



INTERNATIONAL
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Unifying Power is Stronger than the Forces that Want to Divide Us

- The Time Has Come to Exonerate Ernest Lee Jahncke
- Austria's "Coubertin": Life and Death of Otto Herschmann
- Exchanging Jabs: The IOC, USOC, and the Bobby Lee Hunter Case
- Los Angeles 1984: A Turning Point for TV Rights and Technology
- Olympic Values and Conflicts: Ivar Vind, a Danish Frontman

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On the cover: At the closing ceremony of the Beijing Winter Olympics, fireworks lit up over the “Bird’s Nest” stadium, spelling “One World”. We should take care of it – it’s the only one we have.

Photo: picture-alliance

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Welcome to the Issue



VOLKER KLUGE
EDITOR

The 24th Winter Olympic Games Beijing 2022 are history. IOC President Thomas Bach called them “truly exceptional” at the closing ceremony, which seemed to reflect the opinion of most of the athletes.

The COVID-19 pandemic forced these Games to be held in a bubble as well, which meant they lost a lot of their flair. Shadows were cast by discussions concerning human rights violations and increasing international tensions. Nonetheless, the Olympic Truce – which the United Nations member states committed to uphold at the General Assembly of 2 December 2021 – was upheld. Thomas Bach was able to confidently praise the Olympic participants following 16 days of competition with no conflicts: “May the political leaders around the world be inspired by your example of solidarity and peace.” Unfortunately, the applause promptly stopped when Russia attacked Ukraine just four days later.

The future evaluation of Beijing 2022 will be a challenge for Olympic historians – remaining factual and source-based as always. An example of this challenge is the article in this issue about the American Ernest Lee Jahncke, who was expelled from the IOC in 1936. This article was the last that Norbert Müller wrote; the 2019 ISOH laureate passed away during these Winter Games.

The fate of Otto Herschmann also documented in this issue, proves that Jahncke’s judgment of the Nazi regime and the opportunism of the IOC leadership at the time was justified. The Viennese Jew, who successfully

participated in two Olympic Games as a swimmer and fencer and was hailed as Austria’s “Coubertin”, fell victim to the Holocaust.

The organisers wanted Munich 1972 to serve as a contrast to Berlin 1936. The Games began on a cheerful note but then took a tragic turn when Palestinian terrorists carried out an assassination attempt on the Israeli team. The 50th anniversary will keep us busy in the coming issues.

On this occasion, Stephen Wenn narrates the case of boxer Bobby Lee Hunter, who was sentenced to 18 years in prison for manslaughter and wanted to qualify for the 1972 US Olympic team. Pros and cons balanced each other out until the argument settled itself: Hunter lost in the Trials.

We can rave about the “good old days” when the Olympic Games cost a lot of money and brought in none. However, those who benefited from the liberalisation of the rules would do better to remain silent. In the fifth part of his series on Olympic TV, IOC Member Richard W. Pound expertly describes the year 1984, which marked a turning point for the Games.

The Dane Ivar Vind did not live long enough to see this development. He died in 1977 at the age of 56. Else Trangbæk and Søren Riiskjær present him as a supporter of sport’s autonomy and fair play and as an opponent of the political and commercial exploitation of the Games – as a figure who held Olympic values dear. ■

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THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF OLYMPIC HISTORIANS (ISOH)

ISOH Goes Hybrid

By CHRISTIAN WACKER



Members of the ISOH Executive Committee at the General Assembly, held at the Domaine de Coubertin in Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse, France.

Photo: Pavlos Wacker

The time of the pandemic and the restrictions required to combat it made it impossible for the ISOH to organise face-to-face meetings for a long time. However, it was possible to hold the General Assembly as a hybrid event from 19 to 20 November 2021. In the past, these meetings, open and accessible to all members, were held every four years during the Summer Olympic Games at the same venue. An event in Tokyo would not have been possible due to limited accessibility as well as the high costs, which is why this General Assembly was held with a delay at the Fondation de Coubertin in Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse near Paris.

In future, the ISOH will no longer meet only every four years, but annually, with the great hope that these offers will be accepted by you, esteemed members. We will hold the 2022 General Assembly in Munich in late summer/early autumn due to the 50th anniversary of the 1972 Games.

With the Fondation de Coubertin, a location was chosen for our General Meeting that is closely related to the history of the de Coubertin family: an ancestor of the family acquired the land and the title of Coubertin in the 16th century. Although Pierre de Coubertin never lived in this estate himself, it still breathes the spirit of humanism thanks to his niece, Yvonne de Coubertin. In the early 1950s, she founded a technical school for artisans, which became the Fondation de Coubertin in 1973. The school offers opportunities for young people to develop their personality “as much from a cultural, moral, and spiritual point of view as from their craft itself.”¹

A total of 25 participants attended the General Assembly in person at the Fondation de Coubertin, and 70

other members and guests connected digitally over two days. By choosing this hybrid format, ISOH succeeded for the first time in opening up the event to all interested members and guests without the need for long journeys.

We were all the more delighted by the presence of Yvan de Navacelle de Coubertin and his daughter Diane as representatives of the de Coubertin family; Stephan Wassong, President of the Comité Internationale Pierre de Coubertin and Director of the Olympic Studies Centre at the German Sport University; and Georges Hirthler, author of *The Idealist*, a novella about Coubertin; and Gilles Lecocq, vice-president of the Comité Français Pierre de Coubertin, amongst others.

The General Assembly itself was framed by a content programme as well as the honouring of three ISOH Lifetime Awards. In a stimulating evening lecture, Maria Bogner, Head of the Olympic Studies Center (OSC) of the IOC, presented its programme and plans for the future. The sharing of historical knowledge and insights is a central concern of the centre in order to reach as broad a group of interested people as possible, especially digitally, in the years to come. The cooperation with the ISOH, which already exists, is to be deepened, for example, through closer collaboration with the Olympic World Library. Yvan de Navacelle de Coubertin spoke about the history of the de Coubertin family, which formed a pleasant link to the location of the event.

The second day was marked by a presentation on the significance of Olympic history for the Olympic Movement by myself, which was also printed in this *JOH* issue.

The festive highlight of the event was the presentation of the lifetime awards to Norbert Müller (2019), Walther Tröger (2020), who had been chosen for the award few months before his death, and Dr. Bill Mallon (2021). Bill Mallon, one of the founders of ISOH, expressed his gratitude with a speech about the founding and history of ISOH and especially his role in it. The laudation for Walther Tröger was held by his long-time friend, Dr. Peter Ritter, who described Tröger as “an ardent representative of the Olympic Idea and its importance, not only for sport but also for the human community.”

Norbert Müller joined the event online and recapitulated his contribution to Olympic history, especially his well-known research project of many years of editing de Coubertin’s writings in various languages. However, he also pointed out that the work in our guild is far from finished. Among other things, he presented his idea of a Coubertin tour through Paris as a suggestion for the upcoming 2024 Games. Norbert Müller, who dedicated his entire life to the Olympic Idea, passed away on 16 February 2022. I mourn the loss of this visionary, creative spirit, tireless fighter for Coubertin’s Olympic ideals and my personal friend of over 25 years. ■

¹ Jacques de Givry (Eds.), *La Fondation de Coubertin*, 2004, 24; see also: Jean-Paul Jusselme, *Yvonne de Coubertin. Un vie d’exception*, 2020.

“May the political leaders around the world be inspired by your example of solidarity and peace. You give peace a chance”



Ninety-one national teams and 2,897 athletes took part in the 24th Olympic Winter Games Beijing 2022. In 16 days, they competed fairly in seven sports, 15 disciplines, and 109 medal events.

In his opening speech, IOC President Thomas Bach declared: “In this Olympic spirit of peace, I appeal to all political authorities across the world: observe your commitment to this Olympic Truce. Give peace a chance.”

He repeated this at the closing ceremony, welcoming China to the circle of winter sports nations. He called out to the athletes: “You not only respected each other. You support each other. You embraced each other, even if your countries are divided by conflict. You overcame these divisions, demonstrating that in this Olympic community, we are all equal. We are all equal – regardless of what we look like, where we come from, or what we believe in. This unifying power of the Olympic Games is stronger than the forces that want to divide us: you give peace a chance. May the political leaders around the world be inspired by your example of solidarity and peace. You give peace a chance.” ■

IOC strongly condemns the breach of the Olympic Truce

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) strongly condemns the breach of the Olympic Truce by the Russian government, it said in a statement released on 24 February 2022.

The respective UN resolution was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 2 December 2021 by consensus of all 193 UN Member States. The Olympic Truce began seven days before the start of the Olympic Games, on 4 February 2022, and ends seven days after the closing of the Paralympic Games.

IOC President Thomas Bach reiterated his call for peace, which he expressed in his speeches at the Opening Ceremony and the Closing Ceremony of the Olympic Games.

Following recent events, the IOC is deeply concerned about the safety of the Olympic Community in Ukraine. It has established a task force to closely monitor the situation and to coordinate humanitarian assistance to members of the Olympic Community in Ukraine where possible.



Cross-country skier Dinigeer Yilamujiang (left), a 20-year-old Uyghur from the Xinjiang region, was chosen as one of the athletes to light the Olympic Cauldron, designed in the shape of a snowflake at the Winter Olympic Games. She and Nordic combined athlete Zhao Jiawen had the honour of marking the start of the Games at the National Stadium. Photo: picture-alliance

The IOC EB urged all International Sports Federations to relocate or cancel their sports events currently planned in Russia or Belarus. They should take the breach of the Olympic Truce by the Russian and Belarussian governments into account and give the safety and security of the athletes absolute priority. The IOC itself has no events planned in Russia or Belarus.

In addition, the IOC EB urges that no Russian or Belarussian national flag be displayed and no Russian or Belarussian anthem be played in international sports events which are not already part of the respective World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) sanctions for Russia.

The IOC EB issued the following resolution on 28 February 2022:

1. In order to protect the integrity of global sports competitions and for the safety of all the participants, the IOC EB recommends that International Sports Federations and sports event organisers not invite or allow the participation of Russian and Belarussian athletes and officials in international competitions.

2. Wherever this is not possible on short notice for organisational or legal reasons, the IOC EB strongly urges International Sports Federations and organisers of sports events worldwide to do everything in their power to ensure that no athlete or sports official from Russia or Belarus be allowed to take part under the name of Russia or Belarus. Russian or Belarussian nationals, be it as individuals or teams, should be accepted only as neutral athletes or neutral teams. No national symbols, colours, flags or anthems should be displayed.

Wherever, in very extreme circumstances, even this is not possible on short notice for organisational or legal reasons, the IOC EB leaves it to the relevant organisation to find its own way to effectively address the dilemma described above.

In this context, the IOC EB considered in particular the upcoming Paralympic Winter Games Beijing 2022 and reiterated its full support for the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and the Games.

3. The IOC EB maintains its urgent recommendation not to organise any sports event in Russia or Belarus, issued on 25 February 2022.

4. The IOC EB has, based on the exceptional circumstances of the situation and considering the extremely grave violation of the Olympic Truce and other violations of the Olympic Charter by the Russian government in the past, taken the ad hoc decision to withdraw the Olympic Order from all persons who currently have an important function in the government of the Russian Federation or other government-related high-ranking position, including the following:

- Mr Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation (Gold, 2001)
- Mr Dmitry Chernyshenko, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation (Gold, 2014)
- Mr Dmitry Kozak, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Presidential Executive Office (Gold, 2014)

5. The IOC EB welcomes and appreciates the many calls for peace by athletes, sports officials and members of the worldwide Olympic Community. The IOC admires and supports in particular the calls for peace by Russian athletes.

6. The IOC EB reaffirms its full solidarity with the Ukrainian Olympic Community. They are in our hearts and thoughts. The IOC EB commits to continue and strengthen its efforts for humanitarian assistance. Therefore, the IOC EB has today established a solidarity fund. In this context, the IOC expresses its gratitude to the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and International Sports Federations that are already supporting Ukrainian athletes and their families. ■

(IOC/JOH)

Safe and Splendid: The Paranoid Winter Olympics

By PHILIP BARKER, Beijing



Cross-country skier Wang Qiang and snowboard halfpipe athlete Liu Jiayu represented the athletes sworn to the Olympic oath, while aerials judge Tao Yongchun and the head of the Chinese coaching team in snowboard parallel giant slalom, Ji Xiao'ou, represented judges and coaches, respectively.

Photos: picture-alliance

Chinese President Xi Jinping promised “simple safe and splendid” Games, a mantra repeated by countless officials as the Games proceeded. They were indeed “safe and splendid,” but simplicity was in short supply.

To start with, the political backdrop to these Games was complex. There had been vocal calls for cancellation amid concerns about forced labour and oppression of the human rights of minorities. There was still uncertainty over the future of Chinese tennis player Peng Shuai, even though she was seen at the Big Air event.

Over the previous two years, the IOC had discussed at length the implications of Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter, which forbids political demonstrations on the podium and the field of play. Some athletes were said to be wary of speaking out on criticism of the host nation, and, like the Swedish double speed skating gold medallist Nils van der Poel, they waited until they returned home to do so. During the event, there was

a gesture from Ukrainian Vladyslav Heraskevych after his skeleton run. He displayed a “No War in Ukraine” flashcard, although the IOC took no action.

The most remarkable outbursts came from a Beijing 2022 official, Yan Jiarong, who asserted, “Taiwan is an indivisible part of China, this is well recognised in the international community,” and also denounced the speculation on forced labour camps as “lies”. “We



A snowman at the Yanqing National Alpine Skiing Centre in Zhangjiakou where snow fell for the first time on 13 February since the start of the Winter Games.

Effective: The Dutch dominated the National Speed Skating Oval in Beijing. They won six of the 14 competitions. Irene Schouten (in the photo after her victory in the mass start race ahead of Canada's Ivania Blondin) won three gold medals.



are always against the idea of politicising the Olympic Games," she insisted.

The Games themselves were conducted under a "closed loop system" where no pedestrian travel was permitted. Even within the Olympic Green, such inflexibility bordered on paranoia as it proved impossible to walk even the shortest distances.

The Green was home to the Medals Plaza, ice hockey, and curling, held at the National Aquatic Centre where Michael Phelps won eight swimming golds in 2008, and now transformed from "Water Cube" to "Ice Cube".

There was also criticism of the COVID-19 testing regime, which saw a number of athletes forced to isolate

pending a negative test. Bobsledder Elana Meyers Taylor, elected to carry the US flag at the opening ceremony, was prevented from doing so by isolation protocols.

Both ceremonies were superbly executed productions led by Zhang Yimou, who also masterminded matters in 2008. It featured the wonderful Malanhuar Children's Choir, who sang the Olympic anthem in the original Greek. There were some jarring moments, including an over-choreographed welcome to President Xi and the selection of Uyghur torchbearer Dinigeer Yilamujiang, a cross-country skier. Although organisers insisted her ethnicity was not a factor, this seemed a little disingenuous.



China's Gu Ailing Eileen was the face of the Winter Games. The 18-year-old San Francisco-born freestyle skier won gold medals in big air and halfpipe and silver in slopestyle.



Russian figure skater Kamila Valieva sparked fierce criticism for being allowed to take part in the Games despite testing positive for a banned substance. Despite being in the lead, she buckled under the pressure during the free skating competition and finished fourth.



The Yanqing ice chute was truly in German hands. Apart from the women's monobob, all the bobsleigh, luge, and skeleton races were won by Team D. In the photo: The award ceremony for the four-man bobsleigh, which brought pilot Francesco Friedrich his fourth Olympic gold medal.

There was no cauldron as such; the Olympic torch was placed in a receptacle constructed from the name boards of each participating team in the shape of a "snowflake". Originally suspended in the stadium, it found a permanent home close to the Medals Plaza, where volunteer Zhang Junyin placed the torch as a symbolic "micro flame".

The case of 15-year-old Russian figure skater Kamila Valieva, whose positive doping test from a sample taken in December 2021 came to light after the team event, soon dominated headlines. At length, she was permitted to compete in her remaining competitions.

Later, IOC President Thomas Bach condemned the "coldness" of those in her entourage.

The sport across three competition zones was claimed to have inspired some 300 million Chinese to take up winter sport, though only a relative few were permitted to spectate at the venues. Beijing 2022 insisted they were sports fans, students, and others chosen by public ballot. At one venue, at least, the spectators arriving appeared all to be wearing Games accreditations.

Many did have praise for the 18,196 volunteers who worked throughout these Games: 63% were in the Beijing zone, and 94% were under 35 years of age. ■



Finland's men won the gold medal in ice hockey for the first time. The photo shows defender Ville Pokka and goalkeeper Harri Sateri, just as the final siren announces a 2-1 victory over the Russian Olympic Committee team.



In China, broadcast coverage of the Olympic Winter Games reached over 600 million people through TV alone. Only a few Chinese experienced the events directly.

Photos: picture-alliance

MOST SUCCESSFUL PARTICIPANTS

Name/Country	Sport	G	S	B	Total
Johannes Thingnes BØ (NOR)	Biathlon	4	0	1	5
Alexander BOLSHUNOV (ROC)	Cross-Country Skiing	3	1	1	5
Marte Olsbu RØISELAND (NOR)	Biathlon	3	0	2	5
Irene SCHOUTEN (NED)	Speed Skating	3	0	1	4
Therese JOHAUG (NOR)	Cross-Country Skiing	3	0	0	3
Quentin FILLON MAILLET (FRA)	Biathlon	2	3	0	5
Tarjei BØ (NOR)	Biathlon	2	1	1	4
Johannes Høsflot KLÆBO (NOR)	Cross-Country Skiing	2	1	1	4
Suzanne SCHULTING (NED)	Speed Skating	2	1	1	4
Jørgen GRÅBAK (NOK)	Nordic Combined	2	1	0	3
GU Ailing Eileen (CHN)	Freestyle Skiing	2	1	0	3
Johannes STROLZ (AUT)	Alpine Skiing	2	1	0	3

Successful brothers: With four gold medals and one bronze medal, Norwegian biathlete Johannes Thingnes Bø (right) was the most successful participant at the Winter Games. His brother Tarjei, who is five years older, won gold twice and one silver and one bronze.



Twenty-eight sports are included in the Initial Sports Programme of the Olympic Games Los Angeles 2028. Skateboarding, sport climbing, and surfing – all youth-focused sports – made their Olympic debut successfully at Tokyo 2020, and all of them have deep roots in California. A decision will be made in 2023 at the 140th IOC Session in Mumbai, India, on whether boxing, weightlifting,

and modern pentathlon will be added to the programme. LA28 will also be able to propose additional sports.

Egypt plans to bid for the 2036 Olympics as the first African nation to stage the Games. Sports Minister Ashraf Sobhi confirmed that authorities were “currently working on preparing a comprehensive file in this regard to be submitted along

with the proposed request” to the IOC. Work is currently underway to build a multi-million-dollar sports complex, called the Egypt International Olympic City, in the new administrative capital, located 45 kilometres east of Cairo. The project is expected to feature a 90,000-seat stadium, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, tennis courts, and an indoor venue. (IOC/JOH)



Members of the New Zealand team celebrated Nico Porteous with a haka, the ritual dance of the Māori, at the Snow Park in Zhangjiakou. The 20-year-old freestyle skier had previously won in the halfpipe.

Photos: picture-alliance

MEDALS WON BY COUNTRIES

Place	NOC	G	S	B	Total	Order	Participants by Total
1	NOR	16	8	13	37	1	84
2	GER	12	10	5	27	3	148
3	CHN	9	4	2	15	11	182
4	USA	8	10	7	25	5	225
5	SWE	8	5	5	18	6	118
6	NED	8	5	4	17	9	41
7	AUT	7	7	4	18	6	105
8	SUI	7	2	5	14	12	169
9	ROC	6	12	14	32	2	217
10	FRA	5	7	2	14	12	86
11	CAN	4	8	14	26	4	215
12	JPN	3	6	9	18	6	121
13	ITA	2	7	8	17	9	119
14	KOR	2	5	2	9	14	65
15	SLO	2	3	2	7	16	44
16	FIN	2	2	4	8	15	96
17	NZL	2	1	0	3	18	15
18	AUS	1	2	1	4	17	44
19	GBR	1	1	0	2	20	49
20	HUN	1	0	2	3	18	14
21	BEL	1	0	1	2	20	19
	CZE	1	0	1	2	20	115
	SVK	1	0	1	2	20	50
24	BLR	0	2	0	2	20	28
25	ESP	0	1	0	1	25	14
	UKR	0	1	0	1	25	46
27	EST	0	0	1	1	25	26
	LAT	0	0	1	1	25	61
	POL	0	0	1	1	25	57

The IOC and the OCOG shall not draw up any global ranking per country.

OTHER PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WITHOUT WINNING A MEDAL

NOC	Part.	NOC	Part.
ALB	1	KOS	2
AND	5	KSA	1
ARG	6	LIB	3
ARM	6	LIE	2
ASA	1	LTU	13
AZE	2	LUX	2
BIH	6	MAD	2
BOL	2	MAR	1
BRA	10	MAS	2
BUL	16	MDA	5
CHI	4	MEX	4
COL	3	MGL	2
CRO	11	MKD	3
CYP	1	MLT	1
DEN	63	MNE	3
ECU	1	MON	3
ERI	1	NGR	1
GEO	9	PAK	1
GHA	1	PER	1
GRE	5	PHI	1
HAI	1	POR	3
HGK	3	PUR	2
ICE	5	ROU	21
IND	1	SMR	2
IRI	3	SRB	2
IRL	6	THA	4
ISR	6	TLS	1
ISV	1	TPE	4
JAM	7	TRI	2
KAZ	34	TUR	7
KGZ	1	UZB	1

The Value of Olympic History for the Olympic Movement

By CHRISTIAN WACKER



Photo: Markus Osterwalder

What is the value of history in general and Olympic history in particular? Societies, cultures, and nations base their self-understanding and self-confidence on historical and sometimes legendary narratives. History and stories about it are therefore omnipresent and penetrate deeply into everyday life. They are told in books and reports, but also consistently in (social) media, films, and, above all, museums. With the exception of modern art galleries, exhibitions are usually set in a historical context, for example, in museums of culture, technology, natural history, and also sports and Olympic museums. Although on the surface, younger generations may be put off by the idea of learning history, cultures are constantly being shaped by history and stories, often on a subconscious level.

Of course, this also applies to Olympic history. Historical connotations abound, for example through statistics, comparisons with past events, athletes' careers, etc. The media play a special role in this process, for example, in reporting on the "most exciting competition ever" (what historical dimension is interpreted here?) or conveying narratives about technical developments of sports equipment. For the Olympic organisations and above all, of course, for the IOC, reflecting on their history means legitimacy,

self-image, and a sense of responsibility that is fed by the past. The significance of history in general and of Olympic history for the Olympic Movement, in particular, will be discussed in this article.

The value of history for society

Definition of history

The term history derives from the Greek word *ιστορία* (*historia*) and means "inquiry; knowledge acquired by investigation". History is the study of the past. The general term history comprises past events as well as the memory, discovery, collection, organisation, presentation, and interpretation of these events.¹ Prehistory means uncovering knowledge of the past in an area where no written records exist or where the writing of a culture is not understood.

History is contemporary history

"All history is contemporary history."² This famous phrase from 1920 stems from Benedetto Croce, an Italian philosopher and historian who wrote extensively on the theories of historiography. It means that historians write about the interpretation of the past in the context of their own time and in consideration of currently prevailing ideas – a phenomenon that can be explained with an example from Olympic history.

The reception of the 1936 torch relay, at that time, followed a logic that accompanied the growing self-confidence of the German Reich and National Socialism. The torch relay was greeted with acclamation as an expression of German virtues and perpetuation of longstanding German rituals. A report from 1936 describes it as a "trademark of the German creative spirit [...] and the compelling idealism of [German] youth has conquered all obstacles."³

After the Second World War and the barbaric events of the Holocaust and other murders carried out by the National Socialists, the torch relay acquired a new connotation in the historical narrative: "Was the symbolism of lit torches not a reminiscence of fascist mindsets?"⁴ The social and historical standpoint of the Olympic historian has a great influence on the narrative, and readers should know this or have it explained to them.

Fake history

Historical data can be interpreted in different ways and can also be misused, even to the point of historical slander, should certain historical narratives serve a particular state or political interests. Countless examples can be cited, both outside and inside sport. Digital media also play a role here and an example from the games industry may illustrate how important it is to deal sensitively with historical topics, especially in order not to shape distorted stories of the past in younger generations. The computer game *Assassin's Creed* by the well-known game company Ubisoft has existed since 2007 with 12 main games and numerous spin-offs. In 2018, the *Odyssey* edition was launched, which is set in antiquity and depicts exceedingly creative and mostly fictitious landscapes and scenarios.⁵

Among other things, one sequence takes place in the ancient city of Thasos, where one of the most famous Olympic athletes of antiquity came from, Theagenes of Thasos.⁶ More than 1,000 victories were attributed to this pugilist and a statue was erected in his honour in the marketplace of Thasos. In all probability, it stood on a circular pedestal with a diameter of about 1.50 metres. Instead of working with these few historical details, the game designers used the famous statue of the pugilist from the Quirinal (which was discovered in Rome and is exhibited in its National Museum) and placed an oversized facsimile of it on an enormous rectangular pedestal.



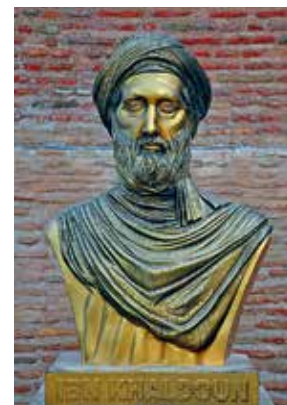
This image, far from any historical reality, is imprinted in the minds of thousands upon thousands of *Assassin's Creed* players. The historical fiction of the computer game has therefore acquired historical relevance, especially in such a successful medium, and shapes historical images. This example is one of many picked from the broad field of historical novels, historical films, and historical games and shows how important thorough research and correct historical images are to avoid producing fake history – whether consciously or unconsciously.

A glimpse into the history of historiography

Herodotus (484–425 BCE) has been called the father of history. He regarded history as a result of divine intervention (though even he questioned that).⁷ Thucydides (460–400 BCE) saw history as the product of the choices and actions of human beings and looked at cause and effect.⁸

Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406 CE) is considered the father of historiography, as he developed a scientific method to study history. He warned of mistakes that he thought historians regularly made. In his view, the past was “strange” and in need of interpretation. Ibn Khaldun claimed that cultural differences of past ages should be considered in evaluating historical material. He also saw the importance in identifying the principles guiding one’s evaluation, and the value of experience, in addition to rational principles, for assessing a culture of the past.⁹

Around the same time, historiography in Europe followed a sacred and religious approach in mediaeval studies that were far behind the first methodology developed by Ibn Khaldun. In the West, historians developed modern methods of historiography only in the 17th and 18th centuries, notably the secular approaches by Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903).¹⁰ According to Spencer, “From the successive strata of our historical deposits, they [the historians] diligently gather all the highly-coloured fragments, pounce upon everything that is curious and sparkling and



Bust of Ibn Khaldun in the entrance of the Kasbah of Bejaia, Algeria.

Photo: Reda Kerbush, CC BY-SA 4.0 via wikimedia commons

Left: Reconstruction of the monument for Theagenes of Thasos. Scene from the game *Assassin's Creed Odyssey*.

Photo: https://assassinscreed.fandom.com/wiki/Statue_of_Theagenes?file=ACOD_Thasos_-_Statue_of_Theagenes.png

chuckle like children over their glittering acquisitions; meanwhile, the rich veins of wisdom that ramify amidst this worthless debris, lie utterly neglected. Cumbrous volumes of rubbish are greedily accumulated, whilst those masses of rich ore, that should have been dug out, and from which golden truths might have been smelted, are left untaught and unsought.”¹¹

Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886 CE) limited history to “what really happened”. Following Ranke, historical data should be collected carefully, examined objectively, and compiled with critical rigour. For

Ranke, the heart of science was to search out order and regularity in the data being examined and to formulate generalisations or laws about them.¹²

Starting in the early 20th century, history was no longer regarded only as an art, but as a tool to describe society, cultures, and everyday phenomena. Accounts about “great men” became accounts about people in their society and cultural contexts.

The historical record

Primary and secondary sources

Primary sources are contemporary accounts of an event, written by someone who experienced or witnessed the event in question. These original documents (i.e., they are not about another document or account) are often diaries, letters, memoirs, journals, speeches, manuscripts, interviews, and other such unpublished works. They may also include published pieces, such as newspaper or magazine articles (as long as they are written soon after the fact and not as historical accounts), photographs, audio or video recordings, research reports in the natural or social sciences, or original literary or theatrical works.

The function of secondary sources is to interpret primary sources, and can be described as being least one step back from the event or phenomenon under review. Secondary source materials interpret assign value to, conjecture upon, and draw conclusions about the events reported in primary sources. These are usually in the form of published works such as journal articles or books, but may include radio or television documentaries, or conference proceedings.¹³

Professional and amateur historians discover, collect, organise, and present information about past events. They discover this information through archaeological evidence, written primary sources, verbal stories or oral histories, and other archival material. Chroniclers and analysts are not historians in the classical sense, but professionally prepare content derived from primary sources. Historical discourse has the task of identifying the sources that can most usefully contribute to the production of accurate accounts of the past.

“I read it online!”

Reading things on the World Wide Web poses new challenges for readers. On the one hand, there are very many different sources of information available. On the other hand, these sources are of very different quality. This means that learners need more than just reading skills to successfully search for information on the internet. They also need to be able to evaluate the information they find. Just because someone uses the internet frequently does not mean they are competent in handling information.

In searching for information online, we should consider the following questions: What information do I need? What is the goal of the search or the task? Where can I look for information? A critical review of the sources and information found is mandatory. Information must be checked regarding the validity of its content. First, we should use our own prior knowledge, understanding of the topic, and critical thinking to question whether the found information found is valid (What is true?). Second, we should ask: Whom can I trust? Consideration should be given to place and date of publication, expertise and intention of the author, genre, and target audience. The debate on fake news shows the importance of being competent in critically analysing online information in particular.

The scholarly approach to sources takes place in two phases: The first phase of source criticism decides on the significance of the source, for example, by finding out where the source comes from and under what conditions it was created. The second phase of source interpretation attempts to determine the understanding and message of the source and to evaluate the information gained. Criticism and interpretation are difficult to separate, because even source criticism often contains interpretations. In general, the sources of historical knowledge can be separated into three categories: what is written, what is said, and what is physically preserved.



Milon of Kroton by Joseph-Benoît Suvée, 1763.

Public domain via Wikimedia Commons

Legends and anecdotes

History differs from legends and anecdotes in that it is supported by evidence. The stories surrounding another important Olympic athlete of antiquity, Milon of Kroton, can serve as an example. Milon was born in 555 BCE in the ancient city of Kroton in present-day Calabria and died in the years after 510 BCE. He was a wrestler and won all the Panhellenic Games in Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea six times. He was celebrated as an exceptional athlete, even though no image of Milon of Kroton has survived from antiquity.

Even in antiquity, myths and anecdotes arose around this athlete, and are a focus of historical interpretation. Milon lifted a four-year-old bull on his shoulders and carried it through the stadium of Olympia. He then slaughtered and consumed it in a single day. If he stood on an oiled discus, no one could push him off. He burst a gut string tied around his head by holding his breath and swelling his forehead veins. He ate 17 pounds of meat, 17 pounds of bread, and drank about 10 litres of wine every day. And he carried his own statue of victory to the Altis, the sacred grove of Olympia. The legends about Milon probably originally arose from amazement at his unique successes and were later exaggerated, imaginatively embellished, and at some point, interpreted in a negative way due to a generally negative assessment of competitive sport in philosophical and medical circles.¹⁴

Modern legends and anecdotes surrounding Olympic sport are also well known and it is the task, but also the challenge, for editors to filter such stories and methodically uncover their historical core.

The “true past” does not exist

History had and has the task of explaining, first and foremost in an educational context. Especially in a political or national context, explaining has played a particularly important role. Olympic history explains the games of antiquity, rituals such as the torch relay, the commercialisation of the games, etc. and thus becomes a vehicle for creating facts in thousands of brochures, especially in the field of Olympic education. But be careful, because history per se can only be the narration of events; it is anecdotal and quite comparable to a novel. When we read a novel, we know we are in the world of fiction, while history is considered to be something factual, an event in the past.

Yet, the “true past” does not exist. Part of the historian’s role is to skilfully and objectively utilise the vast number of sources from the past, most often found in the archives, to create the narrative. The historians and also those dealing with historical accounts have an ethical responsibility in writing history as accurately as possible.¹⁵



Memorial for Nodar Kumaritashvili at Whistler Olympic Plaza, British Columbia, Canada.

Photo: Danny Robinson from West Vancouver, Canada, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons

A history of the Roman Empire or even a history of the Olympic Games cannot exist in principle; it can only be about what we still know of the Roman Empire or the Olympic Games. Admittedly, the sources on the Olympic Games are better, which does not necessarily improve our task. An Olympic historian could describe the entire Olympic history on ten pages or deal with a specific event for a thousand pages. In the end, the historians themselves decide which events to select and describe based on an enormous amount of source material. Which aspects do they choose to prioritise?

To know the exact number of participants at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Beijing 2008, or to describe the significance of this celebration for China’s national identity – the Olympic historian decides and unfortunately there are still too many who waste their time with marginalia, when they could be dealing with conceptualised issues.

There is no such thing as a historical fact, a historical truth, an event atom – only perspectives that we can adopt towards the events. How often do you hear or read the expressions “angle of view” or “viewpoint” in connection with history? Historians describes events from their subjective point of view, they cannot succeed in formulating historical truths. History is subjective and because everything past is historical, history is what we choose.¹⁶ It can be wonderfully emotional, like the tear on Misha’s face in 1980, but also shocking, like the fatal accident of the Georgian luger Nodar Kumaritashvili at the Vancouver Games in 2010.

Olympic history and the Olympic Movement

Definition of Olympic history

Olympic history consists of the term “history” and the adjective Olympic. Olympic describes all topics related to ancient Olympia and/or the Olympic Movement at large. Olympic history is the study of the Olympic past. It comprises past events as well as the memory, discovery, collection, organisation, presentation, and interpretation of these events. Olympic history is largely, but not exclusively, related to the subfields of social history, cultural history, and people’s history.

The Olympic Charter

The Olympic Charter is based on principles and traditions that have developed and established themselves within the Olympic Movement over the course of more than 120 years. The ties to Olympic history are omnipresent, as indicated in the preamble.

*Modern Olympism was conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, on whose initiative the International Athletic Congress of Paris was held in June 1894. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) constituted itself on 23 June 1894. The first Olympic Games (Games of the Olympiad) of modern times were celebrated in Athens, Greece, in 1896. In 1914, the Olympic flag presented by Pierre de Coubertin at the Paris Congress was adopted. It includes the five interlaced rings, which represent the union of the five continents and the meeting of athletes from throughout the world at the Olympic Games. The first Olympic Winter Games were celebrated in Chamonix, France, in 1924.*¹⁷

This preamble identifies at least four major areas of Olympic history that have been researched for decades at universities, Olympic study centres, and other institutions by academics, journalists, hobbyists, and general enthusiasts of the Olympic Movement. An independent field of research has developed on Pierre de Coubertin, to which above all the Comité Internationale Pierre de Coubertin (CIPC) is dedicated.¹⁸

The Congress of 1894, the founding of the IOC and the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896 are much-discussed topics of Olympic history that are always re-evaluated when new archival material and primary sources are discovered. One only has to think of the recently discovered 14-page manuscript by Pierre de Coubertin from 1892, where he outlined the idea for the Olympic Games of the modern era for the first time.¹⁹ The story of the Olympic flag and its creation is a curious one and certainly not yet finished, considering the uncertain sources on its development in the years before 1914.²⁰ And the Winter Olympic

Games have their own broad area of research, which still has much to offer for Olympic historians.²¹

The IOC has established various commissions, a number of which have direct ties to Olympic history. First and foremost is the Commission for Culture & Olympic Heritage, but there are also the Olympic Education Commission and the Olympic Channel – addressing historical topics is part of their work. The same applies to the International Olympic Academy, where “IOC’s role is [...] to encourage and support the activities of the International Olympic Academy (‘IOA’) and other institutions which dedicate themselves to Olympic education.”²²

Olympic Agenda 2020+5

Consisting of 15 recommendations, the Olympic Agenda 2020+5 builds on the results of the Olympic Agenda 2020 and acts as the roadmap for the IOC and the Olympic Movement for the next five years. The recommendations are based on key trends that have been identified as likely to be decisive in the post-COVID-19 world. They are also areas where sport and the values of Olympism can play a key role in turning challenges into opportunities.

The strategy of the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) for the years 2020 to 2024 defines a strong impact on credibility, i.e., policies of transparency like a code of ethics and democratic structures, solidarity with open-source portals on ISOH’s digital formats, and sustainability. Gradually, ISOH will reduce printing of its *Journal of Olympic History* and move towards digital issues with the goal to fully stop printed copies in the future. Furthermore, ISOH implemented a highly reduced travel policy, using online meeting methods our society got used to due to the pandemic.²³

This strategy is in full alignment with the IOC’s 2020+5 agenda, i.e., the key trend no. 4, “growing demand for credibility, both of organisations and institutions”. The recommendations expressed in the agenda could get support by ISOH activities especially regarding point 6 (“Enhance and promote the Road to the Olympic Games”), point 12 (“Reach out beyond the Olympic community”), and point 14 (“Strengthen the Olympic Movement through good governance”).²⁴

Sharing Olympic history

Traditional media formats

Of the myriad ways to communicate Olympic history and our Olympic stories to an interested audience, the diverse media landscape should be tapped. Books and journals, whether printed or digital, will continue to be the media of choice for extensive contributions,

essays, and academic discussions following historical methods as mentioned above. The ISOH demonstrates this in its *Journal of Olympic History*.

Blogs and shorter entries on websites have primarily an informative character; discourses only take place there if the formats are appropriately equipped. The “archive spotlight” on our website isoh.org, whose main contributor is Philip Barker, is a good example of sharing knowledge on Olympic history. Social media are increasingly becoming forums for short and concise impressions. According to a recent study, a tweet on Twitter should not exceed 100 characters, and Facebook posts should be even shorter with a maximum of 40 characters.²⁵ For Olympic history, this means concise, clear information that introduces a topic. George Hirthler demonstrates how this can work well in his series on Twitter about Pierre de Coubertin, “Quote of the Day”.²⁶

In my view, exhibitions are a medium that has received far too little attention up to now. They could not only pass on knowledge about Olympic history to a very broad audience – considering the amount of currently 32 Olympic museums around the world – but also create new knowledge through preparatory exhibition research. This format should be used more intensively for the dissemination of Olympic history. One such example was at the 3-2-1 Qatar Olympic & Sport Museum for the Arab Games Exhibition in Doha, 2011. The subject, which was completely unexplored until then, was researched in depth by the museum’s curators and culminated in an exhibition and an

accompanying catalogue.²⁷ In contrast to a print publication, an exhibition has the great advantage that topics can be perceived and processed by a much wider audience, so Olympic or sport history is not only digested by those specifically interested.

Digital possibilities for the future

Of course, the future is digital, and we should be long past discussions about digitalisation. But how can Olympic history benefit from it? In my view, ISOH should intensify its role like a distributor in an engine. With our more than 500 members, we have a unique network on Olympic history worldwide, which should be activated even more. The cooperation with the IOC, especially with the Olympic Foundation of Culture and Heritage and the Olympic Studies Centre, works excellently, but networks could be even more closely woven, especially digitally. The ISOH could set up a kind of knowledge portal (not a Wikipedia or encyclopaedia) where information on Olympic history can be added and discussed – this was the original function of social media! ISOH should also see its task in creating access to primary sources by supporting the digitalisation of Olympic archives e.g., from former OCOG cities. ISOH should be both enabler and instigator, knowing and connecting those who have the knowledge and who store the knowledge.

New formats at ISOH

Olympic History Global

Customarily, Olympic history has been written by representatives of the “traditional” Olympic nations from Europe, North America, and countries of the Commonwealth. This also reflects the Olympic Movement in general, which was Eurocentric in origin but spread to other continents early on, according to the will of Pierre de Coubertin. Authors on Olympic history came and still come for the most part from these traditional Olympic nations.

However, Olympic history is also being written at 206 National Olympic Committees in regions that have received little attention so far. The reasons for this are often of a linguistic nature, as many contributions are written in corresponding national languages (i.e., Arabic, Russian) and thus elude the radar of the English-influenced readership. Also, many Olympic history enthusiasts fail to contact ISOH due to financial concerns or lack of networks.

For these reasons, ISOH has set itself the goal of proactively reaching out to regions that have so far received little visibility in terms of their Olympic history. These include large parts of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, and Eastern Europe. ISOH will use its networks to approach protagonists of



“Quote of the Day” from Twitter @coubertinspeaks.

Photo: Screenshot from 28 Jan 2022

Olympic history in the respective regions and use their networks as multipliers to reach qualified authors. It is planned to win these protagonists or Olympic historians as editors for special editions on specific regions of the world. With the support of ISOH, a series of such special editions is to be created in cooperation with a publishing house. Once appropriate editors have been found and collected these relevant contributions, they will be translated into English so that the interested readership will have access to those little-known Olympic histories.

It is planned to trial the project with three different regions, where good contacts from ISOH exist and where publishers can probably be acquired quickly. These are the Arab World, Eastern Europe, and Latin America.

Untold Olympic Stories

The Untold Olympic Stories project aims to collect Olympic stories from all corners of the world and give a voice to those storytellers who are seldom heard. Ideally, the Untold Olympic Stories should come from a wide variety of Olympic nations and cultures. In this project, it is not so much Germany, France, and the USA that should have their say, but rather Aruba, Bolivia, and Kyrgyzstan. A call has been issued to the Olympic nations through their official representatives, journalists, and Olympic educators, in search of compelling stories.

Storytelling provides the basis in the project for uncovering Olympic stories that have not yet been told. It is not the well-known narratives of Olympic heroes that we seek, but those off the radar of Olympic history, which entertain, appeal, and amaze.

The submitted stories should not be too long, should be able to be accompanied by visuals, and will be reviewed by an internal ISOH jury. They should follow a predefined standard and should not have been previously shared with a global audience.

The Untold Olympic Stories will be collected in written and/or video format and made available to the public as an open source. They will be presented on the ISOH website and provided to the IOC for its platforms and archives.

Epilogue

Olympic history and sports history in general are no longer taught at many universities today, supposedly due to the economisation of sport. The claim that the history of (Olympic) sport is no longer in line with market interests can be refuted when we consider the clear ties that can be drawn between the most diverse areas of the Olympic Movement, and understanding their interlinking can be beneficial in any case.

Admittedly, at this point the explicit wish may be expressed that teaching and research in this field be intensified and diversified again, both geographically and in terms of content. Olympic history should be taught and practised worldwide with the aim of researching and disseminating the Olympic heritage, telling stories of heroes and heroines as well as the background and the daily life of the Olympics.

ISOH will do its part and present itself even more as a knowledge centre for Olympic history in the future. For "If you want to read the future, you have to leaf through the past" (André Malraux, French novelist, art theorist, and minister of cultural affairs, 1901–1976). ■

- 1 John H. Arnold, *History: A Very Short Introduction*, 2000; Brian Joseph & Richard Janda, Richard, eds., *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. 2008, 163.
- 2 Benedetto Croce, *Theory and History of Historiography*, 1921.
- 3 Cigaretten-Bilderdienst Hamburg-Bahrenfeld, ed., *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Berlin und Garmisch-Partenkirchen*, vol. 2, 1936, 9. "[...] Markstein deutschen Schöpfergeistes [...]" and "Der zwingende Idealismus der (deutschen) Jugend hat alle Hindernisse besiegt."
- 4 Karl Lennartz, "The Summer Olympics. A Historical Step into the Topic." In Qatar Olympic & Sports Museum et al. eds., *Olympics. Past & Present*, 2013, 193.
- 5 <https://www.ubisoft.com/en-gb/game/assassins-creed> [26 Jan. 2022]. The company even promotes a learning effect on its website: "The Discovery Tour series is made of dedicated games that let visitors freely roam Ancient Greece, Ancient Egypt and the Viking Age to learn more about their history and daily life. Students, teachers, non-gamers, and players can discover these eras at their own pace, or embark on guided tours and stories curated by historians and experts."
- 6 Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, 2007, 200–201.
- 7 See, amongst others David Grene, *Herodotus: The History*, 1988.
- 8 Tim Rood, *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation*, 1998.
- 9 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Trans. from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., 1958.
- 10 Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* 2001.
- 11 Cited in Robert Carneiro, *The Muse of History and the Science of Culture*, 2000, 160.
- 12 *Ibid.* 147–150.
- 13 See also Carr, *What is History?* 2001.
- 14 Stefan Müller, "Das Volk der Athleten." In *Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium*, vol. 21, 1995, 198; Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, 2007, 200.
- 15 Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, 1971.
- 16 *Ibid.*
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- 19 <https://olympics.com/ioc/news/pierre-de-coubertin-s-historic-founding-text-finds-its-home-at-the-olympic-museum-in-lausanne> [27 Jan 2022].
- 20 Christian Wacker, "The Bolonachi Story – Egypt Goes Olympic with Greek Entrepreneurship", *JOH* 25 no. 3, 2017, 58.
- 21 Volker Kluge, "The Winter Olympics. From Ugly Duckling to a Festival of Snow and Ice." In Qatar Olympic & Sports Museum et al., eds., *Olympics. Past & Present*, 2013, 205–215.
- 22 IOC, ed., *The Olympic Charter* (Version 8 Aug 2021), 2021, 14. <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf> [27 Jan 2022].
- 23 Christian Wacker, "ISOH strategy 2020–2024" (in this issue).
- 24 <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/IOC/What-We-Do/Olympic-agenda/Olympic-Agenda-2020-5-15-recommendations.pdf> [28 Jan 2022].
- 25 Kevan Lee, *Infographic: The Optimal Length for every Social Media Update and More*, n.d. <https://buffer.com/library/optimal-length-social-media/> [28 Jan 2022].
- 26 @coubertinspeaks; <https://coubertinspeaks.com> [28 Jan 2022].
- 27 3-2-1 Qatar Olympic & Sport Museum, ed., *The Arab Games Exhibition*, 2011.

Report of the ISOH General Assembly 2021

The agenda of the General Assembly itself followed a quite usual and well-known pattern with reports from the president, the secretary-general, the treasurer, and the editor of the *Journal of Olympic History (JOH)*. This was followed by the presentation of the ISOH strategy 2020–2024, which was already presented in the foreword of the last *JOH*,¹ as well as the presentation of the new corporate identity by Markus Osterwalder, which you can read about in this *JOH* issue.

The results of the reports can be summarised as follows:

1. In the future, the General Assembly will take place once a year at changing locations, with Olympic history embedded in the programme. There will be content-related offers such as lectures, visits, ceremonies, etc. The lifetime award will be presented on this occasion, with the meetings being carried out in principle in a hybrid manner so that all members can take part.
2. At the General Assembly, ISOH had a total of 536 members. Of these are 482 regular, 51 patrons and three honorary members. Our members come from 56 countries on all five continents: 232 from Europe, 184 from the Americas, 30 from Asia, 30 from Oceania, and six from Africa. Most members come from the United States of America, followed by Germany, Great Britain, Australia, and Canada. Since 2016, the number of new members has grown by around 20 each year. The average age of our members is currently 61.9 years. Since the 2016 General Assembly in Rio de Janeiro, ISOH has received 1,633 inquiries on Olympic issues. Interestingly, the number of inquiries has increased by 56% since 2020.
3. The ISOH finances remain healthy, mainly thanks to the generous support of the IOC. The annual expenses of the organisation are dedicated primarily to the production of the *JOH*. The administration of the association was kept to a minimum of 6% of the overall budget during 2020. The target for administrative expenses is just 20% for regular years when organisation of the in-person General Assembly is possible, like in 2021. Following the ISOH elections in 2020, there was a very smooth transition from the previous treasurer, Ghassan Haddad, to the current treasurer, Héctor Argüelles. The ISOH board



receives quarterly financial account statements, and the annual financial report was presented at the General Assembly. As a non-profit organisation registered in the US with status 501(c)(3), ISOH files tax forms annually; no taxes are due, however.

4. Since the last ISOH General Assembly in Rio in 2016, the *JOH* has been published like clockwork, with three issues per year. That means 16 issues of 80 pages each – a total of 1,280 pages of compact Olympic history. 119 authors from 33 countries have taken part. Most have come from Germany (22), the United States (18), Great Britain (12), the Netherlands (9), Australia (7), and Canada (6), which are also the countries with the largest number of ISOH members. Asia has been represented five times, South America three times, Africa only once. ■

The Domaine de Coubertin is located in the Chevreuse valley in Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse. The foundation aims to nurture the professional, intellectual, and cultural training of young people in the manual trades. The foundation's art collections are located in the castle.

Photos: La Fondation de Coubertin, Markus Osterwalder

¹ Christian Wacker, "Happy 30th Birthday," *JOH* 29.3, 2021, 2.

ISOH Gets a New Look for Its 30th Birthday

By MARKUS OSTERWALDER

Summary of the new brand with the most important elements



Brand history. The first ISOH logo was designed in 1999 by the late ISOH General Secretary Anthony Bijkerk. It includes the image of a Greek temple with the Olympic rings above it, and the organisation’s name below it. Since the ISOH is no longer allowed to use the Olympic rings, a revision was necessary.

The name. Before starting the actual design process, the ISOH board again addressed the name itself of the organisation. We wanted to clarify in advance whether a simpler name would make sense, and also find a suitable abbreviation for it. Various combinations were first approved by the Executive Board and then submitted to the IOC’s Brand and Legal Department for assessment. After the deliberations, considering the advantages and disadvantages, we decided to leave the name as is; a new name would not have simplified things.

The symbol. Our symbol is often the first thing about us that people experience – well before they have learned anything about our organisation’s mission or goals. Our brand gives the world their first visual impression of who we are and what we stand for. Because of that, it is critically important to have a strong, clear, compelling, and consistent branded look and message that carries across all our visual appearances.

The new symbol consists of just one ring. The area within this ring is divided into five equal parts coloured in Olympic blue, yellow, black, green, and red, representing the five continents. It also represents a global organisation that deals with the history of the Olympic Games. The new brand appears simple, modern, clear, and clean and communicates its relationship with the Olympic Movement.

The logo. The new logo consists of the symbol together with our organisation's name, "International Society of Olympic Historians". The reference, "Organisation recognised by the International Olympic Committee" is an optional element that does not necessarily have to appear at all times with the rest of the logo. This text is prescribed by the IOC, and only approved organisations may use it.

The preferred logo variations are all on a white background. A golden background is possible with the writing in white. A solid (monochrome) version is also available and can be displayed on any of the three backgrounds white, gold, or black. There are horizontal and vertical versions of the logo. The name of the organisation can be on the left, right, or below the symbol. The placement of the reference can also be in different positions. The choice of logo version depends where it is used.

The colour palette. The colour palette is based on the five Olympic colours: Olympic blue, Olympic yellow, Olympic black, Olympic red, and Olympic green, plus the additional colour gold. This comes from the Olympic heritage logo, which was introduced in 2015. All Olympic colours work perfectly on the background colour white as well as on a gold background.

The fonts. Three different fonts of the same family are used. DIN Pro Light, Regular, and Bold. Meanwhile, the slogan uses ALS SyysScirpt Regular.

The slogan. "Become a part of it!" is an invitation to actively participate in the ISOH as an office or to engage in the reappraisal of Olympic history through research or writing about its history. The slogan is in a handwriting font, and extends an invitation to people on a personal level. In ISOH communications, the slogan font, ALS SyysScirpt Regular, may only be used for this slogan; all other uses are prohibited. The tagline can appear in any of the five Olympic colours.

Secondary graphics. The logo's secondary graphics are the interplay of straight stripes of the same or different widths. The stripes are never at a right angle and some of them cross, creating the impression of a network. This secondary element can, in whole or part, be used as a background or as a separator. It should be used as often as possible together with the logo and slogan, in order to increase brand recognition value.

The secondary graphic consists of one, two, or three groups of five equally wide stripes. Each stripe is filled with one of the five Olympic colours. If a second or third group of stripes is used, these can have a different width.

The colours gold, white, or 10% black may be used as a background. A combination with a photograph in the background is also possible.

Journal of Olympic History. The JOH also has a new face. The new logo, together with the title and issue date, form a harmonious unit. The secondary graphics also appear on the cover. The background in the top area with the title (banner) is always white. Here, too, the font is DIN Pro. The coloured bar in the lower area can only appear in (one of) the five Olympic colours.

Homepage redesign. The ISOH homepage has been revised and the layout adapted to the new design. Content and structure remain the same. We want the homepage to look clearer and more modern and harmonise with the new elements of our corporate design.

Letterheads. The letterhead, envelopes, and business cards also include the new brand elements, as do the email signatures.

Applications. Our new branding will be implemented across ISOH communications and offerings: the JOH, book covers, homepage, merchandising, advertising, and much more. The more all elements are used, the stronger the ISOH brand will become.



Newly designed pin for members attending the General Assembly



Promotional poster for the General Assembly '21 in Paris

The Time Has Come to Exonerate Ernest Lee Jahncke

By NORBERT MÜLLER*

* Based on research by Norbert Müller and Katja Kurth.



Ernest Lee Jahncke's sport was sailing. His father, Frederik (Fritz), who immigrated from Hamburg in 1870 and became wealthy through paving work in New Orleans, took over a shipbuilding company in Madisonville, Louisiana, in 1905. After his death in 1911, his three sons inherited the company, which employed up to 2,200 workers. Photo: Süddeutsche Zeitung Archive

This article intends to facilitate an exoneration of Ernest Lee Jahncke, former American Member of the International Olympic Committee, and to obtain justice for him. On 30 June 1936, Jahncke was dismissed as an official member by the IOC Session in Berlin.

His mindset relating to the Olympic Games in Germany as well as the IOC regulations then in force will be examined below. This approach aims to assess Jahncke's behaviour and determine if the decision made by the IOC was a mistake or if the official reason for his exclusion is grounded in facts.

Unfortunately, additional aspects, such as information about the political situation in Nazi Germany prior to the Olympic Games, will be excluded due to reasons of space.

Jahncke's origins and his relation to sport

Ernest Lee Jahncke was born on 13 October 1877 in New Orleans, Louisiana, USA. In order to better understand his later conduct, it is worth considering the strong ties he had to his hometown. He left New Orleans somewhat reluctantly and, apart from three years elsewhere, spent his entire life in the city until his death on 16 November 1960.

Jahncke was active in economic and athletic organisations, also participating in sport himself. As assumed by Jahncke's granddaughter, it was primarily his love of sport that led him to decide to become an IOC Member.¹

From 1929 to 1932, he lived in Washington, DC, where he worked as assistant secretary of the Navy at the US Department of the Interior. He was popular and respected by those who knew him and was widely regarded as honest, conscientious, friendly, and patriotic.²

Jahncke's appointment to the AOA and IOC

The president of the American Olympic Association (AOA), Colonel Robert Means Thompson, asked Jahncke on 29 October 1926 if he was interested in an AOA position representing his home region in the southern part of the country. Thompson promised him that his duties as an AOA Member would not be too time-consuming. With this encouragement, Jahncke travelled to Washington DC, where he was elected as an AOA Member. At the meeting, he made the acquaintance of General Charles Hitchcock Sherrill, and they remained in touch afterwards. Sherrill, who was already an IOC Member, asked Jahncke if he was interested in applying for a vacant IOC position. Jahncke, however, immediately explained his aversion to travelling and stated that he would attend meetings only infrequently.³

Nevertheless, he was appointed as the third American IOC Member in Monte Carlo on 22 April 1927.⁴ William May Garland represented the western part of the US, General Sherrill the east, and Jahncke was supposed to represent the south. Jahncke himself was not present at his appointment, and it was solely based on Sherrill's recommendation.⁵

Jahncke's role in the IOC and his attempt to resign

Since Ernest Lee Jahncke was busy fulfilling his duties as assistant secretary of the Navy in the administration of US President Herbert Hoover, his spare time was limited, and he could do little for the AOA and even less for the IOC. However, most IOC Members had regular jobs as well back then. Few had the time or money to dedicate themselves fulltime to attending IOC engagements, which included frequent travel. Although Jahncke was affluent, he was also closely tied to his home community and did not like to leave New Orleans, which is why he was not much involved in either committee.

Jahncke did not travel to his first IOC Session in Amsterdam, even though Sherrill stressed in a letter to him that such behaviour was tantamount to resignation. Sherrill also called upon Jahncke's sense of duty, noting that his position would then be left unoccupied, and the USA would lack a vote during important decisions.⁶

Despite not being in Amsterdam, Jahncke was not dismissed from the committee. However, it was



suggested that he should attend the meetings in Cairo and Alexandria in spring 1929, which he did not attend either.

As Jahncke no longer wanted to occupy the seat in the IOC, he attempted to resign. He wrote two letters, one addressed to Sherrill (18 February 1929) and the other to IOC President Henry de Baillet-Latour and the rest of the IOC Members (21 February 1929),

Diploma for Ernest Lee Jahncke from the 1932 Olympics. Of nine Sessions held during his IOC membership, he attended only one.

Photo: Louisiana State University Libraries, Special Collection, Baton Rouge, LA

Norbert Müller passed away

***9 December 1946 – †16 February 2022**

As an athlete, Norbert Müller specialized in the high jump and decathlon, and he was German Youth and Junior champion in 1964 and 1966. Studying History, French Language, Education Sciences, and Physical Education, he earned degrees from the University of Mainz (1971), the University of Munich (1972), and the University of Graz (1974). His PhD thesis was "The Olympic Idea of Pierre de Coubertin and Carl Diem in their reception of the International Olympic Academy forming an 'Olympic education.'" In 1972, he was chief of protocol of the Olympic Village of the Munich Olympics.

Between 1974 and 2012, he was an associate professor and then professor at the University of Mainz. He was also a visiting or guest professor at numerous universities in Europe, Canada, China, and Brazil. Over a period of more than 40 years, he served as a professor at the International Olympic Academy (IOA).

Norbert Müller was president of the German National Olympic Academy from 1982 to 1998. He was also vice-president of the International Fair Play Committee from 1998 to 2012, having been a member of the Commission since 1990. He was president of the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee from 2002 to 2017.



Norbert Müller, ISOH Lifetime Award winner of 2019, attended the ISOH General Assembly via video conference on 20 November 2021 and gave a presentation on Pierre de Coubertin.

Screenshot

He was a member of the IOC's Culture and Olympic Education Commission from 2000 to 2014 and was a member of its successor, the Culture and Olympic Heritage Commission, from 2015 to his death.

Among Müller's most valuable achievements was compiling and editing, with Otto Schantz, the complete works of Pierre de Coubertin, which was issued on DVD in numerous languages. Müller considered this his "life's work," having devoted 28 years to its completion, which was achieved in 2013. He also was the author, co-author, or editor of several books, most notably *One Hundred Years of Olympic Congresses, 1894–1994* and *Pierre de Coubertin, Olympism: selected writings*, published by the IOC in 2000.

For all of his achievements, perhaps his greatest legacy is that he has taught and inspired so many students, including supervising 250 masters theses and nine doctoral theses on Olympic-related subjects.

David Wallechinsky



My dear Colleague,

I have your recent letter in which you express your confidence that my devotion to the Olympic idea and my realization of my duty as a member of the International Olympic Committee will lead me to do all that I can to bring about American participation in the 1936 Olympic Games, and in which you are also good enough to supply me with "arguments" which I can use for that purpose.

I am sorry that I must disappoint you. As you know, I am of German descent and I am very proud of that origin. In fact, I am the only one of the three American members who is also definitely of the Teutonic race.

Nazi Germany will be to deal a severe blow to the Olympic idea. And, tragically enough, it will have been damaged by the International Olympic Committee which is its custodian and to which it was given in sacred trust more than a generation ago by those fine sportsmen who revived the Olympics. If our Committee permits the Games to be held in Nazi Germany, the Olympic idea will cease to be the conception of physical strength and fair play in unison, and there will be nothing left to distinguish it from the Nazi ideal of physical power. It will take many years to re-establish the prestige of the games and the confidence of the peoples of the world. Sport will lose its beauty and its nobility and become, as it has already become in Nazi Germany, an ugly, ignoble affair.

Our Committee was true to its trust in June, 1933, when it demanded and received from the Nazi sports authorities, as the condition of permitting Germany to retain the Games, guarantees that the Nazis would observe the Olympic Code and would not dis-

No one pretends that the Games should be taken away from Germany merely because Jews are not admitted to the Nazi sports clubs. The point, my dear Count, is that by excluding them from those clubs the Nazis have, at the same time, excluded them from the use of training facilities and opportunity for competition.

You quote an argument used by propagandists for holding the Games in Nazi Germany - the fact that Negroes are excluded from many private clubs in America, as if what some Americans do in their own private social relations, however unfortunate it may be, were at all comparable to the treatment of the German Jews by the Nazi Government and Party. It may interest you to know that American Negroes themselves see how false this analogy is. Only recently the National American

Association for the Advancement of the Colored People adopted a resolution calling upon American Negro athletes not to take part in the Games in Nazi Germany.

You suggest that the German sports authorities have done all that they could under the circumstances to keep their pledges. Of course, the circumstances are that they are mere puppets without any power whatever and can do only what they are directed to do by the Nazi Government and Party. I am more than willing to credit my good friend, Dr. Lewald, with the best intentions, but that does not seem to me to be a very good reason for holding the Games in Germany.

The argument that the opposition to holding the Games in Germany is politically inspired is a favorite argument of propagandists for American participation. Sports, they say, as you say, are not to be mixed with politics, and sportsmen are not concerned with Nazi persecution of Jews and Catholics even when it occurs in sport itself.

Was our Committee actuated by political motives in 1933 when it demanded the German pledges or was it on the contrary actuated by the desire to safeguard the Olympic idea? Were we mixing sports with politics in 1933 when we demanded that Germany should treat her non-Aryan athletes fairly or were we on the contrary trying to keep Nazi politics out of the Olympics which was our sacred duty.

Let me, in conclusion, my dear Count, make an earnest appeal to you. It is still not too late to save the Olympic idea and to maintain the Olympics as "a school of moral nobility and purity", as de Coubertin intended them to be. There is still time to arrange for holding the Games elsewhere than in Germany. Let me urge upon you that you place your great talents and influence in the service of the spirit of fair play and of chivalry instead of the service of brutality force and power. Let me beseech you to seize your opportunity to take your rightful place in the history of the Olympics alongside of de Coubertin instead of Hitler. de Coubertin rescued the Olympic idea from the remote past. You have the opportunity to rescue it from the immediate present and safeguard it for posterity.

Very sincerely yours,

Count Henri Baillet-Latour,
Comite International Olympique,
Lausanne, Switzerland.

Jahncke's four-page letter of 25 November 1935 to Count Henry de Baillet-Latour, in which he asked the IOC President: "Let me beseech you to seize the opportunity to take your rightful place in the history of the Olympics alongside de Coubertin instead of Hitler." Source: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne (OSC)

emphasising his deep regret about having to resign. His many commitments, however, did not allow him to properly fulfil his duties as an IOC Member.⁷

Sherrill asked Jahncke not to make his letter of resignation public. It seems as if he intended to spark Hoover's enthusiasm for the Olympic Games using Jahncke's position in the president's administration. This plan, however, failed.⁸

Jahncke was persuaded by Sherrill to stay in office. However, he attended neither the 1930 IOC Session nor the one in 1931 and did not fulfil any duties related to the Olympic Movement.⁹

The IOC Session prior to the Olympic Games 1932 in Los Angeles was the only one Jahncke attended. The minutes do not mention any verbal contribution by Jahncke, only the fact that he attended an IOC meeting for the very first time since his election.^{10,11}

In January 1933, three American IOC Members - Jahncke, Sherrill, and Garland - were called into the Executive Committee of the AOA, which was usually connected to a lifelong stay in the IOC.¹²

Jahncke's stance on the Third Reich

Starting in fall 1935, Jahncke held public speeches in which he strongly condemned America's participation in the Olympic Games in Germany. This call for a boycott surprised his colleagues, as Jahncke had not seemed very interested in Olympic-related issues. As a member of two Olympic organisations, the content of his speeches went against the principles of his oath made during his initiation in 1927.^{13,14}

Retrospectively, the circumstances and reasons for Jahncke to present his personal views so publicly cannot be reconstructed. Possibly his response was triggered by Hitler's horrible, anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws, established in September 1935, and by ensuing calls for a boycott by individuals and organisations alike.¹⁵

After an official ballot (not attended by Jahncke) in which it was decided that the US team would take part in the Olympic Games in Germany, Jahncke continued to take every chance to oppose it. Thus, he remained true to his personal philosophy but repeatedly violated the Olympic ideology.¹⁶

Correspondence between Jahncke, Baillet-Latour, and Lewald

In late-1935, Jahncke sent the press copies of his letters to IOC President Baillet-Latour and German IOC Member Theodor Lewald. Excerpts were published, among others, in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *American Hebrew*. In doing so, Jahncke positioned himself clearly in opposition to the rest of the IOC Members. He was deeply convinced that the Olympic ideals could only be protected and saved by a boycott. Among other things, he wrote that he would do whatever necessary and commit himself entirely to prevent America from sending a team to Germany. Jahncke was critical about the concessions made by the Germans during the IOC Session 1933 in Vienna and their abidance.^{17,18,19}

During the session in Vienna, Lewald affirmed – authorised by the German government – that German Jews were not excluded from the Olympic team. Furthermore, the National Socialists were willing to comply with all Olympic principles. In addition, Lewald confirmed his seat in the German Olympic Committee. Such concessions were made primarily at the behest of Sherrill, Garland, and Baillet-Latour.^{20,21}

Because of the unrelenting frankness of his letters, Jahncke had few supporters but a lot of attention. As expected, the other two American IOC Members did not sympathise with Jahncke.²²

In his letter to Baillet-Latour, Jahncke attempted to explain why he could not campaign for American participation in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. To him, participating would have been the same as



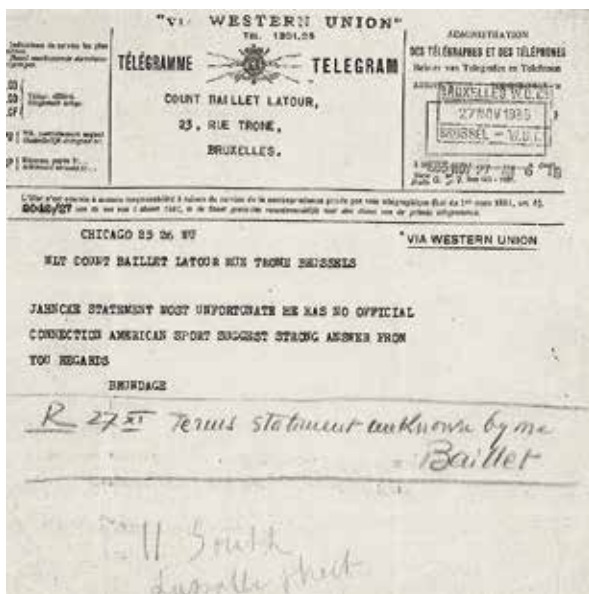
approving Nazi politics in Germany. Jahncke reminded Baillet-Latour of his duties as IOC President. According to Jahncke, he should have relocated the Games to a different country, or the National Socialists should have been held accountable for violating previously made promises. Possibly, it was the final sentence that irritated Baillet-Latour the most. Jahncke wrote that by his actions, Baillet-Latour was going to secure himself a set position in history – right next to Hitler and far from Coubertin.^{23,24,25}

Jahncke vs Baillet-Latour. The committed American Catholic, who was co-opted into the IOC in 1926, also gave the media a copy of the letter, in which he harshly attacked the IOC President for his reticence towards Hitler.

Source: The American Hebrew

Jahncke's letter to Lewald was very polite but straightforward. Jahncke assumed he had already been removed of any political clout. In his opinion, the German Games would lack the most important of all things, namely the spirit of fair play and the athletic attitude. Under such circumstances, Jahncke denied any support for American participation in the Games.^{26,27}

Lewald alluded in his response to Jahncke that the participation of the United States in the Olympic Games was already a done deal. Therefore, their correspondence was useless. Furthermore, many nations had already confirmed their participation and Lewald asked Jahncke if he truly believed that none of them understood the Olympic spirit. Besides, America was far away from events taking place in Germany, which prevented Jahncke from gaining a realistic grasp of the situation there. It was also not up to Jahncke to talk about the Olympic Spirit as he had not shown any interest in IOC matters thus far.^{28,29,30}



Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, expressed his regret about Jahncke's statement in a telegram to Baillet-Latour and demanded a "strong answer". Source: OSC

IOC Members, decorated with golden chains of office, at a Hitler Youth rally in Berlin's Lustgarten (pleasure garden) on the opening day of the 1936 Olympics, led by Reichssportführer (German sports-director) Hans von Tschammer und Osten, wearing an SA uniform. Goebbels, the Reich Minister of Propaganda, who delivered a speech during a parade involving 28,600 youth, mocked the IOC Members in his diary: "The Olympians look like flea circus directors."



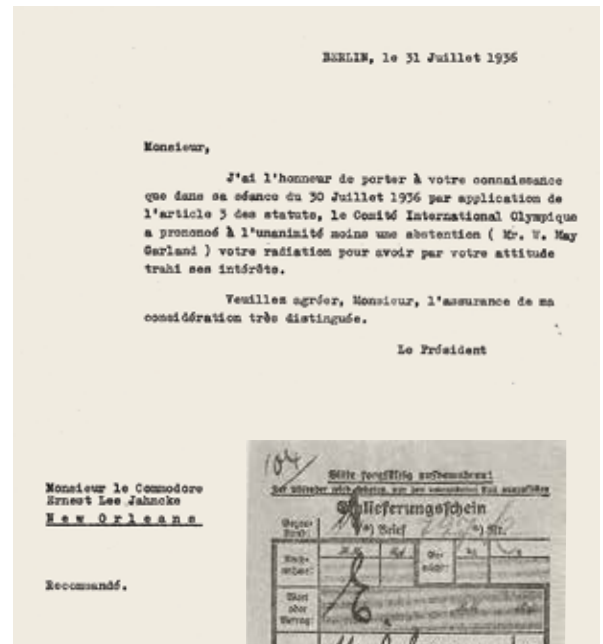
Photo: Collection Christian Kunz

Another letter sent by Lewald to the German Reich Ministry for Inner Affairs, National Edification and Propaganda on 21 December 1935 lay the groundwork for Jahncke's dismissal from, and simultaneously Avery Brundage's admission to, the IOC. Since Jahncke's position appeared unacceptable to the other IOC Members, he should either announce his resignation himself or be removed from the IOC. Since Jahncke did not attend meetings, elections, or enunciations, according to the statutes, he could be expelled. Lewald had already spoken to Baillet-Latour about this issue. Jahncke was going against good conduct by publicly speaking out against the participation of the United States in the Olympic Games. Furthermore, he had betrayed the IOC interests by taking a position opposing that of his fellow IOC colleagues. Lewald, however, preferred that Jahncke voluntarily resign, as this would draw less attention to IOC affairs.³¹

Reactions to Jahncke's behaviour

Probably based on Jahncke's personal attack against him, Baillet-Latour was highly upset. He viewed Jahncke as a traitor among allies and considered his public campaigns unacceptable for the IOC. Brundage advised Jahncke to resign.³²

On 7 February 1936, Jahncke responded to Baillet-Latour's letter. In this letter, Jahncke stressed that he was acting according to Olympic ideals. Furthermore, he stated that he did not intend to resign from his IOC office. Repeatedly, Jahncke reminded the IOC President that the Olympic Games should always comply with essential Olympic principles: equal opportunity, racial equality, and human dignity.^{33,34}



Count de Baillet-Latour sent a registered letter informing Jahncke that he had been expelled from the IOC.

Sources: OSC

To comprehend the ensuing reaction by the IOC, one has to consider Coubertin's norms and values. Coubertin's Olympic values demand that IOC Members function only as servants of the Olympic Movement. Any personal, political opinions should not be stated publicly, as long as international affairs were involved.³⁵

STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

OBJECTS

1. The International Olympic Committee, to whom the Congress of Paris entrusted the mission of watching over the development of the Olympic Games which were re-established on the 23rd June, 1894, proposes firstly to ensure the regular celebration of the Games; secondly to make this celebration more and more perfect, worthy of its glorious past and conforming to the high ideals which inspire those who are urging on the revival of the Games; thirdly to organise meetings and competitions and, in general, to take all proper measures to conduct modern athletics in the right way.

MEMBERSHIP

2. The International Olympic Committee is permanent and elects itself, having at least one member or at the most three members for each country.

The number of countries represented is unlimited. The members of the International Olympic Committee must consider themselves as delegates of the International Olympic Committee to the Federations and Sports Associations of their respective countries. They must not accept from these Associations any mandate which will in any way bind them as members of the Committee or interfere with the independence of their vote.

3. The members of the Committee are elected for an indefinite period. However those who have not taken part in any conference or meeting or vote for two whole years may be considered as having resigned. Expulsion can be pronounced by the Committee against those of its members who have betrayed its interests or disregarded the laws of honour or good sense.



The session on 11 February 1936 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen was convened to prepare Jahncke's suspension. Baillet-Latour presented Jahncke's letter, and all members present were appalled by such behaviour. To assure that everyone was equally informed at the following meeting in Berlin, copies of his letter would also be sent to members not attending this meeting. Until then, Jahncke was granted time to either verbalise an official apology or announce his resignation.³⁶

Jahncke's exclusion from the IOC and the AOA

On 29 July 1936, the IOC Session took place in Berlin. Besides Garland, Avery Brundage attended even though he was not yet an officially elected member. Despite the significance of this meeting for his position in the IOC, Jahncke did not attend. Prior to the conference, newspaper articles were already reporting that Jahncke's spot in the IOC was available for re-filling, assuming Jahncke's exclusion to be set in stone.^{37,38}

Again, the IOC President presented Jahncke's latest response, which stated clearly that he was unwilling to resign voluntarily or change his point of view. A discussion and vote followed; Jahncke's exclusion was decided unanimously. Only Garland abstained from voting, although he also clearly expressed his disapproval relating to Jahncke's behaviour. Excluding Jahncke eliminated the only opposition within the ranks of the IOC. Brundage was then elected as the new American member, assuming Jahncke's spot even though Sherrill's had been vacant since his death in June

1936.³⁹ However, in honour of the deceased, the position was supposed to remain vacant for a while.

Brundage was congruent with the rest of the IOC Members. Furthermore, he contributed substantially to the American team being able to travel to Germany by opposing the proposed boycott.⁴⁰

The IOC guidelines already defined options for expelling a member. Generally, members were for an indefinite period with the option of resigning in their own interest at any time. Members could also be declared as resigned if they had not attended any meetings or elections over a two-year period. A member could also be expelled if he betrayed IOC interests or if he was considered, in the eyes of the IOC, as having violated rules of honour or morality.⁴¹

Jahncke's exclusion from the IOC on 30 July 1936 was justified by his continuous absence during IOC meetings. However, many did not regard this as the main reason. Arguments for his exclusion were mainly innocuous for the people involved but reasonable for everyone. Additionally, Lord Killanin noted that the primary reason for Jahncke's dismissal was his relentless refusal to resign, which upset Baillet-Latour and the Executive Committee. Furthermore, his behaviour towards his colleagues was said to be improper.⁴²

The official pamphlet of the Summer Olympics 1936, which had been printed weeks prior to the conference in Berlin, already stated Avery Brundage's name instead of Jahncke's. For Lewald, who was in charge of the pamphlet's content, Jahncke's dismissal had therefore been certain.⁴³

Jahncke was not only expelled from the IOC but also from the AOA. Brundage, as president of

Ernest Lee Jahncke Sr. became president of Jahncke Interests in New Orleans, and first executive director of the Louisiana State Department of Commerce and Industry (1937-1941).

Left: Rule 3 of the 1930 Olympic Charter, which served as the basis for Jahncke's exclusion from the IOC.

Photo: Louisiana State University Libraries, Special Collection, Baton Rouge, LA; Volker Kluge Archive

the AOA, had a memo sent to all its members on 31 December 1935, calling on those who were against the participation of the American team to resign from their offices voluntarily; otherwise, they would be expelled. This was what happened to Jahncke, among others.^{44,45}

IOC's position on the "Jewish Question"

Some of the IOC Members considered the situation in Germany precarious but were reassured and calmed down by Baillet-Latour and the German members.⁴⁶ Some IOC Members were also blinded by the glamour of the upcoming Games and the supporting programme. Jahncke's question of conscience and protest did not resound among them and was instead considered a betrayal of the Olympic principles.⁴⁷ Anyone who criticised Hitler lost the IOC's support. Seemingly, IOC Members had fallen for German propaganda. The majority of IOC Members were naïve when it came to political matters and trusted in the promises made by the Germans – including the equal status of Jewish athletes during the upcoming competitions.⁴⁸

Reactions to Jahncke's exclusion

The reactions by the American press influenced many readers to reconsider the American team's participation in the Games of the National Socialists.⁴⁹ The response to Jahncke's exclusion by the American press was polarised. One side viewed it as unjustified, while the other side sympathised with the IOC and its decisions.



A member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Ernest Lee Jahncke (middle) built the seawall in New Orleans running from West End to the Spanish Fort. From 1929 to 1933, he served as assistant secretary of the US Navy. Left: Admiral William V. Pratt, who was chief of Naval Operations at the same time. Right: Commander Mahlon S. Tisdale. Photo: Naval History and Heritage Command



Jahncke (right) in 1954 in West Branch, Iowa, at the 80th birthday celebrations of Herbert Hoover, 31st president of the United States from 1929 to 1933.

Jahncke died in 1960; Hoover outlived him by four years. Photo: picture-alliance

It was repeatedly emphasised that expelling Jahncke complied with IOC principles, despite the lengthy discussions about the grounds for his exclusion.⁵⁰

Jahncke himself also went public, intending to reveal the true reasons for his exclusion. He cited extracts from a letter sent by Baillet-Latour after his dismissal, which stated that Jahncke was not expelled due to his continuous absence but due to his betrayal of IOC-related interests.⁵¹

Justice for Ernest Lee Jahncke

In late 1935, Jahncke took a stand against the position of the IOC in terms of questions of international law. By repeatedly calling for a boycott, he made his position within the context of the race issue very clear. His ideals and sense of justice motivated his actions, leading him to violate IOC statutes. Baillet-Latour, in particular, felt personally attacked by Jahncke's behaviour.

For Jahncke, it was impossible to separate sport and politics as the IOC stipulated. His priority was the equality of human beings regardless of race or religion. He was not able to sympathise with German politics and the injustice involved. His persistence was met by ignorance. His IOC colleagues did not want to risk a withdrawal by the Americans, which undoubtedly would have led other nations to withdraw and threatened the realisation of the Games as a whole.

But Jahncke also made mistakes. His largest was surely his repeated absence from IOC meetings. He was unable to fulfil duties related to his office, and it appeared that he had only taken the position for reasons of prestige. He could have resigned voluntarily but did not do so. Possibly, he continued to be hopeful that the public would focus their attention on a respected IOC Member, which would have been helpful for his boycott campaign.

Using questionable pretences to expel Jahncke prior to the Olympic Games in Berlin was not beneficial for the IOC's public image. Consequently, Baillet-Latour and other IOC Members were presented in a bad light. The IOC decision was criticised immediately after Jahncke's exclusion became public and remains controversial today.

From a legal point of view, the IOC was able to expel Jahncke for two reasons. First, the position Jahncke expressed publicly was not compliant with that of the IOC. Thus, he violated rules of honour and ethics. Second, he had not attended any meeting for two years, which, according to the IOC statutes at the time, could be a valid reason – though not a mandatory one – for exclusion.⁵² But, since Jahncke had become an inconvenient member, the option was taken and used.⁵³

Today, moral issues declare Jahncke's exclusion to be unjustified

The author concludes that Jahncke's exoneration seems justified, considering the historical context and upon closer examination of his personal motives. Thereby, the author gives more weight to Jahncke's moral motivations than to the purely legal reasons that were used to justify his exclusion. ■

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Austria's "Coubertin": Life and Death of Otto Herschmann

By VOLKER KLUGE



Athens 1896: The three Austrians Otto Herschmann (1), Paul Neumann (2), and Adolf Schmal (3) with German Olympians and members of the Philadelphia Society, on the Acropolis.

Photo: Albert Meyer

The schedule of events to mark the 50th anniversary of Munich 1972 also includes a day of remembrance. On 5 September 2022, a commemoration will be held for the victims of the attack on the Israeli team by Palestinian terrorists during the Olympic Games.

This atrocious act has a history that goes back a long way and showed its ugliest face during the National Socialist period. More than a few athletes were among the numerous victims. One of them was the Austrian Dr. Otto Herschmann, who was a medal winner in two sports. And he made a significant contribution to enshrining the Olympic Idea in his country.

With the defeat in the war of 1866 against Prussia and the simultaneous loss of Venetia to Italy, Austria's status as a great power came to an end. Emperor Franz Joseph I was forced to make far-reaching concessions. While Hungary received full autonomy through the so-called Compromise of 1867, the population of the Slavic crown lands, which continued to be governed from Vienna in the second half of the

empire, known as Cisleithania,¹ benefited from the "December Constitution".²

This law was of particular significance for Jews, as it guaranteed them unimpeded residence and the free exercise of religion. As a result, their share of the population grew within just a few years from 1.2% (1857) to 12.1% (1890) in Vienna alone. These were mostly workers, craftsmen, and small traders who settled in Leopoldstadt, not far from the city centre, between the Danube Canal and the Prater park. Many of them came from Moravia, including Herschmann's parents, who originated from the Brno area: his father, Emanuel, was from Rousínov (Raussnitz); his mother, Cäcilie, née Lampl, was from Šitbořice (Schüttboritz).

As chance would have it, Otto Herschmann was born on 4 January 1877 in the same house in Obere Donaustrasse 393 (today no. 5)³ as the composer Arnold Schönberg, born in 1874, who invented the 12-tone technique. They did not grow up together, however, as the Schönbergs – the father was a shoemaker – moved a year before Herschmann was born.⁴

The Great Depression, which had its origins in the Vienna stock market crash of 9 May 1873, and for which Christian-Social and German national politicians as well as conspiracy theorists and fantasists of all stripes blamed the Jews, stoked antisemitism.⁵ Barely emancipated, the Jewish youth grew up in a hostile environment, against which they could best defend themselves through education.

Herschmann's parents – the father was a journalist and writer; the mother owned an artificial flower and feather factory – were in the position to allow their son to attend secondary school.

So that he would not suffer any professional disadvantages later, they permitted the 18-year-old to leave the Jewish religious community before he came of age.⁶

Alongside education, sport offered another opportunity to gain social recognition. In a booklet entitled *Wiener Sport* (Viennese sport), Herschmann devoted a chapter to this subject, in which he described sport as a “cosmopolitan means of unification”.⁷ He also considered the extrovert manner in which sport was practised to be “co-determinative for the impact on the rest of society, and thus for the value of sport with a view to assimilation.”⁸

He saw the only correct solution to the so-called Jewish question in “the merging of Judaism into the ethnic body politic in which it lives,” which was to be accelerated through sport.⁹

For a boy growing up on the banks of the Danube, learning to swim at an early age was an obvious choice. Swimming became Herschmann's passion. He joined the 1st Vienna Amateur Swimming Club (EWASC), which had been organising swimming tours in the Danube Canal since 1888 under the direction of a retired cavalry captain, Baron Eugen Forgatsch.¹⁰ Herschmann's role model was Paul Neumann, the youngest son of the well-known professor of dermatology, Isidor Neumann.¹¹ Thousands of Viennese cheered the 18-year-old in 1893 when he won the *Strommeisterschaft* (river championship) between Nussdorf and the Reichsbrücke under the pseudonym Emil Carpenter.¹²

For young novices like Herschmann, even just crossing the river was a big challenge. He finished his first *Donauprobe* (Danube trial) in third place. He was probably also thinking of himself when he wrote in *Wiener Sport* about the “often puny-looking boys” and their first miserable attempts at swimming: “... and years passed by during which the weedy young man ... develops, during which he exchanges the flabby forms of his body for pleasing beginnings to muscles.”¹³ He raved about a Danube swimming tour: “When you enjoy the sport to the full, the misery of life on earth vanishes.”¹⁴



Classic reading: Otto Herschmann's *Wiener Sport*. The slender book with 76 pages appeared in spring 1905 as volume 12 of the *Großstadt-Dokumente* (metropolis documents). The publisher of the 50-part series was the Berlin-based writer and journalist Hans Ostwald (1873–1940) at Verlag Hermann Seemann. The series focused on living conditions in Berlin and Vienna.

Source: Volker Kluge Archives

Athens 1896: silver or bronze medallist?

In late-1894, Herschmann read about the ancient Olympic Games for the first time, which were to be revived in Athens in two years' time – allegedly at the suggestion of the Parisian *Figaro*. A committee was subsequently set up, whose secretary, “the Frenchman Baron Koumberten [sic],” was currently sojourning in Greece, “in order to implement the plan.”

A year later, details of the programme became known, which included “nautical branches of sport”.¹⁵ More months passed before it was reported that a participation committee chaired by Count Wilczek had also been formed in Vienna, which – as in Hungary – wanted to solicit financial support from the government.¹⁶

The response was meagre, and so the committee had to rely on its own sponsors. Among the best known was member of the House of Lords Nikolaus Dumba,¹⁷ a friend of the Greek Georgios Averoff who had funded the restoration of the Panathenaic Stadium in Athens. Together with the banker Leopold Hutterstrasser, Dumba attended the EWASC championships, where Herschmann, who finished in second place, “covered the whole distance at a steady and beautiful English sidestroke pace.”¹⁸

Two weeks later, when he also won the honorary award of the City of Vienna “with a great deal of brainpower and calculation”,¹⁹ the committee agreed to pay for his and Neumann's participation in Athens. It would also have covered the costs for the man who was then the world's fastest swimmer, the Vienna-based German Eugen Wolf. However, he had private plans and was content to become German champion for the fourth time in a row in August.²⁰

Finally, on 30 March 1896, three Austrians set off for Greece. The third member of the group was Adolf Schmal, who belonged to the Vienna Bicycle Club and the "Haudegen" Fencing Club, and who had been hired as a reporter by several newspapers.²¹ The crossing with the Austrian Lloyd took place from Brindisi to Patras. The small delegation arrived in Athens on the afternoon of 5 April – and, the next day, the Games began.²²

As a cyclist and fencer, Schmal commuted back and forth between New Phaleron and the Zappeion. First, he competed in sabre fencing, in which he got off to a hopeful start. He had already won two bouts when the Greek king appeared with the princes, whereupon the jury decided to start things again. The previous results were cancelled, and, in the end, Schmal only came in fourth.²³

After the competitions in the Olympic stadium, the Games continued on the sixth day with the swimming. Nearly 20,000 spectators flocked to Piraeus, where a flag-decorated stand had been erected in the picturesque bay of Zea, where the royal family took their seats.

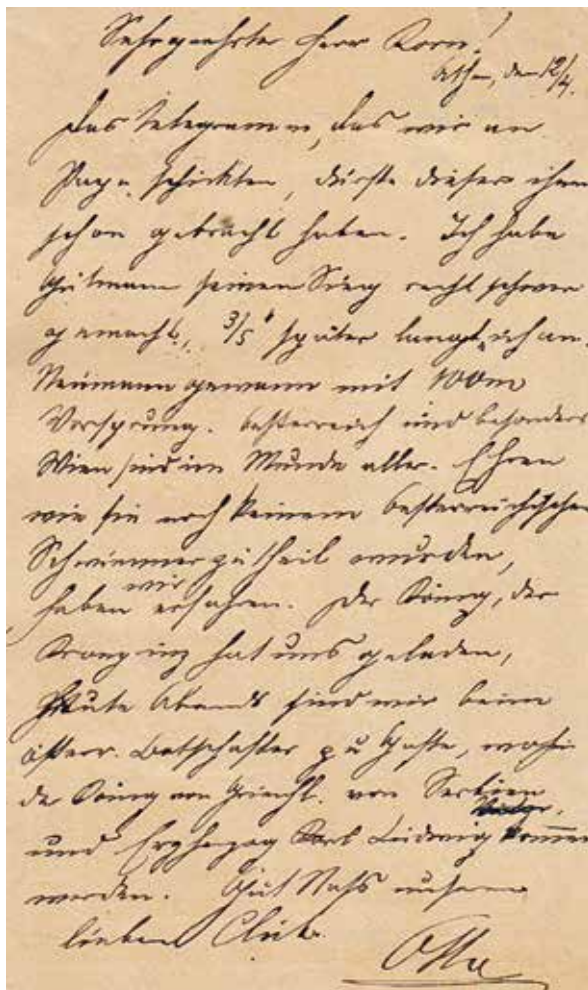
Numerous athletes had registered. For the 100 m distance alone, 34 names were listed in the programme, including number 29, "Otto

Heirichmann".²⁴ At the competition, however, only 13 people appeared,²⁵ who were taken out to sea in a launch at an air temperature of 18 degrees and a water temperature of 13½ degrees Celsius. Lined up next to each other in front of a rope, they swam off, after a pistol shot, towards the shore, where a red flag marked the finish.

According to the German professor Ferdinand Hueppe, who belonged to the eight-member panel of judges chaired by Prince George, all of them used the hand-over-hand stroke, which was also known as "Spanish" or "sailor swimming". For the two longer distances, the energy-saving sidestroke was preferred.²⁶

The winner was beyond all doubt: Alfréd Hajós, whose official name was still Arnold Guttmann at the time.²⁷ What is disputed, however, is who finished second behind the 18-year-old Hungarian. The *Official Report* and the *Akropolis* named the Greek Efstathios Chorafas as the one,²⁸ while most Austrian papers reported it as being Herschmann.

At first, the Austrian press had declared Herschmann third not in the 100 m, but in the 500 m event, which was won by Paul Neumann.²⁹ However, a few days later, on 22 April 1896, when the swimmers were expected to



A postcard Otto Herschmann sent to the president of the 1st Vienna Amateur Swimming Club, Gustav Korn, one day after the 100 m competition in 1896.

"We are on everyone's lips," he writes. Invitations by the Greek king and Austrian ambassador are also mentioned. Source: Rüdiger Fritz Collection

Above: Olympic swimming competition in the Bay of Zea. You can see the starting cord stretched between boats, with the line of participants parallel to it. Whether the photo truly dates from 1896 is unclear; it may have been taken in 1906.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

return, a correction was made: Herschmann was now considered second in the 100 m.³⁰

It is possible that his postcard, which he sent to EWASC President Gustav Korn on 12 April, had arrived in the meantime. It read: "... Georg [?] has likely already brought you the telegram that we sent to him. I made Gutmann's [sic] victory quite a challenge for him. I came in $\frac{3}{5}$ " later."³¹ Since Herschmann was also a journalist, he substantiated this information four days later. In the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung (ASZ)*, he wrote that the Austrians "won two first and one second prizes".³² Schmal achieved the second victory on the last day of competition in the 12-hour cycle race.

However, Alfréd Hajós was not convinced. In his memoirs, he referred to a friend named Kertész, who had been an eyewitness to the 100 m event and had seen the US American Gardner Williams come in second and Herschmann third.³³ He maintained that "with complete resoluteness", according to Hungarian historian Dr. Ferenc Mezö, who was later a member of the IOC.³⁴

The wording found in the yearbook of the Austrian NOC from 1913 – indeed, at a time when Herschmann was its president – also reads misleadingly. According to that, he was "owner of the Olympic bronze medal at Athens 1896".³⁵ At that time, bronze was awarded to the runners-up. Or was the author thinking in terms of the categories of gold, silver, and bronze that would later become commonplace?

Founding era: WAC, athletics association, student sports festival, and beauty contest

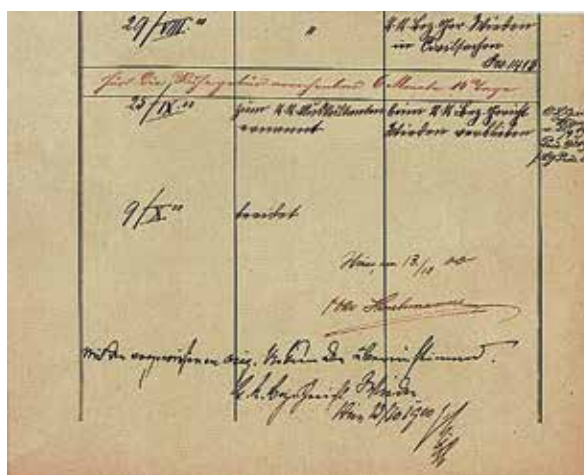
Herschmann returned from Athens enthralled. He considered it a shame, though, that none of his compatriots had competed in athletics. Once he had found out from conversations with American and British participants that they trained in clubs with several branches of sport, he got the idea of setting up such a club in Vienna – "organised according to the English model".³⁶ Five weeks later, this became a reality. Together with other like-minded people, he decided to found the Wiener Athletiksport Club (WAC), not only for swimmers but also track and field athletes as well as fencers, cyclists, tennis players, winter sportsmen, and hockey and football players.³⁷

Before Herschmann left the EWASC, he represented its colours once more on 2 August 1896 at a "Championship of Europe" in Vienna, which Hajós won, ahead of defending champion Wolf. Herschmann, who finished fifth, said his farewells two weeks later with victories in swimming and diving, declaring that he "now wanted to devote himself to theoretical sport."³⁸ In addition to his law studies at the University of Vienna, which Herschmann had begun in 1895, he



Identity card for Dr. Otto Herschmann issued by the Austro-Hungarian Imperial and Royal Ministry of Justice on 9 October 1900.

Source: Austrian State Archive



worked diligently to set up the WAC. He took over the office of second secretary. Shortly after it was founded, it had already amassed 150 members, including aristocrats like Prince Auersperg, who contributed an indoor riding arena that was used as a winter stadium. ASZ publisher Victor Silberer placed the premises of his Aeronautical Institute in the Prater at the club's disposal for the warmer seasons.³⁹

Two years later, the WAC had doubled its membership. It owned clubhouses in the city centre and in the Prater, where it built its own sports field in 1898. Herschmann used to demonstrate athletic disciplines there that he had seen at the Olympic Games, such as discus throwing, shot put, pole vault, and hurdling. In the same year, they were also included in the programme of an international meeting to which the WAC extended invitations to mark the occasion of the imperial Anniversary Exhibition.⁴⁰

That was new for Vienna, and the numerous visitors were able to witness the birth of Austrian athletics. However, two years passed before a national association was formed. Silberer was elected its president, and Herschmann, deputy president.⁴¹

“Allow me!”

**Dr. Otto Herschmann,
Court Advocate.**

Photo: Österreichischer
Zentralverband für gemeinsame
Sportinteressen (Olympisches
Komitee für Österreich), Österreichs
Sport 1913.



Just 23 years old and about to receive his doctorate, Herschmann was appointed to the eight-member executive committee that made preparations for Austria's participation in the next Olympic Games in 1900. The steering committee, which included nobility, princes, and counts, issued an appeal for donations to be able to “represent Austria in its entirety” this time.⁴²

The result was again mediocre. In terms of numbers, the fencers had the strongest representation in Paris, with eight participants. Two WAC athletes qualified for the athletics, one of whom, the discus thrower Cornelius von Lubowiecki, then missed the start due to oversleeping. The three swimmers were the most successful, taking three second places and one third.

A certain “Othon Sterschmann” – Otto Herschmann, who was a member of the international panels of judges for the athletics and swimming – was also present. Furthermore, he reported on the swimming competitions, making no secret of his satisfaction about the fact that the professionals, “who toil[ed] their way down the long stretch for money, [were] far outstripped by young, enthusiastic amateurs.”⁴³

Nevertheless, Herschmann respected professional athletes, who deserved gratitude if they demonstrated “honest sport” without any tampering, he wrote.⁴⁴ Regarding the “amateur question”, he did not support the strict English definition. Rather, he represented

liberal views, which he considered necessary because sport had captured broad layers of the population, and it was therefore right that the rules be adapted to social conditions. He found these modern, “yet they do not imply any disparagement towards the amateur concept, but rather an improvement of it ...”⁴⁵

At the beginning of the 20th century, Herschmann was one of a group of young lawyers in whom the public prosecutor's office of Vienna placed high hopes. He belonged to the so-called fine society. At festivities, he was seen with attractive young ladies on his arm, whose families were considered wealthy. Yet, since he remained a bachelor all his life, it seems the right one was never among them. He did not escape calamity: in the spa town of Baden, his father threw himself in front of the express train from Trieste. A letter he was carrying with him stated that he wanted to end his torturous life because of a “nervous ailment of the mind”.⁴⁶

Alongside his professional career, Herschmann discovered the development of sport in the empire as his mission. He facilitated promotional events, where he acted as an evangelist. Together with Felix Schmal, the brother of the Olympic cycling champion, he wrote the rule book for Austrian athletics. Thanks to his initiative, the first Viennese student sports festival came about in 1900, and he even organised the first beauty contest, in which professors, painters, and sculptors made up the panel of judges.

Herschmann did not hold back on criticism in his publications. He found it strange that none of the political parties – especially the Social Democrats – had yet discovered sport, which he described as the “stepchild of the state”. “It has not yet been incorporated into the public education programme, and, in sport like in most welfare institutions, it has been left to private bodies to undertake the great ethical work of physical education ...”⁴⁷ Particularly the international presence was a complete failure, he wrote. Nowhere was there a major sports festival, and unlike Hungary and Bohemia, Austria was not even represented in the IOC.

When Silberer, too, took that same line,⁴⁸ the emperor's private secretary, Prince Alexander zu Solms-Braunfels, was admitted to the IOC in 1905 – not through the obligingness of President Pierre de Coubertin, but “through diplomatic channels”.⁴⁹

An “impeccable type” and a “gentleman athlete”

Herschmann was far too much of an athlete to have been satisfied with being a mere administrator. He went on to win championships in diving, competed in wrestling matches, play water polo and table

tennis, and finished fifth in the national skeleton championships. However, it was fencing, above all, that he embraced as a new challenge.

The emperor's son-in-law, Archduke Franz Salvator, had brought fencing master Luigi Barbasetti from Trieste to Vienna in order to introduce Italian fencing methods. In December 1894, he opened the Salle Barbasetti in St. Annahof.⁵⁰ In his wake, Giovanni Franceschini, another fencing master from the south, moved to Vienna, where he was employed by the WAC in late-1896. His most talented student was Herschmann, who was described as "the impeccable specimen of the Viennese fencer and gentleman athlete".⁵¹ Another newspaper wrote: "Most of all, ... Franceschini can be proud of his student, Dr. Otto Herschmann, who started fencing with Franceschini ten years ago, never had any other teacher, and is, today, the best fencer in Austria-Hungary and one of the best in Europe."⁵²

When, against Coubertin's wishes, the Greeks were once again hosts of the 1906 Olympic Games in Athens, also known as the "Intercalated Games", Herschmann was again part of the Austrian team. Thanks to a generous donation from Count Hans Wilczek, it consisted of 35 athletes. This time, however, Herschmann could not live up to his good reputation as a sabre fencer. In the semifinals he only won two bouts, resulting in his premature departure. He was lacking in concentration as he fenced and had probably overreached himself. He was also a member of four panels of judges.⁵³

The Austrian Central Committee, founded especially for 1906, only existed for a brief period, like the previous ones. Two years later, a new one was founded, which set itself the task of "achieving, perhaps even surpassing, the fame of the Olympic Games" with the "1908 celebrations in Vienna in honour of the emperor".⁵⁴ This goal failed, as did the intention to send around 60 athletes to London. Only 50 of the required 30,000 crowns were available at all, although 2,000 "begging letters" had been sent to aristocrats and members of the "moneyed nobility". Ultimately, only the WAC was able to send seven athletes to the Games.⁵⁵

Among them was the Jewish fencer Fritz Flesch. He was supposed to be accompanied by Herschmann, who shortly beforehand had won the "Tournament in Homage to the Emperor" in sabre fencing in front of the young, later legendary Italian Nedo Nadi. However, he had to cancel for personal reasons.

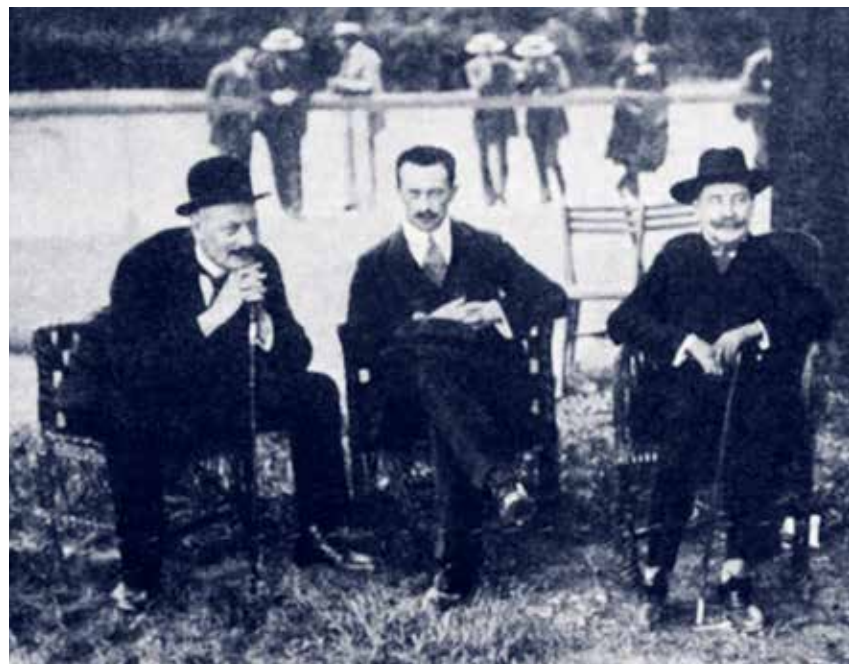
Eight years after his doctorate, Herschmann was included in the coveted list of Viennese court lawyers.⁵⁶ From then on, he could not complain about a lack of clients. His reputation was enhanced by spectacular cases, such as an incident that took place on a luxury

liner off Spitsbergen. A certain Count Sternberg had given a eulogy for the practice of duelling, whereupon the writer Dr. Emil von Hofmannsthal, who was present, dared to contradict him. Because he had consequently been insulted, Hofmannsthal, who was chairman of the Anti-Duelling League, sued the Count and had Herschmann represent him in court – apparently with success, because he then asked the lawyer for a foreword to his book *Code of Honour for Duelling Opponents*, which became a guide for the courts in creating an honorary board of counsellors to settle disputes without the use of arms.⁵⁷

Aristocrats over a Jewish advocate

Solms-Braunfels was a member of the IOC for four years without taking part in a single conference. Instead, he wrote letters to Coubertin, in which he criticised the recognition of Bohemia with the Czech Dr. Jiří Guth as an IOC Member, without success. The Austrian prince resigned even before the start of the 1909 Session in Berlin. As his successor, he recommended the lawyer Dr. Gustav Magg, who had been involved in the founding of a Central Sports Committee the year before. In 1909, Magg also took the helm at the WAC, which had managed without a president for 14 years. He died a few weeks later. Herschmann gave the funeral oration.

Thus, Austria once again had no vote on the international stage. A first step to change this was

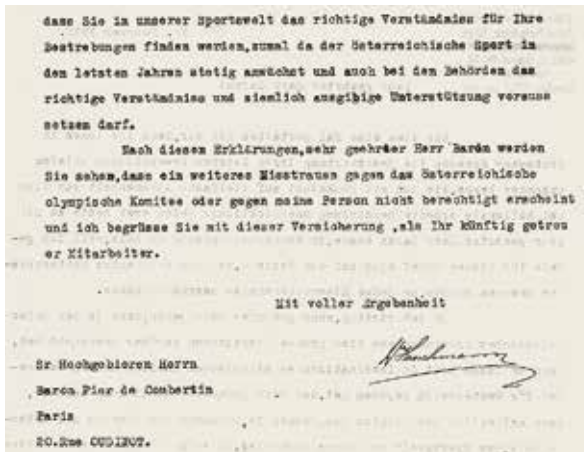


The selection committee for the 1912 Olympic team: Baron Richard von Bienerth (former prime minister, then governor of Lower Austria/left), NOC President Otto Herschmann (in the middle), and WAC Vice-President Gustav Korn.

Photo: Illustriertes Österreichisches Sportblatt 1912

Excerpts from Herschmann's letter of 12 February 1912 to Coubertin, which he wrote in German "to avoid misunderstandings". He pledges support to the IOC President and asks him to stop distrusting him and Austria.

Source: OSC



taken at the end of 1910. The sports associations were convinced of the need for an umbrella organisation, which was constituted on 23 February 1911 as the Austrian Central Association for Common Sports Interests (Olympic Committee for Austria). The chairman of the Viennese Sports Club, Hans Hornacsek, became president.

After the inaugural meeting, Herschmann, who had been elected 1st vice-president, met with the Hungarian Jules (Gyula) de Muzsa to negotiate the question of Austria's representation in the IOC. Both a member of parliament and the IOC, de Muzsa encouraged him and promised to support his inclusion at the next Session in Budapest. As a result, Herschmann was nominated by the Central Association as a "particularly suitable expert on the situation".⁵⁸

But Coubertin ignored the decision. At the beginning of the Session, "to the applause of the entire committee", he proposed the election of Prince Otto zu Windisch-Graetz, whom, in 1902, Emperor Franz Joseph had permitted to marry one of his granddaughters.⁵⁹ Less than six months later, Coubertin co-opted another aristocrat: Count Rudolf Colloredo-Mannsfeld, President of the Austrian Lawn Tennis Association.

Herschmann needed time to cope with the rejection. Not even Coubertin's conciliatory letters changed anything in that regard. Only after Herschmann had taken over the leadership of the Central Association

at the end of 1911 – Hornacsek had resigned⁶⁰ – did he reply to Coubertin in German, "by way of exception" and "to avoid any misunderstandings".⁶¹ The ill feeling had completely vanished, he wrote. The choice of Windisch-Graetz was met with unanimous satisfaction. He offered Coubertin support and assured him "that further distrust of the Austrian Olympic Committee or of my person does not appear justified".⁶²

The authorities in Vienna had other concerns. The policy of trialism, which aimed to bring about equilibrium with the Slavic population as the third pillar in the Habsburg Empire, failed once again in the Imperial Assembly elections in June 1911. To integrate the peripheral forces better, the government felt compelled to make concessions, especially to the Czechs. They were allowed to have their own part of the team at the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm and march in behind Austria – and ahead of Hungary – as "Autriche" with the addendum "Tschèques".

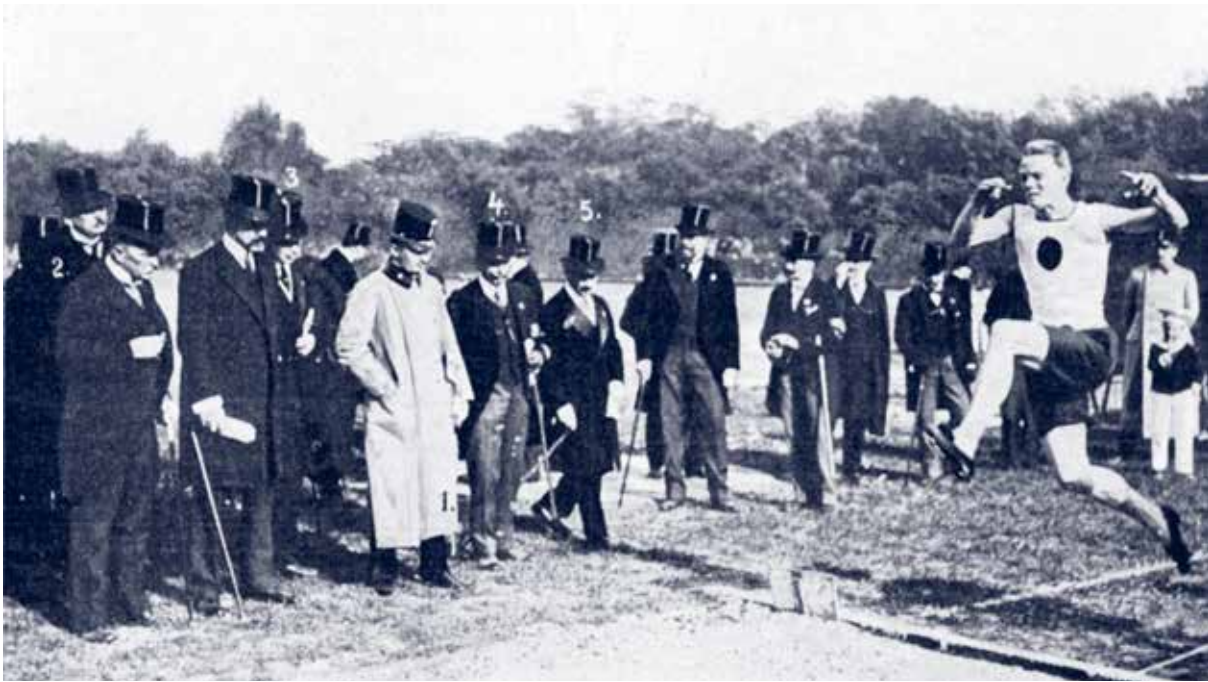
Furthermore, the Czechs, whose nationality was thereby recognised by Vienna, were allowed to carry a smaller white-and-red banner with the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bohemia in addition to the black-and-yellow imperial flag, and both of these would have been hoisted as well, if the Czechs had won a medal.⁶³

The Austrians, who, for the first time, were able to send a large expedition thanks to state funding, did not have need of the notes of the "Emperor's Hymn" either. They did not provide any Olympic champions. The best performers were the fencers, who won silver with the sabre team and bronze with First Lieutenant Richard Verderber in the individual foil. Dr. Pipes and Dr. Zborzil also took silver in the tennis doubles. The women's swimming relay team got bronze.

At a cost of 63,000 crowns, this was not a terrific haul for the Austrians, as can be read in the report to the Foreign Ministry, signed by Windisch-Graetz and Herschmann: "...yet, it can still be said that amidst truly overwhelming competition, they did not do a bad job ..."⁶⁴

The press saw it differently. The performance was called a failure and even a fiasco. The "main blame for this outrageous disgrace" was placed on Herschmann.⁶⁵ However, he was the least at fault. In the sabre team, which consisted of seven officers from the Wiener-Neustadt gymnastics and fencing training course plus Herschmann as the one civilian, he shone with "unmatched calm, elegance, and energy".⁶⁶ Together with Verderber, he was the mainstay of the team, which lost only to the Hungarians, with a score of 5–11. To date, he remains the only NOC President to win an Olympic medal during his term in office.

Objective observers rightly saw the reasons for the weak results not in individuals but in the "petty



Herschmann (no. 5) focused on young people. First School, Gymnastics, and Sports Festival organised by the Austrian NOC, attended by Archduke Karl Franz Joseph (1, in uniform), Minister of Education von Hussarek (2), IOC Member Prince zu Windisch-Graetz (3), and Athletics President Hans Pfeiffer (4).

Photo: Illustriertes Österreichisches Sportblatt 1913

club work” and “lack of seriousness with which sport is practised here. ... It will take a great deal of work and some strong will to even halfway change this situation.”⁶⁷

Herschmann, who had been awarded the First-Class Order of Vasa by the Swedish king for his contribution to the success of the Olympic Games, had long been aware that change could only be achieved by reforming school sport. In May 1913, the NOC organised a two-day school, gymnastics, and sports festival in Vienna to provide some impetus, and even the emperor’s great-nephew, Archduke Karl Franz Joseph, appeared as a representative of the emperor.⁶⁸ None of the other prominent figures could stay away. The press celebrated the military-organised event as a milestone in the development of the educational system, noting that the students from the country looked fresher than the “big city boys”.⁶⁹ Girls were not invited.

To be better prepared for the Olympic Games 1916, which had been awarded to Berlin, Herschmann had asked IOC founding member William M. Sloane if he would give a lecture in Vienna. On 28 May 1913, having accepted a guest professorship at the University of Berlin, the American spoke on the subject of “The Olympic Games and their moral significance for young people”.⁷⁰

He took this opportunity to invite Herschmann to the United States to study the conditions there. In November, Herschmann was received by the leaders of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) in New York, from where a four-man German delegation including Carl Diem had just set off. He held meetings with AAU President James E. Sullivan and his loyal aide,

Daniel J. Ferris. In search of a coach to prepare Austria’s athletes for 1916, he visited the Boston Athletic Association. He also met with Austrian-born Leo Friedrich, who wanted to build a large stadium in Vienna.

After Herschmann’s return, the NOC’s General Assembly awaited him, where new elections were on the agenda. Herschmann provided a report, and, at the end, he surprisingly declared “that due to professional and private circumstances, he was no longer in a position to accept re-election as president.”⁷¹ He suggested that Colloredo-Mannsfeld be his successor, who was then elected by acclamation.

The press reported Herschmann’s resignation without making any comment – some of them with regret. The *Fremden-Blatt*, which praised him as the “Austrian Coubertin”, read: “However our sport may continue to develop, and whatever fruit the sporting idea will bear in Austria, Dr. Herschmann sowed the seed for future greatness, and the Austrian Olympic idea will forevermore be linked to his name.”⁷²

The ASZ only furnished information about the election of Colloredo-Mannsfeld a month later, without mentioning Herschmann’s resignation.⁷³ That was strange, since in November 1913 the newspaper had still criticised his US journey as a “pleasure trip” and a “pompous staging of Austrian preparations”. “A costly and time-consuming excursion, certainly a very significant sacrifice for a man who is not a man of independent means. That is up to him, though, provided he defrays the expenses out of his own pocket and does not use the funds of the body he heads.”⁷⁴

The hateful article bore the thumbprint of Silberer, who probably blamed Herschmann for his having to

Although almost 50 years old, Herschmann proved, in the mid-1920s, that he was still part of the world elite of sabre fencers. At the WAC tournament, he was narrowly defeated 12–10 by two-time Olympic champion and Italian champion of 1922 and 1923, Oreste Puliti. Tactically, they were like-for-like. It was not least because of results like these that the Austrian NOC decided to send a fencing team to the Paris Games in 1924, to which the Alpine Republic had once again been admitted.

Strengthened by Herschmann's international authority, the foil fencers performed respectably there. He was supposed to compete himself in the sabre fencing; but that didn't happen. Since they ran out of money, the fencers had to go home early. Afterwards, one report read: "Participation on the part of the sabre team thus fell through."⁸⁵

Herschmann therefore also escaped the scandal surrounding sabre fencing, which was overshadowed by the traditional rivalry between Hungary and Italy. When the Hungarian referee Dr. György Kovács suspected in the singles final that Puliti had been "handed" victories by his comrades to help him win the gold medal, the accused man threw a tantrum. Puliti was disqualified, and, at that point, the rest of the Italians also refused to take part. They left the arena while singing the fascist anthem.

The argument escalated when Puliti and Kovács met two days later at the Folies Bergères variety theatre. A battle of words broke out again, and when the Hungarian then received a slap in the face, the police intervened. The IOC Executive Committee, chaired by Coubertin, disqualified Puliti from the Games and reprimanded the team.⁸⁶ However, the strict sanctions demanded by the Italian NOC were never imposed.

Kovács was not content with that. As the accused party, he challenged Puliti to a duel, which was to be carried out with heavy sabres in Vienna under the direction of Herschmann. However, since the 1917 ban on duels issued by Emperor Karl still applied in Austria,⁸⁷ the parties moved to Nagykanizsa, Hungary, near the Yugoslav border, where the rivals were let loose on 12 November 1924.

The duel was treated as a "world sensation" by the media. A Budapest studio even shot a film. But after his return, Herschmann felt compelled to correct the all-too-adventurous reports. The duel was fought without masks and with bare torsos, but not with heavy sabres – rather, light ones with rounded tips. Thrusting was forbidden. Four bouts of 10 minutes each were fought. After sufficient blood had been shed, the fighters were so fatigued in the final bout that they willingly accepted Herschmann's suggestion that the duel be ended. Puliti apologised.⁸⁸



Herschmann took it all sportingly. There were wonderful actions, he reported. In return for arbitrating the duel as well as for his part in introducing the Italian fencing method to Austria, he was awarded the Officer's Cross of Honour by King Vittorio Emanuele III and received an enthusiastic celebration in Cremona in 1926. But the "king of sports journalism", Dr. Willy Meisl, saw things differently: "The only thing missing is for Mussolini to send a telegram and the Olympic Committee to lift the disqualification hanging over Puliti."⁸⁹

Derided, plundered, condemned, and murdered

A little later, the black-and-brown spiderweb had also spread in Austria. The Great Depression promoted the authoritarian "corporative state" (*Ständestaat*), which was modelled on Mussolini's Italy in order to reverse the parliamentary democratic order that had emerged in November 1918. Like in Germany, National Socialism was growing strongly, even if the attempt of July 1934 to seize power with a putsch initially failed.

Although there were no anti-Jewish laws, anti-Semitic sentiment was increasing. Herschmann, who had been elected President of the Austrian Amateur Fencing Federation in 1924 and who led the training for sabre fencers for Amsterdam 1928, also felt the effects. There were calls for a boycott, which also impacted economic life. In 1937, he had to file for bankruptcy.⁹⁰ He had to move out of his elegant office in Herrengasse opposite the Hofburg.

It is not known what Herschmann's experience was of the "annexation" to Nazi Germany. A vague notion of the hell the Jewish population had fallen into can be gleaned from the newspapers of the time. From 11 March 1938 onwards, when the German Wehrmacht marched in, not a day went by without

Herschmann (first row, middle) as president of the Austrian Amateur Fencing Federation and jury chairman among the finalists in sabre fencing at the national championships of 1927.

Photo: *Illustriertes Sportblatt* 1927

new harassment. Favourite hate figures were Jewish lawyers, whose practice was banned on 31 March. Although there was a transitional period for front-line soldiers or those whose families had lived in Austria for at least 50 years, things were different in practice. A mob broke into lawyers' offices and plundered private homes. There was ill-treatment and there were arrests and deportations – mostly to the Dachau concentration camp.

Dismissal was often tied to the condition of emigrating in a few days. However, before that, the "Reich Flight Tax" (*Reichsfluchtsteuer*) had to be paid, which amounted to a quarter of one's assets, though, usually, one no longer had any left.⁹¹ Evidence for this exodus is provided by Vienna's rolls of solicitors, which went down from 78 to 39 pages in one year. Of 2,542 lawyers who had been registered on 13 March, 1,755 had been struck off by 31 December 1938.⁹²

Like others, Herschmann disappeared almost overnight. He was dead to his relatives. According to a letter in which his cousin, who had married in Italy, asked the Prince Regent of Liechtenstein, Prince Franz II, to exile her sister's family: "My cousin, the Viennese lawyer Dr. Otto Herschmann, ... has already gone to the cemetery, never to return. He lived for his Kaiser, he fought so bravely for his Kaiser in the World War that he received all sorts of decorations, and now he, the brave dragoon, has died for his Kaiser."⁹³

In the newspaper editorial offices, on the other hand, where entire departments had been replaced by the Nazis, there were cheers. "Finally rid of them," read one headline. Herschmann was named first –

even ahead of the publisher of the *Telegraf*, Karl Franz Bondy, who was insulted as a "Jew of the press". Such people had represented Austria abroad for years, it was said, so that Austrian delegations could have been taken "for the representatives of a Berber tribe".⁹⁴

It was proved in the summer of 1939 that Herschmann was still alive. He was described as a member of a "gang of counterfeiters" who helped acquire a passport for Hugo Alfred Winter, the former owner of an amusement park in the Prater.⁹⁵ On 7 November 1939, Herschmann, who was acquainted with Winter, was arrested and, together with others involved, charged in the Vienna Regional Court. He was sentenced to a fine of 1,000 Reichsmarks. But he was spared further time in prison, since a fine of this magnitude fell under Hitler's "amnesty", which was intended to impress the civilian population after the invasion of Poland.⁹⁶ Winter later perished in Auschwitz.

The expulsion of the Jews, who now had also had to bear a Jewish first name and, as of 1941, wear the yellow star, stopped upon the commencement of the Second World War. Those who had not yet been able to escape into exile had to do forced labour. They were evicted from their homes and housed in "collective apartments". There was practically nothing that wasn't forbidden.

The mass deportations to the General Government (a Nazi-occupied zone in central Poland), and thus to death, began on 15 March 1941, when the first of 45 trains left Vienna's Aspang railway station. The transports increased after the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942, at which the "Final Solution" was decided under the direction of SS-Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich.

Heydrich, the head of the Security Police and the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*), also had other ambitions. He was a sabre fencer, although not first-rate. However, after ordering the arrest of the 1912 Belgian Olympic champion Paul Anspach he hoped to take over as President of the International Fencing Federation (FIE).⁹⁷ But then there was a quarrel with Reichssportführer Hans von Tschammer-Osten, who had promised the Italian finance minister Paolo Thaon di Revel this post at Mussolini's request.⁹⁸

The dispute ended when an attempt was made in Prague on Heydrich's life, after he was appointed Deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia in September 1941. He succumbed to his injuries on 4 June 1942. An immediate reaction to this was "Operation Reinhard", a murder action led by the former Viennese Gauleiter Odilo Globocnik, which killed 1.8 million Jews and 50,000 Roma.

Herschmann, who had been crammed into a "collective apartment" at Gonzagagasse 1/17 with

Fencer and mass murderer: SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, organiser of the Wannsee Conference where the "Final Solution" of the so-called Jewish question was decided upon in 1942. Herschmann was one of the victims of Operation Reinhard.



Photo: Reichssportblatt, 18 February 1941

XXXX-803
Vermögensverzeichnis 14. Juni 1942

nachfolgender in die Ostgebiete evakuiertes Juden:

Name: Herschmann Otto Idr. Wohn-Ort: Wien
 geboren am: 2.1.1877 in Wien
 Wohnort: I., Gumpelstrasse 1/7
 Ehefrau: _____ geb. am: _____
 Kinder: _____ geb. am: _____
 _____ geb. am: _____
 _____ geb. am: _____

Ich erkläre, folgende bewegliche Vermögenswerte, Rechte und Ansprüche zu besitzen:

a) Bargeld: RM 20,- Befehlsumme 100,-
20118

b) Wertpapiere _____

c) Sparkassen und Sparbuchkonten _____

d) Bausparungspolys _____

e) Aktien _____

f) Forderungen und Kredite _____

g) Sonstiges (zu Jhr. und Bestand) _____

Vor mir unterfertigt: _____



The last time he was seen: On the day of his deportation, Herschmann's "assets" consisted of 20 Reichsmarks and 100 Reichsmarks that were owed to him. Next to it: Sobibor extermination camp disguised as an "SS Special Commando". The commander was an Austrian police officer called Franz Stangl, who fled to Brazil via one of the "ratlines" after the war. Tracked down by Simon Wiesenthal, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in West Germany in 1970 for the murder of 400,000 Jews. Photo/Source: Austrian State Archive; Bildungswerk Stanislaw Hantz/Universität Stuttgart (Eds.), *Fotos aus Sobibor. Die Niemann-Sammlung zu Holocaust und Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin: 2020.

eight other Jews,⁹⁹ received the order to be "evacuated to the eastern regions" on 14 June 1942. It was a Sunday. Before that, he had to draw up a list of assets under the supervision of a "custodian"; it consisted of a single line: "Cash: RM 20.00". In addition, there is a note: "Bar Association RM 100.00 Berlin".¹⁰⁰ A fee that was never paid.

Herschmann was taken to a collective camp and, from there, rode in an open truck to the goods station, where the 27th transport with train Da 38 to Izbica was sent off at 7:08 pm. The route was changed along the way. It led directly to the Sobibor extermination camp, which had been constructed in April.¹⁰¹ The train arrived at 8:15 am on 17 June. None of the 949 passengers survived. The 15 police officers who had escorted them each received 260 Reichsmarks on their return to Vienna.¹⁰²

More than two years later, the Viennese tax office remembered Dr. Oskar [sic] Israel Herschmann. It was said that he still owed the office 210 Reichsmarks in income tax for 1940/41, and it was requested that this sum be transferred from the "assets confiscated from the obligated party".¹⁰³

* * *

After the end of the war, Austria liked to present itself as "Hitler's first victim". Its own share in things was downplayed. There was little interest in fates like that of Dr. Otto Herschmann. Silence prevailed, although many had witnessed the persecution of the Jews.

In 1980, journalist Erich Kamper from Graz was the first to recall Herschmann, though without mentioning the Holocaust.¹⁰⁴ He did not publish his later research results¹⁰⁵ in Austria, but, rather, in the magazine of the German Olympic Society (DOG).¹⁰⁶

Herschmann became known to a wider public when a street in the Simmering district of Vienna was named after him on 11 September 2001.¹⁰⁷ On the explanatory panel accompanying the street sign, he is referred to as "top athlete and sports official". No space was given to his tale of woe. ■

1 The Latin naming goes back to the river Leitha (Hungarian: Lajta), which represents a geographical border. Cisleithania, for the western and northern part, therefore means "this side of the Leitha", while the eastern part of the empire was called Transleithania (beyond the Leitha).
 2 Government Gazette (RGBl) No. 142/1867, Basic Law on the General Rights of Nationals for the kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council, 11 December 1867.
 3 Jewish religious community (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde – IKG) Vienna, A, birth register 1877/33, no. 4893. The street was renumbered in 1882.
 4 Alexander L. Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg. Das Leben im Werk* (Stuttgart: 2002), 4. Herschmann's sister Rosa, who was three months younger than Schönberg, may have met the later composer as a child.

Otto Herschmann
street sign in Vienna's
Simmering district –
on the site of the
former gas works.



- 5 Shortly after the opening of the Vienna World Exhibition, the so-called Panic of 1873 was triggered when the reckless speculative investment bubble burst.
- 6 IKG Vienna, register office (Matrikenamt), exit book 530. Men reached adulthood at the age of 24. However, this could be reduced with the consent of the court and the guardian, for example, in order to run a company independently. The age of majority was reduced to 21 in 1919, then to 19 in 1973, and 18 in 2001.
- 7 Otto Herschmann, "Das Judentum und der Sport," in *Wiener Sport, Großstadt-Dokumente*, vol. 12, ed. Hans Ostwald (Berlin und Leipzig: no year [1905]), 19–27.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 25.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 10 Baron Forgatsch, Honorary President of the EWASC, also took part in swimming tours himself. In 1898, together with club member Hans Agneli, he covered the 61 km route from Vienna to Bratislava in 6:55 h without a boat escort. They carried their clothing with them in a "swimming bag".
- 11 Isidor Neumann (1832–1906), born in Moravia like the Herschmanns, became the head of the first clinical department for syphilis in 1881. Emperor Franz Joseph I bestowed the aristocratic title of "Eduard" and a further title, "von Heilwart", upon him in 1905, for successfully combatting the epidemics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His children were entitled to bear this name as well. But they lost it with the introduction of Law on the Abolition of the Nobility, § 2.2., 3 April 1919, National Law Gazette (StGB) no. 37/1919 and no. 392/1919.
- 12 *Das interessante Blatt*, 17 August 1893. The later Olympic champion Paul Neumann (1875–1932), who belonged to the Vöslau branch of the EWASC, needed 12:55 min for the roughly 5 km downstream route.
- 13 Herschmann, "Schwimmen und Rudern," *Wiener Sport*, 33.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 34.
- 15 *Wiener Salonblatt*, 11 August 1895.
- 16 *Neues Wiener Journal (NWJ)*, 12 February 1896. Johann Graf Wilczek (1837–1922), who owned the second largest coal mine in the Habsburg Empire, was known as a philanthropist and patron. He was also a sponsor of the Austro-Hungarian North Polar Expedition, which in 1873 discovered an unknown group of islands, part of modern-day Russia, named after Emperor Franz Joseph I. The second largest island was named "Wilczek Land".
- 17 Nikolaus Dumba (1830–1900) came from a Macedonian family that emigrated to Austria during the Ottoman occupation and became rich through the cotton trade. He became a very important patron of music.
- 18 *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung (ASZ)*, 8 March 1896. The championship was held over four lengths totalling 136 m, for which Wolf needed 1:55 ²/₅ min. Neumann came third. With the sidestroke, known since antiquity, the swimmer would move forward using asymmetrical arm and leg movements. Lying on one's side, the upper arm would be used like an oar, while the legs performed a horizontal scissor stroke.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 15 March 1896.
- 20 Born in Germany, Eugen Wolf grew up in Düsseldorf and moved to Vienna, where he studied at the Technical University. He became a member of the EWASC, but continued to take part in the German Championships, which he won four times in a row (1893–1896) for the 100 m distance. On 23 July 1893, he swam an (unofficial) world record on a 50 m lane in Elberfeld in still water, attaining 1:17.0 min. In November 1896, Wolf was elected chairman of the EWASC. He became a publisher and, among other things, developed a stencil made of metal. He undertook several trips around the world and was involved in tourism.
- 21 Cf. Volker Kluge, "The business trip of 'Herr Filius,'" *JOH*, vol. 26, 1, 2018, 36–47.
- 22 *Cook's Welt-Reise-Zeitung*, March 1896, 3. The Comité International des Jeux Olympiques, as the IOC was then called, had concluded a contract with Cook & Son for transport for the Olympians from 1896 to 1904. The price in 2nd class was 133.40 guilders (fl), which, based on today's purchase value, equates to roughly 450 euros. The private quarters were provided by the German association "Philadelphia".
- 23 *JOH*, vol. 26, 1, 2018, 40.
- 24 Programme Sports Nautiques Olympiques Internationaux 1896, Courses de Natation, 4–5. The eight-page programme included three competitions a piece for amateurs and sailors in the (Greek) Navy, over the lengths of 100 m, 500 m, and 1200 m. In the end, the sailors only competed in the 100 m. No particular swimming style was prescribed.
- 25 Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philimon, N.G. Politis, and Charalambos Anninos, *The Olympic Games B.C. 776. – A.D. 1896*, vol. 2 (*Official Report*) (Athens: 1897), 95–97.
- 26 Ferdinand Hueppe, "Griechenland und die jetzigen und einstigen Olympischen Spiele," *ASZ*, 25 December 1896. The Prague-based doctor Ferdinand Hueppe (1852–1938) accompanied the German and Austrian participants to Athens. He was a co-founder of the German Football Association (DFB) in 1900 and its first president until 1904. The Briton John Trudgen (1852–1902) is credited with being the inventor of the hand-over-hand stroke. He learned this technique from indigenous peoples during his stay in Argentina and introduced it to England in 1873.

- 27 Alfréd Hajós (1878–1955) was officially called Arnold Guttman until 1896. Since the millennium celebrations of the Magyar Empire took place in the same year, he took the name "Hajós", which means "seaman" in Hungarian. He also wanted to emphasise his closeness to water. In Athens, he was listed as "Hoyos Guttman", or, in the registration list, as "Hajos (Guttemann)".
- 28 *Official Report*, 96; *Acropolis*, 31 March 1896.
- 29 *NWJ*, 13 April 1896; *Teplitz-Schönerer Anzeiger*, 15 April 1896; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 17 April 1896; *Dillinger's Reise- und Fremden-Zeitung*, 20 April 1896.
- 30 *Die Presse*, 22 April 1896.
- 31 Collection Rüdiger Fritz, Halle/Saale.
- 32 "Die Österreicher in Olympia," *ASZ*, 26 April 1896. Hueppe confirmed this version in *ASZ*, 25 December 1896. Cf. Bill Mallon/Ture Widlund, *The 1896 Olympic Games. Results for All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary* (Jefferson: 1998), 104.
- 33 Hajós Alfréd, *Igy lettem olimpiai bajnok* (Budapest: 1956), English translation: "Recollections of an Olympic champion," *Olympisches Feuer*, vol. 6, November 1956, 26.
- 34 Ferenc Mező, *Sechzig Jahre Olympische Spiele* (Budapest: 1956), 43. Mező found a confirmation in *Sport Vilag*, 19 April 1896.
- 35 Austrian Olympic Committee, *Österreichs Sport 1913*, 5.
- 36 *ASZ*, 26 July 1896.
- 37 The journalist and later *ASZ* owner Friedrich Burger (1867–1956) was one of the WAC co-founders. In the commemorative publication to mark its 50th anniversary in 1946, he referred to its founding as his "patent". He also mentioned "one of the Viennese swimmers" without specifying Herschmann by name.
- 38 *ASZ*, 23 August 1896.
- 39 Victor Silberer (1846–1924), who founded the *ASZ* in 1880 as the first European sports newspaper, was Austria's chief sports sponsor before the First World War. On 1 August 1885, he opened the Aeronautical Institute with the ascent of the Vidobona balloon on the former fireworks field in the Prater, where he offered military and scientific courses.
- 40 *ASZ*, 4 September 1898. The exhibition to mark Emperor Franz Joseph I's 50th anniversary on the throne took place from 7 May to 18 October 1898 in the Prater. The programme included the World Championships in weightlifting and cycling, the European Championships in Graeco-Roman wrestling, and the international athletics meeting on 28 August 1898, which also featured athletes from Budapest and Prague.
- 41 Austrian State Archives (ÖSTA), AdR E-uReang AHF H.
- 42 *ASZ*, 9 January 1900.
- 43 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (NWT)*, 21 August 1900. The only professional competition for the 4,000 m, which was held on the Seine River between Pateaux and Asnières, was won by the Brit Samuel Greasley (1867–1926) in 1:08:33 h. The prize money was 41,500 francs. In the amateur competition, his compatriot John Jarvis (1872–1933) won in 58:24 min.
- 44 "Sport und Artistentum," *NWT*, 25 March 1900.
- 45 "Zur Amateurfrage," *ASZ*, 14 October 1900.
- 46 IKG, Register Office (Matrikenamt)/Baden/Sterbebuch 307, 66. *Badener Zeitung*, 5 April 1902.
- 47 *Wiener Sport*, 69.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 70. *ASZ*, 16 September 1904.
- 49 *Illustriertes Sportblatt*, 15 April 1911.
- 50 Barbasetti (1859–1948) dislodged the hitherto dominant "Hungarian style" of sabre fencing, taught by József Keresztesy at the National Fencing Institute in Pest. Silberer had bought the St. Annahof in Vienna's Annagasse 3, which also housed a ballroom.



"The Kneeling Jew" on Helmut Zilk Square in Vienna: The bronze monument designed by Alfred Hrdlicka commemorates the *Reibpartien* where Jews and anti-fascists were forced to scrub pro-Austrian slogans from the streets and squares after Germany annexed Austria in 1938. Photo: Gabriele Kluge

- 51 *NWJ*, 2 April 1906.
- 52 *Das interessante Blatt*, 12 April 1906.
- 53 Herschmann was a member of the following panels of judges: athletic competitions and gymnastics, fencing (foil), nautical competitions (diving), and athletic plays.
- 54 "Aufruf an die Bevölkerung von Wien und Österreich!," *Wiener Neueste Nachrichten*, 20 January 1908. With festivals and a parade to mark the 60th anniversary of Emperor Franz Joseph I's reign in the summer of 1908, the aim was to evoke unity in the multi-ethnic state and boost sluggish tourism.
- 55 The only medal – bronze in the 400 m freestyle – went to the swimmer Otto Scheff (1889–1956). The Berlin native, who sometimes spelled his name "Sheff", had already won the gold medal in Athens in 1906 at the age of 16. The later lawyer was the son of the Jewish publisher Hans Heinrich Sochaczewski (1861–1922), who settled in Vienna in 1898 and became known as "Harry Sheff". He published several novels under the pseudonyms "H.H. Schefsky" and "Victor von Falk". Dr. Otto Scheff had been working as a lawyer since 1922, which he was forbidden to do in 1938 as a Jewish "half-breed" ("Mischung"). Formerly also President of the Reich Association of House and Landowners, he survived until 1945 as a broker. From 1945 to 1953, he represented the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) in the National Council.
- 56 Government gazette (Regierungsblatt) no. 98, *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung*, 5 June 1908.
- 57 Emil von Hofmannsthal, *Ehrenkodex für Duellgegner* (Vienna and Leipzig: 1910). The book did away with the notion that a woman needed a man to protect her honour and that a worker was not considered capable of satisfaction. Herschmann did not fundamentally reject duelling in his foreword, "out of regard for social tradition and military opinion," but advocated for clarification by means of an honorary board of counsellors as a "substitute".
- 58 *ASZ*, 16 April 1911.
- 59 Minutes, IOC Session Budapest 1910, 4. Although Otto zu Windisch-Graetz (1873–1952) came from a family that did not belong to the high nobility, the emperor consented to him marrying Elisabeth (1883–1963). Previously, Windisch-Graetz had been given the title of prince. Elisabeth, who was reviled as the "Red Archduchess" due to her social democratic views, had to renounce all claims to the throne. After the First World War, the two divorced. To escape the law on the abolition of nobility, Windisch-Graetz took on Yugoslav citizenship.
- 60 *ASZ*, 17 December 1911. Hans Hornacek (1862–1938), authorised signatory of the Wiener Apollo-Werke and vice-president of the Central Sports Committee in celebration of the "Kaiser Jubilee", cited the reason for his resignation as exhaustion.
- 61 Letter from Herschmann to Coubertin, 13 February 1912, Olympic Studies Centre (OSC).
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 Swedish National Archive: Stockholmsolympiaden 1912, letter Český Výbor Olympijský v Praze to Olympic Organising Committee Stockholm 1912, 24 June 1912. In a consultation on 9 June 1912 with Austria's Minister of the Interior, Karl von Heindol, it was also agreed that Dr. Jiří Guth should continue to remain in the IOC under the country name "Autriche" with the addition "C.O.T." (Comité Olympique de la Bohême).
- 64 ÖSTA, HHSIA MDÄ AR F_60-208-1, Austrian Olympic Committee, 6 August 1912.
- 65 *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung*, 26 August 1912.
- 66 *ASZ*, 23 July 1912.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 11 August 1912.
- 68 *Illustriertes Österreichisches Sportblatt*, 31 May 1913. After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo, his younger brother Karl Franz Joseph (1887–1922) succeeded him as heir to the throne. After the death of Franz Joseph I, he became Karl I, the last emperor of Austria-Hungary.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 6. Eduard "Edi" Engelmann (1894–1960) was particularly celebrated. The son of the founder of the Vienna Ice Skating School, who had the same name, achieved 3.01 m in the standing long jump.
- 70 *ASZ*, 4 May 1913. Sloane (1850–1928), who spoke fluent German, studied philosophy and linguistics in Berlin and Leipzig from 1872 to 1876. During Coubertin's travels through North America in 1889 and 1893, he gave him access to the universities in order to get to know the US educational system.
- 71 *Die Zeit*, 21 December 1913.
- 72 *Fremden-Blatt*, 20 December 1913.
- 73 *ASZ*, 22 February 1914. In late-1913, the printers went on strike, which is why some editions were cancelled, but this only had an impact in January and February 1914.
- 74 *ASZ*, 8 November 1913.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 14 May 1911. In 1902, Silberer became a member of parliament (Landtag) of Lower Austria and, in 1907, he joined the Imperial Assembly. From 1904 to 1913, he was a member of the Municipal Council of Vienna.
- 76 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: 1925), 59.
- 77 George F. Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order. Franco-Russian Relations, 1875–1890* (Princeton: 1979), 3.
- 78 *ASZ*, 8 April 1920. Copland, AAU champion in the 110- and 220-yard hurdles, set an (unofficial) world long jump record of 7.09 m in 1890. He made himself unpopular among the Austrian athletes when he forbade them to eat gutash and drink beer ahead of the international match against Hungary in 1914. Then he gave them a dietetic menu.
- 79 ÖSTA (War Archive), land register sheet/Vienna, box (Kt.) 622.
- 80 Reichsgesetzblatt ("Imperial Law Gazette") (Military Law), 5 December 1868. This meant that male Jews between the ages of 21 and 42 were also subject to compulsory military service for a period of 12 years (three of which were active).
- 81 *Fremdenblatt*, 12 July 1916.
- 82 ÖSTA (War Archive), MBA, no. (ZL) 547023, box (Kt.) 492. The settlement of Dobronoutz (Ukrainian: Dobrynivtsi, Romanian: Dobronauti) belonged to the Duchy of Bukovina in the Habsburg Empire. Today it is part of Ukraine.
- 83 *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 12 November 1918.
- 84 "Der Fechtssport vor dem Kriege," *Körpersport, Jahrbuch 1934* (Vienna: 1934), 60–61.
- 85 *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 18 July 1924.
- 86 Minutes, IOC EB meeting, 23 July 1924, 38.



Herschmann's last accommodation was a "collective apartment" at Zogzagagasse 1/17 in Vienna, where he lived with eight other Jews until he was deported.

Photos: Gabriele Kluge

- 87 ÖSTA (War Archive), ANST MONDT BRUNN/GEB. no. 1273/17. The Austrian authorities instructed the border authorities to perform increased surveillance. In the event of a border crossing, the duel opponents were threatened with an entry ban of five years.
- 88 *Die Stunde*, 15 November 1924. Otto Herschmann, "Fechtssport und Duell," in *Der Fechtssport. Commemorative publication (Festschrift) of the Austrian Fencing Association on the occasion of the 1931 European Championships* (Vienna: 1931).
- 89 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 14 November 1924.
- 90 *Der Tag*, 25 February 1937.
- 91 Cf. Barbara Sauer/Ilse Reiter-Zatoukal, *Advokaten 1938* (Vienna: 2010), 29–71.
- 92 Lists of lawyers from 1938 and 1939, Bar Association, Vienna.
- 93 Liechtenstein National Archive, RF 181/371/004. Letter from Rosa Creazzo-Lampl, Bologna to Prinzregent Franz II. The application was rejected on 12 July 1938 because of "impending foreign infiltration".
- 94 *NWJ*, 25 November 1938. The anonymous author may have been the newspaper's sports director, Max J. Leuthe (1879–1945). He had been a member of the illegal NSDAP and the SS Standard 11 since 1932. Cf. Matthias Marschik, *Bewegte Körper* (Vienna: 2020), 399. Publisher Karl Franz Bondy (1883–1945) managed to escape to London. The well-known *Telegraf* sports editor Alexander Meisel was murdered in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1942.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 25 July 1939. Winter's amusement park, Venedig in Wien (Venice in Vienna), was run in the Prater, where also wrestling matches were held.
- 96 *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 9 November 1939. Reichsgesetzblatt (Imperial Law Gazette), 14 September 1939.
- 97 Cf. Hans Joachim Teichler, *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf: 1991), 344–347.
- 98 Bundesarchiv Berlin, Tschammer estate, NS 2528/3. Paolo Thaon di Revel (1888–1973) was the fascist finance minister from 1935 to 1943, Olympic champion with the épée team in 1920, and an IOC Member from 1932 to 1964.
- 99 IKG Wien/II/NAM/WOHN/Hauslisten I, 1941.
- 100 ÖSTA-1037208/0001-ADR/2013.
- 101 Cf. University of Stuttgart (ed.), *Fotos aus Sobibor – Die Niemann-Sammlung zu Holocaust und Nationalsozialismus* (Photos from Sobibor: The Niemann Collection on the Holocaust and National Socialism) (Berlin: 2020).
- 102 Yad Vashem Documents Archive, trial documentation, file no. 30: "Experience report: Re: Transport detail for the transport of Jews from Vienna – Aspang station to Sobibor on 14 June 1942". In Lublin, the SS let 51 able-bodied men between the ages of 15 and 50 get out. The remaining 949 Jews were transported to Sobibor and immediately killed. Two of the SS leaders responsible, Helmut Oswald Pohl and Ernst Lerch, were arraigned in 1972 at Klagenfurt Regional Court (25VR 3123/71). The main hearing was broken off after two days due to the resignation of the public prosecutors and was not resumed. Lerch, who had been Globocnik's adjutant in Lublin, had been running the Tanzcafé Lerch in Klagenfurt since the 1950s, where the well-known Austrian jazz singer Udo Jürgens began his career.
- 103 ÖSTA-1037208/0001-ADR/2013, 21 September 1944, State Finance Directorate for Vienna, Lower Austria and Burgenland.
- 104 Josef Strab (ed.), *Wir Sportreporter. 100 Jahre österreichische Sportpresse* (Vienna: 1980), 49–51.
- 105 IKG to Erich Kamper, 25 January 1982.
- 106 Kamper, "Gestorben im Vernichtungslager Izbica," in *Olympisches Feuer*, vol. 32, no. 3–4, 1982.
- 107 Vienna-Simmering, Town Hall Correspondence, 6 November 2001.

Exchanging Jobs: The IOC, USOC, and the Bobby Lee Hunter Case

By STEPHEN R. WENN



At the age of 16, Bobby Lee Hunter was sentenced to 18 years in prison for manslaughter, of which he had served five years by 1972. Manning Correctional Institution is a level 1B prison for male inmates, located in Columbia, South Carolina. Photo: AP Wirephoto

The 1972 Munich Olympic Games proved a watershed moment in the management of Olympic affairs in the United States. Winning Olympic medals was paramount, with the US locked in its Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries. However, the nation's collective patience waned for some years as US Olympic performances did not measure up to expectations, both within the general public and the corridors of the US Congress. Munich proved a tipping point. Gerald Ford established the President's Commission on Olympic Sports (PCOS) to address dysfunction within the managerial structure of US Olympic affairs. The legislative result of this review, the Amateur Sports Act (1978), set out a new path for the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) in terms of its structure and power and signalled a renewed push for improved results from America's elite athletes.¹

Though the tragedy of the Munich Massacre resonated in the US and around the globe, many headlines in American newspapers concerning the team's performance in Munich reflected poorly on the US delegation. Rey Robinson and Eddie Hart missed their scheduled 100 m quarter-final because of confusion over the event schedule,² while the USOC's medical personnel mismanaged the case of swimmer Rick DeMont, which cost him a gold medal.³

Questions were asked if Mark Spitz violated the rules of amateurism by holding his Adidas shoes aloft while on the Olympic podium after his win in the 200 m freestyle, a circumstance that resulted in Spitz getting hauled before members of the IOC Eligibility Commission to defend himself.⁴ Shortly before the onset of cascading events that marked the Munich massacre, the gold and silver medallists in the 400 m, Vince Matthews and Wayne Collett, took a decidedly relaxed posture with hands on their hips during the US national anthem while standing on the podium.⁵ The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) President, Avery Brundage, reliving his experience with Tommie Smith and John Carlos four years earlier in Mexico City, summarily kicked them out of the Olympic Games. And, of course, aggrieved USOC officials departed Munich in the wake of the US men's basketball team's controversial loss in the gold medal match at the

hands of their rivals, the Soviet Union.⁶ The USOC was a failing enterprise in the minds of many observers back home.

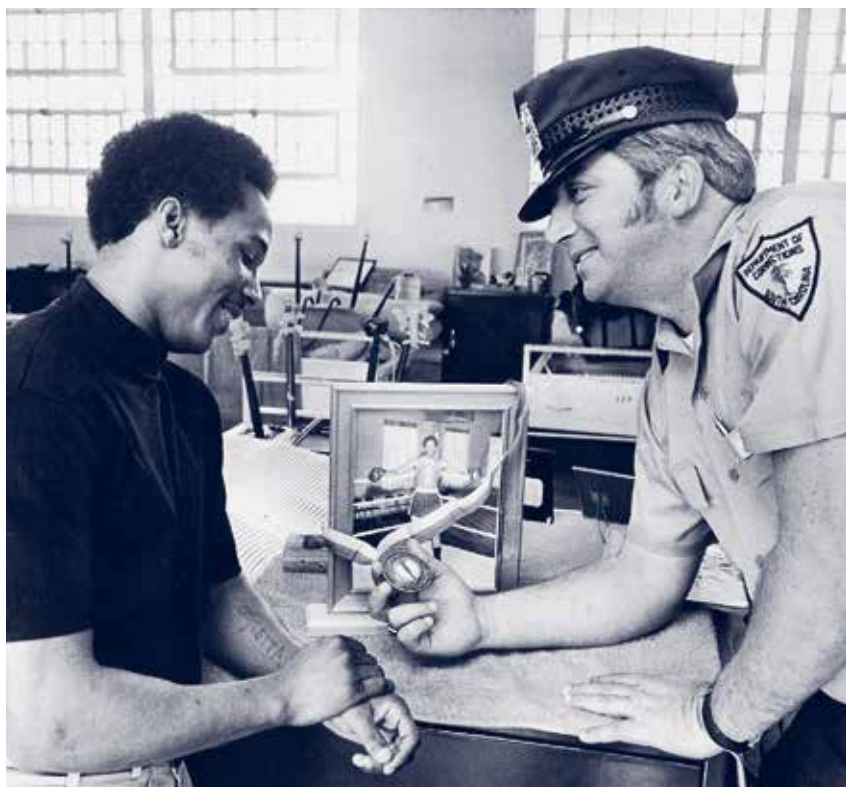
Some might assert that the USOC's actions in the context of Bobby Lee Hunter's pursuit of a place on the US Olympic boxing team for the Munich Olympics reflected this emphasis on producing medals. Hunter, the 1971 and 1972 AAU National Champion in the flyweight class and a bronze medallist at the 1971 Pan-American Games in Cali, Colombia, was the odds-on favourite to capture the spot on the team when the US Olympic Boxing Trials process commenced in July 1972.⁷ But, at age 21, Hunter was also serving the fifth year of an 18-year sentence for manslaughter in Manning Correctional Institute near Columbia, South Carolina. Prison officials supervised his notable forays into the amateur boxing world, including the Pan-Am Games, Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) meets, and exhibitions in Britain and Europe.⁸ Individuals overseeing his incarceration viewed boxing as an element of his rehabilitation.⁹ USOC officials were won over to this thinking, too, but his medal prospects were undeniable.

Though Avery Brundage and the Munich Organising Committee President, Willi Daume, sparred over matters such as the distribution of Olympic television money,¹⁰ they concurred that Hunter should not compete in Munich.¹¹ Though as history shows, Daume's views softened noticeably as events unfolded. Influential IOC Executive Board member David Cecil (Marquess of Exeter), the IOC's Technical Director Artur Takač, and IOC Eligibility Commission Chairman Hugh Weir similarly stood opposed to Hunter's participation.¹²

Correspondence in the Avery Brundage Collection reveals Daume altered his thinking in the latter stages of the debate concerning Hunter and opined on possible avenues for his participation.¹³ Powerful, influential people in the US championed Hunter's cause, such as Senators Edward Kennedy,¹⁴ Strom Thurmond, and Ernest Hollings.¹⁵ Brundage viewed those drumming up support as "professional dogooders."¹⁶ Without existing USOC legislation that precluded Hunter from being named to the Olympic team if he qualified, the USOC's President and Executive Director, Clifford Buck and Arthur Lentz, respectively, supported him.



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This paper examines the correspondence of IOC and US officials – found in the Avery Brundage Collection, former USOC President Robert Kane's papers in the USOC's archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado, and the IOC archives, Lausanne – concerning Bobby Lee Hunter's right of access to the US Olympic boxing team and the Munich Games as a lesser-known story within the history of contemporary relations between the USOC and IOC concerning the Munich Olympics.

This narrative has been dominated by differences over the Rick DeMont case and fallout from the men's basketball final. At a deeper level, the debate posed interesting philosophical questions concerning the role of sport and the Olympic Games. Can sport serve as an effective means of rehabilitating individuals within a prison system? Should the Olympic Games stand as a viable forum for pursuing such aims? Though US sport officials and IOC executives stood in opposite corners and exchanged jabs over the matter, no knockout blow was ultimately landed as Bobby Lee Hunter suffered an upset loss to Tim Dement in the US Olympic Boxing Trials, thereby putting a premature end to his Olympic dream.

Bobby Lee Hunter's path to the Manning Correctional Institute

"Bobby Lee Hunter," wrote *Sports Illustrated's* Edwin Shrake in 1967, was "a tough little street kid who had quit school in the seventh grade and was staying with his grandmother and had nowhere to go that

Guard Ray Satterfield holds the bronze medal won by Bobby Lee Hunter at the Pan-American Games in Cali, Colombia in 1971.

Photo: AP Wirephoto



Clifford H. Buck (left), USOC Chairman from 1970 to 1973. After Munich, his pet project to host the 1976 Winter Games in Denver failed to materialise. Right: Robert Kane, Cornell University's director of Athletics (1944–1971) and later its dean of Athletics (1971–1976), then USOC president.

Photos: U.S. Olympic & Paralympic Committee Archives

would take him anywhere good." If he arrived at the Charleston's Cotton Patch Snack bar ten minutes earlier, or later, that spring evening, the next few years of his life might have taken a different path, but Shrake conceded that for Hunter, a young African American man who frequented the city's notorious Do as You Choose Alley, that future might easily have been Vietnam or jail for another transgression.¹⁷

In 1986, Charleston mayor Joseph P. Riley appeared on Capitol Hill before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Community Affairs. His testimony occurred some years after a period of urban renewal, spurred by the activism of members of a local black church and community development block grants flowing from Washington that turned Do as You Choose Alley into a more welcoming and safer environment. "Every city has had a Do as You Choose Alley," reported Riley. "That was a name of a part of the ghetto in Charleston, a series of concrete block buildings and a breeding ground of crime according to our county prosecutor. Everybody knew where Do as You Choose Alley was. People were afraid to go there," he recalled, "and the housing was terrible."¹⁸

Hunter became involved in a confrontation with another man, allegedly having something to do with a girl, and he drew a knife and buried it into the man's chest. "The man swung and hit me," Hunter told Will Grimsley of the Associated Press in 1971, and "I got mad and pulled a knife."¹⁹ Hunter's victim did not seek medical treatment, retreated from the scene, and died a few hours later. Following Hunter's trial and Judge C.E. Singletary's imposition of an 18-year sentence for manslaughter, the teenager spent a brief period at the Central Correctional Institution but was swiftly transferred to the medium-security prison for

younger prisoners, Manning Correctional Institute, near Columbia. Standing 1.58 m and weighing 50.8 kg, Hunter was hardly an imposing figure. However, he was quick to temper, showed a willingness to engage in fistfights, earned the nickname "Little Rat," and when not in solitary confinement or restricted to his cell, fellow convicts gave him a wide berth. "I didn't want nobody jivin' with me," Hunter stated in relation to his sullen ways.²⁰

Months passed. One day, Red Douglas, a staff member with South Carolina's Department of Corrections who championed a boxing team for the state's prisoners, acting on a tip from Manning's athletic director, approached Hunter and asked him point-blank: "How come you want to bust up your hands hitting people's heads?" Hunter joined South Carolina's Department of Corrections boxing team. Some prisons could not offer flyweight opponents for Hunter, so he took on bantamweights, lightweights, and welterweights. His skills improved though his first shot at the "big time," the 1970 National AAU Tournament, resulted in defeat. However, in December 1970, he defeated the National AAU champion. The following year, he captured the national AAU flyweight title.²¹ Hunter's performances drew the attention of Manning's warden, W.T. Cave, and the director of the state's Department of Corrections, William Leeke, as well as his fellow prisoners, who took pride in Hunter's accomplishments. "Bobby's a good inmate," observed Cave. "He's helped the entire system. The other inmates think quite a bit of Bobby who [has] given them an example of what they can do."²²

Round 1: The 1971 Pan-Am Games

Hunter qualified for the 1971 Pan-Am Games in Cali, Colombia, and Cave and Leeke soon lobbied for his inclusion on the team. Their first step was to pursue the passport necessary for him to travel abroad, aided by the intervention of Senator Strom Thurmond, followed swiftly by outreach to the USOC's President and Vice-President, Clifford Buck and Robert Kane. They communicated with Colombia's consulate in Washington to apprise officials of Hunter's impending journey and his prisoner status.²³

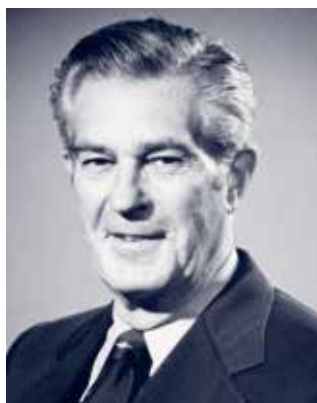
Leeke informed Ernest Hollings, South Carolina's junior senator, of Hunter's situation, and both Leeke and Joe Henson, vice-president of the Pan-American Games preparation committee, sought Hollings' support.²⁴ Won over, Hollings wrote to Robert Kane offering his backing for Hunter's participation. "What better way to rehabilitate men in correctional institutions?" Hollings asked rhetorically in his letter and confirmed this would not be Hunter's first off-shore competition while incarcerated.²⁵

This flurry of activity continued with Kane completing some due diligence in requesting more information and seeking what amounted to a character reference for Hunter from Warden Cave. Cave duly responded. He reported that Hunter was sentenced to 18 years for manslaughter on 1 June 1967, that his conduct ratings improved following his first two years at Manning, and that the improvement coincided with his involvement in the boxing programme. Hunter had been to Trenton, New Jersey, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Fort Bragg, North Carolina. "Of all the trips that Bobby has taken in connection with his boxing programme, he has not given us the first minute's trouble in any way."

In short, Cave was an enthusiastic supporter of Hunter's boxing regimen.²⁶ His trip to Colombia encountered no hitches, and he was accompanied by Ray Satterfield, one of Manning's prison guards. He stayed with other US athletes. Though he suffered a controversial loss in a semi-final bout, Hunter returned home with a bronze medal. In subsequent trips to England and Soviet Union in search of competition, Satterfield never had an uneasy moment with Hunter. "I know it never crosses Bobby's mind to run off. He has too much at stake," he concluded. Hunter was eligible for parole in 1973.

Round two: Hunter's Dream, Olympic officials, and the US Congress

In early June 1972, following a visit to West Germany and discussions with Munich Organising Committee President Willi Daume, Exeter drew Brundage's attention to Hunter's case. Exeter and Brundage, fellow

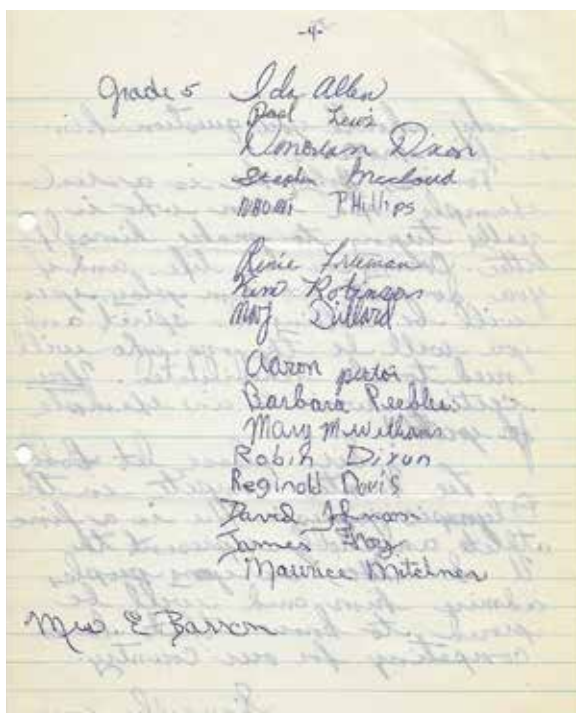
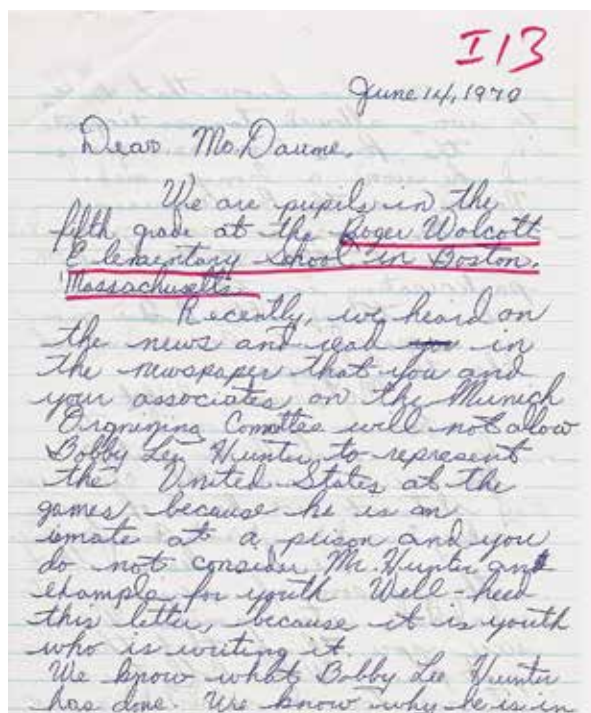


Arthur G. Lentz, USOC executive director, supported Hunter's nomination if he qualified. He thought the idea of putting him in a German prison for the duration of the Olympic Games was absurd.

Photo: U.S. Olympic & Paralympic Committee Archives

members of the IOC Executive Board, worked closely on matters tied to the distribution of television money in the 1960s, but were also former rivals for the IOC presidency. Their relationship was a respectful one, partly grounded in their like-mindedness on matters tied to amateurism and shared love for track and field (with both having participated in the Olympics).²⁷

Exeter observed correctly that Hunter was imprisoned for manslaughter, not murder, but the lengthy sentence must have been levied for "a very fierce sort" of confrontation. Surely, concluded Exeter, Hunter did not meet eligibility requirements laid out in Rule 26, including the competitor's need to act in the "traditional Olympic spirit". Exeter added that Hunter was not engaged in an occupation and likely stood in violation of the clause requiring competitors not to be in training for more than 60 days in a year, given "he has little else to do" in prison. Exeter advised Brundage "to put [his] foot down firmly," as he understood that Clifford Buck was inclined to support Hunter's cause and "is being very weak about this."²⁸



Letter from students at Roger Wolcott Elementary School in Boston, Massachusetts, asking organiser Willi Daume to let Hunter take part in the Games.

Source: German Olympic and Sports Confederation Archive (DOSB)

Hunter was allowed to train outside the prison under the supervision of a guard.

Photo: AP Wirephoto



Brundage, who shared Exeter's view, wasted little time in reaching out to Hugh Weir, Australia's senior IOC Member whom he entrusted with chairmanship of the Eligibility Commission some years earlier. He shared his thoughts with Weir in succinct fashion: "We are not running a rehabilitation institute," Brundage huffed.²⁹

Hugh Weir, in his capacity as Chairman of the IOC Eligibility Commission and fresh from an all-consuming high-profile episode tied to the dismissal of Austrian skier Karl Schranz from the 1972 Sapporo Winter Olympics,³⁰ expressed a dim view of events tied to Hunter's candidacy for a place on the US Olympic team. Brundage consulted Weir as, in his mind, if the USOC approved Hunter's candidacy, then it would be the IOC's Eligibility Commission whose opinion would govern the situation.³¹ "It is quite unthinkable that we should allow anything of this nature to happen," wrote Weir, "and I am amazed that the USOC would even think of being party to such a departure from the spirit of the Olympic Movement."³² Weir was aghast that Hunter had been permitted to leave prison and the US for boxing matches; however, he concluded, "what has been done cannot be undone and in fact is none of our business. But who takes part in the Olympic Games is our business and it is unthinkable" that someone such as Hunter should have a place on an Olympic team.³³

Clifford Buck and Arthur Lentz were resolved that Hunter would have a place on the US Olympic team if he qualified through the US Boxing Trials in late July. "There are no specific rules to deny Bobby access to the Games or to the Olympic Village," stated Lentz matter-of-factly.³⁴ And, "maybe the idea of a man overcoming a mistake – and we all make mistakes – is something that youth should look up to," offered Lentz.³⁵ Buck and Lentz supported Hunter's cause, but at some cost: "We're catching hell over the world for it because no one understands the reason," said Lentz. Hunter's situation represented "an exceptional case," and "we're not opening the prisons to let convicts qualify," Lentz stated.

Interestingly, their stance was, in part, dictated by Senator Strom Thurmond's intervention the previous year, resulting in the issuance of Hunter's passport before the Pan-Am Games, in advance of USOC officials learning of Hunter's status. The USOC's legal counsel advised Buck and Lentz that once the passport had been issued and a number of politicians and South Carolina prison officials such as Cave and Leeke weighed in, there was no justifiable reason to keep Hunter off the Pan-Am Games team.³⁶

Buck consulted Miguel de Capriles, Chairman of the USOC's Legislation Commission, on how the USOC could avoid such a situation in the future by drafting a policy that would preclude the placement of any individual guilty of a misdemeanor or felony on the US Olympic team, but this did not alter his stance on Hunter.³⁷ USOC Vice-President Robert Kane was bullish on Hunter's opportunity and encouraged Buck to further extend his support. "[Hunter's] possible membership on the Olympic team needs no apology," offered Kane, "particularly after his exemplary behaviour with the Pan-American team."³⁸

Hugh Weir braced himself for controversy. His committee would render a final judgment on Hunter's case if required. Weir conceded that the USOC might be correct in its assertions in the US media that no rule existed to bar Hunter's involvement in the Olympics, but this was for "the simple reason that no one in his craziest moments would have thought it necessary to legislate against such an eventuality."³⁹

Meanwhile, Washington politicians pressed for Hunter's eligibility for Olympic competition. The state of South Carolina's two senators, Strom Thurmond and Ernest Hollings, remained in his corner.⁴⁰ For Hollings and Thurmond it came down to boxing serving as a meaningful element of Hunter's rehabilitation. This, too, was highlighted by members of the US House of Representatives, including Charles Wiggins (R-CA), as justification for sending Hunter to Munich. Denying Hunter "an opportunity to participate on the team may be an unfortunate setback on an admirable road to rehabilitation," he concluded.⁴¹

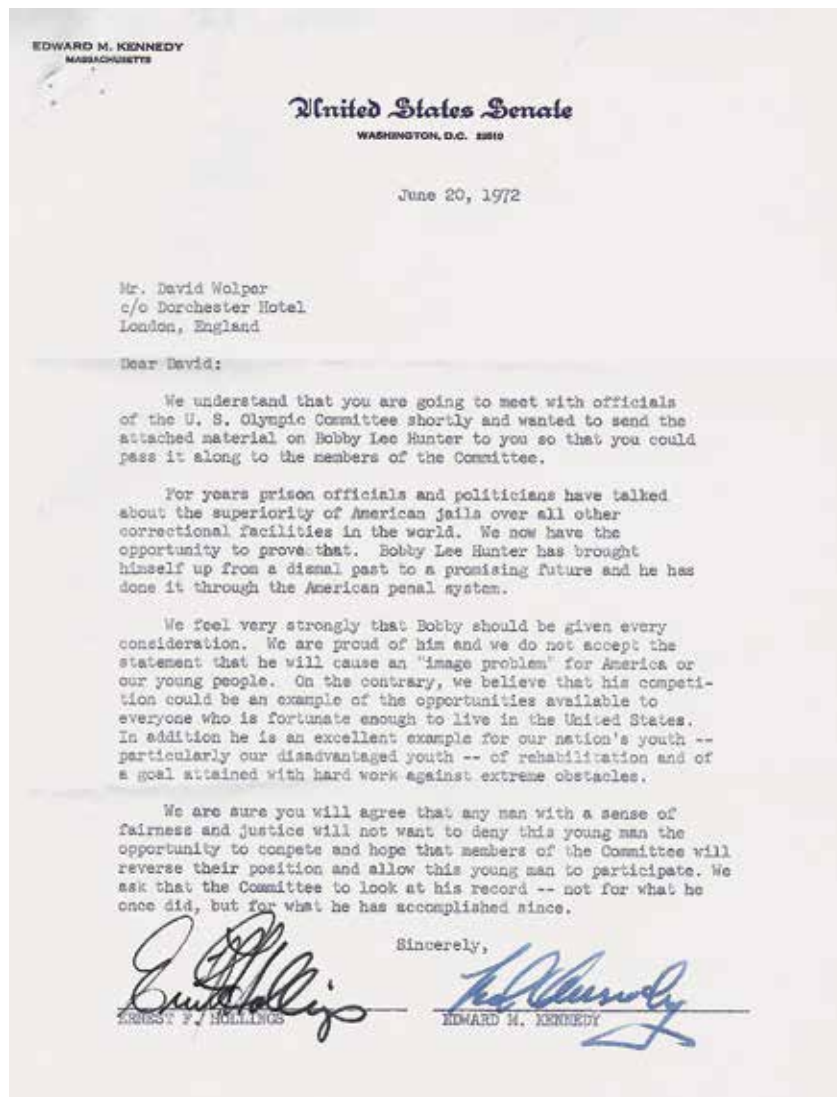
Fellow Republican Marvin Esch, who represented Michigan's 2nd District, ventured that the IOC's feared "image problem" would be worse if Hunter was denied the opportunity and that his appearance in Munich "would prove this country's commitment to the rehabilitation of men and women in our correctional institutions."⁴² New York's Charles Rangel (D) applauded Hunter's commitment to a new path, and if he was barred from participating, such a decision was "a sad reflection on our system of crime and punishment".⁴³ His thoughts were echoed by Les Aspin (D-WI).⁴⁴ In response to all, Brundage was resolute and brief. If named to the US team by the USOC, Hunter's candidacy would be considered by the IOC Eligibility Commission.⁴⁵

Perhaps the most powerful message delivered from Washington came from Mendel J. Davis (D-SC), who informed Brundage that South Carolinians took pride in Hunter's efforts. Hunter was "an inspiration to the underprivileged youth of the State and the Nation because he has shown them that through hard work and perseverance anyone can obtain his goal in life no matter how large the obstacles are."

Davis listed 47 additional Congressmen, 29 Republicans, and 18 Democrats from 24 different states, including New York's Jack Kemp (R), Mississippi's Sonny Montgomery (D), and California's Ronald Dellums (D), a future Mayor of Oakland, who stood shoulder to shoulder with him.⁴⁶ This widespread support was mirrored in the Senate as 46 Senators signed Ernest Hollings's letter to Brundage calling for Hunter's inclusion on the team.⁴⁷ On the cusp of one of the most serious tests of bipartisanship in Washington in the last half of the 20th century, a result of the Watergate break-in and ensuing cover-up orchestrated by President Nixon and his closest aides, Hunter's dream drew support from both sides of the aisle, a circumstance reflecting an earlier time when Republicans and Democrats found common cause on many issues.

Willi Daume's dilemma

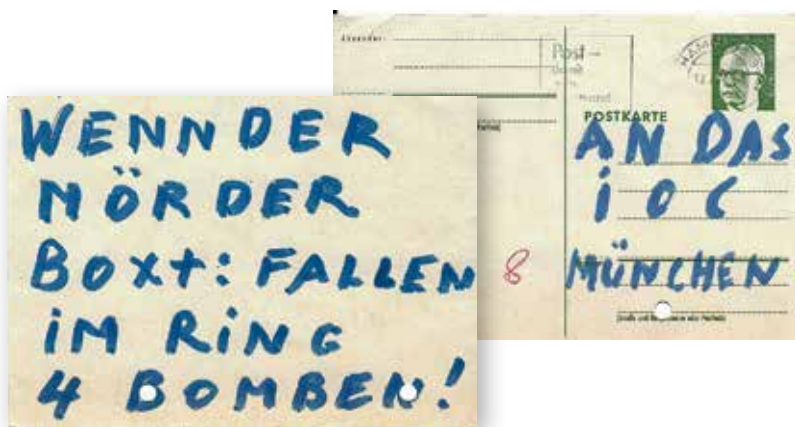
When tasked with the responsibility of hosting an Olympic festival in 1972 or today, an individual heading an Organising Committee pushes people in fulfilling the OCOG's organisational and operational mandates, but also must anticipate problems that might distract his/her team from its mission. In April 1972, when European newspapers initiated coverage of Hunter's case, Daume sensed controversy. While not analogous in terms of the backstory, Daume knew how the removal of Austrian skier Karl Schranz from the Sapporo Winter Games commanded headlines and criticism. He reached out to Clifford Buck for information on Hunter.⁴⁸



"Dear Colleague" letter from Senators Ernest F. Hollings and Edward M. Kennedy to producer David F. Wolper, who was commissioned to bring together eight directors from different countries to develop eight themes for the official 1972 Olympic film. Source: DDB Archive

Daume's views on Bobby Lee Hunter and his prospective participation in the Olympics evolved over the waning months before Olympians converged in Munich. In June, one month before the US Boxing Trials, media coverage intensified in parallel to the lobbying of US politicians. Senator Edward Kennedy appealed to Daume directly on Hunter's behalf.⁴⁹ Daume announced that Hunter should not travel to Munich as Olympians needed to "be an example to youth," an opinion shared by Avery Brundage.⁵⁰ This message was not received well in the US.

West Germany and Munich's deepest wish in hosting the Olympics was to cast the country in a different light than had been the case in Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1936 amidst the rise of Adolf Hitler and National Socialism. "Herr Daume, it would seem," wrote Ira Berkow, then sports editor of the *Newspaper*



While many in the United States would have welcomed Hunter's nomination as part of his rehabilitation, the general mood in Germany was otherwise. An anonymous extremist said he would detonate four bombs in the boxing ring if he took part. Source: DOSB Archive

Enterprise Association, "should be painfully aware of rehabilitation." "Germany was still paying its war debts," stated Berkow, as "thousands of individuals all over the world still receive monthly checks from the German government for the tyranny suffered at the hands of the Nazis." Hypocrisy reigned, charged Berkow. "If the Olympics can go back to Germany, then Bobby Lee Hunter can go to the Olympics."⁵¹

Olympic gold medallist Olga Connolly ventured that an effort to prevent Hunter's participation "would be the action of a self-righteous hypocrite" (though Avery Brundage was her target, not Daume).⁵² Clifford Buck warned Daume that should Hunter be prevented from competing in Munich, "public opinion in America would call for a boycott." "The situation," Daume reported to Brundage, "is almost as bad as 1936" (when the US considered boycotting the Berlin Olympics). "Newspapers and leading figures in the United States are casting me as a Nazi," he lamented.⁵³

Daume was particularly aggrieved that the USOC placed Munich organisers in this position, and the barrage of personal criticism in the American media that filtered to Munich grew wearying. "I personally do not think it is fair that the case be thrown onto the shoulders of the Munich Organising Committee," Daume wrote Clifford Buck, "or be taken out on me personally. [...] To an ever increasing extent, I am receiving press releases from the USA, as well as letters from leading figures and organisations, in which I and the German people are branded Nazis, murderers and the like in the most vile possible way."⁵⁴

While Daume believed the USOC was at fault for not having dealt with the matter earlier, he came to the conclusion that if Hunter qualified and was placed on the team, removing him from the team "for moral or other reasons" would "be totally unfair." Daume's thoughts

turned to Hunter's challenging childhood. Many have told him Hunter was a "victim of the social crisis of our age" and one who received sub-par legal counsel.⁵⁵

In support of Hunter's goal, Daume went as far as to suggest to Clifford Buck that "it would ease the IOC's situation, which is at the moment very difficult, if Hunter were to be able to come to Munich without prison guards and live without supervision with the American team in the Olympic Village, or at least attend the competitions without guards."⁵⁶ The situation was charged. Daume sought means to defuse the controversy by finding time in his schedule to visit the US for a hearing that should be granted to Hunter. He hoped that President Nixon or South Carolina's Governor "would pardon him." While the IOC had the final decision in the case, the situation required much thought now. However, if Hunter failed to win the Olympic Trials, "the problem will have solved itself," said Daume.⁵⁷

Tim Dement dashes Bobby Lee Hunter's Olympic dream

Tim Dement was an unlikely challenger to Bobby Lee Hunter in the flyweight class in the months before the Munich Olympics. He was a product of Irish McNeels Sports for Boys Club in Bossier City, Louisiana, and failed in his attempts to qualify for the US Boxing Trials in both the 48 and 54 kg categories. Tipping the scales at 59 kg two weeks before the trials, he received word that a spot for a wild card entrant existed in the flyweight category, but he would have to drop 8.2 kg. He accepted the challenge but learned his first-round opponent would be the feared knockout artist, Bobby Lee Hunter.

Dement was undeterred because his boxing travels had resulted in sparring sessions with Hunter the previous year, and he believed his length and reach advantage over his opponent offered an avenue for success. Still, he was an overwhelming underdog in the opinion of those in the boxing community. "I was told they had a basket at ringside to catch my head, when it was knocked off," recalled Dement.

With Howard Cosell calling the action from ringside, Dement executed his strategy masterfully, frustrating Hunter throughout the bout.⁵⁸ "I looked bad, I looked bad," said a distraught Hunter. "I was better than that in my very first fight." Red Douglas regretted Hunter's preparations. "I overtrained him," said Douglas. "Three years of preparation and I blew it."⁵⁹ Yet, Douglas gave Dement credit for a fine performance. "Dement gave Bobby a boxing lesson. It's the best I've seen Dement fight," he said.⁶⁰ And, with his victory, Dement solved the problem for the likes of Brundage, Weir, and Daume.

Subsequent victories over two-time Golden Gloves champion Greg Lewis and Ricky Dean meant he was almost Munich-bound. Though Dement captured the weight class at the Trials, a challenger was permitted to box the winner in a repechage-like event. Hunter was offered the opportunity to fight Dement two weeks later. He declined. In Munich, Dement won his first round bout but suffered a detached retina in his second round loss to Colombia's Calixto Pérez.⁶¹

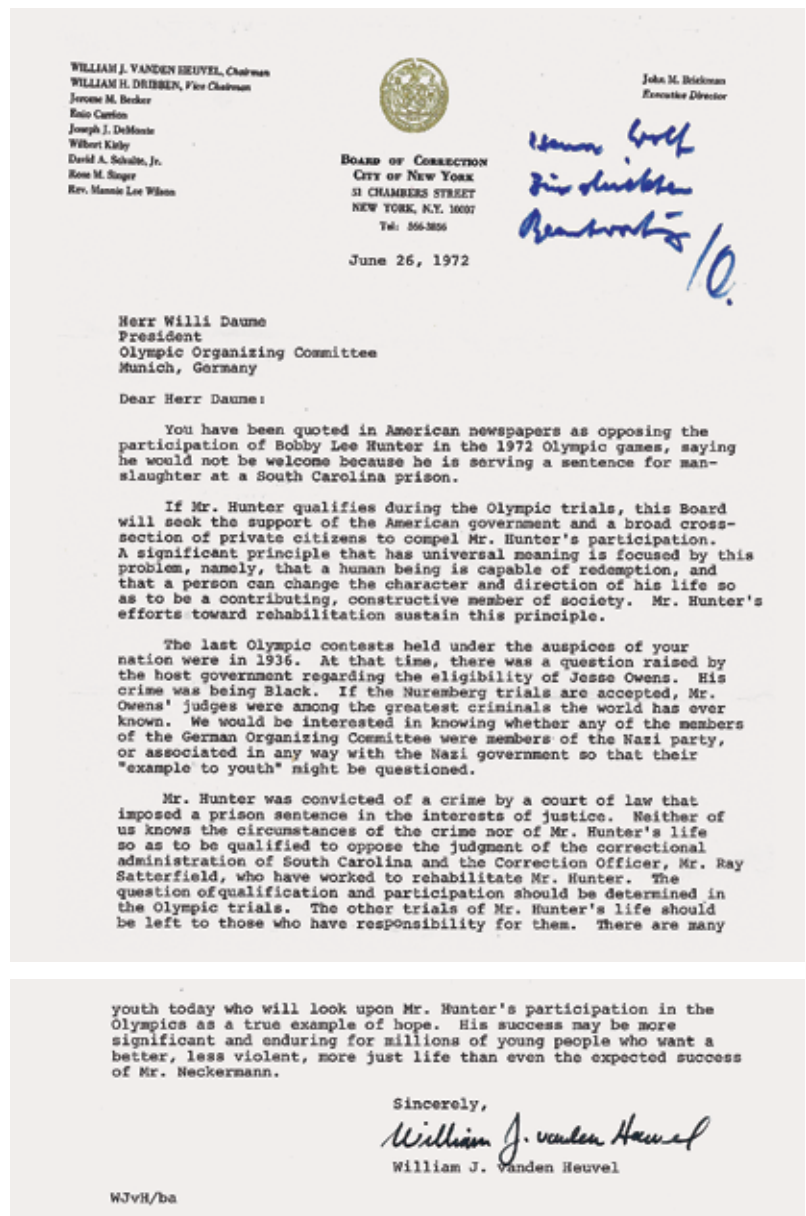
Bobby Lee Hunter's story in a wider frame

Bobby Lee Hunter was just one prisoner within the US prison system in the 1960s and 1970s for whom boxing offered a different path. James Scott (19 wins, 2 losses, 1 draw)⁶² and Dwight Braxton (later Dwight Muhammad Qawi, 41-11-1)⁶³ were both products of the Rahway State Prison (New Jersey) boxing programme, with Scott emerging as a light-heavyweight title contender in the 1970s and Qawi holding both the World Boxing Council and *The Ring* light heavyweight titles following his release from prison in 1978 in the early 1980s.

Ron Lyle took up boxing in the Colorado State Penitentiary in 1964 and fought first as a pro in April 1971. Lyle, newly emerging as a heavyweight boxer in 1972, supported Hunter's cause.⁶⁴ His career record, a very respectable 43-7-1, saw him trade blows with Muhammad Ali, George Foreman, Jerry Quarry, Earnie Shavers, and a host of other respected boxers of his era.⁶⁵ Hunter, Scott, Qawi, and Lyle were all preceded by heavyweight champion Sonny Liston, who took up boxing in prison in the 1950s, and were followed by one of the best pound for pound boxers and champions of all time, Bernard Hopkins, who gravitated to boxing in prison in Pennsylvania in the 1980s (he had boxed briefly as an amateur in his teenage years).⁶⁶

Warden Cave and William Leeke's enthusiastic backing of Bobby Lee Hunter reflected a prevailing view in the US penal system commencing in the 1950s running through the early 1970s. At this time, "the ideal model of correctional administration," writes Michelle S. Phelps, "was founded on the belief that trained experts could administer individualized assessment and treatment that would 'diagnose' and 'treat' the causes of criminality in a way that medical doctors were able to cure other forms of illness." Inmate services designed according to this medical model manifested in "the 'rehabilitative ideal,' a correctional philosophy deeply rooted in the idea that prison inmates could be reformed and returned to the free world as law-abiding citizens."⁶⁷

USOC officials and US politicians embraced Leeke and Cave's advocacy on Hunter's behalf. When Hunter was paroled in August 1973, William D. Tyler, Chairman



New York City's chairman of the Board of Correction threatened to carry out "Nazi bashing." William J. Vanden Heuvel asked Willi Daume which members of the Munich organising committee belonged to the Nazi party. He of course did not know that the question could also apply to Daume.

Source: DOSB Archive

of the South Carolina Probation and Parole Board, told him, "We are not paroling you on the record you have made as a boxer. We are paroling you as a man."⁶⁸

Hunter's Olympic saga played out shortly before research completed in the mid-1970s diminished the focus on these types of programmes as a means of reducing recidivism.⁶⁹ While boxing programmes in US prisons did not disappear, their numbers diminished significantly as the penal system shifted its approach to deterrence and entered the law and order era,⁷⁰ though Phelps argues the shift away from the rehabilitative ideal may have been more tied to rhetoric than reality through the 1980s.⁷¹

Man Olympic head says Boxing convict unwelcome

MUNICH — (UPI) — Bobby Lee Hunter, one of the 12,000 athletes expected for the Olympic Games, will not receive a cordial welcome and may have to stay in a Munich prison instead of in the Olympic Village with the other contestants.

Hunter, an American fly-weight boxer, is serving an 18-year prison term for manslaughter at South Carolina's Manning Correctional Institution.

Willi Daume, president of the Olympic Organizing Committee, said even if Hunter qualifies he does not want him to compete in the Olympics.



BOBBY LEE HUNTER
... controversy looms

Organizing Committee to decide where this boxer should be accommodated," Daume said. "Should he be entered for the Games he will pass the decision about his lodging to the United States justice authorities."

Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), refused a clear statement on the matter at a news conference last Friday and took refuge in vague Olympic rules.

"Rule 26 of our Olympic code says that each participant must have adhered to the Olympic spirit and the Olympic ideals and that he has lived accordingly," Brundage said.

Olympic officials feel Hunter does not measure up to rule 26. The matter may have to be put on the agenda of the IOC Congress preceding the Munich Games.

Many people, however, are fascinated by the story of a convict possibly becoming an Olympic champion.

American film director Arthur Penn, for example, chose this dramatic story for his contribution to the official Olympic film and is working on the feature already.

Buck, the chairman of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), during his recent visit to Munich that Hunter is not welcome.

"Perhaps the International Amateur Boxing Association (AIBA) could help," Daume said. "They have rules which ban a convict from competing at Olympic Games."

Should Hunter survive the trials, USOC and the AIBA, Daume and his staff will be faced with the problem of where to house Hunter during the Games, in the Olympic

GOOD EXAMPLE

The reason, said Daume, is that "an Olympic athlete should be an example to youth."

He said feeling among Munich's Olympic officials is that this is hardly the case with an athlete convicted of killing a man with a knife.

"I believe the national Olympic Committee of the United States would be wise to abandon its plan to enter this boxer for the Games," Daume said.

Rumblings in the media: A press campaign before the opening of the Olympic Games in Munich gave Daume a hard time. The problem took care of itself when Hunter lost to Tim Dement in the US Trials. Source: DGSB Archive

A final word

Today, a process exists for those pursuing a place on the US Olympic team who have a criminal record, such as the one Hunter possessed. This process is governed by policies within "the US Center for SafeSport's (UCSS), SafeSport Code, the [United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee] Athlete Safety Policy, and the USOPC Background Check Policy. Each policy affords the individual with an opportunity for a hearing to determine participation rights. Thus, it's not automatic that this type of criminal charge precludes participation, but rather there is a review process of the criminal charge and the individual has the opportunity to have a hearing which ultimately decides the final participation rights."⁷²

However, the IOC remains the final arbiter as a result of Rule 44, clause 3 in the Olympic Charter, which reads: "Any entry is subject to acceptance by the IOC, which may at its discretion, at any time, refuse any entry, without indication of grounds. Nobody is entitled as of right to participate in the Olympic Games."⁷³

Bobby Lee Hunter's brush with fame was just that – fleeting. He began a professional career in boxing, but stumbled, and was arrested for aggravated assault in the late 1970s. Stories exist of him living in Charleston in the early 1980s, but his whereabouts in later years seem unknown.⁷⁴ He compiled an 8–2 record in 10 bouts in 1974 and 1975. He lost two fights in 1981 and a third in 1984.⁷⁵ His success as an amateur did not translate into success as a professional.

We are left to speculate on how his life might have been further changed if Tim Dement had not prevailed in their bout at the 1972 US Olympic Boxing Trials. What is clear is that Dement's victory removed a controversial story from the sports pages in America in the summer of 1972. Avery Brundage, the Marquess of Exeter, Hugh Weir, and Willi Daume breathed easier as a result, at least until the early morning hours of 5 September. ■

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- 2 "Coach's snafu costs US 2 Olympic sprinters," *Boston Globe*, 1 September 1972, 29, <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/434851920/>.
- 3 Brian Cazeneuve, "Removing the Tarnish Labeled an Olympic Drug Cheat, Rick DeMont May Soon See His Name Cleared," *Sports Illustrated*, 5 February 2001, <https://vault.si.com/vault/2001/02/05/removing-the-tarnish-labeled-an-olympic-drug-cheat-rick-demont-may-soon-see-his-name-cleared>.
- 4 *Minutes of the Meeting of the IOC Eligibility Commission*, Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten, Munich, 15–16, 18, 21, 28 August; 1, 8 September 1972, 19–24, International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne (hereafter cited as IOCA).
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- 6 Neil Amdur, "Disputed Basket Halts Streak," *New York Times*, 10 September 1972, S1, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/09/10/archives/disputed-basket-halts-streak-soviet-five-ends-u-s-olympic-reign.html>.
- 7 Charles Paschal, "Young Inmate Holds AAU Title," *The Columbia Record*, 25 June 1971, 14–15, Robert Kane Papers (hereafter cited as RKP), RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOC Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter cited as USOCA).
- 8 Edwin Shrake, "Nobody Jives Little Bobby," *Sports Illustrated*, 15 May 1972, <https://vault.si.com/vault/1972/05/15/nobody-jives-little-bobby>.
- 9 William D. Leeke, Director, South Carolina Department of Corrections, to Clifford Buck, President, USOC, 12 July 1971; and William D. Leeke to Robert J. Kane, Games Preparation Committee, USOC, 16 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA.
- 10 For their differences on the distribution of money stemming from ABC's \$13.5 million contract, see Stephen R. Wenn and Robert K. Barney, *The Gold in the Rings: The People and Events that Transformed the Olympic Games* (Champaign-Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2020), 73–95.
- 11 Avery Brundage to Hugh Weir, Chairman, IOC Eligibility Commission, 24 June 1972, IOCA; and "German Official Cool to US Boxer," *New York Times*, 13 June 1972; and Neil Amdur, "US Olympic Aide Sees No Bar to Convict-Boxer's Qualification," *New York Times*, 14 June 1972, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA. See also Ira Berkow, "Bobby Lee and Olympic Spirit," *Rome (GA) News-Tribune*, 13 July 1972, A10, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?ni=3448&dat=19720713&id=egOuAAAIAJ&sjid=HzMDAAAIAJ&pg=4852,1865744&hl=en>.
- 12 David Cecil, Marquess of Exeter, to Avery Brundage, 9 June 1972; Artur Takač to Hugh Weir, 5 July 1972; and Hugh Weir to Avery Brundage, 30 June 1972, IOCA.
- 13 Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972, Avery Brundage Collection (hereafter cited as ABC), Box 182, Wilfrid Laurier University Archives (hereafter cited as WLUA).

- 14 Kennedy's outreach to Willi Daume on the matter is noted in, Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972.
- 15 Strom Thurmond to Avery Brundage, 19 June 1972; and, for Hollings' views, one must rely on Brundage's response. See, Avery Brundage to Ernest Hollings, 10 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 16 Avery Brundage to Hugh Weir, 4 July 1972, IOCA.
- 17 Shrake, "Nobody Jives Little Bobby."
- 18 "Reauthorization of Community Development Block Grant Programs/Urban Development Action Grant Programs and Home Mortgage Disclosure Act." Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, 11 and 5 May 1986, Serial Number 99-77, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 25.
- 19 Shrake, "Nobody Jives Little Bobby"; and Will Grimsley, "Convict Boxes Way to Olympic Games." The latter is a newspaper clipping bearing the handwritten notation, "[Nov 71]" and it is found in RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA.
- 20 Shrake, "Nobody Jives Little Bobby."
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Paschal, "Young Inmate Holds AAU Title."
- 23 William D. Leeke to Clifford Buck, 12 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA; William D. Leeke to Robert Kane, 16 July, 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA; and, William D. Leeke to Consul for the Republic of Colombia, South America, 1 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA.
- 24 William D. Leeke to John Hussey, Press Secretary, Senator Hollings, 1 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA; and "File Note," 13 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA. The file note seems to have been written by Robert Kane's secretary and informs Kane that Henson had contacted Hollings's office.
- 25 Ernest F. Hollings to Robert J. Kane, 12 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA.
- 26 W.T. Cave to Clifford Buck, 29 July 1971, RKP, RG 01, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence 18 Feb 1970–30 August 1971" Folder, USOCA.
- 27 Stephen Wenn, "Rivals and Revolutionaries: Avery Brundage, the Marquess of Exeter and Olympic Television Revenue," *Sport in History* 32 (June 2012): 257–278.
- 28 David Cecil, Marquess of Exeter, to Avery Brundage, 9 June 1972.
- 29 Brundage to Weir, 24 June 1972.
- 30 Guy-Lionel Loew, "Amateurism and the Olympic Movement: The Stakes of a Definition of Amateurism Under the Light of the Case of Karl Schranz – 1972 Winter Games Sapporo, Japan," *Journal of Olympic History* 13 (January 2005): 24–30.
- 31 For a sample of Brundage's thoughts in this regard, see Avery Brundage to Strom Thurmond, 24 June 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 32 Hugh Weir to Avery Brundage, 30 June 1972, IOCA.
- 33 Hugh Weir to Artur Takač, IOC Technical Director, 26 June 1972, IOCA. Emphasis in original letter.
- 34 Amdur, "US Olympic Aide Sees No Bar to Convict-Boxer's Qualification."
- 35 Berkow, "Bobby Lee and Olympic Spirit."
- 36 Clifford Buck to Howard W. Broil, 17 March 1972, RG01, RKP, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence and reports, 1971-1973," Folder, USOCA.
- 37 Clifford Buck to Miguel de Capriles, 10 May 1972; and Miguel de Capriles to Clifford Buck, 6 June 1972, RG01, RKP, Box 1 F-19 Kane Correspondence USOC, USOCA. "We believe it is our prerogative to decide who goes to the Games. If Hunter qualifies at the US Boxing Trials next month, he will go to Munich and stay with the rest of the team at [the] Olympic Village." "Sport: Low Blows from Munich," *Time*, 26 June 1972, <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,906105,00.html>.
- 38 Robert Kane to Clifford Buck, 28 March 1972, RG01, RKP, Box 21, "Boxing correspondence and reports, 1971–1973," Folder, USOCA.
- 39 Hugh Weir to Artur Takač, IOC Technical Director, 26 June 1972, IOCA.
- 40 Strom Thurmond to Avery Brundage, 19 June 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 41 Charles E. Wiggins to Avery Brundage, 15 June 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 42 Marvin L. Esch to Avery Brundage, 6 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 43 Charles B. Rangel to Avery Brundage, 10 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 44 Les Aspin to Avery Brundage, 14 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 45 See, for instance, Avery Brundage to Charles B. Rangel, 19 July 1972; and Avery Brundage to Marvin L. Esch, 17 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 46 Mendel J. Davis to Avery Brundage, 7 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 47 Avery Brundage to Ernest Hollings, 10 July 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA. Only Brundage's reply noting the support of the Senators is extant.
- 48 Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972, IOCA.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 "German Official Cool to US Boxer."
- 51 Berkow, "Bobby Lee and Olympic Spirit."
- 52 P.J. Erickson, "Bobby Lee and Avery," *Tucson Citizen*, 16 June 1972, 60, <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/20125170/tucson-daily-citizen/>. In his book *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Triumph, and Terror at the Olympic Games*, David Clay Large finds the hypocrisy, infused with racism, rampant, too. In reference to the plight of Hunter and of fellow African American athlete, high jumper Gene White, whose criminal record for forgery, in Brundage's mind, compromised his worthiness for a position on the US Olympic team in Munich, Large concluded: "It is revealing, however, that while Brundage passionately favored including white-ruled Rhodesia in the Munich Games, he was just as determined to exclude two African Americans on grounds that their criminal records might stain the otherwise pristine vest of the Olympic Movement." David Clay Large, *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Triumph, and Terror at the Olympic Games* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2012), 159.
- 53 Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972, IOCA.
- 54 Willi Daume to Clifford Buck, 4 July 1972. This document was gratefully received by the author from Volker Kluge, who located it in the archives of the German National Olympic Committee.
- 55 Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972, IOCA. Elsewhere, Daume indicated he had never ventured the opinion that Hunter could not participate in Munich, but that the decision rested entirely in the hands of the IOC. Willi Daume to Herr Sauter, undated. This document, too, was shared with the author Volker Kluge, who located it in the archives of the German National Olympic Committee.
- 56 Willi Daume to Clifford Buck, 4 July 1972.
- 57 Willi Daume to Avery Brundage, 4 July 1972, IOCA.
- 58 Ken Hissner, "Top Amateur Tim Dement Was a Member of the 1972 Olympic Team," *BoxingInsider.com*, 4 August 2017, <https://www.boxinginsider.com/headlines/top-amateur-tim-dement-member-1972-olympic-team/>; and "Dement Outpoints Hunter in Trials," *New York Times*, 21 July 1972, p. 21, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/07/21/archives/dement-outpoints-hunter-in-trials-louisianian-17-captures-us.html>.
- 59 Dan Levin, "A Couple of Hit and Miss Propositions," *Sports Illustrated*, 31 July 1972, <https://vault.si.com/vault/1972/07/31/a-couple-of-hit-and-miss-propositions>.
- 60 Denne H. Freeman, "Hunter Back to Prison," *Wichita Falls (TX) Times*, 21 July 1972, 2B, <https://newspaperarchive.com/wichita-falls-times-jul-21-1972-p-22/>.
- 61 Hissner, "Top Amateur Tim Dement Was a Member of the 1972 Olympic Team."
- 62 "James Scott," *BoxRec.com*, <https://boxrec.com/en/proboxer/2347>.
- 63 "Dwight Muhammad Qawi," *BoxRec.com*, <https://boxrec.com/en/proboxer/325>.
- 64 Amdur, "US Olympic Aide Sees No Bar to Convict-Boxer's Qualification."
- 65 "Ron Lyle," *BoxRec.com*, <https://boxrec.com/en/proboxer/226>.
- 66 David L. Hudson provides chapter-length treatment of prison boxing in the US, as well as a brief history on Bobby Lee Hunter, in David L. Hudson, Jr., *Boxing in America: An Autopsy* (Praeger: Santa Barbara, CA, 2012), 133–146.
- 67 Michelle S. Phelps, "Rehabilitation in the Punitive Era: The Gap Between Rhetoric and Reality in US Prison Programs," *Law & Society Review* 45 (March 2011): 36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23011958>. This was perhaps most concisely framed by Paul Stageberg, Associate Director – Corrections, Des Moines-Polk County Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center, who stated that barring Hunter from the US Olympic team was short-sighted: "The severe disappointment certain to be the result of his exclusion, I fear, may destroy Bobby Lee Hunter and cancel out all the progress he has made up to this point. It will serve to show him, and others in his position, that society, rather than being willing to accept individuals upon their return from incarceration, judging them on present conduct rather than past conduct, instead prefers to be vindictive, carrying a grudge that never allows individuals to re-enter society, no matter how fantastic their re-adjustment." Paul Stageberg to Avery Brundage, 13 June 1972, ABC, Box 182, WLUA.
- 68 "Boxer Put on Parole 'as a Man,'" *New York Times*, 9 August 1973, 40, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/08/09/archives/boxer-put-on-parole-as-a-man-people-in-sports.html>.
- 69 Grant Duwe, "The Use and Impact of Correctional Programming for Inmates on Pre- and Post-Release Outcomes," National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, US Department of Justice, 3, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/250476.pdf>. Duwe identified the major studies that altered the trajectory of the philosophy underpinning these programs as D.S. Lipton, R. Martinson, and J. Wilks, *The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies* (Albany, NY: New York Office of Crime Control Planning, 1975); and R. Martinson, "What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform," *The Public Interest*, 34 (1974): 22–54.
- 70 Hudson, Jr., *Boxing in America: An Autopsy*, 144–146.
- 71 Phelps, "Rehabilitation in the Punitive Era: The Gap Between Rhetoric and Reality in US Prison Programs," 59–63.
- 72 This extract is from an email prepared by the USOPC's legal department. Archives (archives@usopc.org) to the author, 1 April 2021. Square brackets mine. Emphasis in original.
- 73 Olympic Charter (in force as of 17 July 2020), 79, <https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf>. This rule was drawn to the author's attention by Estel Heggin, Research Coordinator, Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne. Email, Estel Heggin to the author, 24 March 2021.
- 74 Brendan I. Koerner, "The Curious Case of Bobby Lee Hunter," 6 August 2012, <https://www.microkhan.com/2012/08/06/the-curious-case-of-bobby-lee-hunter/>.
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Los Angeles 1984: A Turning Point for Television Rights and Technology Part 5

By RICHARD W. POUND



The countdown is on: A cameraman at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum in the summer of 1984.

Photo: picture-alliance

The 1984 Games were allocated in 1978. Sarajevo became the second successive Eastern European Olympic host city. Los Angeles finally won the Summer Games on its third attempt, against no eventual opposition. The wounds from the Moscow boycott had not healed. US President Jimmy Carter's bid for re-election in 1980 failed, and he was displaced by Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, perhaps better known at the time as a motion picture film actor. Each

of the 1980 Games faced predictable issues, arising in the case of Lake Placid from the constraints affecting a small town with very little infrastructure and, for Moscow, from the attempt to improve on second-class infrastructure coupled with the international disapproval of the 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which had led to significant boycotts.

The usual organisational considerations applied to both 1984 OCOGs, in each case on a larger scale than the 1980 Games. Sarajevo, not surprisingly, was behind the curve on infrastructure. Los Angeles was to present privately organised Games, a theoretical model not seen since pre-television 1932, barely within living memory and now in a profoundly different context. The IOC itself was more accustomed to Sarajevo's largely government-supported model and had no experience with the prospect of a private-sector model. In the television context, Los Angeles was the acknowledged entertainment capital of the world. As usual, the OCOGs ignored the IOC regarding their television negotiations. The Olympic television agenda remained driven by the OCOGs and broadcasters, with the IOC as essentially an off-stage player.

But change at the IOC level was in the wind with the arrival of Juan Antonio Samaranch, who had taken office as president immediately following the Moscow Games. Organised, ambitious, and very much aware of the need for the IOC to become financially independent, Samaranch had added a new feature to the IOC presidency – that of being a full-time president, unlike all of his predecessors, most recently Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin, who had left the IOC administration almost entirely in the hands of Monique Berlioux. That did not suit Samaranch. The advent of a full-time president who paid meticulous attention to administrative matters did not suit Berlioux. It was an arrangement destined not to last.

To some degree, Samaranch inherited television arrangements made by Killanin regarding both Sarajevo and Los Angeles, but he managed to improve on some of them and to set in motion a different television-related course for future Games.

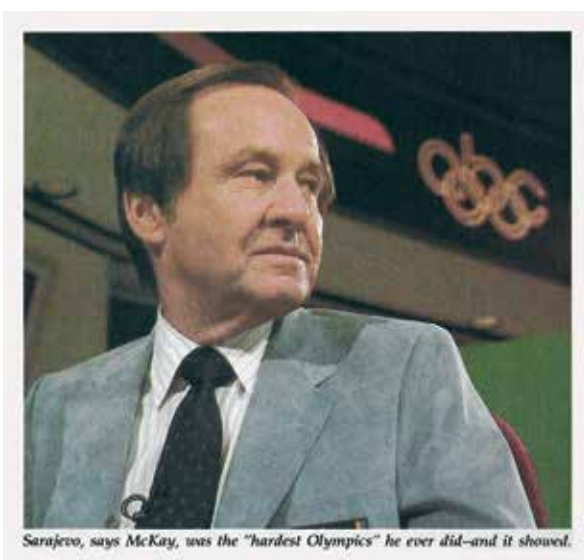
The dynamics of the relationships between the two Super Powers also changed dramatically, driven by the Star Wars race, in which the US under President

Reagan simply decided to outspend the Soviet Union. In the process, the two countries came dangerously close to what could have been a global nuclear war. In the end, there would be a Soviet-led boycott of the Los Angeles Games by most of the Warsaw Pact countries, one that might well have been averted had Yuri Andropov not died during the Sarajevo Games and been replaced by the doddering Konstantin Chernenko, who was in the thrall of Andrei Gromyko, a veteran Cold Warrior who nursed an acute distaste for the United States.

Sarajevo contract signed with ABC without IOC approval

The television aspects of the Sarajevo Games were not unduly complicated, even given the relative lack of broadcast infrastructure in Yugoslavia. The Olympic broadcasters were increasingly able to articulate and determine their technical needs regarding the expected content of the Games and assist the OCOG with the configuration of the facilities and venues. EBU, in particular, had a sophisticated technical capacity.

Rights fees continued to increase, although the broadcasters also continued to ignore IOC demands that they be calculated on the gross amounts. Thus, the \$91.5 million fee for the United States with ABC, negotiated by the OCOG and signed without the permission of the IOC, was divided into \$61.5 million for technical services and \$25 million as rights fees. The IOC Finance Commission was unable to change that allocation.



ABC anchor Jim McKay (1921–2008) rose to fame on 5 September 1972 when he reported on the assassination attempt on Israel's team for 16 hours. The Winter Games in Sarajevo were for him the "hardest Olympics" because he saw nothing but his room and the studio. His first Games were in Rome in 1960 and his tenth in Los Angeles in 1984. Source: *Sport Illustrated*, Special Preview, The 1984 Olympics

Television news access was discussed. In Lake Placid, a modification had been added to Rule 51 (formerly Rule 49), whereby the original allowance of 3 x 3 minutes was reduced to 3 x 2 minutes. Requests had been received to revert to the former rule. Berlioux reported that the IOC was generous in this respect. FIFA allowed only two minutes per game per day or three minutes should there be only one match on a particular day. Only the FIS allowed free news access. The IOC Executive Board decided to remain with the 3 x 2 minutes rule.¹

The Host Broadcasting function

Notwithstanding the IOC's ongoing efforts to expand its own role regarding Olympic television, this had little, if anything, to do with the quality or content of the Olympic broadcasts. These matters fell within the particular competence of the broadcasters themselves, who knew the medium, the increasingly sophisticated technical capacities and equipment involved, the special effects that would enhance the quality of broadcasts, and the means of making the Games into more "personal" experiences for their differing international audiences. Neither the IOC nor the OCOGs possessed such knowledge. The television professionals were in a position to know what technical requirements and facilities were important – whether for matters as mundane as camera positions to ensure complete coverage of events; lighting for indoor events; delivery of signals from particular events to the central facilities, from which they could be distributed to rights-holding broadcasters for editing and customising for the various television markets; integration of the results systems; and the thousands of other issues that go into such a complex series of issues. Like the rest of the world, the IOC and OCOGs were little more than awed spectators.

While Olympic broadcasters had already cooperated on many occasions to solve the technical aspects of bringing the Games to the world, this had been a series of ad hoc arrangements between various rights holders, and no formal organisation had been created. Los Angeles would be acknowledged as the first time a separate organisation was recognised as different from the domestic broadcasters. Central to this development was Manuel (Manolo) Romero (ESP), who had emerged as the leading technical expert within the EBU. He had long been involved in Olympic television coverage and had managed the coverage of the 1982 FIFA World Cup in Spain, but had agreed with ABC to replace its representative in Europe and left EBU, moving to Paris in the fall of 1983.

In the lead-up to 1984, Romero attended meetings at Universal Studios in 1981/1982, an event designed

Roone Arledge (1931–2002), president of ABC Sports from 1968 to 1986, was the first person to bring sports and entertainment to prime-time television. With *Wide World of Sports*, he founded the most successful sports programme of all time, focusing on technical innovations. Under his direction, ABC broadcast the Olympic Games ten times. In 1977, he also took over ABC News.



Photo: picture-alliance

for potential broadcasters, organised by ABC's Roone Arledge and Marvin Bader, among others. ABC did not want to be the host broadcaster (similar to its earlier position with respect to Lake Placid in 1980) and said the other broadcasters would receive only the heavily Americanised ABC domestic feed but wanted huge amounts even for that. Resultant complaints seem to have led ABC to persuade Romero to come to New York and then to Los Angeles to see what was not working. Romero found that ABC was being profligate, trying to create a Rolls Royce where a bicycle or Volkswagen would have sufficed.² None of the other broadcasters had been consulted with respect to what they wanted for transmission in their territories. Romero put together the Olympic Broadcast Advisory Committee (OBAC) and took over responsibility for the Host Broadcast Organization (HBO), a new forum for major broadcasters to indicate what they needed for purposes of Games coverage and to deliver it. Romero was able to reduce the ABC-led proposed rate card costs to other broadcasters by more than one-half.³

For the first time, the HBO was formally separated from the domestic broadcaster and had its own discrete location. Technical innovations included full use of optic fibre, cell phones (Motorola, but still very heavy), use of electric carts to follow the Marathon from beginning to end, one-inch tape, full slow motion, and the first use of high definition by NHK, with a single HD camera.

At this stage, Samaranch was still trapped in the traditional dialogue within the IOC and the clamouring for shares of the television revenues from other Olympic stakeholders. He had recognised the "big picture" issue that it was the broadcasters who were driving both the technology and content of the Olympic broadcasts – and that the IOC should get out of the way and instead focus on maximising coverage and related revenues and gaining control of the negotiations and allocation of the respective revenue shares between the Olympic Family and the OCOGs. This would require a major culture change on the part of the IOC and direct involvement from the beginning of negotiations, not the usual after-the-fact intervention once the OCOGs had made (and often announced) their deals with the broadcasters. The eventual new model would lead to the end of ABC's virtual stranglehold on Olympic television in the United States.

Los Angeles television

Concern had been expressed early on regarding Los Angeles television rights. De Beaumont considered television rights to be very important in helping the IOC, NOCs, and IFs to survive. He wanted to be sure that the rights would be negotiated "net," so there was no subsequent deduction for hardware, as had occurred in the past. John Argue of LAOOC pointed out that the answer to this issue was in the (television) questionnaire, which stated that the rights would be split between the organising committee and the IOC. They expected to follow the same formula as in the past.⁴ The draft language agreed to at the Mexico meeting in April had provided specific reference to television rights:

The proceeds from the sale of Television Rights shall be split between the IOC and the OCOG in the percentage of one-third/two-thirds (i.e. the standard formula of 1/3 to the IOC, 2/3 to the OCOG.) Neither the IOC nor the OCOG shall employ an agent or broker. The OCOG shall negotiate the US television contracts, subject to the approval of the IOC. The IOC shall have the right to attend all negotiating sessions. The IOC and the OCOG shall jointly negotiate all other Television contracts. Negotiations may commence immediately after May 18, 1978. The US Television contracts shall be subject to US law and the English language shall prevail. The Television Company shall pay the IOC share of TV money directly to the IOC, and shall pay the OCOG share of the TV money directly to the OCOG.⁵

The 81st IOC Session was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, on 5–8 April 1979. References to the Los Angeles Games were brief. It was noted that the two organisational contracts with the Los Angeles Olympic

Organizing Committee (LAOOC) had been signed. In addition, it appeared that television negotiations had begun, although this had been denied by LAOOC.⁶ At the Executive Board meeting prior to the Session, Killanin reported that LAOOC had appointed a chairman, Paul Ziffren, a 65-year-old lawyer, and a president, Peter Ueberroth, a 45-year-old businessman, both of whom were the choice of the USOC and had been selected by them.⁷ Television was also discussed. Killanin announced that, after taking legal advice, it had been decided not to request a tax exemption in respect of television rights payments since if the matter were raised, it was feared that the USOC might hinder such a measure. It was, therefore, considered wiser to assume that the same wording used in the contracts for Lake Placid and Moscow would also apply to Los Angeles.⁸

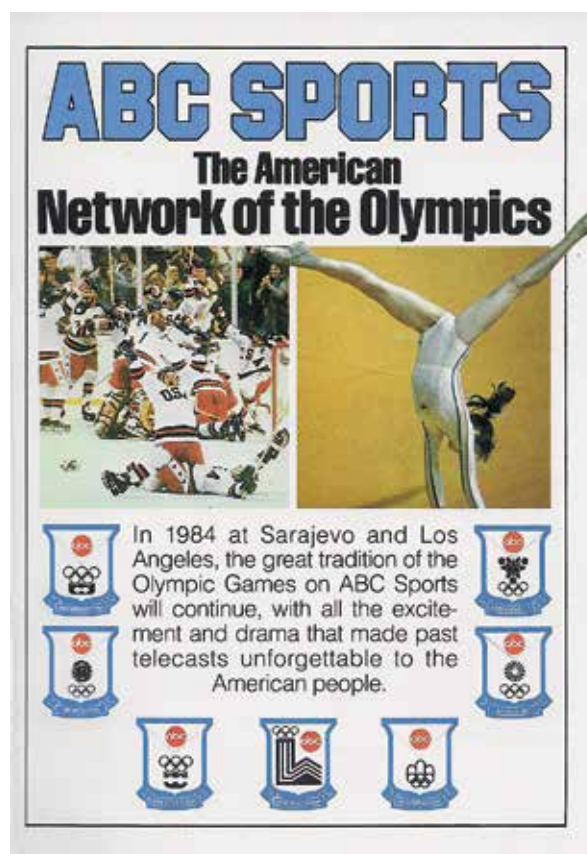
The final meeting of the Executive Board in 1979 was held in Nagoya, Japan, on 23–25 October. By this time, an agreement had been reached for the US television rights.⁹ Two features of the agreement were of particular interest to the IOC. The first was the huge amount of rights, and the second was that the money received by the IOC was not refundable. It was proposed that the contract be signed on 25 October. Berlioux had met with Ueberroth in Los Angeles on 24 September 1979 for the principal purpose of discussing the US television rights with both LAOOC and the bidding companies. Five companies had shown interest: ABC, CBS, ESPN, NBC and Tandem. All five had met with the LAOOC TV committee. ESPN and Tandem had been interested in rights for a few sports or only in cable or theatre television, which was of no interest to LAOOC.

The IOC Finance Commission had met to discuss, among other things, the question of signing an early television contract for US rights, obviously a matter of great importance to LAOOC, given its dependence on private sector funding. The IOC's normal routine had been to wait until the completion of the previous Games before negotiating for the following Games. Not slow to perceive the possibilities of leverage, particularly in the difficult atmosphere between the two organisations, the IOC wanted LAOOC to consider that the amounts allocated to the IOC could be non-refundable. The IOC also wanted its share as soon as possible in order to build up a reserve fund. An agreement was reached that the IOC would get \$33.5 million by 31 July 1982, in several instalments, and that the sums received "would remain the IOC's full property, as soon as received."¹⁰ The somewhat laconic statement, "After studying the bids carefully, it appeared that only ABC could provide the best facilities, coverage and money," is the only mention of the depth of study of the bids.¹¹

The Los Angeles Games were not discussed during the IOC Executive Board meeting prior to the 82nd IOC Session in Lake Placid, 10–13 February 1980, since the meetings with LAOOC scheduled for January 1980 had been cancelled.¹² Nor were they discussed during the Session, where the main concern was the US-led boycott of the Moscow Games. Following the Lake Placid Games, the IOC Executive Board met in Lausanne on 21–23 April 1980. Regarding Los Angeles, Killanin reported that he had met with Peter Ueberroth in Geneva just prior to the meeting, the main element being a reaffirmation of the IOC's commitment to Los Angeles. A short press release was issued by the IOC and LAOOC, the principal point of which was to say that there was no question of moving the Games from Los Angeles.

The 83rd IOC Session was held in Moscow, beginning on 15 July 1980 and concluding at the end of the Games on 3 August 1980. This was the first time that Ueberroth appeared before the IOC Session.¹³ The discussion related mainly to technical matters and some protocol concerns about entry into the United States. Television was not discussed. The IOC elected Juan Antonio Samaranch as its new president on the first ballot.

On 23–24 February 1981, the IOCEB met in Los Angeles. Samaranch and Berlioux had visited the city on 9–11 December 1980 for discussions with LAOOC and the city authorities. Although the minutes of the



Ad for ABC Sports in 1984: For the first time, both the Winter and Summer Olympics were broadcast on the same television network.

Source: Volker Kluge Archive

Compelling images captured from an extendable tower in Los Angeles, without having to get too close to the jumper.

Photos: Official Report
Los Angeles 1984



meeting show extensive discussions, there appears to be no record of anything supporting certain decisions, such as LAOOC being reminded that foreign radio stations did not have to pay rights or that it was the IOC that would return to LAOOC a part of the television rights, not the reverse, that the IOC was to be informed of negotiations with American radio, and that the IOC was to be given a copy of all contracts concluded.¹⁴

The Executive Board met prior to the 1981 Session in Baden-Baden. De Beaumont mentioned that Berlioux had made great efforts to reach a settlement with NBC regarding the Moscow rights and that the IOC had now received \$5,815,662. The Moscow OCOG had not received any settlement at that point. NBC had settled

with the IOC because the US government had decided that the IOC was not involved in the political problems between Moscow and the US. The IOC was now assisting the OCOG to obtain a settlement. Regarding the IOC settlement, the legal fees were to be deducted before dividing the amount into the usual thirds.¹⁵ The Television Commission had met in Baden-Baden on 18 September 1981, spending most of its time considering the replies to the television questionnaire provided by the candidate cities for the 1988 Games. The Commission thought there should be separate questionnaires for the Summer and Winter Games and was concerned that promises made in the replies to the questionnaires were not always fulfilled once the Games were awarded. The Commission's terms of reference were to be reviewed in light of the many changes in the television world since the Commission had been created, and recommendations would be submitted to the Executive Board.¹⁶ The Commission met again later that year in Sarajevo.¹⁷

The 84th Session of the IOC was held in Baden-Baden from 29 September to 2 October 1981. The LAOOC delegation consisted of Paul Ziffren (Chairman), Peter Ueberroth, Harry Usher, Scott le Tellier (Assistant Vice-President, Sports), Anita DeFrantz (Assistant Vice-President, Villages), and Susan Byard (Accounts Manager). Telegrams from President Reagan and Mayor Bradley were read. Ueberroth reported that an unsolicited bid had been received from an Italian broadcaster in the amount of \$10 million for the television rights for Italy alone. Thus far, negotiations with EBU had produced an offer for discussion of \$8.3 million for all 32 countries combined. LAOOC realised that it was important for the whole world to see the Olympic Games on television. However, they also believed in the principle of allowing any broadcaster to approach LAOOC and the IOC with its thoughts and ideas. LAOOC was responsible first to broadcasters, and they were, therefore, seeking the guidance of the IOC in the matter.¹⁸

Juan Antonio Samaranch, the new IOC President, congratulated LAOOC on the successful arrangements they had made regarding television rights. He explained that the IOC would divide its share into three parts – one for IOC expenditure, one for the IFs, and the third for the NOCs through the Olympic Solidarity programme. He stated that the meeting had learned with interest of the important offers made in order to obtain direct broadcasting rights. He pointed out that the IOC and LAOOC should act jointly in all negotiations, as indicated in the contract. Although it was essential for the IOC to obtain as much income as possible from the rights, it was equally essential that everybody be able to see the Games on television. An enormous amount of money should not, therefore, be

a primary factor.¹⁹ Reginald Alexander, an IOC Member from Kenya, asked whether there was a possibility of allowing developing countries, particularly those in Africa, to obtain television rights free of charge.²⁰ Ueberroth replied that the major countries in the world could pay a fair share for television rights so that the poorer countries, like in Africa, would only have to pay a nominal amount.²¹

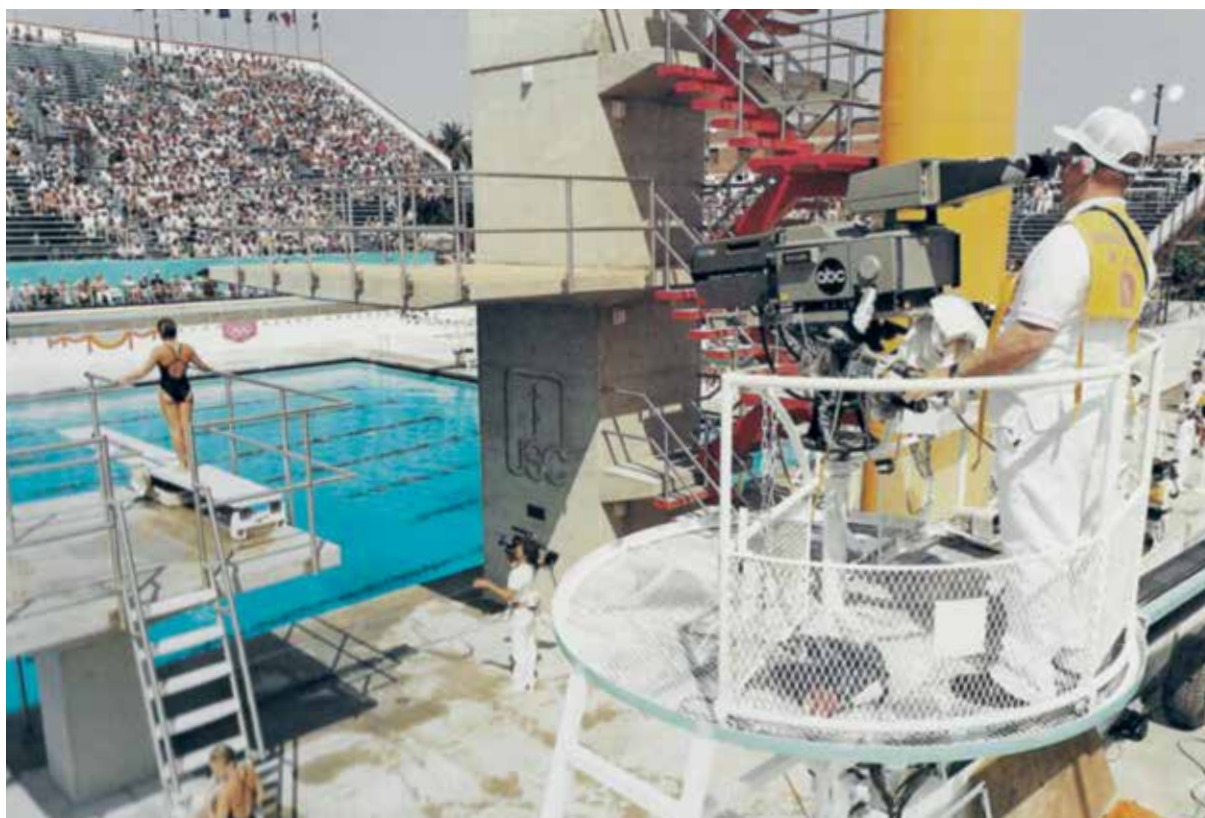
The absurd drama of the European tail wagging the US dog

Following the IOC Session and Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden, the IOC Executive Board visited Sarajevo on 2–4 December 1981. It was already clear that Samaranch was firmly in the EBU camp regarding European television rights. The only signed contract was for the US rights with ABC. Negotiations had been held with Japan the previous year, and two meetings had been held with EBU in New York and Los Angeles. LAOOC had received an offer from Canale 5, an independent Italian broadcaster, of \$10 million for the Italian rights. They said the total for European rights would be much higher if negotiated with independent broadcasters than with EBU. Samaranch, however, was not in favour of negotiations with anyone other than EBU, “for the sake of publicising the Games more widely,” he said. LAOOC and the IOC had, at the Los Angeles meeting in early November, jointly asked EBU for \$30 million but had been offered \$12 million. At the

end of the meeting, the total was up to \$19.8 million, of which LAOOC determined that \$12 million was for rights and \$7.8 million for technical services. Berlioux said it had been decided, when signing the ABC contract, that figures would not be quoted separately for technical services in future contracts. LAOOC countered by saying that negotiations with EBU had resulted in a loss of income for LAOOC, and they could not afford to have a share amounting to less than \$16 million. The problem for the IOC was that this meant that its share was not one-third, but only \$4 million instead of \$6.6 million.²²

One of the few aspects of the television rights-sharing formula, which worked to the IOC’s advantage, was that the IFs and NOCs only got their shares after the Games had been celebrated. It was the IOC that got the advance payments and invested these advances. The interest earned on the deposits was not shared with the IFs and NOCs and was, therefore, quite a significant source of additional income for the IOC. Samaranch noted that if the \$4 million were received immediately and invested at 10%, the IOC would receive \$1.1 million over the period before the Games.²³

The discussion showed how much the IOC had “bought into” the EBU view of television. Lance Cross thought that more could be obtained from Europe and that the use of population figures could give an indication of the potential. On the other hand, he seemed to think that EBU could not exploit the



A crane lifted the camera operator directly behind the jumper during the 3 m springboard competition.

ABC used newly developed electric motorcycles to cover the road races.

Photo: Official Report Los Angeles 1984



rights for commercial gain as much as the American companies, which capitalised on the transmission of the Games to sell advertising time. Samaranch agreed that in theory, it would be possible to obtain higher sums from the rights by negotiating separately with each country, but in practice, this was impossible.

He had spoken with Ueberroth and stressed that, as there appeared to be no other solution, the EBU offer should be accepted, but only on the provision that payment was made to the IOC immediately, so it could earn interest. He added that it was highly inadvisable to have the EBU working against the interests of the IOC. Cross tried again to say that the IFs and NOCs had known of the Canale 5 offer in Baden-Baden, and if they learned that the IOC had accepted \$12 million as the total television rights from EBU, there might be bad feelings.²⁴

Samaranch warned that when Canale 5 had obtained the rights for the Mundialito [Little World Cup] football competition in Uruguay in 1981, the television unions had all boycotted the event, which had been seen only in some regions of Italy, not throughout the country. A repetition of this had to be avoided with the Olympic Games as the money was not the only factor at stake; the publicity of the Games had also to be considered.²⁵

The fact that he was comparing apples with oranges did not seem to trouble him – a relatively minor football tournament in Uruguay was quite different from the Olympic Games. It was inconceivable that the EBU would not broadcast the Olympic Games, especially if it were to become known that it was paying more for reruns of the US entertainment programme *Dallas* than it was prepared to pay for the broadcasting of the entire Olympic Games. This absurd drama of the European tail wagging the US dog played out through Samaranch's entire presidency.

There was further discussion regarding the negotiation process. Samaranch asked Berlioux to outline the difference between contracts for past Games and for Sarajevo and Los Angeles, and for those that would be carried out by Seoul and Calgary. Berlioux explained that previously, all contracts were negotiated between the OCOG and the selected broadcaster, but the final agreement had to have the official approval of the IOC. Regarding the Los Angeles contract with ABC, she pointed out that LAOOC had divided the total amount of \$225 million into \$125 million for technical services and \$100 million for rights. LAOOC had been informed, however, that this was the only contract that would separate rights and technical services. Unfortunately, however, the same procedure had been followed with EBU and LAOOC and would possibly occur with the Japanese company when a settlement was agreed upon. This meant that instead of the IOC receiving one-third of the total sum, it received only one-third of the sum for the rights. The OCOGs were double-dipping, taking all the artificially determined technical fees and two-thirds of the rights fees. For Seoul and Calgary, the contract with the host city had been written so that the IOC would be a full partner in the negotiations and not merely give its after-the-fact approval to the final agreement, which was much more beneficial for the IOC.²⁶

Deterioration in relations between Samaranch and Berlioux

Foreshadowing things to come, Samaranch interceded to observe that the discussions and negotiations for television rights took up a large portion of Berlioux's time. For this reason, he thought Cross should



Environmentally friendly and gentle on the lungs: ABC's electric car drove silently in front of Joan Benoit (USA), who was the first woman to win the Olympic marathon in 1984. Photo: Official Report Los Angeles 1984

be present at the negotiations in his capacity as a member of the Executive Board (not *qua* chairman of the Television Commission).²⁷ By now, it was becoming clear that the relationship between Samaranch and Berlioux was decidedly less than perfect. The reason for adding Cross to the process had nothing to do with Berlioux's time since she would be involved just as much, but to put a crimp in her authority, which had expanded enormously under the largely absentee presidencies of Brundage and Killanin. It is uncertain whether Berlioux could see the endgame yet, but she could hardly object to the proposal and simply noted that it would be several months before the Seoul and Calgary negotiations could begin.

The next meeting of the Executive Board was in Los Angeles on 18–21 January 1983. The focus of the meeting was much sharper than for meetings held several years before the Games and was almost entirely operational.²⁸ Reporting on his own activities, Samaranch advised that he and Berlioux had held several meetings with both the Calgary and Seoul OCOGs concerning the negotiation of television contracts for the 1988 Games, which the IOC wished to conclude before the respective editions of the 1984 Games.

Such negotiations had to begin immediately, and matters were, in fact, proceeding normally for Calgary. The meetings with Seoul had been more difficult, particularly concerning the division of television rights and the site of the negotiations for the contract with

the American television broadcaster. The first round of negotiations with the Seoul OCOG and the American broadcasters would take place in Seoul in October 1983 to allow the broadcasters to visit the sites and hold discussions with the local networks. The second round would concern financial aspects only, and it had been proposed to hold this in Lausanne. The Seoul delegates, however, had refused to accept the second proposal for various reasons. Negotiations had thus been interrupted for the present with the Seoul OCOG and would not resume until the latter had accepted the IOC's suggestion, for which Samaranch sought the Executive Board's support. Samaranch also noted that the Seoul delegates they had met had no right to take decisions, which had complicated matters.²⁹

Berlioux reported that the OIRT contract with LAOOC had not been signed, as OIRT believed that ABC was charging excessive technical costs. The rights would be \$3 million or, if Czechoslovakia and Romania withdrew, as threatened, \$2.3 million. The IOC was currently trying to maintain the contract and had proposed to LAOOC that the rights fee of \$3 million could be taken from the monies that were blocked in the United States during the boycott of the Games in Moscow. Another meeting that day was scheduled to try to finalise matters. Samaranch reported that OTI (the Latin American broadcast union) also had problems and was continually being asked to pay higher costs. Berlioux noted that some countries from OTI were now joining OIRT. Finally, negotiations with Japan were scheduled later in January.³⁰

Within a matter of weeks after the Sarajevo Games, the Soviet boycott rhetoric began. The US did nothing to calm the situation. It began to look like a possible repeat of the 1980 situation.

The level of activity by the IOC and its president had increased dramatically since Samaranch's election in Moscow in 1980. He had already visited 116 countries, usually in the company of IOC Members from the region, and the increase in the related costs was five times greater than ever before. Despite the rise in expenses, he was able to assure the Session that this had caused no erosion of the IOC's capital but had been funded solely from interest income.

It was not, however, possible to do this for the 1984 budget since, taking into account only the television revenues for the 1984 Games and the fact that during the Olympic year, the IOC had to pay large sums of money to the IFs and NOCs that participated in the Games. He then referred to the Calgary contract for the 1988 Olympic Winter Games and the forthcoming negotiations regarding the Seoul Games later that year.³¹

As of the date of the Session, the Sarajevo television revenues amounted to \$102,451,750, of which the

Across the rooftops
of Los Angeles:
Panoramic images
reaching out across the
southern California
horizon captured by a
camera operator.

Photo: Official Report
Los Angeles 1984



share for the IOC-IFs-NOCs was to be \$28,650,583 (28%) and of which \$18,166,000 had already been received. As of the same date, the total of the Los Angeles contracts (including technical facilities) was \$281,480,000, of which the Olympic Family share was \$48,293,000 (17%). The IOC had already received \$47,363,661.³² Los Angeles, in common with previous OCOGs, had completely out-manoeuvred the IOC on the allocation of technical costs.

The penultimate LAOOC report was entirely operational. Only Ueberroth, Cale, and Perelman attended, along with several of the sport commissioners. Ueberroth presented a torch to each of the IOC Executive Board members.³³ There was some element of in-your-face to the torch presentation. Ueberroth (and others) were extremely fed up with the Greek posturing on the subject of the torch relay, an event that had proved to be immensely successful. At the Sarajevo meeting, when the issue had been raised by the HOC, and the IOC EB was waffling a bit, I told Ueberroth after the meeting that I would be happy, as an IOC Member, to run a leg of the relay at any time and any place he wished regardless of what the rest of my colleagues might do. I eventually ran in Los Angeles shortly before the Games and believe (but could not swear to) that I was the only IOC Member to do so. The IOC itself eventually wised up to the Greeks and sent a couple of employees to Olympia to light a torch for the IOC and bring it back to Lausanne, where it was

kept lighted as an Olympic flame in case the Greeks refused to proceed with the traditional torch ceremony in Olympia. We would then have produced the IOC's Olympic flame for all ceremonial purposes, including the torch relay. The Greeks were still agitating during this meeting.

LAOOC reported to the Executive Board prior to the Los Angeles Session.³⁴ I had run in the Olympic Torch Relay on 21 July 1984 and was invited to comment on it the following day during the LAOOC report. I congratulated LAOOC on its concept of a sponsored Olympic torch relay. Initially, in spite of sounding like an exciting programme, it had encountered some difficulties. Now it was known that LAOOC's instinct regarding the relay's success should have been relied upon. I thanked Ueberroth for allowing me to represent the IOC as part of the torch relay the previous day and was grateful to the relay organisers. It had been an honour to carry the torch for one kilometre. The relay had been a tremendous success and had given spectators the possibility of participating personally in the Games. I concluded by saying that such a relay was a great contribution to the Los Angeles Games and future Games.³⁵

The 88th Session of the IOC was held in Los Angeles on 25–26 July 1984. By this time, the Soviet-led boycott had led to the withdrawal from the Games by most of the Warsaw Pact countries and Cuba.³⁶ As usual, most of the discussion with any Organising Committee

on the eve of the Games related to operational detail, and this Session was no exception. The report on finance was interesting, mainly regarding the evolving mechanics (referred to as the distribution key) of dividing the IOC's share of television rights. Of the total received, there were two deductions of 10%, then the insurance premium, before the equal distribution of the balance.

Total of rights received to date	\$49,741,740
Less 10% Olympic Solidarity (travel expenses for 4 athletes and 2 officials per NOC)	4,973,740
	<hr/>
	44,768,000
Less 10% International Federations (travel expense judges and referees)	4,476,000
	<hr/>
	40,292,000
Insurance premium	500,000
	<hr/>
Balance to be divided	\$39,792,000 ³⁷

Launching a new era

This Olympiad had proved to be the most profitable with respect to television revenues. The technical progress and improvements had made the increasingly expanding television coverage of the Games even more attractive to viewing audiences, for which broadcasters were willing to pay. The IOC had wisely stopped trying to play in the technical space, leaving that to experts, but now in a much more organised structure that ensured concerted attention to improved broadcasting. Instead, it focused its attention on the relationships with broadcasters, the development of long-range Olympic television perspectives, the contractual contexts for broadcasters in different parts of the world, and the creation of what would soon become known as the Olympic "brand."

The next big step would be for the IOC to insert itself into the negotiation process, an initiative that got underway even before the Sarajevo Games occurred in early 1984. ■

1 IOCEB 1980 (Lausanne), 18. There was also a discussion of amounts still owed by NBC and the EBU in relation to the Moscow Games. NBC had undertaken to make its payments, while the best that could be hoped in relation to the EBU was that money already paid would not have to be returned (p. 27). In addition, when Lake Placid reported, the IOC discovered that there were several contracts for television, of which the IOC had not been informed and had not received any share of the payments. LPOOC's counsel announced that he was "shocked" at the situation and clearly a large amount of money was owing to the IOC (p. 37). See also annex 34 at p. 57. The Lake Placid revenue-sharing formula can be found at p. 9 of the annexes to the Finance Commission report.

2 ABC regularly used the generous Olympic technical bonanzas to subsidise much of its other non-Olympic sports programming.

3 OCOGs had a tendency to try to recover what they thought they had "lost" as a result of rights fees "retained" by the IOC by overcharging other broadcasters for services provided.

4 IOC Sess. 1978, 25. Note earlier discussions with Sapporo and Sarajevo on the same issues (p. 19ff).

5 IOC Sess. 1978, Annex 26, 88–89.

6 IOC Sess. 1979, 11.

7 IOCEB 3, 4 and 6 April 1979, 7.

8 IOCEB 3, 4 and 6 April 1979, 21.

9 IOCEB 23–25 October 1979, Annex 2, 45. A joint statement had been issued by the IOC and LAOOC on 26 September 1979, announcing the deal and stating that it was subject to ratification by the IOC Executive Board. Allocation of the total amount was \$100 million for the television rights and \$125 million for production and supportive services, as well as the worldwide signal.

10 IOCEB 23–25 October 1979, Annex 2, 42. The latter language is rather quaint but was intended to establish that there would be no refund under any circumstances, including non-celebration of the Games for any reason.

11 IOCEB 23–25 October 1979, Annex 2, 42.

12 IOCEB 8–15 February 1980, 11.

13 In addition to Ueberroth, the delegation included Harry L. Usher, Executive Vice-President, John Argue, Vice-Chairman for television negotiations and sports facilities, Joel Rubenstein, Director of Licensing and merchandising, Richard Sargent, Director of Sports, Charlotte Hyde, Assistant to the President for IOC Protocol, and Dr. Anthony Daly, official medical representative (Ueberroth's report is Annex 6).

14 IOCEB 1981 (Los Angeles) 12. Some indications of the source of the decisions can be seen in Ueberroth's report at Annex 2, p. 2. and the IOC's list of points to be discussed with LAOOC at annex 3, p. 7. Bertieux mentioned television during the course of her report on the Sarajevo Games, stating that it was preferable to wait for the results of the negotiations she would be having shortly between Los Angeles and other television companies in order to have a basis for appreciation for the Sarajevo TV rights (p. 16). A further update was given on the balance of Moscow rights from NBC, ABU, and UER (p. 17).

15 IOCEB 20–30 September 1981, 11. The Finance Commission reported that the television rights received (by the IOC) for Lake Placid were \$6,885,000 and gave details of the split and that those for Moscow were \$11,680,000, in each case after deducting the costs of judges and referees. The advances received in advance for Los Angeles and Sarajevo were \$25 million and \$10 million, respectively, and were held in blocked accounts. (Annex 14, pp. 66–67).

16 IOCEB 20–30 September 1981, 14.

17 IOCEB 20–30 September 1981, 16.

18 IOC Sess. 1981, 4.

19 IOC Sess., 1981, 5.

20 IOC Sess., 1981, 7.

21 IOC Sess., 1981, 8. Lord Luke, a member of the IOC Finance Commission, made the point (p. 9) that the funds received for the 1984 Games in Los Angeles should be considered as blocked funds and that no use should be made of them by either the IOC or the NOCs.

22 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 6.

23 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 6.

24 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 6–7.

25 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 7. Bertieux was worried that LAOOC might sign the contract even without the IOC's approval. As another hostage to EBU, she pointed out that EBU was at something of a disadvantage since some of the most popular events would take place in the middle of the night in Europe. She noted in passing that the Moscow OCOG had entered into a second technical services contract, unknown to the IOC, and that the IOC was at least aware of all contracts, thus far.

26 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 20–21.

27 IOCEB 2–4 December 1981, 21.

28 LAOOC delegations appeared at various stages of the meeting and also at the meeting of the IOC EB with the NOCs.

29 IOCEB 18–21 January 1983, 1–2. Reference was briefly made to a television symposium to be held in Lausanne from 28–30 November 1983, to which members of the EB were invited to attend.

30 IOCEB 18–21 January 1983, 7. See p. 29, for issues to be discussed with LAOOC (reduction in costs for radio companies, contracts with Japan, OIRT, OTI, and Arab countries, television coverage of football).

31 IOC Sess., 1984 (Sarajevo), Annex 2, 39.

32 IOC Sess., 1984 (Sarajevo), Annex 21, 77–78.

33 IOCEB 28 May–1 June 1984, 25–28. Re the Greek objections, see pp. 30–31 and Annex 39.

34 IOCEB 21 July–13 August 1984, 20. Present were Ziffren, Ueberroth, Usher, Rubenstein, Cale, Priscilla Florence (V-P Personnel), Amy Quinn (Assoc. V-P), Joan Gilford (Assoc. V-P), and Dan Greenwood (V-P Accreditation).

35 IOCEB 21 July–13 August 1984, 22.

36 IOC Sess., 1984 (Los Angeles), 10. The Los Angeles delegation consisted of Ueberroth, Paul Ziffren (Chairman), Usher, Charles Cale (Group Vice-President, Sports), and Priscilla Florence (Group Vice-President, Human Resources and Personnel).

37 IOC Sess., 1984 (Los Angeles), Annex 18, 69–70. The portion allocated to Olympic Solidarity did not reach the total indicated in the distribution key (see p. 90).

Olympic Values and Conflicts: Ivar Vind, a Danish Frontman

By ELSE TRANGBÆK and SØREN RIISKJÆR

Ivar Vind was specialised in the high jump, and was known for his use of the scissor jump. He was Danish champion in 1943, 1945, 1946, and 1947, and held the Danish record at 1.95 m from 1947 to 1962.

Photo: Privately owned



From the 1960s until the 1980s, the Olympic Idea and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) were under pressure on many fronts. The political conflicts on the global scene left deep traces, and some of the fundamental Olympic values were confronted in the process.

During this same period, the Dane Ivar Vind had a seat in the IOC – from 1959 until his death in 1977 – and he achieved a central and extremely powerful position. Vind has probably been the most influential Dane in international sports through time.

He had a seat in the powerful Executive Committee in the 1960s and was very close to Avery Brundage first and then Lord Killanin – IOC presidents of the period. Ivar Vind became deeply involved in a number

of burning ongoing conflicts. This was especially true of the amateur question, the exclusion of South Africa, the East-West conflict, and the introduction of gender tests. Ivar Vind actively engaged with these matters, represented clear values, and vigorously fought for them. His entire effort was characterised by a clear value-based attitude, which he actively and



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consistently defended. Because of this, he also left a clear imprint in both the IOC and in Danish sport.

A new book, titled *Olympic Values and Conflicts: Ivar Vind, a Danish Frontman*, has been published on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Sports Confederation of Denmark and the opening of Ivar Vind's formidable archive.¹ In this book, the authors trace sport policy from Coubertin until the present, with a particular focus on the last 50 years in Danish and international elite sport. This article focuses on Ivar Vind and his work in the IOC.

A chamberlain, landlord, and sportsman, Ivar Vind built up a considerable archive, documenting meetings, committees, correspondences, newspaper clippings, reports, and more.² The authors have not carried out a systematic review of the archive itself; it was too vast and not possible at the time. We have made some concessions with our focus on relevant issues, but we hope that others have the courage to continue the work with this exciting new resource.

Who was Ivar Vind?

Ivar Emil Vind was born on 5 January 1921 and died on 11 February 1977 at the young age of 56. He died only 12 hours after being diagnosed with meningitis at Sanderumgård, a Danish manor on the island of Funen.

Ivar Vind was an ambitious athlete. He started early by winning a high jump championship while at boarding school. In 1943, 1945, 1946, and 1947 he was the Danish champion in the high jump and placed ninth at the European Championships in 1946. During his university studies in Cambridge, he became president of the university athletics club, and for 13 years (1947–60) held the record for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1947 he won a gold medal at the University World Championships in Paris. His career was relatively short but remarkable, as his Danish high jump record from 1947 of 1.95 m lasted until 1962, even though new techniques had replaced Vind's scissor jump.

After the Second World War and his studies at the University of Cambridge (1947–1948) he studied agriculture for 18 months in both the United States and Denmark. In 1950, he inherited the estate Sanderumgård from his father and devoted himself



The track and field athletes at the Danish Championships in 1947. Ivar Vind is in the front row, second from the right. His successor in the IOC, Niels Holst-Sørensen, sits in the front row, second from the left.

Photo: Privately owned

to agriculture. Through the effective use of modern agricultural methods, he asserted himself as a successful landowner. The following year he married Alexandra, daughter of the Danish Prince Erik, the uncle of the Danish King Frederik IX.

The stay in Cambridge was of great importance for Vind's Olympic future, where he was engaged in university sports, which opened the door to Fitzwilliam College. His disciplines were not only high jump but also discus, pole vault, and javelin. He served as president of the Cambridge University Athletics Club in 1947–48.

In his diary, Vind elaborated on what Cambridge taught him about sport:

Cambridge taught me the many true joys of sports – not because I did not know them before; but I understood the joy of a daily workout in building one's physique. Important was the trust it gave me and not only self-confidence but trust from my fellow human beings. I understood that sport was not everything. It was a tool in the hands of the educator: no matter how far you got in your sports career, it was not the result alone that was noticed – but far more the character behind the results. This trust from others instilled in me a self-confidence that has been crucial for other issues as well.

During his time at Cambridge, he met his later IOC colleague, the Marquess of Exeter.³ A lifelong friendship developed, which became crucial to Vind's involvement in the IOC. Exeter was accepted to the IOC early on, in 1933, and in 1946 he became chairman of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) –



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During his stay in Cambridge, Ivar Vind met Lord David Burghley, later the Marquess of Exeter. The encounter led a lifelong friendship, which had an impact on Vind's involvement in the IOC, where they collaborated in many ways. Basically, it was athletics that brought them together. Photo: Privately owned

a position he held until 1976. Exeter and Vind would collaborate in the IOC.

Vind was not selected for the Olympics in 1948, although he did well as an athlete in England. The Danish Olympic Committee did not want to accept the results he had achieved at Cambridge, as his training had taken place abroad – not in Denmark. That was a big disappointment for him.

Appointment as an IOC Member

Ivar Vind was proposed to the IOC by Prince Axel of Denmark.⁴ In 1959, Vind attended the IOC Session in Munich, where his membership was approved. A recommendation described him as follows:

He has no political affiliations and has never participated in public political life; he has a strong belief in free initiative and constructive international cooperation. He is confident that the "Olympic movement" has a major task to perform now and in the future. He and his wife have travelled all over the world and have recently returned from Japan and India. While being a typical landowner, Vind is still a man with an intense interest in international issues.

In connection with his membership approval, Vind was asked about his position on the IOC principle to represent the IOC in Denmark and not Denmark in the IOC. His response: "It is the only way in which the fundamental principles of the Olympic Movement can be strengthened and maintained."

At this time, Vind already had a broad international network with his friend and ally Exeter at the centre. Vind became a member and chairman of several important commissions, and he was a member of the Executive Committee from 1963 to 1967.

The work was demanding, as Erik Vind's son related: *A normal day when he was in Denmark would start at 5 o'clock in the morning, where he would draft a lot of letters – by hand. During the morning, he would, if necessary (as it was often), try them on my mother to find the proper expression and points. Much was in English and little in French. At 10 am, a secretary came, and the letters were dictated and typed, etc.*



Meeting of the IOC Executive Board in Copenhagen, February 1967. King Frederik IX (in the middle), who was patron of the Danish Olympic Committee, had invited everyone to lunch at the castle Amalienborg (left to right): Denmark's NOC President Gudmund Schack (4), IOC Secretary-General Johann Westerhoff (5), IOC President Avery Brundage (7), Marquess of Exeter (9), Mrs. Alexandra Vind (10), and Ivar Vind (13). Photo: Privately owned

It required diligent planning to take care of the tasks in the IOC and the work at home at Sanderumgård. With the help of a paid secretary and his wife, he made it work.

In general, being an IOC Member was quite costly, and Members had to pay their expenses themselves. Considering the enormous amount of correspondence Vind undertook, it must have consumed quite a lot of resources – certainly the many trips to countries all over the world. In some cases, the stay was paid for by the hosts, but in other cases, Vind, like his peers, had to pay for himself, which set a natural limit on the choice of IOC Members.

The International Olympic Academy

Vind was very engaged as president of the IOC Commission for the International Olympic Academy (IOA). Many young Danes encountered him as an active participant in the sessions at Olympia. One of the participants at the session in 1971, Inga Bentzen, said about Vind:

In him, the Olympic ideals had the purest and most human representative. He was incorruptible and honest, and he lived up to the very concepts of amateurism to a very high degree. I know this from his daughter, who has been my friend for more than 50 years. She told me what bribery attempts he was subjected to in connection with meetings where future Olympic cities were to be chosen.

The IOA meant very much to Vind. The history of the academy is long and goes down winding roads, and it became one of the tasks Ivar Vind was deeply involved in. He participated in its sessions and the dialogue with its young participants and did not abstain from criticising its development, including the academic calibre of the lectures. In his opinion, there were too many captains in a somewhat complicated collaboration. Discussions about structure, speakers, session content, and more occupy a lot of space in Vind's archive.

As chairman of the IOC's commission for the IOA, Vind consistently insisted on securing qualified speakers. He also complained about the lack of cooperation and found that the IOA had become a pure "Greek affair".

In 1971, Vind attended the entire 11th IOA Session, giving the closing speech. As an IOC representative, he politely thanked the organisers for conducting the session but was critical of the content. There were far too many lectures on "what happened in ancient Olympia 2000 years ago, which he found of less importance – not to say boring." The organisers should relate more to the modern Olympic era and



current issues. With a raised finger, he reminded that one must not forget the eternal "principles and values that some of them have been, and still are, the very cornerstones of our civilisation."

He clarified that "sport is play for fun and enjoyment and not for making money ... the philosophy of amateurism, in contrast to materialism, creates international friendship and goodwill, leading to a happier and more peaceful world."

In a report to the IOC's Executive Committee, Vind suggested fewer lectures and more seminars and discussions, which many of the Danish participants in sessions over the years have pointed out. At the same time, he recommended that the commission be abolished and the academy directly affiliated with the IOC's Executive Committee. "In this way, we will be able to keep the academy at a slightly longer distance than before, as we simply have to accept that the so-called IOA has become a purely national matter."

Ivar Vind's reputation and his values

Vind enjoyed great respect and gained significant influence in the IOC. He moved freely and easily through the international network, and he expressed himself clearly in reports and many personal letters to the inner circle of IOC Members. Together with President Avery Brundage, later Lord Killanin, and Exeter, Vind set the agendas of the Olympic Movement from the early 1960s until his death.

As Brundage's veritable crown prince in the IOC, there were expectations that Vind would become the organisation's future president, but he himself

Ivar Vind loved to engage in conversation with young people. According to his wife, if she could not find him, it was often because he had gotten into a discussion with athletes. Here he is together with the participants of the IOA Session at Olympia.

Photo: Privately owned

rejected this possibility, as he did not find it compatible with looking after his estate. On the other hand, he accepted the position of chairman of the Danish Olympic Committee (DOK), which he held from 1973 to 1977.

Vind's values were challenged in many ways during this period. He wanted to exempt the Games from political and commercial exploitation because he feared that strong economic interests would take hold of the Olympic Idea. Nevertheless, he contributed to the liberalisation of amateur rules after Brundage's resignation in 1972.

Over the years, many Olympic athletes have emphasised how profound an experience it is to walk behind their national flag into an Olympic Stadium, not to mention their feeling when the flag is hoisted after winning a medal. However, this does not change the fact that, at a meeting in Mexico in 1968, Vind voted in favour of removing national flags at the Olympics. With many new nations in Africa and a Cold War at its peak, it was a period where national self-esteem and perhaps hubris had good growth conditions. Ivar Vind found that this growing nationalism threatened the Olympic values.

The proposal was rejected by just two votes. But, as Vind said, "I do not think it can be implemented at this time. The paradox is that as the world gets smaller and smaller, the national feeling gets bigger and bigger." He acknowledged, however, that the athletes were happy with the Olympic ceremonies.

In connection with Vind's 50th birthday, there were countless articles about him in Danish newspapers. He was well-liked among journalists because he always took the time to talk to them, and he always had something significant to say. Among other things, he was called "a gentleman of sport," and many saw him as Brundage's crown prince. But, as a newspaper wrote, "where the multimillionaire Avery Brundage has nothing else to do, Vind has his 'small business' (his manor house) to take care of."⁵

Although he did not want to be a candidate for the presidency, the newspaper article expressed hopes that Vind stayed for a long time with the IOC: "Denmark could not get a more dignified and idealistic representative. That he is also cheerful, friendly, and charming, and knows infinite amounts about sports, makes him even more suitable."

Just a year before Vind's death, the newspaper *Frederiksborg Amts Avis* published an extensive interview with him under the headline, "Ivar Vind on the five Ps that threaten the Olympic Games."⁶ The article explains where he stood, what he stood in the middle of, and the threats he thought the Olympics faced. Here we bring only the "five Ps" from the headline of the very long interview:

Preparations (præparater) could lead to mechanical human beings created in incubators.

Money (penge) will transform athletes into sandwich men in television commercials.

Politics (politik) can destroy everything, as nearly was the case in the Munich tragedy.

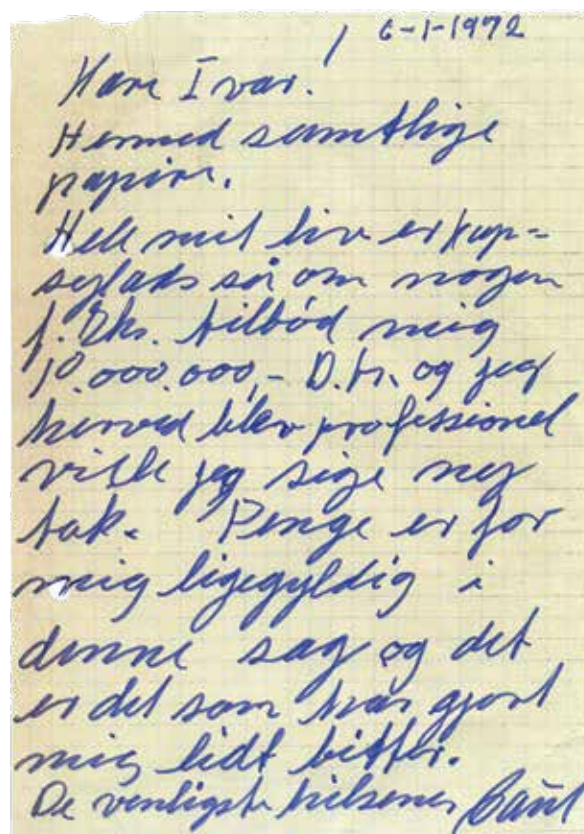
Popularity (popularitet) suffocates the Games because more and more people want to join.

Prestige (prestige) is to blame for host cities embarking on the task.

Vind and increasing commercialisation

Amateurism was a burning issue in the 1960s. Coubertin himself was very busy keeping out "the mercantile forces" who wanted to use the sport to "increase the profits of their own business" and which would lead to a "rapid languishing of the noble mind".

But the amateur rules had been overtaken by reality. Participating in the Olympics was no longer a noncommittal hobby. It required a comprehensive and long-term effort involving scientific training methods, newest technology, and nutrition. And it required



The archive contains personal Vind's correspondence with leaders and athletes in the world of sports. Here is a letter from the sailor Paul Elvstrøm regarding his amateur status prior to the 1972 Games. He asserts Ivar, with whom he is on a first-name basis, "that if anyone offered me DKK 10,000,000 and I thereby became a professional, I will say no thank you." Photo: Ivar Vind Archive

participation in many international competitions. Such an effort could no longer be reconciled with regular education or work.

The communist countries of Eastern Europe managed to develop so-called state amateurism. Talented athletes were employed in the army or police, where they could concentrate on training and competitions. In the West, manufacturers, especially of sports equipment, stood in line to fund popular athletes, because TV had transformed elite sports into an attractive advertising platform. But the amateur rules stood in the way and, therefore, the Eastern European countries were able to win more and more medals.

Ivar Vind was put in charge of modernising the amateur rules but opposed Brundage's conservatism. The Danish sailor Paul Elvstrøm involuntarily became the centre of interest when the conflict over the rules culminated. A question on his eligibility was close to preventing his participation in the 1972 Olympics, where he was the big favourite in the Soling class. An English publisher had translated and published a book on racing rules written by Paul Elvstrøm. On the cover, his Olympic merits were listed. In the eyes of the IOC, it was a violation of amateur regulations, for it was considered a commercial exploitation of his Olympic credentials. Ivar Vind actively assisted Elvstrøm in the long and exhausting process.

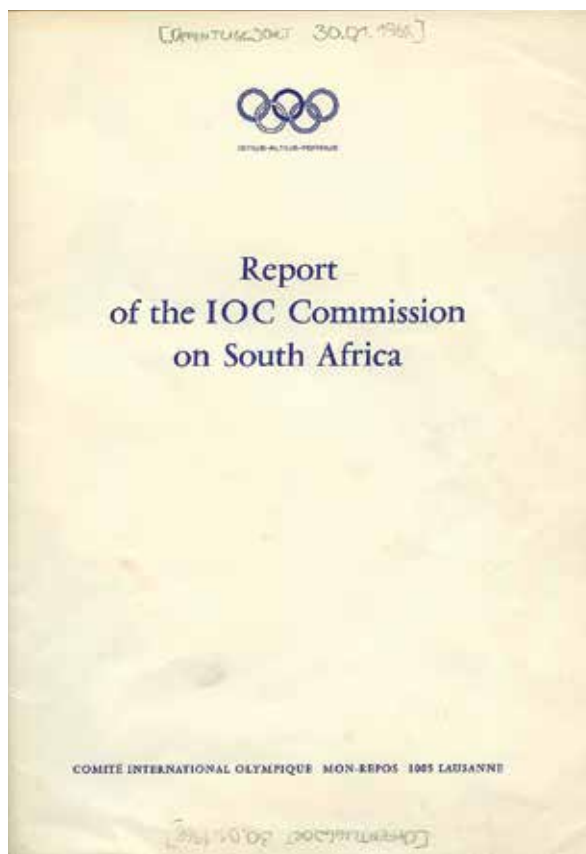
After the Games, he succeeded in a comprehensive revision of the amateur rules. But the concept of amateurism was only abolished completely in 1986.

Vind and the political challenges

The FIFA World Cup in Qatar and the Winter Olympics in China have brought the debate about the relationship between sports and politics in focus. But in the 1960s, the issue of excluding South Africa from the Olympics went much further.

A large number of former colonies in Africa gained independence in the 1950s and 1960s. These new nations considered the apartheid regime in South Africa a major enemy, and they used their new voice in international cooperation to fight its government. This included placing a significant amount of pressure on the IOC to exclude South Africa from the Olympic Games. Any kind of discrimination was – and is – not in accordance with the Olympic Charter. Vind sympathised with the efforts and clearly stated that sanctions should be imposed on South Africa.

The IOC tried to buy time and set up a commission to investigate the extent of apartheid in South African sport. The Commission found that racial segregation was systematic and formalised – blacks and whites were not allowed to play sports together, black



The controversial report on apartheid in sport in South Africa. The publication itself and the voting rules alone became the subject of controversy. The conclusions were positive for the regime in South Africa, and initially a majority in the IOC voted in favour of South Africa's participation; that would later change.

Photo: Ivar Vinds archive

athletes could not use sports facilities used by white athletes, black and white spectators were to be kept separate, black athletes could not be selected for international competitions, etc. But the South African Olympic Committee was "acquitted". Racial segregation was a result of government policy, and the Olympic Committee could not interfere.

Consequently, the IOC decided that South Africa could continue to participate in the Olympics. Sport and politics must not be confused.

The decision provoked widespread reaction from the new nations, and the Soviet Union chose to support the protests, not least with the hidden agenda of strengthening the Soviet position in the IOC. To Vind's great regret, the IOC chose to overturn the decision and exclude South Africa from the Olympics in 1968. He was deeply disappointed with the decision. He found that the IOC had been pressured by political interests and that it had gone down a slippery slope threatening the IOC's fundamental independence.

The case clearly illustrates a deep-seated dilemma: on the one hand, any form of discrimination is contrary to the fundamental values of sport. On the other hand,



There were expectations that Ivar Vind would follow Avery Brundage as IOC President. But Vind declined with thanks. The two agreed that the controversial amateur rules should be changed. In 1962, Brundage encouraged Vind to modernise the rules. But Vind's proposal to compensate athletes for lost earnings went too far for Brundage, and his work in that direction stopped.

Photo: Privately owned

an intervention has, and had, political consequences. Sport is a part of society both nationally and globally; the political conflicts cannot be isolated. Sports organisations must therefore take responsibility and deal with these conflicts.

Ivar Vind and doping

The photo of the Danish cyclist Knud Enemark, crashing during the 100 km team time trial at the Olympics 1960 in Rome, has become iconic. His death immediately gave rise to rumours and speculations, and Ivar Vind was strongly involved in the investigation of the accident. Nevertheless, the circumstances were never clarified. To this day, it is still unclear whether Enemark had ingested any drugs.

It is not that crucial either. In fact, it was not forbidden to take drugs of any kind. The point is that the crash, which was seen all over the world, became a wake-up call for the IOC. Forced and hesitant, they began to formulate rules. After seven years, a medical committee recommended a ban on doping. But the list of banned substances was short. It included six drugs, four of which were based on moral considerations rather than being performance-enhancing – alcohol,

cannabis, opium, and cocaine. Anabolic steroids, however, were not forbidden!

But the fight against doping never became effective. Unclear and inconsistent rules prevented effective action, and it was perhaps not whole heartedly intended by all sides. Only after the scandal at the Tour de France in 1998 and the establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999 was a systematic effort launched at the international level.

Vind and the question of gender

Pierre de Coubertin was strongly opposed to women participating in the Olympics. Their sole role was to “crown the victors”. Nevertheless, women quickly gained access to participate in selected disciplines.

In the 1950s, Eastern European women began to dominate in the Games, and some people questioned if they were “real women”. In response, the IOC chose to introduce gender testing. From 1968 on, women were subject to tests that were more or less primitive, and more or less humiliating.

To be quite honest, ethically I do not like gender tests. Although I have been involved in introducing the control of women athletes at the Olympic Games, this is primarily due to the fact that we have felt pressured by a number of international sports federations. However, we have conditioned ourselves that the greatest possible human considerations are taken into account and that the investigations take place under the deepest discretion.

This is what Ivar Vind said to *Aarhus Stiftstidende* on 15 November 1971. He regretted the development in sport, which “has taken such an unfortunate direction, where records and medals are exploited nationally and politically.” He continued that “people who distance themselves from controlling must also understand the problems existing in the world of sport.”

Vind was highly critical of the tests. Together with the sports doctor N. A. Sehested, he encouraged Danish scientists to engage in the question and prepare a response. As a result, five doctors and researchers prepared a statement that was sent to the IOC. The essence was that gender testing was indefensible because of its medical shortcomings. Vind pressured the IOC to arrange a meeting of its medical committee with the Danish researchers. Though he finally succeeded, the outcome of the meeting was that the IOC's medical committee disagreed with the Danish researchers.

The test was last used at the Atlanta Games in 1996. Since then, new cases have spurred the debate over what makes women are “real women” and raised questions about gender and gender identity.

Closing remarks

Ivar Vind died – in the middle of his work – on 11 February 1977 at the age of 56. His legacy includes being the most influential Dane in the IOC. He fully lived up to Coubertin's intentions and distinguished himself as a champion of the original Olympic ideals, embodying them and defending them throughout his life. He was not blind to the changing conditions surrounding the Olympic Idea, and tried in many respects to modernise the foundations of the Olympic Games. But he held on to its fundamental values. He built up a significant network close to the centre of power, but never lost the dialogue with the athletes he fought for. He was himself a skilled and principled athlete. An Olympic giant.

When asked what they thought their father would like to be remembered for, Ivar Vind's sons Erik and Georg answered: "For his work on establishing fair play and for helping to develop the framework of the Olympic Games, for the personal development of the individual athlete."

An obituary in the Danish newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* about Ivar Vind predicted that with his death, "it will be even harder for the Olympic Idea to survive." That has come true: new players, and not least new times and new challenges, put the values to the test. ■

- 1 Else Trangbæk, Søren Riiskjær, & Morten Møhlholm Hansen, *Olympic Values and Conflicts: Ivar Vind, a Danish Frontman*, the Danish Sports Confederation 2021.
- 2 The Ivar Vind Archive is an essential and exciting resource if you want to gain insight on the centre of power in the IOC – seen through Danish glasses. The archive reveals the history of the IOC in the very turbulent years from the early 1960s to 1977, when Ivar Vind died. Vind was a champion of Olympic values, and his archive invites us into the engine room of the IOC, introducing us to some of the great dilemmas faced during that time. These challenges can be held up as a mirror to assess the Olympics, elite sports, and attitudes today.
The archive consists of yellowed papers, photocopies, thin carbon copies, telegrams, handwritten letters, newspaper articles, and more. Working with the archive brought us closer to Ivar Vind. Reading his many letters lends an added sense of authenticity to historical research. The materials remind us of the enormous work it is, and has been, to maintain and develop a global sports organisation like the IOC.
The archive contains, in addition to meeting minutes from the IOC during the period, NOC and DOK minutes, and correspondence between members of the respective organisations. There are also myriad letters, extensive correspondence, and exchanges of views – some confidential – between Ivar Vind and, among others, Presidents Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin, the Marquess of Exeter, and other significant members of the IOC. In addition, there are discussions about the accession of new countries, politics, the choice of host cities for the Olympic Games, and follow-ups on many controversial cases, which were presented in correspondence, newspapers, etc. The archive has been handed over to the Danish National Archives, where it will be available to researchers, journalists, etc.
- 3 David Georg Brownlow Cecil (6th Marquess of Exeter) (1905–1981), also known as David Burghley. Exeter participated in the Olympics in 1924 and 1928, winning the 400 m hurdles in Amsterdam. In 1931 he was elected to the British Parliament, from which he was granted leave in 1932 to participate in the Olympics. In 1933 he became a member of the IOC, and in 1936 he became president of the English Amateur Athletic Association. In 1946 he became president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF). From 1952 to 1966, he was IOC Vice-President; and an IOC presidential candidate in 1952 and 1964. In connection with the election in 1952, the Danish member Prince Axel argued for the election of Exeter.
- 4 Prince Axel of Denmark (1888–1964) was a Danish prince, son of Prince Valdemar and grandson of King Christian IX. Prince Axel was a naval officer and businessman. He was an IOC Member (1931–1958) and a member of the Executive Committee (1952–1956). From 1934 to 1953, he was director of the East Asian Company. For a time, he was the director of SAS.
- 5 Poul Prip, newspaper article, *Bertlingske Tidende*, 5 January 1971.
- 6 E. Trier Hansen, newspaper article, *Frederiksborg Amts Avis*, 9 February 1976.

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Else Trangbæk/Søren Riiskjær/
Morten Møhlholm Hansen
Olympiske værdier og konflikter – Ivar Vind, en dansk frontkæmper
[Olympic values and conflicts: Ivar Vind, a Danish frontman]
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The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXXVIII

By VOLKER KLUGE



509. | Lydia Nsekera | Burundi

Born: 20 April 1967
in Bujumbura
Elected: 9 October 2009
Attendance:
Present: 18, Absent: 0



“The First Lady of Football”, as Lydia Nsekera is known, has never played football actively. She devoted herself to basketball and the high jump. But because her father was president of a small club in the early 1970s, she also grew up among football players.

After studying at the University of Burundi, where she achieved a degree in Economics and Administration Sciences in 1992, she helped set up a national women’s football league and took over management of any club in 2001. She became vice-president of Burundi’s Women’s Football Committee and served as president of the Burundi Football Federation (BFF) from 2004 to 2013.

She gained international recognition as a member of the Women’s Committee of the International Football Association (FIFA/2006–2016), the African Football Confederation (CAF/2006–2012), and the Council for East and Central Africa Football Associations (CECAFA/2007–2011). She was the first woman to be co-opted onto the FIFA Executive Committee in 2012, initially for one year. In 2013, she was elected by the FIFA Congress for a four-year term. From 2017, she was vice-president of the FIFA Development Committee.

Having been a member of the Executive Committee of the Burundi National Olympic Committee (BNOC) since 2006, Lydia Nsekera became its president in 2017. In 2021, she was unanimously re-elected.

She became a member of the IOC in 2010 and has chaired the Women and Sport Commission (renamed Women in Sport in 2015) since 2014. She became the first woman to run for president of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) in 2018 but lost the election, as she did again in 2021, to Algeria’s Mustapha Berraf.

From 1994 to 2001, Nsekera worked as an internal auditor for Burundi’s largest brewer and soft beverage company and from 2002 as a company director for Garage Tanganyika Cars. The mother of two was not spared the blows of fate. Her husband died of cancer in 2003.

Forbes Africa named her one of Africa’s 50 Most Powerful Women in March 2020.

510. | Göran Petersson | Sweden

Göran Petersson developed an interest in sailing through a friend who brought a 505 two-person dinghy to Sweden. He sailed with his brother and won several prizes. In 1965, he became the Swedish champion.

After training at the Commercial Institute of Gothenburg, Petersson studied law at Lund University, graduating in 1967. From 1971 to 1973, he served as a district court judge. He became a senior partner (1976–2008) and chair and CEO (1988–1992) of Advokatfirman Vinge.

As a lawyer interested in sailing, it made sense to appoint him as a judge at regattas. From 1977 onwards, Petersson worked for the Swedish Association and took over the chair of the national, and in 1990 also of the international, Racing Rules Committee.

He became a key figure in Olympic sailing competition juries from 1980 to 1988. He was chair in 1992 and 1996 and served as a technical delegate in 2000 and 2004.

In 1994, he was elected vice-president of the International Yacht Racing Union (IYRU, from 1996 International Sailing Federation/ISAF and since 2015 World Sailing). In 2004, he became IYRU's president, succeeding Paul Henderson of Canada. In 2009, he was elected to the IOC, where he remained until the end of his ISAF presidency in 2012.

During his tenure, Petersson introduced several class and format changes that made sailing more understandable to the media and more appealing to young people. He was also involved in Sweden's first America's Cup Challenge, skippered by Pelle Petterson in 1977. He chaired the jury at three memorable regattas.

Petersson was chair of an engineering company (1982–2009), a boat building company (1992) and a real estate construction company (2004), secretary-general of the Swedish Exhibition and Congress Centre (2000), and chair of the advisory board of a commercial bank (2002).



Born: 2 July 1942
in Gothenburg
Elected: 9 October 2009
Resigned:
10 November 2012
Attendance:
Present: 3, **Absent:** 0

511. | HRH Prince Feisal bin Al Hussein | Jordan

Prince Feisal is the second son of King Hussein I (1935–1999) and brother of the current King of Jordan, Abdullah II. He belongs to the dynasty of the Hashemites, the royal family which has ruled Jordan since 1921 and who are considered the direct descendants of the Prophet Mohammed in the 41st generation. He is third in line to the throne.

Prince Feisal spent his school years and education in England and the United States, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Electronic Engineering (1985). In 1998, he earned a Master of Management degree from the London Business School. He also completed a military career. He has been a lieutenant general in the Royal Jordanian Air Force (RJAF) since 2004.

Prince Feisal was an active athlete. In wrestling, he won a gold medal at the Interstate Championships in the United States in 1978. Between 1985 and 1988, he participated as a co-driver in the Jordan Rally.

In sports administration, he has held various positions, including chair of the Motor Sport Executive Council of the Royal Automobile Club (1989–2004) and head of the Higher Organising Committee for the 9th Pan Arab Games in Jordan (1999). Prince Feisal has been president of the Jordan



Born: 11 October 1963
in Amman
Elected: 12 February
2010
Attendance:
Present: 19, **Absent:** 0
Executive Board
Member No. 102
Elected:
26 June 2019–2023

Olympic Committee since 2003 and a member of the Executive Board of the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) since 2007.

In the IOC, to which he was re-elected in 2018 for another eight years, he was a member of the Coordination Commission for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games. He is currently a member of the commissions for Women in Sport, Public Affairs, and Social Development through Sport and a delegate member for Broadcast Rights in the MENA region.

His half-sister, Princess Haya, 11 years younger, was president of the International Federation for Equestrian Sports (FEI) from 2006 to 2014 and a member of the IOC from 2007 to 2014 (see *JOH*, vol. 29, no. 2, 71).

512. | Barry John Maister | New Zealand

Born: 6 June 1948
in Christchurch
Elected:
12 February 2010
Resigned:
31 December 2018
Attendance:
Present: 12, Absent: 0



Barry Maister comes from a field hockey family. His grandfather, William Havilah Down, was secretary treasurer of the New Zealand Hockey Association (NZHA/now Hockey New Zealand) from 1924 to 1959. He organised the first trips abroad, including a 1926 match against an Indian Army side.

His father Gerald was test goalkeeper for the “Black Sticks Men” in the early 1950s. He was followed by Barry and two brothers. Barry made his international debut in 1967 against Australia and played 86 times for the Kiwis. Together with his brother Selwyn, who is two years older, he took part in three Olympic Games. They finished seventh in Mexico City in 1968 and ninth in Munich in 1972. In Montreal 1976, they won the gold medal by beating Australia 1–0 in the final. The third brother, Chris, narrowly missed selection.

The Maister brothers could have been at the 1980 Olympics in Moscow at the end of their careers. But unlike the New Zealand NOC and other sports federations, the Hockey Association decided to follow the call for a boycott by US President Carter.

Barry Maister studied education and worked as a teacher for almost 30 years. From 1972 to 1986, he taught at Christchurch Boy’s High School, where he became deputy head. He was then principal of Riccarton High School for eight years and St. Andrew’s College for another six years. In 1989, he received a Fulbright Scholarship to study in the United States.

He resigned at the end of 2000 and moved to Wellington, where he served as secretary-general of the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) from 2001.

In 2006, Maister was elected as a member of the Executive Committee of the Oceania National Olympic Committees (ONOC), then in 2009 as vice-president and Executive Board member of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC). After becoming president of the NZOC in 2010, Maister was co-opted to the IOC that same year, where he served on various commissions, including the Evaluation Commission, then the Coordination Commission for the 2018 Winter Olympics, and also the Culture and Olympic Education Commission. His IOC membership ended in 2018 when he reached the age limit of 70.

513. | Patrick McQuaid | Ireland

Patrick “Pat” McQuaid grew up in a cycling family. His father, Jim McQuaid, had founded a cycling club with his brother, and between 1951 and 1961, the Dublin greengrocer won the Irish Grand Prix six times. His participation in the 1948 Olympics failed due to internal disputes between the Irish federations because his association was not internationally recognised.

Of ten McQuaid children, seven were boys, six of whom raced internationally. The firstborn, Pat, was best known in 1972. But it was not he but his younger brother Kieron, who was nominated for the Irish Olympic team.

Four years later, Pat McQuaid deprived himself of an Olympic appearance when he joined Kieron and Sean Kelly in the Rapport Tour in South Africa. Since they undermined the sanctions imposed by the IOC on South Africa because of the apartheid policy, they were banned from the Olympics. Nevertheless, McQuaid’s family was represented in 1976: Brother Oliver competed in the Montreal road race but did not finish.

After the amateur period, during which McQuaid studied at Strawberry Hill Teacher Training College in Twickenham, near London, a short professional career (1978–79) followed for him in the British team of Viking-Campagnolo. He then worked as a teacher until 1983, when he was commissioned by the Irish Cycling Federation to build an Olympic team for the Los Angeles Games.

From 1985, he developed the Nissan Tour of Ireland as the first national race on a pro-am basis. With the prestige gained in the process, McQuaid successfully ran for honorary president of the Irish Cycling Federation (ICF) in 1994, which re-elected him in 1997. The following year, he served as director of the Tour de France, which was started in Dublin for the first time.

In 1997, McQuaid was appointed to the management board of the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI), where he headed the Road Commission. In 2003, at the suggestion of the Union Européenne de Cyclisme (UEC), he was selected to succeed Dutchman Hein Verbruggen (see *JOH*, vol. 26, 1/2018, 69–70). McQuaid then moved to Aigle, Switzerland, to take up leadership positions at the UCI headquarters. Although controversial, he was elected president unopposed in 2005. In that role, he was co-opted to the IOC in 2010.

McQuaid’s tenure was overshadowed by allegations of corruption and manipulation, particularly based on the preferential treatment of a group of elite athletes led by Lance Armstrong, Floyd Landis, and Alberto Contador, who were involved in doping cases. His IOC membership ended in 2013 when he failed to win re-election as UCI president, which he had hoped for, in an 18–24 defeat to British Cycling president Brian Cookson.

The athletes at the Olympic Winter Games 2022 elected Martin Fourcade and Frida Hansdotter to the IOC Athletes’ Commission for a term ending at the Winter Games 2030. They replace Hayley Wickenheiser (CAN) and a vacant seat following the resignation of Ole Einar Bjørndalen (NOR) in 2016. The term of office for the newly elected IOC Members is eight years.



Born: 5 September 1949
in Dublin
Elected:
12 February 2010
Resigned:
27 September 2013
Attendance:
Present: 4, Absent: 0

Five New Members elected

The 139th Session elected five new IOC Members on 19 February 2022. This brings the number of IOC Members to 106.

Independent individual members:

Yiech Pur Biel (*1995). For the first time in Olympic history, a UNHCR-recognised refugee has been elected as an IOC Member. Originally from Nasir, South Sudan, he competed in Rio 2016 as a member of the IOC Refugee Olympic Team and was a team manager for the same team at the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games. His election was possible following an amendment made to the Olympic Charter allowing the election of IOC Members in special cases without a nationality or NOC requirement.

Danka Barteková (*1984/SVK). The Olympic bronze medallist in sport shooting was an elected athletes’ representative from 2012 until 2021 and served as vice-chair of the IOC Athletes’ Commission from 2018 to 2021.

Member linked to their function:

David Lappartient (*1973/FRA). President of the International Cycling Union (UCI) since 2017.

Members of the IOC Athletes’ Commission:

Martin Fourcade (*1988/FRA). Five-time Olympic biathlon champion (2010, 2014, 2018) and 13-time world champion.

Frida Hansdotter (*1985/SWE). Olympic champion in alpine skiing, 2018.

OBITUARIES

Viktor Danilovich Saneyev (URS), *3 October 1945 in Sukhumi, Georgia; †2 January 2022 in Sydney. The most successful triple jumper in the world also comes from Abkhazia, where he grew up on the Black Sea coast. His mother was a Cossack who raised him with an iron hand. After World War II, his father, a veteran, returned home an invalid and was bedridden for the rest of his life. He died when his son was 15 years old.

Saneyev attended a boarding school in Leselidze for six years, where the triple jump was part of his physical education classes. Because some elite Soviet athletes, such as Olympic high-jump champion Valeri Brumel, were training close by at this time, his interest in athletics grew. He met coach Akop Kerselyan, who became like a second father. After being accepted into the Dynamo Tbilisi sports club, he became the world's best within two years.

Saneyev was Olympic champion three times in a row from 1968 to 1976. His first victory was in Mexico City in 1968, in a memorable competition in which three athletes broke the world record four times within the space of an hour. He won his second gold medal in Munich in 1972, defeating Jörg Drehmel (GDR), against whom he had lost at the European Championships a year earlier – one of his few defeats. His third victory followed in Montreal in 1976. Despite an operation on his Achilles tendon a year later, he won another silver medal at the end of his sporting career as runner-up to his Estonian teammate Jaak Uudmäe in Moscow in 1980.

Saneyev, who also became European champion twice (1969, 1974) and European indoor champion six times (1970–1977), graduated from the Georgian State University of Subtropical Agriculture and Tbilisi State University. After graduating, he coached Soviet triple jumpers for four



years, after which he became coach at his local club, Dynamo Tbilisi. He lost his job when civil war broke out in Georgia in the early 1990s.

Saneyev emigrated to Australia with his family. He tried his hand at delivering pizza until he found a job as a physical education teacher at St. Joseph's College, Hunters Hill, and then as a coach at the New South Wales Institute of Sport. (VK)

Earle Wells (NZL), *27 October 1933 in Auckland; †1 October 2021 in Whakatane. When Earle Wells sought a skipper in 1961 for his Flying Dutchman class yacht, *Pandora*, and settled on a Danish émigré, Helmer Pedersen, an Olympic champion combination was born. Pedersen had been a reserve in the 1960 team and a reserve for Denmark at the 1952 Olympics. The new pair won the 1964 Olympic trials in *Pandora* but got off to a slow start in the racing in Sagami Bay on the outskirts of Tokyo. They were 16th in the first race and failed to finish the second. But their fortunes changed, and in the ensuing racing, they gained three firsts, a third and a fourth – enough to give them the gold medal, the second won by New Zealand sailors at an Olympics.

In the late 1960s, Wells took up the challenge of ocean racing, first helming *Anticipation* and then *Condor*. He was to sail in five Sydney to Hobart races, the Clipper Cup series off Honolulu, and many other great ocean races. In 1972, he and his wife Jean bought a furniture factory and ran it until 1990, when they moved to Whakatane to farm deer. (OM)

Anatoli Alyabyev (URS), *12 December 1951 in Danilovo (RUS); †11 January 2022 in St. Petersburg. Alyabyev won his only Soviet title in 1979 in the 20 km and made his international debut the next year at the 1980 Winter Olympics, where he was very successful, medalling in all three biathlon events, winning gold in the 20 km and relay and bronze in the 10 km. At the World Championships, Alyabyev won two bronzes, both in the relay in 1981 and 1982. He also won silver at the 1980–81 World Cup.

After his sporting career, he became a biathlon coach, working with the Russian national team from 1990–98. Alyabyev graduated in 1981 from the Military Institute of Physical Culture in Leningrad and received a candidate degree in pedagogy in 1997. From 1998, he was a professor at his alma mater, publishing over 30 scientific papers. He died from COVID-19 at the age of 70. (TK)

Mino De Rossi (ITA), *21 May 1931 in Arquata Scrivia; †7 January 2022 in Genoa. The track cyclist was a logical member of the Italian pursuit team who won the Olympic gold medal in 1952. After the Games, he again reached the pursuit final at the World Championships, finishing second this time. He then turned professional and embarked on a long career, on both the road and the track. He was mainly successful at six-day events, winning twice (Buenos Aires 1959, Montréal 1963). As an amateur in 1950, De Rossi also broke the world hour record, setting it at 42.481 km.

De Rossi turned professional in 1952 with the Bianchi team of

Fausto Coppi, with whom he shared a physical likeness. De Rossi was third in the 1954 Giro di Lombardia behind Coppi and Fiorenzo Magni. A fractured pelvis resulted in De Rossi returning to track racing, and in 1962 he joined the Ignis team alongside Domenico De Lillo, Antonio Maspes, and Valentino Gasparella. He remained a pro until 1967, and after ending his career, became the Genova salesman for Michelin tyres, who were very much linked to cycling in the second half of the 20th century. He also collaborated with his friend Angelo Gnecco in the organisation of the Giro della Liguria for amateurs. *(OM)*

Heidi Biebl (FRG), *17 February 1941 in Oberstaufen; †20 January 2022 in Immenstadt im Allgäu. Heidi Biebl grew up without a father, as he had died on the Eastern Front during World War II. After her mother taught her to ski, she was invited to take a course in skiing for the first time at the age of 13. After secondary school, she completed an apprenticeship as a retailer at a Bavarian ski factory, whose brand she also used.



National coach Fritz Huber, who was an Austrian, recognised Biebl's talent when she became a three-time German youth champion in 1958. "Struppi", as she was called, due to her shaggy blonde hair, won the adult giant slalom for the first time a year later. Overall, she won 15 national championship titles.

She celebrated her greatest success as a 19-year-old at Squaw

Valley in 1960, where she became the Olympic champion in downhill skiing with the start No. 1. On the other hand, the French, who presented the sensational metal ski, did not win any medals. Four years later, Biebl finished fourth in the downhill and slalom at the Innsbruck Winter Games and was disqualified in the giant slalom. After a disagreement with the German Ski Association, who failed to nominate her for the World Championships in Portillo in 1966, she ended her career.

Biebl was married to the Swiss junior champion Werner Schmid from 1964 to 1968. Together they opened a spa hotel in Oberstaufen and a ski school, where Biebl taught children to ski. In 1974, she married Croatian musician Borislav Prelević. *(VK)*

Benjamin Kogo (KEN), *30 November 1944 in Arwos; †20 January 2022 in Eldoret. Kogo won the silver medal in the 3,000 m steeplechase event at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. He had already won the East African Championships in 1964 and again in 1967 and 1968. At the 1966 Commonwealth Championships, he earned the bronze medal. He died from prostate cancer in 2022. *(WR)*

Rolf-Dieter Amend (GDR), *21 March 1949 in Magdeburg; †4 January 2022 in Potsdam. Trained as a chemical plant engineer, Amend learned how to canoe in a folding boat on a canal on the Elbe River. As an 18-year-old soldier, he joined the Leipzig Army Sports Club, where he and Walter Hofmann formed a two-person team (C 2) in the canoe slalom. Both won the East German championships in 1969; two years later, they were runner-up at the World Championships. In 1972, they became the first Olympic champions in this discipline at their Olympic premiere.

After 1972, the canoe slalom was not part of the Olympic programme again until 1992. In the meantime, "Achmed", as he was called, ended his competitive sports career. He

completed a degree in sports studies and became a canoe racing coach in Potsdam, where he trained the Olympic kayak doubles champions Kai Bluhm and Thorsten Gutsche. In 1991, he was appointed national coach but had to resign after suffering a heart attack. After recovering, he mentored many successful canoeists, including Ronald Rauhe and Tim Wieskötter. He was involved in nine Olympic victories in total. *(VK)*

Jerry Shipp (USA), *27 September 1935 in Shreveport, Louisiana; †5 October 2021 in Durant, Oklahoma. Shipp attended Southeastern State College in Durant, Oklahoma and was named All-American four times, but his best days as a basketball player came in the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) leagues. After college, he played for the Phillips 66ers and helped them win several national AAU championships. As a member of the 66ers, he won a gold medal at the 1963 Pan-American Games and was named to the 1964 Olympic team. Shipp spent his career with the Phillips Company in the sales training programme and also coached high school and youth basketball. *(BM)*

Ketevan "Keto" Losaberidze (URS), *1 August 1949 in Tqibuli (GEO), †23 January 2022 in Tbilisi. Georgian Losaberidze was one of the best female Soviet archers in the 1970s. During her career, she competed at two Olympic Games, finishing fourth in 1972 and taking gold in 1980, becoming the first and only Soviet Olympic gold medal winner in archery.

Losaberidze also won world team titles in 1973 and 1981, the European individual title in 1972, and European team titles in 1972, 1978, and 1980. She won two individual Soviet titles in 1973 and 1979 and took five individual bronzes at the Soviet Championships (1971–72, 1974–75, 1981) and the Soviet Cup twice in 1972 and 1978. She was selected as the best Georgian athlete of the year in 1980 and was

named fourth in the vote for the best Georgian female athlete of the 20th century.

After her sporting career, Losaberidze worked as a professor of mathematics at the Tbilisi State University and from 2002 to 2005 the president of the Georgian Archery Federation. *(OM)*

Lothar Claesges (FRG), *3 July 1942 in Krefeld; †12 November 2021 in Krefeld. Claesges, a track cyclist, finished sixth in the 1,000 m time trial at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. His greatest moment came when he won a gold medal with the German pursuit team, beating Italy by a very close margin of .07 s. It was impossible to tell who had won at the finish, and the jury conferred for 10 minutes before announcing that his team was the gold medallist. All four cyclists came from West Germany.

Later, during a six-day training session, Claesges collided with a car and was severely injured, after which he retired immediately. Domestically he won six national titles. He was a furniture maker by profession. *(WR)*

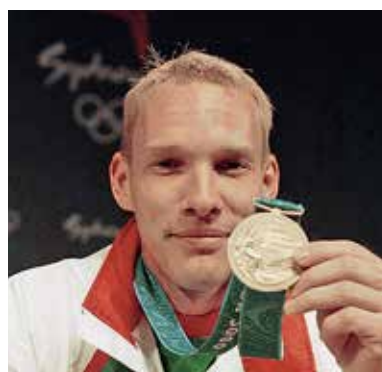
Viktor Mazin (URS), *18 June 1954 in Chernovskiy Kopi, Zabaykalsky Krai (RUS); †8 January 2022 in Minusinsk. Mazin grew up in Shakhtinsk in a dysfunctional family and, at the age of 16, was imprisoned for theft. While Mazin was working as an electrician in a mine, weightlifting coach Nikolai Snegurov took him under his wing. Mazin worked hard and almost immediately began to show good results. His best year was 1980 when he won his only Soviet title (featherweight) and was selected for that year's Olympic team. At the Games, Mazin set six of his seven world records, three in snatch, one in clean & jerk, and two in total, as he won Olympic gold, which also doubled as a World Championship gold.

Mazin, who set one more featherweight world record in snatch in 1981, won silver at the Soviet Championships in 1979 and 1981, and

won the Soviet featherweight cups in 1978 and 1982, the latter marking the end of his career.

He then moved to the Krasnoyarsk Territory with his brother and sister and worked in the timber industry. Unfortunately, he again ended up in prison, and after his release settled in a distant village in northern Russia. Mazin died of throat cancer in 2022. *(AC)*

Szilveszter Csollány (HUN), *13 April 1970 in Sopron; †24 January 2022 in Budapest. The Hungarian gymnast won the gold medal on the rings at the 2000 Sydney Olympics, his third Games. He also won the silver medal on the rings four years earlier in Atlanta and placed sixth at his first Olympics in Barcelona in 1992.



In 2002, he was world champion on the rings after winning five silver medals in earlier years. In 1998, he was European champion and won one more silver and four bronze medals, all on the rings.

Csollány later lived in Iceland, where he worked as a gymnastics coach. From 2014 to 2015 he worked in Switzerland and then in Austria. He fell ill from COVID-19 in November 2021. *(WR)*

Hans-Jürgen Dörner (GDR), *25 January 1951 in Görlitz; †19 January 2022 in Dresden. Trained as a lathe operator, Dörner joined the Dynamo Dresden football team in 1967. From 1969 to 1974, he played in the East German junior squad in the position of libero. In the same year, he debuted

in the senior national team playing against Chile (0–1), even though he hadn't played a single game in the 1st division up to then.

The highlight of his career was the 1976 Olympic victory in Montreal, where the East German team defeated Poland 3–1 in the finals. He missed the 1974 World Cup in West Germany, when his team defeated the hosts and eventual world champion 1–0 in the first round, as he was suffering from jaundice at the time.

The football athlete from Saxony played 392 games for Dynamo Dresden in the first division and 65 games in the European Cup. After playing his 100th international match in 1985, he was dismissed from the national team, where he had long served as its captain. He went on to get a degree in sports studies and became a coach. Among other things, he worked as an assistant coach for the national team from 1994, the Werder Bremen Bundesliga team (1996/97), and the Egyptian champion team Al Ahly Cairo from 2000. *(VK)*

Warren Jay "Rex" Cawley (USA), *6 July 1940 in Detroit, Michigan; †5 January 2022. At the 1959 AAU, Rex Cawley made track history by becoming the only athlete ever to place in the first six in all three hurdles events. As an 18-year-old high school student, he finished fifth in the 110 y, third in the 220 y, and sixth in the 440 y hurdles. In the fall of 1959, Cawley entered Southern Cal. After failing to make the 1960 Olympic team, he had excellent seasons in 1961 and 1962 despite injury problems in those years. In 1963, he enjoyed a full season and won the AAU and NCAA 440 y hurdles, also placing second in the open quarter at the NCAA with a career best of 46.0. In 1964, Cawley set a world record of 49.1 for the intermediate hurdles and went on to win the Olympic title. His last major championship came in 1965 when he won the AAU. Cawley later worked in the medical/electronics industry and became a travel agent. *(BM)*

Dorothy Manley (GBR), *29 April 1927 in West Ham, Greater London; †31 October 2021 in Ilford. Dorothy Manley took up athletics during school but had to wait until after World War II to represent Great Britain in international competition. Despite finishing fifth in the 100 m event at the 1948 national championships, she was selected for the delegation to that year's London Olympics and won a surprising silver medal behind the legendary Fanny Blankers-Koen (NED). She was also a member of the 4x100 m relay that placed fourth.

In 1950 Manley won her only national title, in the 200 m, which gained her a spot on the 1950 British Empire Games team. At those Games, she took silver in the 220–110–220–110 y relay and bronze in the 110–220–110 y relay, in addition to placing fourth in the high jump and being eliminated in the heats of the 100 and 220 y races. At that year's European Championships, she helped win the 4x100 m relay with June Foulds-Paul, Jean Desforges, and the non-Olympian Elspeth Hay. She took the bronze in the 200 m. After setting a world record in the 4x220 m relay in 1951, Manley retired the following year due to a thyroid condition.

After her first husband, Peter Hall, died in 1973, she married John Parlett, a teammate from the London Games. She taught the piano for many years. *(OM)*

Vyatcheslav Vedenin (URS), *1 October 1941 in Sloboda, Tula Oblast (RUS); †22 October 2021 in Moscow. Vedenin, whose father died in the Second World War, was one of the best long-distance cross-country skiers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He made his first international appearance at the 1966 World Championships, where he was sixth at 50 km and eighth in the 15 km. At the 1968 Olympics, Vedenin won the only medal among Soviet male skiers by finishing second in the 50 km. In Grenoble, he was fourth in the relay and 14th at 30 km. At the 1970 World



Championships, Vedenin won two golds: in the 30 km and relay, and one silver over 50 km.

At the 1972 Olympics, Vedenin first won gold in the 30 km, becoming the first Soviet male skier to win an individual Olympic title, and then placed third behind Norwegians Pål Tyldum and Magne Myrmo in the 50 km. Three days after his bronze in the 50 km, he skied the anchor leg for the Soviets in the relay. After three legs, the Norwegians had a comfortable lead, over a minute ahead of the Soviet Union, but Vedenin managed to reduce the gap to only 30 seconds after 5 km, and he continued to increase his pace, catching Norwegian anchor Johs Harviken only 100 m from the line. Harviken fell while trying to counterattack and Vedenin, with the fastest leg of the competition, won an Olympic relay gold for the Soviet Union, ten seconds ahead of Norway. In 1972, Vedenin also won the Vasaloppet and continued to ski a few more seasons until an injury ended his sporting career. Domestically, he won 13 Soviet titles – one at 15 km (1969), four at 50 km (1967–69, 1972), two at 70 km (1969, 1970) and six in the relay (1966, 1968–70, 1972, 1973).

After his competitive career, Vedenin spent 12 years as the head coach of Dynamo's women's team. From 1989 to 2003, he worked as a physical education teacher at the Institute of Physics of the Earth of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His son, Vyatcheslav Vedenin, Jr., recited the Olympic oath at the opening ceremony of the 2014 Winter Olympics. *(OM)*

Hans-Peter Lanig (FRG), *7 December 1935 in Bad Hindelang; †28 January 2022 in Bad Hindelang. The Bavarian Alpine ski racer finished fifth in the downhill despite a fall on the track and placed seventh in the giant slalom at the 1956 Winter Olympics. Four years later, he won a silver medal in the downhill while finishing seventh in the slalom but was a disappointing 13th in the giant slalom. Domestically he won seven titles.

Between 1960 and 1962, he worked in various hotels in the US. A few years later, he took over his parents' café in Oberjoch and expanded it into a sports hotel. He also was head coach of the West German Alpine national team from 1962 to 1966. His sister was the alpine skier Evi Lanig. She married, making him the brother-in-law of the 1952 bobsleigh Olympic champion, Lorenz Nieberl. *(WR)*

Olga Szabo-Orban (ROU), *9 October 1938 in Cluj-Napoca; †5 January 2022 in Budapest (HUN). The Romanian fencer took part in five Olympics. At the 1956 Games, she reached the finals in singles, where she finished first with six victories together with Gillian Sheen (GBR). In the barrage, she lost to Sheen and thus received the silver medal.

In Rome in 1960 and Tokyo in 1964, she placed in the top ten in both individual and team competitions, as well as in individual competitions in Mexico City in 1968. In the team competition, she moved into the semifinals, in which the Romanian team lost to Hungary. In the battle for bronze, she then prevailed against France. At the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, she finished the team competition with a bronze medal. She married water polo player Alexandru Szabo. *(WR)*

AC = Andrey Chitikin, BM = Bill Mallon, OM = OlyMADMen, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt

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

BOOK REVIEWS



Matthias Martschik, Rudolf Müllner,
Gherardo Bonini (Eds.)

Otto Herschmann und die Olympische Bewegung – Die Etablierung des modernen Sports in Österreich

(Otto Herschmann and the Olympic Movement:
The establishment of modern sport in Austria)
Erhard Löcker, Vienna 2021, in German
304 Pages, 29.80 EUR, ISBN 978-3-99098-086-6

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

University research on Austrian sports history has been neglected for a long time. From what I can see, fortunately this has changed, as can be demonstrated by a large number of important works. Of course, gaps remain, one of which can be filled, not only by my article about Otto Herschmann in this issue, but also by an online contribution written by ISOH member Gherardo Bonini, who is one of the editors of this book.

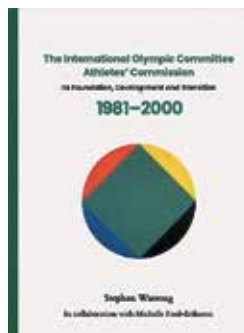
Otto Herschmann successfully competed in the Olympic Games as a swimmer in 1896 and as a fencer in 1912. His career serves as a framework for this book, for in many ways, his experience describes the period from the end of the 19th century up to the First World War when the Olympic Movement was able to gain a foothold in Austria.

The example of the Viennese lawyer, who also served briefly as president of the Austrian Olympic Committee during his active sports career, shows the important role that the sports movement played in

the modernisation of the Habsburg monarchy.

A second focal point is sport as a means of assimilation, which Austrian Jews such as Herschmann used to achieve social and political equality, although this was taken away from them once again after the “annexation” to Germany in 1938. Other important aspects of Jewish sports history are addressed, such as the role of clubs and internationalisation through the Maccabiah Games. The book ends by describing the fate of Herschmann, who, like six million other Jews, was murdered in one of the Nazi death camps.

What I missed was a critical examination of why there was silence in Austria for so long, making it possible for this gap to arise in the first place.



Stephan Wassong (with Michelle Ford-Eriksson)

The International Olympic Committee Athletes' Commission – Its Foundation, Development and Transition 1981-2000

German Sport University, Cologne 2021
234 pages, ISBN 978-3-94-906801-0

Reviewed by Marcia De Franceschi Neto-Wacker

This book by Professor Dr. Stephan Wassong, with a special contribution by Michelle Ford-Eriksson, MBE, 1980 Olympic swimming gold medallist, tells the history and evolution of the IOC Athletes' Commission from 1981 to 2000. In other words, it is the story of how athletes, the main actors of the Olympic Games, have come to have a voice within the Olympic Movement.

The subject is presented in 16 chapters and contains three interviews that provide new insights into important developments and activities of the Athletes' Commission. The interviewees are Dr. Thomas Bach, current IOC President and one of the founding members from 1981 to 1989; Sergey Bubka, member from 1996 to 2008 and chair from 2002 to 2008; and Kirsty Coventry, member from 2013 to 2021 and chair from 2018 to 2021. The book also contains six interesting appendices for people who wish to delve deeper into the subject.

For the first time, this history has been thoroughly researched and written, including plenty of images and documents. It can serve well as a reference for all those interested in the origin and evolution of the Athletes' Commission within the Olympic Movement. The commission was officially established in Sarajevo in December 1981, but its starting point was the XI Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden.

The book presents the first two decades of the history of the commission and the rise of the institutional voice of athletes within the Olympic Movement. It also looks at the commission's initiatives and institutional reforms, which have contributed to the development of its role within the Olympic Movement.

According to Stephan Wassong, the book is based on the evaluation of primary sources, including the minutes of the Athletes' Commission, the IOC Sessions, and the IOC's Executive Board meetings. Contributors with personal statements include Thomas Bach, former IOC Vice-President Anita DeFrantz, Vladislav Tretyak, Svetla Otzetova, Sebastian Coe, Ken Read, Charmaine Crooks, and Peter Montgomery.

The publication presents the contextualised history of the Athletes' Commission, which has become an active voice in the International Olympic Movement. Anita DeFrantz wrote in the foreword: “This book tells the story of who, what, when,

where, and how these important changes in IOC took place.”

The first chapter provides valuable background context for understanding the situation before the creation of the commission, when the athletes had no voice in the decisions, and it discusses the importance of including the athletes in decision-making processes. The second chapter has, as a highlight, a contribution by Michelle Ford-Eriksson, who provides an emotional testimony of the process. The sentence “we had one shot, and we took it” illustrates the power of Michelle’s text.

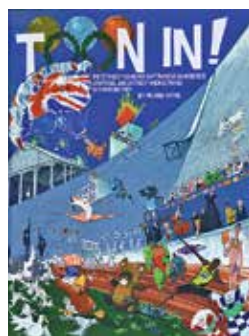
The book also covers a number of relevant Olympic topics, including the representation of women (chapter 5), boycotts of the Games (chapter 6), the fight against doping (chapter 9) and the rules of the eligibility code for competing in the Games (chapter 8).

The other chapters show through words, archival documents, and images the process of creating, establishing, and strengthening the commission and the actions it has since undertaken. Above all, they portray the commitment of the athletes to the challenges of this process. The book shows that there was a great commitment from those involved to act effectively. They wanted to take the opportunity to create something new and to contribute to the Olympic Movement. A statement by Vladislav Tretyak (member of the commission, 1981–1993) illustrates the thinking of those involved: “The commission, consisting of active and former athletes, resolved issues related to the Olympic Games and shared ideas on how to improve the life and competition conditions for athletes – and we were able to help them at the highest level.”

Stephan Wassong has created a brilliant book that is pleasant to read and, at the same time, maintains the scientific rigour required of a historian. This is certainly a publication that will remain a reference for future researchers. The book was published

on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the IOC Athletes’ Commission and can be obtained online.

https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/1089023/the-international-olympic-committee-athletes-commission-its-foundation-development-and-transition-197?_ga=2.121021064.1620167799.1643301856-466781902.1633336055



Michael Payne

TOON IN!

The stories you never got to hear:

An insider’s unofficial and entirely unsanctioned Olympic history

Vision Sports Publishing, Kingston upon Thames

2021, 496 pages, EUR 80.00

www.olympiccartoon.com, ISBN 978-1913412-13-5

Reviewed by Markus Osterwalder

Toon In! is an outstanding book that examines the Olympic Movement in a very captivating, humorous, provocative and, at the same time, critical way. Michel Payne, former IOC Marketing Director, has compiled and commented on a vast collection of cartoons on a wide variety of controversial topics surrounding the Games over the years. Payne’s texts provide helpful historical background on each of the 12 thematic chapters. The book’s graphic design was handled skilfully by the Greek designer Theodora Mantzaris.

Pictures say more than a thousand words, as the saying goes, and this book is an impressive testament to that. Even while putting a smile on our face, many of these cartoons remind us of critical and sometimes scandalous events that have been published in the world press over the years. Despite everything, the

Olympic Movement has remained strong because we all believe that sport positively influences our society and makes us better people.

According to the book’s website, “The inspiration for *Toon In!* was prompted by the COVID-19 outbreak. It was the perfect lockdown project, providing the time to launch a global search for the world’s best Olympic cartoons, and to uncover many untold stories behind the Games.” All profits from the sale of *Toon In!* will be donated to four charities.



Karl Stankiewicz

München 1972

Wie Olympia eine Stadt veränderte

(Munich 1972: How the Olympics changed a city)

Allitera, München 2021, in German

25.00 EUR, 254 pages, ISBN 978-3-96233-285-3

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

Karl Stankiewicz, who, at the age of 93, is probably one of the oldest journalists still working, was not interested in presenting a thesis with all the background of why Munich aimed for and achieved the 1972 Olympics with this book. Nor does he describe any competitions or encounters with athletes, and he even devotes only a brief report to the tragic event of 5 September, the day on which there was an attempt to assassinate the Israeli team, in which he relies on his impressions as a direct contemporary witness.

Stankiewicz, who has lived in Munich since 1937 and whose themes have always explored Bavarian nature and the Munich scene, limits himself

to the so-called trivialities. According to the author, the colourful mosaic of the Munich 1972 Games is “a truly shining example of what people can create under the banner of a great idea.”

The book is structured in four main chapters, whose German titles play on the word *Spiel*, which means “game”: “Prelude 1966 to 1970”, “Interlude 1971”, “Final game 1972”, “Aftermath – September 1972 to 2021”. Each chapter contains a multitude of episodes for which there is usually little or no space in academic writing.

It begins with the triumphant return of the Munich delegation, which – coming from the IOC Session in Rome – brought back the rights to hold the event. This reader couldn’t help but imagine hearing the brass band, seeing dirndls and chamois hats, smelling a large amount of

beer, and listening to the bold plans and forecasts, many of which later turned out to be incorrect.

Stankiewicz then dives into his pool of personal experiences. He names the costs, which Willi Daume, president of the Olympic Organising Committee, initially estimated at half a billion Deutschmarks but which increased fourfold. He describes the daring roof construction, which the architects depicted in the model of the Olympic buildings using a stretched-out woman’s stocking. The German term “Gigantismus” was thus born.

The box of memories contains a great deal: the “tussles” between the “reds” (Social Democrats) who governed the city and the “blacks” (Christian Social) who held power in Bavaria; the criminals and prostitutes who were drawn to Germany’s “secret capital”; rents that went

through the roof; “bums”, “hippies”, and other left-wing troublemakers who were supposed to be kept out of the city by a restricted area; Otl Aicher’s ingenious visual design; plus a variety of art, folklore and fun, all of which were to give the Munich Games a friendly appearance.

Stankiewicz doesn’t just leave it at memories, which turn out to be ambivalent, though never hateful – for there was a lot of success, but some things ended in disaster. Nevertheless, the author draws a positive conclusion.

In short: this is a book worth reading, which covers Munich 1972 but leads up to the present day. What became of the Olympic Park, which has undergone a metamorphosis in the past 50 years? It’s hard to imagine Munich without it – making it an example of successful sustainability.



OTL AICHER Munich 1972 Card Set

64 cards/32 pairs, 9 x 9 cm

Edition Detail, Munich 2022, English/German

29.90 EUR, ISBN: 9783955535803

https://shop.detail.de/de_en/otl-aicher-muenchen-1972

Reviewed by Alisa Kotmair

Commemorating both the 50th anniversary of the 1972 Olympics and the 100th birthday of German designer Otl Aicher, a charming memory card game features the iconic pictograms that Aicher and his Dept. XI design team developed as part of their visual identity for the 1972 Olympics.

Otl Aicher (1922–1991) is considered one of Germany’s most influential graphic designers. As a

youth, he was adamantly against the war, refusing to join the Hitler Youth, which got him arrested, and after being drafted into the army, he deserted and went into hiding. Later, as co-founder and teacher of the influential Ulm School of Design, he combined visual communication with principles of democracy to help forge a new West Germany. His clients included firms such as Lufthansa and Braun.

Aicher’s work followed a rational, rules-based approach in which freedom and structure went hand in hand. For the Olympics, he and his team built on the Tokyo 1964 pictograms by creating simple, standardized elements that could be variously combined in a universal visual language. The system was patented and continues to be expanded by Aicher’s successors.

The game comprises 32 pictogram pairs on minimalist black-and-white cards depicting the 21 Olympic sports plus additional pictograms for visitor orientation. Its rules are as simple to grasp as the pictograms they show: try to find the matching pairs. But can

you name the activity depicted? Quick help is available on the bilingual insert, with labelled pictograms and a historical essay. This game will exercise your brain– and reveal the true Olympic (design) experts.

For more on Olympic design, see *Olympic Games: The Design*, by ISOH Secretary-General Markus Osterwalder, reviewed in *JOH*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2019), 77–78.



Pictogram designed by Otl Aicher and his team referring to a typical Bavarian beer garden – certainly an attractive destination for Munich visitors celebrating the 1972 Olympics 50th anniversary, with the European Championships (11–21 August 2022) featuring nine sports as a highlight. By the way, the beer garden in the Olympic Park is located along a path named after Indian Olympic hockey champion Roop Singh Bais.

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MEMBER INFORMATION

NEW MEMBERS

CHOLLET Philippe Mr. *3 June 1957; *e-mail:* pcchollet@icloud.com; *address:* 26 Peyrefus, Daignac 33420, FRANCE; *tel:* +33 672 34 84 97; *occupation:* journalist; *Olympic/sports publications:* Dicolymptique, tout sur les J.O - Editions Atlantica - Biarritz France; *website:* www.dicolymptique.fr; *specific Olympic research interests:* breaknews and Olympia story.

De NAVACELLE de COUBERTIN Diane Ms. *25 December 1972; *e-mail:* dianedenavacelle@gmail.com.

com; address: 57 boulevard de Rochechouart, Paris 75009, FRANCE; *occupation:* artist, teacher, Olympic movement legacy; *specific Olympic research interests:* culture, arts and sports, education and transmission, inclusion, women in sport, peace and fair play.

PUENTES MONTES Edgar Omar Mr. *4 January 1980; *e-mail:* edgaromar80@hotmail.com; *address:* Afroditita 111, Perseo, SALTILLO 25016, Coahuila, MEXICO; *tel:* 00 844 1052 433; *occupation:* University sports coordinator; *Olympic/sports publications:* Coahuilenses en Juegos Olímpicos (2013); *specific Olympic research interests:* History of Mexican athletes.

OLD MEMBERS

DE WAEL Herman Mr.
new address: Toonkunststraat 31 bus 7, 2610 Wilrijk, BELGIUM.

MARITCHEV Gennady Mr.
The Executive Board terminated his membership for various misconduct towards ISOH members.

DECEASED

FALKNER, Dr. Gerd (GER), lifetime member since 2008.

MÜLLER, Prof. Dr. Norbert (GER), lifetime member since 1996.

Payment of Membership Dues

At its meeting in Paris in 2021, the ISOH Executive Board decided to reduce administrative costs by decreasing the number of payment categories. The dues for ISOH membership are US \$ 100 for 5 years or US \$ 300 for lifetime membership.

New ISOH members are requested to first complete the online membership application. Any questions may be addressed to Secretary-General Markus Osterwalder via email markus.osterwalder@isoh.org or in writing to: Mr. Markus Osterwalder, Eggweg 6, 9100 Herisau, Switzerland.

Payment of dues must be made at the same time as applications are submitted. Payment options are listed below.

Payments are accepted in US\$ only:

1. Cash, cheque drawn on an U.S. Bank (in US Dollars), or International Money Order (in US Dollars). Cheques and International Money Orders should be made payable to "ISOH". If you wish to send a check, please email the Treasurer of ISOH, Mr. Hector Arguelles: isohtreasurer@isoh.org
2. PayPal account name is "isohtreasurer@isoh.org".



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