

Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

The final ISOH Journal for 2017 offers a glance at the Winter Olympics in PyeongChang. In view of the tense political climate between North and South Korea, additionally heated by muscle flexing of the US President, today no one can say with certainty whether these Games will take place peacefully.

The hope, that in the end common sense will prevail, is based on the experiences of Seoul 1988. In the end those Games were able to take place undisturbed after two boycotts; also, the pre-history was similarly complicated.

The current Doyen of the IOC, Richard W. Pound, described in his 1994 book, *Five rings over Korea*, the tough struggle of the two Korean NOCs over the common holding of the Games. We learn why the project failed from his eleventh chapter, kindly reproduced with his permission.

An independent Korean team with three speed skaters took part for the first time in 1948 in St. Moritz. But Sohn Kee Chung and Nam Sung Yong, who won gold and bronze in the marathon race in Berlin 1936, were also Koreans. However, they had to run under the Japanese flag.

How important this fact is for Korean identity became quite clear when Sohn, four decades later, became aware of the existence of an antique helmet which a Greek publisher had donated not only for him, as he thought, but for all marathon winners. More on that in "The fight for the warrior's helmet".

On the 24th October the Olympic flame was lit in Ancient Olympia. A tradition that did not begin for Winter Games until 1964. As at that time there was no torch relay, only a single torch was needed to light the cauldron at the Bergisel Stadium. As the Austrian historian Gerhard Siegl found out, more examples were made, to which some replicas were later added. Attention, hunters and collectors! But the article will also be of interest to everyone else.

The TV publicist Michael Dittrich has taken up a tragic story. It is about the German fencer Matthias Behr. At the 1982 World Championships his foil blade broke, which led to the death of the Soviet Olympic champion Vladimir Smirnov. For years Behr had unsuccessfully tried to contact Smirnov's widow. After 35 years at last came the reconciliation – with support from ISOH.

What else can be expected? Jan Luitzen tells the story of the Dutch boxer Regilio Tuur, who caused a sensation in 1988 when he knocked out the favourite for gold. James Goddard has written about Hiram E. Tuttle, who was more than only "an American Horseman".

"The Bolanachi Story" comes from Christan Wacker. It concerns a record holder who was a member of the IOC for 53 years – 22 in Egypt and 31 in Greece. And finally Myles Garcia. He continues to research Olympic cauldrons. This time he has taken on Rio 2016.

The series about IOC Members has reached part 25. As usual this issue publishes Olympic news, reviews and obituaries, in which Olympic medallists are honoured. ■

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Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
IOCH PRESIDENT

Awarding the Summer Games

On 13th September 2017, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) voted to award the 2024 Summer Olympics to Paris and the 2028 Olympics to Los Angeles. Although this double allocation was widely hailed as an historic decision, in fact, this was the third time that the IOC awarded two Olympics on the same day. Coincidentally, all three times, Paris was involved.

On 24th June 1894, at the Sorbonne Congress in Paris, Athens was awarded the 1896 Games without a dissenting vote. That same day, the IOC gave the 1900 Games to Paris.

At the 20th IOC Session in Lausanne on 2nd June 1921, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who was planning to retire as IOC President, asked the members to award the 1924 Games to Paris and the 1928 Olympics to Amsterdam. This proposal was accepted by a vote of 14-4 with four abstentions. At the time, awarding the Games seven years in advance seemed unusual, but, since Sydney won the right to host the 2000 Games in 1993, seven years to prepare the Games has been the norm.

It is also worth noting that although this is the third time Los Angeles has been awarded the Summer Olympics, in none of the three cases did it face a competitive vote. The city won the right to host the 1932 Games by acclamation on 8th April 1923. When it came time, in 1978, to choose the host of the 1984 Summer Games, Los Angeles was the only candidate. And Los Angeles was awarded the 2028 Games by a show of hands.

In fact, the same could be said about Paris, since there were no competitive votes for the awarding of the 1900, 1924 and 2024 Olympics. However, both cities were defeated in other attempts to host the Games; Los Angeles for the 1948, 1952, 1956, 1976 and 1980 Summer

Olympics; and Paris for the 1992, 2008 and 2012 Olympics, as well as for the 1956 Equestrian Games.

Finding Hosts for the Winter Games

If the IOC has solved its hosting problems for the Summer Games for many years to come, the same cannot be said about the Winter Games. In October 2017, voters in the Innsbruck/Tyrol region rejected hosting the 2026 Olympics, by a margin of 53%-47%, the third time they have done so. Although Innsbruck hosted the Winter Games in 1964 and again in 1976, and the Winter Youth Olympic Games in 2012, Innsbruck voters came out against hosting the Winter Olympics for 2002 and 2006 in separate referendums held in the 1990s.

The most recent vote was bad news for the Olympic Movement, considering that the Innsbruck/Tyrol bid was an excellent one. However, it is worth mentioning that outside of Innsbruck itself, the vote was much closer: 51%-49%. In St. Anton am Arlberg, Hochfilzen, and Seefeld, which would have hosted Alpine skiing, biathlon and Nordic combined, respectively, voters were overwhelmingly in favour of hosting the Games. Inzell in Germany, which would probably have hosted skating and ice hockey, and Bolzano in Italy, which was also proposed to host ice hockey matches, were not allowed to take part in the 2017 referendum.

Other potential candidates for the 2026 Winter Games have until October 2018, to convince the IOC (and their local citizens) that they can make a viable bid to host the Games.

Doping Update

According to the latest doping retest results, the IOC has ordered the withdrawal of 50 medals from Beijing 2008 and 29 from London 2012 from a total of 19 countries. However, two-thirds of these 79 positive tests came from just four nations. Twenty-six were from Russia. Belarus and Kazakhstan have lost nine medals each and Ukraine eight. In addition, China lost three of their four gold medals in women's weightlifting from 2008. Of the 79 lost medals, 35 were in athletics, 30 in weightlifting, 9 in wrestling and just 5 in other sports. Because of appeals, not all of these lost medals have been reallocated. ■

Joy in Paris and Los Angeles. IOC President Thomas Bach announces the result. On the left Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo, right Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti.



Photo: picture-alliance

Olympic flame for PyeongChang 2018 shines brightly

By Philip Barker

The Olympic flame burns for PyeongChang 2018, but for only the third time at a Winter Games, organisers were forced to use a 'reserve' flame lit in rehearsal.

The first torch bearer was Apostolos Angelis, a Greek cross country skier who is set to compete in his second Games. He received the Olympic fire from Katerina Lehou, an actress playing the role of the high priestess.

The ceremony in Olympia was watched by IOC President Thomas Bach and his immediate predecessor Jacques Rogge. They joined the President of the Hellenic Republic Prokopis Pavlopoulos and Olympia's Mayor Efthimios Kotzas.

Representatives from Tokyo, Beijing, Paris and Los Angeles were invited to participate in the beginning of the torch relay. This was a new departure.

"Together they represent the future hosts of Olympic Games. As our founder Pierre de Coubertin once said, *'the Olympic Games are a pilgrimage to the past and an act of faith in the future'*. What better expression of this faith in the future", said Bach.



The first Korean was Park Ji Sung, formerly of Manchester United and an Olympian and World Cup player. He is also an ambassador for the 2018 Games. 505 bearers carried a torch on Greek soil before the flame was formally handed over to the PyeongChang 2018 Organising Committee at a ceremony in Athens.

The Olympic Torch Relay on Korean soil will be over exactly 2018 kilometres. ■



Photos: Philip Barker, picture-alliance

First and last torchbearers at Olympic Winter Games*

	First	Last
1952 Oslo	Olav S. Bjaaland (NOR)	Eigil Nansen (alpine skiing)
1956 Cortina	Adolfo Consolini (ITA)	Guido Caroli (speed skating)
1960 Squaw Valley	Olav Nordskog (NOR)	Kenneth Henry (speed skating)
1964 Innsbruck	Dionyssis Kessararis	Josef Rieder (alpine skiing)
1968 Grenoble	Tassos Bahourios	Alain Calmat (figure skating)
1972 Sapporo	Yiannis Kirkilessis	Hideki Takada (speed skating)
1976 Innsbruck	Spyros Tzavaras	Christl Haas (alpine skiing) Josef Feistmantl (luge)
1980 Lake Placid	Giorgos Gikas	Dr. Charles Morgan Kerr
1984 Sarajevo	Haralambos Karalis	Sandra Dubravčić (figure skating)
1988 Calgary	Stelios Bisbas	Robyn Perry (figure skating)
1992 Albertville	Athanassios Tsakiris	Michel Platini (football) François-Cyrille Grange (football)
1994 Lillehammer	-	Crown Prince Håkon Magnus
1998 Nagano	Vassilis Dimitriadis	Midori Ito (figure skating)
2002 Salt Lake City	Lefteris Fafalis	US ice hockey team 1980
2006 Turin	Konstadinos Filippidis	Stefania Belmondo (nordic skiing) Wayne Gretzky (ice hockey)
2010 Vancouver	Vassilis Dimitriadis	Nancy Greene Raine (alpine skiing) Catriona LeMay Doan (speed skating) Steve Nash (basketball)
2014 Sochi	Ioannis Antoniou	Irina Rodnina (figure skating) Vladislav Tretyak (ice hockey)
2018 PyeongChang	Apostolos Angelis	Not yet named

* In 1952 and 1960 the torch relay began in Morgedal, Norway; in 1956 at the Capitol in Rome and from 1964 in Ancient Olympia with the exception of 1994, when no ceremony took place.

1 The ceremony for Grenoble 1968 was forced inside the nearby museum and in 1998 the Nagano Games also used a reserve flame.

Déjà Vu All Over Again ...



Richard W. Pound

Doyen of the International Olympic Committee

Member of the ISOH Executive Committee on behalf of the IOC

The existence of tensions on the Korean peninsula in the context of the Olympic Games is hardly a new phenomenon. While the stakes were, arguably, lower in relation to the Seoul Olympics in 1988, since nuclear weapons were not involved, the actions of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK) had a profoundly destabilizing impact on the likelihood of the celebration of those Games. Even without the specter of nuclear weapons, the existence of one of the world's largest standing armies, massed to the north of the De-Militarized Zone, had a potentially chilling effect on the ability of Seoul to organize the Games.

From the moment that the IOC awarded the Games to Seoul at its 1981 Session in Baden-Baden, the DPRK had made it clear that it viewed that decision as unacceptable. Its propaganda was extreme and was exceeded only by acts of violence, including the foreign murder of Korean officials and bomb attacks at Kimpo Airport prior to the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul.

The eventual solution to the situation developed from the astonishing about-face of the DPRK position, a complete change seemingly possible only in a dictatorship. Instead of declaring that Games on the Korean peninsula were unthinkable, the DPRK announced that the Games should be "co-hosted" equally by both sides. This gave the IOC the opportunity to step into the picture to direct the negotiations as the arbiter of an "Olympic" matter. It was, of course, not simply Olympic, but instead a matter of the utmost political importance. The negotiations continued until the beginning of the Games and even throughout the

Games. The content of the negotiations demonstrated that lack of progress was attributable to the intractability of the DPRK. The IOC was seen to have done its best to accommodate the DPRK, giving its potential political supporters time to understand that the matter had been taken seriously, so they could be justified in participating in the Games. It was a major diplomatic accomplishment by the IOC, under the steady leadership of Juan Antonio Samaranch, and for all practical purposes, ended the era of Olympic boycotts.

On the eve of the Olympic Winter Games in PyeongChang, political tensions between the DPRK and virtually all of the rest of the world could hardly be higher. The Olympic Movement is doing its best to steer clear of the political controversies, concentrating on the organization of the Games and using its best efforts to try to encourage and support the participation of athletes from the DPRK, as well as to try to use the concept of the Olympic Truce as a mechanism to enable ongoing peaceful interaction during times of unrest. The Korean government is doing its best to encourage the DPRK to participate in PyeongChang, although at the time of writing, it is not clear whether there has been any meaningful traction.

With three successive Games taking place in the Asian region, culminating in the successor Winter Games in Beijing, one might hope that, in the circumstances, all the countries involved should have a keen interest in promoting a degree of stability and confidence, not to mention avoiding the possibility that an error of judgment could easily give rise to global conflict having unpredictable outcomes. ■

"Dialogue" – the statue created in 1987 by Mohand Amara in the Olympic Park of Seoul. In the view of the Algerian artist, only by human dialogue can we overcome existing barriers.



Photo: Thomas Lippert

Invitations Go Out; Acceptances Come In

By Richard W. Pound

It came as little surprise to anyone that no agreement was reached between the two Koreas before the IOC was to send out the invitations to the 1988 Olympic Games on September 17, 1988.

On August 10, 1987, Kim Yu Sun of North Korea sent a response to Samaranch following the fourth joint meeting.¹ Samaranch had kept the pressure on by sending a letter on July 16, containing the IOC proposal, so not to have any gap in the IOC's efforts to keep matters moving forward.² The text of Kim's letter was faxed to him the same day, which was just as well, since the letter itself did not arrive in Lausanne until August 20.

Kim Yu Sun regretted that there had been no agreement reached at the fourth joint meeting, contrary to their expectations. He was concerned with the public statement of "some people concerned directly" with the talks that they could not change their "intrinsic positions" at all "nor were there any possibilities to promote even in case of agreement being reached." He carried on to say that the only way out to overcome the difficulties was "for all parties to this to show each other magnanimity and elasticity in the spirit of sincere cooperation."

On the basis of "serious study" of the IOC's adjusted proposal, his NOC had a new proposal: it proposed to host five full sports and one partial sport by "drastically reducing" the demand for eight sports. This meant, he said, that they "fully agreed" to the IOC proposal (table tennis and archery, full sports; and women's volleyball, partial sport). In addition to this, however, they demanded three more full sports, including soccer. They wanted the full soccer tournament because only one group of the tournament was "too partial" and wanted the individual cycling road event to be replaced by another. On top of that, they wanted another full sport.

Secondly, in order to "create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation" and to "promote the process of agreement," they wanted to discuss at the next joint meeting all the important problems such as the events, denomination of the Games, composition of the Organizing Committee, Opening and Closing Ceremonies, television rights, and "so on."

Thirdly, they wanted the fifth joint meeting to be held in August, if possible, or before September 17, the date on which the invitations to the Games would be sent by the IOC.³



Samaranch replied on August 24. It was a short letter. He simply stated the obvious: Kim Yu Sun's letter could not be considered an answer to the proposal made on July 15 as confirmed in the letter of July 16. The IOC would be pleased to call a fifth joint meeting but only upon receipt of the DPRK's full acceptance of the IOC's "important and historical" proposal. He expressed himself as fully confident that the parties, working in the best interest of the Olympic Movement, might still be able to reach a final agreement "in time."⁴

Kim Yu Sun did not respond until August 30, 1987; the fax of the message reached the IOC on August 31. He regretted the condition established by Samaranch for the holding of the fifth joint meeting. He said there was no doubt about the differences between the parties to the talks, but that the meetings held under Samaranch's chairmanship were "in the course of coming near the certain agreement." Such a meeting gave him the confidence that they might manage even now to find a key to "slash differences and reach a final agreement," were the parties to sit together once again and discuss the matter in a "cordial and open-minded way, respecting the views of each other." He urged Samaranch to call another joint meeting as soon as possible.

If it was impossible for Samaranch to call the meeting before September 17, "for some unavoidable reasons," he asked him to put off sending the invitations to the Games until such a meeting could be held.⁵

Samaranch responded on September 4. He regretted that Kim Yu Sun had not found it appropriate to accept

The World Peace Gate at the Seoul Olympic Park is still open. In memory of 1988 the flags of the nations that took part in the Games are still raised – among them even the flags of those countries that no longer exist.

Photo: Thomas Lippert



The adjacent text is taken from the book *Five Rings Over Korea*, published by Little, Brown & Company in 1994 and reproduced with kind permission of the author.

Two years after the IOC Session in 1981 in Baden-Baden had awarded the 1988 Olympic Games to Seoul, President Juan Antonio Samaranch visited the North Korean capital Pyongyang. He is pictured here with city guides and interpreters in front of the 60 m-high Arch of Triumph, a reminder of Korean resistance to Japan.

Photo: IOC Archives



the IOC's important and historical proposal of July 15, which would have enabled the IOC to call a fifth joint meeting quickly. He acknowledged Kim's kind remarks about his efforts to find a solution and assured him the IOC would continue to make every effort to achieve that goal. If Kim Yu Sun was ready to accept the IOC's offer, Samaranch was ready to convene a meeting with the DPRK delegation in Lausanne on October 7 in order to establish the points that could be discussed at a possible fifth meeting between both Korean delegations. Finally, Samaranch was sure that Kim, as a member of the Olympic Family, would understand that it was absolutely impossible to postpone the ceremony on September 17, since the date was stipulated in the Olympic Charter.

Kim Yu Sun's rejoinder was dated September 15. He claimed that a "due answer" was again not given to their "earnest proposal" to convene an early fifth joint meeting, in respect of which he expressed great disappointment and regret. He presumed that the inability to accept the proposal was "connected to some extent with the disagreement between us and the South Korean side." Therefore, he considered it necessary to hold bilateral talks between the two NOCs concerned.

The telex was, to say the least, somewhat garbled. It stated:

Therefore in our endeavours to seek various ways of solution we came to conclusion that it is necessary to hold bilateral talk represented by the NOCs of the North

and South of Korea which are directly concerned in Lausanne joint meeting for having arranged solution decisive of convocation of the 5th joint meeting before the deadlock of the joint meeting imbued with our painstaking efforts will become worse. Motivated by this we sent South Korea a letter containing our proposal on holding immediately North-South bilateral talk in the frame of the tripartite meeting for narrowing different views in Lausanne or other convenient places, followed by the 5th joint meeting for reaching final agreement. Once difficult problems are solved at the North-South bilateral talk, it will be much easy for three parties to reach final agreement at the 5th joint meeting and help the IOC in its work to a certain extent.⁶

Kim Yu Sun hoped that Samaranch would actively help the north-south direct negotiation. He reiterated his request that the sending of the invitations to the Games be put off; this would be one of the "good conditions" of the talks.

In Korea, on August 15, President Chun Doo Hwan, during his Forty-second Liberation Day message, called for resumption of the suspended north-south dialogue and urged the DPRK to participate in the 1988 Games. On August 21, he warned that he would not tolerate any more major social or economic upheaval that might sully the Republic of Korea's record of achievement under his administration. By September 3, Roh Tae Woo and Kim Young Sam had agreed on dates for direct presidential elections. These would be held on December 16.

The invitations to the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad were sent from the IOC's headquarters at Château de Vidy in Lausanne on September 17, 1987, exactly one year prior to the Opening Ceremony, as called for in the Olympic Charter, in accordance with the decision made by the IOC in its special Session held in Lausanne in December 1984. Both the SLOOC and the KOC were present. The DPRK was not.⁷

South Korean president Chun Doo Hwan had transmitted a message to Samaranch for the occasion, bearing the same date, assuring him of the successful staging of the Games. He thanked Samaranch and the members of the IOC for their support and assured them that all aspects of the Games were well under way, including security,⁸ facilities, organization, and management, through the concerted efforts of the people and government of the Republic of Korea.

Samaranch made a brief speech at the ceremony, in which he reviewed the efforts of the people of Korea since the decision of the IOC in Baden-Baden in 1981 when the Games were awarded to the city of Seoul. He noted that they and the SLOOC had totally dedicated themselves to ensuring the greatest success of the

Games and were preparing unparalleled facilities so that all athletes could take part under the best possible conditions.

In referring to the political dimensions, he stated:

As you are all aware, during the last three years, there have been many discussions in this respect, particularly in order to provide all members of the Olympic Family with the best possible conditions to take part in the Games. Under the auspices of the IOC, there have been four joint meetings in Lausanne between the delegations of the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Last year the IOC made a generous and I would even say a very important and historical offer to this country.

We have not yet reached a final agreement, but the ceremony today should not be misinterpreted as meaning there will not be one. I can assure you that the IOC will always keep the door open until the very last moment, as we should be more than pleased to see all 167 NOCs of the world taking part in these historical Olympic Games.

Following the ceremony, Samaranch replied to Kim Yu Sun's telex of September 15. He said that though the IOC appreciated the opportunity for continued communication with his NOC, the IOC was still waiting for a positive response to the important and historic proposal of July 15. He also advised North Kim that, in accordance with the provisions of the Olympic Charter, the IOC had sent the official invitations to all 167 NOCs to participate in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad that day. The invitation was signed by Samaranch as president of the IOC. He had also included with each invitation an accompanying letter referring to the negotiations, under the auspices of the IOC, between both NOCs on the Korean peninsula and the possibility of an agreement that might be reached in the future regarding events to be organized in the territory of Kim's NOC. He was sure this would demonstrate the IOC's continued willingness to discuss the matter and to keep the door open for agreement until the last moment.

Kim Yu Sun did not reply until October 2, when he referred to a meeting with Samaranch in Soukhumi⁹ and welcomed Samaranch's mention of a bilateral meeting between the IOC and the DPRK NOC. He thought, however, that North Korea and South Korea were so far apart on the matter of cohosting and that the failure to reduce the differences between them was due to the fact that the South "has been obstinate in opposing our proposal." They had proposed, on September 12, a bilateral meeting, but the South had turned down the idea in a letter dated September 24.¹⁰ As North Kim stated: "She said that the holding of the bilateral talk might have embroiled the problem worse confounded."



At the 90th IOC Session in Berlin, IOC President Samaranch passed the ceremonial Olympic flag to the President of the Organising Committee of the Seoul Games (SLOOC), Roh Tae Woo. After Roh became leader of the Democratic Justice Party in 1986, he gave up his Olympic office. Two years later he was elected President of South Korea.

Photo: *Seoul Asiad Bulletin*, No. 3 June 1985

He said the North had once again suggested to the South that a bilateral meeting be held and asked Samaranch to wait until they heard from South Korea."

Samaranch replied the same day, simply stating that the IOC was still waiting for an answer to the letter of September 17 and reminding Kim Yu Sun that time was passing very quickly.

In separate political developments at the time, the U.S. assistant secretary of state advised the Korean foreign minister Choi Kwang Soo on September 14 that, during a visit to Moscow the previous week, he had asked Soviet officials to use their influence over the DPRK to cause the DPRK to accept the IOC's proposal to stage some of the events of the Games in the North. During an interview with the leader of the Japanese socialist party on September 26, Kim Il Sung expressed the hope that direct dialogue with the United States might occur. On September 28, the powerful European Broadcasting Union, holder of the European television rights to the Games, advised Samaranch that organization of events in the DPRK could have serious logistical and financial consequences for broadcasters of the Games. And, in early October, the Japanese Red Army issued a statement saying that the Games were being used as part of the new Japanese imperialist strategy for Asia.

During the course of his visit to Korea in the middle of November 1987, Samaranch attempted to arrange a meeting with the leaders of the opposition political



The first joint meeting of the both Korean delegations on 8 and 9 October 1985 under the patronage of the IOC Executive. Paul-René Martin, Syndic of Lausanne, and Sheikh Fahad Al-Ahmad Al-Jabah Al-Sabah, Chairman of the Olympic Council of Asia, were present as guests.

Photo: IOC/Albert G. Riethausen

parties, but this was not made possible by the Korean authorities. He did, however, have a secret meeting with Roh Tae Woo, Park Seh Jik, and Kim Un Yong. At the end of the trip, while in Guangzhou on November 20, Samaranch had a meeting with North Kim, who promised an answer to the IOC proposal by mid-January of 1988. On November 24, Osamu Maruoka, described as second in command in the Japanese Red Army, was arrested in Tokyo, and his plans were stated to be to travel to Korea via Osaka on December 7.

Such tensions as there were suffered an increase when a Korean Airlines aircraft was destroyed over Burma on November 29, killing all 115 passengers on board. Subsequent investigation tied the bombing to agents of the DPRK, one of whom confessed to the bombing as well as being an agent of the DPRK. Ties went as high as the "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il, son of Kim Il Sung. From the Olympic perspective, it served to increase the isolation of the DPRK, and such support as they might have garnered, even among the socialist countries, evaporated significantly thereafter. This was reflective of the international reaction generally, even among the countries that normally gave at least vocal support to the DPRK. No one wanted to be associated with such criminal behavior.¹²

In the early part of December 1987, the United States and the USSR had a summit meeting in Washington.¹³ During this meeting, the Olympic Games were discussed, and following the meeting, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs William Clark briefed the Republic of Korea officials on the content of the Olympic discussions.¹⁴ On December 9, U.S. secretary of state George Shultz had explained the U.S. position that the 1988 Olympic Games should be held without any trouble with the participation of all member countries. In response, USSR general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev

mentioned briefly that the allocation of several sports to North Korea could help the Olympic Games to be held in Seoul smoothly.

During the working group meeting on regional issues, the director of policy planning staff of the U.S. State Department, Richard Solomon, expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would participate in the 1988 Olympic Games. The reply from the director of the Soviet Institute of World Economy and Internal Affairs, Primakov, was that the Soviet Union was apparently 95 percent in favor of participating. The final decision would be made in January 1988, but Soviet athletes had been in training with the intention of participating. He also noted that North Korea had proposed cohosting of the Games and expressed the hope that a number of sports would be held in North Korea, but he did not appear to link the Soviet decision on participation to the North Korean cohosting proposal.

This information was relayed to Samaranch by Ambassador Lee Sang Ock of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea in Geneva on December 14, 1987. Samaranch passed on the contents of this message to the Executive Board members the next day without comment, other than to say that the information might be of assistance.

The presidential elections in the Republic of Korea were held on December 16, 1987. These were to mark the first step in the peaceful transmission of power since the republic was created. Roh Tae Woo became the president-elect, in direct elections.¹⁵ International observers of the elections expressed themselves as satisfied that the elections were, with very few exceptions of no significance, properly carried out.

On December 23, 1987, German Rieckehoff, the IOC member in Puerto Rico, sent a telex to Cuban president Fidel Castro, urging him to use his best efforts to ensure that Cuba would participate in the Games. He reminded Castro that the Olympic Games, imperfect as they may be in some respects, were nevertheless almost the only opportunity in the world where all peoples could meet together in a spirit of human solidarity. Samaranch, who received a copy, thanked him for his effort, which he thought was very good.

Still writing as chairman of the SLOOC on December 26, 1987, Roh Tae Woo sent greetings to Samaranch in a letter delivered through Kim Un Yong, the IOC member in Korea and a vice president of the SLOOC. Kim was delegated to discuss with Samaranch not only the preparation for the Games but also matters of international relations, including a visit of SLOOC officials to China and Eastern Europe. Roh assured Samaranch that although he was faced with an enormous amount of work and responsibilities, he would give his "utmost effort" for the success of the Games and the cause of the Olympic Movement, for which they both stood.¹⁶

Samaranch met with Kim Un Yong and replied to Roh on January 6, 1988. He was particularly satisfied with the state of preparations for the Games. As of the time of writing, the IOC had received confirmation of participation in the Games from 138 NOCs and was endeavoring to convince the remaining twenty-nine to participate.¹⁷ He said he would help the SLOOC with its relationships with the socialist countries.¹⁸ Finally, Samaranch wished Roh success upon taking office as president of the Republic of Korea on February 25, 1988. He suggested a meeting with Roh prior to the Games, preferably after the forthcoming parliamentary elections.¹⁹

1988 was not without some potentially explosive opportunities on the Korean peninsula. One example was the regular Team Spirit military exercises, involving U.S. and Korean forces. This was specifically mentioned in the New Year's message of North Korean president Kim Il Sung, which included the following:

In view of South Korea's internal situation as well as the North-South Korean relations, not a few people are currently expressing deep concerns that 1988 may turn out to be the most tense and complicated year. Under the watchful eyes of the whole world, we should transform this year's situation of the Korean peninsula into a decisively favourable one for the cause of peace and peaceful reunification.

Out of these aspirations, we maintain that through a dialogue we should resolve such issues as the termination within this year of large-scale military exercises including the joint military exercises of Team Spirit, preparation for multilateral arms-reduction talks, co-hosting of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad by the North and South and ceasing of mutual recriminations and slanderings. Through the resolution of the above-mentioned pending issues, the North and South should make this year a historic one which will mark a new turning point for national reconciliation and solidarity.

For the above purposes, we propose holding a North-South conference in which representatives from all political parties, social groups and various circles including the authorities of the two sides will participate. This joint conference between the South and North will bring down barriers between the two parts of Korea and bring about a new phase conducive to hastening the era of peace and peaceful reunification.²⁰

Undoubtedly, one of the most difficult aspects of managing a complicated situation, as Samaranch was attempting in relation to the Games, is dealing with the mass of often conflicting data that bombards the decision makers. Consider the letter Samaranch received from the IOC member in Malaysia, Datuk Setia Raja Tan

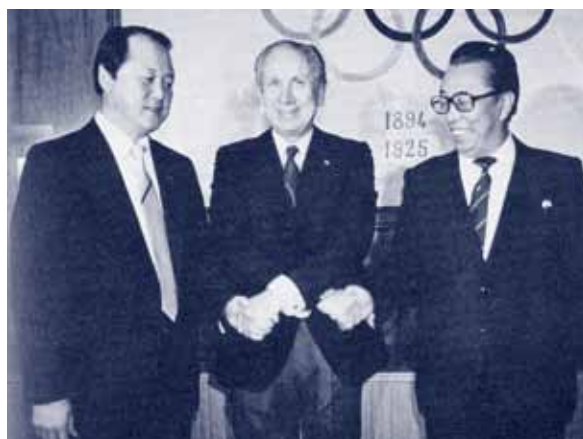
Sri Datuk Seri Hamzah Abu Samah, dated December 23, 1987, which reached him on December 31. In this letter, Hamzah recounts a recent meeting with the South Korean ambassador in Kuala Lumpur, who was a former chairman of the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea. He reported that the ambassador had said that the South Koreans might agree to the sharing of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, to the idea of having joint teams, to the sharing of television rights, and so on, in the forthcoming Games in Seoul. To the ambassador and many South Koreans, to have a successful and noble free Olympic Games was more important than anything else.

It was not clear whether the ambassador was expressing his personal view, a governmental view, or that of the SLOOC. The ambassador assured Hamzah, however, that this view had been expounded by all the candidates in the last general election, including Roh Tae Woo, whom Hamzah had known since the IOC Congress in Baden-Baden when Seoul won the bid to host the Games.²¹

Hamzah said that when he was in Pyongyang two months earlier, the North Koreans had been prepared to give way if they were awarded the whole of the soccer tournament. He did not think that FIFA would agree to this, but since the two Koreas were willing to have joint teams, the problem could be sorted out, and they would be happy with the preliminary tournament. They would, he said, also welcome the possibility of South Korea's wanting to concede on the question of joint Opening and Closing Ceremonies.

Hamzah offered to help solve the problem confidentially, since he was close to both parties in his capacity as Asia Football president and as a former president of the Olympic Council of Asia. Samaranch acknowledged the letter, thanked him for the information, and said he would not hesitate to let him know if he could be of assistance in resolving the question.

The proof of the pudding regarding the IOC efforts to deal with the Korean situation would come by January 17, 1988, the date when acceptances to the IOC's invitation



Agreeing to disagree: President of NOC of Korea Kim Chong Ha (left), with his North Korean colleague Kim Yu Sun (right). At the second joint meeting on 8 and 9 January 1986 in Lausanne, it was agreed to hold archery, table tennis and one part of the football tournament in North Korea. After the negotiations had gone on for two years, they ended unsuccessfully.

Photo: IOC/Albert G. Riethausen



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161 Nations, the Largest-ever, Accept Invitations to Seoul Olympics



The Newsletter of the SLOOC proudly announced that, by the closing date of 17 January 1988, 161 of the 167 NOCs had accepted the invitation. Only six countries – besides North Korea, Albania, Cuba, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and the Seychelles – left the invitation unanswered. When Brunei and Madagascar later withdrew so 159 countries actually took part in the 1988 Games.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

to participate in the Seoul Games were due. Reminders were sent on November 18 to ninety-one NOCs that had not yet replied. Further reminders were sent on December 18 to the forty-nine NOCs that had not replied by that date. On January 5, a reminder was sent to the twenty-one NOCs that had not yet accepted, and on January 10, the IOC sent a reminder that the last date for acceptances was January 17 to the ten NOCs that had still not replied.

It was a matter of some relief to Samaranch that East Germany accepted to participate in the Games and officially notified the IOC by letter dated December 21, 1987, of its decision. Manfred Ewald forwarded the acceptance and in his covering letter said the announcement was made on the assumption that the Games would be organized on the basis of the Olympic Charter and would contribute toward strengthening the unity of the Olympic Movement, understanding between nations, and the maintaining of world peace. His NOC would, furthermore, support the efforts of the IOC aimed at making it possible to hold the Olympic events in both parts of Korea.

Typical of the communications that Samaranch was receiving at the critical period in early January, prior to the official deadline for notification of participation, was a telex received from President Kenneth David Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia dated January 6, urging him to allocate a reasonable number of sports to the North. Copies of this message were sent to presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Kim Il Sung. (Samaranch later got a letter of the same date delivered through the Zambian embassy

in Bonn, in which the copies of the letter were shown as having been sent to Kim Il Sung and Roh Tae Woo as president-elect of South Korea.) Kaunda did not hesitate to note that one of the many capacities in which he sent the message was as chairman of the Frontline States and the Organization of African Unity.

Samaranch replied on January 11, thanking Kaunda for his interest in the matter and congratulating Zambia for having accepted the invitation to take part in the Games. He assured him that the IOC would do everything in its power to enable every country to take part. He reviewed the two years of negotiations, the proposal made by the IOC in July 1987, and the fact that the IOC was still waiting for a reply from the DPRK. He noted that 144 NOCs had confirmed their participation, already a record, and that the IOC expected still more before January 17.²²

Everyone was watching the count of acceptances as the deadline approached. Lord Killanin wrote to Samaranch on January 5, saying how delighted he was that Marat Gramov, president of the USSR NOC and Soviet minister of sport, had followed East Germany and Hungary by indicating acceptance. He would be keeping his fingers crossed until all the acceptances were in. Samaranch, he said, had had a "very trying and difficult time," and he hoped that the pessimism Samaranch had expressed would not be justified.²³ He felt that Samaranch had done "more than enough in regard to North Korea as the Games were allotted to Seoul." He would see him the next month at the Olympic Winter Games in Calgary.

That there would be certain refusals to attend was known to almost all the close observers of the situation. Cuba had made it clear it would not participate unless the north-south situation was resolved. The DPRK was clearly not going to attend unless the negotiations were successful from its perspective.²⁴ It was also likely, because of the relationship between Cuba and Nicaragua, that the Cuban influence would result in nonacceptance by Nicaragua. Sure enough, on January 16, Moises Hassan, president of the Nicaraguan NOC, telexed Samaranch to advise him that his NOC would not participate. He cited as reasons for the decision the lack of concentration on sport due to the hostilities in his country, nonqualification of their best athletes through the Pan American Games, and the bad economic situation in the country.²⁵

Samaranch replied to the telex the next day, stating that even a symbolic presence of Nicaragua would be very positive. He found it strange that Nicaragua would have participated in the Games in Los Angeles, the Central American and Caribbean Games, and the Pan American Games the year before, while the country was in the same circumstances as the present. He reminded the NOC that through the IOC program of Olympic Solidarity

there were funds available for at least eight persons as well as a grant for equipment and supplies. He asked them to reconsider their decision once again and reminded them that the NOC would not share in any of the Olympic Solidarity funds for the period of 1988–1992 if it did not participate in the Games. He was certainly not prepared to let stand without comment such a feeble rationalization of a political decision not to participate. The request had no effect.²⁶

The DPRK decision not to participate was officially communicated to Samaranch in a letter dated January 11, 1988, signed by Kim Yu Sun. Samaranch, to keep the pressure on the DPRK, had sent a special telex to Kim on January 6, reminding him that Ambassador Chin had asked, during his meeting with Samaranch on October 19, 1987, for a delay until mid-December to answer the IOC proposal of July 16. Samaranch had agreed to wait but now wanted a reply. The letter from Kim Yu Sun was received in Lausanne on January 26.²⁷ He stated that they could not participate in the Games to be “singly” hosted by the South Korean side and that this being the case there was no possibility for them to accept the invitation. He was sorry that this was the outcome, but it was the only measure they could take “because of the failure of agreement on the cohosting question we ardently desired for.” However, he went on to say: “But we do not think that it is our last effort to effect the Olympic cohosting and inform you that we still have hope for its possibility.”

Kim Yu Sun referred to the New Year address of the respected leader Kim Il Sung and his call for a north-south joint conference to discuss “some immediate problems for national reunification and détente including the problem of north-south cohosting of the XXIVth Olympiad.” He thought that if this conference were to be held and would take measures for the solution of the cohosting problem, a subsequent joint meeting in Lausanne might lead to a final agreement. Interestingly enough, North Kim appeared to acknowledge that the DPRK had not answered the IOC’s July 1987 offer: “We hope that you will also await our answer to the IOC’s proposal requested in your telex dated July 15 [*sic*], until the north-south negotiation will be held.”²⁸

On January 28, Samaranch replied, saying how disappointed he was with the decision. The IOC was, however, willing to further await their reply to the historic and important proposal made on July 15, 1987. He emphasized and drew North Kim’s attention to the fact that time was passing very quickly and that each day gone rendered the possibility of any agreement more and more remote. He reiterated the statement made at the IOC press conference on January 18 that, even though the deadline for inscriptions had passed, the IOC was still ready to reach an agreement that would enable his NOC to participate in the Games.

The Cuban decision was communicated by Castro himself in a letter dated January 13, 1988. It was a full three pages, rehashing the earlier efforts on his part to bring about some sense of compromise, acknowledging Samaranch’s efforts in the same direction, commenting on the political situation in South Korea (which he decried), and concluding with the decision not to attend.²⁹

The National Olympic Committee and government of Cuba have decided not to enter, that is to say simply not to commit ourselves to the Games. Although we deeply regret this unavoidable decision, our people and our athletes, whose conduct is always governed by profound ethical considerations and a deep sense of honour, will not be disheartened and will continue to train for the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992, assuming that no punitive action is taken against us for having behaved in such a dignified manner. We wish nevertheless to inform you, dear friend Samaranch, that taking into account your great interest in our participation, should the miracle of ensuring a safe and non-violent celebration of the Games in Seoul happen, and should you with your characteristic tenacity manage to achieve a co-hosting of the Games, we should be prepared to reconsider our decision, provided that, in those circumstances, the IOC would esteem the humble participation of Cuba to be worthwhile.

I should like you to know that for Cuba, the moral principles of the people are of more importance than the excitement of the Olympic Games and the gold medals to be won.

Castro’s letter did not arrive in Lausanne until January 21, and Samaranch waited until February 16 to answer, which he did from Calgary, Canada, where he was attending the Olympic Winter Games. The reply was only one page. He was sorry that the decision was made, since once again Cuban athletes would not be present at the greatest sporting event in the world. He reminded Castro that after their last conversation, he had improved the offer to the DPRK as Castro had requested, but that this had not brought about a definitive solution to the problem. He said he intended to go to Pyongyang himself to see if he could make a last effort to achieve a solution. He said that even though the deadline had passed, the IOC was continuing to leave the door open, although the time was passing very quickly and a solution would have to be found as soon as possible. He urged Castro to reconsider his own position.

By the time of the deadline for acceptance of the invitations to participate in Seoul, 161 of the 167 NOCs recognized by the IOC had accepted. It was, by any measure, a stunning accomplishment for the Olympic Movement and for the Republic of Korea, in its struggle

Sydney 2000: in an historic moment, North and South march together into the Opening Ceremony, united under one flag.

Photo: IOC/OSPC



for the international recognition that it had sought in hosting the Games.

Acceptances were one thing, however, and actual participation in the Games another. How “soft” were some of the acceptances, and how many had been sent in simply to preserve flexibility rather than as definitive promises of attendance? For that matter, how was the new Roh government going to fare in the elections for the National Assembly later that year? Would public opinion in Korea rally behind the Games as they grew nearer? Would the volatile DPRK be kept under control, either on its own initiative or under “counsel” from its Chinese and Soviet allies?

It was certain, regardless of one’s view of the eventual outcome, that the work was far from over. The initial “sale” of the Seoul Olympics had been made from an attractive catalog, but the “goods” had neither been paid for nor delivered. Both the IOC and the Republic of Korea would have an anxious eight months ahead of them. ■

- 1 This was followed by a press conference on August 11, indicating the DPRK’s dissatisfaction with the IOC proposal and a demand for a fifth joint meeting.
- 2 On July 27, the DPRK ambassador to Beijing, Sin In Ha, gave a press conference at the DPRK embassy and stated that the USSR, China, and other Communist countries supported the DPRK’s desire to co-host the Games but stated that they had not promised to boycott the Games if they were held only in Seoul. Coincidentally, on the same day, an Olympic delegation from the USSR NOC was in Seoul to begin meetings with SLOOC officials and review preparations for the Games. On August 4, the DPRK indicated its dissatisfaction with the IOC proposal and demanded a fifth joint meeting prior to September 17. Assistant Foreign Minister Park Soo Gil responded for the South on

August 6, saying that the South might be willing to accept proposals to transfer additional events to the North if it were to accept the IOC proposals made at the fourth joint meeting. The DPRK ambassador in Beijing held another press conference on August 10, for Communist journalists, to explain the reduced demands by the DPRK.

- 3 The usual number of background activities had preceded this exchange. On July 23, the DPRK had proposed that the two Koreas and the United States meet in Geneva to discuss mutual arms reductions. This did not receive much support from South Korea; on August 3, Park Soo Gil proposed that the two foreign ministers meet but rejected the DPRK proposal as a “typical propaganda piece.” The formal statement was more neutral and simply indicated the points that South Korea wanted to discuss, without discussing the DPRK agenda. New York was proposed as the place for the meeting, where both would be present for the opening of the UN session; the Olympics were not mentioned.
- 4 It was an interesting period in the entire exercise. There were already some signs that the international sports organizations were not wholly pleased with the prospect of events in North Korea. As early as June 22, a spokesperson for FILA (the international wrestling federation), Toshimisu Azuma, had stated that there would be no wrestling competitions in the 1988 Olympics if they were to be held in North Korea. By August 22, the president of FIAC (the international cycling federation), Valery Syssoev (a Soviet), telexed Samaranch to advise that because they had learned the DPRK had renounced holding any Olympic cycling events, the FIAC Congress scheduled for two days later planned to advise all national federations that all competitions would take place in the South. This response from the IFs was as broad as it was long; on the one hand, it showed support of the IOC in its efforts to help the Seoul Games and the consensus in favor of the Games. On the other, it was potentially disquieting for Samaranch, since he did not want the individual sport federations taking unilateral actions that might interfere with the process he was managing so delicately, and that might force North Korea into a corner too early and provoke precipitous action on its part.
- 5 A press conference was held by the DPRK NOC on August 31, to advise that it had requested the IOC to postpone sending the invitations.
- 6 This effort was part of a flurry of activity generated by the DPRK as it became evident that the IOC would be sending the invitations to the Games as scheduled. On September 9, an article in *Rodong Shinmun* warned of increasing tensions if the Games were to be held only in South Korea. On September 10, the North Koreans suggested that the real deadline for successful negotiations might be January 17, 1988 (the date replies were due from the NOCs), rather than the date the invitations were to be sent. On September 11, North Kim said he would be sending a letter to the KOC, requesting bilateral meetings between the Korean NOCs prior to the fifth joint meeting. On September 12, South Kim announced he would pick up the letter at Panmunjom on September 15. South Korea was in no hurry to start such negotiations, was suspicious of them, and, in any event, was going to do nothing to interfere with the sending of the invitations to the Games on September 17.
- 7 Only five days prior to sending out the invitations, Samaranch was on an official visit to Syria to attend the Tenth Mediterranean Games. While there, he announced that the IOC would keep negotiating with both Koreas and would not “close the door.” This was a propitious place from which to counter a radio report that had emanated from Radio Pyongyang, monitored in Tokyo on August 5, in which it was reported that Syrian vice president Abdel Halim Khaddam had declared to DPRK minister of foreign affairs Kim Yong Nam during the latter’s visit to Syria in July that Syria might boycott the Games.
- 8 This was the first aspect noted, in response, no doubt, to the alleged concerns that had led to the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Games, the previous withdrawal of the 1966 Asian Games from Korea, and the general concerns related to the situation in South Korea, both domestic and in its relationship with North Korea.
- 9 This was the thirty-sixth meeting of Socialist Ministers of Sport, held in Soukhoumi, USSR, on September 21–23. At this meeting, the DPRK had denounced the IOC’s sending of the invitations to the 1988 Olympic Games. Samaranch had attended this meeting, in accordance with his normal practice. The meeting, as might be expected, endorsed the idea that the Games should be shared between North Korea and South Korea and that a positive solution to the matter should be pursued. The press communiqué issued upon the conclusion indicated that this was the seventh time Samaranch had

- attended such meetings and that he had explained in person the progress to date in the meetings of the two Korean NOCs under the auspices of the IOC. Notwithstanding the terms of the communiqué, the USSR was very pleased with the actions of the IOC. Samaranch had read the entire IOC proposal in response to the DPRK criticism.
- 10 The sending of the DPRK letter of September 12 had been preceded by an announcement by North Kim on September 11 that he would be delivering a letter to the KOC at Panmunjom the next day. South Kim had advised Samaranch on September 22 that he would be sending a letter to North Kim on September 24. The letter urged the DPRK NOC to accept the IOC's latest proposal. The KOC had advised the IOC that it accepted the revised proposal arising out of the fourth joint meeting on August 17. The KOC view of the proposal was that negotiating in the absence of the IOC was intended by the DPRK to weaken the South's position. This was a view shared by Chun Doo Hwan, who wrote separately to Samaranch on the subject.
 - 11 North Kim announced on October 2 that he was sending a letter to the KOC, which could be picked up on October 3. South Kim indicated that he would receive this letter on October 12. North Kim acknowledged the new date on October 6 and agreed to change the date for receipt of his letter. North Kim's letter urged the KOC to agree to a second meeting between the two NOCs, as proposed by the IOC. On October 15, South Kim said he would send a letter to the DPRK NOC to be received at Panmunjom on October 16. This letter would urge the DPRK NOC, once again, to accept the IOC's revised proposal. In a memorandum sent to Samaranch on the same date, the KOC expressed its thanks that he had insisted on the acceptance by North Korea of the IOC proposal before agreeing to have a fifth joint meeting. It also expressed the view that the recent push by the DPRK NOC for bilateral talks had the ulterior motive of dividing the IOC and the KOC, since there was no "important information" as alleged by the DPRK to be brought to the IOC. The KOC wanted no more events to be allocated to the North. The DPRK NOC said the letter would be received on October 20 at Panmunjom. On October 23, the DPRK NOC issued a statement proposing postponement of negotiations for the cohosting of the Games. Little occurred after this, other than a press conference by the KOC on November 26, in which it urged the DPRK NOC to accept the IOC's proposal.
 - 12 I spoke with Samaranch on November 30, after his return from Japan and China, and he said he had had assurances from the top leaders in China that China would participate in Seoul. On the matter of the KAL bombing, in a conversation on December 3, I suggested that this tragedy, if linked to the DPRK, might, in a macabre way, actually help the chances of successful Games in Seoul.
 - 13 Samaranch had sent his by now customary telegrams on behalf of the Olympic Movement to both Reagan and Gorbachev on the eve of the summit meeting.
 - 14 Samaranch and I had watched the signing ceremony on television in his hotel room in Lausanne on December 8. During the evening, Samaranch said that he had suggested sanctions against nonparticipating countries in the course of his recent Far Eastern trip but had later withdrawn the idea. We had a long discussion on the issue, and he said he wanted to discuss the possibility at the Executive Board. I told him I was opposed to the idea of sanctions in the circumstances, and he asked if I would mind not speaking to that effect too early in the Executive Board discussion.
 - 15 Roh won with approximately 37 percent of the popular vote, which was, in the circumstances of so much political division in the country at the time, a healthy, if not overwhelming, plurality. Samaranch was so nervous about the outcome that he had Kim Un Yong call him every half hour with the results up to that point. My recollection is that Samaranch called me in turn about three or four times to pass on the latest results.
 - 16 A Soviet delegation was present in Seoul on December 27–30 to agree on the accommodations to be allocated to the Soviet team, as well as on certain consular functions to be performed in Seoul. At a dinner on December 28, the Soviets predicted that 160 countries would participate in the Games.
 - 17 Two days previously, Soviet NOC president Marat Gramov had stated in Frankfurt that the USSR did not intend to boycott the Games; the problem of the DPRK remained to be solved, but the IOC had left the door open for further talks.
 - 18 Samaranch had also spoken on January 6 with the vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers, José R. Fernandez Alvarez, to review the IOC's efforts to ensure the participation of the DPRK. Fernandez had agreed to discuss the matter with Castro, but in view of the "privileged" relationship with the DPRK, it appeared difficult to accept anything short of sharing the Games between the two countries. On January 8, Samaranch sent Fernandez a copy of his telex to Kim Yu Sun of January 6, together with the number of acceptances to date, and reminded Fernandez that the latest offer to North Korea had been based on the recommendation made by Fidel Castro.
 - 19 It was also helpful on the domestic Korean front that Kim Young Sam, the runner-up in the December 1987 elections, stated on January 6 that his party would do its best to make the Olympic Games the "greatest festival in the world." This was a welcome change from some of his earlier statements as a political candidate; he was, perhaps, leaving open his political options as a future (successful) presidential candidate.
 - 20 During breakfast in Samaranch's room on January 26, he professed to be very worried about the DPRK, even to the point of fearing that there would be "war" if there were no eventual agreement on the Olympic question. He had sent Roh Tae Woo a letter urging that the annual Team Spirit exercises be canceled, or at least postponed until after the Games. The previous week he had met with USSR foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and explained the IOC proposal. Samaranch also told him that the level of the DPRK delegation was very low, having no power to negotiate, and that the IOC was willing to try to find a solution. Shevardnadze appeared to have been somewhat surprised at the level of negotiations and said he would look into it.
 - 21 Hamzah's recollection on this latter point does not appear to be correct, since Roh did not attend the IOC Session in Baden-Baden. He had stayed in Seoul to coordinate the efforts relating to the bid from the capital as minister in the government.
 - 22 Both the USSR and China announced their participation in the Games on January 11. The USSR statement still supported the sharing of the Games but said the number of sports to be allocated to the North was for the IOC to decide. The DPRK situation had, the statement said, not been discussed by the Soviet NOC. South Korea followed these announcements with supportive announcements of its own. It said that it would permit the USSR and other socialist countries with which it had no diplomatic relations to transport athletes and officials on their own planes or ships. It confirmed the previous secret arrangement that the USSR would be permitted to bring a ship to Incheon and to use it as its "main supply base" for its Olympic athletes. The USSR published the decision of the DPRK not to participate in the Games without comment. Politically, the Korean opposition parties and the U.S. State Department all welcomed the Soviet decision to participate.
 - 23 Samaranch was resolutely pessimistic regarding the Seoul Games. It was as if he did not want to allow himself to believe that the matters were under control in case that might cause him to relax and be caught unaware if something unexpected were to develop. He was similarly pessimistic about Sarajevo, Los Angeles, Calgary, Albertville, Barcelona, and Lillehammer. He is well along the way to being pessimistic about Atlanta and Nagano. By the time of publication, he will already be mildly pessimistic about whichever host city has been chosen for the Games in the year 2000.
 - 24 The DPRK NOC issued a statement of its intention to boycott the Games on January 12.
 - 25 The actual letter from Hassan did not reach the IOC until March 22. In his reply to the letter, Samaranch merely repeated the contents of his telexed reply described in the next paragraph.
 - 26 A broadcast by Radio Pyongyang, monitored in Tokyo on March 24, 1987, stated that following a visit by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega to Pyongyang, Ortega had declared to the DPRK vice president and minister of foreign affairs that Nicaragua would not take part in the Games unless they were cohosted by North Korea and South Korea.
 - 27 The news, as such, of its decision not to participate was derived from the press announcement by the DPRK on January 12.
 - 28 On January 19, after all the acceptances were received, SLOOC president Park Seh Jik announced that the SLOOC would continue to keep the door open for the DPRK to participate in the Games.
 - 29 Samaranch told me in a conversation on January 7 that he had spoken with Manuel Gonzales Guerra, the IOC member in Cuba, and Conrado Martinez, the sports minister, who had appeared to want to participate in the Games. The final decision, however, would be made by Castro himself.

The fight for the warrior's helmet

Or: A marathon victory as glue for national identity

By Volker Kluge

On Monday, 17th August 1970, the South Korean lawmaker Park Young Rok invited the West Berlin media to an unusual press conference at the Hotel Kempinski. Full of satisfaction, he explained in front of journalists that at the weekend – in the night from Saturday to Sunday – he had “corrected” the roll of honour in the 1936 Olympic Stadium. In five hours of hard work he had replaced the country name JAPAN, behind the name of marathon winner Kitei Son, by KOREA. His reasoning: “A sovereign independent state cannot permit that its victory should be attributed to another nation.”¹ He spoke, and went off to Tegel airport, but not before sending off a letter of explanation to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt.

He left the authorities speechless; their attention had been drawn to the case only by this “self-advertisement”. The parliamentary stonemason had carried out the change so expertly that it had not even been noticed by the stadium administration. Without asking,

he had “borrowed” a ladder from them. Hammer and chisel were in Park’s luggage.

The damage was greater than expected, since he had used the “KOREA” letters from different fonts and taken the “JAPAN” letters with him. Despite that, the senator responsible for sport, Horst Korber, did not intend to make anything political of the matter. “For that reason I did not seek to prosecute”, he wrote to German NOC General Secretary Walther Tröger.² However, as the the roll of honour was to be put back in order, he sought the view of the IOC as to how to proceed.

The answer came four weeks later from Munich. NOC President Willi Daume had, as President of the Organising Committee of the 1972 Games, by chance his colleagues from South Korea and Japan as guests, and discussed what had happened extensively with them. The case was not simple, wrote Daume, who hoped for a solution in the Olympic spirit: “It could perhaps be that the name Son could be left there with no indication of

nationality or both countries be named, though the first proposal would obviously be the better one.”³ Should no agreement be possible, Daume intended to address the IOC discreetly: “The IOC decision should not however be equivocal, for at the time of the Berlin Games Kitei Son did belong to the Japanese team, formed by the Japanese NOC. And the IOC registers not by states but by NOCs.”⁴

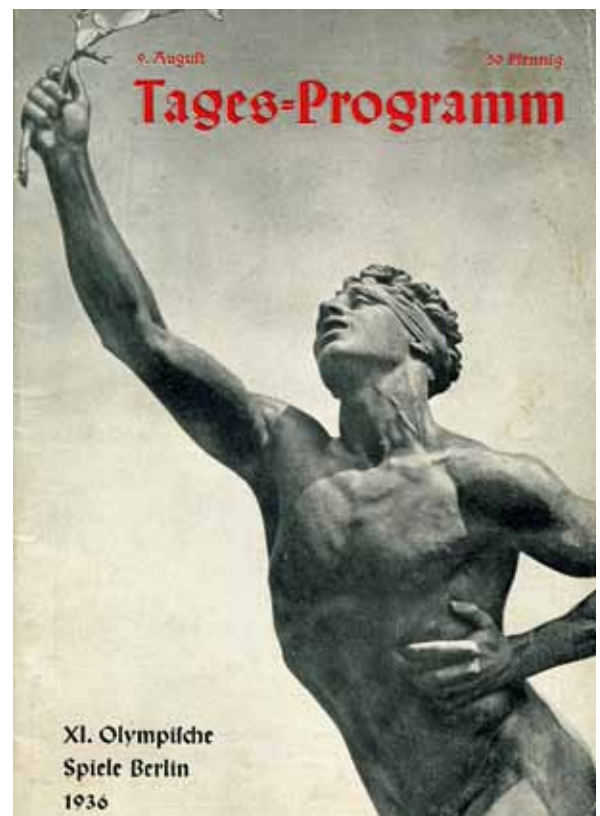
The joy over the liberation from the Japanese yoke was short-lived

Among the best-known German works of art of the 20th century is the *Victory Messenger of Marathon* by Max Kruse. The bronze statue represents the legendary runner who, in 490 BC, brought Athenians news of victory over the invading Persians on the plain of Marathon. With his statue the sculptor won the famous “Rome prize” in 1881.⁵ After that, replicas were erected in several German towns. Reduced scale copies were sold countless times.



With hammer and chisel in his luggage: in 1970, the South Korean MP Park Young Rok reported proudly that he had “corrected” the roll of honour in the Berlin Olympic Stadium. Far right: the programme of 9 August 1936, with the *Siegesboten von Marathon* by Max Kruse on the cover.

Photo: BZ, West-Berlin, 18 August 1970, Volker Kluge Archive



Among those who were fascinated by the legend behind the marathon race was Carl Diem, chief organiser of the 1936 Games. His handwriting is borne by the design of the Berlin Stadium, realised by architect Werner March. Its western stands are interrupted by the Marathon Gate. To the right and left, March had the Marathon Towers built, and under them, the Marathon Tunnel through which the runners ran in 1936.

Diem had written a novella in 1923 entitled *The Runner of Marathon*. This was published in 1936 in the *Olympia-Zeitung* to arouse people's interest in the marathon.⁶ The runner, who is supposed to have brought the message and died in exhaustion thereafter, corresponded to Diem's enthusiastic idea of a metaphorical and sacrificial death. Diem concluded his novella with a quotation of the Spartan elegiac poet Tyrtæus: "Death is beautiful when a man suffers it as a hero, as a hero dying for the fatherland."⁷

Explained in this way, the marathon race could be, in the scenario of the 1936 Games, nothing but the climax. With it ended the athletic events, which had started a week before. After that the tension decreased markedly.

The German Reichs-Rundfunk, which had declared the second Sunday in August to be "Marathon Day", was part of the drama. Herbert Windt, one of the most prominent film composers of the "Third Reich", created in several months a musical work to frame the live broadcasts of the German elite reporters.⁸ As the race progressed, he restricted himself to a few, ever recurring themes, which were used by the programme editor depending on the



Kitei Son and Britain's Ernest Harper as shadows. A movie still from Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*.

progress of the race – incessant, becoming slower, tiring, and collapse, as experienced by the Argentinian favourite Juan Carlos Zabala. The advancing, almost breathless finale, concluded in the victory of Kitei Son.

These were impressive, artistic images which the film director Leni Riefenstahl created with an enormous technical and personal expenditure. Accentuated by Windt's music, she integrated landscapes that flew past, close-ups of athletes, physical details highlighting the play of muscles, shadow pictures and slow motion images. The marathon race formed the conclusion of the first part of her *Olympia* films, in order to be shown as an independent work.⁹

The last sequences show the victory ceremony. Son, like all first-place athletes, received the gold medal and a small oak tree as well as an oak-leaf wreath. One can see the display board with his name and the country's title "JAPAN". What the film does not reveal: Kitei Son was in fact Sohn Kee Chung and came from Korea, which had been a Japanese protectorate from 1905 and a Japanese colony from 1910.

That, however, was not unknown in 1936. Several German newspapers did not forget to mention Son's Korean origin, and also that of the third-placed Nam Sung Yong, alias Shoryu Nan. An article appeared in the *Olympia-Zeitung*, in which Son reported "that in his homeland of Korea he had systematically prepared himself for these two and a half hours of the Olympic Games".¹⁰ Radio reporter Dr. Paul Laven did not omit the subject when he described the finish:

*Here is the finish in the main stadium. Son, the Korean student. He has smashed the forces of the world. With Asiatic toughness and energy the Korean has run through the Marathon Gate, through sunlight and stone-hard streets ... a natural phenomenon and natural runner with his last strength. And now Son, the 1936 Marathon runner, crosses the line.*¹¹

Son also gave innumerable autographs in those days, for which he used the Japanese Romaji (Roman letters) as well as the Korean Hangeul (Korean symbols). He

The myth of the marathon. Winner Kitei Son reaches the finish in the Berlin Olympic Stadium through the Marathon Tunnel, above which rises the Marathon Gate.

Photos: Leni Riefenstahl, *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*, 1937; Volker Kluge Archive



Kitei Son made no secret of his Korean origin during the 1936 Olympics. When he gave autographs, he wrote his name in Japanese Romaji as well as in Korean Hangeul.

Because Sohn (Son), in the opinion of many in the media, won under a "false flag", he is often described as the "saddest Olympic champion" – a question of interpretation. Like all individual Olympic champions, he received an oak tree. In a park named after him in Seoul stands a 15 m high oak, which is not, however, a German common oak (*quercus pedunculata*), as was presented in 1936. In the view of experts, it was planted later.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

frequently extended his name with the description "KOREA".¹² To be sure, that changed nothing about the status of a vassal state, which the Japanese described as the province of Chōsen and whose language from 1938 was forbidden, even privately. Certainly, the attempt in February 1940 to transform Korean names as well, achieved a tiny success with 7.6 per cent. After a delay of six months, ration cards were distributed only to "Japanese" Koreans and 79.3 per cent of the population were registered.

Only the capitulation of the colonial power in the Second World War brought the longed-for independence. A joy of short duration. The Korean peninsula was divided by the allied liberators at the 38th parallel. The Communist-dominated north responded to the foundation of the Republic of Korea on 15th August 1948 in the pro-American south, a short four weeks later, with the proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic, whose troops crossed the demarcation line on 26th June 1950. The Korean War, which cost approximately one million soldiers and an estimated four million civilians lives, lasted three years. No side could win. The armistice agreement of 27th July 1953 brought today's fragile status quo ante.

A Corinthian helmet as a challenge trophy for the victors in the marathon race

Sohn Kee Chung, as the marathon winner was called officially from 1945, took part in the next Games in 1948 as coach. For the first time the (South) Korean flag waved, which he was allowed to carry at the Opening Ceremony. One of the athletes he looked after was Suh Yun Bok, the winner of the 1947 Boston marathon, who was disappointed in London by his 27th place. In 1952 Choi Yoon Chil and, in 1956 Lee Chang Hoon, who came fourth, achieved better results. The latter became Sohn's son-in-law.

In the meantime, Sohn opened a store in Seoul, which declined at the end of the 1960s. In his need, he entrusted himself to Diem's widow, Liselott Diem, who had interviewed him some time before. The Cologne professor turned to Daume with the question as to whether Sohn could be invited to the next Games.¹³ That was already expected, for Daume had sent him an invitation via the South Korean Ambassador.¹⁴

In the late summer of 1972, Sohn along with further well-known people,¹⁵ spent pleasant days in Munich, followed by a detour to Berlin. After 1936, 1956 and 1966 he visited the Olympic Stadium for the fourth time, without publicly expressing himself regarding the controversial inscription on the roll of honour.

He had no time for a visit to the exhibition, "100 years of German excavations in Olympia", which was part of the fringe programme of the Munich Games. Compatriots

reported to him about an antique helmet, which he had allegedly received in 1936 from the Athens newspaper, *Vradini*. In the exhibition catalogue it was stated that the object came from the antiquity department of the Berlin State Museums in Charlottenburg palace. The lender was indicated as the "German Olympic Committee".¹⁶ The description on the base ran:

GREEK-CORINTHIAN HELMET

7th CENTURY BC.

CHALLENGE PRIZE OF THE NEWSPAPER ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ ATHENS XI. OLYMPIAD BERLIN 1936

KITEI SON JAPAN 2 STD. 29:19.2 SEK.

Prompted by someone, Sohn turned three years later to Tröger and asked for an explanation,¹⁷ but the recipient of the letter was initially at a loss. The search for the solution to the puzzle was under way only when Korean newspapers in September 1976 – 40 years after Sohn's victory – took up the story and declared it a "national case". In the "Year of the Horse", which according to the Chinese calendar began on 7th February 1978, the helmet was due to return to Korea.

It was obvious that Sohn was acting on the instructions of others. He signed what others laid in front of him. This was confirmed by a letter from the President of the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC), Kim Taik Soo, who asked Daume to give Sohn's "Special Prize" to the "Korean people in commemoration of the 1936 Olympic Games".¹⁸

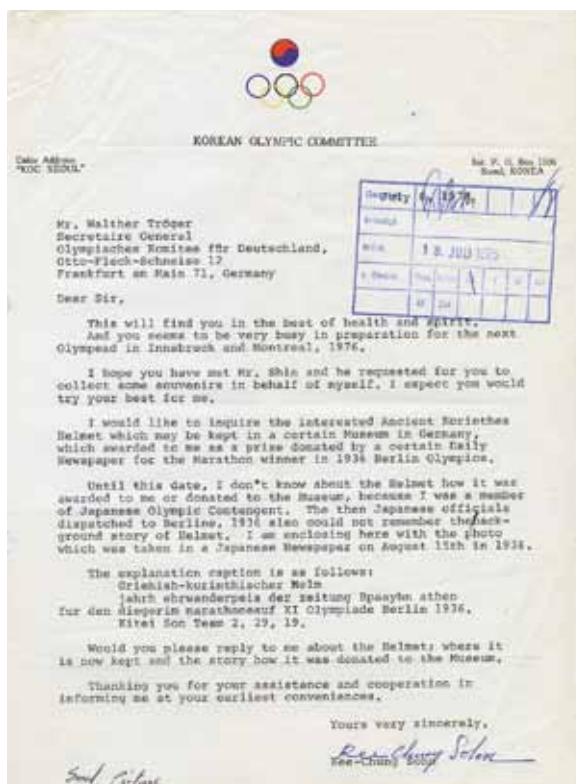




Even before Daume's letter reached Seoul, a Korean who lived in West Berlin appeared, whom Sohn had empowered to "bring the helmet awarded by Greece back into my possession".¹⁹ The confusion was complete. Sohn, until then, was unaware of the existence of the helmet, let alone that he had ever owned it. In early 1977 Tröger brought in the Japanese NOC. Several 1936 participants were asked about the helmet, among them the triple jump champion, Naoto Tajima. But the result was slight. None had heard of an antique helmet. The first place to help was the Carl-Diem-Institute, which traced an undated reference in the estate of the man who gave it its name. On the last page of the first volume of the 1936 *Official Report* there was also a photo of the helmet. The picture title ran:

*Challenge prize for the marathon race at the Olympic Games from the newspaper 'Vradini'-Athens. Remains in the Old Museum in Berlin in memory of the celebrations of 1936.*²⁰

A request to the Greek NOC brought the first results. After that it was the owner of *Vradini*, Dimitrios Aravantinos²¹, who had acquired the helmet in the 1920s and dedicated it to the Olympic victors in the marathon race. The Greek sports enthusiast wanted to create a bridge from ancient to modern times. His special relationship to the city of Berlin, where his brother Panos had become a well-known set designer²², probably played a role. Three days after *Vradini* had announced the gift, the German newspapers announced it, however, with the restriction:



*This gift first must be approved by the International Olympic Committee, as extra-prizes are usually not accepted.*²³

Extra prizes and Challenge Cups – and the IOC resolution of 1936

At the first Games of modern times, some Olympic champions received extra prizes as well as a silver medal and the diploma. No fewer than three went in 1896 to the Greek marathon winner, Spyros Louis: the silver cup of the King of Hellenes, the cup of the German-French philologist Michel Bréal, who had the idea of the marathon race, as well as an antique vase, which the Athenian Professor Spyridon Lambros had made available.²⁴ Also, at the 1900 and 1904 Games, honorary prizes were awarded.

For the Games of 1906 the Greek King donated a challenge prize for the marathon champion – a reduced copy of the statue of the dying victory messenger²⁵. The example was copied: monarchs of other countries, sports organisations and private individuals also made works of art available, which were described as Challenge Cups.²⁶

After the compulsory break of the First World War at the 1919 IOC Session a survey took place, and the number of prizes had risen to 24. Among them were also prizes of the deposed grandees of the "loser states" – from Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II, Austria's Kaiser Franz Josef I and from the Hungarian Count Andrassy – and they agreed for political reasons to use them for the intended Olympic Museum in Lausanne.²⁷

For almost 30 years, Sohn Kee Chung was unaware of the existence of the Corinthian warrior's helmet, which had been donated as a challenge trophy for the marathon champions. After he found out from tourists that the helmet had been exhibited in 1972 in Munich (far left), he sought clarification through this letter to the General Secretary of the NOC for Germany, Walther Tröger.

Photos: DOSB/NOC Archive Frankfurt am Main

The Challenge Cups, which were presented in Stockholm in 1912. In the centre, the extra prize presented by the Greek King to the marathon champion – a miniature copy of the statue of the dying messenger of victory by Jean-Pierre Cortot from the year 1834.



Photo: Official Report Stockholm 1912

One year later in Antwerp the subject again appeared on the agenda. Since only a few Challenge Cups had been returned by the prizewinners of 1912, the IOC ceased giving out any more. The decision was confirmed in 1923.²⁸ When they could be found, the trophies now considered as "historiques" went to the museum.

Thirteen years later – in 1936 – the IOC was not prepared to return to the tradition of extra prizes. The public was also informed. Therefore, one day after the marathon race one could read in *Vradini*:

*The helmet we awarded will, through the decision of the IOC, not be given to the winner, but kept in the Berlin Museum. On the silver plaque [which had been fastened to the inside of the helmet] the name of the winner will be engraved.*²⁹

It took another two years before Diem, appointed as liquidator of the Organising Committee, handed the prize as a loan to the antiquities collection on Berlin's Museum Island. With or without the agreement of the Greek donorator, as the relevant documents were lost in the war.

It is, however, clear that the helmet, allegedly found near Olympia (and perhaps used as a votive offering), was exhibited in the basement of the Old Museum intended for small artistic items – in the Antiquarium. With the beginning of the Anglo-American air attacks, the artifacts were secured by paper sacks, later in the flak towers in Friedrichshain (a popular park) or deposited at Bahnhof Zoo. So as not to leave them for the approaching Red Army, they were taken in February/March 1945 with several secret railway transport wagons to the west, where they were stored in the Thuringian potash mines of Kaiseroda and Grasleben. There they were confiscated in mid-April 1945 by the western allies.³⁰

When the Soviets in 1958 gave back most of their plunder to the GDR, at the same time the deposits looked after by the Americans in Wiesbaden or by the British in Celle, came back to the western part of Berlin. There was no question of a return to the Museum Island, which was destroyed, in the eastern part – it was the

Cold War. The antiquities came under the administration of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, which exhibited the objects from 1961 in the Charlottenburg palace. Only after German reunification in 1990 could the collections again be brought together.

"One of the three most prominent events for the Koreans"

The "helmet correspondence" today fills a complete document folder and once occupied no fewer than four NOCs, the IOC as well as three authorities and State Museums of West Berlin. The KOC claimed the ancient helmet from the mid-1970s as the property of Sohn, although the marathon victor was known to have been born in North Korea. The West German NOC insisted on its claim; however, this was not proven. There was a second German Olympic Committee, which also had its seat in Berlin where the helmet had been until 1945. The Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation was concerned about the loss of a beautiful exhibit, whose material value was estimated at between 50,000 to 100,000 German marks.

The discussion became sharper when a club called Hellenic Association of Friends of Korea began to interfere – founded in 1955 by former members of the Greek Battalion, which in the Korean War had belonged to the UN contingent on the side of the south. Their spokesman was the acting General Secretary, Takis E. Papayannopoulos, a professor who taught in the Athens School of Journalism. He boasted of his good relations with the newspaper *Vradini*, which promptly published an article about the helmet following his views.³¹

In a "Memorandum", Papayannopoulos demanded the immediate release of the helmet, which he saw not as a sports prize, but as a symbol of the victory of the Occident over the "barbarian invaders".³² He imputed to the Germans: "an impermissible act of provocation against the world-wide athletic spirit".

In the hope of being able to clarify the 1936 IOC decision, KOC President Kim turned on 12th April 1978 to Lausanne. To his disappointment, IOC Director Monique Berlioux informed him that the matter had not been discussed either at a Session nor in a meeting of the Executive Board.³³ Träger, on the other hand, learned via the German Embassy in Seoul that the KOC intended to have the subject placed on the agenda of the next Session – 1979 in Montevideo. If the helmet was given back, according to the KOC, it was to be exhibited in the Korean National Museum.³⁴

At the same time a press campaign began, which either intended conscious disinformation or was intended as wishful thinking. The *Korea Times* announced under the heading, "Germany May Return Helmet To Marathoner", that a West German cable said:

it would send a letter to KOC detailing the transfer procedure of the helmet, which is rated as a rare treasure of the world.³⁵

There could be no question of that. In reality Daume had only invited President Kim to the World Swimming Championships in West Berlin and announced his intention to discuss the "helmet question" with him.³⁶ In addition he referred to a letter from Tröger, in which was stated:

Therefore, the helmet was given from the Organising Committee to the Museum as a lending piece. The Museum itself considers the Organising Committee respectively our NOC as legal successor as proprietor of the helmet with the obligation that the helmet remains constantly in the Museum as lending piece; ... Once more we should like to express our desire that we want to settle this matter to the satisfaction of everybody. We intend to produce copies of the helmet, which we should like to offer to all still alive winners of the marathon race since 1936.³⁷

The Koreans understood how to raise the temperature skillfully. They involved private individuals, who claimed to be intermediaries. Even the German press was used. The newspaper *WELT am SONNTAG* published the facsimile of a letter from Sohn to the "dear Berliners", in which he asked for support to attain the release of the helmet.³⁸

Undeniable facts, however, were ignored by which the Challenge Cup was not only dedicated merely to the first place runner of 1936, but to all Olympic marathon

champions. Tröger's argument, that the helmet, according to the wish of the donor at that point in time, should be in the possession of Montreal winner Waldemar Cierpinski from the GDR, aroused fury by the "Friends of Korea".³⁹

While the officials exchanged polite formulae, without moving from their positions, Papayannopoulos lost his patience. He sent an ultimatum to Tröger asking for the final decision. In the case that it did not agree with his way of thinking, he threatened to produce a "book of revelation" in five languages, to be distributed during the 1980 Games in Moscow.⁴⁰ A bubble. At the end of February 1980 he quietly announced his abandonment, because it would garner no publicity due to the expected Olympic boycott by the western world.⁴¹

Such attacks did have an effect. Although the legal situation was described as clear-cut, the General Director of the State Museums, Hans-Joachim Fürste, feared above all sport-political concerns, especially as Tröger had informed him: "I am at the moment pretty sure that our committee would agree to return the helmet to Korea, if there are no other arguments".⁴² In order to persuade the IOC to be gracious, Fürste declared himself ready to produce reduced copies of the helmet, provided that the existing lending contract was declared to be irrevocable.⁴³

In the next three years the dispute was nearly forgotten. There were more important subjects. Sohn stayed several times in the German Federal Republic, with the delegation from Seoul, and canvassed for the 1988 Games in Baden-Baden in 1981 with a "Smiling Offensive". The IOC voted surprisingly clearly with 52-27 votes for Seoul and against the arrogant appearing Japanese contestant Nagoya. It was no secret that Adidas boss Horst Dassler had pulled the strings in the background.⁴⁴

Sohn regularly visited the German Embassy in Seoul, where he announced his unchanging interest in the trophy. However, not much more was said about the original. Meantime Sohn could even accept the idea of a reproduction which Tröger had offered him in the autumn of 1982.⁴⁵ For the German Embassy a "Goodwill" campaign had precedence, for which a reason and sponsor emerged: the replica financed by the Düsseldorf Trade Fair Society was to be handed over in 1984 "as part of celebrations for the Korean-German centennial relations" at the sports equipment fair in Seoul.⁴⁶

Yet when the copy was ready in early 1984, the fair was cancelled. Before a new date could be agreed, Tröger received a telex from Seoul, in which KOC General Secretary Choy Man Lip demanded a new discussion, giving as a reason:

But this matter is very important and has very special meaning not only to Mr. Sohn but also to all the Korean people.⁴⁷

Special thanks to Ulrich Schulze Forsthövel, project manager of the German "Memory of the Sport"



With aggressive letters and ultimata the Greek "Friends of Korea" tried to help Sohn Kee Chung to his alleged justice.

Photo: DOSB/NOC Archive Frankfurt am Main

What that really meant could be read in the magazine *Newsreview*:

*Sohn's winning of the gold medal was recorded as one of the three most prominent events for the Koreans at that time. Two others were the 1919 Independence Movement and the 1926 Students Uprising in Kwangju.*⁴⁸

Satisfying Sohn Kee Chung without setting a precedent

The whole controversy back to the beginning! "I flatly declined the West German offer. I want nothing but the original. This is also the will of the *Vradyni*", Sohn was quoted.⁴⁹

Along with the signs of weariness now, after ten years of discussion with Daume and Tröger, came a proposal supported by the German Foreign Office. It came from the Ambassador in Seoul, Jürgen Kleiner, who had just been appointed. In order "to bring this sad subject on to the table" he saw no other alternative than a generous gesture. In other words: the original was to be handed over to Sohn in a ceremony in his residence. "About the whole thing, this must be a part of the agreement with the Korean side, tv and press report."⁵⁰

Against his conviction, the jurist Tröger began to accept that he would be on the losing side, when two influential NOC members returned from Seoul in April

1986. Their view was "that the NOC in consideration of the relations with Korea – political as well those in preparation for the Olympic Games – is obliged to hand over the helmet to the Olympic marathon champion of 1936".⁵¹

There was unity that the presentation, – as requested by the KOC – should not take place at the meeting of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ACNO) in Seoul. Instead, Sohn was invited to West Berlin where it was intended that in August for the 50 year anniversary of the 1936 Games he would be given the relic. A more than painful piece of news for the Museum of Antiquities, which for almost 50 years had looked after the helmet and saved it over the period of the war. There were other ancient helmets in the collection, but the "Marathon Prize" was considered a particularly fine piece, so that a gap remained.

Daume, who because of the Berlin Games, was contaminated by the Nazi regime, avoided a memorial celebration and used a reunion of the German medallists of 1936 to hand over the helmet officially to Sohn in acknowledgement of the fact that his homeland is preparing itself now for the holding of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. Besides he said in his speech:

*We make no claims to gratitude or any act of fairness or complying with any legal obligations. A little bit of symbolism, which is almost indispensable for Olympic events, a little bit of humour as well, that is all.*⁵²

Sohn Kee Chung was often a guest in Berlin. The photo shows him with his second wife in front of the Olympic bell of 1936 in the Olympic Stadium.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



After that the helmet was professionally packed up and sent to Seoul. To correspond to the Korean wishes, the ceremony was repeated on 22nd September 1986 in the residence of the German Ambassador. As he had hoped, the media response was overwhelming. In the photos of this event a happy Sohn can be seen, putting on the helmet, much too small for the size of his head – a horror for every archaeological expert.

As expected, this handing over to Sohn was only symbolic. Soon the helmet went off to the National Museum of Korea, where on 7th March 1987, it was registered as the 904th Korean national treasure. At Sohn's request replicas were prepared and awarded in 2006 – four years after his death – for the first time to the winners of the marathon of Seoul (named after him).

What a history! – and still incomplete today. Scarcely had the helmet changed its owner than the KOC President also demanded the "correction" of Sohn's name and nationality on the Berlin roll of honour.⁵³ However, neither the NOC for Germany nor the Mayor of Berlin (West) Eberhard Diepgen, to whom the Korean member of parliament Lee Jong Chan had turned, was entitled to act. Property of the former Reichssportfeld, to which the Olympic Stadium belonged, was at that time the Federal Property Office as financial legal



successor to the collapsed Hitler empire. The area had been a protected monument since 1966 – a further reason why the compromise favoured by Daume and Tröger, to attach a small notice of explanation to the roll of honour, was refused.⁵⁴ Besides, in accord with the thinking of the IOC, which informed the NOC for Germany:

*This case has been submitted to the Executive Board which decided that the inscription should not be modified, since it would constitute an alteration to the Olympic history.*⁵⁵

Understandably, it is hard for the Koreans, who refer willingly to the long distant but proud tradition of their kingdoms and their existing sovereignty, to accept this decision. Nor is there any lack of attempts to interpret background reports about the Korean origin of Sohn Kee Chung, as can be read on the IOC website,⁵⁶ as a departure from the original resolution.⁵⁷

The marathon victor of 1936 remains in Olympic statistics registered under his Japanese name and as a member of the Japanese team. If the IOC acted differently, it would set a precedent which could set off a chain reaction. In the marathon race alone, the nationality would have to be changed with a further four winners, although their countries at that time did not take part in the Olympics: Michel Theato (France/1900) came from Luxembourg. The victorious Boughéra El Ouafi (1928) and Alain O'Kacha Mimoun (1956) also ran for France but were Algerians, and Emil Zátopek (Czechoslovakia/1952) was a Czech.

If history proves itself to be true, one can and must not rewrite it. Neither can one run away from it. ■

- 1 "Korea im Herzen – den Meißel im Gepäck", in: *BZ*, 18th October 1970
- 2 Letter Korber to Tröger, 20th August 1970, Volker Kluge Archive
- 3 Letter Daume to Korber, 16th September 1970, German Olympic and Sport Confederation (DOSB)/NOC Archive, folder 1155
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Max Kruse (1854–1942), *Siegesbote von Marathon (Nenikhamen)*, 1879/1884, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, height 218 cm, width 68 cm, depth 176 cm
- 6 "Wir haben gesiegt!", in: *Olympia-Zeitung*, Berlin 1936, No. 1 (21st July)–13 (2nd August). In the same year the story appeared as a book in the Reichssportverlag.
- 7 Carl Diem, *Der Läufer von Marathon*, Reclam, Leipzig 1941, p. 73. To give the German soldiers in the Second World War an appetite for a "hero's death", the High Command of the Wehrmacht two years later had the book published in the series *Soldatenbücher*, Band 78. Diem also used the Tyrtæus quotation in a speech on 18th March 1945 in front of a Hitler Youth (HJ) battalion, before this was sent as the "last sacrifice" to the Eastern front, already 70 km closer to Berlin.
- 8 Reichs-Rundfunk GmbH (Ed.), "Der Marathonlauf als musikdramatisches Erlebnis", in: *OLYMPIA-WELTSENDER*, Deutscher Verlag Berlin, o.J. (1936). Windt (1894–1965) composed in close collaboration with Leni Riefenstahl the music for her film of the Reichsparteitag 1934 *Triumph des Willens*, after the two *Olympia* films also for propaganda films like *Legion Condor*, *Stukas, Feldzug in Polen*, *Sieg im Westen and Kampf gegen den Weltfeind*. After the Second World War he was banned for some years.
- 9 Leni Riefenstahl, *OLYMPIA, Fest der Völker*, Erster Film von den Olympischen Spielen 1936, Tobis Filmkunst 1938
- 10 Joachim Fernau, "Son im Olympischen Dorf", in: *Olympia-Zeitung*, No. 23, 12th August 1936, p. 464
- 11 *OLYMPIA-WELTSENDER*, p. 88. In fact the 23 year old attended the Yosei middle school. Only after the Olympic Games he did study at the Meiji University in Tokyo, where he graduated in 1940.
- 12 Volker Kluge/Karl Lennartz/Hans Joachim Teichler, *Autogramm-bücher Berlin 1936*, DKB, 2011, p. 61
- 13 Letter L. Diem to Daume, 18th May 1971, German Olympic Academy (DOA), Willi Daume Archive, Folder 105.9
- 14 Ibid., letter Daume to L. Diem, 26th July 1971
- 15 Among the 15 invited foreign Olympic champions were inter alios Jesse Owens (USA), Abebe Bikila (ETH), Fanny Blankers-Koen (NED), Dawn Fraser (AUS), Emil Zátopek and Věra Čáslavská (both TCH) as well as Valeriy Brumel (URS).
- 16 Organisationskomitee der Spiele der XX. Olympiade München 1972 (Ed.), *100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Prestel-Verlag, München 1972, Objekt 47. Deutsches Museum München, 1st July–1st October 1972

Sohn Kee Chung was disappointed that he was not permitted to light the Olympic cauldron in 1988 in Seoul. He was, however, reconciled when allowed to carry the flame into the stadium. There he passed the flame to young people.

Far left: Sohn and Willi Daume at the 1986 commemorative celebration. The German NOC President had been a basketball reserve 50 years previously.

Photos: IOC/IOSC

The Corinthian helmet has been in the Seoul National Museum of Korea since 1988, where it is registered as national treasure No. 904.



- 17 Letter Sohn to Tröger, 8th July 1975, DOSB/NOC
- 18 Letter Kim to Daume, 5th October 1976, DOSB/NOC
- 19 Power of attorney to Mr. Roho Su Ung, Seoul, 29th October 1976, DOSB/NOC
- 20 Organisations-Komitee für die XI. Olympiade 1936, Berlin, *Amtlicher Bericht*, Vol. 1, Limpert-Verlag Berlin o.J. (1937), p. 640. In the English edition the translation "lending prize" is missing, which also caused irritation and misinterpretations.
- 21 Dimitrios Aravantinos (1880–1960) was a Greek enthusiast for sport, who in October 1924 together with Professor Vladimir Bensis and Antonis Stathatos had founded the Hellenic Car Club. (From it arose the Acropolis Rally of Greece) Two years later he sponsored the first Greek car race on a course of one kilometre in Athens on Syngrou Avenue.
- 22 Panos Aravantinos (1884–1930) lived from 1908 in Athens, where he was employed by the composer of the Olympic hymn, Spyros Samara, as a set designer. Via Switzerland he came in 1917 to Germany, where he successfully applied to Richard Strauss in Munich. He became well-known through his set for Strauss's opera *Frau ohne Schatten*. From 1919 Aravantinos worked at the Berliner Staatsoper.
- 23 *BZ am Mittag*, 30th July 1936
- 24 Pierre de Coubertin/Timoleon J. Philemon/N.G. Politis/Charalambos Anninos (Eds.), *The Olympic Games B.C. 776.-1986.*, Second Part, Beck, Athens 1897, pp. 4, 20 and 68
- 25 Louvre, Paris. Jean-Pierre Cortot (1787–1843), *Le soldat de Marathon annonçant la victoire* (1834)
- 26 Karl Lennartz/Andreas Höfer/Walter Borgers, *Olympische Siege – Medaillen – Diplome – Ehrungen*, Sportverlag, Berlin 2000, pp. 151–158
- 27 Minutes, IOC Session Lausanne 1919, p. 6, IOC/OSC Archives
- 28 *Ibid.*, Antwerp 1920, p. 10, Rome 1923, p. 29
- 29 *Vradini*, 10th August 1936. The information rests on an announce-

ment of the Deutsches Nachrichten-Büro (DNB), which on the 11th August 1936 was also published by the Japanese newspaper *Hochi-Shinbun*.

- 30 Information Prof. Dr. Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, former Director of the Antiquity Collection, 2nd August 2017. The rescue of the cultural items is remembered in a trivialised version in the film *Monuments Men*, director George Clooney, 2014.
- 31 "Donation to Mr. Sohn", in: *Vradini*, 2nd July 1977
- 32 Letter Papayannopoulos to NOC for Germany, 3rd December 1977, DOSB/NOC
- 33 Letter Berlioux to Kim, 8th June 1978, IOC/OSC Archives
- 34 Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany to NOC, 12th July 1978, DOSB/NOC
- 35 *Korea Times*, 1st August 1978
- 36 Cable Daume to Kim, DOSB/NOC
- 37 Letter Tröger to KOC, 25th July 1978, DOSB/NOC
- 38 Werner Sikorski, "Sie wollen ihm den Helm nicht geben", in *WELT am SONNTAG*, 29th October 1978, p. 77
- 39 Letter Papayannopoulos to NOC for Germany, 3rd February 1978, DOSB/NOC
- 40 *Ibid.*, 10th September 1978, 16th April 1979, DOSB/NOC
- 41 *Ibid.*, 22nd February 1980, DOSB/NOC
- 42 Letter Tröger to Fürste, 31st October 1978, DOSB/NOC
- 43 Letter Fürste to Tröger, 13th December 1978, DOSB/NOC
- 44 "Wie Olympia nach Seoul kam", in: Paulheinz Gruppe, *Horst Dassler. Revolution im Weltsport*, v. Hase & Koehler, Munich 1992, pp. 9–13
- 45 Letter Tröger to German Embassy Seoul, 22nd February 1983, DOSB/NOC
- 46 Letter German Embassy to Tröger, 3rd May 1983; *Korean Herald*, 20th October 1983, DOSB/NOC
- 47 Telex Prof. Choy to Tröger, 20th September 1984, DOSB/NOC
- 48 "Olympic Marathoner Awaits Overdue Prize", in: *Newsreview*, 12th January 1985, p. 26
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 Letter Kleiner to Tröger, 12th June 1985, DOSB/NOC
- 51 Letter Tröger to Daume, 15th May 1986, DOSB/NOC. The both EC members were NOC Vice-President August Kirsch and Heinz Fallak, expected to be Chef de Mission for 1988.
- 52 Manuscript of Daume's speech, 17th August 1986, Hotel Inter-Continental, DOSB/NOC. *Olympic Review*, No. 228, October 1986, pp. 606–607. As the date of the meeting the 10th August is erroneously given.
- 53 Letter Kim to Daume, 24th November 1986, Daume Archive, Folder 67.40
- 54 Letter Diepgen to Lee, February 1987, DOSB/NOC
- 55 Letter Raymond Gafner (IOC Administrateur Délégué) to Daume, 24th June 1987, IOC/OSC Archive
- 56 <https://www.olympic.org/kitei-son>
- 57 "Late Recognition for Korean Olympic Athlete Sohn Kee-chung", in: *The Chosun Ilbo*, 16th December 2011

The roll of honour of the Olympic champions of 1936 at the Marathon Gate of the Berlin Olympic Stadium. The athletics winners are on the left plaque. It can still be seen that an attempt was once made to violently alter the country description "JAPAN" behind Son's name.

Photos: DOSB/NOC Archive, Peter Frenkel



The 1964 Innsbruck torch: a rare piece of Olympic memorabilia*

By Gerhard Siegl

Introduction

In March 2016, the most prominent object in an Olympic Games memorabilia mail bid auction was the 1964 Innsbruck torch (Fig. 1).

With a minimum bid of \$225,000, it was also by far the most expensive item. The torch highlighted the auction and was described as "very rare" and "of utmost importance". It was sold at a spectacular price. Given the high sales price, it is surprising that relatively little is known about this torch. Unlike most other Olympic torches, there is scant research on its origins. There is little information available and the existing knowledge is either contradictory or from hearsay. This essay tries to shed light on the history of the 1964 Innsbruck torch. It is based on secondary literature, archival sources and interviews.

Olympic fire

Since antiquity, fire was not only used for utilitarian purposes like cooking or heating, but also served as a cultural symbol in religious practices. An ancient Greek myth narrates that Prometheus endowed humans with a spark of divine fire to master the elements. This inspired the idea of torch relays as rituals to honour the gods via athletic competitions. In the modern European era, the fire of the Greek torch relays was interpreted as the "light of the spirit". Metaphorically, the light of the torch stood for truth, enlightenment, companionship and the unity of nations. Since the French Revolution of 1789, the use of torchlight processions and torch relays has been reinforced in European cultural life. Hence, it comes as no surprise that in the course of the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 a torchlight procession took place with some 10,000 participants. Torch relays, however, were still not common at that time.¹

The first use of fire as an Olympic symbol dates from the Stockholm Games in 1912.² In Amsterdam 1928, the Olympic fire was lit during the Opening Ceremony for



the first time and burned day and night until the Closing Ceremony.³ A torch relay did not take place until the 1936 Games in Berlin (Summer Games) and Oslo 1952 (Winter Games).⁴ The start of the relay in Ancient Olympia was a novelty specific to the 1964 Innsbruck Winter Games.

One week prior to the Opening Ceremony, the flame travelled by car from Olympia to Athens and, from there, by air to Vienna. After an overnight stay in Vienna, the flame was flown to Innsbruck. On the day of the Opening Ceremony, a group of athletes drove the flame from historic downtown to the Bergisel Stadium. So far, the flame had been transported in a safety (miners') lamp, but the relay ended at the stadium and the fire was transferred from the lamp to the torch. Christl Staffner, an alpine skier, entered the stadium with the torch and the last torchbearer, Josl Rieder, lit the cauldron while a second cauldron was simultaneously lit at the Ice Stadium.⁵

The Olympic Winter Games 1964

"Scenic but simple" was the motto of the Games and the execution of the intended simplicity lay in the hands of the Organising Committee. Rejecting the past gigantism, Innsbruck planned the Games in a practical and affordable manner. Yet, it was still necessary to build costly sports facilities and other infrastructure and, in the light of the huge investments, the Organising Committee had tailored their guiding principle to IOC standards. Financial losses did not, however, diminish the success of the Games for the local people: in the course of the preparations, the last war-caused ruins

Fig. 1: The official IOC photo taken of the torch at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.

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had disappeared and there was plenty of housing space available to the citizens after the athletes left the Olympic Village, to say nothing of the reputation and publicity Innsbruck gained.⁶

In 1959, after Innsbruck had been awarded the Winter Games, the Innsbruck Organising Committee was founded. It consisted of several public bodies, a dozen sub-committees, and a special section for ceremonies.⁷ Headed at first by an incompetent official, the orderly execution of the ceremonies was in danger.⁸ In September 1963, Major Alfred Nagl, a military officer, replaced the man at short notice. His section was responsible for organising all ceremonial events prescribed by the IOC. In cooperation with Professor Walter von Hösslin, the technical director of the Volksoper Wien⁹, Nagl located the Opening Ceremony at the Bergisel Stadium.

It was the first time that the opening of Winter Olympics had not taken place in the official stadium, but in a ski jumping arena instead. The detailed procedure of the Opening Ceremony, starting at 10.56 am on 29th January 1964, is described in the *Official Report: The Austrian Federal President Adolf Schärf entered the arena, greeted IOC President Avery Brundage and other high officials. At 11.00 am, a horn blower heralded the starting of the ceremony. Two minutes later the Austrian national anthem started a musical interlude, and then 1591 athletes marched in.*

At 11.30, the speeches began, the Games were declared open, the Olympic Anthem was played and, finally, at 11.45 the second last torchbearer entered with the Olympic Fire. She forwarded the torch to Rieder, slalom world champion 1958, who – according to the report – lit the cauldron around 11.49. At 12.15, after the Olympic Oath and some more music, the Opening Ceremony was over.¹⁰

The Innsbruck 1964 torch: scarce information

Missing from the *Official Report*, as well as all other publications dealing with the 1964 Winter Games, are details concerning the torch. There is a publication by the Olympic Studies Centre on torches and torch relays dating from November 2014 with few details.¹¹ According to that Reference Document, the Innsbruck 1964 torch was 61 cm long, bronze in colour, made of brass, designed by Ludwig Haselwanter and manufactured by Anton Fritz. The inscription "IX. Olympische Winterspiele Innsbruck 1964"¹² and the Olympic Rings were engraved on the bowl, and the handle was conical with two bands.

Furthermore, the Reference Document suggests that "a single torch was created. After the Games, it was given to the last torchbearer, Josl Rieder." Contemporaries confirmed that he simply took the torch home and Rieder himself confirmed that story: "I was a bit guileful, I said

to the president of the Austrian Ski Federation: 'This torch is surely mine now', and he replied: 'Keep it for now, we will see.'"¹³ Since that day, Rieder has possessed the original torch, and myths started to surround it.

How little information there is about the 1964 torch is exemplified in a catalogue for an auction of Olympic Games Memorabilia.¹⁴ The auctioneer displayed the torch as a highlight, but was unable to produce more information than was available in the above-mentioned publications. The torch sold in that auction had one unique detail. The catalogue indicated that the torch was an exhibit in the Stadtmuseum Innsbruck (Golden Dachl Museum) for about ten years – the exact period is unknown – where it was attached to the wall and therefore shows a deep attachment spot on the handle between the two bands.¹⁵

The first questions arise: Did Rieder loan the Golden Dachl Museum his torch and pick it up ten years later? If so, why? In addition, why does the Heimatmuseum Seefeld claim to have received the very same torch after the Olympia exhibition in the Golden Dachl Museum was closed in 1992?¹⁶ A certificate of authenticity issued by the auctioneer guaranteed that the 1964 Winter Olympics torch purchased in that auction was the one used by Rieder to light the cauldron in the Opening Ceremony.¹⁷

There is another source with yet another explanation of the whereabouts of the torch after the Games: in 1988, Nagl stated in a letter to IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch that the sole copy of the torch would be in the Olympia- und Sportmuseum in Vienna, where it should remain.¹⁸ The conclusion is obvious: the original torch could not have been in several places at the same time.

Just as interesting as the history of the original torch is the question of the number of torches. In the auction catalogue, the auctioneer stated rightly that the exact number is not known, but certainly less than 10.¹⁹ It is important to differentiate between original torches, i.e. those that were made for the Opening Ceremony in 1964, and replicas that were made at a later date. Nagl suggested the existence of only one original torch. He had not seen more than one, anyway.²⁰ We need to accept Nagl's statement on a provisional basis, since there is no other valid information available.

The number of replicas is more difficult to count and there is the issue of differentiating between authorized and unauthorized replicas. What we know from the IOC Archives is that at least one authorized replica was made in 1988. The number of unauthorized replicas is unclear. If we work on what we learned up to this point, we have to assume that only one original torch and at least one authorized replica exist, whereas all other torches would then be unauthorized replicas.

We know of the existence of eight to ten original and replica torches in 2017: the one that was sold in



Guaranteed genuine: the Austrian slalom world champion of 1958, Josi Rieder, with the Olympic torch of 1964.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

the auction in March 2016 (said to be the original from Rieder), the one at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne (the authorized 1988 copy), the one in the building of the Austrian Olympic Committee in Vienna (and said to be the one from the Olympia- und Sportmuseum Vienna), and the one in the Heimatmuseum Seefeld. Those four torches I have either seen myself or viewed in photos from the owner. Besides, there are some private collectors who claim to have a 1964 torch in their possession, one in Manaus, Brazil, one in Hawaii, USA, and there is reliable information about two more torches.²¹ This makes a total of eight torches, including the original and the authorized and unauthorized replicas; we do not know how many other unauthorized copies exist.

There are clearly some facts regarding the 1964 torch to be uncovered – its history, the number of original torches, and all other concomitant questions.

Archival sources

All records from the 1964 Organising Committee are located at the Innsbruck City Archive and take up some 130 boxes. So far, there are no detailed finding aids for this large collection. A general perusal brought a dozen relevant boxes to light, labelled with the keywords “opening”, “relay” and “Olympic Fire”. However, their content is disappointing. The “Olympic Fire” boxes include material on the cauldron, its positioning, the construction, and the supply of the flame with liquid gas, but there are no documents concerning the torch.

Surprisingly, the Innsbruck City Archive possesses no close-up photography of the torch, although for years it was displayed at the Golden Dachl Museum, which administratively is a part of the City Archive. Throughout the permanent exhibition of Olympic memorabilia from the 1980s to the early 1990s, no exhibition catalogue was ever made and no photographs were taken during the setup or dismantling of the exhibition. Had there been images, we could easily compare the torches with each other and check for salient points, like the attachment spot.

A request for information from the Austrian State Archives brought no further clarification. There are no archival holdings concerning the 1964 torch. The same applies to the Tyrolean Regional Archives. Unlike local or state archives, a request at the Olympic Foundation for Culture and Heritage in Lausanne was successful.²² It contains a handful of documents concerning the replica made for the Olympic Museum in 1988.

The 1988 replica

Seeking to obtain a full collection of Olympic torches, Samaranch approached the Austrian Olympic Committee (AOC) in December 1987 asking for assistance. He explained that the 1964 torch was “in fact the only torch missing from our collection”.²³ The AOC forwarded this letter to the Mayor of Innsbruck, who passed it on to the former “master of ceremonies”, Alfred Nagl. In his reply of 5th February 1988, Nagl confirmed the existence of a single copy of the torch, which he assumed was in the Olympia- und Sportmuseum in Vienna at that time.²⁴ He furthermore announced the production of a torch replica on behalf of the Mayor of Innsbruck.

Interestingly, six weeks later the former General Secretary of the 1964 Organising Committee, Karl Heinz Klee²⁵, repeated the existence of only one original torch, but, contrary to Nagl, he said that the torch was donated to Rieder “to remember his participation in the celebration”.²⁶ In the same letter, Klee reported to Samaranch that he had spoken to Rieder who agreed to provide the torch to the manufacturer of the replica but stated that he “would not, however, give the torch away”.

In December 1988, a delegation from Innsbruck presented Samaranch with both the replica of the 1964 torch as well as the replica of the pit lamp in which the Olympic Flame had been transported from Greece to Innsbruck. Samaranch put both items at the disposal of the Olympic Museum.²⁷

If we believe Nagl and Klee’s representation that there was one single original torch made for the Opening Ceremony, why didn’t Nagl know that Rieder possessed the torch in 1988? In the 1976 Innsbruck Olympics, when Nagl replaced the 1976 torch with the 1964 torch (for

Fig. 2: Josl Rieder's torch in Lermoos, Tyrol, photographed on 20 June 2017. Characteristic of this copy is the "K" with its little tail and the writing of the year "1964".

Photo: Gerhard Siegl

details see next chapter), isn't it reasonable to assume that he was given the torch by Rieder and that he would assume that he still held the torch in 1988? Curious, too, is the fact that both, Nagl and Klee addressed their letters to Samaranch without internal consultation, by passing the official channel via the AOC.

Josl Rieder

Rieder, the last torchbearer, was born in Lermoos in Tyrol in 1932. He grew up on a mountain farm with an attached guesthouse and completed a commercial school and the college of hotel management in Bad Gastein (Salzburg). Although a skier since childhood, he was not an active racer until 1952. He achieved fame in 1958, when he was the only athlete ever to beat the legendary Toni Sailer in a medal race in the Slalom event of the Alpine World Ski Championships in Bad Gastein.

After his sporting successes, he changed sides, training the Spanish skiers in 1960, and was then head coach of the Austrian team until 1964. In that position, he earned success in the World Ski Championships in Chamonix, France, in 1962 and was appointed last torchbearer for the Innsbruck Winter Games.²⁸ Later in 1964, Rieder was awarded the Gold Decoration of Merit of the Republic of Austria.²⁹

In 1976, during the Opening Ceremony of the second Olympics in Innsbruck, Rieder might have played a crucial role again. The story is stunning: when it was time to set fire to the 1976 torch, carried by the last torchbearer Josef Feistmantl, it failed to light due to a technical problem. As in 1964, Nagl was the "master of ceremony" and he reacted quickly. Either he had a 1964 torch at his disposal or Rieder happened to be there with his torch, but Nagl gave the 1964 torch to Feistmantl, who lit the cauldron with the same torch as in 1964!³⁰

In an interview, Feistmantl said that after the ceremony Rieder had taken his torch home again, just as he did in 1964.³¹ After that event, information on Rieder thins out. On 25th February 1989, he participated in the festivities on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the 1964 Winter Games.³² The date of his emigration to the USA is unknown,³³ as are the reasons for selling his torch in an auction in 2016.

Many of the aforementioned "facts," however, are unsubstantiated and almost certainly untrue: Rieder never emigrated to the USA. After a long life as hotelier, he spends his old age with his wife in Lermoos. Moreover, the reason for switching the torches was not the malfunction of the 1976 torch. Nagl had long before decided to use the 1964 torch because he feared that the immature 1976 torch could extinguish during the ceremony.

Very likely, Rieder was not even present at the 1976 opening. And, to my surprise, in contradiction to the



above-mentioned certificate of authenticity from March 2016, he had not sold his torch. During our interview, it was attached to a basement wall in his house (Fig. 2). He emphasized that he has never been in contact with an auctioneer and not sold or lent his torch, with one exception: in 1988, Rieder agreed to give his torch to a manufacturer as model to produce the copy for the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Rieder did not recall being at the 1976 Opening Ceremony.

The steel construction company Fritz

A closer look at the manufacturer of the torch yields no new information. It is another indication of how little information there is on the 1964 torch. The head of the Heimatmuseum Seefeld supposed that the bell foundry Grassmayr from Innsbruck might have made the torch. Trying to verify that assumption, the Innsbruck City Archive revealed some interesting information: according to an entry in a bookkeeping journal, Grassmayr indeed received the sum of 1200 Schilling for "torches" in January 1964.³⁴

Senior partner Christof Grassmayr, however, could not remember the case but took the effort to investigate and clarify. Grassmayr delivered torches for tourists and officials for purposes like night walks, but they were made for practical use and much different from the Olympic torch.

Besides, he commented that the steelworks Anton Fritz could have manufactured the torch – which proved to be right after further research. The company still exists in Innsbruck but, unfortunately, does not hold an archive and all information regarding the torch has gone with the late Anton Fritz, grandfather of the current owners, who was not only a businessman at that time, but a city council member as well.

The designer Ludwig Haselwanter remains a mystery. He is nowhere to be found, his name appears neither in artists dictionaries nor in the detailed subject catalogue of the Tiroler Landesmuseum (State Museum) Ferdinandeum. If Haselwanter was an employee at Fritz, we will hardly learn more about him, since the company has no archive.

The “original” torch

Apart from any other aspects, the fate of Rieder’s torch is most interesting for historians and collectors. First, it is necessary to identify this torch, an easy task if you have photos at hand. The official IOC photos in the reference document show Rieder presenting the torch to spectators and a studio close-up. In the first photo, no details of the torch are visible, and the second one does not show the original torch but the 1988 replica instead.³⁵ Numerous photos of the Opening Ceremony were taken, but there is barely a close-up of the torch among them. It is a private snapshot that shows the one crucial detail to identify the original: the writing of the year “1964” (Fig. 3).

What we learn from the Nagl picture is the characteristic writing of the figures nine and six – they are both equally big circles with hardly recognizable tails to the top (6) and to the bottom (9). We see these unique features on the very same torch in the possession of the AOC (Fig. 4).

Then, luckily, there is yet another picture showing that part of the torch, taken by the AOC official photographer Richard Frischauf in 1964 (Fig. 5 and 6). Surprisingly, it shows that specific small tail attached to the “K” that we know from Rieder’s torch. However, the person holding the torch on the Frischauf photo is probably not Rieder, who wore a white sweater at the Opening Ceremony.

Both torches are unique and easy to distinguish. There were two original torches at the Opening Ceremony.



Fig. 4: The AOC torch in Vienna (August 2017).

Photo credit: AOC.



One is in the property of the AOC (Fig. 4), the other one actually remains in the hands of Rieder to this day (Fig. 2). Both torches show remnants of wax in the bowl – the 1964 torch was equipped with a wick and basically worked like a candle – evidence that they have actually been used. Rieder used his torch in 1964, whereas the AOC torch was used for the opening in 1976. This explains why Rieder cannot remember being present or lending the torch to Feistmantl in 1976. Moreover, it explains why Klee and Nagl both mentioned the existence of only one torch, one in the hands of Rieder, one in the Olympia- und Sportmuseum in Vienna (later the AOC copy). Both were right and both have seen only one copy. In terms of the 1976 opening, Nagl stated that the 1964 torch was available, but it was provided by the AOC and he did not know where it came from.³⁶

Evidence therefore suggests the existence of two original torches in 1964, each with unique features and a consistent history. When, in 1988, the IOC ordered a replica torch to be made, why was Rieder’s torch taken as a model? It is very likely that again the Innsbruck steel company Fritz manufactured the copy or copies. In that case, the route from Lermoos to Innsbruck was much shorter than from Vienna. Also, the AOC torch was part of an exhibition in the Olympia- und Sportmuseum Vienna and it might have caused some inconvenience to withdraw it from the exhibition for a few weeks’ time.

Why do the authorized IOC copy and all other copies look so different from the originals, especially in terms of the inscription? It remains unclear how many replicas were made in 1988 and there is no evidence that Fritz had produced them. Two copies look similar, but are not identical: the one at the IOC (Fig. 1 and 7) and the one purchased in the mail bid auction in March 2016 (Fig. 8 and 9).

Two problems hampered the copy process. (1) Brass is an alloy made of copper and zinc. The more copper is used, the more the colour turns to brownish and red; the more zinc is used, the more the colour turns to yellow. For that reason, the torches slightly differ in colour. (2) The artisans used their own font, what caused differences in the inscriptions. Looking at the letters “U”, “K”, and figures “9” and “6” the variations

Fig. 3: Major Alfred Nagl, “Master of Ceremonies” for the two Innsbruck Winter Olympics, holding the torch in 1964, with the Bergisel Stadium in the background.

Source: Ingrid Nagl-Schramm (ed.), *Der Olympia-Nagl. Festschrift zum 100. Geburtstag von Brigadier i.R. Alfred Nagl*, Vienna 2015, p. 44.)

Figs. 5 and 6: Official AOC photographer Frischauf probably took this picture shortly after the Opening Ceremony had ended.

© Frischauf-Bild, source: Werek-Frischauf Archiv: Vorolympia und Olympia 1964, 1059.jpg. It shows the same "K" with the little tail as Josl Rieder's torch.



become obvious. The "U", for example, in the two older torches look more like "V".

My assumption is that the authorized 1988 IOC torch was never intended to be an exact copy of the original. It was instead a deliberate decision either to produce new torches that were distinguishable from the originals or – more probably – to lend them new aesthetics with a more readable font in order to dismiss the old unconventional style and make the copy more attractive for the IOC museum. Maybe those responsible reflected on both or even more aspects. We will probably never know.

The US torch

For reasons of simplicity, we refer to the torch sold in the mail bid auction in March 2016 by an anonymous bidder as the US torch. Previous comments and photos verify that this torch is neither original nor from Rieder, but one of the 1988 replicas. The 2016 auction catalogue focused on the attachment spot on the handle that had derived from a rather brutal affixing in the Golden Dachl Museum. The torch must have been placed there after the production of the copies in 1988 and stayed there until the early 1990s. There are no employees from this time still active but the Innsbruck City Archive told me that most objects from the Olympic exhibition went to the Heimatmuseum Seefeld, including the torch.

Checking the Seefeld torch, I had expected a similar font to the US torch, but with no attachment spot, of

course. Looking desperately for a photo of the Seefeld torch I learned that the Heimatmuseum lent it to the Tirol Panorama Museum at the Bergisel, which is a branch of the Tiroler Landesmuseum. Being displayed there from 2011 to 2015, all objects were photographed, including the torch (Fig. 10). What a surprise those photos brought: they showed a torch with the same attachment spot as the US torch!

After comparing the photos intensely, it was obvious that those two torches are identical in every detail (Fig. 9 and 10 are cuttings of photos that show the torch in full size). How was it possible that this torch, being displayed at the Golden Dachl Museum in Innsbruck from 1988 until the early 1990s and again at the Tirol Panorama from 2011 until October 2015, was sold in a US auction in March 2016? The curator of the Tirol Panorama confirmed that the torch was received from and in 2015 returned to the Heimatmuseum Seefeld, but she remembered an unusual incident: in 2012, the museum claimed the torch back for about three weeks to produce a backup copy. After the exhibition in Innsbruck ended in late 2015, the Seefeld museum kept the backup (still visible there) and apparently sold the 1988 replica. Its exact way to the US is unknown.

Conclusion

As a historian, I am startled at some points in this story. The first point revolves around the treatment of Olympic memorabilia in Austria, especially after the dissolution of the Olympic and Sports exhibitions in Vienna and Innsbruck. The objects were neither integrated into larger archival collections, nor professionally handled after the exhibitions had closed. Instead, the Olympic memorabilia were tossed from one place to the other like unloved old toys. This kind of dealing with cultural assets is unworthy of a "cultural nation". Misuse like unauthorized copying and selling of torches is very likely under such circumstances.

This article has established that there are two original Innsbruck 1964 torches, each of them being individual and distinguishable from the other. One is located at the AOC and one is owned by Josl Rieder. Up to 1988, there is no evidence of any authorized replicas and there is no known replica that looks like the two original torches. In 1988, Samaranch ordered an authorized replica for the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. The manufacturer is not traceable any more, but we can assume that in 1988 at least two torches were produced: one (authorized) piece for Lausanne, the other for the exhibition at the Golden Dachl Museum in Innsbruck.

Since then, it is likely that some people or entities have reproduced and sold torches that are similar to the two authorized 1988 replicas. The case of the Seefeld torch reveals that not all currently existing replicas stem from



the 1988 replication. The price the Innsbruck 1964 torch reached among collectors seems to suggest that we will see more replicas in the future. However, two aspects speak against that scenario: the fact that unauthorized replicas are more or less worthless among collectors and the knowledge that comes with this article.

Historical research is paying off, especially when myths, rumours and half-truths have, for decades, taken the place of written or photographic evidence, such as in the case of the Innsbruck 1964 torch. The immediate impact of this research was the reversal of the purchase of the allegedly original torch in the 2016 mail bid auction. Buyer and auctioneer agreed to reverse the transaction, as it was based on false information given to the auctioneer. As for Austria, a most desirable outcome would be an encouraged discussion about giving Olympic memorabilia the status of cultural assets with all concomitant consequences, in order to protect these items from mistreatment and misuse.

Acknowledgements

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- 2 Ansgar Molzberger, "Fire, When Great Festivals Are Celebrated at the Stadium" – The "Olympic Flame" in Stockholm 1912, in: *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 44–45.
- 3 Karl Lennartz/Walter Borgers/Andreas Höfer, *Olympische Siege. Medaillen, Diplome, Ehrungen*, Berlin-München 2000, pp. 195 and 215.
- 4 IOC, Olympic Studies Centre (ed.), *Torches and Torch Relays of the Olympic Winter Games from Oslo 1952 to Sochi 2014*. Reference Document, November 2014, p. 3.
- 5 Ibid., p. 18.
- 6 Ellen Phillips, *The XVII Olympiad: Rome 1960 – Innsbruck 1964 (The Olympic Century 15)*, published by the World Sport Research & Publications, Los Angeles 1997; Innsbruck-Tirol sports GmbH (ed.), *50 Jahre Olympiastadt. Das Magazin zum Jubiläum*, Beilage in der *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, Innsbruck, February 2014.
- 7 For all technical details concerning application, organisation and implementation of the Olympic Winter Games 1964 see: Organisationskomitee der IX. Olympischen Winterspiele in Innsbruck 1964

unter der Redaktion von Friedl Wolfgang und Bertl Neumann (ed.), *Offizieller Bericht der IX. Olympischen Winterspiele Innsbruck 1964*, Wien-München 1967.

- 8 Interview with Alfred Nagl, 15 June 2017.
- 9 The Volksoper Wien is a representative repertoire theatre for opera, comic opera, operetta, musical, ballet and modern dance, see <http://www.bundestheater-holding.at/Content.Node2/en/56.php> (download 17 May 2017).
- 10 Organisationskomitee der IX. Olympischen Winterspiele in Innsbruck 1964 unter der Redaktion von Friedl Wolfgang und Bertl Neumann (ed.), *Offizieller Bericht der IX. Olympischen Winterspiele Innsbruck 1964*, Wien-München 1967, pp. 332–335.
- 11 IOC, Olympic Studies Centre (ed.), *Torches and Torch Relays of the Olympic Winter Games from Oslo 1952 to Sochi 2014*. Reference Document, November 2014.
- 12 Ibid., p. 17. In that point, the Reference Document is wrong: the inscription is not as indicated on p. 17 "IX. Olympische Winterspiele 1964", but "IX. Olympische Winterspiele Innsbruck 1964".
- 13 Interview with Josl Rieder, 20 June 2017.
- 14 Ingrid O'Neil, *Olympic Games Memorabilia 1896–2016*. Mail Bid Auction No. 77, Saturday, 5 March 2016, <http://www.ioneil.com/site/auktion/a77/auktion77.html> (download 17 May 2017).
- 15 Ibid., p. 4.
- 16 Telephone conversation with the head of the Heimatmuseum Seefeld, Heinz Strasser, from 20 January 2017.
- 17 The anonymous purchaser made the certificate of authenticity available to the author. It says in original words: "We guarantee that the Innsbruck 1964 Olympic Games Torch purchased in our Auction 77, Lot 1 is an Authentic Torch used by Josl Rieder to light the Cauldron in the Opening Ceremony in 1964", dated and signed by the auctioneer.
- 18 Olympic Foundation for Culture and Heritage, Lausanne, Archive Innsbruck 1964, letter from 5 February 1988, Alfred Nagl to Juan Antonio Samaranch.
- 19 O'Neil, *Memorabilia* (see note 14), p. 4.
- 20 Interview with Alfred Nagl (born in 1915), 15 June 2017, and archival source (see note 18).
- 21 This information comes from European auctioneers and the Austrian Olympic Committee, respectively.
- 22 Many thanks to Stéphanie Knecht, collections archivist and registrar at the Olympic Foundation for Culture and Heritage.
- 23 Olympic Foundation for Culture and Heritage, Archive, Olympic Winter Games Innsbruck 1964, letter Juan Antonio Samaranch to Karl-Heinz Klee c/o Austrian Olympic Committee, Lausanne, 17 December 1987.
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Fig. 8: The torch purchased in the mail bid auction in March 2016.

Fig. 9: The attachment spot on the handle of the US torch.

Photos provided by the anonymous US buyer.



Fig. 10: The attachment spot on the handle of the Tirol Panorama torch (displayed there until October 2015).

Photo: Tiroler Landesmuseen

Behind the Scenes with the Rio 2016 Cauldron

By Myles A. Garcia

Ever since the Olympic Opening Ceremonies have become global viewing feasts, the hoopla surrounding the climax of the show has become one of the most closely guarded secrets of our time. The lighting of the cauldron is the anticipated event: who will light it? How will it be unveiled? How will it function? It's like being a state secret, or holding on to nuclear codes, or when to reveal the name of the newly elected pope.

Soon after the Opening Ceremony broadcast in Rio on 8th August 2016, when the cauldron was unveiled to the world, two individuals involved in the design and creation of the 2016 cauldron participated in an online discussion on www.gamesbids.com about the origin of the project. They broke tradition by publicly revealing themselves in the process rather than participating in the discussion anonymously.

Previously, creators of any facet of an Olympic Opening Ceremony would have been loathe to reveal their identities so publicly and were constrained by confidentiality agreements. This time, however, such agreements did not seem to be an impediment. The designer of the cauldron revealed himself to be American sculptor Anthony Howe, a Washington state-based artist, best known for his so-called metallic, 'kinetic', perpetual-motion, free-standing sculptures.

The second person involved in the creation of the cauldron who participated in the open forum was Jean-Benoit Aubry, the project manager for Show-Canada. This was the company which crafted the model

used in the Opening Ceremony. While J.B. Aubry used a pseudonym in his participation ("*Buddy LeChat*"), Howe did not disguise himself initially, messrs. Howe and Aubry participated freely and openly, but when others posted comments, including myself, and pressed for more details, Howe quickly clammed up. Some confidential information had already been shared, and by piecing together other bits and clues, the story which emerged became an intriguing one.

It started as Howe himself revealed in some of the YouTube videos, in August 2015 when he received an email from Marco Ballich, executive producer of the Rio 2016 ceremonies team ("*CC*" or *Ceremonias Cariocas*). Ballich asked Howe if he was interested in designing the cauldron for the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.

Howe's website, as late as mid-2016, stated that he did not accept commissions. This disclaimer was posted on Howe's website:

Anthony's work is not available for commission. His process keeps him working through the nights in his remote island workshop. The pieces resulting from that work which are not sold, are listed on this website in the ordering section.

However, Howe quickly warmed to this offer. Negotiations and deadlines were soon agreed upon. From fall 2015, there was less than a year left to execute and finalize the project. Since CC was already familiar with Howe's type of sculpture (of which there are

Anthony Howe, sculptor and designer of the Rio 2016 cauldron.



Far right: As Brazil is a Roman Catholic country, could the sun-burst crown of this statue of the Holy Virgin Mother also have been the inspiration for Rio's 2007 and 2016 cauldrons?



countless videos viewable on YouTube), CC did not expect a radically changed look from his usual work. One thing was certain, the Rio organisers wanted to retain a “solar” motif (also used at the 2007 Pan American Games in Rio).

There was also this interesting information from the “Ordering” section of Howe’s website in mid-2016:

I have five large scale works between 22’ and 35’ feet high under fabrication at various facilities around the world, including the Foundry in Walla Walla, Washington; Zahner in Kansas City, Missouri; and also Huttinger in Nuremberg, Germany. They should be completed later in the year and will be posted on my website when done. Prices will most likely start at US\$250,000 for these new pieces. No small-scale work is available at this time nor is it commissionable.

For the Olympics, however, Howe was willing to make an exception and conceive a new idea for the 2016 cauldron. He quickly began work and by October 2015, submitted this first iteration, placing his normally upright sculptures on a horizontal plane with what I would call a small “goblet of fire” strategically situated in the center of the “crown” (see photos right).

In this scheme, the flame appeared to be an integral part of the whole design. The armatures would rotate in-and-out, like a perpetually unfolding flower with the petals (the spindly armatures) peeling up and out in a symbiotic relation with the flame.

While no size had yet been specified for this iteration, early considerations at that time were:

- where to place the cauldron?
- how and where would it be hidden before it was unveiled?
- how would the final torch lighter(s) approach the cauldron and light it (from beneath)?
- would there be one or two cauldrons?

The Opening Ceremony was definitely set for the revered Maracã Stadium. After its major refurbishment in 2013, when the Maracã Stadium was made ready for the 2014 FIFA World Cup finals, the iconic temple of Brazilian football gained a lightweight roof over the stands. That architectural improvement added yet another wrinkle in conceiving the placement of the Olympic cauldron. The last two Summer Games, Beijing 2008 and London 2012, had roofs over the stands, and the last two Winter Games, Vancouver 2010 and Sochi 2014, took place in fully enclosed arenas for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. How would Rio 2016 follow suit?

Rio 2016 also aimed to be the most environmentally responsible Olympics; thus, all of the above criteria made for very tricky challenges. A global conference in November 2015, however, changed Rio 2016’s thinking regarding how and what it wanted for its cauldron.



Howe’s first iteration with the actual cauldron in the centre and the armatures as decorative elements. Although this is the computer design, a working model was actually created.

Computer model of the Octo 3 model which Howe presented to Rio 2016 as a working prototype. Notice the ratio of man to the whole structure. The biggest problem with this concept is that it was huge and had to be more or less of a permanent nature. It wasn’t compact and portable enough to be easily be hidden and unveiled with a minimum of fuss.

Actual photo of the Octo 3 “mock-up” shown to Rio 2016. A improvised cup of fire was “added” to complete the iteration. It stands 6 m tall, with a diameter of about 4.60 m, making it a massive contraption. This sculpture now resides at City Walk Mall on Al Safa Street, Dubai, the UAE.

When Fernando Meirelles, the famed Brazilian film director (“City of God”) and now the Rio 2016 creative director with whom Howe interfaced, came back from the Paris 2015 Climate Change Accord conference, the philosophy behind the 2016 cauldron made a complete turn-around.

According to Howe, the following new criteria suddenly became predominant in guiding the final design of the cauldron:

- “... gas aspects were too problematic.”
- “The Organising Committee ... wanted to minimize the usage of fossil fuels.”
- The closeness of the moving parts to the goblet of fire would “soot up” the decorative tentacles.

The permanent, outdoor installation of the Rio 2016 cauldron, from Howe's *In Cloud Light IV*. Note the "goblet of fire" which looks very much like a Roman Catholic chalice, especially when juxtaposed against the Candelária church in the background.

Photo: Volker Kluge



Using an Existing Design

In view of the new thinking, the initial horizontal iteration was scrapped. Due to the shortness of time and logistical reality, Rio 2016 had to settle quickly on a final design by December 2015. Since model IV of Howe's "In Cloud Light" series was already in the works at the Huttlinger foundry in Germany, it ultimately became the final design for the 2016 cauldron, or at least the decorative part of it.

It was also decided that Rio would follow the Vancouver 2010 model; two cauldrons would be needed. One (the so-called "show" cauldron) would have to be at Maracaña Stadium where ceremonies were scheduled, and the second one (the "real", permanent one) at a site to be selected in the city proper.

The contract between Howe and Rio 2016 stipulated that Howe would not only supply the main design ("In Cloud Light IV") but also provide the actual cauldron for the permanent, outdoor location. The contract was valued at US\$3.2 million. Again, like Vancouver, the outdoor cauldron would be sited in a port area. It would be situated near the water's edge in Rio's Santa Teresa section, in an esplanade bounded by the Nossa Senhora da Candelária church on one side, between the Barao de Drumond Park on another, and beside the French-Brazilian Cultural Center.

The fact that the "Cloud IV" design was (1) already used at the 2016 Night Electrical Parades in the Disneyland parks; and (2) that it was also seen on the numerous

YouTube videos on Howe's work, gave rise to comments that "... It feels too 'off the shelf' for my liking."

It was unusual that in this day and age, as ceremonies become points of national pride and a collective demonstration of a host nation's creative might, an already existing design from a non-native Brazilian designer, was chosen. Indeed, it was an "off the rack" selection. To ensure that an actual flame would be incorporated in his basic "solar" sculpture, Howe designed two goblets (or chalices) of fire to hold the "sacred" flame from Ancient Olympia. These would be positioned in front of the kinetic sculptures, and light from both would bounce off the many orbs and discs attached to the pieces. A large sphere would be paired with the "show" sculpture at Maracaña while a smaller goblet (or chalice), would appear at the outdoor installation. The chalice design was most fitting, since the outdoor cauldron would be photographed against a major Rio church.



Before it was unveiled in Rio, a similar iteration of the cauldron was already seen at the Disney Nighttime Electrical Parade in Anaheim and Hong Kong parks. This was also in 2016.

One or Two RFPs (Request for Proposals) Put Out to Bid?

The “show” cauldron was put out for bid. An RFP (Request for Proposals) was sent to stage prop and production companies. In February 2016, Show-Canada, a metal fabrication shop based in Laval, Québec, was selected to execute the “show” cauldron. Show-Canada had previous Olympic experience in creating a number of props for ceremonies of previous Olympic Games:

- Vancouver 2010. This included the four-spoked totem poles which became the “show” cauldron (and malfunctioned on Opening Ceremonies night).
- London 2012. The entire Opening Ceremony stage platform and “Glastonbury Hill” set which was built in Canada and then shipped entirely to London.
- Sochi 2014. Show-Canada produced the “floating islands”, the MIR “icebreaker”/ship prop, and the columns in the “War and Peace” ballroom, among others.

Show-Canada had also been commissioned to design and build the cyclorama which served as a backdrop against the “favelas” set. The cyclorama would hide the cauldron-sculpture in Maracã until it was ready to make its appearance. To let the cauldron to appear at the appointed time, the central panel of the cyclorama screen rose and lowered like a gate. This action was cleverly concealed in the bottom parts of the “favelas” set.

According to J.B. Aubry, the project manager of Show-Canada assigned to the cauldron, the sun/kinetic sculpture had a ‘wing span’ of 12m. It was made of a mix of steel, aluminum, brass, fiberglass and pvc; and a lot of “chrome” paint. It consisted of 30 bushings with four arms per bushing for a total of 120 arms and four spheres per arms with a disc at the extremity. All of these had to fit into two regular cargo ship containers and be shipped to Rio by mid-July 2016 at the latest. There were also two small motors which would create the endless ‘rotation’ motion of the sculpture in case there was no wind.

Because the “show” cauldron was to hang from the Maracã’s lightweight roof, it had to be reasonably lightweight, yet large enough to appear impressive against the wide expanse of the stadium. Nonetheless, by the time the “show” cauldron was re-assembled in Rio and hung, it still weighed more than six tons, 2826 kg to be exact.

A pair of special tracks was also added over the cauldron area to let the “sun” sculpture move forward at the right time. The sphere of fire, which weighed another 136 kgs, would eventually hang from the “sun” sculpture. (And there was still a third backstage motor at Maracã and its job was to hoist the ball of fire once Vanderlei de Lima had lit this globe. It was ready to rise in alignment with the Howe “sun” sculpture.)



The “permanent” cauldron destined for the Candelária area, the one already in fabrication in Germany when the contract was signed, was almost ready for completion and shipping. It measured 3.2 metres in diameter, consisted of 28 “spokes” or “tentacles” (the rotating arms), was fabricated of rough, sanded stainless steel, but only weighed about one ton (2000 kg, compared to the nearly six tons of the “show” model.) It was to be mounted on a pedestal five meters high, and a chalice/goblet of fire added to one side.

A third contract was put out to bid to local Brazilian gas companies. This was to hook up the chalice of fire for the cauldron at Candelária Park to a fuel source. The bowl used at Maracã had a simple, siphon tube underneath the bowl through which the gas was supplied for the few hours needed to burn for the ceremonies. Because Maracã Stadium would not be used again until the football finals and Closing Ceremony on 23-25th August, the “show” cauldron did not have to be refueled each time and burn for seventeen days.

Two Cauldrons Not the same

The two cauldrons used for Rio 2016 are not exact copies of each other. First, unlike the “show” cauldron at Maracã which needed two motors to set the cauldron in motion (for visual purposes), the outdoor cauldron does not have any motor(s). It depends solely on the wind to propel it. Second, visually, the outdoor cauldron’s tentacles with the big discs at its tips, do not

The “show cauldron” version with the goblet/sphere of fire.

Photo: Philip Barker

Daytime close-up of the outdoor cauldron. Note that there are only two kinds of spokes – the smaller one with the ascending-sized balls or the arms with only the big discs at its tips, and nothing else. The “sun” sculpture rests on an earth-bound spindle. Both the outdoor “sun” sculpture and its companion goblet are smaller than the show model used at Maracaña.

Photo: Philip Barker



have any other orbs on its arms. The smaller ones with balls ascending in size and the arms with big discs at their tips and nothing else.

The 2016 Cauldron Set Unique Olympic Records

Since the 2016 cauldron is composed of two separate elements (Howe’s sculpture and the added goblet of fire), unlike other Olympic cauldrons, it is not one unified, generic, homogenous entity. If you took away the large sculpture part and was left with the cup, you would have the simplest and purest form of a cauldron. This replicated what the priestesses in Olympia use to transport the sacred flame from the Temple of Hera to the platform of Demeter at the stadium grounds – a small, unadorned cup or bowl.

That made Howe’s kinetic sun-sculpture merely decorative. Because of its “hanging” nature and weak disconnect with the flame cup, one could class the Rio 2016 cauldron as of the “Disco ball/hanging pendant-with-Harry’s-Goblet-of-Fire” category. However, Howe’s 2016 design established two unique records for Olympic cauldrons: one, it is the first Olympic (and Paralympic) Opening Ceremony cauldron to “hang” freely from above – like a pendant earring – without any side supports.

Lake Placid 1980 had opening and closing cauldrons which also “hung”. However, its Opening Ceremony cauldron, although ultimately raised to a high point, was guided on three sides by supports, the same way an elevator or “dumb-waiter” runs on side rails to guide it. The Lake Placid cauldron used for the Closing Ceremony

was a simple, pure bowl of fire hung from the ceiling of the Ice House arena (see photo below).

While Beijing 2008’s cauldron “hung” from the inner lip of Birds Nest stadium, it was actually clamped to that lip, and the flame burned above the stadium exterior heights, anchored from a lower position. The Rio 2016 sphere of fire at the Opening Ceremony was both pushed upward from a lower spindle and then hoisted mid-air by cables.

The second distinction of the Rio 2016 cauldron: the permanent one at the Candelária church area was also the first summer cauldron not physically in line of

Right, the hanging indoor Lake Placid 1980 Closing Ceremony cauldron.

Photo: Final Report, XIII Olympic Winter Games, Lake Placid N.Y., February 13–24, 1980





This was the Paralympic iteration – with a catapult-like armature for the goblet (raised à la Athens 2004) but the kinetic sculpture still hanging by itself. Because the world had already seen it at the Olympics, there was no need to hide the cauldron for the Paralympic Opening Ceremony.

Photo: picture-alliance

sight of the track-and-field competition or even close to the Athletics Stadium. Every Summer Games since Amsterdam 1928 have placed the cauldron as an on-site witness to the athletics venue and competition.

When the Paralympic Games opened on 7th September 2016, it was the same Howe sculpture that hung at Maracaña, but it was the manner of elevation for the goblet of fire which differed from the Olympic Opening Ceremony. The Olympic goblet was hoisted by cables and a hydraulic device, but the Paralympic fire-goblet was put on a lever and fulcrum device. It rose into the air in the manner of Athens 2004's cauldron. Still, the cup had no physical or symbiotic connection to the sculpture; it was still a disconnected piece, separate from the sculpture.

When all was said and done, despite the somewhat uncertain nature of the cauldron (was it really a cauldron? or half a cauldron?), Howe's design(s) drew many praises as mesmerizing, hypnotic even, pieces of art.

Whereabouts of the 2016 Cauldron?

As the 2016 Games came to a close, two other things were uncertain. Where are the "show" sculpture and cauldron? Their whereabouts remain a mystery. Show-Canada revealed that only the motors were returned to them, and not the "sun" sculpture. This made sense since Rio 2016 had contracted and paid them for it. Or did they? With a whole slew of unpaid invoices, did the Rio OCOG fulfill its payment terms to Howe?

As this article went to press, there are disturbing reports that Maracaña Stadium, less than a year after the 2016

Olympic Games, has fallen into such disrepair that the Brazilian Football Association has bypassed the use of this iconic temple in the qualifying matches for Brazil to gain a spot in the Russia 2018 World Cup. Important matches have instead been set for the newer Corinthians Football Stadium in São Paulo. (And there is also the case of the roof of the new velodrome being partially burned due to an errant lantern with a flame.) Is it a case of decaying Olympic venues à la Athens 2004 again?

I checked with the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. They do not have the "show" cauldron of Rio 2016. Perhaps, like the stripped-down mechanism of the London 2012 cauldron designed by Thomas Heatherwick, which ended up on display at the Museum of London, Rio 2016's two separate "show" sculpture and cauldron-bowl may still appear as one entity at some Brazilian museum. Perhaps the futuristic Museu do Amanhã (Museum of Tomorrow) in the Rio waterfront? Or perhaps in São Paulo or Brasilia?

But until such a time, one 2016 cauldron-and-cup'o fire lays in storage somewhere in the bowels of Maracaña or at some non-descript Rio warehouse. ■

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- www.gamesbids.com/forums

Thanks to J. Mark Snow for obtaining information on the London 2012 cauldron from the museum of London.

This article was compiled using information from Mr. Howe's participation in an online forum on www.gamesbids.com and material on Youtube. The author attempted to contact Mr. Howe in May 2017 to confirm/elaborate on some facts but no reply was received up to press time.

Regilio Tuur's 'Best Jab Ever!'

By Jan Luitzen

Regilio Tuur (left) fights American boxer Kelcie Banks during the Olympic Games in Seoul, 18th September 1988.

Collection ANP/Paul Stolk.



Regilio Tuur: "He threw a jab at me, I slipped, and then I knew: this is it, the jab you have trained for all this time."

In 1988, 21-year-old Regilio Tuur emerges as the darling of the Olympic boxing crowd by knocking down American world champion Kelcie Banks in record time. A right-hand swing, a half jab and a punch. Banks collapses and hits his head hard against the floor. Bam, knock out.

Angelo Dundee, ex-trainer of boxing greats such as Muhammad Ali and Sugar Ray Leonard, is highly surprised: "That Tuur, is he really from Rotterdam, Holland? Great!"¹ The world press, too, wants to see

the surprising outsider with the fist of dynamite. An American reporter asks:

"Regilio Tuur, that was a great lucky punch, wasn't it?" Who would dare come up with a Muhammad Ali-like one-liner? Tuur does just that: "Sir, you know what the word luck means? Luck is when preparation meets opportunity."²

So: no lucky punch. Really not?³

Seoul, Olympic Games, 18th September 1988, boxing, first round, featherweight. Within two minutes of boxing, reigning world champion Kelcie Banks is asleep on the canvas, his head a little bit to the side, completely knocked out by Regilio Tuur's devastating

Special thanks to Ed van Eeden and Regilio Tuur.

blow. Regilio is still relatively unknown internationally, and his biggest success thus far has been a third-place finish at the European Championships in Turin in 1987.⁴

Instead of counting to ten, the referee kneels beside the American to take out his mouth guard. As the ringside physician is being motioned, a vague smile is covering Banks' face, as if the completely dizzy boxer realizes that he may daydream away and, luckily, does not have to fight any longer.

It scares Tuur that Banks stays down for so long and he hopes that Banks is not seriously hurt. Please let him get up, he prays in silence.⁵ It seems like an eternity before smelling salts bring Banks to, and he is led to his corner. In reality he has been out for about 90 seconds.

Moments later, Regilio Tuur is pronounced the winner, without Banks, in the middle of the ring, and he joins the final 32.

Afterwards, an American reporter wants to know whether it was a lucky punch, allowing Tuur to punch him verbally – albeit wrapped in a velvet glove: “Luck is when preparation meets opportunity. In that sense of the word I'm a lucky guy. And I hope to be that lucky the rest of my life!”⁶ It reads like his own interpretation of quotes he read shortly before, in *Think and Grow Rich*, one of the first motivational and self-help books, published in 1937, during the Depression.⁷ It was Tuur's Bible in 1988. The next day's headline in the papers: “We like this lucky guy”.

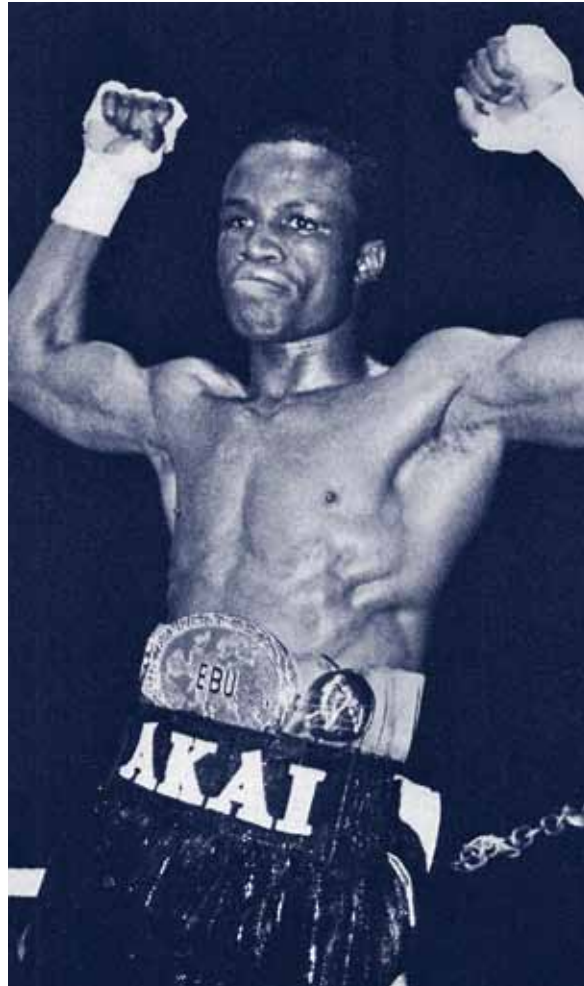
Another reporter asks why Tuur wants to go to America and leave Jan Schildkamp's boxing school in Hoogvliet, where he has trained for the past seven years. He responds that he wants to fight in Madison Square Garden, because that is where all the greats have competed, and that he wants to prepare in Gleason's Gym, since that is the best boxing school in the world. Both are in New York, so that's why Tuur wants to go there.

In *Het Vrije Volk*, Edwin Winkels quotes former trainer Angelo Dundee, who is at the Games as a technician for abc television. The 'éminence grise' loves the brilliant blow that 'splendid boxer' Tuur dealt, but he is also looking for an explanation why the American bounty hunter lost: “Perhaps Banks was not 100% motivated. They have dragged him through the entire country lately. He now trains in Houston, Texas, but he should have stayed put in Chicago. Nevertheless, I have never seen him get so down.”⁸

Because Banks was unconscious in the ring for so long, American team physician James Puffer thinks it judicious to transport Banks to the hospital for some neurological testing. They find that the knock-out blow, in combination with the heavy fall to the canvas, has resulted in a severe concussion for Banks. A few days later, just to be sure, they administer an EEG.⁹ Soon, thereafter, he resumes his boxing career.¹⁰

Bafflement, Incomprehension, and especially admiration, mark the Olympic Village the next few days after Tuur's dramatic win by knock-out. In the Dutch section, *Giely* or *Tuurtje* could do no wrong. Everyone congratulated the small, ever-smiling boxer on his 'impossible' victory. To put it more strongly: “I was received with a standing ovation.”¹¹

Ten days later, Tuur lost, deservedly so, to Romanian boxer Daniel Dumitrescu, in the quarterfinals of the



Regilio Tuur, boxing champion.

Photo: Regilio Tuur and Ed Van Eeden. *Regilio. Life, Part One. Waar de Regen Koud Is*, L.J. Veen, Amsterdam/Antwerpen 2005, p. 192M.

featherweights, after having beaten Kenyan John Wanjau and Englishman David Anderson.

“That guy had incredibly long arms, which he used really well. He had good combinatory punches, to which I had no response. Dumitrescu was simply stronger. As a good sport, I applauded him after the match,” is how the 'dark whirlwind from Hoogvliet' accepted his defeat.¹²

That fourth match was simply too much for Tuur. *De Telegraaf* concurred: “Brave Regilio Tuur (...) did not stand a chance against Daniel Dumitrescu of Romania. Tuur lost his match 5-0 and thus did not qualify for the match for the bronze.”¹³

It didn't matter at all. Tuur had established his reputation with his impressive win over Banks.

Southpaw

Months before, Regilio Tuur came off a difficult qualification process with the Dutch Olympic Committee and started preparing for the Games by thoroughly studying his possible opponents. He especially analyzed the styles of the projected candidates for a medal. Tuur: "My physical training was complemented by days of watching video tapes. At the time I was ranked 8th in the world, and all my competitors from the top ten would be at the Olympics. Well, not the Cubans, who boycotted Seoul."¹⁴

Of course Tuur determined who was his most dangerous opponent and how to face him in the ring. Kelcie Banks was the world's number one, named 'Amateur Boxer of the Year' after beating the much-feared Cuban boxer, Cabran Jesús Sollet, for the world title. In the US, Banks' versatility earned him the nickname 'Mister Mix.' Tuur knew that Banks was tall and strong, with a right-foot-forward stance: the right foot forward and a strong left hand in the back. His strength would not be coming from the side right-handed Tuur was used to; this also meant he should expect 'southpaw' (right-forward standing boxer) Banks' blind spot on the other side and he would not, or barely, see punches coming from the left. Due to his youthful inexperience, Tuur had never been in a long match against a southpaw, but even against that type of boxer, Tuur's adage was: he who remains standing will go down.

Everybody was laughing him in his face: Won't Tuur only get to face Banks in the final if he gets that far?, but Tuur began to focus his training on Banks. Running in the mornings, sharpening his techniques in the afternoons, and sparring in the evenings. Tuur: "The final few weeks of my training camp, I sparred only with Jos and Stan Van Den Driessse. This allowed me to practice against fast, tall opponents who were boxing just like Banks. Stan was a former professional and a southpaw. Jos was willing to switch to right-foot-forward stance for my training purposes, which made it almost impossible to hit him."¹⁵

Strategic details were of the essence during that phase of his preparations. "I noticed fairly quickly that I would never be able to punch Banks with my straight right hand. He was just too tall and experienced for that. Since he also had a good jab¹⁶, my chances would lie in my counter hook. Thus far I had scored most of my knock-outs with my straight right hand, but my right hook was my best punch. For that I would have to get really close up to him, which was risky. During those weeks, I practiced the combination to prepare the right hook – jab, slip¹⁷, slip, bam – five hundred, if not a thousand times. I knew it by heart."¹⁸

After a few days acclimatizing and training in Seoul, said Gyula Bodis, the somewhat eccentric supervisor of the Dutch Olympic boxers Tuur and Arnold Vanderlyde,

Regilio had to start off against Kelcie Herron Banks in the first round. Tuur was not happy, and his first reaction was: "Trained like crazy for an entire year, but it was all for naught: I have to face the world champion in the first round."¹⁹

But he immediately corrected himself: "I accept no excuses, not even from myself. Setbacks are there to be turned into positive steps. If you lose, you have failed somewhere." So he flipped his thinking 180 degrees and upped his game by accepting that the draw sucked for him, but also for Banks. He was not going to go home just like that – he would put up a fight.²⁰

The chance of Tuur winning was considered small, very small. Bookies had him at 10 to 1, favoring Banks, of course. Tuur had to hear this all the time, also from several Dutch boxing officials. His grumpy response: "Screw losing. I haven't even been in the ring yet!" Days before the match against Banks, the Dutch Olympic Committee even went one step further in undermining Tuur's self-confidence by bringing him a ticket to fly back home the day after. Mad as hell, Tuur ripped up the ticket, determined to shame the doubters.²¹

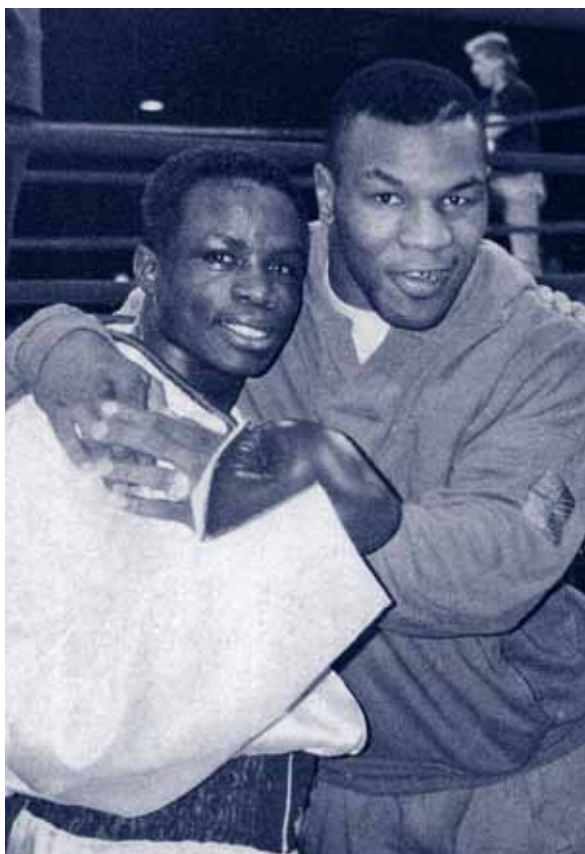
But the Dutch contingency also had two men who displayed an unshaken confidence in Tuur: fellow boxer Arnold Vanderlyde, in whom Suriname-native Tuur had found an experienced friend who helped him find his way in the boxing world, and Hungarian Gyula Bodis. The latter claimed that, apart from László Papp, his compatriot with three Olympic gold medals, he had seldom met anyone hitting so accurately. Bodis: "This is unprecedented. But ... he is not there yet. Bam-bam-boom, series, variation, still need improvement."²² And right before the match against Banks, Vanderlyde said to Tuur: "You can – You must – You will win."²³ The small boxer from Rotterdam got an incredible kick out of this pep talk.

Tuur knew that his match against Banks would be the perfect occasion to put into practice what Bodis had taught him during his preparation: "Box more offensively, instead of walking backwards in the ring. Bodis (...) showed how to with a series of feints and a right-hand hook – luckily, for the bystanders, in the air".²⁴

Banks's arrogance

The boxers had to be inside the Olympic building a few hours before the match. Tuur thought that he was given extremely thin bandages. "You could see your knuckles through these bandages – took a half hour to wrap my hands. The gloves we got were Asian, very thin too, an advantage for knock-outers. An official sealed them, so that we couldn't take them off unnoticed."²⁵

Then there was still enough time for warm-up exercises. "I remember noticing that Mike Tyson – who



Regilio Tuur (left) after one of his fights, with Mike Tyson.

Photo: Regilio Tuur and Ed Van Eeden, *Regilio. Life, Part One. Waar de Regen Koud Is*, L.J. Veen, Amsterdam/Antwerpen 2005, p. 96J.

in turn learned it from his idol, Jack Dempsey – always entered the ring sweating. This means you are warmed up and ready to go. That was one of the prerequisites for Tyson's famous first-round one-punch knock-outs. While I was doing my warm-up exercises, I noticed Banks wasn't doing anything. Experienced boxers tend to work with a cold start. They want to first work up a sweat during the game itself. But he really went a bit far: until ten minutes before the match started he had done just a few stretches and some fake punches, and then he just sat on a small chair talking to some journalist."²⁶ So Banks would enter the ring cold, which meant his body would be able to absorb less. Tuur had to hit him hard in the first round.

Because of the large number of participants, the 1988 Olympic tournament was held in two rings, both well visible for the audience. In the one ring a bell indicated the end of each round, whereas in the other it was a gong. Preceding the Tuur-Banks match, there was a match in which a Korean boxer had not paid attention and could not tell the difference. At the sound of the gong – a typically Asian sound, easily recognizable for the Korean participant – he lowered his hands, assuming that his match's round had ended. Unfortunately for him, the gong sounded for the other match, and his more alert opponent gave him an enormous blow to the side of his head, landing him on the canvas. The match was over right then and there, but the Asian boxer did not accept this: furious,

he protested by sitting in the middle of the ring, and it took a while before the organisation could carry off the obstinate Korean boxer.

As a result, Banks and Tuur had to wait even longer before their match to begin. Tuur kept warming up, to keep his nerves in check. Right before the match, Banks took a stroll between the locker rooms and, occasionally, he glanced at Regilio, who was furiously hitting a punching ball. Banks seemed both apathetic and complacent. Tuur: "I was loosening my muscles really well, but he wasn't doing anything. At some point, he gave me a look that said 'why get so worked up?' It irritated me. That this guy didn't know me, okay, but why act like this? Maybe that motivated me some more."²⁷

The impression of Banks' arrogance was corroborated by Arnold Vanderlyde, who had told Regilio during their preparation that Banks was a bit 'cocky.' After landing some blows and thus feeling safe, he would drop his hands, and therefore his defense, play Mr. Nice Guy and 'toy' with his opponent.²⁸

On his way to the ring, Tuur was given a spontaneous ovation by Dutch fellow athletes, with accompanying supporters yelling his name. The enthusiasm in the stands moved Tuur, but when he and Banks climbed into the ring, the sizable American delegation began shouting their support for Banks, which seemed to dwarf the encouragements from the Dutch.

Once in the ring, Banks was even taller than Tuur thought. The skinny and muscular American was very slowly taking off his robe, while Tuur was thinking: He is cold. All I have to do is hit him as hard as I can before he has warmed up. My right-hand jab is deadly, and he doesn't know it.²⁹

Yet, Tuur had quite a scare following the first gong sound, when he could not come close to Banks in the first half minute, not to mention getting past his defense. "Banks was a bit of a surprise. I had heard that he was a cautious fighter, but from the start he was attacking me like a madman. The first ten seconds I was having a rough time; in the next ten I got going."³⁰

All or Nothing

Regilio Tuur is best placed to tell the story of what happened at the decisive moment, one minute and 50 seconds into the match: "When I got him in the corner, and he wiggled himself deftly out again, I realized: this is not going to work. So I had to attack him in the middle of the ring, where his wider wingspan would serve him most. (...) As inconspicuously as possible, I let him punch me a few times with his jab. And sure enough, it was like a movie: after four blows, he lowered his hands a bit, and his right hand slowly left his chin exposed. (...) I could hear his trainer shout: 'Pick up the hands!'



But Banks wasn't listening because he thought he was winning. He threw a jab at me, I slipped, slipped, and then I knew: this is it, the jab you have trained for all this time. I stepped closer to him, almost touching his front toe, and he was therefore within my reach. (...) I slipped once more and was perfectly in position. I saw him make the classic mistake of following his own punch, and I threw him a razor-sharp right-hand hook. All my shoulder muscles were taut, I put everything in that jab, all or nothing! On the video it all went so fast, but I knew when I hit him: he is going down; it is over! It was my best jab ever, and it made me an instant celebrity. My right-hand hook exploded on his chin, and he fell forward, his arms across his chest. The video shows how his shoulder muscles are shaking – that's how hard I hit him."³¹

Regilio Tuur made a triumphant gesture with his fist, walked to the neutral corner, crossed his chest and could hear the Dutch in the stands erupt in loud cheering. They were jumping on top of their seats, ecstatically waving the Dutch flag and chanting: Tuur! Tuur! Tuur! This is the kind of Orange-pride enthusiasm that prompted journalist Ben de Graaf – no doubt also referring to the European Football Championship, won by The Netherlands, earlier that year – to write:

"Nowadays, supporters of our national teams think they have to manifest themselves as much as possible everywhere. When the American fighter was knocked unconscious, in spite of his protective headgear, the Dutch contingency shouted: Oh, aren't those Yankees quiet! If Banks had died on the spot, they would have enjoyed the moment even more."³²

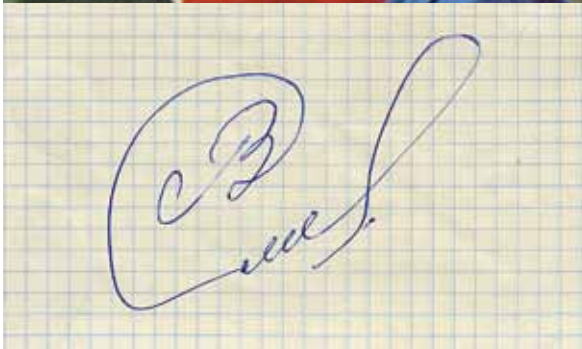
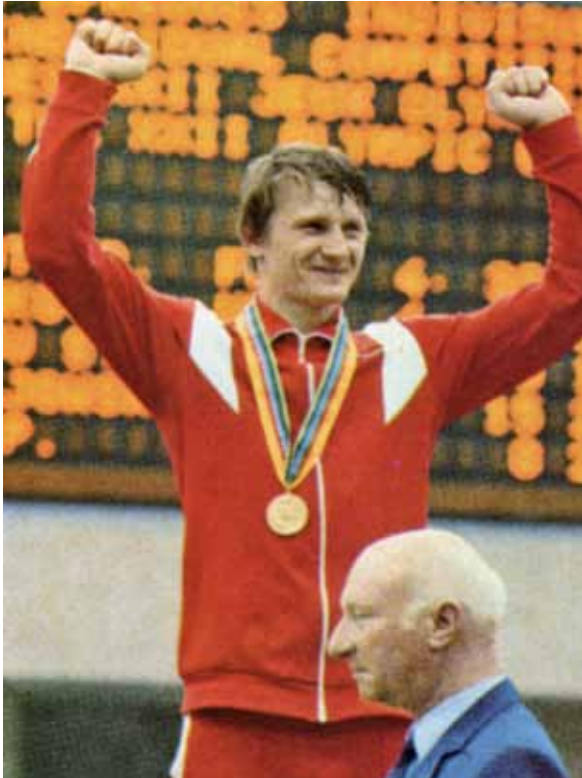
The Americans around the ring, jaws dropped, were deeply shocked by the knock-out, as were doubtlessly the millions of Americans at home watching TV, witnessing the downfall of their favorite, one of America's prime candidates for a gold medal in Seoul.

An American reporter asked: "What the f... happened?"³³ ■

- 1 *Het Vrije Volk*, 19th September 1988, p. 11.
- 2 Regilio Tuur and Ed Van Eeden, *Regilio. Life, Part One. Waar de Regen Koud Is*, L.J. Veen, Amsterdam/Antwerpen 2005, p. 60.
- 3 An earlier version of this story in Dutch appeared in: Ad van Liempt and Jan Luitzen (eds.), *Achilles 06. Sportverhalen van Toen en Nu*, L.J. Veen, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 122–131.
- 4 For a video of the match, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xz83K6HJDOE>.
- 5 To write the book *Regilio. Life, Part One*, ghostwriter Ed Van Eeden spent more than 250 hours with Regilio. During those recorded conversations, Van Eeden reported, Tuur regularly burst out crying.
- 6 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 60.
- 7 Napoleon Hill, *Think and Grow Rich*, The Ralston Society, Meriden, CT 1937. In it, Hill says, on p. 97: 'Millions of people go through life hoping for favourable "breaks." Perhaps a favourable break can get one an opportunity, but the safest plan is not to depend upon luck. It was a favourable "break," which gave me the biggest opportunity of my life – but – it took twenty-five years of determined effort before that opportunity became an asset.' The quote 'luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity' is also ascribed to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (Seneca the Younger), though this is disputed. For example, see: https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Seneca_the_Younger.
- 8 *Het Vrije Volk*, 19th September 1988, p. 11.
- 9 Electroencephalography = research into the brain function by registering the brain's responses to different stimuli.
- 10 *Het Vrije Volk*, 19th September 1988, p. 11, *Bangor Daily News*, September 19, p. 21.
- 11 *Het Vrije Volk*, 23rd September 1988, p. 11.
- 12 *Het Parool*, 28th September 1988.
- 13 *De Telegraaf*, 29th September 1988, p. 1.
- 14 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 53–54.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 16 A 'jab' is a punch with the left fist.
- 17 When a boxer 'slips,' he uses a quick turn to put his shoulder before his opponent's punch, so that he can get quickly past it and retake the initiative.
- 18 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, pp. 54–55.
- 19 *Het Vrije Volk*, 19th September 1988, p. 11.
- 20 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 56.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
- 22 *Sport International* 8, no. 10, p. 35.
- 23 *Trouw*, 19th September 1988.
- 24 *De Volkskrant*, 19th September 1988.
- 25 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 57–58.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 *Trouw*, 19th September.
- 28 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 59.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 30 *Het Vrije Volk*, 19th September 1988, p. 11.
- 31 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 59.
- 32 *De Volkskrant*, 19th September 1988.
- 33 Tuur and Van Eeden, *Regilio*, p. 59.

A tragic story and a wonderful reconciliation

By Michael Dittrich



"You've really done something there", laughs Matthias and grins at me. I was unaware of any guilt. Matthias is the famous German fencer Matthias Behr. We were about to begin filming a half hour television documentary about him and I had simply read his autobiography. *Erfolge, Licht und Schatten [Successes, Light and Shadow]* appeared in a print run shortly before his 60th birthday in the spring of 2015. He had dedicated it to his mother, his wife, his children and grandchildren, in order, he said, "to free myself from many a burden".

Until now Behr has been haunted by a tragic accident on 19th July 1982. At the Fencing World Championships in Rome, Behr's weapon had broken, and the blade penetrated the eye of his opponent Vladimir Smirnov, a Ukrainian representing the Soviet Union. Smirnov died nine days later on 28th July 1982, four days after those championships and was buried in his home city of Kiev.

Behr described in his memoirs how he had tried to contact his opponent's widow. "I have written many letters to Mrs. Smirnova describing my feelings. To date, I have had no reply. What was she supposed to write to me? Despite that, it remains my wish one day to receive some sign, any answer at all from her."

Before the start of filming, Behr told me that in the meantime, he had given up hope of a contact with Kiev. I was unable to stop thinking about it. I reported our conversation to a friend in Berlin, Volker Kluge. He suggested enlisting the help of ISOH member Maria Bulatova, director of the Department of History of Sports and Olympic Movement at Kiev University. Within a few days we had received contact details for Smirnov's widow Emma and her daughter.

My young colleague Pirmin Styrnol was holding the camera when we broke this news to an unsuspecting Behr in Tauberbischofsheim. We asked him if he was sitting comfortably and relaxed. Then we told him that Mrs. Smirnova and her daughter Olga were prepared to make contact with him. At the other end of the line there was silence at first. Then an exclamation – "whoa". Then more silence. And finally: "That's great. Oh, I'm pleased."

Behr was perplexed. At first he was hardly able to express his joy in words. But he reacted quickly with

A moment of glory: Vladimir Smirnov in 1980 in Moscow as individual Olympic foil champion. The Swiss IOC Member Raymond Gafner presented him with the gold medal. Below: Smirnov's autograph.

Photo: Official Report, Games of the XXII Olympiad, Vol. 3



Michael Dittrich | *1957; Filmmaker with Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk (SWR) and author. Main subjects: Olympic Games, football and cycling. In 2016 he produces a film documentary about Matthias Behr.

Because of a chronic inflammation of the central nervous system he sits in a wheelchair and can move neither his arms nor his legs.

Michael Dittrich and his friend Matthias Behr, who led the Olympic fencing support centre from 2010 in Tauberbischofsheim.

In despair: Matthias Behr after the tragic accident. In vain, trainer Emil Beck tried to console him. After an hour-and-a-half, the competition resumed without Behr. The Soviet fencers won. In the evening, they won the world championship title which they dedicated to Vladimir Smirnov.

Photo: Bongarts



help from colleague Tatyana. She worked with him in the Olympic support centre in Tauberbischofsheim, a bureau he has led since 2010. He wrote in Ukrainian to Emma Smirnova in Kiev. In his letter, the events of 1982 were recalled once more. He signed off "In the great hope of a reply, Matthias Behr, greets you both, very sincerely, from Germany." 34 years on, he was still unable to come to terms with the tragedy but now, he fervently hoped for an answer.

After the tragedy in Rome, Behr had even considered giving up fencing. The terrible event had imprinted itself on his memory. "Even today I puzzle my head: if only I had not been so ambitious at that time, if I had not taken part in that World Championships after my injury, none of that would have happened. Yet it did."

Monday, 19th July 1982

The German and Soviet fencers had been drawn together in the quarter-finals of the team foil event. On one side of the piste was Vladimir Smirnov, 28 years old, an army lieutenant from Kiev. He was a left-hander, a double Olympic gold medallist in 1980 who had won two World titles in 1981. At the time he was ranked number one in the world.

On the other side stood Matthias Behr, barely a year younger than Smirnov, but at 1.96 metres tall he had a height advantage of about twelve centimetres. Behr was number two of the world ranking list.

In his memoirs Behr described the decisive seconds on that fateful day: "We started an *Attaque Simultanée*, a simultaneous attack. Both of us tried to score a hit. There was no more going back, everything goes quickly, in fractions of seconds. What happened then I know only from what I was told."

The events went head over heels. Behr was completely exhausted: "I did not want, nor could I do any more. How could I come to terms again, work with young hopeful fencers, convey enthusiasm for the beloved sport, which I suddenly put in question myself? And which was obviously so dangerous that one could kill another person?"

He vacillates between the thought of an end to his career and a defiant continuation. He urgently needed help. One of the first to offer spiritual assistance was David Dushman who told him "Matthias, you can't help it, nobody can help it. Such a misfortune is pre-ordained by God."

Dushman is not just anybody. He is a Russian Jew, who volunteered for the front after the German invasion in 1941. He fought in tanks at Stalingrad and in the winter of 1945 drove one of the T-34s which rolled down the fences of the Auschwitz concentration camp. After the war he became Soviet national coach. He trained many successful fencers including Olympic champions Alexandra Zabelina and Valentina Sidorova.

The comeback and two Olympic silver medals

Behr was not alone. His family was at his side. He also received support from Emil Beck, the revered fencing master from Tauberbischofsheim. Beck had identified Behr's talent and become his mentor. He travelled with him to the Bayerischer Wald to help him relax. There was also help from team doctor Peter Lenhart. He referred him to the physiotherapist Klaus Eder, whose treatment proved helpful. The two became friends.

A year later Behr was back on the piste. He won team foil gold at the World Championships in Vienna. He returned from the 1984 Olympic Games with silver in both individual and team foil. "In Los Angeles I at



last received the long wished-for Olympic individual medal", writes Behr. "In the final I was against the Italian Mauro Numa. I led 7-3 until a minute before the end, already looked like the winner. But in an unbelievable fencing detective story I lost this fight very narrowly." After that Behr was chosen as "Fencer of the Year" by the Presidency of the German Fencing Union. Everything was good, almost everything.

Yet, the worst moment of his life continued to pursue him. "Only from what people tell me do I know that I ran here and there with the weapon and shouted 'No, no, no!' My brother Jochen was Emil Beck's assistant at that time. He took the weapon from me and uncoupled me from the electric cable of the scoreboard."

It really was a trauma. By definition: this is event to which an individual is exposed completely without protection and which leaves them helpless. It can have a long lasting effect and an impact on the individuals own life and their view of the world.

After the dark years, an answer from Kiev

Our filming proceeded and in time Behr informed us that post had arrived from Kiev. It was a reply from Emma Smirnova: "First of all I would like to assure you that the thought had never occurred to us that you are to blame. This terrible situation is tragic for both of us."

She writes that she had two children with Vladimir, Dimitri and Olga. She has remarried, yet her thoughts also centred on the dreadful event: "Again and again I wonder if organs were removed from Vladimir during a transplant or not? Perhaps his large and good heart is still beating today and I do not know. I wish you and your family all the best! Respectfully, Emma Smirnova, 20th April 2016."

The letter makes a big impact. We speak intensively to Behr about it. He tells us that he suffered for many years from depression. The accident in Rome was one thing and his deteriorating relationship with coach Emil Beck exacerbated matters. He even contemplated suicide:

It was a beautiful spring evening in March 2002. But I was aware of nothing of that. I stood on a motorway bridge. I had parked the car on an adjacent parking



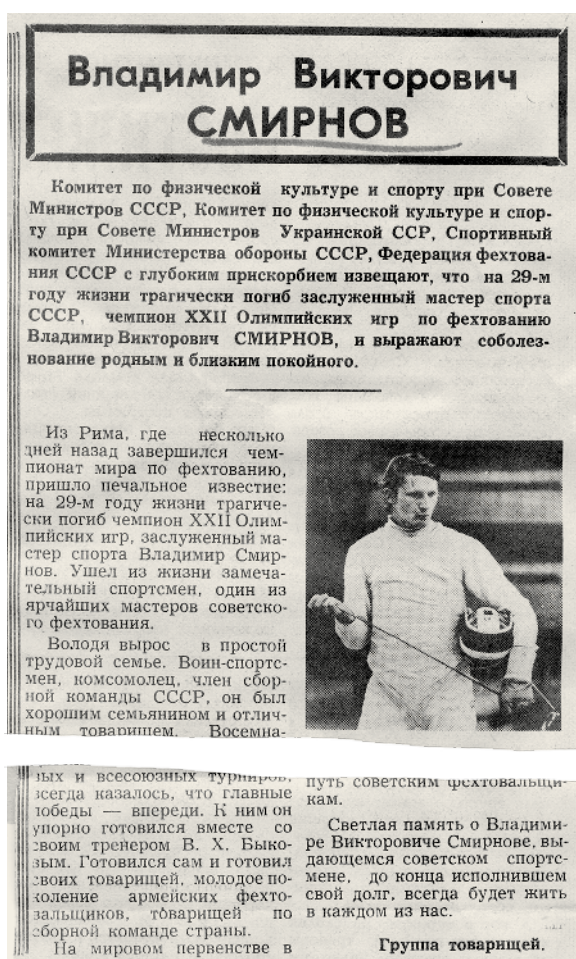
area. I had already swung one leg over the parapet, yes, I meant to jump. I had no more hope, only longed to be relieved from this feeling, or rather from this not feeling, from my depression. I wanted to leap into the void.

But suddenly he came to his senses again. He thought of what would happen if he fell on a car and thus brought danger to other innocent people. He stops:

It was only a tiny spark which God had perhaps sent me. That spark in any case gave the strength not to throw away my life. Thus I found myself again back on the safe side of the bridge. Some time I climbed into the car and drove home.

Behr's broken-off blade forced its way through Smirnov's mask into his left eye. He was transported to the Roman Gemelli hospital, where severe brain injury was diagnosed. Foil and mask were confiscated. After this tragedy, the design of equipment was greatly improved. Such an accident could not happen today, says Matthias Behr.

Photos: UPI



The Soviet newspaper *Sovyetski Sport* published a "last salute" for Volodya on 29 July 1982 in the name of a "Group of Comrades" without, however, going into the details of the death of Vladimir Smirnov.

Source: Volker Kluge Archive

In Montreal, Matthias Behr (right) got foil gold with the German team in 1976. Next to him, the current IOC President Thomas Bach. Behr was also member of the team which won silver in 1988 and three World titles. Individually he won World Cup Gold in 1978 and World Championship silver in 1987.

Photo: picture-alliance



He is now in always in the best of hands. His wife is the double Olympic team foil gold medallist Zita Funkenhauser, now a dentist. But his depression remains. The carefree moments of former years have gone. Funkenhauser remembers:

One never knew what the next day would bring. What would the next hour bring? We had to ensure that there was always someone near him. I still remember how I ran around in the practice and then phoned home. If he did not go to the phone, I sent someone to look after him. Yes, those were not nice times. If Matthias had pulled on a sock, that was a gigantic exertion to put on the second as well.

Firm belief and a mother's consolation

At the beginning of life there was delight in "Tau-Behr-Bischofsheim". Matthias came into the world on 1st April 1955. Well looked after by mother Steffi and father Karl who was locomotive driver and allround entertainer. But soon there came the first blow. Matthias was not yet four when his father was killed in a car accident.

Faith helped and his mother comforted him. He has kept the lines which she wrote for him at that time: "Trust in God in every situation. Trust only Him. Whatever happens to you, don't give up, think always it must be thus. To cheer you up for the whole of your life, in love, your mother. Tauberbischofsheim, 4th April 1965."

Behr accepted this life and became one of the best fencers of the world. In 1976 he won Olympic gold in team foil alongside Thomas Bach. "In my scale of personal success, the Olympic victory ranks immediately after my victory in the World Cup in Leningrad in 1974", says Behr. On their return from Montreal, there were celebrations in "Tauber", as the locals call their town. "30,000 people greeted us and rejoiced with us", recalls Behr. "The whole town was full of cars. There was euphoria and pure joy. The two local breweries were already out of beer."

He has always enjoyed a good relationship with Thomas Bach who is now IOC President. Both grew up in Tauberbischofsheim. Physically completely different in appearance, they share common interests – including music, although Bach, a year and a half older, is keen on the Beatles, while Behr prefers the Stones. In the 1970s they both wore their hair long in the fashion of the times and continue to jokingly address each other by their mothers' first names.

Bach ended his competitive career in 1979, but remained closely connected thereafter to fencing. He was an eye witness to the tragedy in Rome:

That dug itself, I believe, deeply into everyone who was there at the time. And one of the first thoughts went of course to Matthias, because I knew him, also in his sensitivity. Then I asked myself if he would overcome all that. Those were really difficult moments. And even today ... How must things be for

Emma Smirnova and Matthias Behr at the Military Cemetery of Kiev, where the grave of Vladimir Smirnov, adorned with a memorial, is to be found.

Photo: Matthias Behr



him, if it is hard for me to talk about it. On the other hand is my admiration as to how managed to work his way out of this deep psychic valley.

The struggle lasted over ten years. "Depressions are form provided with the title: always healable", says Behr. "That is my experience. It is important that this is recognised early and that one gives oneself into professional hands. One needs a good environment, which helps." Who knows if the problems will return? From today's viewpoint it seems not. Behr feels healthy and spends a lot of time with his four children. He holds his grandson in his arms and beams with joy.

Our camera films Behr's first telephone call to Kiev. He is extremely tense when Emma Smirnova comes to the telephone. He begins to talk in German, then switches to English and into Italian. Finally Tatyana takes over the translation. Although separated by almost 2000 kilometres, Emma and Matthias found common ground from the outset. Later they made their first contacts on social media by Facebook. Although our film has long since been transmitted on TV and we have sat together for a radio programme – they have remained in touch.

In June 2017 Behr travelled to see Emma Smirnova in Kiev. Although remarried, she continues to use her first husband's family name. One day after his arrival he wrote to us: "Today on 9th June 2017 I have after 35 years been allowed to experience something incredible.

Undescribable! I am at my goal. That could not be expected. No, even in my boldest dreams I had not reckoned on this. I am very happy about it."

"Matthias, you bear no guilt"

At the airport in Kiev Behr was met by Vladimir Baban, Emma's second husband and then driven to the family dacha in a suburb. The story of his visit to the Ukraine was told in great detail in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the product of a day's interview given by Behr to a female reporter from the paper:

In greeting Emma kisses him on the cheek, left, right, without hesitating. Then she dishes up salad, cucumbers and tomatoes, steaks from the grill, homemade birch juice and vodka. Her family and the neighbour drink a toast, and when the evening arrives, Emma Smirnova strikes up a Ukrainian folksong, and all join in – in the end Matthias Behr hums along as well. So they sit there, drink vodka and laugh – Matthias Behr and the woman whose husband he 'killed' at the Fencing World Championships in 1982.¹

On the second day they visited the Kiev Military Cemetery, where Vladimir Smirnov is buried. There they met Oleg Telezhinski, a former training partner of Vladimir, who had made a special journey from Poland to see Behr. "Vladimir liked you very much", he assures

Emma Smirnova's second husband Vladimir Baban (left) and Smirnova's former training partner, Oleg Telezhinski (right), accompanied Matthias Behr on the way to the grave.

Photos: Matthias Behr



him, as a fencer and as a human being." At the grave, Emma Smirnova laid yellow roses, loved so much by her husband. She assured Behr once again: "Matthias, you bear no guilt."

They talked for hours. Emma had also suffered from depression after her loss. Sometimes she too could find no more meaning in life. Why did she never reply to the letters which Behr sent to the address of the Soviet Fencing Union? These had not been passed on. It emerged that they had only been forwarded after ten years.

The next day Behr met Olga Berendson, Emma's and Vladimir's daughter. They went for a walk. Her husband Andrey, who works as a football coach was also there, and their two sons: Artemye, the elder is eleven. Because he loves German football, Behr had previously sent him a ball and a jersey. It had been very friendly, he says. Understanding in English had worked splendidly.

Olga had been only four years old, Dimitri five at the time their father died. Dimitri known as "Dima" suffers from polyneuropathy, a painful and debilitating nerve condition which has left him bedridden. At 1.97m in height, he was once an enthusiastic basketball player. "How are you?" he greets Behr when he approaches his bed. The medicines he needs to relieve the pain cost the equivalent of 100 Euros per month. Emma and her husband receive only a small pension so Matthias promises to help. – He would like to return to Kiev soon, but this time accompanied by his wife Zita.

When he arrived back home, German newspapers wrote of a "Redemption in Kiev", "Finally, finally I am here" and "The conciliatory end of a fencing drama".

Long sought and now finally found

The wonderful story of a reconciliation does not end there. "Isn't it wonderful?" says Behr, "it is like a family I have gained." He starts to search some old documents and finds a letter from the former German Federal Minister of Interior, Gerhart Baum, who was also responsible for sport in 1982. Baum wrote:

I may assure you, that I regret very much that a sympathetic and blameless sportsman like you was involved in this serious accident. I have emphasised in a short speech before the national team that not the slightest reproach can be raised against you. Even in a conversation with the Soviet delegation I heard no reproach directed against you.?

It is a sympathetic letter written with much warmth and even today it has a positive effect on Behr. "That gets right under my skin." Emotional as he is, he grasps the telephone and calls Baum to thank him.

In September 2017 Emma Smirnova travelled to Germany for the first time in her life. She had been invited by Markus Lanz who presents a popular talk show on the German television channel (ZDF). In the programme Emma sits next to Behr, who brings to life the events of those days. The individual competition had not gone so well for him, he says. Vladimir, the 1980 Olympic champion, would have been called the 'mighty Smirnov'. "I was a fan of him and his fencing style. He had fought really wonderfully, absolutely professional and with 'tunnel vision'. During the competition he could not be spoken to."



Emma Smirnova confirms that: "From earliest childhood, he was a sportsman through and through. He would surely have been a good footballer as well. But fencing was his great passion." Asked to speak about the accident, Behr describes again, how the blade broke off and what then happened: "I was unable to imagine that Vladimir was really dying."

In 1982, Emma and her children heard the news on the radio. When then the names of the Soviet fencers who had won the title in the team competition were listed and Vladimir was not named, she suspected that something unforeseen must have happened, but imagined only that it would be illness or injury. "Until the end I did not experience the extent of this catastrophe. I knew at once that something bad had happened. I knew of his strength and thought that somehow everything would turn out right."

By now Behr had left Rome and travelled to the Netherlands with his family for a holiday. But for him there was no thought of rest and relaxation. Each day he monitored the German newspapers and learnt that Smirnov was in a coma. "And then came the 28th July, when you could read in all the newspapers that Vladimir had died in hospital in Rome."

Now he was undecided. Should he attend the funeral service? "On the one hand I wanted to fly to the Soviet Union. On the other hand I was in a complete panic at the thought of meeting Vladimir's wife. But perhaps I would be regarded there as a 'murderer', as the guilty party", he describes his feelings at the time.

Emma Smirnova hoped to travel to Rome to be with her husband in his fight for survival. But then Vladimir's

trainer came to her door and told her "You no longer need to fly. He will be brought back". For eight days the officials had discussed whether she should be allowed to travel. But the "Iron Curtain" remained closed. From Rome Smirnov was transported via Moscow to Kiev and laid in the "House of the Officers". His wife was taken there. "I was only able to look at him. That was it." It is visibly hard for her to speak about the Soviet times.

Since she has met Behr and she has been content that fate has now provided some kind of resolution. "I am very pleased that we have found each other", she says. "I never had the feeling of blaming him. No, I do not know this feeling, perhaps also because I knew my way around fencing." She only feared that Behr would never find that out: "I was keen to make that clear to him. I often thought about it. I could imagine what weighty feelings he carried around with him."

At this moment Behr reaches for her hand and presses it. For thirty-five years they have been searching, and now and finally they have found one other. ■

The unbelievable has happened: after 35 years Emma Smirnova and Matthias Behr have found each other. In September 2017, there was a return visit in Hamburg, where both took part in a popular TV talk show. Next time Emma and her second husband will be guests in Tauberbischofsheim.

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Bronze medallist Tuttle was more than “Merely an American Horseman”

By James H. Goddard

Tuttle and Buster in traditional cavalry training, riding down an embankment at Brownsville, Texas.

Photo: Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.



A four-year old boy, thrilled with the power of riding bareback on an immense, plodding plow horse, guiding it with just a strap in its mouth, absorbed the lessons just as his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had done.^{1,2} Coming of age in the late 1800's, this experience planted in him the skills and appreciation for the supreme and most valued tool of that time – the horse.

A young Hiram E. Tuttle was given a gift of deep understanding of the nature of horses. With refined skills in training his mounts, he would eventually land in company with the greatest American horse riders and trainers of all time. And what is more remarkable, his highest performing horses had been initially selected for racing or cavalry work, not performing. At least two had experienced devastating injuries that could have easily resulted in being put out to pasture. Tuttle's gift for training lifted them to feats beyond what anyone would have predicted based on their early work. Hiram E. Tuttle, reflecting on the time of his childhood:

“The community standing of a man was usually measured by the quality and condition of his horses ... all community intercourse, whether light or heavy, was done with horses and a knowledge of them was considered a basic essential.”³

Born in 1882 on a farm in Dexter, Maine, the curious and talented Tuttle needed to make his way using his mechanical skills, musical talents, dramatic flair, and his intellect to lift himself out of the rural existence and into a more sophisticated life. As a young man Tuttle worked at a blacksmith shop near his father's farm, using his flair for mechanics. He later went on to study engineering in Boston, Massachusetts, and subsequently worked in the automatic watch machinery business. At age 26, he pursued the study of law at Boston's Suffolk University, achieving the highest average marks to that date at the school, and graduated in 1912.⁴ He gained membership to the Massachusetts state bar and practiced law outside Boston for five years.

He was a versatile and talented individual, having learned to play the violin at an early age in school,



James “Jim” Goddard *1956. He has a Bachelor's degree in Health Education and a Masters in Healthcare Administration, and has over 30 years of leadership experience in health related not-for-profit organisations. He has attended nine Olympics, his first at age four, and has volunteered for the US Olympic Festival '95, Denver Sport Accord 2009, and at both the Sydney and Beijing Olympic Games for the British Virgin Islands team. He lives in Denver, Colorado.

and later in Portland, Maine, and finally under the direction of the soloist for the Boston Symphony. He was also skilled in drama.⁵ He used his music to put himself through college, and even conducted light opera and musical comedy in and around the Boston area with troupes as large as one hundred in the cast and chorus. While in the Army at Fort Riley, Kansas, "when our National life was a little more tranquil" he became involved with the Dramatic Club and directed as many as five productions in the winter season, and even worked with the Cavalry School Band as a guest conductor for a series of concerts of both popular and semi classical numbers.⁶

The cavalry calls a horseman back to his roots

But war disrupted life. Wanting to help in any way possible, three days after the declaration of the First World War he enlisted in the Army, which thrust him back to his childhood roots – real horse work. After Plattsburg Officer Candidate School in upstate New York, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in August 1917. As the war progressed his business talents were recognized and he was placed in the Quartermaster Corps, and was a motor transport officer in the Brownsville, Texas district.⁷

His Army assignments created a circuitous route that revealed his gift for bringing out the talents of his mounts: the art of training under his delicate and insightful hand. He kept his riding horse, *Buster*, with him at the motor truck camp two miles from the main post in Brownsville. He converted a vacant truck stall for his horse's box stall, and despite having motor transportation available at his disposal, he rode his mount back and forth daily to the truck camp. The park there was his training lot, and he taught *Buster* to jump obstacles, do the Spanish Walk, and even to jump through a 0.93x1.52m oval burning hoop! *Buster* and Tuttle were in great demand at carnivals and rodeos and were even featured with photos in the 15th January 1921 edition of *The Rider and Driver* horse magazine.⁸ Tuttle's careful guidance of *Buster*, a horse that had been nearly killed after being hit by a large Army truck, was just one of many of his miraculous feats of training.⁹

After the Great War, while still in Texas, Tuttle won an Officer's Open Jumping Class in 1923, sponsored by the 15th Artillery then with the 2nd Division at Camp Travis, Texas, against forty-three other contenders, making "a clean performance over a four-foot course of sixteen jumps".¹⁰ Tuttle attended Troop Officer's Class at Fort Riley, Kansas, and then did remount work at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, where he oversaw the purchase and breaking of horses and mules for the Army.¹¹ During that winter of 1924-25 his team of 20 riders made ready over 600 horses. After one year he was sent overseas



to Camp Stotsenburg, in the Philippines, charged with wagon and pack transportation as well as the quartermaster corral and the forage farm. He was also detailed to manage the Camp's Sports Carnival Horse Show, and as a competitor he won both the junior and advanced equitation schooling classes in 1926.¹² His business sense and farming experience were put on display when he developed the curing of cogan grass for hay feeding at a cost that was only 30% of the same weight for rice and oat hay feeding, saving the Army \$14 per ton¹³, the equivalent of about \$178 per ton of savings in current US dollars.¹⁴

Tuttle's \$1 lame horse, named *Olympic*

It was when he returned to the United States that Tuttle received a gift he would cherish for the rest of his life. Horse training and organisation were his expertise, and he spent a year in the Office of the Chief of Remount in Washington, DC. The Remount Service provided horses (and later mules and dogs) to US Army units. While there, he also was the active manager of the National Capital Horse Show in 1929.¹⁵ And it was during the summer of that year that he made a connection that

Tuttle and *Buster* showing the results of tireless saddle horse training and repair of the spirit and ability of a horse that was almost killed in a collision with a truck. *Buster* learned the Spanish Walk, and would jump through a hoop of fire.

Photo: *The Rider and Driver* magazine, 15th January 1921



Tuttle on his bronze medal mount, *Olympic*.

would change the course of history for dressage in America.

Tuttle spent his summer vacation helping Mr. E.Q. McVitty with his polo ponies on Long Island, and refused payment for this work that he loved. But McVitty found a splendid way to repay him – after Tuttle’s return to the Remount Office in Washington, DC, a courier delivered a message: “Your horse has been delivered. Please pay \$1.00.”¹⁶ This was *Olympic* (a name that foretold their collective future), the horse that carried Col. Tuttle to Olympic glory less than three years later, and the highest placing as of that date of an American-trained horse in a schooling event.¹⁷

Olympic, a thorough bred, had been imported from France where he was a steeplechaser. McVitty had settled for second place twice at the Meadowbrook Hunt and *Olympic* was his hope to change his luck. But the horse had a hard time with the transition from turf in France to the hard tracks in the USA, and went lame. McVitty knew the best place for a project like *Olympic* was with a lover of horses, like Hiram Tuttle.¹⁸

Low expectations for US Dressage in 1932

The very next year began the Colonel’s trail to the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. In January of 1930 a conference was held in the Office of the Chief of Cavalry to formulate plans for promoting equestrian events at the Games. Tuttle was not a part of the conference, but at its conclusion he was detailed to begin training for the individual dressage competition. He was transferred to Fort Riley in June, and he was eventually placed in charge of the dressage section. Tuttle later went with the

Olympic team to Fort Rosecrans, California, to complete the teams’s final training.¹⁹

Dressage competition at the Olympic Games began in the Stockholm Games in 1912. The rules at that time only allowed military officers and military-owned mounts to compete, and the movements were slightly different than present competitions, including some jumping.²⁰ In January of that year, the US War Department sent out a special order stating that the cavalry should put together a team for the Games. Fort Riley was selected as the training site, and Captain Guy V. Henry Jr. led the effort. No funding was provided so the cavalry raised money through events held around the country. That team took bronze in the three-day event and fourth in the Prix des Nations (show jumping).²¹ As one might expect, the host nation, Sweden, dominated the dressage competition that year and at the next Olympic Games in 1920 at Antwerp.

The USA did not field an Olympic dressage team until 1932, and the outcomes were not expected to be so impressive. The Great Depression no doubt put financial constraints on the countries entering the Games, and fewer riders and horses were able to attend in Los Angeles than in the previous Olympics with equestrian competitions. Unlike other Olympic events, which may have needed a discus, a pole, or even a sailboat, taking care to transport a live animal prepared for competition is both delicate and expensive. The American equine entrants had a mere 18 months of training before the Games, in comparison to as much as 5 to 8 years of training for those entrants from other nations.²² And the shipping of horses from countries such as Japan and Europe involved weeks of travel in crates on rocky seas and on trains with varying weather. This sort of transportation for the Olympic Games was quite an investment during that low economic period.

Tuttle, as US Olympic dressage team captain, opined that they had little support from the military’s effort to try this form of equestrian competition:



Horses being offloaded from a ship for Olympic competition.

Photos: U.S. Cavalry Museum, Fort Riley, Kansas; 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games Official Report



*It is only fair to the members of the dressage team to state that they had very little encouragement. We were told that we would be entered merely as a gesture of the host nation, that they knew we had no chance of placing and that all efforts would be confined to the jumping and the three-day event.*²³

Much more than a rider – Tuttle was a masterful, self-taught trainer

Tuttle was truly self-taught in horse training and dressage. And essentially everyone else in the US Army learned dressage from him. Even the “Father of Dressage” in the United States, USDF and Nebraska Dressage Association founder Lowell Boomer, made regular treks to see Tuttle and Kitts school their horses at Fort Riley,²⁴ before the Cavalry’s mechanization, lack of need for horses, and their abandonment of equestrian pursuits.²⁵

*I claim the unique distinction of being an American product in every sense of the word. I am not a graduate of any foreign school of equitation or have not received any instructions in the equitation except at the Cavalry School, Fort Riley, Kansas. I am merely an American horseman. – Hiram E. Tuttle*²⁶

He also had a protégé, Lt. Robert Borg, who first became interested in dressage after seeing Tuttle’s performance at the 1932 Games. Tuttle recommended Borg join the US Cavalry and in 1943 he joined Tuttle at Fort Riley to be an instructor of advance equitation.²⁷ Borg was a member of the 1948 London Olympic dressage team that took a silver medal, the highest

place in US dressage team history, and fourth in the individual competition in London²⁸ contributing to the team’s second place finish²⁹ (this outcome was aided by the Swedish team being disqualified for including a non-commissioned officer on their team).^{30,31}

Historic American ranking in LA – its finest Olympic individual dressage performance to date

In the 1932 individual dressage competition, 10 riders competed from France, Mexico (with one rider, and therefore not in the team event), Sweden, and the United States. The officials were General M. Laffont (FRA), Colonel Sloan Doak (USA) and Count Carl Gustaf Bonde (SWE), while the Jury of Appeal for equestrian competition was made up of Guy V. Henry (USA), Clarence von Rosen (SWE), and Georges Hector (FRA).³² The mix of national origins in the judging pool and the appeal pool made for an attempt at equality in any judging of the outcomes.

The venue was at maximum capacity of about 9000 attendees, and the viewers were enraptured, giving every horse the benefit of silence in the arena. A writer for the *Los Angeles Times* described the crowd’s behavior as beyond what anyone expected: “Never before in the history of American enthusiasm has any one sporting event so completely subdued every man, woman and child in the grand stands. The sound of whirling motors on motion-picture cameras pierced through the silence sounding like the staccato of a machine gun as each horse went through the intricate performance; the crackle of a programme made one turn and raise a finger as a signal for more positive silence.”³³

The US Equestrian Team for the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games, with Tuttle and Olympic positioned on the far left.

Photo: LA84 Foundation archives



Dressage competition of the 1932 Olympic Games at the Riviera Polo Club.

Photo: LA84 Foundation archives

The competition itself included the best of the best in Olympic dressage, including several medallists from three previous Olympics. It also featured a controversial decision leading to the disqualification of one of the more famous Olympic dressage riders of that era. The judges assign ordinals to place the competitors, with a point total system used as a tiebreaker.³⁴ French rider François Lesage (bronze medallist in 1924) on *Taine* and the Swedish rider Bertil Sandström (silver medallist in both 1920 and 1924) on *Kreta*, were in the first two spots, while Tuttle and *Olympic* were tied with another French rider, Charles Marion (second in 1928) on *Linon*, in the ordinals. But the American pair were behind Marion and *Linon* in points.³⁵

However, the silence of the arena revealed a flaw in Sandström's performance. Both French and American riders accused him of making clicking sounds with his tongue to encourage his horse, *Kreta*. Despite his claim to the Jury of Appeal that it was merely squeaking sounds from his saddle, the protest was upheld and the Swedish pair were relegated to 10th and last place.^{36,37} Suddenly, Marion and *Linon* were thrust into second place, and Hiram Tuttle and *Olympic* of the fresh American team

won the bronze medal in the individual dressage competition.

In addition to Tuttle's bronze, the US medalled in the team dressage competition as well. This is still the only time the USA has had a medallist in Olympic individual dressage competition.³⁸ In fact, though only three teams competed, that dressage team of Tuttle (on *Olympic*), Alvin Moor (on *Water Pat*), and Isaac Kitts (on *American Lady*) won the bronze medal in a very close competition with the French (gold) and Swedish (silver) teams.³⁹

Sandström is considered among the *Top Dressage Riders of All Time* (No. 69, while Tuttle is ranked No. 41),⁴⁰ but due to this calamity he is also listed among the most famous "cheats" by others.^{41, 42} It should be noted that disqualification in dressage competition was not completely unheard of. Gustaf Adolf Boltensstern (SWE) who, in the 1920 Games was initially scored second just ahead of Sandström, had the same fate, leading to Sandström gaining the silver medal.⁴³

Col. Tuttle's bronze medal in individual dressage secured his place in Olympic history, and their bronze in the team dressage event gave the Americans unexpected accolades!

The passion of training and performing with cherished horses

At a time when "the laurels of fancy horsemanship ... rested for years with the crack cavalry units of some of the Old World armies", Tuttle not only could ride well and compete with those from across the seas, he could train his mounts, as dressage required, "to perform with the grace and precision of a dancer".⁴⁴ He was a master at training horses from his first assignment in the Army. In addition to *Buster*, the horse he trained while stationed in Texas, he trained others to become show-stoppers in their ability to perform. His amazing work with *Olympic*, molding him from a lame steeplechaser

Hiram Tuttle's individual and team dressage bronze medals, 1932 Los Angeles.

Photo: Jim Goddard Olympic Collection



“Exponent on Dressage” – Tuttle and Vast illustrate a story about Tuttle’s “Lectures on equitation and dressage ...” given at the Cavalry Armory in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Photo: *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, 19th April 1938

Far right: *Si Murray* whispering to Tuttle at the Denver National Western Stock Show, with the caption reading: “Say, colonel, I’m really going to help you put on a show here this year.”

Image: *The Denver Post*, 11th January 1941



Beyond the days in the arena, he continued to love his mounts

Tuttle went on to compete on the dressage team at the 1936 Olympics, placing 27th on *Si Murray*. He was named to be a part of the dressage team for the 1940 Games in Helsinki, which were cancelled due to war in Europe.⁶³ He continued to train his horses at Fort Riley until his retirement in 1944,⁶⁴ after which he got special permission from the Army, at no expense to them, to keep his horses at Fort Riley, just eight kilometres from his home in Junction City, Kansas. He continued to work with his horses there late into his lifetime.

Col. Tuttle died 11th November 1956 at the age of 73 and was buried at Fort Riley Cemetery with military honours.⁶⁵ Nearby three of his horses, *Olympic*, *Si Murray* and *Vast*, are also buried. Tuttle was inducted into the US Dressage Hall of Fame in 2002.⁶⁶ Soon after his death a street in Junction City, Kansas, was named in his honor: Tuttle Way. And in 1991, officials in Manhattan, Kansas honoured him with a new Tuttle Park. ■

Tuttle’s toast to a horse:⁶⁷

*Faithful to his master.
Generous in his efforts.
Constant in his love for companionship, and
Beautiful in his physical creation ...
Is my tribute to the horse.*

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The "Dressage Family", including Colonel Tuttle and his wife, Gladys Tuttle, along with, from left to right, Si Murray, Olympic, Peter Brown, and Vast.

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The Bolanachi Story – Egypt goes Olympic with Greek Entrepreneurship*

By Christian Wacker¹

Angelo Bolanachi, the athlete. His first success was winning the French schools' tennis championship in 1896. In 1899 and 1900 he was Egyptian champion at 100 and 200 m. In 1902, he ran 100 m in 10.8 seconds, making him the simultaneous record holder of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire and Greece. Before 1949 he called himself "Bolanachi", derived from the Arabic linguistic usage. Thereafter he changed to the spelling "Bolanaki".

© Revue de Paris L'Education Physique, No. 17, 15th December 1904.



In the early years of the Olympic Movement, that is to say from the latter years of the 19th century, the IOC reached out to new continents and countries by means of excellent networks established in Europe. Egypt became an Olympic "player" in 1910, when the first IOC Member in Egypt was nominated: He was Angelo Bolanachi, a Greek national, born and raised in Alexandria and belonging to the wealthy Greek bourgeoisie. He founded the Egyptian Olympic Committee EOC in 1914, becoming its first Secretary-General and planning for an African Games in 1929. Egypt did not exist as a separate nation before 1922 as it was still part of the Ottoman Empire. Through Bolanachi and other Europeans, sport, its organisations and infrastructure were imported into Egypt. During the 19th century, mainly the Greek and Italian communities founded clubs based on European models in Alexandria. It was only later that Egyptian nationals followed the example and established their own clubs.²

The Olympic Idea reaches Egypt: the role of the Greek minority and Angelo Bolanachi

Minorities in Egypt acted as "collaborative elites". In particular, the Greek minority became organised as mediators to the centres of power. There were many Greek merchants, industrialists and families with access to cultural life.³ The legal status of Egyptian Greeks was complex, and most members of this minority even acquired foreign passports. Following the Ottoman concept, non-islamic religious groups were known as *millet*.⁴ Over the centuries Greek-orthodox communities, i.e. not only Greek-speaking Greek-orthodox but also Arab-speaking Greek-orthodox, formed one *millet* and their traditions continued into the 20th century. To be part of a *millet* in the Ottoman Empire would have meant benefits for the individuals. These were defined in contracts, known as *capitula* or "Capitulations".

These documents granted certain concessions. Personal, religious and commercial freedom was guaranteed to foreigners. They did not have to pay taxes and were subject to their own consular authorities.⁵ Following Ottoman practice, Greeks and other minorities inside the Ottoman Empire were permitted to organise and rule themselves under those "Capitulations", which were in fact regulations for juridical, religious and economical autonomy. This empowered the Greek community, especially in Alexandria, where the benefactor behind the restoration of the stadium for the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens, Georgios Averoff, was a prominent figure from 1885 to 1899. The Greek community in Alexandria acted like a sovereign, secular entity, with parliamentary structures inside Egypt.⁶

The Egyptian census from the first decades of the 20th century indicates a steady increase in the number of foreigners and minorities in Egypt. Between 1897 and 1927 the number nearly doubled, and approximately 40% of them were Greek. In 1919, 20% of the population of Alexandria was Greek, but some had lived in Egypt for generations. Seventy-six thousand Greeks lived in Egypt in 1927, although Greek census records give the figure as nearer 100,000. As a result of changes in Egyptian politics and the new self-consciousness of the young nation, many foreigners left the country during the 1930s and, by 1947, the Greek population had dipped to 57,000.⁷

Angelo Bolanachi (written Αγγελός Χ. Βολανάκη in Greek) was born in Alexandria in 1878 and died in Lausanne in 1963. He was an IOC Member in Egypt from 1910 to 1932 and an IOC Member in Greece from 1933 until his death. He eventually became the doyen of the IOC. He established a National Olympic Committee for Egypt, which was recognised by the IOC in 1914. In 1949, Bolanachi became the 18th recipient of the Olympic diploma.⁸

Bolanachi could dedicate his entire life to the development of sport in Egypt and become an active part of the Olympic Movement, as he had been a member of one of the wealthiest and most influential families in Egypt. In 1884, his father Christos had founded a distillery in Alexandria. Bolanachi & Sons produced cognac, rum and whiskey. In the first decade, the production did not exceed 15,000 litres and was not meant for export. Over the years, the distillery increased its portfolio of brands and also produced champagnes, and the famous Bolanachi's Egyptian Brandy, mainly for export to England.

This product brought wealth to the family before the First World War, became popular even among collectors, and later was taken over by the Zottos distillery. Today it can still be purchased from the Al Ahrām Beverages Company. In its heyday between 1910 and 1920, the distillery occupied an area of 90,000 sqm and employed 300 people. In 1921 liquor was classified as a luxury good with high taxation and, during the same time, the 'Capitulation' for the Greek-orthodox community had been sold to Great Britain. As a result of these changes, the decline of the distillery was inevitable and, by the end of the twenties, the number of employees had shrunk to 50.⁹

In his autobiography Angelo Bolanachi describes himself as the first athlete competing outside Egypt.¹⁰ As a sprinter, he took part in races over 100 and 200 metres in Alexandria, Athens and Smyrna (today Izmir), beating Olympic records of the day. Even though he did not participate in the first Olympic Games 1896 in Athens, he held the 100 metre record in those days. His time of 10 sec 4/5 was faster than that of the winner in Athens. He had also been an excellent long and high jumper.

After 1906 he became a sports official, was the instigator of modern sport administration in Egypt, and the founder of many sport organisations in his country. He established the General Sports Club as an umbrella organisation for sports in Egypt. From 1908 onwards, he organised annual national championships in Alexandria and Cairo. 1910, the General Sports Club was transformed into the Sports Federation of Egypt under the patronage of the Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha and Omar Toussoun Pasha, who later became President of the Egyptian Olympic Committee.¹¹

In 1906, Bolanachi seems to have met Pierre de Coubertin for the first time in Paris (Bolanachi, 1956, 3: "[...] que j'avais connu à Paris en 1906, ayant apprécié mes qualités sportives, [...]"),¹² but it seems clear that he was not particularly close to the founder of the modern Olympic Games. His correspondence with IOC officials clearly shows that his access to the IOC was, in the most part, down to his contact with the Vice-President of the IOC, Godefroy de Blonay. Following the correspondence in the IOC Archives, the Bolanachi and Blonay families were well known to each other. During the Olympic Session in Luxembourg (11th to 13th June 1910), Bolanachi was nominated as the first IOC Member in Egypt, even though he held a Greek passport.



Label from Bolanachi Rum.

© Christian Wacker.

At that time Egypt was under Ottoman control and Bolanachi belonged to the Greek minority. His ambition was to lead an Egyptian bid for the 1916 Olympic Games. The local delegates must have been convinced by his concrete plans for a stadium, which dated back to 1909. Bolanachi intended to construct the stadium in Alexandria, on top of the estimated location of the stadium of the Ptolemies from the 2nd century BCE.¹³ This followed the example of the Panathenaic Stadium rebuilt in Athens for the 1896 Games upon the site of the ancient stadium.

The Olympic Idea reaches Egypt: foundation of the Egyptian Olympic Committee

The first President of the EOC, Omar Toussoun Pasha, had been a strong supporter of sports since the late 19th century and was one of the driving forces of the "Physical Culture Movement" (al-riyada al-badaniyya) in Egypt. As a result of this and other similar initiatives, physical education became a more or less regular part of school

life in 1897. The first evidence for the foundation of the EOC appears in a letter sent by Omar Toussoun Pasha to the President of the Council of Ministers, Muhammad Pasha Said, 6th Sept. 1913 (Sources, No.: 22). In it Omar Toussoun Pasha requested the appointment of two delegates, one from the Ministry of Public Instruction and the other from the Ministry of War. Both offices nominated British representatives, A.H. Sharman (Principal of the Saidiyya Secondary School) and Macintosh Bey (Assistant of the Adjutant General).

At a time of British occupation, associations which necessitated interaction with foreign organisations also seemed obliged to include British representatives. It might be assumed that the nomination of British delegates, on behalf of Egyptian ministries, was not willingly done and that those nominees supported Bolanachi, himself a foreigner by law, in his bid to become the first Secretary-General of the Egyptian Olympic Committee.¹⁴ The formation of the committee was announced on 19th January 1914, as documented in local Egyptian archives.¹⁵ On the same day, in his capacity as IOC Member in Egypt, and now EOC General Secretary, Bolanachi sent an official letter to the President of the IOC, Pierre de Coubertin (Sources, No.: 2).

Kamel 2015 mistakenly states that the EOC had been founded on 13th June 1910 with Omar Toussoun Pasha as President and Angelo Bolanachi as Secretary-General. It quotes author Al-Faraj 1988 who dates the foundation of the EOC in the year 1910 without offering any further evidence for this date (Jacobi, 2011: 89, FN 95).¹⁶ Perhaps

the confusion arises because Bolanachi was installed as an IOC Member in 1910. Both the EOC and IOC websites list 1910 instead of 1914 as year for the official foundation.

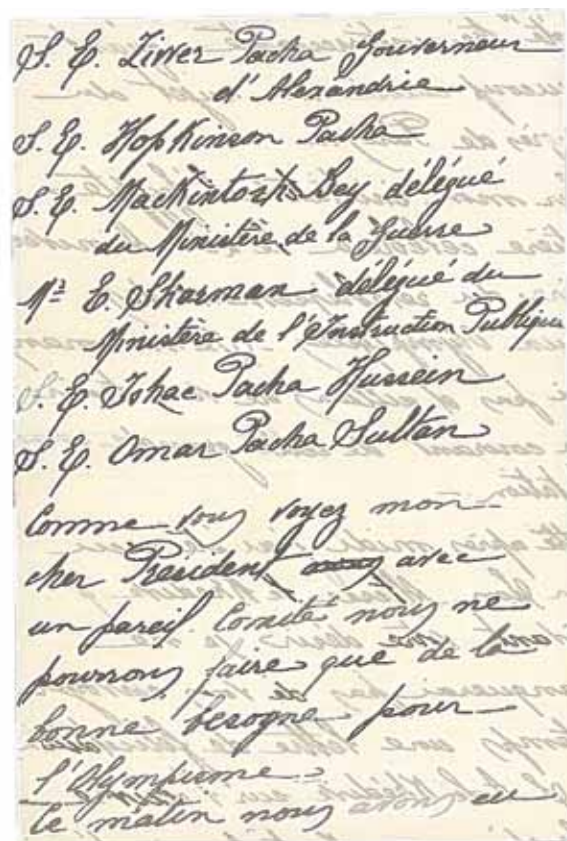
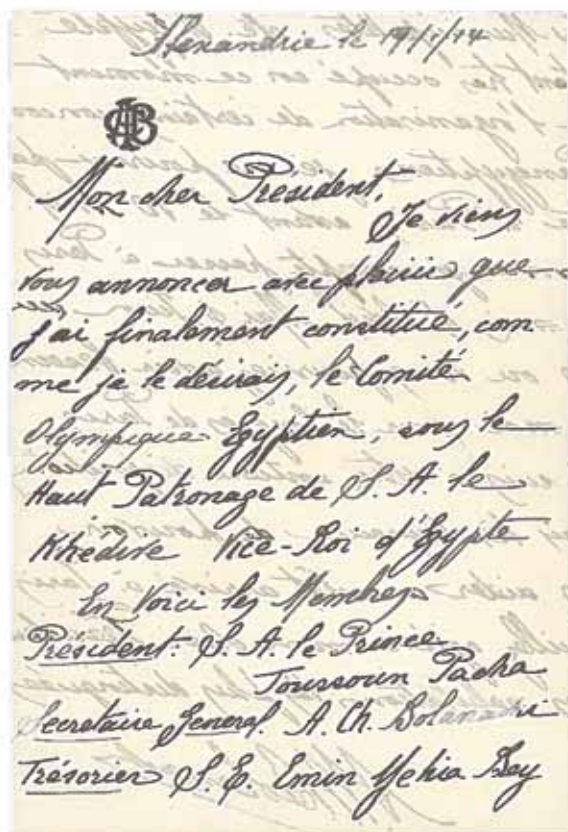
The Olympic Idea reaches Egypt: Egypt enters the Olympic stage

In a letter dated 19th January 1914, Bolanachi also announced the organisation of a sports festival to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1894 congress at the Sorbonne in Paris at which the IOC had been founded (Sources, No.: 2). In order to underline Alexandria's ambition to host the 1916 Olympic Games, he quoted the official letter from the municipality confirming the intention to host the Games.¹⁷ He used the sports festival as a means of supporting, encouraging and hastening the construction of the stadium. The Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha, ruler of Egypt and Sudan under nominal Ottoman sovereignty, personally attended the event. In this way he acknowledged the importance of the 20th anniversary of the IOC and also boosted Alexandria's candidature for the 1916 Olympics.

On 5th April 1914, a flag bearing the Olympic rings was raised for the first time at this gathering in Alexandria's Chatby Stadium. Pierre de Coubertin had personally designed the Olympic logo with the five rings in 1913. He first mentioned this in the August 1913 edition of *Revue Olympique* without showing illustrations, even though some earlier letterheads had already carried a version of this symbol.¹⁸ Bolanachi asked permission to use the

Letter from Angelo Bolanachi to IOC President Pierre de Coubertin about the foundation of the EOC, 19th January 1914.

© IOC Archives





At the request of Bolanachi, the Alexandria town council allocated a central site in the Chatby district for the purpose of constructing a stadium. It was here that under Bolanachi's direction, the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Olympic Movement was celebrated in April 1914. The Olympic flag with the five rings was raised for the first time on this occasion. To celebrate this, vignettes appeared (left). The stadium seen in the photo (taken c 1930) was erected between 1921 and 1928. Built in Graeco Roman style, it held 22,000 spectators.

© National Archives Cairo

Olympic rings on a flag. Unfortunately, evidence has not yet come to light to confirm whether it was Bolanachi who produced this flag or if he received it from Coubertin in Paris. The flag was hoisted again in June 1914 during the Olympic Congress in Paris and became part of the Olympic rituals in 1920. In 1958 Bolanachi handed over his Olympic collection to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. The items included that flag.¹⁹

The African Games: the role of sport in colonisation

Sport should play an intelligent and effective role in colonisation. Such an educational idea of a so-called "Kindergarten" of Olympism was first published in 1912. Sport should not be used as a disciplinary instrument of colonial governance, but as a side institution to instil values such as social hygiene, cleanliness, order and self-control (Source, No.: 1: "Le sport peut donc jouer un rôle en colonisation, un rôle intelligent et efficace." (p. 8); "Les sports sont en somme un instrument vigoureux de disciplinisation. Ils engendrent toutes sortes de bonnes qualités sociales d'hygiène, de propreté, d'ordre, de self-control." (p. 9); „En somme le sport ne doit pas être un instrument de gouvernement en matière de colonisation mais une institution à côté, très propre à rendre d'éminents services." (p. 10)).²⁰ It is important here to quote the original wording because some translations have misinterpreted the meaning ("[...] the natives of colonies who had to be 'civilized'."²¹). For Charitas the IOC, under the presidency of Coubertin, followed a colonial philosophy with the principle "all games, all nations".²² The IOC supported games in Asia and Latin America with the aim of universalising the Olympic Idea.²³

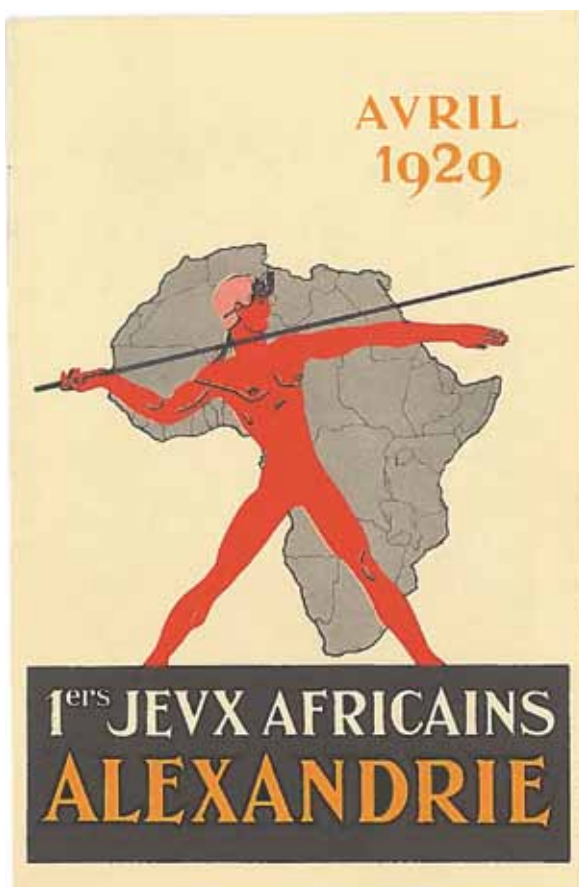


The African Games: the Alexandria Stadium project

After the First World War, the political situation in Egypt changed significantly. The Ottoman Empire fell apart and Britain finally took control of the area as a protectorate. Ahmed Fouad Pasha, of the Muhammad Ali dynasty, was nominated ruler of Egypt as Sultan Fouad I. When independence came in 1922 he became King of Egypt.²⁴

Bolanachi had also been successful convincing the new leaders to develop sports on a national level, and organised a sports festival with the *Union des Sociétés Sportives d'Egypte* over which he presided in 1918. Again, the main goal of this festival had been to gather support for the plan to build a new sports arena in Alexandria. The attendance of Sultan Fouad I obviously bore fruits and, in October 1919, the municipality of Alexandria announced that it had received personal donations from Sultan Fouad I (3000 LE/livre égyptienne), Omar Toussoun Pasha, the President of the Egyptian Olympic Committee (2000 LE) and Angelo Bolanachi (1000 LE). With the addition of the municipality's own contribution (500 LE), the budget for the construction was secured. The total sum of 6500 LE corresponds to an actual value of about 350,000 GBP (British Pounds). Taking into account construction costs in Egypt after the First World War, this sum was enough to build the stadium.²⁵

In 1921 stadium construction began. The architecture and facilities of the stadium in Alexandria were groundbreaking for the late twenties. In a letter to Bolanachi written in 1930, the later IOC President J. Sigfrid Edström praised the stadium of Alexandria as the most modern in the world and said that he wanted something similar for the 1932 Olympic Games in Los



Angeles (quoted in: Bolanachi 1956, 13: "Je félicite la Ville d'Alexandrie de posséder le stade que je considère le plus moderne du monde et que je souhaiterais avoir à Los-Angeles pour les Jeux Olympiques qui doivent avoir lieu dans cette ville en 1932.").²⁶

The stadium of Alexandria was completed in 1928, ready to be used for hosting the African Games, which were scheduled for 1929. In fact, these Games never took place, but the hope was that the stadium would later stage Olympic and Mediterranean Games. The facilities were designed to satisfy the needs of modern international sports events (Bolanachi 1956, 12: "On peut dire aujourd'hui que dans le stade d'Alexandrie toute manifestation sportive de la plus grande envergure peut être organisée de la manière la plus satisfaisante.").²⁷ The first international mega-event organised at this stadium was to be the inaugural Mediterranean Games in 1951.

Preparation and cancellation of the 1st African Games

The African Games project had been announced for the first time at the IOC Session held in Rome 1923. They had IOC patronage, but the project suffered at the hands of nationalist movements in Africa and the restrictions of colonial powers. At the Rome Session, an official decision had been made to establish African Games,

and it was proposed that Algiers would be the first host city in 1925. The IOC wanted to "conquer Africa" as emphasised in a text, probably written by Coubertin in 1931 (Sources, No.: 14: 12: "[...] le Comité International Olympique décida de 'conquérir l'Afrique' et créa les Jeux Africains.").²⁸

Following original plans, the first African Games were intended for Algiers in 1925, but the Algerian official responsible for *Affaires Indigènes* wrote to Coubertin on 21st March 1924 to say that Algiers would neither have the budget to organise the Games, nor were there any sports organisations or indigenous sports men interested in participating. Algiers would, therefore, be unable to organise the African Games (Sources, No.: 4). The appeal from Coubertin to set up an African Games, to be organised for the first time in Alexandria 1927, does not mention the Algerian plan. It must, therefore, have been written only after March 1924. They should "be in the main reserved for natives" (Sources, No.: 3).

After the withdrawal of Algiers from the organisation of the first African Games in 1925, Bolanachi as IOC Member in Egypt and General Commissioner for the African Games, received an official letter from the IOC in December 1925 inviting him to make preparations for African Games in 1927. Alexandria was envisaged as host city. Bolanachi's response a week later outlined the difficult political situation in Egypt and, instead, proposed holding the games in 1929, which had been accepted by the IOC. In an additional letter he further confirmed that the stadium would not be ready for 1927 (Sources, No.: 5: "[...] qu'il me sera presque impossible de pouvoir organiser les 1^{ers} Jeux Africains de 1927 [...]"; Sources, No.: 6).²⁹

Construction of the stadium was completed in 1928 and the official invitation letter had been sent out to the Ministers responsible in the relevant colonies on 25th January 1928. The Games were scheduled for April 1929 (Sources, No.: 24). Officials in a number of colonies refused to sanction teams for Alexandria. J.E.W. Flood, the official responsible for Nigerian affairs called African Games a silly idea: "It seems to me a totally evil show conceived in Pan-Africanism and Egyptian propaganda." He went on to assert that Omar Toussoun Pasha is "[...] probably the most dangerous, and anti-British, man in Egypt." (Sources, No.: 23). Finally, on 11th May 1928 the British colonial governments announced that they would not participate in the Games. Other colonies followed suit shortly afterwards.³⁰

The Games themselves were formally cancelled on 19th February 1929, mainly for the following political reasons (Sources, No.: 11): The qualification rules had been modified and the colonial powers were asked to nominate athletes. By February, France, Italy, Belgium and Great Britain had signalled their refusal to do so. By this point the only registered participants were four from

Morocco, 20 from Abyssinia and 50 from Tunisia. Thirteen hundred athletes were expected from Egypt and some hope existed that footballers from Europe would join.

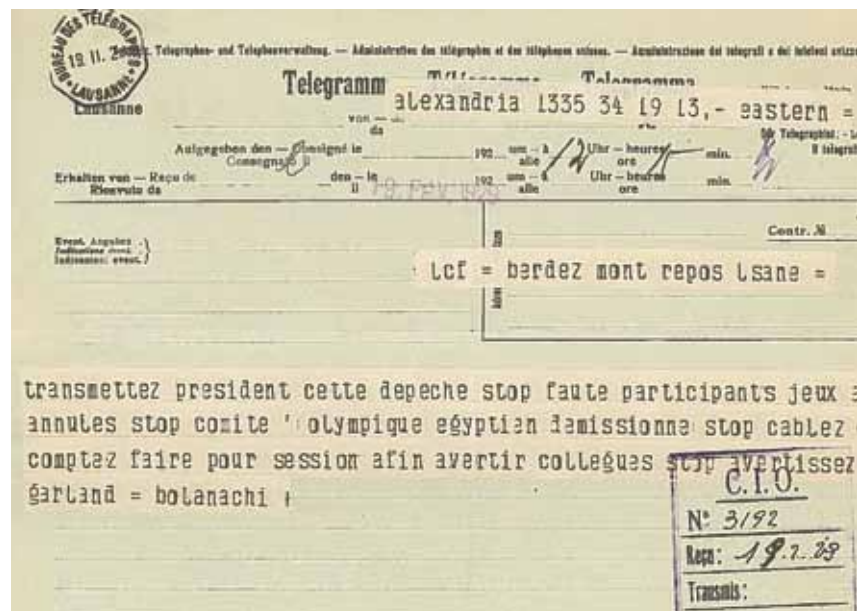
Although the Alexandrian *Journal de Réforme* reflected that the Olympic Games do not have many more participants, the result was disastrous and reflected nationalist movements inside the colonies (Sources, No.: 8, 9, 13). Locals simply set themselves against the colonial powers, and even Bolanachi experienced opposition to the Games inside Egypt. He made it clear that the Egyptian Minister of War had been the driving force behind the cancellation of the games. The minister also opposed the continued presence of Bolanachi as IOC Member in Egypt. Influential members of the EOC also viewed him as a “foreigner” and that Bolanachi should not remain an IOC Member in Egypt. Bolanachi annotated a press article (Sources, No.: 12: “Le membre le plus éminent c’est le Ministre de la Guerre qui pour des raisons personnelles à cherché l’occasion de faire annuler les Jeux et qui cherche maintenant à obliger le gouvernement pour imposer le C.I.O. un nouveau membre pour Egypte.”)³¹; another similar personal note was made by Bolanachi on the French summary of an article published in *Al-Ahram*, without a date (IOC Archives).³²

The delays to the first African Games took place in the years following independence, at a time of power struggles between the Wafd party, the Palace and the British. It is a real possibility that King Fouad I purposely blocked the Games. The cancellation also had been motivated by the British and other colonial powers who did not want to bring together so many colonial subjects in one place.³³ Bolanachi had been the driving force behind the African Games project, but also behind ongoing ambitions to host the Olympics and other events in Alexandria. At the 1928 IOC Session in Amsterdam, he had been asked by the municipality to deliver documents proposing Mediterranean Games to be organised there in 1930 or 1931, as well as a bid for the 1936 Olympic Games (Sources, No.: 7, 10).³⁴

Egyptian Sports Politics in the 1920s and 1930s: Nationalisation after Independency

The nationalist movement in Egypt had found radical expression in the riots of 1919 in Alexandria and grew in strength until 1922, when Egypt became independent. The plan was for liberal experimentation in the country with constitutional government, political parties, freedom of speech and the right to opposition – in total, a modern democratic government in favour of the majority. But the reality turned out to be very different after accession of Sultan Fouad I to the throne, the prominence of the unity party Wafd, and the Misr Bank as an economical force for nationalism.³⁵

After the First World War, Egypt saw the rise of a national bourgeoisie rooted in agrarian societies to become an industrial bourgeoisie. In 1920 this new and self proclaimed “high society” opened the Misr Bank. This was planned as a nationalist project, fed by local money from Egyptian investors and taken from mostly foreign banks to provide the backbone for moving the economy from foreign hands to national ownership. Misr Bank soon became the biggest bank in Egypt, and an expression of Egyptian self-confidence and of resistance to British control in Egypt. With the establishment of the Misr Bank, the Egyptian society created a method to develop national economy without excluding foreign investment, but channel it towards national interest. Egyptian Jews and Greeks also made use of the Misr Bank and entrepreneurs from these minorities increased slightly or maintained constancy. During the same time more than 100 new Egyptian companies were created.³⁶



For the British protectorate before 1922, a ban against the “Capitulations” described above was an important move to secure political and economic control over Egypt. The first attempts to ban the “Capitulations” can be traced back to the British Governor, Lord Cromer in 1904. Their efforts finally bore fruit in 1920, when the Greeks in Egypt signed a treaty with Britain to hand over their “Capitulation” to them. Obviously, the Greeks preferred their communities to be under the control of the British rather than Egyptian authorities.³⁷ The ban of the “Capitulations” on the one side, and the foundation of the quasi-governmental bank Misr Group with its emphasis on support for local national industries, dramatically reduced the economic influence of the Greeks, Italians, French and other foreigners living in Egypt from the twenties. After the independence of

Telegram No. 3192 from Angelo Bolanachi to IOC Secretary Albert Berdez about the cancellation of the First African Games, 19 February 1929.

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Envelope for the first Mediterranean Games 1951.

Below: vignette with the poster for these Games.

© Christian Wacker.



Egypt and the cancellation of the “Capitulations”, the Greek community was offered a choice of Egyptian or Greek citizenship. Only 17% of Greeks decided to take up Egyptian nationality; others, including Bolanachi, opted to remain Greek. Today it is difficult to say if he might have had a better chance of keeping his positions in sport by changing his nationality. Double nationality, i.e. Greek and Egyptian, only became possible after 1937, and long after his resignation.³⁸

Omar Toussoun Pasha figured prominently in the press in the 1920s. He stood for sport as a unifying element. He was closely involved with the Boy Scout Movement and international sports. He became even more important as a role model for those sports integrated in the development of the young Egyptian nation, and became a real sports hero of the time.³⁹ Egypt took part in the 1920, 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games but with little success. The Egyptian press reacted harshly. Their anger was mainly directed against Bolanachi as EOC General Secretary. Critics said he was incapable of guiding Egyptian athletes who should present their nation, because he himself had not been Egyptian. The athletes’ performances were set alongside a cultivation of nationalist consciousness. In the opinion of many Egyptian journalists, the Olympic Games offered a stage to exhibit Egyptian culture and character. Egypt should present itself patriotically as a modern nation and not “[...] walking around naked like the rest of the peoples in Africa” (quote from *Al-Al’ab al Riyadiyyah* 8/2, 1st March 1924: 3).⁴⁰



Egyptian Sports Politics in the 1920s and 1930s: Bolanachi moves on

That Egypt did not send athletes to the Olympic Games in Los Angeles 1932 was a direct consequence of their worsening relationship with Bolanachi. The EOC boycotted this Olympics, due to the refusal of the IOC to change the representatives for Egypt. This refusal of course had been very much supported by Bolanachi, who wanted to remain as the only IOC Member in Egypt. Only later did he agree to a second member. For the newspaper *Al-Ahram* it had been clear, that Bolanachi had not served the interests of Egypt in Olympic circles, but had been the delegate of the IOC in Egypt.⁴¹

Although Bolanachi was still Secretary-General of the EOC and IOC Member in Egypt, he had already been put under pressure to stand down. The young Egyptian nation had decided on a policy to nationalise key positions in politics, economics and sports. As a result, they could no longer give their backing to a man they saw as a “foreigner”, although he had been of considerable benefit to the Olympic Movement in the country. In 1932 a small booklet entitled *Situation actuelle d’Egypte par rapport aux Jeux Olympiques* was published. It set out a new policy that the IOC Member in Egypt should be Egyptian and included a number of letters from national sports federations (Sources, No.: 15). Each of these supported an effective vote of no confidence in Bolanachi.

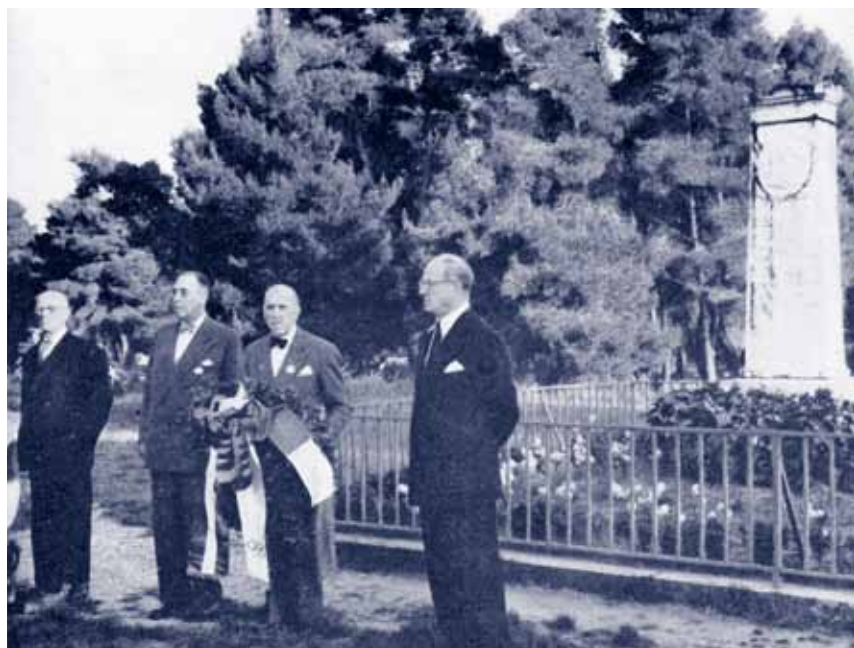
A further message from Hussein Sabry Pasha, President of the Egyptian Football Federation, delegate of all Egyptian sports federations and Governor of Alexandria, did not appear in the booklet, but it summarised the general feeling of sports organisations in Egypt (Sources, No.: 16). Without an Egyptian IOC Member, this federation would never again participate in Olympic Games.

The IOC President reacted and sent a letter to EOC President, Omar Toussoun Pasha, suggesting a second Egyptian IOC Member: Hussein Sabry Pasha. It was clear from the outset that Hussain Sabry Pasha would be unwilling to serve in the IOC alongside Bolanachi, because Egyptian sports governing bodies had already indicated where their support lay (Sources, No.: 17, 18: “[...] que Mr. Bolanachi était inamovible.”).⁴²

For years, Bolanachi had been unwilling to resign, even though he must have been well aware that his refusal to do so would jeopardise the appearance of Egyptian competitors in Los Angeles. He finally stood down as an IOC Member in Egypt on 21st November 1932 (Sources, No.: 19: “Devant les circonstances complexes qui me semblent contraires aux intérêts réels du sport en Egypte, je crois devoir prendre la décision de mettre à votre disposition ma démission comme délégué du C.I.O. en Egypte.”).⁴³ Two days later, he announced that he would be a candidate as an IOC Member in Greece.

The existing Member in Greece, Nikolas Politis, had been willing to stand down. And Bolanachi remained an IOC Member until the end of his life. He had, therefore, served for 53 years (Sources, No.: 20: “[...] car après tout ce qu’en a fait contre moi en Egypte, je compte ne plus m’intéresser à elle [...]”]; see also Egyptian press in *La Liberté* from 7th February 1933, *Il giornale d’oriente* from 26th June 1932 and various articles in *Al-Ahram*).⁴⁴

For the EOC the changes had been significant and they were set down in the *Statuts du Comité Olympique Egyptien sous le Haut Patronage de sa Majeste le Roi* from 11th May 1934 (Sources, No.: 21). After Bolanachi's resignation, Muhammad Taher Pasha, a nephew of the king, was elected as the new IOC Member in Egypt in 1934.⁴⁵ Until that time, clubs and federations formed by foreigners had dominated sport in Egypt. The integration of the local population had been a slow process. For 20 years, Bolanachi had directed sport politics and developed sports infrastructure in the country. After the independence of Egypt in 1922, nationalist forces became stronger. Ultimately, he was forced to leave his positions and his economic situation was also worsening. It was not until 1955 that Bolanachi was honoured with an award of merit by the EOC for his efforts to develop sports in Egypt from 1906. Obviously, he had not left Egypt in amicable circumstances, as he had been forced to resign as IOC Member in 1932. As a



foreigner, Bolanachi had been unable to maintain his exalted position in sport as nationalism grew in the country (Bolanachi, 1956: 32bis).⁴⁶ ■

After the 50th IOC Session in May 1954, the IOC Members travelled to Ancient Olympia. At the column commemorating the founding of the Olympic Movement (in which the heart of Pierre de Coubertin is laid to rest), Bolanachi laid a wreath. To his right is IOC President Avery Brundage, on his left Vice-President Armand Massard and the Mayor of Olympia.

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Angelo Bolanachi (second from left) on his arrival in Munich in 1959, where he was received by his German host Karl Ritter von Halt (far left). It was the last IOC Session in which he took part. Bolanachi died in 1963 at the age of 86. He was a member of the IOC for 53 years – a record. Because of the age limit of 80 years, which only applies to members elected before the conclusion of the 110th Session of 1999, his record is hardly likely to be surpassed. It could, theoretically, be broken by Prince Albert of Monaco, who was elected to the IOC in 1985 at the age of 27.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

Toussoun Pasha (one of them confidential) to Baillet-Latour.

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1 This paper is an adapted version of the essay: Wacker, Ch: Egypt goes Olympic – 1914 to 1932. In: *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation* 39, 1:2, 2017, pp. 155–170. Many thanks to: Philip Barker, sports journalist London; Martin Schäfer, Archaeological Society at Athens Library; Stéphanie Moreno, Patricia Reymond at the IOC Archives, Lausanne; Pavlos Wacker, Freiburg.

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20 “Sport should therefore play a role in colonisation, an intelligent and efficient role.” (p. 8), “The sports in all are a convincing instrument of disciplinatio. They encompass all kinds of good social hygiene qualities, cleanliness, order and self-control.” (p. 9), “To sum it up, sport must not be a governmental instrument related to colonisation, but a side institution honest to execute eminent services.” (p. 10) (translation by the author); Comité International Olympique & Müller, N. (Eds.): *Edition de textes choisis de Pierre de Coubertin* (3 Vols.). Zurich – Hildesheim – New York: Weidmann, 1986, p. 676ff.

21 Auger, F.: The African Games. The IOC's Colonial Modernisation 1920–1930. In: *JOH, Special Issue* 13, Olympic Congress, Copenhagen, 2009, p. 230.

22 Charitas, P.: Imperialism in the Olympics, 1910–1965: British and French Empires to the IOC. In: *JOH*, 21.1, 2013, p. 42.

23 De Franceschi Neto, M. & Wacker, Ch.: *Brazil goes Olympic*. Kassel 2010, 145–168; Jacob 2011, p. 133.

24 Al Sayyid Marsot, A. L.: *A history of Egypt. From the Arab conquest to the present* (2nd ed.). Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 81.

25 Bolanachi 1956, p. 8.

26 “I congratulate the city of Alexandria to own the stadium I consider the most modern of the world and which I would wish to have in Los Angeles for the Olympic Games, which will happen in that city in 1932.” (translation by the author).

27 “One should say today, that all sport manifestations of the biggest dimensions can be organised in a very satisfactory manner in the stadium of Alexandria.” (translation by the author).

28 “[...] the International Olympic Committee decided to ‘conquer Africa’ and create the African Games.” (translation by the author).

29 “[...] it seems to me impossible to be able to organise the First African Games in 1927 [...]” (translation by the author).

30 Jacob 2011, 134.

31 “The most influential member had been the Minister of War, who had chosen a reason for the cancellation of the Games and who is going to force the government now to impose the IOC for a new member for Egypt.” (translation by the author).

32 Auger 2009, pp. 230, 234.

33 Jacob 2011, p. 132.

34 Bolanachi 1956, p. 8.

35 Al Sayyid Marsot 1985, 81; Kitroeff 1989, p. 120.

36 Abdulhaq 2012, pp. 174–186.

37 Ibid., p. 85; Kitroeff 1989, pp. 37, 42.

38 Ibid., p. 197.

39 Jacob 2011, p. 89.

40 Ibid., p. 129f.

41 Buchanan/Lyberg 2010, p. 53; Jacob 2011, p. 139f.

42 “[...] that Mr. Bolanachi is not movable.” (translation by the author).

43 “Because of complex reasons, which seem to me the opposite of the real interests of sport in Egypt, I think that I have to take the decision to hand over my resignation as a IOC delegate for Egypt for your disposability.” (translation by the author).

44 “[...] after all they did against myself in Egypt, I guess not to be interested in them anymore [...]” (translation by the author); Auger 2009, p. 234.

45 Jacob 2011, p. 141.

46 Bolanachi 1956, p. 32bis.



Radical memorial in Munich Olympic Park

To commemorate the 45th anniversary of the attack on the Israeli Olympic team in 1972, which represented a caesura for the Olympic Movement, on the 6th September 2017 in the Munich Olympic Park a place of remembrance for the eleven killed sportsmen and trainers as well as the Bavarian policeman who lost his life was consecrated. Present were the German Federal President Walter Steinmeier, Israel's State President Reuven Rivlin and IOC President Thomas Bach. Ilana Romano, widow of the weightlifter Joseph Romano, spoke on behalf of the Israeli families.

The memorial is on the north edge of the Olympic Park within sight of the house at 31 Connolly Street, in which

the tragic event took place on 5th September 1972. The architect Peter Brückner created it as a symbolic incision into the so-called Lindenhügel [hill of lime trees], from which many media representatives followed the events in the Olympic Village in 1972.

In the memorial site, open round the clock, there are posters with the biographies of the victims. On a video wall the attack by Palestinian terrorists is documented and placed in historical context.

Since 1995 there has been on the connecting path in the Olympic Park to the Olympic Village a granite arbour by the sculptor Fritz Koenig with the names of the dead.

On the house at 31 Connolly Street there is a memorial plaque. At the main gate of the airfield of Fürstentfeldbruck, where the failed attempt to liberate the hostages took place, a further memorial was consecrated on 5th September 2017. (V/K)



The 2018 Olympic Winter Games medals are inspired by Korean culture and traditions. They were created by the celebrated designer Lee Suk Woo, who incorporated Hangeul – the Korean alphabet and the foundation of Korean culture – into their design through a series of three-dimensional consonants. While the obverse of the medals shows the Olympic rings, the reverse features the name of the discipline and event, alongside the PyeongChang 2018 emblem. The medals range in weight from 586 grams for the gold to 493 grams for the bronze. In total, 259 sets have been made for next year's Winter Games. (IOC/JOH)

Photos: picture-alliance

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXV

By Philip Barker and Volker Kluge



408. | Olegario Vázquez Raña | Mexico

Born: 10 December
1935, Mexico City

Co-opted:
17 June 1995,
Replacing Pedro
Ramírez Vázquez
Resigned:
31 December 2015
Honorary Member
since 2016
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 24,
Absent 1



The younger brother of fellow IOC Member, Mario Vázquez Raña (*JOH*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2016, p. 66) Olegario began his shooting career in 1956. He was a member of the Mexican team at four Olympics (1964–1976), five World Championships (1966–1979), five Pan-American Games (1963–1979), two Championships of the Americas (1973 and 1977), and five Central American and Caribbean Games (1962–1978). In 1973, he set a world record of 392 points in the 10 m air rifle match. Two years later he improved his own world record at the Pan-American Games in Mexico by one shot.

Olegario Vázquez Raña moved into sports administration whilst still a competitive sportsman. He became President of the Mexican Shooting Federation in 1975 and remained in office until 1992. In 1980, he was elected President of the International Shooting Union, now known as the International Shooting Sport Federation (ISSF). During his time in charge women were admitted in their own right. He also oversaw the introduction of air rifle and air pistol shooting, and in shotgun, the introduction of a double trap event. The introduction of electronic targets and live television coverage of the finals at the 1992 Olympics helped make shooting an improved spectacle for spectators and television viewers.

The Vázquez brothers were the sons of Galician immigrants and made their fortune by founding the popular furniture store Hermanos. Between them, they ruled over a gigantic economic empire. Olegario became Chairman of the Board and principal shareholder of Grupo Empresarial Angeles, a holding company with 26,000 employees. In addition to Hermanos, the group owned 20 hospitals and clinics, more than 70 restaurants, 20 luxury hotels, a finance company and a media group, as well as a chain of private schools.

When in 2015, he reached the age limit of 80, he was obliged to stand down from the IOC in 2015. The following year later he passed the leadership of the family business to his son, Olegario Vázquez Aldir. (VK)

Former Vice-President Kim Un Yong died

According to media reports the former IOC Vice-President Kim Un Yong died on the 3rd October 2017 in Seoul at the age of 86. He was one of the most powerful figures in the IOC, which he joined in 1986. He played an instrumental role in helping Seoul win the right to host the 1988 Summer Olympics. He also served as the founding president of the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) and he was largely responsible for helping taekwondo become an Olympic medal sport in Sydney 2000.

In 2001, Kim waged an unsuccessful campaign for the IOC presidency, losing to Jacques Rogge. In 2004 he was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for bribery and diversion of funds. He pre-empted exclusion from the IOC with a letter to President Rogge announcing his resignation on 9th May 2005. See also *JOH*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 70–71. (VK)

409. | Antun Vrdoljak | Croatia

Vrdoljak studied acting at the Zagreb Academy of Dramatic Art. His acting debut came in the 1957 film *It was Not in Vain*. In the late 1960s, he gradually switched to film directing.

When at the end of the 1980s the Croatian wish for greater autonomy became a demand for independence, Vrdoljak was one of the prominent intellectuals who engaged in the moderate Coalition of People's Accord (KNS) on the eve of the free elections in April 1990. He soon turned to Franjo Tuđman's more hardline Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), which won the election with 40 per cent of the vote. Vrdoljak became one of country's six Vice-Presidents and he was entrusted with the supervision of the 1990 European Athletics Championships in Split.

His term of office came to an end after a new Croatian Constitution was accepted in 1990. A few months later, he was appointed to the post of General Manager of Croatian Radio and Television (HRTV). In this position he was able to support Tuđman, who had become a close friend. Vrdoljak became a member of the Supreme State Council and served as a member of the Croatian Parliament for eight years.

In May 1991 the Croats voted for independence from Yugoslavia with 93.2 per cent of the vote in a referendum. Vrdoljak became the first President of the Croatian NOC on its formation. But after the HDZ lost power in 2000, he decided to return to the world of cinema after 13 years. He was one of the directors of *Long Dark Night*, a controversial discussed series about the Second World War in Slavonia. This had its premiere in 2004. The lead was played by his son-in-law, Goran Višnjić, a well-known actor in Croatia. (VK)



Born: 4 June 1931,
Imotok

Co-opted:
17 June 1995
Resigned:
31 December 2011
Honorary Member
since 2012
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 18,
Absent 1

410. | Patrick Joseph Hickey | Ireland

The only Irish judoka to have won his black belt in Japan, Hickey once said that he owed his life to the sport. He represented his country on more than 40 occasions and was elected to its international Hall of Fame.

After his career on the mat, he forged a career as an administrator in the sport and served as President of the Irish Judo Association from 1979 to 1989. He then became Honorary Life President and also served as Treasurer of the European Judo Union. He was inducted into the IJF Hall of Fame.

He built a parallel career in the Olympic world. In 1980 he was elected to the Olympic Council of Ireland (OCI) as a member of the Executive Committee, and in 1984 became its Vice-President. In 1989 on the recommendation of Ireland's most prominent Olympic official Lord Killanin, Hickey became OCI President. He was re-elected President of the OCI for successive four-year terms, usually unopposed.

In 1994 he became a member of the Executive Board of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) and the following year at the IOC Session in Budapest, he was co-opted as a member. He ran for the Executive Board (EB) on four occasions and was finally elected in 2012.

In the meantime he had also become President of the European Olympic Committees (EOC). It was he who commissioned a feasibility study for the European Games in 2006. He was instrumental in ensuring they finally came to fruition in Baku two years ago.



Born: 17 June 1945,
Dublin

Co-opted:
17 June 1995,
Replacing Kevin
O'Flanagan
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 25,
Absent 3

Executive Board
Member No. 92
Elected Member:
26 July 2012 –
4 August 2016
Second term:
Elected Member:
4 August 2016 –
10 September 2017



He was travelled to Rio in 2016 for the Olympic Games. On 17th August, his room was raided during an investigation into alleged illegal resale of Olympic tickets. Hickey was taken into custody. He was eventually allowed his passport back in November 2016 for a bond payment of 410,000 Euros. The following month after the ANOC made him a loan so he could return home to Ireland.

Since his arrest, he had maintained a low profile. On 6th February 2017 he retired as OCI President. The OCI voted unanimously not to allow his return after the ticketing controversy. It has been reported that Hickey signed a contract with THG, the company owned by Marcus Evans at the centre of the scandal until 2026.

He has been “self suspended” from the IOC and all other functions and is not thought to have attended the 2017 Session in Lima. There the IOC announced that he was standing down from the EB “with immediate effect”. He had also stood down from the post of EOC President. Although his term was due to end in 2017, he did not seek re-election.

Away from sport, Hickey worked as an estate agent, qualifying at the Institute of Property Valuers. He was the owner of a financial services company. In 2015, his firm, Hickey Auctioneers, was run by his daughter and eldest son. (PB)

411. | Toni Badih Khoury | Lebanon

Born: 26 September
1935, Mazraa, Beirut

Co-opted:
17 June 1995,
Replacing Sheikh
Gabriel Gemayel

Resigned:
31 December 2015
Honorary Member
since 2016

Attendance at
Sessions: Present 25,
Absent 0

Executive Board
Member No. 72
Elected Member:
16 July 2001 –
26 February 2006



The owner of an engineering and contracting company, he played an active role in basketball. From 1964 to 1970, he was Secretary-General of the Lebanese Basketball Federation and became its President in 1970. He continued in the role until 1997. He also founded the Pan-Arab Basketball Confederation in 1974 and served as President until 1978.

Khoury went to the 1964 Olympic Games as a team official and was Chef de Mission at the Summer Games in 1976, 1984 and 1988. He also served as head of delegation from 1992 to 2000 including Winter Games of 1988 and 1994.

Internationally he was General Secretary of the Olympic Council of Asia (1983–1994), Executive Board Member of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC/1996–2010) and he is also a member of the Board of Directors of the International Olympic Truce Foundation (IOTF) from 2005. From 2004 to 2010 he was a member of the Municipal Council of the City of Beirut.

The Lebanese Olympic Committee now have their headquarters in a building named in his honour. (VK)

Instantly recognizable with her blonde hair Věra Čáslavská was one of the greatest gymnasts the world has ever seen. She first appeared on the international stage as a 16 year old at the 1958 World Championships in Moscow, when she was a member of the silver medal winning Czechoslovakian team. Four years later she won world gold in the vault in her home city of Prague. At the 1966 World Championships she led Czechoslovakia to the team title, and individually became "all around" and vault champion. In addition, she was eleven times European champion.

Čáslavská competed at three Olympics in the sixties. In all she won 11 medals (seven gold, four silver), a total exceeded only by her great Soviet rival Larissa Latynina. At the 1964 Games, she won the "all around" title beating Latynina in the process. She also won individual gold in the vault and the beam.

Known as "Věrská" her stellar Olympic career reached its zenith in 1968. Her four gold and two silver medals she made her the most successful competitor in the entire Mexico Games. Twenty-four hours after her last competition, she married Josef Odložil, 1500 m silver medallist from 1964 at the cathedral in Mexico City. The marriage was dissolved in 1987.

Her name is closely linked with the "Prague Spring" of 1968 and the march-in of the troops of the Warsaw Pact, which ended the democratisation process led by KP chief Alexander Dubček. She was among prominent personalities who signed the "Manifesto of the 2000 words" in protest. When she refused to retract her support, she was declared persona non grata. Even so, she was allowed to accept the invitation to attend the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich as guest of honour. In 1974 she was allowed to take up a coaching post with the Sparta Prague sports club. From 1979 to 1981 she trained the Mexican women's national team.

After the 1989 "Velvet Revolution" her rehabilitation was complete. She became an adviser to President Václav Havel, a post she held from 1990 to 1991. She was elected President of the Czechoslovakian NOC in 1990 and, then in 1993, she served as President of the Czech NOC after partition.

In 1995 she was elected an IOC Member. This was on the recommendation of Juan Antonio Samaranch, who wanted to increase female membership into the IOC. But she took part in only two Sessions. Her membership ended in 2001.

By this time her family life was touched by tragedy. Odložil became involved in a fight with his son Martin and died of his injuries. Shortly afterwards Čáslavská suffered from depression and a serious nervous breakdown.

After years of depression she did not appear again in public until 2009. Four years later it became known that she was terminally ill with pancreatic cancer. Czech author Pavel Kosatík produced her authorized biography *Věra Čáslavská – Život na Olympu (Věra Čáslavská – Life on Mount Olympus)* in 2016. See also the obituary in *JOH*, Vol. 24, No. 3/2016, p. 72. (VK)



Born: 3 May 1942,
Prague
Died: 30 August 2016,
Prague

Co-opted:
17 June 1995
Resigned:
31 December 2001
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 2,
Absent 6



413. | Yuri Yevlampiyevich Titov | Russian Federation

Born: 27 November
1935, Omsk

Co-opted:
17 June 1995

Retired:
31 December 1996

Attendance at
Sessions: Present 1,
Absent 0



Born in Siberia, Titov started gymnastics at age of 14. His breakthrough came in 1953 when he placed second in the all-around event at the Soviet All-Union Youth Championships.

Then Titov moved his study of sport to Kiev, where he met his later wife Valeria Kuzmenko (1934–2010). She was a well-known tennis player and a Ladies' Doubles quarter finalist at Wimbledon in 1961. (Her father was the footballer Ivan Kuzmenko, who took part in the "Match of Death" against a German military team on 9th August 1942. He was murdered in a Nazi concentration camp near Kiev.)

From 1955 Titov was a member of the Soviet national team, and became one of the most successful gymnasts in the world. He won no fewer than 21 individual medals, among them eleven gold. From 1956 he competed in three Olympics and won nine medals. In Melbourne he was part of the victorious Soviet team

His most significant individual successes came at the 1962 World Championships in Prague, when he became victor in the all-around event and on the rings. He won eight gold medals at the European Championships, five of these came in Copenhagen in 1959. He ended his competitive international career with team silver at the 1966 World Championships.

After that he worked as a gymnastics official and referee. He has written a number of books, including one about rhythmic gymnastics. He later became head coach of the Soviet team and after four years as a member of the Executive Board of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG) he was elected its President in 1976. He was co-opted onto the IOC in 1995 as an ex-officio member representing the International Federations. But he lost his membership after a year, when he was succeeded in 1996 at the 70th FIG Congress in Atlanta by the Italian Bruno Grandi.

After the disappointing performance of the Russian men in Athens in 2004, Titov became President of the Russian Artistic Gymnastic Federation, a position he held for two years. (VK)

The 131st IOC-Session elected eight new Member. Four of them are Individual Members:

Ms. Baklai Temengil, Palau, *23 October 1966,
NOC General Secretary

Mrs. Kristin Kloster Aasen, Norway, *4 January 1961,
NOC 1st Vice-President

Mrs. Khunying Patama Leeswadtrakul, Thailand,
*16 February 1965, President of the Badminton
Association of Thailand

Luis Mejía Oviedo, Dominican Republic,
*4 September 1953, NOC President

Two were elected as representatives of the NOCs:

Neven Ivan Ilić Álvarez, Chile, *4 April 1962,
NOC President

Sheikh Khalid Muhammad Al Zubair, Oman,
*23 November 1970, NOC President

The two others were elected as members representing
an International Federation:

Jean-Christophe Rolland, France, *3 July 1968,
President of the International Rowing Association (FISA)

Ingmar de Vos, Belgium, *5 August 1963, President of
the International Equestrian Federation (FEI)

Gerhard Heiberg (NOR) and **Lee Kun Hee** (KOR) were
elected as IOC Honorary Member.

The former Chair of the IOC Ethics Commissions
Youssoupha Ndiaye (SEN) was granted the status of
IOC Honour Member. As his successor the former UN
General Secretary **Ban Ki Moon** was elected.

(IOCUJ0H)

414. | Mustapha Larfaoui | Algeria

Larfaoui was an active water polo player and in 1962 a founder member of the Algerian swimming federation. He served as its President until 1983 and again from 1985 to 1989. He worked in the African Swimming Confederation as Vice-President (1970–1974) and President (1974–2012).

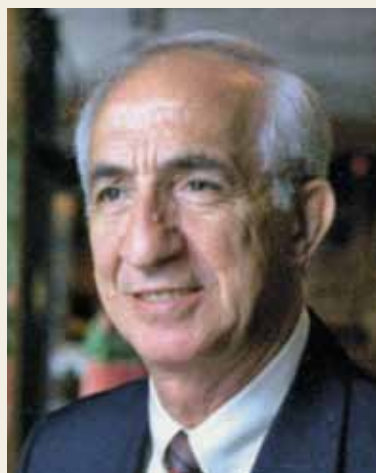
His career in the International Swimming Federation began as member of the FINA Bureau (1972–1976) and then as Vice-President (1976–1988). He succeeded the American Robert H. Helmick as President and held office for 21 years. When he retired in 2009, he was nominated as Honorary Life President.

Larfaoui also played a major role in Algeria's Olympic and Sports Committee. At its foundation in 1963 he was the first General Secretary (until 1967), thereafter Deputy General Secretary (1967–1985), Vice-President (1985–1998) and President (1998–2001).

Juan Antonio Samaranch supported his election to the IOC in 1995 as an International Federation President. Larfaoui worked on various IOC Commissions including the coordination groups for Sydney 2000 (1995–2000) and London 2012 (2005–2010) as well as Marketing (2003–2010). He had also been active in the IOC Commissions on Apartheid and Olympism (1991–1992) and the Olympic Movement (1991–1999).

In addition he was a member of the Executive Board of the General Association of International Sports Federations (AGFIS/1989–1993), the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF/1993–1997, 1999–2001) and the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA/2004–2009).

Larfaoui played an important role in the Algerian health system. After his studies he worked as General Director of a number of hospitals including Parnet, Constantine and the Wilaya in Algiers. He was Vice-President of the communal administration of Algiers (1967–1971) as well as a member of the advisory council (1991–1993). (VK)



Born: 27 November
1932, Algiers

Co-opted:
17 June 1995
Resigned:
31 December 2009
Honorary Member
since 2009

Attendance at
Sessions: Present 16,
Absent 0



415. | Syed Shahid Ali | Pakistan

After earning a masters degree in economics at the Government College, Lahore he worked on an UNCTAD project at Oxford University in England. While at Oxford he captained the University polo team and on his return home he was elected President of the Lahore Polo Club, a position he held for five years. He represented Pakistan internationally in 1972.

A successful businessman with wide-ranging interests, he became Chief Executive Officer for the Treet Group in 1995. Apart from holding directorships in various companies, he is also actively involved in social and cultural activities and holds senior positions on several hospitals.

He made a major contribution to the sport of wrestling, serving as President of the Pakistan Wrestling Federation and as Vice-President and subsequently Patron of the South Asia Wrestling Federation from 1989 to 1993.

In 1996 he succeeded his father Syed Wajid Ali (1911–2008) *JOH*, Vol. 20, No. 3/2012, p. 71) as an IOC Member. He served on the IOC Commissions for Finance (2002–2014) and Sport for All (2005–2015). Since 2006 he has been a Board member of the International Olympic Truce Foundation. (VK)



Born: 29 December
1946, Lahore

Co-opted: 17 July 1996
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 26,
Absent 1

Obituaries



Margarethe "Gretel" Bergmann, aka Margaret Lambert (GER/USA), *12 April 1914 Laupheim (GER), †25 July 2017 New York, N.Y. The German high jumper would have had a good chance of winning a medal at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. A month before the start of the Games she equalled the German record with 1.60 m. With this performance she shared third place in the world rankings along with the German "Dora" Ratjen, later declared to be a man, behind the Briton Dorothy Odam (1.62 m) and the Hungarian Ibolya Csák (1.61 m).

As Gretel Bergmann was Jewish, she was, however, not nominated for the German Olympic team. To her teammates it was explained that she was injured. To make this lie believable, the possible third place was left vacant. Three weeks later Csák became Olympic champion

with 1.60 m in front of Odam and the German Elfriede Kaun, who both also cleared 1.60 m.

Shortly after Hitler's "Seizure of Power" Bergmann had been excluded from her sports club in Ulm. She then joined the newly founded sports group of the Reich League of Jewish front soldiers (RjF). In the autumn of 1933, she went to London to study at the Polytechnic there. On 30th June 1934 she took part in the British championships, in which she won the high jump with 1.55 m from Mary Milne. In early August 1934 Milne was second in the Women's World Games.

As the IOC demanded equal treatment of the Jewish athletes by the Germans and the USA threatened a boycott, the Nazi leadership undertook to include the best Jewish sportspeople in the Olympic preparations. Thereupon Bergmann, who would have liked to take part in the Games on the British team, returned to Germany. She began her studies in Stuttgart to become a sports teacher.

To deceive the IOC and other countries, she received along with other Jewish athletes the opportunity to take part in the Olympic preparation courses and to compete in different meetings with the exception of the German championships.

After she was not considered for the Olympic team, Bergmann decided to emigrate to the USA.

After receiving a visa in February 1937, she left Germany on 8th May. In the USA she continued her sports career. In the same year she became US champion in high jump and shot putt, followed by a further high jump title in 1938.

Also in 1938, Gretel Bergmann married Dr. Bruno Lambert (1910–2013). She had met him during one of the Olympic training sessions. They lived in Queens in New York, where both died aged 103. Not until after the death of those responsible for her deception did the fate of Gretel Bergmann become known to a wide public. In 1983, the plaque of honour of the German Athletics Association given to her, joined with the admission that she had been treated unjustly. However, it took until 2009 before the retrospective recognition of her German record. The Lamberts were invited to the Olympic Games in 1996 in Atlanta as honorary guests of the NOC for Germany.

From the 1990s, Bergmann visited Germany three times, where some stadia, sports halls, streets and paths bear her name, among others in her home town and in the Berlin Olympic Stadium. In 2012 she was nominated to the Hall of Fame of German Sport. (VK)

Paavo Lonkila (FIN), *11 January 1923 in Kiuruvesi, †22 September 2017 in Kiuruvesi. Lonkila never won a Finnish cross-country championship, but won two silver medals (1949, 1950) and two bronze medals (1952, 1955) at the Finnish Championships, all in 18 km. He made his international debut at the 1950 World Championships, where he was fifth at 18 km and won a silver as a member of the Finnish relay team. In 1951 he won the 18 km at Holmenkollen. At the 1952 Olympics Lonkila got a bronze medal in the 18 km, 11 seconds behind his teammate Tapio Mäkelä. He also was a member of the gold medal winning relay team. After his competitive career ended Lonkila was a farmer. (BM/WVR)

Bep van Houdt, *7 July 1940 in Rotterdam; †19 July 2017 in Amstelveen. Van Houdt, ISOH Member with a remarkable kingsize moustache, worked more than fifty years as a sports journalist. He started his career in 1962 as a football reporter for the leading Dutch newspapers *NRC*, *Het Parool* and *Het Vrije Volk*, but he was later also very interested in athletics, hockey and sailing. As a reporter he was at the Olympics from 1972 till 1988. But he will most of all be remembered for his work as a radio reporter for the NOS, the National Broadcasting Company, with tennis as his specialty. He developed an encyclopedic knowledge of the game, its people and its history. Wimbledon, Roland Garros and the U.S. Open, he was always there with his personal views, comments and humour. Bep van Houdt was a kind person and popular among his colleagues. He died as a result of lung problems. (RP)

Antonio Spallino (ITA), *1 April 1925 in Como, †27 September 2017 in Carimate. Spallino was considered one of the best Italian fencers of the 1950s. After winning the national individual épée and the world team title in 1949 he switched to the foil in 1950, with which he won three Olympic medals and five team medals at the World Championships between 1953–58, with gold medals in 1954–55. After retiring from competition, Spallino worked as a lawyer along with a political career, similar to his father, Lorenzo, who was a senator and twice an Italian minister. He also was Mayor of Como from 1970–1985 with the Christian Democrats Party.

In 1988 he was elected world president of Panathlon International and two years later he became president of Gazzetta srl, the proprietary company of the well-known Italian sporting newspaper *La Gazzetta dello Sport*. (GM)

Hans Gerschwiler (SUI), *20 June 1921 in Winterthur, †27 September 2017 in Pinehurst, North Carolina. In his youth, Gerschwiler was fortunate enough to have two professional figure skaters and coaches at his disposal: his uncles Arnold and Jacques Gerschwiler. While living in Great Britain, Arnold had trained, among others, Olympians Cecilia Colledge, Sjoukje Dijkstra, Ede Király, László and Marianna Nagy, Megan Taylor, and Ája Vrzáňová, while Jacques was responsible for Colledge and the 1952 Olympic champion Jeannette Altwegg.

Hans got his start with Arnold in Switzerland and won the singles category at the 1938 and 1939 national championships, in addition to coming in fifth at the 1939 European Championships. By the outbreak of Second World War he was living in England with Jacques and spent the conflict working in a factory, rarely able to train.

Gerschwiler returned in full force after the war, however, and won

the Swiss national championships from 1946 to 1948. In 1947 he was also European and world champion, while in 1948 he was runner-up in both of those tournaments, as well as the Winter Olympics. Each of these times he lost to the great American Dick Button, even at the European Championships, which became closed to Canada and the United States the following year. This was irrelevant to Gerschwiler, however, who turned professional after the 1948 Games. He later moved to Canada, and then the USA, to work as a teacher and coach.

He is one of only three Swiss Olympic medallists in figure skating (along with Georges Gautschi, bronze in 1924, and Stéphane Lambiel, silver in 2006, both in the singles) and one of only two males (the other being Lambiel) to earn the title of world champion. (BM/WR)

Dirk Hafemeister (GER), *17 April 1958 in Berlin, †31 August 2017 Hanau. When Hafemeister was 30-years-old, he won the gold medal with the West German show jumping team at the 1988 Seoul Olympics, while finishing 19th in the individual event with his horse *Orchidee*. His second major event was the 1994 World Equestrian Games at Den Haag, when he again claimed a team gold medal, this time with *PS Priamos*. He also won five West German team championships and was on the podium twice individually (silver in 1988 and bronze in 1991).

After his career Hafemeister was engaged as a riding coach for show jumpers. He was a close friend of Paul Schöckemöhle and started his riding career in Schöckemöhle's stable where he trained horses. (WR)

Elizabeth "Betty" Cuthbert (AUS), *20 April 1938 in Merrylands, NSW, †6 August 2017 in Mandurah, WA. The Australian 18-year-old won two gold medals in the individual sprints (100 and 200 metres) and a third gold in the 4x100 metres relay at the

1956 Melbourne Olympics. She was instantly acclaimed as a national heroine by the home Australian crowd, and was nicknamed the "Golden Girl".

Injury prevented her from doing well at the 1960 Games but she came back to win the 400 metres in 1964 at Tokyo (photo) and claimed her fourth Olympic gold medal, which she regarded as her greatest win. She is the only Olympic sprinter, man or woman, to have won gold medals in the 100, 200 and 400 metres.



At the British Empire and Commonwealth Games she won a gold medal in the 4x110 yards relay in 1962 and a silver in the 220 yards as well as in the 4x110 yards relay in 1958. In the 1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games 100 yards Cuthbert finished fourth and in the 1962 British Empire and Commonwealth Games 220 yards she finished fifth, but in the 100 yards she was eliminated in the semi-finals. She set or equalled 18 world records between 1956 and 1964. In 1964 she was the recipient of the prestigious Helms Award for her contributions to sport.

Sadly for such a fine athlete, she later was afflicted with multiple sclerosis, having first been diagnosed with that disease in 1969. At the 2000 Sydney Olympics, aided by a wheelchair, she was one of several Australian women who carried the Olympic Flag at the Opening Ceremony. (BM)

Ernest Willem 'Ernst' Veenemans (NED), *8 March 1940 in Haarlem, †2 October 2017 in Haarlem. With Steven Blaisse, who died in 2001 at 60, Veenemans, they formed a very strong coxless pair. Both were members of the Amsterdam students rowing club, Nereus, a source of many Olympic rowers. Veenemans was a rather light rower (1.84 m, 72 kg), but with an excellent technique. He and Blaisse represented the Netherlands at the 1960 and 1964 Olympics. Their debut in Rome proved unsuccessful, but four years later in Tokyo they were at their top. Earlier in 1964 they had captured the European title after a terrific fight with the Germans. The final in Tokyo gave cause for a lot of bitterness. It should not have taken place at the conditions of that moment. There was a very strong wind and the buoy differences were large. The FISA wanted to proceed in spite of a protest by the Dutch Chef de Mission.

Veenemans and Blaisse finished in second place just after a Canadian pair who had by far the least wash of the waves. After the coxless pair final the races were postponed. Blaisse, the more emotional of the two, never forgave the FISA. Years later he was still very angry when there was discussion about the final in Tokyo. Veenemans had no frustrations, he was satisfied with the silver medal. 'In fair conditions we were perhaps beaten by the Germans and in that case we also would have won the silver medal'.

In later years Veenemans coached a young Nereus eight. He was a dentist by profession. (RP)

Lyudmila Belousova (URS), *22 November 1935 in Ulyanovsk (RUS), †26 September 2017 in Interlaken (SUI). The husband-and-wife team of Lyudmila Belousova and Oleg Protopopov were the first Soviet pair skaters to achieve international acclaim and provided the stimulus which ultimately led to the many successes by future pairs skaters.

They began skating as a pair in 1954 and married in 1957. They won a bronze (1955) and four silvers (1957–59, 1961) behind Nina and Stanislav Zhuk, before winning six titles (1962–64, 1966–68) at the Soviet championships. After finishing second three times at both the World and European Championships in 1962–64, behind the West German pair of Marika Kilius and Hans-Jürgen Bäumler, they upset them to win the gold medal at Innsbruck in 1964 (photo), repeating their Olympic victory in 1968 at Grenoble.



In addition to their two Olympic golds, they were World and European champions four times (1965–68). After finishing second at the Soviet and European Championships and third at the World Championships in 1969, each time losing to Irina Rodnina and Aleksey Ulyanov, the Soviet skating authorities "eased" them out of competition, claiming they were too old to continue at the top-levels of international skating. They won their last medals (bronze) at the Soviet championships in 1972, before finally retiring from competition.

In 1979 they eventually defected to Switzerland and settled to live in Grindelwald, obtaining Swiss citizenship in 1995. They have since spent many years competing in professional ice shows. (TK)

Hansje Bunschoten (NED), *3 May 1958 in Hilversum, †1 October 2017 in Almere. Her mother was the famous coach Wil Bunschoten-van Breukelen, who had trained many Dutch stars, among them Olympic champion Ada Kok and European champion Adrie Lasterie. At her childbed she had already noted that Hansje could be a great swimmer 'because she has no bum'. A remarkable and correct observation. As a 13 year old in 1971, Bunschoten had already broken European records on 400 m and 800 m freestyle. A year later, at the Munich Games, she reached the finals of the 200 m freestyle (6th), 400 m (7th), 800 m (7th) and two relays (5th).

She was the first Dutch swimmer that swam the 100 m freestyle in under one minute. Because of illness she missed the 1973 World Championships and then her mother got seriously ill and in 1976 died at age 54. It meant the end of Hansje's swimming career. 'No way that I would swim without my mother'.

Later she started working in radio and television. She commented on swimming at the Olympic Games of 1992 and 1996. As presentator, editor and director, she was successful with various programmes. Her last one was about life, love and death. Just as her mother, Hansje died of cancer. (RP)

Željko Perušić (YUG), *23 March 1936 in Duga Resa (CRO), †28 September 2017 in Sankt Gallen (SUI). The Croatian started his football career in his youth for Duga Resa, but moved to Dinamo Zagreb when he was 20. He then won the Yugoslavian Cup four times and the national championship in 1958, also becoming runner-up in 1960 and 1963. He earned 27 international caps with Yugoslavia. At the Europeans, Yugoslavia was only beaten 2–1 by the Soviet Union in the extra time of the final. At the Olympics the same year he earned the gold medal with his team beating Denmark 3–1.

Perušić in 1965 then moved to West Germany, playing with TSV 1860 Munich winning the national title in his first season. After 138 games for Munich he switched to FC St. Gallen in Switzerland in 1970, where he also became coach of the team, leading them back to National League A in 1971. He later coached youth teams in St. Gallen. (WR)

Ted Hibberd (CAN), *22 April 1926 in Ottawa, Ontario, †10 May 2017 in Ottawa, Ontario. Ice hockey forward Ted Hibberd's early career fluctuated between teams in Ottawa's junior and senior hockey leagues from 1942 through nearly his entire career. Up until 1948 he played with the Ottawa New Edinburghs (junior and senior), St. Pats (junior), Montagnards (junior and senior), Navy Bluejackets (Ottawa National Defense Hockey League), Hull Volants (junior) and the Ottawa Senators (senior). It was as a player with the Burghs, however, that he was recruited to join the RCAF Flyers, Canada's delegation to the 1948 Winter Olympic tournament.

Hibberd, a civilian at the time, was quickly instated as an aircraftsman and sent to Switzerland, where he played in eight games, scored three goals (all of them in the 21–1 match against Italy), and took home a gold medal. He spent the next three seasons with the Flyers until retiring from active play in 1951. As a member of his gold medal-winning Olympic team, he was inducted into the Canadian Olympic Hall of Fame in 2008. He spent his entire business career with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (PT).

Ronald Bontemps (USA), *11 August 1926 in Taylorville, Illinois, †13 May 2017 in Morton, Illinois. After playing for tiny Beloit College and graduating from there in 1951, Ron Bontemps qualified for the golden 1952 Olympic team as a member of the Peoria Caterpillars AAU basketball team.

Bontemps never played professional basketball, but instead opted

for the AAU leagues where he starred for three years with the Caterpillars.

It also worked out to be a fine career move as he took a job with the Caterpillar Tractor Co. in 1951 and worked for them during his entire business career. Bontemps also served in the US Army from 1944–46. (BM)

Nasser Givehchi (IRI), *12 November 1932 in Tehran, †16 May 2017 in Tehran. Givehchi competed as a wrestler at the 1952 and 1956 Olympic Games, winning a silver medal in featherweight freestyle in 1952 at Helsinki. He won a bronze medal in the same class at the 1958 Asian Games.

Givehchi competed at the 1954 World Championships, finishing fifth. He later worked as a wrestling coach, serving as coach of the Iranian national wrestling team in 1966 and 1967 (BM).

Katalin Szöke (HUN), *17 August 1935 in Budapest, †27 October 2017 in Los Angeles, Cal. The Hungarian swimmer became Olympic champion in 1952 over 100 m freestyle and in the 4x100 m freestyle relay. She repeated this success two years later at the European Championships in Turin.

Her father, Márton Homonnay (1906–1969), was a well-known water polo player who won silver at the 1928 and gold at 1932 and 1936 Olympics. Homonnay became a policeman and member of the Fascist Arrow-Cross-Party (NYKP-HM), which took over power in Hungary in 1944 and collaborated with the NS regime. After the end of the Second World War he fled to Argentina where he was active for 20 years as a water polo coach in Buenos Aires. In Hungary he had been sentenced to death in his absence because of his participation in war crimes.

His daughter, who had taken the name of her mother, married the two-time water polo Olympic



champion Kálmán Markovits (1931–2009), but after a short time the couple divorced. The teammate Árpád Domjan took Markovits' place.

When Domjan was not nominated for the 1956 Olympic team, Szöke arranged for her fiancé to travel to Melbourne with her as reserve. As there were no more seats in the aircraft of the French airline TAI, which took off from Prague because of the Hungarian rebellion, Domjan was allowed to travel in the toilet as far as Istanbul. He covered the rest of the journey in a wooden box.

At the 1956 Olympics Katalin Szöke was unsuccessful: she was eliminated in the heat of the 100 m freestyle; in the relay the Hungarian team was seventh. After the Games she emigrated together with Domjan to the USA, where they married and anglicised their name. Katherine Domyan got a job in a bank in Beverly Hills, her husband was a draughtsman in an architectural office. Later he was active in the property business. (VK)

BM = Bill Mallon, GM = George Masin,
PT = Paul Tchir, RP = Ruud Paauw,
TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge,
WR = Wolf Reinhardt

The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.

BOOK REVIEWS



PROLYMPO e.V. (Ed.)

**Official Reports. Olympic Collectors Catalog
History of the Official Reports of the Olympic
Games since Athens 1896**

2017, pp. 354, € 125 (packing and postage extra),
info@prolympo.org

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

It has been a long time coming but at last this publication about Olympic memorabilia has appeared. Conceived as the first of eight volumes this is a comprehensive catalogue of the *Official Reports*. It is primarily targeted at museums and collectors who specialize in this area, one which can prove very expensive.

The catalogue is very much a product of the ISOH stable. The Brazilian collector Roberto Gesta de Melo led the project; the late ISOH President Karl Lennartz was chief editor; authors and researchers include former General Secretary Anthony Th. Bijkerk, Vice-President Christian Wacker and Jürgen Wagner. The current ISOH General Secretary Markus Osterwalder is responsible for what is a very attractive design.

The volume is introduced with a short overview of Olympic history including the *Official Reports*, styled as such since London 1908. Before this time, there were publications which included similar detailed information so these valuable documents can be described as semi-official. The exception perhaps are the '*Rapports*' on the

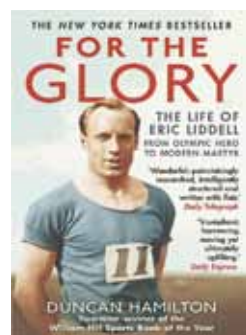
sports competitions of the World Exhibition of Paris 1900. These are not so informative and indeed those Games have entered Olympic lore as a 'special' type for the wrong reasons.

The catalogue is clearly structured. There are six chapters, offering a chronology of the Olympics which also takes in the next Games in Tokyo 2020. Individual sections begin with an overview of the current Games. Thereafter the reports are presented with details and peculiarities noted. There is a considerable amount of information, even so here and there, there remain some gaps. For example it would be interesting to know the size of print run and how much was charged for each report.

It is very useful that the compilers have included the *Official Reports* from 1940 and the Winter Games of 1976, originally awarded to Denver. They were of course forced to hand them back by public pressure. In other cases the inclusion of secondary publications has the effect of being a bit cramped – e.g. the report of the activities of the German Imperial Committee for Physical Exercises from 1914 to 1919 is included to cover the 1916 Games which never took place because of the war. There was no official Olympic report.

The 354 pages come with a ring binder, so that updates can be added in future. It would be welcome if these could include new information and correct errors. For example, the name of the German photographer responsible for the majority of the photos in the second volume of Athens 1896 was called Meyer not Mayer as listed in the book.

References to the Olympic Charter should also be updated. It is Rule 49.1.3 which in future lays the duty on the Organising Committee to publish a "complete report on the celebration and holding of the Olympic Games". It almost goes without saying that the competition results since Barcelona 1992 have also been offered in electronic form.



Duncan Hamilton

'For the glory: The Life of Eric Liddell'

(Black Swan 2016), pp. 528, (£9.99)

ISBN-10: 1784160040 ISBN-13: 978-1784160043

Reviewed by Luke J. Harris

Eric Liddell will forever be associated with the film *Chariots of Fire*, in which he is portrayed as an adversary to Harold Abrahams for the 100 metres title. In the film, it is only when Liddell reaches Paris that he learns that the race is to take place on the Sabbath, forcing him to withdraw and compete instead in the 400 metres, where he wins gold.

Although the events of the film are certainly based upon fact, they have been altered for dramatic purposes and the circumstances around Liddell's decision to not run in the 100 metres is one of the myths which Duncan Hamilton dispels within this fine biography.

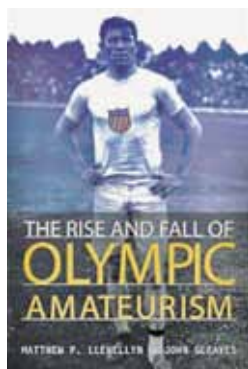
Hamilton is a journalist and an acclaimed biographer of several of Britain's favourite sportsmen. Throughout this book he demonstrates that there is a lot more to Liddell than athletics and the 1924 Olympics. Although very much recognised as a Scotsman, Liddell was born in China, where his family were missionaries, and a large percentage of this book focuses upon his adult life in China, where he followed in his parents footsteps.

Liddell died in Japanese internment in the country in 1945 and a large section is dedicated to his final years in the Weihsien camp. Here, he acted in a truly selfless manner and among

his many activities he demonstrated his athletic prowess.

The first part of the book is largely dedicated to Liddell's athletic career and the events leading up to and after the Paris Olympics. In these pages Liddell is portrayed as the epitome of the amateur athlete through his devotion to religion, university studies and his sporting career in rugby union and athletics. Throughout the whole book there is a strong sense that although Liddell loved running in athletics events his true calling was missionary work in China. This limited his Olympic career to a solitary games.

This is an excellent, compelling and sometimes heart-breaking account of one of Britain's most famous Olympians and is certainly worth reading if you have an interest in Olympic athletic history.



Matthew P. Llewellyn & John Gleaves

The rise and fall of Olympic amateurism

pp. 254, £15.99, University of Illinois Press, 2016,

ISBN-13: 978-0252081842,

ISBN-10: 0252081846

Reviewed by Luke J. Harris

A strong connection between the Olympics and the concept of amateurism was forged in 1894. The delegates who formed the International Olympic Committee had initially come together with the intention of discussing the issue of amateurism in sport.

In the century which followed, it proved a prominent issue within

the Olympic Movement. It caused controversy, dispute and disharmony. In this book, American based scholars Matthew P. Llewellyn and John Gleaves offer a first serious approach to the history of amateurism at the Olympic Games.

Written primarily for an academic audience, this book explores the history of amateurism at the Olympics in chronological order. It is apparent that the ever-changing conditions which the Games take place in has a deep impact on how the amateur idea is perceived. There is a wide use of both primary and secondary sources, which uncovers new material and offers fresh perspectives to matters in Olympic history which have been previously addressed, such as the Nazi stance towards amateurism. This is often described as 'shamateurism', a notion questioned here.

This book gives an insight into how successive IOC Presidents viewed the problem as they were ultimately the figures who defined the Olympic stance towards the issue. The impact of Avery Brundage, the fifth IOC President, is examined in detail. It is interesting to read how his own vision of amateurism, stated to be 'out of touch' and 'Victorian', changed for the good (and future) of the Olympic Movement.

The authors also examine how Soviet attitudes to amateur status caused problems and fuelled Cold War tensions.

There is also a valuable consideration of the impact of commercialism at the Olympics as a contributory factor in the slow death of amateurism. The authors consider this to have begun in 1968 and ended in 1992 following the admittance of the basketball 'Dream Team'.

The amateur idea has been so closely linked with the central history of the Olympic Games, that this book should be considered not just a history of amateurism at the Olympics, but also a history of the Olympic Movement itself.



Martin Jarred

Torchbearers – How Britain's Footballers struck Olympic Gold in 1908 and 1912

pp. 138, £14.00, Soccerdata, 2016

ISBN-13: 978-1-911376-00-2

Reviewed by Philip Barker

Originally conceived to coincide with the 2012 Games in London, this book did not come to fruition until shortly before Rio 2016, but author Martin Jarred has written a compact and rounded survey of the Olympic football tournaments of 1908 and 1912. The gold medal was won on each occasion by a team of English players representing Great Britain but as he observes in his introductory notes; "putting together a GB football team is like tackling a double sided 1000 piece jigsaw with many of the pieces missing".

These difficulties have come about because England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland usually compete separately in football. This autonomy invariably causes problems when there is an attempt to bring the four together. When London hosted the Games in 2012, it seemed logical to many that there should be home teams in both men and women's tournaments.

"The formation of a British football team in 2012 was treated with as much suspicion in some quarters as it had been in the Edwardian era." says Jarred.

In fact the teams in both 1908 and 1912 comprised only players from England, although they wore the British flag on their shirts. With all the participants now long

deceased and no meaningful film to fill in the gaps, Jarred has made use of extensive use of printed contemporary sources.

There is a match by match log of each tournament with squad lists for all the participating teams. There are also detailed biographies of the British team members. Illustrated with at least one photograph, they include player statistics for both Olympic and Amateur International appearances. The biographies also show what the players did in later life.

To offer historical context, a summary of the travails of British teams in subsequent years is included. Between the wars these were plagued by disputes over interpretations of amateurism and later there were unsuccessful attempts to qualify for the Games. The 'one off' return for London 2012 is also included for the sake of completeness.

Jarred covered Leeds United for many years and co-authored *Leeds United The Complete Record*, part of a ground breaking series on English football which set new standards in the eighties and nineties.

His latest offering is modestly but attractively presented by Soccerdata Productions. A generous proportion of the royalties will be donated to the charity supporting the victims of Parkinson's disease.



Piotr Banasiak/Michał Polakowski
Kolekcja medali olimpijskich w zbiorach Muzeum Sportu i Turystyki w Warszawie / A collection of the Olympic medals in the Museum of Sport and Tourism in Warsaw
 pp. 248, Muzeum Sportu i Turystyki w Warszawie 2016, ISBN 978-83-937492-1-8
 in Polish and English

Reviewed by
 Agnieszka Fietkiewicz-Zapalska

It is almost a century since Poland first appeared at the Olympic Games in Paris. A few months before, Poles had also taken part in the 1924 International Winter Sports Week in Chamonix. This was later restyled as the first Winter Olympics.

Since then, Polish representatives have won 310 medals (75 gold, 94 silver, 141 bronze).

Warsaw's Museum of Sport and Tourism, established in 1952, has brought together 68 of them all but one from Winter Games. It is the largest existing collection of Polish medals. Others are scattered in various museums, catholic sanctuaries or are in private hands. (Some remain in the possession of

medal winners or their families but some are also in other hands).

In the museum, the medals are displayed on a 'Wall of Glory'. The name of each winner and sport and when and where they were won is also shown alongside an enlarged reproduction of the medal. The original medals can be seen in a special showcase alongside.

The collection ranges from the earliest medals won by Polish competitors, the silvers won by 4000 m team pursuit squad in 1924. Three of the four are on display.

The fourth, owned by the Polish Olympic Committee, has been embedded in the cornerstone of the Olympic Centre, headquarters to the National Olympic Committee and the Ministry of Sport and Tourism. The collection also includes more recent medals from Atlanta, Sydney and Athens.

Museum staff have produced a catalogue which details a century of Polish sport history. The Masovian governor Adam Struzik and Francis Gabet (President of Olympic Museums Network Program) have both written words of greeting and there is a foreword by Tomasz Jagodziński (Director of Museum of Sport and Tourism) and introductory article by Tomasz Bylicki (expert in medallic art).

The catalogue is set out chronologically; starting from the earliest holdings (Paris 1924) to the most recent (Athens 2004).

Each entry gives details of how the medal was won, a short biography of the winner, a physical description of the medal (mint, designer, material, technique, diameter, averse, reverse, signature and border) and pictures of the medallist, photos from the Olympics as well as obverse and reverse. The date of its accession to the collection is also recorded.

The book was published to mark the 65th anniversary of Museum of Sport and Tourism (in 2017) and financed with a subsidy from Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and a grant from the Marshal's Office.

"100 Years of Olympic Film"



A landmark box set with 53 newly restored films from 41 editions of the Olympic Games, will be presented by the American Criterion Collection for the first time on 5th December this year. Available are 32-disc Blu-ray and 43-disc DVD editions for preorder at \$319.96 from Criterion.com. Included is a lavishly illustrated, 216-page hardcover book, featuring notes on the films by cinema historian Peter Cowie; a foreword by IOC President Thomas Bach; a short history of the restoration project by producer Adrian Wood; and hundreds of photographs from a century of Olympic Games. (CCJOH)



Marcia De Franceschi Wacker, Christian Wacker

The Legacy of Brazilian Olympic Historiography. Ten essays about Brazil and the Olympic Movement

e-publication, available in a bi-weekly cycle at www.sportplusculture.com (free of charge)

Reviewed by **Massimiliano Lodi**

These are ten essays which bring together the fruit of twenty years academic research and the production of publications about Brazil in the International Olympic Movement (1996–2016). One of the major legacies of the 2016 Olympic Games 2016 in Rio de Janeiro has been a broad historical documentation of the country's participation in the Olympic Movement.

When the authors' research about the history of Brazil in the Olympic Movement started back in 1996, accessible material in terms of primary sources was thin on the ground. But some initial discoveries revealed the necessity for a wider thematic research project. There were four topics in particular which needed further examination: the existence of a Brazilian Olympic Committee as early as 1914, the Olympic Diploma for Santos Dumont, the 1922 Regional Games and the selection of two teams for the Olympic Games of 1936.

Twenty years ago, there was very little published information about Brazilian Olympic participation in the years before the Second World War even though they took part in 1920 and 1924 and then from 1932 onwards. There were a few references to the Olympic Cup received by Fluminense in 1949.

The research of primary sources has been complex and complicated

and has required a number of visits to the Olympic Archives in Lausanne. Research in archives at Brazilian institutions had been problematic and difficult because indexes to Olympic material did not exist. Each name, newspaper article, image and document had to be captured through complex and time consuming unique processes. Many important documents were also held in private collections, private archives in Brazil and abroad (Germany, France and Greece), in "dead" archives of sport institutions and forgotten boxes in dusty cellars at the former Brazilian Football Federation CBF, where we discovered for the first time the minutes of the foundation of the Brazilian Olympic Committee in 1914. Conversations and interviews with those involved in sport have proved to be fundamental sources of information regarding the participation of Brazil in the Olympic Movement. Important support came from people working at the Ministries of the Air Force and for Foreign Relations, at the CBF, the Brazilian Olympic Committee COB and the National Council of Sports.

The legacy of academic knowledge— a positive heritage: When Rio de Janeiro was chosen as 2016 Olympic host city it encouraged new interest in sporting topics and some new key words appeared in the indexes of Brazilian sport heritage. Many documents have been added to the IOC's own files on Brazil. Documents about Brazilian Olympic history connected to 1936 have been moved to the Brazilian folder, as have sources on the Regional Games 1922. An extremely important letter from Raul do Rio Branco written to his colleagues at the IOC after 22 years service as Brazilian IOC representative, was relocated in the material on Brazil.

These are just a few examples of how the heritage and legacy of Brazilian sports history has been transformed as a result of Rio 2016.

NEWS

The Russian Alexander Legkov, Olympic champion in 2014 in Sochi in the 50 km cross country skiing event, was retrospectively disqualified for breaking the anti-doping rule by the IOC Disciplinary Commission under the chairmanship of Denis Oswald. In addition he must return his silver medal which he had won in the 4x10 km relay. And thus the Russian team is also disqualified. The same goes for his teammate Evgeniy Belov, who in the Skiathlon 15 + 15 km mass start cross country had taken 18th place and over 15 km classic country 25th place. The reason for the disqualification was the proof in a Swiss laboratory that the doping samples of the two athletes were illegally opened and the analysis results falsified. (IOC/IOH)

Work has begun on the restoration of the 'Refectory of the Nations' at the 1936 Olympic Village near Berlin. 100 apartments are to be created. The project is part of the first phase in the restoration of the site. Altogether 450 apartments will be built on the 52 hectare area. The accommodation will include terraced houses and housing for families. They will be built at the very place where the athletes were accommodated over eighty years ago. Later it is planned to restore the remaining team houses and some of these will be used as museums. (VR)

Featuring Olympic stars and stories from across the globe and continuing the excitement of the Olympic Games all year round, the Olympic Channel is now available in Chinese, French, German, Italian, Brazilian Portuguese and Latin American Spanish in addition to English. The launch of the six additional languages on the Olympic Channel represents the first non-English languages to be added to the global digital platform. (IOC/IOH)

Letters to the Editor

Re: Larry Gerlach, Alma Richards Olympian

JOH, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 76

In your review of Gerlach's book, *Alma Richards, Olympian*, it says that Richards was the only Olympian in 1912 to beat Jim Thorpe, doing so in the high jump. We can't overlook, Al Gutterson from the little state of Vermont, who beat Thorpe in the same Olympics in the long jump. So two men defeated Thorpe, not one. The University of Vermont, where Gutterson graduated from, named its hockey field house in his honour. The field house is nicknamed the "Gut."

Stephen L. Harris, Anthem, AZ, USA

Re: Obituaries

JOH, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2017, pp. 72-73

The obituary of Wim van der Voort, the famous Dutch skater, was rather sloppy. He won a silver medal at the 1952 Winter Games but strangely enough it was not mentioned at what distance: 1500 metres. The incident with the fall of Hjalmar Andersen was not during the World Championships but the European. Van der Voort did not agree to skate again. He had no say in the matter. He had finished the distance (10 km) in a correct way and that was that for him. The ISU allowed Andersen to re-skate the distance and he had

to do it alone. The Dutch coach did not protest the decision of the ISU, on the contrary he congratulated Andersen because everybody knew he was by far the best skater.

Ruud D. Paauw, Leiden, The Netherlands



Two Associate Editors of the *Journal of Olympic History* were awarded the Vikelas Plaque 2016. Kitty Carruthers received the prize on the 11th October in London from ISOH President David Wallechinsky. The presentation to Elizabeth A. Hanley will take place on 6th December.

Photo: Isabelle Prod'homme

Season's Greetings & Happy New Year 2018

International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH)



Shown, PyeongChang Olympics photo exhibition, Seoul

Photo: picture alliance/Yonhap