also set up a rhythmic gymnastics school at the Lykeio Ellinidon, the traditional dance school in Athens.

In 1964, at the invitation of International Olympic Academy Dean Otto Szymiczek, she



took on the artistic direction of the ritual lighting ceremony. Over the next 42 years she became a familiar figure in Ancient Olympia. She planned the ceremonies, supervised the rehearsals and on the day itself, she led the solemn procession from the temple of Hera whilst beating a rhythm on a simple drum.

She took inspiration for her dance routines from the illustrations on ancient

Greek vases and once outlined what she looked for when selecting the priestesses. "The selection is based on manners, their kindness, their soul and their beauty. They should have a graceful poise and a face becoming a Greek."

Maria Hors masterminded the ceremony for the Athens 2004 Games, a particularly emotional occasion for all those who took part. "We felt the weight of Greece on our shoulders. The Athens Games was something special for all of us." she said. After the 2006 Turin Winter Olympics, she handed over responsibility for the flame lighting to one of her own pupils, Artemis Ignatiou.

Hors died at her Athens home in the shadow of the Acropolis. At her funeral, representatives of the Hellenic Olympic Committee were joined by "her beloved priestesses" the many young women who had participated in the ceremonies. "I tried to impart my feelings and my love for the flame to them." she had said. "This might be the reason why we were very close and worked as a family."

Philip Barker

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

By Volker Kluge



The lighting of the 'Maccabi Flame' in the Berlin Olympic Park. As she did so Nancy Glickman wore her father's 1936 vest.

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.¹ 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.² She and the so called 'half Jewish' fencer Helene Mayer had previously been criticized by the Paris émigré press along with the 'half-Jewish' just for wanting to compete in the Olympic Games.³

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)⁴, 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.⁵

However the Hungarian high jump Olympic champion Ibolya Csák was not Jewish even though she often mentioned in this context.⁶ 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.⁷

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.⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰

The episode started at the Final Track & Field Tryouts on 11th July 1936, where the 100 metres result was as follows: "1. Jesse Owens 10.4 s, 2. Ralph H. Metcalfe 1 1/2 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."¹¹ The German specialist magazine *Der Leichtathlet* also reported "For the relay the following will also travel: 4. Draper, 5. Glickman, 6. Stoller."¹² 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.¹³

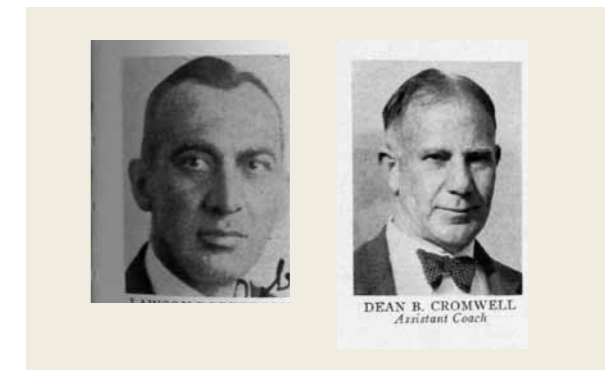
While Jesse Owens mentioned in a radio interview after his arrival in Berlin that he wanted only the gold medals over 100 m, 200 m and in the long jump¹⁴, the hopes of those who had not qualified for the individual events rested on the short relay. In his autobiography Glickman writes:

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.¹⁵

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 5th 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."¹⁶ On the evening of that day Owens won his third gold medal in the 200 m final.

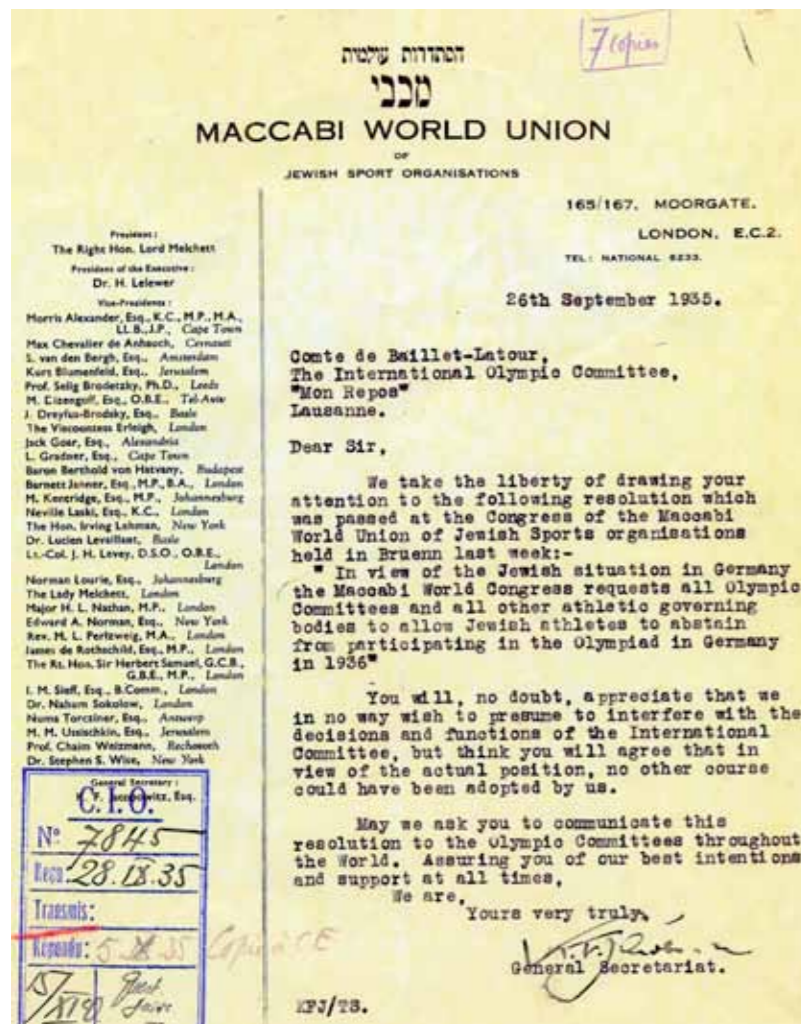


US Head Coach Lawson Robertson (far left) and Assistant Coach Dean B. Cromwell were responsible for team selection in the 4x100 m.

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.¹⁷

The heat for the 4x100 m relay took place on the afternoon of 8th 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: IOCIOSCArchive

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."¹⁸

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."¹⁹

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"²⁰, 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*.²¹

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.²²

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.²³ 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.²⁴

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.²⁵ 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."²⁶

Glickman's fellow sufferer overcame the ejection, which had hit him on his 21st 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*.²⁷

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.²⁸ "My feeling is that the Olympic disappointment seriously affected Stoller's life"²⁹, 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.³⁰

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 prerace 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.³¹

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.³²

Photo from the 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.³³ 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. The selection had been handled the same way at the 1932 Games in Los Angeles.

It is possible to regard the selection as equally political. Was there an ulterior motive in overlooking the black runners Eddie Tolan and Ralph Metcalfe, at the time the best athletes. This was a charge which might equally have been valid in 1936 had not Owens and Metcalfe been chosen for the relay.

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'.³⁴ 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.*³⁵

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 preparations³⁶, 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.*³⁷

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".³⁸ 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*, 5th 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 101/71407/No. 707 (3), 16th July 1936.
3 *Pariser Tageblatt*, 30th 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, 17th 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, 30th 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*, 31st July 2015.
11 Frederick W. Rubien (ed.), *Report of the American Olympic Committee. Games of the XIth Olympiad, Berlin, Germany*, New York, n. d., p. 121.
12 *Der Leichtathlet*, Vol. 13, 21st 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", 28th 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*, 5th 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*, 10th August 1936.
21 *Herald Tribune*, 10th August 1936.
22 The world record of 39.8 seconds lasted until 1st 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 champions in Paris-Colombes) with 41.0 seconds on 10th 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*, 9th 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/No. 790, 3rd August 1936.
35 *Ibid*, R 58/2322, Decree about the Activity of the Political Police regarding the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, 19th July 1936.
36 CIO, Session de 1934 Athènes, *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, No. 26, 26th 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, 24th 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, 3rd September 1935.

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XIX

Original manuscript by Ian Buchanan (†) and Wolf Lyberg (†), with additional material by Volker Kluge



345. | Antoine Anani MATTHIA | Togo



Born: 8 March 1927, Lomé
Died: 9 December 2008, Lomé

Co-opted: 28 March 1983
Resigned: 31 December 2007
Honorary Member from 2008
Attendance at Sessions: Present 31, Absent 2

After obtaining degrees in Pharmacy, Serology and Biochemistry in France, he returned home to join government service. In 1958, he was Inspector of Togo Pharmacies but resigned after one year to join a commercial firm.

After taking an interest in sports administration, he became General Secretary of the Togolese NOC in 1963, and was elected NOC President between 1976 and 1995. In addition, he was President of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCFA) from 1981 until 1989.

Elected as an IOC Member in 1983, he was as an NOC representative of the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1982–1990) and the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1982–1989), as well as being a member of the Sport for All Commission (1989–2001).

Matthia played a key role of promoting football in his home country. He himself was an active player before he became Vice-President of the Togolese Football Federation (1960–1971), then President from 1972 to 1974. He was a member of the FIFA Technical Committee from 1994 to 1998 and then the

Disciplinary Committee from 1998 to 2002. In 1999, Matthia received a 'serious warning' from the IOC following an investigation of members' conduct in the Salt Lake City bribery scandal leading to the 2002 Olympic Winter Games.

346. | Roque Napoléon MUÑOZ PEÑA | Dominican Republic



Born: 13 January 1928, Villa Lobos, Province of Monte Cristi
Died: 15 January 2011, Santo Domingo

Co-opted: 28 March 1983
Resigned: 31 December 2008
Honorary Member from 2009
Attendance at Sessions: Present 34, Absent 0

A civil engineer and surveyor, he was employed mainly in the public sector with the Ministry of Works. He played a key role in the administration of sport within his country. He began his career as President of the Dominican Chess Federation (1966–1970). In 1974 he was elected NOC President, an office he occupied until 1982.

He held many other administrative posts ranging from President of the Sport Equipment Committee (1975–1979), Chairman of the Art and Culture Commissions (1981–1990, 1998–2011) of the Pan-American Sports Organisation (PASO) to a member of the Executive Board of the Central American and Caribbean Sport Organisation (ODECABE) in 1981 and 1982. From 2000 he advised the Secretary of State for Sports.

Muñoz Peña earned great plaudits for the organisation of the regional games. He was President of the Organising Committee of the National Games in 1977, 2nd Vice-President of the Organising Committee for the XVth Central American and Caribbean Games in 1982 and a member of the Organising Committee of the Pan-American Games in Santo Domingo from 1999 to 2003.

Elected to the IOC in 1983, he was a member of the Olympic Solidarity (1989–2001) and Cultural and Olympic Education (2002–2008) Commissions.

347. | Pál SCHMITT | Hungary

Schmitt began with fencing in 1955 and with the sports club MTK Budapest developed into one of the world's best épée fencers. He was twice Hungarian champion and a member of the national team 130 times. In 1971, he won the individual World Cup, but he achieved his greatest successes with the team: in 1968 and 1972 Olympic victory, in 1970 and 1971 world champions, in 1969 and 1973 World Championship runners-up. At the 1976 Olympic Games he was fourth with the team.

An economics graduate of the Budapest University, he was a director of a major hotel chain before taking over as a director of the National Stadium in 1981. From 1983, Schmitt, who is married to the Olympic gymnastics silver medallist of 1964, Katalin Makray, was Deputy Sports Minister. In 1989, he became General Secretary of the NOC and a short time later also its President until 2010.

After the political change in Hungary, Schmitt served as his country's Ambassador to Spain and Andorra (1993–1997), and to Switzerland and Liechtenstein (1999–2003).

At the same time, with the support of Juan Antonio Samaranch, he had a rapidly rising career in the IOC. From 1991 (until 1999) he was a member of the Executive Board, for four years as Vice-President. In addition, he was a member of several IOC Commissions; from 1999 to 2000 he was also head of protocol of the IOC. However he failed in his attempt to be elected IOC President in 2001. Schmitt received only 11 votes.

His entry into politics was also unsuccessful. He stood as an independent candidate in the election for Mayor of Budapest, but was defeated by the incumbent. After that, he joined the reformed Fidesz-MPSZ-Party and became its Vice-President. With its support, he was elected its top candidate to the European Parliament in 2004. At the next election he became Deputy President of the Parliament, but soon thereafter gave up the post in Brussels after the Fidesz party placed him second on the list for the Hungarian elections. On 14th May 2010, with the two-thirds majority of the governing Fidesz party of Victor Orbán, he became Parliamentary President and on 29th June 2010 was the first IOC Member to be elected State President.

A year and a half later a Hungarian magazine reported that Schmitt's dissertation from 1992 was to a great extent plagiarism. After a commission had confirmed the accusations, the Senate of the Budapest Semmelweis University was obliged on 29th March 2012 to withdraw his doctorate. Thereupon Schmitt resigned as President, but retained his membership of the IOC, which in 2013 only issued him with a 'warning'.



Born: 13 May 1942, Budapest

Co-opted: 28 March 1983
Attendance at Sessions: Present 25, Absent 0

Executive Board Member No. 63
Elected Member 16 June 1991–18 June 1995
Second term: 18 June 1995–20 June 1999

Appointed 4th Vice-President 18 June 1995
Appointed 3rd Vice-President 17 July 1996
Appointed 2nd Vice-President 3 September 1997
Appointed 1st Vice-President 5 February 1998

Attendance at Meetings: Present 42, Absent 0

Mamadou Diagna Ndiaye (NOC President of Senegal) and **Nenad Lalovic** (President United World Wrestling) were elected as new Members of the IOC at the 128th IOC Session in Kuala Lumpur in 2015. Six long-standing Members whose mandates come to the end this year were elected as Honorary Members: **Patrick S. Chamunda** (ZAM); **James L. Easton** (USA); **Julio César Maglione** (URU); **Lambis V. Nikolaou** (GRE); **Olegario Vázquez Raña** (MEX); and **Vitaly Smirnov** (RUS).

Since the last issue following IOC Members died in 2015:

Reynaldo González López (CUB)
Member since 1995

4th July

Leo Wallner (AUT)
Member 1998–2014

29th July

Ashwini Kumar (IND)
Member 1973–2000

26th October

348. | Turgut ATAKOL | Turkey

Born: 10 October 1915,
Istanbul
Died: 9 April 1988,
Istanbul



Co-opted:
25 July 1984
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 5,
Absent 0

Atakol attended the German School in Istanbul, where he became well known for rowing and basketball. He played for the Galatasaray team and, upon retiring, became a referee, calling many international games including the Hungary–Czechoslovakia final of the 1955 European Championship.

He was the co-founder and President of the Turkish Basketball Federation from 1958 to 1964. A member of the FIBA Technical Commission, his book *The Technique of Basketball Refereeing* was accepted as the official guidebook. He was Director of the Organising Committee of the 1971 Mediterranean Games, Secretary-General of the NOC of Turkey (1973–1982) and later its President from 1982 to 1988.

A civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of the Exterior, he later became Director General of an automobile company and from 1971–1981 was an adviser to the newspaper *Hürriyet*.

Although already suffering from a terminal illness, he was a remarkably dynamic Master of Ceremonies at the 1987 IOC Session in Istanbul: but during a visit to the Calgary Winter Games the following year his condition deteriorated rapidly and before the Opening Ceremony had taken place he was flown home in a special plane placed at the disposal of the IOC by the Canadian Prime Minister.

Atakol was the first Turk to be accepted into the FIBA Hall of Fame in 2007. In his memory the Turgut Atakol Tournament has been held since 1994.

349. | H.S.H. Princess NORA of Liechtenstein | Liechtenstein

Born: 31 October 1950,
Zürich, Switzerland



Co-opted:
25 July 1984, replaced
Prince Franz-Josef II
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 38,
Absent 0

Princess Norberta (Nora) of Liechtenstein, Countess of Rietberg and Marquesa de Mariño is the daughter of Prince Franz-Josef II (1906–1989), who was a member of the IOC from 1936 until 1980. It was the first time that a daughter replaced her father as a member.

Educated at the University of Geneva, she became a research assistant at the World Bank in Washington and then worked for the International Institute for Environment and Development in London.

The Princess first took an interest in the Liechtenstein Girl Guides, whose President she was from 1973 to 1989. Since 1981, she has worked with various Development Aid and Catholic Church organisations.

She served as President of the Liechtenstein Olympic Committee for ten years from 1982, the first woman to occupy such an office. During this time she devoted herself especially for disability sport. She was the co-founder of Special Olympics Liechtenstein, whose President she has been since 2002.

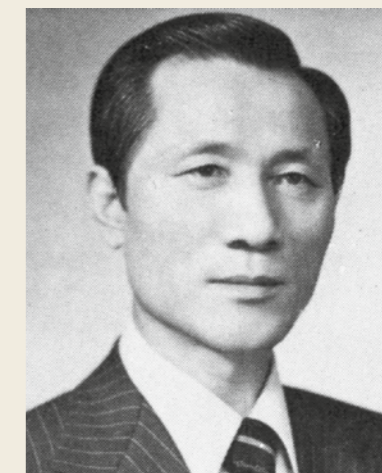
In 1988 she married the Spaniard Vicente Sartorius y Cabeza de Vaca, 3rd Marqués de Mariño (1931–2002). Her brother, Hans Adam II, is the current ruler of the Principality

350. | General PARK Chong Kyu | Republic of Korea

A graduate of the Rangers Course of the US Army Infantry School in Fort Benning, Georgia (1956–1958), he studied Law and Political Sciences at the Graduate School of Keonguk University. From 1961 to 1963 he served as Special Assistant for Security Affairs to the Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction. As Director General of the Presidential Protective Force (1963–1974) he was one of the most powerful men in Korea for more than a decade. He later served as a member of the National Assembly (1978–1980).

An enthusiast in many sports, he excelled in archery and shooting and was President of both the Korean and Asian Shooting Federations and a Vice-President of the International Shooting Union. He was Chairman of the Organising Committee for the World Shooting Championships in Seoul in 1978 and the first World Airgun Championships in 1979.

A pivotal figure in Korea's successful bid to host the 1988 Games, he never lived to see his dream fulfilled as he died within two years of being appointed to the IOC.



Born: 28 May 1930,
Kyungnam
Died: 3 December
1985, Seoul

Co-opted:
25 July 1984,
replacing Kim Taik
Soo (until his death)
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 3,
Absent 0



351. | David Sikhulumi SIBANDZE | Swaziland

Founder and first President of the Swaziland Olympic Committee in 1972. Other notable appointments included membership of the ANOC Executive Council (1981–1985) and Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. He led his country's delegation to the Olympic Games in 1972 and in 1980, also to the Commonwealth and African Games on numerous occasions.

He enjoyed a successful career as an accountant with the Ministry of Works and Communications and, on retiring from government, he became a director of a number of private commercial companies.

As his son Sibho had received a scholarship of around 100,000 USD and taken job with the Salt Lake City Economic Development Office during his studies at the University of Utah from the Salt Lake City Application Committee for the Winter Games of 2002, Sibandze was threatened with exclusion from the IOC. But before the Ad Hoc Commission could present the results of their investigation, he declared his withdrawal on 24th January 1999.



Born: 20 February
1932, Manzini

Co-opted:
25 July 1984
Resigned:
24 January 1999
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 23,
Absent 0

352. | Major-General Henry Edmund Olufemi ADEFOPE | Nigeria

Born: 15 March 1926,
Kaduna
Died: 11 March 2012

Co-opted:
6 June 1985
Resigned:
31 December 2006
Honorary Member
from 2007
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 29,
Absent 0



Henry Adefope attended the elite CMS Grammar School, the oldest secondary school in Nigeria, from 1938 to 1944, where he was captain of the cricket team. He proceeded to Glasgow University in Scotland from 1947 to 1952. After obtaining a medical degree he became a doctor in 1953.

In April 1953, he was commissioned in the Nigerian Army. He rose to the rank of Major-General and served as Director of Medical Services from 1967 to 1975. As a politician, he was Minister of Labour (1975-1978) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1978-1979).

He held many senior posts in Nigerian sports administration and was President of the Nigerian Olympic Committee (1967-1976), Chairman of the National Sports Council (1967-1971) and Vice-President of the Commonwealth Games Federation (1974-1982). During his time as head of the NOC he was also Chairman of the Organising Committee for the Second All-Africa Games in Lagos in 1973.

While with the IOC, he sat on many commissions: Tripartite, Apartheid and Olympism, Medical, Study for the Preparations of the 1996 Games, Enquiry Commission for the Games of 2000 and 2004, and Sport and Environment. After the Salt Lake City bribery scandal, proceedings were taken against him, but in the end he was cleared.

353. | Francisco José ELIZALDE | Philippines

Born: 10 October 1932,
San Sebastian, Spain

Co-opted: 6 June
1985, replacing
Jorge Vargas
Resigned:
31 December 2012
Honorary Member
from 2013
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 35,
Absent 0



Francisco J. Elizalde attended the Loyola School in New York, after which he was trained at the American Staunton Military Academy. During his studies at Harvard University he was assistant manager of the swimming teams (1953-1954).

After graduating, he returned to Manila to take up an appointment with the family-owned trading house – one of the oldest commercial firms in the Philippines. After many years with Elizalde & Co he retired to pursue his interest in various agricultural projects.

A leading figure in football administration, he was Vice-President (1980-1981) and then President of the National Football Federation (1982-1986) and became a member of the Philippine Olympic Committee in 1982.

After his election to the IOC in 1985 he was a member of various commissions. He was Chairman of the Nomination Commission (2003-2014) and a member of the Commissions Enquiry for the Games in 2000, Coordination for the Games in 2004 and of the Evaluation Commission for 2008.



354. | Carlos FERRER SALAT | Spain

A graduate in Economic Sciences, Chemical Engineering and Philosophy, he was a man of diverse talents and a board member of many business concerns.

An outstanding tennis player, he won the Spanish Junior singles (1947-1948) and was a finalist in the Senior Championship (1951-1952) before winning the title in 1953. Ranked No. 1 in Spain, he played on the Davis Cup in 1953 and 1954 and captained the team in his second year.

He began his professional career in the chemical business established by his grandfather. In 1953 he was the founder and President of Laboratorios Ferrer (since 1975 Ferrer International S.A.), dedicated to the pharmaceutical and chemical industry. In 1973 he founded the Bank of Europe. From 1977 to 1984 he was President of the Spanish Confederation of Business Organisations (CEOE) and from 1987 to 1998 of the Federation of Catalan Businesses (CEO). In 1997 he was elected President of the European Union's Economic and Social Council (CES), an advisory body created by the Treaty of Rome.

Elected to the IOC in 1985, he was a member of the Finance Commission in the same year. He was Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Olympic Bid Committee for the Games of 1992 in Barcelona (1985-1986) and subsequently Vice-President of the Organising Committee. 1987 he was elected as President of the Spanish NOC (1987-1998). The IOC nominated him as its Commissioner at Expo Sevilla in 1992.



Born: 22 March 1931,
Barcelona
Died: 18 October
1998, Barcelona

Co-opted: 6 June
1985 (until his death),
replacing Marquis de
Mac-Mahon
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 19,
Absent 0

355. | Robert Hanna HELMICK | USA

A provincial attorney of no particular Robert H. Helmick achieved prominence as a sports administrator. While at Drake University he was named an All-American water polo player and went on to coach the 1972 US Olympic team, which won a bronze medal. From the base he rose to become General Secretary (1976-1984) and then President of the International Swimming Federation (FINA) from 1984 to 1988. He also served as President of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU/1978-1980) and was elected President of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) from 1985 to 1991.

He became a member of the IOC that year and after his election to the Executive Board in 1989 he seemed well placed to eventually succeed Juan Antonio Samaranch as President before a major scandal brought about his downfall.

Allegations, first made in the newspaper *USA Today*, that Helmick had profited personally from contracts he signed on behalf the USOC and from consultancy fees on Olympic related matters proved to be well founded. As further indiscretions came to light, pressure mounted and two US Congressmen called for an independent inquiry into Helmick's business dealings. Arnold Burns, a former deputy US Attorney General, led an investigation and could find no redeeming features in Helmick's conduct. The Iowa lawyer tried to brazen things out claiming that 'he had done nothing wrong' but the evidence against him was such that he eventually resigned as President of the USOC. Shortly afterwards he quietly resigned from the IOC and his eventful association with the Olympic Movement ended.



Born: 5 March 1937,
Des Moines, Iowa
Died: 15 April 2003,
Des Moines, Iowa

Co-opted: 6 June
1985, replacing
Douglas Roby
Resigned:
4 December 1991
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 8,
Absent 0

Executive Board
Member No. 61
Elected Member
1 September 1989
Resigned:
4 December 1991
Attendance at
Meetings: Present 7,
Absent 3



356. | H.S.H. ALBERT II, Sovereign Prince of Monaco | Monaco



Born: 14 March 1958,
Monaco

Co-opted:
28 March 1983,
replacing Prince
Pierre of Monaco
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 40,
Absent 0

The son of Prince Rainier III and the grandson of Prince Pierre, he was the third member of the Grimaldi dynasty to sit on the IOC, although there was an interval of 20 years before he succeeded his grandfather.

His mother was the famous American actress Grace Kelly (1929–1982), whose father, John Brenden Kelly (1890–1960) won Olympic gold medals in 1920 in Antwerp in the sculls and in the double sculls as well as in Paris in 1924 in the double sculls. Albert's uncle, John B. Kelly, Jr. (1917–1985) also won bronze in the sculls in 1956 in Melbourne.

After graduating in Political Sciences from Amherst College, Massachusetts (USA) he served as a Lieutenant in the French Navy before working as a management trainee with various firms in New York and Paris.

An enthusiast of all sports he was a black belt in judo and he competed as a bobsledder at five Winter Olympics from 1988 to 2002. At his first Games in 1988, a croupier from the Monte Carlo Casino was his partner in the 2-man event, with whom he reached his best placing – 25th. As befits his position, he

is President of numerous Monegasque sporting federations. Since 1994 he has also been President of the NOC.

After the death of his father on 6th April 2005, having reigned since May 1949, he ascended the Monegasque throne as Albert II. The official enthronement, following a three-month period of mourning, took place on 12th July 2005.

Since 2011, Albert II has been married to the former South African swimmer Charlene Wittstock, who won three gold medals at the Africa Games of 1999. The couple had met in 2000 at the Olympic Games in Sydney, at which the present-day Princess Charlène took part in the backstroke and in the medley relay (5th place).

In 2006, Albert II took part in a north polar expedition to mark the 100th anniversary of the Arctic expedition of his great-grandfather Prince Albert I, and on 16th April he became the first reigning Head of State to set foot on the North Pole. Three years later he also reached the South Pole.

In 1986 he was elected President of the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF), whereby he rose to be one of the most influential members of the IOC and to be the long-serving Chairman of the Radio & TV Commission. Although he had narrowly escaped exclusion during the investigations into the Salt Lake City bribery scandal and instead received a 'severe warning', he had the audacity to apply for the post of IOC President in Moscow in 2001. That Kim still had considerable influence was shown by the 21 votes with which he achieved the second best result behind Jacques Rogge (46 votes).

What until then were only rumours hardened in early 2003, when the IOC Executive Committee suspended Kim on the recommendation of the Ethics Commission because of non-permitted electioneering, which however did not prevent Kim from standing for Vice-President at the next Session in 2003 in Prague. His comeback seemed successful when he won against the Norwegian Gerhard Heiberg with 55–44 votes.

Six months later, however, the South Korean public prosecutor accused him of bribery and diversion of funds and ordered his arrest. Thereupon, he was again suspended by the IOC Executive Committee. Kim resigned as President of the WTF and as member of the South Korean Parliament. On 3rd June 2004 he was sentenced by the Seoul Central District Court to a prison sentence of two and a half years. He pre-empted exclusion from the IOC with a letter to President Rogge announcing his resignation on 9th May 2005.

357. | KIM Un Yong | Republic of Korea



Born: 19 March 1931,
Seoul

Co-opted:
17 October 1986,
replacing General
Park Chong Kyu
Resigned:
9 May 2005
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 26,
Absent 0
Executive Board
Member No. 60
Elected Member 15
September 1988–23
July 1992
Second term: 23 July
1992–17 July 1996
Appointed 4th Vice-
President 23 July 1992
Appointed 3rd
Vice-President

A law graduate from Yonsei University, Seoul and Texas Western College, USA, he served as protocol secretary of the Korean Prime Minister in 1961 and became Counsellor to the Korean Mission to the United Nations, Washington and London from 1963. In 1965 he was delegate to the 20th United Nations General Assembly. He also served as Deputy Director of the Presidential Security Forces.

Kim's career in sporting politics began in 1971 when he was nominated as 6th President of the Korean Association of Taekwondo (KTA). In the same year, the South Korean President Park Chung Hee declared taekwondo to be the national sport and a means of education.

There then ensued a struggle for power between Kim and General Choi Hong Hi, who since the 1950s had rendered great service to the development and international propagation of taekwondo. When the quarrel escalated, Choi moved the headquarters of the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) (which he led) to Toronto. The following year, to tie in with the World Championships in Seoul, Kim established the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF), and became its first president.

With massive support from the South Korean government, in 1980 Kim achieved recognition of taekwondo as an Olympic sport and its staging as a demonstration sport during the 1988 Games in Seoul. In 1994 the IOC agreed to accept taekwondo into the programme of the 2000 Games in Sydney.

Kim was Vice-President and General Secretary of the Korean NOC (1974–1978), Honorary President in 1986, then President since 1993. In the Organising Committee of the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 he was Vice-President.

23 September 1993 Appointed
Appointed 2nd Vice-
President 4th Vice-President
4 July 2003
5 September 1994 Appointed
Appointed 3rd Vice-President
1st Vice-President 10 August 2004
18 June 1995 Attendance at
Third term: 4 July Meetings: Present
2003–9 May 2005 58, Absent 1

358. | Lambis Vasileos NIKOLAOU | Greece



Lambis Nikolaou studied from 1954 to 1959 at the Technical University of Munich. A civil engineer and public works contractor, he was a board member of several technical companies and in 1983 was the founder and President of DEPANOM, a public body for hospital constructions.

A member of the Ocean Racing Yacht Club, the Ethicos Gymnastics Club and the Hellenic Cycling Federation, he became President of the Hellenic Olympic Committee (HOC) from 1985 to 1992 and from 1997 to 2004.

Nikolaou was at the head of the completion of the Athens Olympic Stadium as well as the Stadium of Peace and Friendship in Faleron. He was the Advisor to the Greek Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou, on technical issues (1982–1989 and 1993–1996). He also advised Papandreou's successor, Kostas Simitis.

He was Vice-President of the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games Athens 2004, as he was on the Board of the Ephoria of the International Olympic Academy. It was by his initiative that, in 1993, the IOA Conference Center and, in 1998, the new HOC Headquarters were constructed.

He was a member of various IOC Commissions. Since 2009, he has led the Commission for Culture and Olympic Education (now Culture and Olympic Heritage).

Born: 23 November
1935, Athens
Honorary Member
from 2016
Attendance at
Sessions: Present
38, Absent 2
Executive Board
Member No. 73
Elected Member
16 July 2001–
7 July 2005
Second term:
7 July 2005–
9 October 2009
Appointed
4th Vice-President
7 July 2005
Appointed
3rd Vice-President
10 February 2006
Appointed
2nd Vice-President
7 July 2007
Appointed
1st Vice-President
7 August 2008

Obituaries



Lyubov Baranova, née Kozyreva (URS), *27 August 1929 in Bugry, Vsevolozhsky District, †22 June 2015 in Moscow. Lyubov Kozyreva (the word 'Kozyr' means 'triumph' in Russian) experienced the 871 day long blockade in the Second World War of her home city of Leningrad, which exacted around 1.1 million civilian victims from the first to the last day. From 1950 to 1958 the teacher, who weighed only 46 kilos, was 16 times Soviet champion in cross-country skiing, of which six were over individual distances.

In 1954, after she had become world champion in Falun over 10 km and in the 3x5 km relay, she was the first Soviet athlete to win Olympic gold in 1956 in Cortina on the 10 km distance as well as silver in the relay behind Finland. After her marriage she won two further Olympic silver medals in 1960 in Squaw Valley under the name of Baranova.

In addition she became world champion in 1958 and 1962 with the relay. She was the first Soviet athlete to win over 10 km in 1955 in Holmenkollen. After her sporting career, she worked as a cross-country ski coach. (VK)



Esther Brand (RSA), *29 September 1922 in Springbok; †20 June 2015 in Bloemfontein. Esther Brand competed in the high jump and discus throw at the 1952 Olympics, winning the high jump gold medal. She led the world list three times in the high jump, in 1940-41 and 1952. She was also third on the year list in 1951 and fifth in 1939.

Under her maiden name van Heerden she equalled, on 29th March 1941, with 1.66 m the world record of Dorothy Odam (GBR), who had set it in 1939. However recognition by the IAAF did not follow until 1976 because of a claim by the Swiss Federation, whose

member Ilsebill Pfennig had also attained 1.66 m in 1941.

This confusion had arisen through the disqualification of the German high jumper Dora Ratjen, who had increased the world record to 1.70 m as European champion in 1938. Subsequently it had however been established that Ratjen should have been classified as a man. (BM/VK)

Ivan Dvorny (URS), *5 January 1952 in Yasnaya Polyana; RUS, † 21 September 2015 in Omsk. Born in a small village near Omsk, Ivan Dvorny did track and field athletics (mostly shot put) in his youth and did not take up basketball until 1966, when he moved to Omsk to study in high school. He started professional basketball with Uralmash Sverdlovsk in 1969 and from 1971-73 played with Spartak Leningrad. With Spartak, Dvorny won the FIBA European Cup Winner's Cup in 1973.

Dvorny was selected to the Soviet national team in 1970, after playing on the winning European Junior Champions. The high point of his career was at the 1972 Olympics, where the Soviet team beat the Americans in a highly controversial final, by 51-50, and won a gold medal. The next year the Soviet team, as the reigning Olympic champions, had a two-month tour of America, but after returning, he was arrested and charged with smuggling and received a three-year prison sentence. Apparently Dvorny had bought a pair of jeans and a shirt in America, had not declared them in customs and had attempted to sell them in Sverdlovsk, but there were also wide-spread rumors that it was actually a mock-trial, as a KGB attempt to tone down the popularity of the Soviet team, who had become national heroes after winning the Olympic gold. After serving his sentence, Dvorny returned to basketball, but at less than his previous level.

From 1976-78 he played with Spartak Vladivostok and from 1978-

80 was with Dynamo Moskva, but with little success. He retired in 1980, at only 28-years-old. Because of his criminal record, Dvorny had difficulty finding a job, so from 1980-94 he worked as a fitter at the locomotive depot Moskovka in Omsk and from 1994-2000 worked as a maintenance man at the Omsk fire department. In 2001 he emigrated to the United States, where he settled in Baltimore, Maryland, and worked at a local supermarket for nearly 10 years before returning to Russia. From 2012 until his death from lung cancer, Dvorny was President of the Omsk Region Basketball Federation. Since 2009 an annual basketball tournament in his honour has been held in Omsk. (TK)

Achim Hill (GER/GDR), *1 April 1935 in Berlin, †4 August 2015 in Berlin. Hill was the first East German oarsman to take part in three Olympic Games and also the first to win a medal. At first he was a member of the famous sports club Einheit Berlin, which he had to leave at the time of the Cold War as he was not prepared to give up his studies in aircraft construction in West Berlin. He then became a member of a small works sports community, in which he continued his sports career without a coach or support undeterred.

Hill began in 1953 as a oarsmen, five years later he moved to the sculls and became GDR champion in 1959 and 1960, after that also from 1962 to 1967. At the all-German Olympic qualifications events of 1960 he surprisingly defeated the four times European championship runner-up Klaus von Fersen (FRG); then he gained Olympic silver behind the Russian Vyatcheslav Ivanov. There was the same result in 1964 in Tokyo. In his third Olympic Games in 1968 in Mexico City Hill was fifth.

One of his greatest successes was winning the European Championship in 1967 in Vichy, at which he was able to beat the legendary Ivanov for the first and only time.

After the building of the Berlin Wall Hill he studied applied mechanics in Dresden. Thereafter he worked as a qualified engineer at the Institute for Rolling Stock. From 1990 until spring 2000 he was President of a Berlin rowing club. (VK)

Erikas Zuchold, née Barth (GDR), *19 March 1947 in Lucka, †22 August 2015 in Alto, Paraguay. The delicate Leipzig gymnast really wanted to join a circus, and in the end she did land up there. But in between lay a sporting career which anyone could admire. The flickflack shown by her on the balance beam for the first time on 7th June 1964 made her internationally recognised.

The same year she won the elimination contests for the all-German Olympic team, but a few days before the departure for Tokyo she tore her Achilles tendon in an unfortunate landing during a salto on the floor mat, so that she was deprived of perhaps her greatest success. Not until 1966 – in the meantime she had married the track cyclist Dieter Zuchold – did she recover her form. In Dortmund she became runner-up to the world champion in the horse vault and fourth in multi-events.

In the ensuing period she did not escape further injury: in 1970 she saw herself compelled to have an operation on her meniscus. But just a few months later she became



world champion in vault and beam in 1970 and runner-up in multi-events. Soon after she was chosen as "GDR Sportswoman of the Year".

Erika Zuchold took part in 1968 and 1972 in the Olympic Games and was twice second in the vault. She won two further silver medals in 1972 with the team as well as on the uneven parallel bars. In 1968 as well she was third with the team. In addition she won 19 GDR championship titles.

She studied education and was then trained as an art teacher. Later came an evening degree in painting and graphic art. She had several exhibitions and received a series of prizes for her work. Besides that she tried herself out an entertainer. She did tap-dancing, rode on elephants across the ring and dared to go on the high trapeze as an artiste.

But from the 1990s the blows of fate piled up. As an artist great success eluded her – she lived on the margins of existence. After the death of her husband in February 2014 she resolved to emigrate to Paraguay, where her mother and sister already lived. She sold her medals, prizes and diplomas and left Germany at the end of June 2015, only to die two months later in her new homeland.

At a memorial service on 2nd October Erika Zuchold's brother who had remained in Germany expressed the suspicion that his sister had died an unnatural death. (VK)

Kurt Oppelt (AUT), *18 March 1932 in Vienna; †16 September 2015 in Goldenrod, Florida (USA). The 1956 Olympic champions in pair skating started his career as a singles skater, placing third at the Austrian Championships in 1951-52 and second in 1953. He placed 11th at his only World Championship in singles, in 1953. Kurt Oppelt and partner Sissy Schwarz were Austrian champions from 1952-56. In 1952 they had their international debut as a couple, placing seventh at both the Europeans and Worlds. They



won bronze at the 1953 European Championships and the 1954 World Championships, adding a silver that year at the Europeans. In 1955 they did not participate at Europeans but at Worlds they were close runners-up to the Canadians Frances Dafoe and Norris Bowden. Their best year was 1956, as they won the European, World and Olympic titles.

Oppelt/Schwarz joined the Wiener Eisrevue and performed in ice shows for three or four years. In 1976 he received the Olympic Flame when it arrived in Austria coming from Athens. Oppelt was the coach of the Royal Dutch figure skating team from 1957-1960. He later settled in the United States, and beginning in 1967, he was an instructor at Penn State University in its College of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, although he later worked for an insurance company. In 1996 he received the Golden Medal of Honour for Services to the Republic of Austria. He was inducted into Austrian Olympic Hall of Fame in 1976. (OM)

Miloslava Misáková (TCH), * 25 February 1922 in Horákov; †1 July 2015 in Prague. The Czech was the sister of Eliška Misáková, who was on the Gymnastics team for the 1948 Olympics, but contracted poliomyelitis while training in London, and died on the day when the competition began.

Despite this tragedy, Miloslava Misáková won a gold medal with the Czechoslovak team. She later coached youth gymnastics and worked as a gymnastics judge. Before her death she was the oldest living Czechoslovak Olympic gold medallist. (BM)



Galina Prozumenshchikova, divorced Stepanova (URS), *26 November 1948 in Sevastopol, Crimea; †19 July 2015 in Moscow. Galina Prozumenshchikova, who was born in the Crimea and whose father was a U-boat commandant, was the first Soviet swimming star. The breaststroke specialist, who was a member of CSKA Moscow, was the first to win an Olympic swimming gold, in 1964 in the 200 metres breaststroke, to which she later added two silvers (1968 and 1972 in 100 metres) and two bronzes (200 metres in 1968 and 1972).

She also won three European titles (1966 and 1970 in 200 m and 1970 in 100 m), to which she added two European Championships medley relay silvers (1966, 1970). She also set five world records during her career, four in 200 m (2:47.7 and 2:45.4 in 1964, 2:45.3 in 1965 and 2:40.8 in 1966) and one in 100 m (1:15.7 in 1966).

After the Olympic Games in Mexico she began the study of journalism, which she concluded in 1976 with a diploma. She married the engineer Vladimir Stepanov and in November 1969 brought her daughter Irina into the world. She finished her sporting career after the 1972 Olympics and worked as a methodologist for the Soviet Sports Committee. After that she married a second time, but kept her maiden name. (TK/VK)

Pyotr Kondratyevich Korol (URS), *2 January 1941 in Bredy, Chelyabinsk, RUS; †2 July 2015 in Lviv, UKR. Korol took up weightlifting in 1957, but rose to prominence nearly 20 years later, in the mid-1970s. He was not selected for the Soviet team until he won his only national title in 1972.

In addition to his 1976 Olympic title in Montreal, Korol won world lightweight titles in 1974-1976 and a European lightweight title in 1975. He set five lightweight world records between 1971 and 1975: four in the clean & jerk, and one in the total. After finishing his sporting career after the 1976 Olympics Korol worked as a weightlifting coach in the Ukraine. (TK)

György Mészáros (HUN), *30 April 1933 in Budapest; †14 September 2015 Budapest. The Hungarian sprint canoeist competed from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s. Mészáros won two Olympic silver medals in 1960 at Rome in the kayak relay and the K-2 1000 metres. He also won five medals at the World Championships, highlighted by a gold in the K-2 1000 metres in 1954, adding three silvers in the 1958 kayak relay and K-4, and the 1971 K-4 10 km.



His daughter Erika Mészáros became a world class kayaker, winning Olympic gold in the 1992 K-4 event and silver in the same event in 1988. (BM)

Vasily Petrovich Ilyin (URS), *8 January 1949 in Lisiy Nos (RUS); †21 September 2015. Ilyin played his entire career from the late 1960s until the early 1980s with one club – MAI Moscow. With his team, he won the

EHF Champions League in 1973, and was runner-up next year and EHF Cup Winner's Cup in 1977.

Ilyin was on the Soviet national team from 1970-78 and was capped 101 times, scoring 177 goals. He was an Olympic champion in 1976 and took silver at the 1978 World Championships. He also played for Soviet teams that finished fifth at the 1972 Olympics, fifth at the 1974 World Championships, and ninth at the 1970 World Championships. After finishing his sporting career, he worked as a handball coach in Moscow. (TK)

Robert "Bobby" Barry Cleary (USA), *21 April 1936 in Cambridge, Massachusetts; †16 September 2015 in Hyannis, Massachusetts. From 1955 through 1958, Bobby Cleary played hockey for Harvard and broke the school scoring record, set by his older brother, Billy. He led the nation in scoring in both his junior and senior years, and captained the team as a senior. In addition he played three years of varsity baseball, also captaining that team in his senior year.

After leaving college, Cleary played for the 1960 gold medallists, went into the insurance business, and also set up a casualty and property company with his older brother.

The Cleary brothers had missed the Olympic try-outs through business commitments and their late call-up to the roster was originally very unpopular with their teammates. He is a life member of the Million Dollar Round Table. (PT)

Mikhail Burtsev (URS), *21 June 1956 in Moscow; †16 October 2015 in Moscow. Burtsev took up fencing in 1965 and was on the Soviet team from 1976-88. Competing in sabre, he won Olympic team golds in 1976 and 1980, an individual silver in 1980 and a team silver in 1988. He likely missed more medals when the Soviet Union boycotted the 1984 Olympics, but Burtsev competed

at the 1984 Friendship Games, a replacement games, where he won both the individual and team sabre competitions.

At the World Championships, Burtsev won six team titles (1977, 1979, 1983, 1985-1987), individual silver in 1978 and team silvers in 1978 and 1981, and individual bronze in 1979 and team bronze in 1982. Burtsev also won the team World Cup in 1983 and the team European Cup in 1978, 1979, and 1983-1985.

After finishing his sporting career, Burtsev worked as a sabre coach in Moscow. In 1992 he was the head coach of the Unified Team's Olympic sabre fencers. (TK/WR)

Norman Edwards (JAM), *24 September 1962 in Jamaica; †13 July 2015 in Washington, DC. Norman Edwards grew up in Silver Springs, USA, but was born in Jamaica giving him dual citizenship. In 1984, Edwards joined three Jamaican teammates to win the silver medal in the 4x100 m relay at the Olympics in Los Angeles. He was also a semifinalist in the 100 metres. Following his track career, Edwards worked in the financial industry for more than 20 years before joining the Long & Foster Real Estate office in Annandale, earlier this year. (WR)

Eduardo Guerrero (ARG), *4 March 1928 in Salto; †17 August 2015 in Buenos Aires. Guerrero was a gold medallist in double sculls rowing at the 1952 Helsinki Olympics. He also competed in Rugby for the French Sports Club and was the founder and director of the Museo Olímpico Rodante. In 2002, Guerrero paddled along the Parana River from Puerto Iguazu to Buenos Aires, a distance of more than 1500 km. (BM)

Ildikó Tordasi (Schwarzenberger), (HUN), *9 September 1951 in Budapest; †13 July 2015 in Budapest. The Hungarian Jew with the sport name "Tordasi" was one of the greatest female fencers, winning



four Olympic medals, and 11 medals at the World Championships. The highlight of her career was winning the individual gold medal in foil at the 1976 Montréal Olympics. To this she added a team silver in 1972 and bronzes in 1976 and 1980. She won two world titles, both in team foil, in 1971 and 1973. She had four individual foil podiums, with silvers in 1973-74 and bronzes in 1977 and 1979. In 1973 and 1976 she was named Hungarian "Sportswoman of the Year". (BM/VK)

Boris Arsenyevich Shilkov (URS), *28 June 1927 in Arkhangelsk, RUS; †27 June 2015 in St. Petersburg. Shilkov first rose to fame in 1952, when he skated 2:14.3 min for 1500 metres at Medeo, although he lost out to Valentin Chaykin, who broke the world record with 2:12.9. Shilkov made his international debut at the 1953 World All-round Championships and won silver behind his compatriot Oleg Goncharenko, who would remain his closest rival throughout his career. At the 1954 World All-round Championships, Shilkov beat Goncharenko and won the world title. He also captured his only European All-round title in that year.

In 1955 in Medeo, Dmitry Sakunenko became the first person to skate

5000 metres below eight minutes, with 7:54.9. In a later pair Shilkov then improved this world record to 7:45.6, which was considered almost unbelievable at the time, but at the 1956 Olympics Shilkov proved this time was not impossible after all, when he finished only three seconds above his own world record to win the Olympic gold.

In addition to his gold and silver at the World All-round Championships, Shilkov won another silver in 1957 and bronze in 1955. He also won the following distance medals at the World Championships: 500 m – silver (1953 and 1955); 1500 m – gold (1953-54, 1956-57) and bronze (1955); 5000 m – silver (1954) and bronze (1957); and 10,000 m – bronze (1954). At the European Championships, Shilkov was less successful, winning, in addition to his only all-round title, the following distance medals: 500 m – gold (1958); 1500 m – gold (1954) and silver (1957); and 5000 m – bronze (1954). In spite of his Olympic gold and world record at 5000 m, Shilkov often had problems with the longest distance. Three times he led after three distances, only to lose because of a bad 10,000 km.

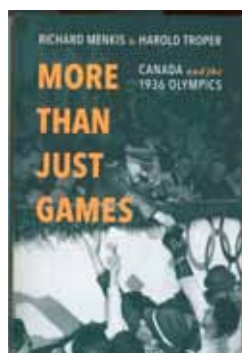
After his sporting career Shilkov had a long and successful career as a skating coach and official. From 1959-1962 he was a coach with Trud Leningrad and then from 1962-1964 and 1966-1968 he was the head coach of the national team. After that he worked as a skating coach in Leningrad and finished his career from 1979 until his retirement in 1989 with sport club Dynamo. His most famous pupils were Ants Antson, Olympic champion at 1500 m in 1964, who died on 31st October 2015. (TK)



BM = Bill Mallon, OM = OlyMADMen, PT = Paul Tchir, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt

The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.

BOOK REVIEWS



Richard Menkis / Harold Troper
More Than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics
 University of Toronto Press,
 Toronto/Buffalo/London, 2015
 pp. 281, \$27.95, ISBN 978-1-4426-2690-4

Reviewed by Robert K. Barney

Just when one believes that “everything possible” has been published on Olympic history’s most written-about event, the both glorious and notorious Olympic Games of 1936, there arrives without much fanfare what I conclude to be the most thorough scholarly treatment yet produced in any language on perhaps the most critical issue confronting countries the world over in their contemplation towards participating in that historic event which occurred almost eight decades ago. This is a bold statement, I know, but no-one, in my opinion, has penetrated this subject with respect to a single country as deeply and thoroughly as have the authors with respect to Canada.

Though I recognise that over time there have been many excellent (along with some less than excellent) examinations of the boycott issue surrounding the 1936 Games, many of them published in peer-reviewed scholarly journals, and, as well, in theme-designated book chapters, there never has been, to my knowledge, an entire monograph

of high scholarship devoted to the subject of one country’s grappling with the dilemma of whether to “show up or not” for the Nazi-shaped, Adolf Hitler-endorsed Olympic festival in the summer of 1936, a show that Canadian athletes, like their then British brethren, dignified with their presence.

This is a splendid book! With that statement made, one must necessarily start with a comment about the authors. The idea for this book, indeed its title, evolved from the “absolutely outstanding exhibits”,¹ entitled *More than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics* and its sister exhibition, *Framing Bodies: Sport and Spectacle in Nazi Germany*, each of which opened on 15th October 2009 at Vancouver’s Holocaust Education Centre in British Columbia, Canada. The exhibitions closed in the early autumn almost a year later.² The writing and research experts for the exhibition, *More Than Just Games*, were the Canadian-Jewish authors Richard Menkis and Harold Troper. Indeed, the authors themselves “kicked off” the exhibitions with keynote addresses; in Troper’s case, *The Story Behind the Story*, and in Menkis’s, *The Next Step*.

Richard Menkis is an Associate Professor at the University of British Columbia, cross-appointed in both the Departments of History and Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies. His published work focuses on Jewish studies. Harold Troper, Professor at the University of Toronto’s Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), specializes in Jewish-Canadian history. Among several works, his best known monograph, written with co-author Irving Abella, is *None Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (University of Toronto Press, 2012), selected by the *Literary Review of Canada* as “one of the 100 most important Canadian books ever written”, and winner of several

literary awards, including the Canadian Historical Association’s prestigious John Macdonald Award.

In their richly written and exhaustive research effort in producing this book, Mankis and Troper’s result is one to be greatly admired. Journeys into the National Archives of Canada, family collections (including P. J. Mulqueen’s and David Halton’s), the Canadian Jewish Congress National Archives, and the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame Archives, to cite only a few repositories germane to their mission, together with impressions gained as a result of the afore mentioned exhibition(s), prove that the authors’ dedicated and far-ranging efforts were not carried out in vain.

An attractive feature of the book, one that lends distinct “personality” to the work, is the illustrations section featuring 21 relevant photographs. Though the authors offer the reader a vivid journey as far as literary quality is concerned, I must take issue with their assessment view (in their words) of “the careful editing of the manuscript by the University of Toronto Press’s Beth McAuley and Melissa MacAulay”. The some 200 pages of text exhibit enough errors in the form of typos, missing words, and downright incorrect assumptions to prompt scores of frowns and “head-scratching” moments for the reader.

A remark about the book’s cover! The authors fail to distinguish that the illustration depicts a scene from the 1936 Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, undoubtedly on the last day of the festival following the final ice hockey match between Canada and the USA. One can clearly see a Canadian hockey player offering his autograph book to a soon-to-be notorious individual present to close the Games, Adolf Hitler. To Hitler’s right can be seen his Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, himself busily signing autographs.

Something might have been made of that scene by the authors, one that would lend abstract support to their major argument that the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) “heeled” to Canadian government demands and, as well, to the direction of “Mother England” in gratifying the masters of the great German endeavor, an endeavor promoted by what was all too apparent to the rest of the world, even as early as 1935, as an evil regime.

Mankis and Troper present a carefully laid-out argument that Canadian government authorities and the leadership of the Canadian Olympic Committee, despite an avalanche of evidence to the contrary on Nazi persecution, suppression, disenfranchisement, concentration camp imprisonment, even murder, of Jews, gypsies, Catholics, Communists, the mentally disabled, and political opponents, in effect, ignored such indictments in favour of preserving important trade considerations and, in line with Mother England’s consistent diplomatic posture, a refusal to ruffle the feathers of a regime gaining rapid ground towards becoming a world power. Much of Mankis’ and Troper’s expansive evidence surrounds the attempts made by various individuals and organisations to bring the boycott message to the attention of those with whom the decision rested: “to go” or not “to go” to Germany.

Prominent in this scenario, the authors identify several heroes as pro-boycott “messengers.” Most prominent in that pantheon was the noted Toronto Rabbi, Maurice N. Eisendrath, a “silvery-tongued” orator and fiery exponent of denying Germany its Olympic host destiny. Allied to Eisendrath’s resolution towards boycotting the Games, Matthew Halton, a *Toronto Star* reporter, stood almost alone among Canadian journalists in persistently calling

for a Canadian conscience to prevail in the argument against sending a team to Germany. Both Eisendrath and Halton visited pre-Olympic Germany and Berlin to witness for themselves the budding atrocities against which railed.

Also, H. M. Caiserman, an immigrant journalist and Montreal labor Zionist, steadfastly and effectively rallied the influential Canadian Jewish Congress for the pro-boycott cause. And then, there was the athletically-well-connected Hyman E. Herschorn, President of the Montreal Young Men’s Hebrew Association (YMHA), President of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association (CASA), and a voting member of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC), under whose authority the Canadian Olympic Committee existed, who made sure awareness of pro-boycott action reached the awareness of his sports colleagues.

Collectively, and with the aid of others, these figures helped to organise public debates, rallies, and demonstrations, along with energizing the literary efforts of numerous Jewish, labour, and political-left organisations bent on trumpeting a boycott.

There were also villains against boycott identified by Mankis and Troper, none of whom were greater and more damaging to the non-participation cause than P. J. Mulqueen, President of and leading spokesman for the Canadian Olympic Committee. At a climactic meeting in Halifax, Nova Scotia in late November 1935, Mulqueen saw to it that discussion of pro-boycott matters never entered into the final COC assembly floor debates on the issue of participation. Amazingly, despite an avalanche of dramatic evidence passed his way by COC delegate Herschorn and other leaders of the Jewish community, labour factions, and the political left, documenting the distressing conditions in Germany, Mulqueen

publicly exclaimed that “he knew nothing of pro-boycott protests” (p. 108). Mulqueen found important allies for his participation quest in the persons of James Merrick and George McLaren Brown, Canada’s two IOC Members, each of whom vigorously vouched for Germany as an appropriate Olympic host.

Finally defeated in the forums of decision-making on the issue of participation, the pro-boycott forces attempted a “last ditch” assault towards destroying the major avenues of funding for the Olympic team. In a campaign underscored by challenging the specter of public tax monies awarded to support what was proclaimed to be an “immoral undertaking”, pro-boycott folks ultimately failed to deter Canadian governmental support for the venture.

It is inevitable that one will relate the 1936 boycott dilemma to that faced by Canada in 1980 concerning Moscow’s Summer Games. Did history repeat itself? In Canada’s case, yes indeed! Canada, once again bent to political will. Mankis and Troper did not deign to venture into this troubling comparison. More than 50 countries ended up boycotting the 1980 festival, most of them, including Canada, at the behest of national governmental authority prompted by external considerations.

Unlike 1936, however, in 1980 Canada was prompted by different “persuaders”, Jimmy Carter and American politics dictated by Cold-War policy. Despite the fact that by 1980 Canada had dissolved many of its major cohesions with its imperialist father (Great Britain), expunged the Union Jack from the nation’s national flag in place of a long-venerated Canadian symbol (the Maple Leaf), and promoted a new national identity awareness to its younger generation, a new “pied piper” in Canada’s political and economic destiny (USA) exacted the type of “political acquiescence” from

the Canadian Olympic Association as had been apparent in 1936. Canadians, like Brits in 1936, showed up for the Nazi Games. As the authors argue, this reaped no credit for Canada and its Olympians. In 1980, like the Americans, Canadians did not show up in Moscow. I argue that this action reaped no credit for Canada either.

¹ This was the assessment of Michael Christie, official of the Canadian Olympic Committee.
² See *Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre: Annual Report 2009–2010*,



Andy Archibald
Modern Pentathlon – A Centenary History 1912–2012
 Grosvenor House Publishing Guildford, 2012
 pp. 449 (paperback) approx. £13.00;
 ISBN 978-178148-756-3

Reviewed by Philip Barker

Written to celebrate the centenary of Modern Pentathlon as an Olympic sport, this is a valuable contribution to a sport underserved by reference material. He chronicles the origins of the sport, the role played by Coubertin in its introduction and the inaugural Olympic competition in Stockholm in 1912. He also offers an interesting comparison between the events in 2012.

The author is an international pentathlete in his own right and was reserve for the gold medal winning British team in 1976. He draws on his own personal experience at those Games to describe arguably

the biggest controversy ever to hit the sport, the disqualification of Boris Onishenko. He does not ignore other controversies and includes an interesting segment on the formation of an international federation and the relationship with IOC President Avery Brundage. There is also a section on the radical changes to the format introduced since 2008.

The narrative is interspersed with short biographies of key personalities and the advent of women is well documented from the pioneering World Championships in the eighties through to inclusion in the 2000 Olympic Games.

A short summary of each World Championship and Olympic competition, supplemented by a roll of honour of medallists make this a very useful tool for Olympic historians and journalists.



Jason Vuic
The Sarajevo Olympics: A History of the 1984 Winter Olympic Games
 Amherst / Boston, MA, USA:
 University of Massachusetts Press, 2015
 pp. 232, 26.95 USD (paper), ISBN 978-1-62534-165-5,
 164-8 (hardcover), in English

Reviewed by Bill Mallon

This is a nice overview of the political aspects of the former Yugoslavia city of Sarajevo bidding for the 1984 Winter Olympics, and many of the events that overtook that Bosnia-Herzegovinan city in the later 1980s and early 1990s. The book is relatively short, at 164 pages, and

is an easy read that one can readily finish in one day. Jason Vuic holds a PhD in Balkan and Eastern European history from Indiana University and, as such, is ideally suited to write about the history of the bid and the political ramifications that it carried at a time nobody thought that Yugoslavia could win a bid for the Winter Olympics, including most of the Yugoslavs.

The book begins in 1993, describing the attempted travels of two Bosnian bobsledders trying to leave the country to compete at the World Championships in Innsbruck, Austria. The account of their efforts is chilling as they travel through war zones, with the continuing rattle of rifle shots going off around them. It describes the war and the many terrifying scenes of people dead, people lying in pools of blood, and the desecration of the many sports venues, often used as battlegrounds by the combatants. Later in the chapter, Vuic asks, "So what happened? How did Sarajevo go from hosting the Olympics to fighting a civil war?" He attempts to answer those questions with this book.

Vuic then moves back to 1978 and the bidding for the 1984 Winter Olympics, giving an overview of the International Olympic Committee and the bidding process, with some time spent on the recent defection of Denver as the host city for the 1976 Winter Olympics. Much of this background on the IOC and the bid process is fairly elementary and well-known to ISOH members. He describes how Sarajevo was given little chance to win the 1984 bid, but that the IOC members supported their folly, essentially patronizing them. The next few chapters give a background on the city of Sarajevo and its history, and then details its efforts to win the bid, which they successfully did in 1978 at the IOC Session. These sections are very good, with Vuic's obvious expertise in Eastern European politics and history coming to the fore.

After five chapters on these topics, the second section of the book is entitled "Citius, Altius, Fortius," and deals with the 1984 Winter Olympics themselves, and the sporting events. Here Vuic is somewhat out of element, and he is not an expertise on Olympic sports. Much of this section concentrates on the United States' athletes, with only Katarina Witt given much space among the foreign athletes competing. Vuic is an American and that is a common problem for US writers dealing with the Olympics. ISOH members will again find these chapters relatively simplistic, with little new information for them.

The book ends with an Epilogue, "The Seats of Zetra Hall," which details the aftermath of the 1984 Winter Olympics, and what happened to Sarajevo, and the many sporting venues that hosted the competitions. Vuic comes back here to his area of knowledge and the final chapter is quite good and enlightening. It ends by describing the attempt by Sarajevo to bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics, which did not get very far, and which ended up in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

This is a good book that I would recommend to most ISOH members, primarily for the political and historical aspects of the city of Sarajevo, the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia. On those aspects, Vuic's strengths, I learned a lot and enjoyed the read. The middle sections on the sports were fairly well known to me, and would be to most ISOH members, but they're well-written and one can breeze through them fairly quickly.



Emanuel Hübner,
Das Olympische Dorf von 1936. Planung, Bau und Nutzungsgeschichte
 (The Olympic Village from 1936. Planning, Construction and History of its Usage),
 Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 2015
 pp. 636, 49.90 EUR
 ISBN 978-3-506-77988-5; in German

Reviewed by Christian Wacker

How much can you write about an Olympic Village, especially about one of the first villages and the very first built in brick and stone? The Olympic Village from 1936 had been planned for military use after the Olympic Games and had been occupied by the Soviet Army in the former GDR. In Western Germany it had been completely forgotten as indicated by a passage in the Official Report from the 1972 Munich Olympics: "In Berlin there was no necessity to erect an Olympic Village" (p. 289).

Hübner started to study the Olympic Village back in the 1990s, he visited the place various times, immersed himself in archives, collected testimonies by interview and gathered a wealth of documents and images relating to the village. A lot of these materials are published in an appendix to the book. It was a great pleasure to find unknown photographs with Max Schmeling (Fig. 118) or Jesse Owens (Fig. 140).

The main value of Hübner's work is in providing a really useful and accurate documentation of the site and its usage and it was probably helpful that the author had a background in archaeology and heritage documentation. Therefore he dedicated more than 100 pages to the planning and construction of the site including archaeological excavations as part of the enabling works.

The book starts with a chapter about "Olympic Villages before 1936" (pp. 21–32), followed by "Preparations for the 1936 Olympics" (pp. 33–60) and the "Olympic Village 1936" (pp. 61–274). A vast collection of sources and literature as well as the appendix with images is added.

The documentation of the site itself is extraordinary with architectural plans, drawings, detailed and very often extremely long descriptions of technical details. The usage of the Olympic Village during the 1936 Games and afterwards are documented and media reports about the village seem to be as comprehensive as possible. Again the documentation work Hübner did is impressive!

Nevertheless for me, the connection of the Olympic Village 1936 to a broader sports historical context was missing. What was the role of the site as "Village of Peace" to celebrate the coexistence of different cultures, at a time when the "Third Reich" was already officially promoting its Nuremberg Laws? Isn't the village just part of the cynical propaganda policy of the 1936 Olympic Games on the eve of the destruction of large areas of Europe?

These connections are important to understand the socio-political dimension of such a site. Although the documentation is excellent, the book would have had even greater value if only Hübner had been more courageous and set his results into an interpretive context.

Correction

Re: **Origin of Two Hockeys, JOH, Vol. 23, 1/2015, p. 41**

The correct name of the Governor-General is not Lord Preston of Stanley, but Lord Stanley of Preston.

Member Information

NEW MEMBERS

Kenneth Robert "Ken" Bogle. *5 May 1965. Home: 12 East Champanyale, Edinburgh, EH9, SCOTLAND. Home Telephone: (44)-(0)131-667-1582. E-mail: kenbogle@BTInternet.com. Occupation: Archivist & Local History Officer. Publications: *Scottish Rugby: Game by Game* [Luath, 2013]; *Walter Sutherland: Scottish Rugby Legend 1890-1918* [Tempus]; *100 years of the All Blacks in the UK* [Tempus]. Special Research Interests: Scotland and the Olympic Games; Rugby; Football.

Tamás Borovitz. *9 April 1929. Home: Rákóczi út 30, 1161 Budapest, HUNGARY. Home Telephone: (361)-405-7293. E-mail: borovitz@freemail.hu. Occupation: retired journalist; organiser of Olympic exhibitions; chief editor of bi-monthly Journal of Varjú Vilmos Olympic Club. Special Research Interests: collecting Olympic memorabilia; history of the Olympic Games; history of Hungarian sports; personal memorabilia of Hungarian Olympic champions and athletes; history of Olympic torches, pins, badges and other memorabilia. Holding lectures on collecting Olympic memorabilia.

Hilmar Heinrichmeyer. *14 October 1958. Home: Heinrichstraße 17, 44137 Dortmund, GERMANY. Home Telephone: (49)-231-148224. E-mail: hmeyer@ttvn.de. Business: Fraunhofer Institut für Materialfluss und Logistik. Business Telephone: (49)-231-9743374. Business Fax: (49)-231-9743-77374. Occupation: Scientist in the field of transportation logistics; researcher in the field of table-tennis. Special Research Interests: Table Tennis; the early years of the Olympics up to 1948. Lifetime member.

Bud Kling. *26 April 1947. Home: 890 Oreo Place, Pacific Palisades, CA 90272, USA. Home Telephone: (1)-310-454-2016. Mobile: (1)-310-291-6734. E-mail: pali10s@aol.com. Business Telephone/Fax: (1)-310-454-0753. Occupation: President of Merchant of Sports/Tennis coach.

Ms. Doiara Silva dos Santos. *3 May 1986. Home: 1285 Limberlost Road, London ON N6G 3M3, CANADA. Home Telephone: (1)-226-224-0181. E-mail: dsilvado@uwo.ca. Occupation: Assistant Professor at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil; currently Ph.D. student at Western University, Canada. Publications: *Growing Pains: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement in South America* [in *Problems, Possibilities, Promising Practices: Critical Dialogues on the Olympic and Paralympic Games*; 11th International Symposium for Olympic Research, edited by Janice Forsyth and Michal Heine, pp. 19-22; London, Ontario 2012]; *Focus on Global Media: an analysis based on Olympic Bid Books* [co-author with Ana Medeiros; *Movimento Journal* 21; pp. 333-348; 2015]; *The Olympic Winter Games and Brazilian Participation; the Question of National Identity in the Media Coverage* [in *Proceedings, International Symposium for Olympic Research*, p. 148; London, Ontario, 2012]. Special Research Interests: Media and the Olympics; the Olympic Movement in Latin America.

Andrew Urushima. *not given. Home: 1510 Los Altos Dr., Burlingame, CA 94010, USA. E-mail: aurushima@yahoo.com. Occupation: Finance Director. Publications: Vth Olympic Winter Games: Tokyo – St. Moritz – Garmisch [Journal of Sports Philately, Fall 2015]; *Deadly Sichuan Earthquake Shakes Up the Beijing Olympic Torch Relay* [Journal of Sports Philately, Fall 2008]; *Olympian Profile: Sohn Kee-chung*, [Journal of Sports Philately, Summer 2009]; *Helsinki Olympic Stadium*, [Journal of Sports Philately, Winter 2006]; Special Research Interests: Olympics 1940.

STUDENT MEMBERS

Ms. Carolyn Phillips. *13 January 1995. Home: 4529 49th St. Apt 2, Woodside, NY 11377, USA. Home Telephone: (1)-717-579-1116. E-mail: carolynphillips12@gmail.com. Occupation: undergraduate junior student, intern at Special Olympics New York. Special Research Interests: the interplay between the Olympics, the Paralympics, and the Special Olympics in history and now; also interested in the ways Olympic athletes have inspired history.

PATRON MEMBERS

"Sportimonium"; Belgian Sport and Olympic Museum; Blossodomein, Trianondreef 19, B – 1981 Hofstade-Zemst BELGIUM. Telephone: (32)-15-618-220. FAX: (32)-15-618-221. Contact: Mr. Erik De Vroede, conservator. E-mail: erik.devroede@sportimonium.be. Website: www.sportimonium.be

OLD MEMBERS – NEW INFORMATION

Regular Members:

Stephen L. "Steve" Harris; New address and telephone number: 41701 North Golf Crest Road, Anthem, AZ 85086, USA and (1)-623-215-2396.

Prof. Mary Hums. New address: 2408 Mahan Drive, Louisville, KY 40299, USA.

Hemant Shridhas Jogdeo. New E-mail address: vasantjogdeo@yahoo.co.in

Ove Karlsson. New E-mail address: oveok@outlook.com.

Robert Livingstone. New address: 98 Arten Ave., Richmond Hill, ON, Canada L4C 9Y3

Ronald Allan Palenski. New address: 84 Ravelston Street, Musselburgh, Dunedin 9013, NEW ZEALAND and E-mail address: ron.palenski@gmail.com

Attila Tóth. New address: 1033 Budapest, Meggyfa utca 17/A II/4. HUNGARY.

Jurjryt van de Vooren. New E-mail address: jurryt@sportgeschiedenis.nl.

From USA citizen to citizen of El Salvador (but residing in the USA):

Fernando Palomo; *19 November 1972. New address: Home: 11 Livingston Rd. Collinsville,

CT 06019, USA. Home Telephone: (1)-860-302-6320. E-mail: fernando.j.palomo@espn.com. Business Telephone: (1)-860-766-4728. Occupation: journalist from El Salvador. Publications: http://espn.deportes.espn.com/blogs/index?entryID=716014&name=fernando_palomo&cc=3888.

Special Research Interests: IOC memberships; Olympic candidatures, athletics, the first Olympic Games.

From Student to Regular member:

Ms. Rosellen F. Downey. Occupation: journalist.

Sérgio Settani Giglio. *24 October 1978. Home: Av. Dr. Luis de Tella, 1679, Cidade Universitária Campinas – SP, BRAZIL CEP 13083-000. Home Telephone: (55)-11-993586771. E-mail: ssgiglio@usp.br. Occupation: Professor at the State University of Campinas in Brazil. Special Research Interests: Olympic Football.

Luke James Harris. *1 September 1984. Home: 3 Brookvale Close, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, B61 0DU, UNITED KINGDOM. Home Telephone: (44)-(0)1527-874148. E-mail: lukejharris@hotmail.com. Occupation: finished his doctorate; waiting for a job. Special Research Interests: Any historical research, particularly involving the effects of wider political issues on the Olympic Movement.

Student Member:

Kentth Hansen. Home: Agardhsgatan 5, 22351 Lund, SWEDEN. E-mail: hansen.kentth@gmail.com.

DECEASED

Monique Berlioux, recipient of the ISOH Lifetime award 2010.

DELETED FROM MEMBERSHIP

in accordance with Article Five, sub a, from the ISOH Constitution:

Lucas Christopoulos (SUI)

Kristin M. Alexy (USA)

Christian Eduardo Atance (ARG)

Alphonso E. Bridgewater (SKN)

Christine Forshaw O'Shaughnessy (USA)

Dr. John Thomas Gleaves (USA)

Juan Fauria García (ESP)

Erik Helleskov (USA)

Josiah Henson (USA)

Roy Hill (USA)

Annette Hofmann (GER)

Simona Ionescu (ROU)

Arie Mijnlieff (NED)

Anita Tedder (GBR)

Yoav Veichselfish (ISR)

Members who have a change of address, telephone- and/or fax-numbers, or an E-mail address, should always inform the Secretary-General as soon as possible to:

Anthony Th. Bijkerk,

E-mail: tony.bijkerk@planet.nl