The world has changed since the last edition of the Journal. Our fears have become reality as the spread of COVID–19 has forced the IOC and Japanese organisers to postpone the Tokyo Olympics by a year. This was a decision unique in Olympic history. The Games are now scheduled to take place from 23rd July to 8th August 2021.

The situation has eased somewhat in certain areas, enabling people to regain much of their freedom of movement. Unfortunately, this is not the case on all continents. Although the first wave is not yet over, people are already concerned about the dangers of a second. Nevertheless, it would be pure speculation to suggest that the Olympic Games might yet be completely cancelled. It is however, impossible to predict what things will be like in the long-term, let alone in a year.

A greater degree of objectivity would help. To sound an optimistic note, let us look back to the example of Berlin 1916. When the Games were cancelled as a result of the Great War, there were few who imagined that next Olympics would take place in 1920, only two years after the armistice. It was virtually a miracle that Belgium, the nation which had suffered most, agreed to be the host.

The 100th anniversary of those Games would be reason enough to honour this achievement. Yet the 1920 Games in Antwerp add resonance because they were also overshadowed by a pandemic that claimed more lives than the First World War. And still, the Games went ahead. This should encourage us as we take on and cope with an epochal challenge such as the coronavirus crisis.

This also applies to another problem which appears impossible to resolve. In the second part of his series on the complex history of Palestinian and Israeli sport, San Charles Haddad examines the secret relationship between Nazi Germany and the Jerusalem YMCA around the time of the 1936 Olympic Games.

David Wallechinsky concludes (for now) his survey of the history of Olympic film by examining the decade from 1998 to 2018. It is a story that will surely be resumed in the future!

The question of national identity is a major theme for Luke Harris as he considers the participation of Scots in the 1908 Great Britain team. It caused what he believes was an unavoidable friction, one that is set to continue for the foreseeable future.

This summer also marks the 60th anniversary of the Rome Olympics. In the first of a two–part series, Pasquale Polo and Elmer Sterken provide the historical context to the Rome Olympiad.

What else do we have to offer? Olympic news, part 33 of our series of IOC Members’ biographies, obituaries of medallists who have died, and reviews of new publications. Bill Mallon and OlyMADMen have published the full results of the 1908 gymnastics competition for the first time, so another statistical gap has now been filled.

On page 5, you will also find a word about “Coronavirus and Your Journal”. ■
Racism: As the world pays more attention to the problem of systemic racism, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) reinforced its concern on 10 June 2020, with this statement: “The IOC stands for non-discrimination as one of the founding pillars of the Olympic Movement, which is reflected in the Olympic Charter, Fundamental Principle 6: ‘The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Olympic Charter shall be secured without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.’”

The history of the Olympic Movement’s dealings with racism has had its ups and downs. Pierre de Coubertin went through different stages in his view towards non-whites, ranging from a paternalistic, colonial attitude to one of outright racism. In 1908, Coubertin wrote that the Olympic Games should be “the means of bringing to perfection the strong and hopeful youth of our white race, thus again helping towards the perfection of all human society.”

In 1904, the organizers of the St. Louis Olympics presented the “Tribal Games” or “Anthropological Days”, during which they charged the white public to watch non-whites, part of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition’s “human zoo”, compete in such events as mud fighting and climbing a greased pole.

In 1936, the IOC allowed Germany to host the Olympics, which Adolf Hitler and the Nazis used to display their ideology of “Aryan superiority”. The Nazi newspaper Der Angriff referred to the 18 African-American members of the US team as “Black auxiliaries.” Yet most Germans did not accept this racist message, and Jesse Owens became a hero of the local population. Owens’s rival in the long jump, German Luz Long, made a point of being photographed with Owens.

Thirty-two years later, when US sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos protested racism in the United States by staging a silent, nonviolent protest during the award ceremony for the 200 metres, the IOC pressured the US Olympic Committee into ordering Smith and Carlos to leave the Olympic Village and the country.

The IOC sometimes does rise to the occasion. In January 1964, the IOC banned South Africa because of its racist apartheid policies. The IOC tried to reinstate the country in 1968, but they suspended South Africa again a few months later and finally expelled the country from the Olympic Movement in May 1970. South African athletes ended up missing seven Summer Olympic Games. After apartheid ended, South Africa was welcomed back into the Olympic Movement in July 1991.

Sometimes it has been left to individual countries to take a stand against racism. For example, in 2012, Greek triple jumper Voula Papachristou was due to compete in the London Games. However, the Hellenic Olympic Committee said her Twitter posts mocking African immigrants went against the Olympic spirit and expelled her from the Greek Olympic team. That same year, Michel Morganella of the Swiss football team was expelled for tweeting a racist comment about Koreans after his team lost to the South Korean team.

On the other hand, there is the case of figure skating champion Irina Rodnina, who tweeted a racist photo of US President Barack Obama and his wife Michelle, comparing them to monkeys. When criticized, she responded “Freedom of speech is freedom!” Yet, Russian President Vladimir Putin chose Rodnina to light the cauldron at the Opening Ceremony of the 2014 Sochi Olympics, and her racist act went unpunished.

So, the IOC finds itself in a difficult position. It is clearly opposed to racism in any form, yet it does not have the resources or reach to monitor all nations, all sports, and all athletes.

Personal Note: When ISOH was founded, we, as Olympic historians, recognized that one of the flaws in the Olympic Movement is that in too many cases, someone, usually a man, becomes the head of an International or National Sports Federation or a National Olympic Committee and stays in that position forever, increasing their power and their opportunities for corruption. Consequently, when we created the constitution for ISOH, we decided that no one could hold the position of ISOH president or ISOH vice-president for more than two four-year terms.

I have served eight years as vice-president and eight years as president, so my terms of office have ended. I will continue to serve as a member of the ISOH Executive Board. I will also continue to serve on the IOC’s Culture and Olympic Heritage Commission, and, hopefully, I will again be able to help the IOC’s Words of Olympians project by conducting video interviews with Olympians who are now older than 80.

Message from the President

David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT
“The Post-Corona World Needs Sport to Overcome the Crisis”

136th IOC Session in virtual format

Amid the ongoing coronavirus pandemic, the 136th IOC Session took place on 17 July in a virtual format. The participants were invited to connect via an electronic platform, where they were able to follow the proceedings, participate in the discussions and, crucially, cast their votes on the various subjects under discussion.

IOC President Thomas Bach chaired the meeting from Olympic House in Lausanne. After thanking for the unified, powerful support in this otherwise dark time, he declared:

“But this crisis is far from over. As I outlined in my Olympism and Corona message last April, this situation will need all our solidarity, creativity, determination and flexibility. We all will need to make sacrifices. We are only beginning to understand which of the three scenarios for the post-corona world that I outlined in my message will finally prevail. Unfortunately, we are already seeing clear signs in some parts of the world that the one scenario is on the rise, where society and nations are driven by even more egoism and self-interest. This leads to more confrontation and to the politicisation of all aspects of life: culture, economy, health, science, humanitarian aid; even the fight against doping is already being targeted.

“During the IOC Session in January this year I already highlighted the growing misuse of sport for political purposes as one of our biggest challenges. I am afraid that this threat to sport is even bigger now. In some people’s minds the ghosts of the past are rearing their ugly heads. Boycotts and discrimination because of political background or nationality are once again a real danger. This is all the more unfortunate as this comes exactly 40 years after the completely unsuccessful boycott of the Olympic Games Moscow 1980 by some countries. It appears that today, some just do not want to learn anything from history: that such sporting boycotts do not have any political effect whatsoever. The Soviet army stayed nine long more years in Afghanistan after the boycott. A sporting boycott only punishes the athletes of the boycotting country and deprives their people of sharing in the success, pride and joy of their Olympic team. The only political effect the boycott of 1980 had, was to trigger the revenge boycott of the following Olympic Games Los Angeles 1984.

“Therefore, we must even strengthen our efforts to convince governments and the entire international community of the irreplaceable value of the Olympic Games. It is the only event today that brings the entire world together in peace, solidarity and without any discrimination.

“In this spirit of solidarity, we are also preparing the postponed Olympic Games Tokyo 2020. I would like to thank our Japanese partners and friends headed by Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, Organising Committee President Mori Yoshiro, Governor Koike Yuriko and all the Summer Olympic IFs, the NOCs, the athletes, our TOP Partners and RHBs and of course in particular you, the IOC Members. Without your solidarity, without your support we could not have taken this historic decision. Now we have a mammoth task ahead of us for which your continued solidarity is essential. Organising these postponed Olympic Games is very different to organising Olympic Games in normal circumstances. Nobody knows today how the world will look like in July and August next year. This is why we have to prepare for multiple scenarios of these Games. We have to take into account all the potential health implications and their consequences for the Games. The top priority for all these scenarios remains the one we have established already before the postponement decision: to safeguard the health of all participants of the Olympic Games.

“We all know that this journey will not be an easy one. We will have to give it our best to address the many challenges of an increasingly confrontational and ever more fragile world in deep crisis. But we sportspeople are used to giving it our best, we are used to embracing change, and we are used to seizing opportunities. We have demonstrated this in the last couple of months when we all together strengthened the relevance of sport in society. If we continue to stand together in this unity and solidarity, we can emerge from this crisis even stronger than before. The post-corona world needs sport to overcome the crisis. We stand ready to contribute to this recovery. The fragile post-corona world needs the unifying power of the Olympic Games. We are more determined than ever to build bridges, to bring the world together in peace and solidarity, to celebrate the unity of humankind in all our diversity. (IOC/JOH) ***

The postponement of the next Youth Olympic Games (YOG) Dakar from 2022 to 2026 was mutually agreed between Senegal and the IOC.

Thomas Bach confirmed that he will run for a second, four-year term as IOC President in 2021.

New Vice-Presidents are John D. Coates (AUS) and Ser Miang Ng (SIN), replacing Uğur Erdener (TUR) and Juan Antonio Samaranch (ESP). Mikaela Cojuangco Jaworski (PHI) and Gerardo Werthein (ARG) were named new Executive Committee Members.

Five new Members were elected: María de la Caridad Colón Ruenes (CUB), Olympic champion in javelin throwing in 1980; Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović (CRO), former President of Croatia; HRH Princess Reema Bandar Al-Saud (KSA), Ambassador to the USA; Battushig Batbold (MGL), banker and financial analyst; Lord Sebastian Coe (GBR), double Olympic champion in 1980 and 1984, World Athletics President.
On 17 June 2020, the ISOH Executive Board held a virtual interim meeting. “Present” were: President-Elect Christian Wacker, Vice-President Kostas Georgiadis, Secretary-General Markus Osterwalder, Treasurer Héctor Argüelles, IOC Representative Richard Pound, Executive Board Member Philip Barker and President David Wallechinsky. Not present: Executive Board Member Volker Kluge and Executive Board Member Cesar Torres.

ISOH website
The website is ISOH’s outreach to the general public. Mark Maestrone is responsible for maintaining the technical aspects of the site, but no one is in charge of content. One challenge is how to drive traffic to the site, particularly through the Google search engine. A committee was formed to address the issue including Héctor Argüelles, Philip Barker, David Wallechinsky, and Cesar Torres.

Treasurer
New treasurer Héctor Argüelles reported that the transition from previous treasurer Ghassan Haddad is going smoothly.

IOC subvention
It was decided that Wallechinsky, Osterwalder, Argüelles, and Wacker will work together to submit ISOH applications for IOC subventions, with the advice of Richard Pound.

Journal of Olympic History
The *Journal* is so highly praised, and so appreciated by both the academic community and the general public, that it might be worthwhile to submit it for international prizes.

Nomenclature and logo
Discussion was pursued as to whether the ISOH logo, the name “International Society of Olympic Historians”, and the name of the *Journal* are too boring and should be changed. A committee to address these issues was formed to include Pound, Georgiadis, Osterwalder, and Barker.

Editor of *Journal of Olympic History*
The board members unanimously elected Volker Kluge to be editor of the *Journal of Olympic History.*
Rescheduled General Assembly meeting

The original General Assembly meeting scheduled for May in Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse had to be postponed because of COVID-19. The Board would like to reschedule the meeting for October or November 2020. Wacker and Wallechinsky agreed to continue communications with the Foundation de Coubertin.

Next meeting

It was decided to try to have another Executive Board meeting in late August.

Elections to the ISOH Executive Committee 2020–2024

According to the statutes, the members elect a new board every four years, always in the year in which the Summer Olympics take place. These elections 2020–2024, have been held for the eighth time since the foundation in 1991.

In March of this year I sent all members an e-mail asking them to send me their nominations by post or electronically by 5 April 2020. Since some members do not have an e-mail account, I sent them a letter by post.

Due to the corona pandemic, it is possible that individual members have not received my letters on time due to the closure of many borders worldwide.

Since there were more candidates on the list for the same function, it was now possible to vote. In mid-April, all members received the voting documents again by e-mail or by post with the request to cast their vote by 10 May 2020. The result was as follows:

Elected: votes
President                Christian Wacker (GER) 92
Vice-President          Kostas Georgiadis (GRE) 70
Secretary-General       Markus Osterwalder (SUI) 93
Treasurer               Héctor Argüelles (ESP) 93
Board Members           David Wallechinsky (USA) 71
                        Philip Barker (GBR) 62
                        Cesar Torres (ARG) 35

Not elected: votes
Vice-President          Aldons Vrublevskis (LAT) 22
Board Members           Marcia de Franceschi Neto-Wacker (BRA) 33
                        Maria Bulatova (UKR) 32
                        Elmer Sterken (NED) 25
                        Maria Belyakova (RUS) 18

I thank everyone who voted and congratulate the newly elected board.

Markus Osterwalder
Secretary-General

Coronavirus and Your Journal

COVID-19 has even had an impact on the Journal of Olympic History. The last edition was completed at the end of March following the lighting of the Olympic flame. Unfortunately, international mail has since experienced massive disruptions. The magazine is normally delivered to 206 countries. The copies were sent out by Deutsche Post, but by no means did all of them make it to their destination. We believe that around 160 countries were affected, although our information is incomplete.

We have only received a few complaints and claims, so we assume that most of our readers have understood this difficult situation. We are very grateful for their patience.

In the meantime, a great number of packages have been returned. We imagine that there are still some copies at large in the postal system but it is impossible for us to determine exactly who received the Journal and who did not. In order to prevent any further unnecessary costs, we ask you to let us know whether you still wish to receive the print version of this issue or if the electronic version will be sufficient this time around. This last issue, no. 1/2020, can be found on our website (www.isoh.org) and has been made available to everyone free of charge.

We must point out that mailing hard copies will only be possible if postal shipping to the relevant countries has been resumed.

As far as this issue, no. 2/2020, is concerned, we will send out the hard copy once we have a guarantee that the dispatch will reach the recipient. In other cases we will keep the printed edition until normal postal services are resumed to ensure that it can be delivered to readers in these countries. Until then, we kindly ask you to use the electronic version.

Latest news

The UN General Assembly confirmed that the Olympic Truce for the Olympic Games Tokyo 2020 will now be observed from 16 July 2021 (seven days before the opening of the Games) to 12 September 2021 (seven days after the closing of the Paralympics).

Willi Holdorf, 1964 gold medallist in decathlon, died on 5 July 2020 at the age of 80. The West German ended his career at the age of 24 because he had to earn money to support his family. After a short time as coach and bobsledder, he worked as a representative of a major sporting goods manufacturer.
Postponing the Games of the XXXII Olympiad until 2021 is not the first major challenge the Olympic Movement has faced. Even as early as 1896, there had been proposals for adjusting the schedule of the Games.

A century ago, shortly after the end of the First World War, the organisation of the next Olympic festival in 1920 was also put to the test. The war had already claimed the Games of the VI Olympiad of 1916.

In the end, the IOC chose Antwerp to stage them, despite the appalling hardship that followed the war in Belgium and other countries. The decision came against the backdrop of Spanish flu, which claimed more lives than the Great War. The death toll from this pandemic is estimated at anything between 25 and 50 million.

Neutrality prevented division

On 4 August 1914, German troops marched into neutral Belgium. They intended to attack France on its northern flank and advance to Paris. For Great Britain, this was the signal to intervene, thus initiating what the American historian and diplomat George F. Kennan eventually described as “the great seminal catastrophe of this century.”

Scarcely two weeks went by before Pierre de Coubertin was confronted with proposals to reschedule the 1916 Berlin Games, as he wrote in his memoirs. The IOC President received tempting offers from the United States and neutral countries like Sweden, the Netherlands, and Cuba. He did not seriously consider any of them.

Coubertin’s second concern was the official seat of the IOC. Technically, a decision by the Olympic founding congress of 1894 had stipulated that it was to be relocated every four years to the country in which the next Games were to take place. It is likely that, apart from Coubertin himself, most were unaware of this, as he had been running affairs from what was essentially a home office in Paris for 18 years. However, it was a possibility that the Germans would assert claims then, which is why he moved the headquarters to Lausanne as a precaution. In addition, in January 1916, he asked Baron Godefroy de Blonay of Switzerland to act as president ad interim for the duration of the war.

Coubertin also reinforced the process of emphasising the neutrality of the IOC by refusing to favour one or other of the warring sides. As would be expected, this did not make him any friends. When, at the request of the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*, he declared that he “would not deprive Germany the right to manage the 1916 Games,” this infuriated the British IOC Member Sir Theodore Andrea Cook, who, as a journalist and influential editor of *The Field* sports newspaper, had intensively dealt with Prussian militarism and the atrocities it had led to in Belgium.

Since Coubertin, who feared the splitting of the Olympic Movement, refused Cook’s request to exclude the German members from the IOC, Cook sent his resignation to the Chairman of the British Olympic Council (BOC), the Duke of Somerset, and to the Honorary Secretary, Reverend de Courcy Laffan, on the grounds that:

*I will never be a party to any organisation, at the present time, in which Germans are admitted not merely as colleagues in administration but as competitors with representatives of other countries.*
Although Cook had the sympathy of his fellow countrymen, and with every month the hopes of still being able to stage the 1916 Games dwindled, it still did not prevent him turning his back on the IOC. For Cook, it was a matter of principle, to which he remained faithful even after the war, when he was outspoken in his criticism of British participation in Antwerp.

A death blow to “Olympic shenanigans”

Although none of the warring parties had achieved their goals despite enormous human loss and had exhausted themselves on all fronts, the rejection of the 1916 Games by the German Reich Committee for Olympic Games (DRAfOS) was not an issue. The organisation head, Carl Diem, who had volunteered for military service, forecast optimistically that the “modern war would not last that long,” which is why the sending of invitations to the potential participating countries should be postponed “until a more peaceful time.”

What followed was an angry outcry from the radical wing of the German Gymnastics Association (DT), whose anti-Olympic hostility had been something of a tradition. Its chairman, 88-year-old Dr. Ferdinand Goetz, combined his appeal to the gymnasts to fight the “slavonism that is not shying away from a world conflagration” and the “old hereditary enemy” of France, with the hope that the war would deal “a death blow to the Olympic shenanigans.”

As far as the future was concerned, however, there was no official answer. It was not Diem, who was introduced to trench warfare in the mud of Champagne, but his friend, the German Athletics Association secretary, Dr. Martin Berner, who stated in an article that the Imperial Committee could only make a decision about the 1916 Games after the war, “because almost all of his leading men are in the field.” The announcement made by DRAfOS on 4 June 1915, at the request of the Austrian NOC, was almost identical, now supplemented by the statement that the prospects had been reduced “to a minimum” by Italy’s declaration of war on Austria-Hungary.

At the time, a number of reports suggested that Coubertin had withdrawn the Games from Berlin and would be awarding them to the USA, because the DRAfOS only wanted allied and neutral states to take part. In fact, none of this was true. The entire Olympic topic did not play a role in the discussions of the Competition Committee, which met again in February 1916 for the first time since the beginning of the war.

Coubertin had already resigned himself to the fact that the Games would not take place in 1916 and said as much in an English newspaper. These Games were only important to him for statistical reasons: “An Olympiad may fail to be celebrated; its number remains. This is the ancient tradition.”

In the hope that peace would reign until 1920, Coubertin focussed on the Games of the VII Olympiad. The President of the Belgian Olympic Committee (COB), Baron Édouard de Laveleye, had presented Antwerp’s application for the first time on the sidelines of the 1912 IOC meeting in Basel, before it was officially announced one year later. Budapest presented its own candidacy at the Olympic Congress in June 1914, but with the beginning of the war, Hungarian prospects declined.

Coubertin’s travels as a propaganda spokesperson for the French army led him to Lyon on several occasions. In October 1914, the International Urban Exhibition went ahead in the city, regardless of the events of the war. Coubertin visited the unfinished stadium, planned for 35,000 spectators. There Mayor Édouard Herriot confronted him and asked if the Olympic Games of 1920 or 1924 could be held there. Coubertin was careful not to answer “no”, in order to keep several options open. Later, on 15 September 1915, Herriot and Count d’Assche, who had led the Belgian delegation in Paris in 1914, signed a contract which included the following:

The City of Antwerp has applied for the Games of the VII Olympiad (1920). The City of Lyon has also applied for this date, but declares to withdraw in advance if the liberated Antwerp maintains its bid and in this case will postpone its request to the Games of the VIII Olympiad (1924).
Count d’Assche headed the Belgian Section of the organisation, which provided aid to prisoners of War in Berne. Shortly after the armistice of 11 November 1918, Coubertin asked him whether King Albert and the Belgian government would agree to Antwerp hosting the Games in 1920 or 1924. However, it was too early for an answer. Prior to this, it was necessary to organise the ceremonial entry of the King, who had commanded the Belgian troops from the western most corner of Flanders during the war, which was scheduled for 22 November 1918 in Brussels.

But it soon became apparent that not much remained of the enthusiasm with which the Provisional Committee had submitted the Olympic candidacy in 1914. That was understandable, because the country was now in a catastrophic state. Belgium had lost 100,000 soldiers, had 79,000 wounded, and 30,000 of her civilians had been killed during the war or in the aftermath of the war. The steel industry had been completely destroyed, and livestock had been reduced by half. In the Brussels area alone, there were 100,000 refugees displaced from northern France and Flanders.

It is true that in the Versailles Treaty of 1919 Germany made a commitment to repair the damage, estimated by the Allies at 269 billion gold marks. However, since the sum, of which eight per cent was allocated to Belgium, was to be paid in 42 annuities, there could be no mention of emergency aid.

Added to this was a new invisible enemy that spread rapidly between 1918 and 1919—a pandemic that was wiping out young men between the ages of 20 and 40. Since the disease had also afflicted King Alfonso XIII and members of the Spanish government, as reported by the Madrid newspaper ABC, it was called the “Spanish flu”. The origin of the H1N1 virus is still a matter of speculation today, and variously been suggested as China, northern France, or in an American military camp in Kansas. There were a number of conspiracy theories.

The majority against, the king in favour

After Belgian soldiers fell ill for the first time in April 1918, a second wave of the flu followed from August onwards. This proved to be far worse than the first. It affected a population already weakened by the war, and malnourished. Food was only available in the meagre amounts prescribed by rationing. It made the reluctant attitude of Prime Minister Léon Delacroix towards the Games all the more understandable. Delacroix also held the position of Finance Minister, and in March 1919 he stated Belgian public debt to be at 4,158 billion francs. He was supported by both the governor and the mayor of Antwerp.

The attitude of the representatives of Belgian sport, who were confronted in February 1919 in Brussels with the unrealistic plan to organise the Olympic Games in Antwerp within a few months, was no different. The level of consent was virtually nonexistent. There were a few supporters, such as Baron de Laveleye, who had been a member of the IOC since 1913. He received support from Count Henry de Baillet-Latour, whom Coubertin had brought onto the IOC a decade earlier and would ultimately succeed him as President in 1925. Oscar Grégoire (swimming and rowing), Nicolaas J. Cupérus (gymnastics), Olympic fencing champion Paul Anspach, and Count Robert de Ribaucourt from shooting were also in favour.

The majority of delegates were opposed to going through with it. The spokesman was COB Secretary Léon Delbosse, who considered it impossible to prepare the Olympic Games within a year. “It is better,” he was quoted as saying, “to refrain from holding them ... from the outset, than to face the risk of a fiasco that could only lead to blame and reproach for the organisers.”

However, a final decision was not reached, not least because the most important sports association for the Olympic Games, the Ligue Belge d’Athlétisme, founded in 1912, was not available. Instead, those present agreed to draw up, by 1 March 1919, statements that were to be presented at the next meeting on 10 March.

The result was surprising. Instead of resistance, there was suddenly unanimous support. A propaganda campaign in the Belgian press had borne fruit. This was because it had enthusiastically welcomed the prospect of the Olympic Games in Belgium and, at the same time, accepted the request by the French Committee on National Sports (CNS) to exclude the Central Powers—Germany and Austria-Hungary—from taking part.

The Provisional Committee, which promised one million francs, also contributed to this change of
opinion, so that the financing of the Games seemed to have been secured. The cost at the time was estimated at 3.7 million gold francs.24

When the Belgian sports associations met again on 24 March 1919, the structures of the future organising committee with various special commissions were already emerging. However, the headquarters were not in Antwerp, which had been destroyed by the war, but at Rue Guimard 14 in Brussels, an office building in the Leopold district, which is now known as the European quarter. The Secretariat-General worked here under the leadership of Albert Verdyck and with a number of employees of the Belgian Football Association. Only two months before the start of the Olympics did the office move to Antwerp, where the committee moved into rooms at a bank and at the recently completed stadium.

A proposal: postpone the Olympics to 1921

Since Baron de Laveleye did not take part in the 1919 IOC Session for unknown reasons, it was left to Count de Baillet-Latour to represent Belgian interests at the meeting in Lausanne. Before his departure, however, he was commissioned by the sports associations and, on 29 March 1919, by the Belgian NOC, to propose to the IOC that the Olympic Games be postponed to 1921 and that the next thereafter be held in 1925. However, he was left with room for negotiation. If this were not approved, according to the delegates of the sports associations, they would also agree to 1920.25

Long before COVID–19, therefore, there was an intention to deviate from the Olympic cycle, which had begun with the first Games of modern times in Athens in 1896. The rules, first published in 1908, did not preclude this, because the IOC had only committed itself to “ensuring the regular celebration of the Games.”26 The rule that they were to take place every four years and that, even in the case of non-celebration, neither the sequence nor the intervals were to be changed, only appeared in the statutes of 1920.27

It is not known whether Baillet-Latour ever mentioned a postponement at the IOC Session on 5 April 1919. The brief notes of the meeting drawn up by Godefroy de Blonay merely state that the Count confirmed the 1914 request, and the IOC unanimously decided to host the 1920 Games in Antwerp. Although Coubertin had designated the session as marking the IOC’s 25th anniversary, only eight members attended,28 so it can only be assumed that the pandemic might well have prevented others from travelling. Switzerland was also hit by a second wave in autumn of 1918, which led to the deaths of 25,000 people. A third, somewhat milder wave followed in January of 1919. The surviving documents do not indicate whether such problems were addressed during the session. However, Coubertin’s recollections reveal that “certain circles”, which he did not define in detail, went to great lengths to discourage Baillet-Latour. Coubertin described Paris as the centre of a “peevish, disloyal opposition”,29 where it was demanded that the Olympic Games be held in Alsace – in Strasbourg – which had been reconquered by the Germans.

Indeed, Coubertin explained that it was a matter of common sense that it would be imprudent for German teams to appear at the Olympic Stadium before 1924. On the other hand, he did not want to announce the exclusion of any country, which might have set a dangerous precedent. Since he was unable to avoid politics altogether, he came up with a solution that he presented as finding a “middle ground”.30

Excerpt from the minutes of the IOC Session on 5 April 1919, attended by only eight members.

Item 2 of the agenda was Count de Baillet-Latour’s statement that Antwerp upholds its 1914 desire to host the 1920 Olympics.

Far left: Hotel Beau-Séjour in Lausanne, where the IOC Session was held.

Photos: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne; Volker Kluge Archive
It was agreed that the Organising Committee should invite only those countries that would be represented in the IOC. Members from defeated countries were therefore, despite knowing better, declared dead, even though this was actually true of only one, the Baron of Venningen from Germany. The list of members, which had 48 names in 1914, shrank to 38 from 29 countries.

In Belgium, the IOC decision was seen as a justified reward for the bravery it had demonstrated in four years of war. The plans of 1914 were enthusiastically pursued again, but with only 16 months left to implement them. On 14 July 1919, the foundation stone was laid for the Olympic Stadium which had been designed by the architects Fernand de Montigny and Louis Somers. In mid-March of 1920, King Albert paid an incognito visit to the construction site, and the official opening of the stadium took place in May.

While Belgium began to look forward to the Games, critical voices were heard elsewhere, and not only in countries that had been relegated to the “penalty bench” by the IOC. Instead of the Olympics, Diem was now organising German Kampfspiele (combat games), which had been discussed for years and to which the “ethnic” Germans were to be invited. He also announced, now that Germany had been excluded from participation, that “by no means would anyone imagine grovelling for participation in 1924.”

There was also resistance in the United Kingdom, where The Times published an entire series of articles challenging the Olympic Games. Two prominent athletes, the 1912 Olympic 1,500 m champion Arnold Strode-Jackson and teammate Philip Baker, were signatories to a letter calling for the Games to be postponed until after the reconstruction of the countries which had been devastated by war. The first priority was to “put our own house in order” and spend the money on other things.

That was grist to the mill for critics like Cook, who nonetheless submitted a Pindar-like ode to the Olympic Art Competitions, in which he described the Olympic festival as “Funeral Games” in honour of the fallen. He equated the participating athletes, which included Baker (destined to win 1,500 m silver), with the dead in the trenches of Ypres. In an ironic twist, Cook was awarded a silver medal for his poetic work.

An important stage – the Inter-Allied/Pershing Games of 1919

One of the reasons why Baker and Strode-Jackson, then president of the elite Achilles Club, spoke out against Antwerp, was the fear that Britain would not be able to send a sufficiently well prepared and powerful team in the short time available. Many athletes had fallen in the war, and the survivors had little opportunity to train.

In addition, the UK, like France, was heavily indebted to the United States and had also been hit by a wave of deflation, which led to a collapse of the economy in 1921. Expensive government programmes, such as “homes fit for heroes” which provided for the construction of half a million homes within three years, had to be prematurely curtailed. Many war veterans saw themselves as having been deceived.

Another challenge was demobilisation, which followed the trauma of the Great War. This was a problem not only for the armies involved in the war, but also millions of prisoners of war, internees, and refugees, and their social, economic, and cultural reintegration into society. While the German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers were repatriated within a short period of time in accordance with the provisions of the armistice, the...
demobilisation of the Entente lasted for years, partly because the old conflicts were replaced by new ones.

A particular logistical achievement was the repatriation of the approximately two million uniformed members of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), which had mostly been stationed in France. The majority were barracked in hastily built debarkation centres near the port of Brest, from where the trip across the Atlantic was to begin. However, the restrictions of the crowded camps, where the soldiers were condemned to aimlessly spend their time until departure, generated frustration and aggression.38

In this situation, a project developed by Elwood S. Brown, the Physical Director of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), was just the right thing at the right time. To compensate for the lack of relaxation and distraction, he proposed an “athletic program for the demobilization period” to the General Staff. In a letter from October 1918, he wrote:

*Peace, whether it comes tomorrow or many months from now, should find us in a state of preparedness against the inevitable period of relaxation that must be met when hostilities cease. This period will bring about an increased danger from moral temptations, will be a time of impatient waiting for the day of departure for America and will call for very constructive and interesting bodily activity if the dangers of disorderly physical expression are to be avoided.*39

Brown recommended four measures: 1. Athletics for everybody; 2. Official AEF Championships, starting with qualification competitions at the regimental level; 3. Physical pageants and demonstrations; 4. Inter-allied athletic contests, open only to soldiers of the Allied Armies, which Brown called “military Olympic Games” – a term Coubertin disapproved of, because he saw it as an attempt to suggest to the public that the regular Olympics would take place in Paris as early as 1919.

Coubertin even went so far as to approach US President Woodrow Wilson, who assured him that the Americans would never use the terms “Olympic” or “Olympiad”.40 This did not, however prevent the newspapers from describing the games as the “Pershing Olympics” or the “Olympic Pershing Games”.

Apart from such questions of naming, Coubertin recognised the great benefits of the “Inter-Allied” Games, held from 22 June to 6 July 1919 under the aegis of General John J. Pershing. As the commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, he even had a 25,000 seat stadium built by a French construction company in the Bois de Vincennes near Joinville. When workers went on strike in April 1919, Pershing ordered a troop of US soldiers to Paris at the beginning of May to finish the job. They worked around the clock in three, eight-hour shifts so the stadium could be completed on time.

The Inter-Allied Games became an important link between the Great War and the 1920 Olympics and helped the United States establish itself in Europe as a new world power. Twenty-nine teams from 18 nations accepted the invitation, which, of course, only applied to the victorious allied armies, including those in South and Central America, Asia, Africa, Australia and New Zealand, Africa, and the newly formed European states of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. As they would do for the Olympic Games as well, Britain hesitated until the last minute before announcing its participation.

The level of these competitions was remarkable. They featured a number of athletes who were destined to play an important role on the Olympic stage one year later. The list of winners includes the names of 2nd lieutenants Charles Paddock (track and field) and Norman Ross (swimming), and the boxer, Captain Edward Eagan. Captain Nedo Nadi of Italy had won Olympic fencing gold in 1912 and won the foil competition here. There was even a world record. Chaplain Fred Thompson threw the hand grenade 79.929 metres. Nonetheless, the Pershing Games were not quite Olympic.

“Mutiny of the Matoika”

Wherever the H1N1 virus came from in 1918, floating US troop transporters also contributed to its worldwide spread. There were problems on the *USS Leviathan,*
formerly known under the German name Vaterland, which had left Hoboken on 29 September 1918. Of 9,000 men on board, 2,000 fell ill in the course of the crossing. By the time the ship reached Brest, 91 of them had died.41

The number of passenger ships crossing the North Atlantic increased again with the gradual decline of the pandemic at the beginning of 1920, and with completion of demobilisation. These were still less than 40 per cent of the pre-war figures. That is why it was a wise move by American Olympic Committee (AOC) President, Gustavus Kirby, to offer both the US Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, the posts of Honorary Vice-President. As a result of their involvement, the Army and Navy agreed to transport not only the athletes within their ranks to Antwerp, but also civilians, which represented a cost saving of US$70,000.

But the departure proved to be ill-starred. The Northern Pacific, which was due to sail with the majority of Olympic participants on 20 July 1920, lost a plate from its hull at the last minute, meaning that it had to be put into dry dock and taken out of service. As a replacement vessel, the army offered the USAT Buford, which had seen service in the Philippine-American War 20 years before. The press had dubbed it the “Red Ark” because it had most recently transported 249 designated “undesirable aliens” to Soviet Russia. The Buford proved to be too small for the Olympic team, however, and with a cruising speed of 11 knots (20 km/h), was far too slow to arrive in Antwerp in time for the opening day of the Games.

The only alternative was the Princess Matoika,42 which had brought over 30,000 soldiers to New York in eight transports since the end of 1918 and, on its last tour,
had also brought home the remains of 881 casualties. The team was delayed for a week and spent the time on Travers Island and in the Fort Slocum barracks, before they were finally able to board the ship, which departed on 27 July 1920. Hardly had they boarded, when the first murmurs began about the “rusty old troop carrier”. The first-class cabins were occupied by army officers, government representatives, newspapermen, and AOC officials. Of the athletes, only the 15 female members of the swimming team were given preferential treatment. The majority of the delegation was accommodated in the lower deck, which was also referred to as “steerage”. The athletes were forced into troopship quarters in four hatchways, where there was neither sufficient privacy nor adequate sanitation. The longer the journey went on, trudging along at a speed of 16 knots (30 km/h), the more dissatisfaction grew. The sea remained calm at first, so few passengers suffered from seasickness. This changed when the hatches and portholes were closed due to the rain, making it even stuffier in the troop quarters. This was made worse because the ventilators did not work. The increasingly rough sea and rain also hindered training. The deck became slippery, leading to the risk of runners falling. There was a cork track for the sprinters, but it was only 65 yards long. The swimmers also had to improvise, having been provided with a pool made of canvas, measuring only 4.57 m long by 2.75 m wide; the first time it was filled with sea water, it burst. Meals were plentiful, but they were prepared by unskilled cooks and served by stewards who had taken this as casual work to finance travelling to Antwerp to experience the Olympic Games. When the discomfort increased to a level where some athletes even threatened to throw one or the other disliked official overboard, a group was formed to speak up for their interests. It was made up of the swimmers Harry Hebner and Norman Ross, and track and field athletes Pat McDonald and Dick Remer. In the resolution they drafted, they described the quarters as uninhabitable for highly trained athletes and were critical of the food. For their stay in Antwerp, they demanded better accommodation, residence in cabins on their return journey, and reimbursement of the railway travel expenses from New York to their homes. Officials such as AOC Secretary Frederick W. Rubien tried in vain to stop the athletes from signing the resolution. He asserted that a “Bolshevik” influence was evident in the Olympic team. In the end, however, nearly 200 signed, among them the 800 m Olympic champion from 1912, James E. “Ted” Meredith, who had fought as a pilot in the Great War from 1917 and commanded the first US Aero Squadron in France.

After his demobilisation, Meredith worked in the investment sector. In April 1920, he received inquiries from several New York newspapers as to whether he could report on the Antwerp Games for them. The 27-year-old decided that the best way to get to Belgium would be a comeback. Despite a three-year hiatus from training, his efforts were successful. In the final try-outs, he finished second in the 400 m, an event which he had posted the world record time of 47.4 seconds in 1916. Now he gave first-hand reports about the troubles on the Mataika to the press. Meredith’s wired reports to New York include accounts of athletes fleeing the
smelly rat–infested cargo hold to sleep on the hard and sometimes rainy deck at night.48

The athletes’ hope of finding comfortable accommodation, at least upon their arrival in Antwerp, was disappointed. While the navy members in the harbour continued to live on the SS Frederick and the army in Coblenz took care of their shooters and riders, the rest of the team had to move into a school on Rue Oudaen with classrooms fitting 10 to 30 people.49 However, the criticism was not directed against the Belgian organisers, who were doing their best, but against the inadequate management by the AOC, who, as a result, were forced to reorganise the following year.

This adventurous journey went down in history as the “Mutiny of the Matoika”, as related in a 1936 book by sports writer John Kieran.50 It certainly was not a mutiny in the true sense of the word but, without doubt, it was a revolt initiated by responsible athletes.

**Prague football with Scottish support**

The Pershing Games expanded the geography of sport. And yet, Prague had been a football metropolis long before Czechoslovakia was founded. The newly elected Foreign Minister, Edvard Beneš, once played as an inside right forward with SK Slavia until his career was ended by a leg fracture in 1904.

That did not end his passion for football, and so Beneš enthusiastically accepted the invitation to send an army team to Paris in June 1919, especially since many Czechs had served in autonomous units on the French side during the war. France was also subsequently regarded as the most important ally.51

Training support, on the other hand, was provided by two Scots. Scottish international footballer John “Jake” Madden travelled to Prague with his club Celtic in 1904 and decided to remain in the country. From 1905 onwards he coached Slavia, winning the Charity Cup for the first time in 1908 and then from 1910 to 1912.

Madden’s compatriot John Dick started with the German Football Club (DFC) in Prague and after the war he took the helm of its local rival Sparta, with whom he won the Czech championship from 1919 to 1921. When the country–wide championship was held for the first time in 1922, Sparta also won.

Madden travelled to Paris with a squad of 18. Ten came from Sparta and five from Slavia, all of them Czechs and all from Prague. According to goalkeeper Rudolf Klapka and defender Karel Steiner, some of them had served as volunteers in the Austro–Hungarian Infantry Regiment No. 28 during the war, and had together gone on to participate briefly in the game business in 1919.

In Paris, the Czechs began the preliminary round with a 4–1 triumph over Belgium, followed by an 8–2 victory over the USA, before beating Canada 3–2. In the final they took on the French, winning 3–2 in front of 30,000 spectators.

For the Czechs, this was not a one–off success: at the same time, a second Czech national team, which included five players from Viktoria Žižkov, was being hailed in Italy. When the two sides played against each other a month later, the “Parisians” defeated the “Romans” 5–0.

This meant that, by the time of the Antwerp Olympics, Madden had a sufficiently large pool of talent drawn from both teams to put together a powerful side for Antwerp. Fifteen players were nominated, ten of whom were already in Paris. Eleven players came from Sparta, two from Slavia, and two from Viktoria.52 The captain of the team was Dr. Karel Pešek, known as “Káda”. He already had an Olympic bronze medal, which he had won that April with the Czechoslovak ice hockey team during the Olympic Winter Sport Week.

As 15 football teams had registered, Belgium received a bye to the quarter–finals. Spain also received a walkover after Switzerland did not arrive. In their first match, Czechoslovakia beat Yugoslavia 7–0. Antonín “Očko” Janda scored three times and then another hat–trick the following day in a 4–0 victory over Norway, an unexpectedly decisive victory, since Norway had previously won 3–1 against Great Britain.

Whilst the beaten teams such as Yugoslavia contested a consolation tournament, Czechoslovakia proceeded to the semi–finals, by which time they had scored 11 and conceded none. They beat France 4–1.

On the same day, the host nation Belgium won a prestigious “Derby” with a 3–0 win against their neighbours from the Netherlands. The Belgians were known as the Rode Duivels (Red Devils) on account of their red jerseys; the nickname was coined in 1906.

A final spoiled by a “nationalistic virus”

The second day of September 1920 might have been the highlight of the Antwerp Olympic Games. That it did not
become so was not down to the Spanish flu, but because of another “virus” that had infected the masses – nationalism.

By early afternoon, the stadium was already overcrowded with spectators who were letting their anticipation run wild. Spain were in action against Italy in the playoffs. Thousands were pushed in front of the gates, and a whole battalion of soldiers had been allowed in. They were camped along the sidelines and behind the goals.

At the same time, security had discovered a tunnel that young people had built under the stadium fence. “The Olympic trench,” wrote FIFA referee Jean Langenus, “had grown into an enormous gate through which thousands poured in ... All around the stadium, fans were hanging like bunches of grapes from the colonnades and from the trees.”

Estimates put the crowd at between 35,000 and “nearly 50,000”, as recorded by Hugo Meisl. The legendary Austrian captain of the Federation was struck by the fanaticism of the crowd. He called it chauvinistic, but in his opinion the Czechs were not affected by it. Meisl marvelled at the ruthlessness of the Slavs.

For some time now, criticism had been directed not only at the referees, but also at the linesmen. Each time had the right to appoint their own but this did run the risk that they would favour their fellow countrymen. That was also the reason why the Dutch referee Johannes Mutters suspended Czech linesman Ráca in the semi-finals.

The jury was prompted to bring on board the renowned English referee John Lewis for the potentially explosive duel between Belgium and the Netherlands. Lewis had taken charge of the 1908 Olympic final but by 1920, he was already 65 years old and was hesitant. He had only been in Antwerp as a spectator. He finally agreed, upon being joined by former Corinthian player Charles Wreford-Brown and by British team captain Arthur Knight.

This Anglo-Saxon trio was entrusted with a final in which two teams of different styles were facing each other. The Belgians trained since 1910 under William Maxwell, another Scot, who preferred the British “open” game, with quick combinations at full speed and using the wingers. Their centre half was the dominating figure of Emile Hanse. During the war he had joined with other internationals to form the Front Wanderers, a team of Belgian soldiers that played charity games for the wounded and refugees in Great Britain and France.

On the other hand, the Czechs preferred the short pass game in accordance with the Scottish practice, with all forwards constantly changing position. Meisl described this as well thought out, while assessing the host’s playing style to be rather amateurish. Despite this, he assessed both teams to be equally strong.
As expected, the Belgians got off to a strong start, causing problems for the Czech defence. When goalkeeper Klapka was tackled and ended up motionless on the ground, one of the quick Belgian forwards knocked the ball towards the goal, so defender Steiner used his hand to deflect the ball. The Czechs expected the foul on their keeper to be penalised. Instead Lewis, who was used to the tough English league game, ruled the challenge permissible, but penalised the handball. Robert Coppée scored from the penalty spot. As a neutral observer, Meisl felt that this goal would never have happened in Austria, because there, the goalkeeper was considered to be "sacrosanct".56

His colleague Emmerich Rath had represented Austria at the 1908 and 1912 Olympic Games. He had been a race walker and a marathoner, but in Antwerp Rath was on assignment for the Prague Tagblatt, and asserted that the match had been spoiled from that moment on.57 Indeed, the difficulties only increased. There were numerous fouls that, when committed by the Czechs, raised the crowd’s mood to a fever pitch, to the extent that the referee’s whistle could barely be heard. Meisl wrote:

Suddenly, as if by command, the entire stadium became hushed. A flautist had just started playing the Belgian national anthem when the home team launched an offensive. Thousands upon thousands joined in song ...

At that moment, “Rik” Larnoe shot the ball into the net from a range of 20 to 25 metres and the crowd and the audience exploded into elation. The Czechs complained in vain that it had been offside.

Now that they were two goals up, the Belgians began to play with ever more confidence while the Czechs became increasingly dejected. Some let their opponents run on without attempting to challenge them. They stopped contesting the referee’s decisions, and there were suggestions that the match should be called off. In the 39th minute came the decisive incident. In an incident off the ball, Steiner deliberately attacked Coppée, who fell to the ground and had to be carried off the pitch. Steiner was sent off. As he walked off the field so did the other members of the team. Two or three hesitated, but they eventually followed the lead of the majority. There was no stopping the crowd now. The pitch was flooded with people. Adorned with a laurel wreath, team captain Larnoe was carried off the pitch, while the Czechs, who had taken refuge in the dressing room, were faced with threatening and abusive shouts, which inevitably included the slur “boches”.59 The referee tried in vain to persuade them to return. Belgium were declared Olympic champions. A result of 5–0 was entered in the record.60

The Czechoslovaks lodged their protest with the jury that same night. Their appeal included three allegations: 1. Contrary to the rules, the Czechs had been denied their own linesman; 2. Most of the referee’s decisions were alleged to be incorrect; 3. The Czech team felt provoked and threatened by the large number of Belgian soldiers on the touchlines. There was also an allegation that the crowd had torn down the Czechoslovak flag and defaced it; this later turned out to be incorrect.61

The appeal was heard two days later, and rejected. The jury gave the Czechoslovak Football Association a period...
of 24 hours to apologise in writing to the Organising Committee, the International Football Association (FIFA), the referee, and the linesmen. When no reply was received by 4 September, the Czechoslovak team was disqualified retroactively for the entire tournament. This meant they also forfeited the chance to play for the silver medal. They had already left Antwerp anyway, the day before.

Half a century later, I met Josef Sedláček, the last living Czech player. Then 81, he told me that it was football president Dr. Otakar Petríck who was the leading protagonist in advising the team to walk off. This was done in order to prevent the nation from being disgraced. Sedláček thought the referee was overwhelmed. He recalled that, because Lewis had been beaten by fans at an earlier game in Prague, he was thought to have been ill disposed towards the Czechoslovak team: “We knew we were going to have to pay for the past.” His view remained unchallenged.

So, the Games of the VII Olympiad ended in discord, but this was not to diminish the great performance of the Belgian hosts. The 1920 Games, which took place immediately after a terrible war and during a pandemic, were an important milestone and proof of the viability of the Olympic Movement.

The Belgian Professor Roland Renson has compared it to the herbal liqueur Elixir d’Anvers, a typical Flemish speciality, which is perfect blend of 32 plants from all corners of the world. In other words, it is good for stomach aches of all kinds.

3 Coubertin, Circular Letter to IOC Members, January 1916, Lausanne, Olympic Studies Centre (OSC).
4 La Stampa, 15 February 1915.
6 Letter, Theodore A. Cook to Duke of Somerset and Reverend de Courcy Laffan, 15 April 1915, OSC.
7 Letter, Cook to Coubertin, 8 July 1915, OSC.
8 Deutsche Turn-Zeitung (DTZ), no. 33, 13 August 1914, 628.
11 Fremden-Blatt, Vienna, 18 June 1915, 4.
13 Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 10 May 1916.
14 Coubertin, Olympic Memoirs, 167.
15 Exposition internationale urbaine, from 1 May to 1 November 1914.
16 Édouard Dimitri, Marquis d’Assche, Comte van der Noot (1860–1928) was the former Master of Ceremonies of King Leopold II and the Head of Delegation of Antwerp to the 1914 Olympic Congress in Paris.
18 Ibid., 30.
19 King Albert I, who rode a grey so that the masses could easily distinguish him from the riders on the dark horses, was the first monarch to recognise the importance of constantly being accompanied by the press and film. Cf. Exhibition Brussels, November 1918, BEVIE Holding Brussels, Brussels, 26 September 2018–6 January 2019.
20 Treaty of Versailles, Articles 231–247, Compensation (28 June 1919), in: documentArchiv.de (ed.). During the Nazi dictatorship, reparations were completely discontinued. They were resumed in 1953 with the London Debt Agreement. The last instalment of 200 million euros was transferred to Belgium in 2010.
21 ABC, Madrid, 22 May 1918, 24.
Belgium are the Olympic champions, but were also considered world champions by the International Football Federation (FIFA). A separate World Cup was not introduced until 1930.

Photos: Belgian Olympic Committee

23 Neues Wiener Tagblatt, no. 63, 5 March 1919.
24 Official Report, Anvers 1920, 15. The sum amounted to approximately 623,500 USD, according to today’s purchase value approximately 7.2 million USD. The actual cost was 4,638,085.01 F (1920 approx. 580,000 USD). With revenues of just over four million, the deficit was 626,022.50 F.
25 Neues Wiener Abendblatt, 26 March 1919, 6.
26 Comité International Olympique, Annuaire [1908], Règlement, OSC, 7.
27 Comité International Olympique, Statuts, Règlements relatifs à la célébration des olympiades, 9. What was meant specifically can only be learned from the 1924 version, which states: “The Olympic Games must take place during the first year of the Olympic which they are to celebrate (thus in 1924 for the VIIIth, 1928 for the Xth, 1932 for the XIIth, etc.). Under no pretext whatsoever can they be adjourned to another year. Their non-celebration during the year chosen is equal to the non-celebration of the Olympic and involves the annulment of the rights of the town chosen and the country to which this town belongs.” This wording was omitted when the 1991 Charter was revised. The rule in force until 2004 stated: “The Olympiad begins with the opening of one edition of the Games of the Olympic and ends with the opening of the following edition.” According to the currently valid Charter, rule 6, bye-law 3, the XXXII Olympiad began on 1 January 2020 and will end on 31 December 2023.
28 Minutes, 18th IOC Session, Lausanne, 5 April 1919, OSC, 3–4. Present were Pierre de Coubertin, Godefroy de Blonay, Count de Baillet-Latour, Reverend de Courcy Laffan (UK), General Carlo Montu (Italy), Jean-Maurice Pescatore (Luxembourg), Raul de Rio Branco (Brazilian minister based in Bern and representing his country in the League of Nations from 1920), and Count José de Penha Garcia, representing Portugal at the Paris Peace Conference 1919–1920. In addition, present as a guest was Baron Sven Hermelin of Sweden, who had transported to Lausanne those Challenge Prizes that had been returned to the Swedish NOC after the war.
29 Coubertin, Olympic Memoirs, 177.
30 Ibid., 178.
31 Alongside Baron von Venningen, who fell in October 1914 at the head of his squadron in France, his compatriots Count Adalbert von Sierstorff and Count Adolf von Arnim-Muskau, the Austrians Count Rudolf von Colloredo-Mannsfeld and Prince Otto von Windisch-Graetz, the Hungarians Count Géza Andrássy and Jules de Musza, the Bulgarian Dimitri Stanicoff and the Turkish Selim Sirri Bey Tarcan were removed. With the exception of the Germans and Austrians, however, they were tacitly listed as members again from 1922.
32 Minutes, 18th IOC Session, 1919, 1–4. The seats of Argentina, Chile, New Zealand, and South Africa were considered “vacant”, but two of them were occupied during the session (Chile and New Zealand). At the time of the Olympics, the IOC had 41 members. The seats of Argentina and Poland remained vacant.
34 Sporttagblatt, Vienna, 4 November 1919, 5. In speech given by Diem, he announced the German Combat Games for 1921. However, they did not in fact take place until 1922 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (winter) and Berlin (summer). Like the Olympic Games, they were held every four years until 1934. The idea of a “national Olympia” in response to Coubertin’s international Olympics dates back to 1894.
36 The Times, 28 May 1919. Strode–Jackson (1891–1972), originally Jackson, had given himself a double name in 1919. At the time, he was the youngest Brigadier-General in the British Army and a member of the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Baker (1889–1982) also bore a double name from 1921: Noel–Baker. He was a Member of the Parliament of the Labour Party (1936–1970) and a minister in the Attlee government (1946–1951). He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1959 for his contribution to disarmament.
38 In the middle of the second wave of the pandemic, 1.5 million men were demobilised in February 1919. The last combat unit officially left France on 1 September 1919. However, since the US troops also participated in the so-called Polar Bear Expedition against the Red Army in Northern Russia, the final withdrawal lasted until April 1920.
39 What was meant specifically can only be learned from the 1924 version, which states: “The Olympic Games must take place during the first year of the Olympic which they are to celebrate (thus in 1924 for the VIIIth, 1928 for the Xth, 1932 for the XIIth, etc.). Under no pretext whatsoever can they be adjourned to another year. Their non-celebration during the year chosen is equal to the non-celebration of the Olympic and involves the annulment of the rights of the town chosen and the country to which this town belongs.” This wording was omitted when the 1991 Charter was revised. The rule in force until 2004 stated: “The Olympiad begins with the opening of one edition of the Games of the Olympic and ends with the opening of the following edition.” According to the currently valid Charter, rule 6, bye-law 3, the XXXII Olympiad began on 1 January 2020 and will end on 31 December 2023.
The former high-speed, Norddeutscher Lloyd mail steamer was Meredith (1892–1957), who like his uncle Edwin was only known as "Ted", graduated from Mercersburg Academy in 1912 and the University of Pennsylvania in 1916, where Lawson Robertson was his coach. From 1932 to 1935 he worked as his assistant. He then coached the Czechoslovakian athletics team for the 1936 Olympics and the Cuban team for the Central American Games in 1938. He finished fourth in the semi-finals over 400 m at the 1920 Olympics and was a member of the American 4x400 m relay team, which took fourth place. Meredith also was a sports writer for many periodicals and had been a member of the American 4x400 m relay team, which took fourth place. Meredith also was a sports writer for many periodicals and had been a member of the American 4x400 m relay team, which took fourth place. Meredith also was a sports writer for many periodicals and had been a member of the American 4x400 m relay team, which took fourth place.
Rise of the Reich in Mandate Palestine: The NSDAP, Jerusalem YMCA, and “Participation” of Attallah Kidess in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (Part 1)

By San Charles Haddad

NB: This is the second article in a series for Journal of Olympic History (JOH) that explores Mandate Palestine’s connections to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. The Nota Bene from the first article also applies to this article. All articles in the series should be read in sequence.

Foreword

The archival material on Attallah Alexander “Ted” Kidess (1910–1999) is scant, but the incomplete narrative paints a captivating picture. Kidess's fragmented story also raises important questions. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify further Kidess's history with his family, because my efforts to do so resulted in a strongly worded letter from a lawyer.

Nevertheless, Kidess is important to examine in order to improve our understanding of the 1936 Olympic Games. Between 1935 and 1947 he served as the physical director of the Jerusalem Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), which sourced the unstudied Palestinian delegation to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. This delegation’s presence in Berlin suggests that Palestine factored into the Nazis’ instrumentalization of sport, perhaps even in support of the Party’s broader objectives in the Near East, although exactly how and for what purpose remains to be determined.

In general, the archival documents that I reviewed on Kidess create a lasting impression that he spent his life’s work in the US promoting internationalization through sport and physical education. In Mandate Palestine, however, Kidess was associated with the ardent nationalistic Arab Palestinian Sport Federation (APSF), which countered the efforts of Yosef Yekutieli’s Maccabi-oriented Federation of Amateur Sport Clubs of Palestine (FASCP). Both organizations served as incubators of national sport governing bodies and a pathway toward obtaining Olympic recognition. Only one movement would prevail, and, in May 1934, the Zionists obtained the coveted recognition of the Palestine Olympic Committee (POC) from the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

Failed efforts, new approaches

After the Jerusalem YMCA failed, in 1930, to convince Arab and Zionist sport organizations to establish the Palestine Olympic Games Association (POGA), it was the Arabs who first formed, in June 1931, the APSF. Yekutieli and his Zionist sport colleagues only followed suit on
December 26, 1931, with the founding of the FASCP. The Zionists stuck to their end of the bargain by not advancing unilaterally the establishment of an umbrella organization for all Palestinian sport. When the Zionists finally moved to establish the FASCP, they probably did so after learning of the Arab camp’s own unilateral moves. These moves might have come to light because Article 6 of the Ottoman Law of Societies required the sport associations to publish their registrations through the government.  

According to research by Khalidi (2013), Kidess was not a part the APSF’s founding. However, in 1965, Springfield Student reported that, “[h]e ... was the secretary and the technical advisor of the Palestine Sports Federation from 1935—1947.” In 1944, both he and his brother, Spiro Kidess, were part of its reestablishment. Spiro Kidess served on the APSF’s central committee with eight other members. According to Khalidi, Attallah Kidess was also a referee for the APSF and served on the federation’s disciplinary committee with two others, one of whom was Hussein Fakhri Al Khalidi, a member of the Supreme Arab Committee (SAC). The SAC represented the Arab Palestinians’ political positions to the High Commissioner for Palestine. Perhaps it was through Hussein Al Khalidi that the APSF procured limited financial support and patronage of the SAC for its activities. The APSF was active between 1931 and 1936, the year in which the Great Arab Revolt broke out. It then lay dormant until 1944, when it was reestablished. It is important to recall that, as a result of the failure to form a POGA, the Jerusalem YMCA “began forming the Arab Amateur Athletic Union, not to reverse the imbalance..."
of power, but to allow for fairer representation of the Arabs and help them work with Jews cooperatively in the field of sports.” Therefore, the articles of organization of the Jerusalem Athletic Club, submitted to the government on April 4, 1931, demonstrate how the Arab camp worked against this spirit.

Article III, Section 2 of the document stated, “The Active members shall consist of Palestinians [sic] Arabs residing in Jerusalem.” Article VI, Section 4 clarified further this racial composition at the level of the clubs’ working committees, adding a religious clause: “The officers of the Executive Committee or any other committee shall consist exclusively of Palestinian Arabs, 2/3 of whom shall be Christians.”

Article VIII—Amendments made sure that this exclusivity could never change: “Amendments to this constitution except Article VI, section 4, shall be submitted in writing 30 days prior to any regular meetings of the Club, and may be made part of this constitution by a majority vote of active members present and voting.” Article VIII further articulated that, “By Law” the purpose of the organization was “[t]o cooperate with the Palestine Arab Amateur Union [APSF].” Reviewing Khalidi’s work, we see that such a clause existed in the APSF’s own governance documents, too: “The [APSF]’s internal regulations stipulated that no member club was to have any relationship with Jewish organizations, ‘Article 6 – Establishing the Federation,’ states that: ‘The federation consists exclusively of Arab, non-Jewish institutions and clubs in Palestine; each of these clubs has to be involved in a minimum of one sport. All clubs must include no Jewish members (with the exception of the YMCA).’ This suggests that, from the outset, both the Arab umbrella organization and its affiliated clubs worked in lockstep to incorporate racial and religious clubs that excluded Jews. Despite faithfully upholding the open platform of the Jerusalem YMCA that employed him, Kidess seems to have been comfortable, over many years, in supporting the more exclusive platform of the APSF, too.

The Zionists would have interpreted these maneuvers as proof that the Arab camp had no intention of cooperating in sport, even though the Zionists had agreed that Arab sport leaders be given time. “[T]he formation of the Palestine Olympic Games Association … was postponed until such a time as the Arabs will be sufficiently organized.” The administrative report for 1930 of the Jerusalem YMCA noted how, despite the Arabs being frustrated by the domination of Jews in sport, this domination was “also instrumental in awakening the Arabs to the realization of their need of cooperation and the development of the spirit of service to their country on the part of their leaders and that the YMCA is an instrumental agent in bringing about these changes.” Yet, it appears that the Arabs interpreted the grace period as a window of opportunity to get ahead of the Zionist sport camp, rather than cooperate, by founding their own exclusive organization. Although the Jewish camp did not react immediately, Yekutieli had already begun to establish national federations. Yekutieli used a bottom-up approach, having learned from the recognition of the Palestine Football Association (PFA) that he had obtained from FIFA, in August 1928. Yekutieli seems to have understood that this approach would achieve a certain international legitimacy for Zionist sport organizations and
maintain the advantage in their favor. Of course, this approach required that the articles of organization for Zionist sport bodies comply with international standards – a requirement that the Zionists did not hesitate to fulfill.

Both the APSF and FASCP were operating in an extreme political environment, even if they both appeared, prima facie, to act in an apolitical manner. But the key difference was that, contrary to the Arab camp, the Zionists codified their commitment to keep their sport organizations open to all. This ensured de jure compliance with international sport regulations, irrespective of any de facto realities on the ground. In contrast, Arab sport leaders made clear, both in their statutes and their correspondences, that they were only open to “Arabs” of Muslim and Christian background, often blaming “the Jews” for not incorporating them. In fact, the Arab Palestinian position only came into compliance with the Olympic Charter in 1993, thereby enabling the IOC to recognize a revived POC incorporating them. In fact, the Arab Palestinian position refused to do so for over 60 years.

Consequently, it should come as no surprise that archival material on Kidess depicts a conflicted profile, constituting a bifurcation with respect to (1) the open platform that he advocated for his employer at the Jerusalem YMCA and (2) the more personal contacts that he maintained within Arab Palestinian sporting circles.

On the one hand, there is nothing unusual about this: Kidess’s disposition reflects the composition of Palestine and its politics at the time. Certainly, once Kidess was in the US, he left aspects of his old self behind, as did many people who came to the US after the war. On the other hand, one aspect of Kidess’s pre-war life appears, to this day, cloaked in particular secrecy – his role leading the Palestinian sport delegation to Berlin, and this delegation’s connection to what happened to Heinrichs, the man who hired him and enabled his study and eventual career at Springfield College. While this article does not claim to lift this veil entirely, it does shed some light on the context in which Kidess operated and the long-forgotten Palestinian delegation that he led to the “Nazi” Olympics.

### Doubtful claims

As far back as 2004, I had chosen Kidess as the main Arab Palestinian protagonist (representing the Arab position in sport) for my book. I conducted my research in phases while on holiday from work. I did not have a chance, until the autumn of 2015, to look more closely at his papers at Springfield College. “The majority of materials were donated September 13, 2005” by two family members (Accession No. 205-18). After the 1948–49 Arab–Israeli War, Kidess spent the remainder of his life at Springfield College, a key administrative and technical training college of the YMCA Movement (now independent thereof). Toward the end of his career he served in the prominent role of vice-president of the college. By the time I arrived on campus to review his papers, I knew most of the history of the Palestine Olympic file. Or so I thought.

In Springfield, I was astounded to read claims, across several decades, that Kidess was captain of a Palestinian football team that participated, on the field of play, in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. The claims in news articles included details about life in the Olympic Village and were reinforced by his personnel records, which touted his Olympic experience. As examined in my first article for JOH, there should have been no delegation from Palestine in Berlin.

I was dismayed to exclude, under pressure, many of the details of this delegation in my book. As I wrote, “the history … seems to be of a highly sensitive nature.” This is not only the case for the Arab camp, which is implicated in secret negotiations. The possibility, reported by *Westland*, that Zionists negotiated directly...
with senior Nazi officials (Goebbels or Göring) regarding the Palestinian Olympic file also raises eyebrows.26

In the case of Kidess, I must be perfectly clear: I make no claim that he ever had any formal affiliation with the Nazi Party (NSDAP) or espoused Nazi doctrine. I also do not insinuate that Kidess sought connections or was connected with Nazis through his own effort. In fact, during the time that the Nazis managed to eject Heinrichs from the Jerusalem YMCA, Kidess was not even in Palestine: he was completing the first of two years of study in Springfield, Massachusetts. But the Nazis certainly infiltrated the Jerusalem YMCA while he was away, and, in 1935, Kidess returned to Palestine and captained the Palestinian football team that traveled to the Berlin Games.

If the Kidess story were true — that he was a legitimate Palestinian Olympian in the 1936 Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin — then he would be among Palestine’s long-forgotten first Olympians, who should hold their rightful place in history.

The problem is that the Kidess story, as told in the material at Springfield College, is extremely partial (in all senses of the word). On the other hand, the information conveys Kidess’s impressive athletic achievements and lifetime commitment to international education. On the other hand, polite attempts to learn more about Kidess’s Olympic story produced a comparatively stern letter from a lawyer.

As I stated in my book, “I lay out facts and raise questions for others to examine and for which I could not find answers. These outstanding questions are relevant, of public concern, based on archival evidence, and indicate that our understanding of the Nazi Olympics has been missing a few pieces of the puzzle for quite some time.”27

The NSDAP takeover of the \textit{Palästinadeutsche}, 1932–1939

As early as 1952, H. D. Schmidt documented how, during the 1948–49 Arab–Israeli War, “news came from the southern outskirts of Jerusalem that Israeli soldiers had picked up swastika flags, Hitler Youth badges, Nazi pamphlets, and German passport forms found in a disused concrete building.”28 He described his visit to the location to investigate, and the scene of a “floor of an empty, spacious hall littered with files, some of which were rotting from exposure to moisture. Examining the files I found that they contained documents of the National Socialist Palestine Headquaters.”29

Schmidt’s account is one of the earliest to document how the \textit{Palästinadeutsche}, a community of ethnic Germans in the Holy Land, was taken over by the NSDAP, essentially sealing its fate of deportation.30 Schmidt’s article sheds light on NSDAP tactics to influence the psychology of these \textit{Auslandsdeutsche} and, inter alia, provides some insight into how the psychology of Arab coreligionists, in conflict with Zionism, might have reacted.

The \textit{Palästinadeutsche} became established in Ottoman Palestine during the late 19th century, having “acquired considerable cultural influence and prestige in Syria and Palestine. German schools, institutes, hospitals, orphanages, etc. were numerous and among the best in the Middle East. The presence of some 2200 German Christian residents, approximately 1800 of which were settlers belonging to the Protestant \textit{Tempelgesellschaft} (Temple Society), ... helped to generate considerable prestige and good will from all segments of society, Moslem, Christian and Jewish.”31 Heidemarie Wawrzyn (2013) notes how the majority of the NSDAP in Mandatory Palestine was sourced from this society,32 which was dedicated to German Pietism.

Ottoman subjects fought on the side of the Central Powers in the First World War. (Kidess had two uncles who died in the war.33) After the war, the \textit{Palästinadeutsche} were interned by the British and only permitted to return to their homes in 1920.34 Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, a board member of the Jerusalem YMCA (whom Heinrichs would ultimately consider among a triumvirate of opposition to his efforts), also served in the war. Canaan was married to a German, Nora Eilander. Heinrichs recorded how, during his final nine days in Jerusalem (and before becoming aware that he had to leave), he attended the funeral of her father, Dr. Eilander (not a member of the NSDAP): “He was 82, born a R. C. [Roman Catholic] but buried in the Temple Society plot. We walked down and my presence was noted but not particularly welcomed by the German members of the YMCA.”35

In 2014, Norbert Schwake analyzed an album of photographs for \textit{Jerusalem Quarterly}, which appears to have belonged to Canaan: “Tawfiq Canaan was from the beginning one of the most important persons on the front. He must have been on very good relations with Ahmad Jamal Pasha, the Ottoman ruler of Syria, and the ultimate military commander of Palestine.”36 Schwake based his analysis, in part, on a photo that depicts “Dr. Canaan in the rear of Jamal Pasha’s personal car. The driver is Friedrich Fast, the owner of the Hotel Fast near Jaffa Gate, who was responsible for the army’s food supply.”37

Canaan had a brother, Wadie Immanuel, who “was severely wounded in the 20 September 1918 British attack on Nazareth”38 and, shortly thereafter, died in Cairo. Schwake remarks how “Wadie held German citizenship and became an officer in the mixed German–Ottoman machine gun companies 601–608 when complete German units were brought to the Sinai front ... Several photographs show Wadie’s comrades in his machine gun company, among them Hermann Schneller who
later was the director (third generation) of the Schneller institutions in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{38}

These names might appear irrelevant, except for the fact that they were central figures in a Palestinian–German milieu that influenced sport in Palestine. Some served as a gateway for the Nazis to extend Germany’s influence in the Holy Land. Most did not mesh well with Heinrichs. Although an American of German descent, Heinrichs had fought on the side of the Allied Powers and abandoned, in a sense, his German–ness. He was an example that stood in stark contrast to certain Nazi obsessions: “The strong concern of the NSDAP was the continuation of the German language, traditions, and character summarized in the term Deutschtum.”\textsuperscript{39} The Palästinadeutsche, unlike Heinrichs, held principles that predated and aligned with this Nazi concern. This did not make the whole community pro–Nazi, and only a minority of the German community in Palestine eventually joined the NSDAP. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that those who did join the NSDAP – and the Arabs who were sympathetic to them – were consequential, especially in sport through the Jerusalem YMCA.

Some of the Palästinadeutsche associated with the Association, like Schneller, secretly joined the NSDAP during Heinrichs’ tenure as secretary–general. Some even served in its governance and administrative structure. Consequently, it should come as no surprise that this Germanic milieu also had a strong influence on the board of the Jerusalem YMCA: in addition to Canaan, Heinrichs also included another board member, J. Gordon Boutagy, in his triumvirate of opposition. Heinrichs’ diary entries regarding Boutagy read as a catalog of personality and value confrontations, sometimes fierce. The Boutagys were of French Anglican descent. Despite Boutagy’s clear support for the Nazi–driven action against Heinrichs, Johnny Mansour (2016) has documented how one of Boutagy’s brother’s, Charles Boutagy, actually worked for British intelligence and was associated with the Nili Network during the First World War.\textsuperscript{40}

Canaan is an example of a pre–Mandate individual who lived in a post–war mindset that inculcated hallowed respect for his relatives’ sacrifices during the war. Canaan, however, did not extend this attitude as a courtesy to Heinrichs. Heinrichs had served in aerial combat over France, was shot several times in his SPAD, captured by the Germans, and nearly died in a prison hospital in Metz.\textsuperscript{41} It took him over a year to recover, and he was permanently disabled in his left arm. After Heinrichs fled Jerusalem and was still aboard his ship bound for New York, Canaan wrote to Frank Slack at 347 Madison Avenue, saying:

“He has suffered during the last war – more than most of those who had served in any army – from severe shocks, diseases, wounds, pain, operations and prolonged convalescence, which conditions have left him in an irritable nervous state and weak power of judgment ...”\textsuperscript{42}

In reality, Heinrichs and Canaan were far from being on friendly terms. After the takeover of Germany by Hitler, Heinrichs never had a chance at the Association because of its excessively pro–German milieu. And even before the complete Nazification of Germany, there were barriers to Heinrichs’ success because of the anti–Zionist attitude of many of the Arab board members. In a private paper, dated 1978, Nicholas Lattof, Heinrichs’ associate secretary–general, recalled how the Arab board members (which included all the people ultimately involved in Heinrichs’ ouster) were immediately oppositional upon knowing that Heinrichs had met with Frederick Kisch within days of his arrival in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{43} This meeting threatened to undermine the Arab efforts to establish national governing bodies that constitutionally excluded Jews.

“At the very first meeting of the Board of Directors that Mr. Heinrichs attended, he referred to a conversation he had with a Jewish leader in Jerusalem. A leading Palestinian member said this: ‘Mr. Heinrichs, we would like to suggest that you have to be careful in dealing with the Jews.’ Mr. Heinrichs banged his fist on the table and said with emphasis, ‘If this is all the confidence you have in me, I better go back home.’ After the board meeting, the Palestinian board members got together. I overheard them say, ‘This man comes from India and he thinks he can treat us like he treated the Indians.’ After that, the Palestinian board members had their doubts about Mr. Heinrichs.”\textsuperscript{44}

The Palästinadeutsche community into which Canaan married was ripe for takeover by the NSDAP. These Auslandsdeutsche could be divided into two broad groups: (i) Reichsdeutsche, German citizens living...
The Hotel Fast flying the Nazi swastika banner. In the lower left is the Travel Office of Waldemar Fast, the agency responsible for all particulars associated with the Berlin Games. Fast eventually joined the SS and allegedly participated in the Holocaust on the eastern front (Wawrzyn, 2013, pp. 109–110).

When, in 1932, Germany began discussions about establishing a Nazi network in Palestine, the Auslands-Abteilung “wanted to know the views and personal contacts of the German consular personnel, the nature of the German and general press of Palestine and, above all, requested detailed information about the communal leaders of the German colonies.” As was the case with Nazi tactics in Germany, Party members in Palestine would neutralize opponents through a network of generally younger community members, which it utilized as spies. The aim of these networks was to sideline the traditional and more senior community leaders.

After the establishment of the local NSDAP cell in Jerusalem in June 1933, such a spy network was deployed in the German Colony (down the road from the Association) and against the German Consul General Heinrich Wolff – whose wife was a Jewish convert to Protestantism. Heinrichs commented on the changing power dynamics in his diary, following Wolff’s comments to him about a soirée at the French Consulate (that both men attended): “The German Consul says it is done for swank and to impress upon the Near East the importance of France. He said France could well afford it and here was the representative of the once proud Germany, a Consul General de Carrière, not knowing even where he stood with Hitler in the saddle at home.” Perhaps because of this changing landscape, Heinrichs began avoiding the Fast Hotel. Only five days earlier, the German consulate in the city had begun flying the swastika banner.

Schmidt (1952) divided the period during which the Party seized control of the Palästinadeutsche into two periods: (1) the Party’s establishment and growth between 1932 and 1933, and (2) the NSDAP efforts between 1934 and 1939. The latter period coincides with the Nazis’ successful ejection of Heinrichs from the Jerusalem YMCA and the instrumentalization of sport in the lead-up to the 1936 Olympic Games. The replacement of Wolff, in 1935, by the more ardent Nazi Consul General Walter Döhle, was the climax of the Party’s struggle with the Palästinadeutsche: during this period, “[t]he centre of leadership was moved from Haifa to Jaffa” and “[b]efore long the settlements were all brought under effective Nazi control.”

This climax coincides with the return of Kidess from Springfield College to Palestine. Kidess was also from Jaffa, where the NSDAP leadership was now located. “In June, 1935, upon graduation, he received a telephone call ... from N.Y. to hurry back to Jerusalem immediately because the man there in charge of Physical Ed (also an SC man) had had an accident. Five days after graduating, he was on the boat to return to his native land.”

Upon arrival, Kidess replaced this man – Frederick Auburn. To date I have not found documents that confirm Kidess’s account of the call, or who it was who called him. To the contrary, in 1936, both Lattof (the associate
secretary-general) and Auburn (the physical director) were removed from the YMCA in opaque circumstances that appear to have nothing to do with Auburn’s health. I found no information in the Kautz Family YMCA Archives in Minnesota to support Kidess’s assertion that Auburn was injured. We simply understand that Auburn was on furlough, and that a personal conflict had re-emerged between Lattof and Auburn. Heinrichs’ diary documents that this trouble was long-standing, and that he tried to fix it before he left Palestine.59

The NSDAP cell in Jerusalem

“In the summer of 1933 Nazi membership [in Jerusalem] had risen to 42, or 2.3 per cent of the German population in Palestine. From October 1933 recruiting for the Nazi Party was intensified … Special attention was given to the education of the young. Nazi circulars emphasized that the battle for the minds of the young must also be won as a means of controlling the minds of the adults.”60 This is probably a main reason why the NSDAP instrumentalized sport in Palestine. There was already an established network of German sport clubs in Palestine in which the Palästinadeutsche congregated for social events and exercise. The Deutscher Sportverein (DSV) branch in Jerusalem was the kind of organization that could facilitate a takeover of the community by the NSDAP: “Political control was much easier over a group of people who were socially isolated.”61

So, why did Nazis among the Palästinadeutsche join the Jerusalem YMCA and begin their agitation at all? This constituted a clear break beyond the boundaries of their community – the formal target of their Nazification efforts. There had to be an agenda. After all, official guidelines for Party members abroad actually forbade their engagement in local politics, even in conversation.62 Exactly the opposite transpired at the Jerusalem YMCA between the end of 1933 and throughout 1934: the Nazis’ agitation was widely covered in the local and international press and emphasized political issues.

Chapter 9 of my book describes in full detail the Nazi agitation. In November 1933, Herbert Liebmann (NSDAP no. not identified)63 requested that the Association’s Reading Room replace its subscription to the Frankfurter Zeitung with the Völkischer Beobachter,64 the newspaper of the NSDAP. Liebmann sent his request within days of the arrival in Jerusalem of Nazi propaganda agent Dr. Iven, by way of Kabul, Afghanistan, from Goebbels’s Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Heinrichs refused Liebmann’s request on principle. The tension that arose became threatening enough that Heinrichs was compelled to flee Jerusalem on March 9, 1934. Shortly thereafter he met with Kidess65 in Springfield and, by September 1934, Heinrichs was permanently removed from the YMCA,66 although it was publicized to his network as a resignation.67

It is possible that, as early as September 11, 1933, the Nazi cell in Jerusalem had influenced the Association’s rejection of sport cooperation with the Jews.68 Ten weeks later, in his letter to Baillet-Latour, Kisch would allude to the Jerusalem YMCA as an obstacle to cooperation in sport.69 Shortly thereafter, Heinrichs fled Jerusalem and Kisch was forced to deny a report in the newspaper, Westland, that he had conducted negotiations with senior Nazi officials regarding the Palestine Olympic file.70 When Yekutieli wrote to the editor of the paper to refute the claim, he suggested that the paper had fallen victim to a deception.71 Westland refused to

[High-level reconstruction of the organizational chart of the Jerusalem YMCA showing confirmed and probable Nazi penetration. Reconstructed from various sources at Yale University Library, Divinity Library Special Collections, and the Kautz Family YMCA Archives. Source: San Charles Haddad.]
This cross-border linkage is important because (1) the geographic region and its communities are small and historically well-connected and (2) the linkage sheds light on how the Arab position might have responded to the perceptions of the NSDAP’s regional ambitions. After all, even the Jerusalem YMCA had its own cross-border relations in Lebanon: one of the highest profile members of the International Committee of YMCAs (ICYMCA) came from the Dodge family, Americans with deep connections to the American University of Beirut. This, in part, explains the many sport exchanges that occurred between the Jerusalem YMCA and this American university, located only a half day’s drive to the north.

What could the cell in Jerusalem learn from NSDAP efforts in the north? Could Arab National Socialism (NS) help fracture French domination of Syria? Might Palestinian nationalism achieve the same with respect to British aspirations in Palestine? Dan Tamir (2011) has pointed out that, “[t]he only ‘Arab’ state which had such [NS] institutions is Lebanon. And indeed, it is there where one can see the development of genuine local ‘Arab’ fascism: Lebanon was the cradle of at least one fascist and one Nazi party, namely the ‘Falangas’ ... [Phalange], or in their Arabic name Kata‘ib] ... and the Syrian National Socialist Party, respectively ... However, the existence of a fascist movement in one country does not rule out the existence of such a movement in its neighbouring country.”

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported on such Arab NS activity in Palestine: the agency ran an article about the efforts of one Bethlehem resident, Eissa Bendek, to establish an Arab NS party in the territory, with the support of French fascists. Thus, the interest was present among some, primarily Christian, Palestinians – however remote. This has important implications for Arab sport, because many Christians were central to sport development, not just in Palestine but regionally, too. In fact, in the case of Lebanese football, the founder of the Phalange, Pierre Gemayel, actually instrumentalized the 1936 Olympics to establish his NS-inspired party.

I surmise, based on the archival evidence, that the Arab Palestinians desired a similar instrumentalization at the same Games, although not for the purpose of establishing a political party; rather, the Arab Palestinians probably intended to achieve international recognition from the IOC, FIFA, and International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), just as Gemayel was able to achieve for the Lebanese athletics and football federations at the Berlin Games.

In May 1936, Germany sent instructions to the NSDAP in Palestine that, “the next objective must be the total organization of every single German in one form or another so as to ensure unity of command. This directive was supplemented by an endeavour to cut off Germans from non-German organizations, thus sealing the German

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**Image Description:**
- Young boys exercising inside the Jerusalem YMCA gymnasium.
- Kidess is the tall man standing in the background, just under and to the left of the basketball hoop and backboard.
communities into a hermetic compartment of totalitarian pressure.” Yet, the Jerusalem YMCA had already been penetrated in 1934 and, in the summer of 1936, it sent the delegation from Palestine to the Berlin Games. This implies that the Association retained a special status for the NSDAP, especially if Palästinadeutsche comprised the delegation.

From April 1938 onward, a veil of strict secrecy was placed over Party activity: “no unauthorized persons were allowed to see Party correspondence and no written information could be transmitted to outsiders without prior authority from the District Office ... In case of an official ban on Party activities preparations were made in 1937 for camouflaging the Hitler Youth as a Sports Club and the Party as a German Society.” So, it appears that sport was not just a primary instrument, but also considered the final resort for advancing NSDAP interests in Palestine.

### NSDAP instrumentalization of sport in Mandate Palestine

Kisch and Yekutieli had secured the agreement of a Muslim resident of Jaffa (Ali Bey Mustakim) to serve as vice-president of the POC. They appended Mustakim’s acceptance letter to their own request to the IOC as evidence of the POC’s fully representative nature. This satisfied the IOC, which consequently granted recognition of the new Olympic committee.

But there was another letter sent – by the Jerusalem YMCA – directly to the Organizing Committee in Berlin. This letter seems to have been present in Athens with the Germans, but not discussed with the IOC. There appears to have been a second channel of communication about the Palestine Olympic file more than two years before the Games (and established during Heinrichs’s ouster), because the Association was corresponding with the Organizing Committee and still sourced the Palestinian delegation to the Games after Kisch and Yekutieli had boycotted them.

Keeping in mind the pro-German milieu at the Jerusalem YMCA and the German-language fluency of many of its members, it is possible that an NSDAP-aligned Arab faction attempted to influence the Olympic outcome, which by necessity would include the removal of Heinrichs. After all, even Westland had warned its readers that Maccabi Germany was not in a position to outsmart Goebbels. Perhaps Maccabi Germany had been duped about Kisch after all? I could not locate the original Association letter to the Organizing Committee to identify who (from the Jerusalem YMCA) signed it, but Theodor Lewald himself referred to it in his correspondence to the German Consul in Jerusalem. I shall discuss this correspondence chain in more detail in my next article.

Who brought the NSDAP into the Jerusalem YMCA? Its engagement might have resulted from Germany’s proactive projection of influence beyond its borders in relation to Olympic issues in Palestine and the broader Olympic boycott effort. Or did someone in the Arab camp invite that Nazi agitation? It is hard to say: however, Schmidt (1952) identified how “[p]olitical and secret agents whose tasks were never specified in the correspondence were, so far as the documents show, invariably appointed outside Palestine and entered the country in the guise of tourists and correspondents. On the whole Palestine was regarded as unfavourable ground for political contact with the Arabs, because it was under British administration and possessed a Jewish intelligence force partly employed by the Government, which on several occasions had proved a nuisance.”

This subterfuge is curious, because the ambivalence of Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP toward sport – before the Party’s realization that the Games of the XI Olympiad presented an unparalleled propaganda opportunity for the New Germany – is well documented. Yet, in Mandate Palestine, sport was actually a seminal and primary instrument that the Party used to influence the political landscape. Already by 1930, a Nazi sympathizer and architect named Karl Ruff had “planned to found sports clubs in Haifa and Sarona,” two of the German colonies in the territory, “to organize German youth in Palestine.” Ruff eventually joined the Party, with his membership (NSDAP no. 879372) retroactive to January 1, 1932.

That year, Ruff also established the Landesgruppe Palästina / LP in coordination with Ernst Bohle of the Völkischer Beobachter.

Herbert Liebmann’s letter requesting that the Jerusalem YMCA subscribe to the NSDAP’s official paper, the Völkischer Beobachter.

Source: University of Minnesota Libraries’ Department of Archives and Special Collections, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA 9-2-2 Records of YMCA International Work in Palestine and Israel, Box 5, Folder 9. Reproduced with the permission of the Kautz Family YMCA Archives.
Overseas Department (Auslands-Abteilung) from 1931–1934) in Hamburg. By July 1932, only two months after Heinrichs arrived in Jerusalem to assume his role, Germany was encouraging Ruff “to introduce an organizational network for Nazis in Palestine.” The network of Deutscher Sportverein / DSV was already in existence in the various German colonies, with active branches in Haifa, at Sarona (near Jaffa), and in Jerusalem. By late 1934, NSDAP efforts to take over the board of the DSV Jerusalem branch succeeded. This branch was located a short distance from the Jerusalem YMCA’s new building.

The core cell that actually formed the local Nazi group (Ortsgruppe) in Jerusalem, on July 1, 1933, comprised Ludwig Buchalter (NSDAP no. 1751392, Ortsgruppenleiter / group leader), Hans Kirchner (NSDAP no. 1751590, Hitler Youth leader), and Erich Hermann (NSDAP no. 3280666). The same Ortsgruppe ejected Heinrichs from his role at the Association on March 9, 1934. In the wake of his departure from the Association, the IOC recognized the POC dominated by Zionists (with whom Heinrichs had been in negotiations to represent the Arabs in sport governance). This nascent Olympic body officially received – and declined – the invitation to participate in the XI Olympiad in Berlin. Yet, Kidess showed up in Berlin anyway at the head of a Palestinian delegation and allegedly competed and lost in football competition there in the third round.

Kidess’s story as told seems impossible. Palestine was not included in the Official Report of the Olympic football competitions in Berlin. If Palestine had competed, reaching the third round would have meant that the Palestinian team was a semi-finalist. The teams that actually achieved this status came from Italy, Norway, Poland, and Austria. Yet, for years Kidess would include his connections to the Berlin Games on his CV, retained by Springfield College in its personnel files. Springfield College does not seem to have protested or investigated Kidess’s Berlin Olympic credentials on the few occasions that it was shared publicly. However, in 1979 (after the 1972 Munich Massacre), Kidess received a distinguished service award: on the occasion, the Springfield College Bulletin adjusted the language that it used to describe Kidess’s Berlin credentials, identifying him much more vaguely “as captain of the Middle East [emphasis added] Soccer Team on which he played during the 1936 Olympics.”

Why seek to be associated with the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games after the horrors of the Second World War, especially if the attendance was not official? Certainly official capacity was implied by an article in the Springfield Sunday Republican, dated December 17, 1961: its title was “Meet Dr. Kidess: SC Vice-President Well-Known Educator and Olympic Athlete.”

To answer such a question, one must ask whether the NSDAP’s instrumentalization of sport included the formation of the Palestinian delegation to the Berlin Games. The answer to this question is still not clear; however, it is unlikely, given what we know today about the Nazis’ control over the Games, that this delegation did not coordinate its presence with Germany (perhaps through the Nazi cell in Jerusalem that ousted Heinrichs). This does not mean that all delegation members (if it comprised only Arabs) knew of the coordination. For example, Kidess was in the US from mid-1933 to mid-1935. At the same time, archival evidence tells us that Kidess kept in touch, from Springfield, with the Jerusalem YMCA regarding the Nazi agitation that arose there. He was certainly not ignorant of what had transpired, in real time, because he met with Heinrichs within two weeks of his boss’s return to the US. Heinrichs’ diary confirms that they discussed the “Jerusalem situation” at their meeting. The only “situation” was that which the Nazis had created. Given that Kidess knew of what had been done to the man that had hired him, his attendance at the Berlin Games becomes even more curious. Only Kidess is associated by name with the delegation, even in the contemporaneous media of the time. On September 2, 1936, Filastin newspaper reported the delegation’s return to Palestine:

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Article from Filastin newspaper, one of the two most prominent Arabic-language dailies in Mandate Palestine, published in Jaffa. The article announced the return of Kidess and his YMCA delegation from the Berlin Olympic Games and appeared on September 2, 1936, on page 5.

“Return of the Travellers to Watch the Olympic Games
Jerusalem, 1 September: – Returned from Germany, the team of members of the YMCA, who travelled to it under the presidency of Mr. Attallah Kidess, athletic director, to watch the Olympic Games. And there they engaged in presenting the required information for the Palestine Question.”

The wording of the news coverage suggests that Kidess himself was central to the delegation’s formation, if not actually the initiator. Given the use of his name, he might also have been the person who provided the news (of the delegation’s return) to the Jaffa-based newspaper. The article also links Kidess and the delegation to a political purpose: the Palestine Question (presumably, in sport).

The Arabic wording that described Kidess’s relationship to the delegation is bi n’asat, which translates literally as “under the presidency.” This term conveys the same meaning as Chef de Mission, which in Arabic is ra’ees wafid, i.e. “head of delegation.” This suggests that Kidess was not just captain of a football team (which is actually only referenced vaguely with the word fareeq, meaning “team”), but that he was also the chief administrator of the delegation. If Kidess organized the delegation, then why would he have done so knowing that the Nazis had penetrated the Jerusalem YMCA to great effect?

Kidess’s time in the US (1933–35) corresponds to a period during which the NSDAP subtly and explicitly cemented its control of all aspects of German life. The Party pursued a number of important social institutions (e.g. urban schools).113 In the case of the Reichskonkordat, the Party targeted successfully one of the largest, most influential foreign institutions in Palestine, and the only one that was in the position to influence the outcome of efforts to form an umbrella organization representative of national sport governing interests within the territory.

Of course, the same period witnessed the much more explicit and sinister targeting of domestic German Jewish athletes. Mario Kessler (2013) noted that the Nazis announced a Jewish boycott on April 1, 1933. By June, the IOC was compelled in Vienna to note the possibility of moving the Games from Berlin.114 (This same period witnessed Heinrichs’ hosting of the dedication of the new Jerusalem YMCA and the formation of the NSDAP cell in Jerusalem.) The German assurances given to maintain the Games, which I surmise included the Nazis’ tacit consent of the IOC’s recognition of the Palestine Olympic Committee, ultimately contributed to a “false sense of security.”115 The continued mistreatment of German Jewish athletes and the “poor material conditions”116 of their clubs were among the many reasons that a large number of notable Jewish athletes from other countries decided not to participate in the Games. Among the list of athletes that Kessler noted were Judith Deutsch and Ruth Langer, renowned swimmers from Austria. Deutsch eventually emigrated to Palestine with her family after the Anschluss. At the height of the Great Arab Revolt, Yekutieli, in his unpublished article “The Maccabi Soldier,” wrote about her prowess in the pool:

“Judith Deutsch, recently immigrated from Austria, has established a new Palestine record of 200 m free-style race her time being 2:47,6 minutes for the 200 m, and her times for the 50 m and 100 m also being better than the Palestinian records. Her younger sister, Hannah, set up a new 100 m back-stroke Palestinian record in 1:36,1.”117

Nazi ideology also targeted the Maccabi World Union (MWU). In 1933, the Romanian government forcibly cancelled the European Maccabbiad in Czernowitz. Contemporaneous media reports stated the reason for the cancellation as the discovery of a plot to assassinate Lord Melchett.118 Born Henry Ludwig Mond, Lord Melchett was the honorary president of the MWU and an important financier of Zionist development in Palestine. He attended both the first and second Maccabbiads and coordinated MWU affairs with Chaim Weizmann of the World Zionist Organization.

Shortly before the total seizure of power by the NSDAP in Germany, Melchett had travelled to Berlin to discuss matters concerning the Maccabi Movement.119 Commenting on the occasion of his trip to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Melchett “explained the conception and meaning”120 of the MWU: “The idea behind the Maccabee Movement is very old and appears to me to comprise three factors: natural resistance to oppression, physical and moral discipline, and development of courage for the realization of our ideal,’ Lord Melchett stated... ‘On the Maccabee, and on the Maccabee alone, rests the responsibility for changing this side of the Jewish character. Physical and spiritual preparedness give one the power with which to confront one’s adversaries. They give him faith in himself, and the presence of mind to master and to control his feelings.”121 Such language was of a nature that would place anyone squarely in the Nazis’ sights: a Party propaganda poster identified Melchett among the Mischlinge (a German pejorative term for half- or quarter-Jews) whom the Nazis considered central to a conceived global conspiracy of International Jewry to influence Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin against Germany.
It is important to recall the dynamics of Jewish–Arab sport cooperation in Palestine immediately before these Nazi actions. First, the decision, in 1930, of the Jewish and Arab sport camps to delay the formation of a POGA was based, in large part, on the Zionists’ consent to a proposal, advanced at the Jerusalem YMCA, to postpone formation until such time that the Arab camp could get “sufficiently organized.” Second, the appointment of Heinrichs as secretary-general of the Jerusalem YMCA, in the spring of 1931, was central to the efforts to reinforce the Arab camp. Third, despite Heinrichs’ visit to Jerusalem that same spring to accept his role and meet Arab sport stakeholders – like Arab Sports Club at the home of Fakhri Bey Nashashibi – the Arabs were still dragging their feet.

By July, Lattof (a native speaker of Arabic) expressed his concerns about the Arab attitude to Frederick Ramsey. Lattof had just concluded meetings with the Zionist camp on the sidelines of the Second Annual Cross Country Championship for Palestine, which had included 107 participants from Jewish, Arab, government, and corporate clubs. He told Ramsey, “The Arab [sport] organizations are at present very weak. Unfortunately, their enthusiasm is sporadic. They say much and accomplish little. Auburn is helping along this line. Six of his Senior Leaders are members of the Orthodox [Christian] Sports Club and several YMCA members are active in the Arab Sports Club.”

Lattof was a local raised in the region (in Tarsus, Syria, to the north) but had become a naturalized American. During the First World War, he worked in a factory in Tarsus producing clothing for the Ottoman Turks, to avoid being conscripted into Christian labor corps that had high fatality rates. His opinions of Arab behavior, as expressed to Ramsey, can be considered frank, imbued with an innate cultural awareness, and representative of the behavior that he observed. Lattof’s report is among the many archival documents that demonstrate how the Association was itself instrumentalizing sport – in this case to coordinate Arab sport interests with the Jewish camp, in conformity with the YMCA and Olympic Movements’ internationalist principles.

By 1933, the Arab attitude, identified by Lattof in Palestine’s approximately 20 Arab clubs, was also on display among the Arab board members of the Jerusalem YMCA – the organization most important to securing the Arabs’ representation in any territorial Olympic committee. The Association’s boycott of the First Maccabiah, while agreeing weeks later to participate in the trials of the Syrian Olympic Games organized in Tel Aviv, but is but one example of the contradictory behavior that Heinrichs, Lattof, and Auburn constantly faced.

The Arabs’ inconsistency in word and action, as well as the scale of the new building, were driving factors in the creation of the position of associate physical director, which Kidess filled. Only Heinrichs could recruit the staff, a point that irked the board because many of its Arab members did not want Jews working in the building (and Heinrichs hired Jews). Heinrichs conducted his interviews personally and likely identified Kidess among the 350 intensive sessions that he conducted in June and July of 1932, interviews that Kidess – or perhaps time – inflated to 600 when he recalled them in his 1961 interview with the *Springfield Sunday Republican*. As associate physical director, Kidess would eventually become the most highly trained Arab Palestinian sports leader of the day, dutifully executing the Association’s mission. He owed this as much to his own efforts as to Heinrichs’ support for his receipt of the YMCA scholarship that paid for his Masters course work at Springfield College in the US.

Despite Kidess’s close connection to Heinrichs, the material deposited by his family at Springfield College does not mention the man who hired him, save for a copy of the marketing pamphlet *Holyoke in the Holy Land*. The Springfield material about Kidess’s YMCA history also contradicts other archival records, reinforcing the enigmatic quality I associate with Kidess. For example, one article clipping from the *Springfield Republican* (dated January 6, 1959) implies that Kidess was hired directly into the role of physical director in Jerusalem, which was not the case at all. Perhaps, only a reporter’s error, but material in Minnesota suggests that other factors played a role in his rise at the Association: As previously mentioned, Kidess only assumed the top job during the murky dismissal of Auburn (while on furlough) and the subsequent flight of the Lattof family from Jerusalem (on May 16, 1936) immediately before the Olympic Games.

Whoever the rest of the delegation members were, it most certainly would have formed during the spring of 1936. If the Palestinian football team that Kidess captained in Berlin was a hybrid of *Palästinadeutsche* and Arabs, that would have been enough to dismiss the foreign senior staff (the Americans, Lattof and Auburn), who would have been in the position to approve a budget for the delegation. Yet, it still would have been difficult – because of the local politics – to fire Kidess and dismiss any Nazi *Palästinadeutsche* who were members of the Association: too much time and money had already
been invested in Kidess at Springfield College, and the Association’s reputation could not afford another thrashing from the Nazis, who so publicly managed to ouster Heinrichs two years earlier. The experience in 1934 had raised concern of an international scandal among the members of the International Committee of YMCA.137

In addition, the Great Arab Revolt (1936–39) had just begun. Foreign staff would have been in a weak position to resist any proposal from the Association’s physical department committee regarding Berlin. The absence of the 1936 financial report of the Association, which should be archived in Minnesota, is curious: the corresponding folder includes the two correspondences to which the financial report was attached when it was mailed to the New York office, but not the actual financial reports.138

This supports the theory that someone removed the financials in New York before they were archived decades later, perhaps to obscure the Association’s funding, through local revenue, of the delegation to Berlin. The local budget (as opposed to the international accounts that paid for the salaries of foreign staff and building maintenance) would have been an ideal financial instrument to support the Berlin delegation. These funds lacked advance international scrutiny because the Association only reported them annually to New York, usually at the end of the first quarter, when the annual report for the preceding year was submitted. Still, Heinrichs’ absence from the Kidess papers is not surprising: in The File, I demonstrate how Heinrichs was written out of the Jerusalem Association’s popular history, and that even C. Howard Hopkins’ authoritative “history of the YMCA Movement through the mid-20th century, ignored Heinrichs’ contribution. More than that, it implied that [Frederick] Ramsey was the secretary-general who had extended the invitations to the dedication999 to the new building in Jerusalem.

Concluding remarks, part 1

In his conversation with the reporter from the Springfield Sunday Republican in 1961, Kidess mentioned how, after two months of his employment with the Association, “two men sent by the Y from New York looked over the program at the Y, passed his probation, and asked if he would like to continue with work in the Y by going to Springfield College on A[sic] scholarship. He said yes, and came to SC in [19]33 with a scholarship that paid part of his tuition.”100 This narrative does not align perfectly with the Association’s records and Heinrichs’ diary accounts of the staff recruitment process. The staff had been onboarded in November and December 1932,101 the interviews having taken place earlier between June and September.102 Kidess seems already to have been in the picture as early as October 22, 1932103 and Heinrichs recorded that, by November, he was playing tennis with him: Heinrichs beat Kidess in a noon tennis match (7–5) and then played doubles with him against two others, which Heinrichs and Kidess won (6–4, 6–1).144 Regarding the scholarship, Heinrichs’ diary account records that the cable confirmed “tuition and room-rent”145 for Kidess. Kidess’s 1961 account of his first travel to Springfield also excludes the important detail that the Heinrichses (including Heinrichs’ father, who had traveled to Jerusalem) hosted personally the Senior Leaders dinner, at which the Association’s staff bid Kidess farewell.146 In general, Kidess seems to have obscured Heinrichs’ role in the development of his career with the YMCA Movement, a matter that I will discuss in more detail in my next article.

By late 1934, Heinrichs might have begun to suspect something about Kidess, because his correspondences about the Nazi agitation with Kidess the folder at Yale that houses Heinrichs’ letters with friends from the YMCA Movement (General Correspondence from YMCA Friends, Box 2, Folder 24). Perhaps Heinrichs destroyed these exchanges with Kidess: on November 13, 1934, Heinrichs sorted and burned his material relating to Jerusalem, two months after he had been permanently removed through Nazi agitation.147 One thing is certain, without Heinrichs, Kidess likely would have had a different life. Instead of finding his pathway to America through the YMCA and Springfield College, he might have been trapped in the Middle East after the 1948–49 Arab–Israeli war, perhaps experiencing “The Plight of the Trans–Jordan Refugees” about which he spoke, in 1955, at a fundraising event for those displaced from the Holy Land.148, 149

2 The letter was dated March 20, 2019. I will not disclose more details herein, except to say that I was told that I was welcome to access any public documents having to do with Kidess. Except for the private papers of the Lattot family, I confirm that the sources for this article are all public documents, including those housed at Springfield College, the finding aid for which identifies the material’s Terms of Access and Use as “Unrestricted.” Source: Jeffrey Monseau, “Manuscript Number MS 528 Atallah A. Kidess Papers, Ca. 1930–1959 (Finding Aid),” 528, Atallah A. Kidess Papers, Springfield College Archives and Special Collections (Springfield, MA, 2017), 3. https://springfieldcollege.contentdm.oclc.org/digitalcollection/15375?collid=179981.
5 Issam Khalidi, One Hundred Years of Football in Palestine (Amman: Dar Al-Shorouk for Publishing and Distribution, 2013), 32–33.
6 Springfield Student, “Article, International Center to Be Created on Springfield Campus, April 30, Box 1, Folder 9,” 528, Atallah A. Kidess Papers, The Springfield College Archives and Special Collections (Springfield, MA, 1960).
7 Khalidi, One Hundred Years, 46.
8 Ibid., 53.
9 Ibid., 46.
10 Ibid., 71.
11 Haddad, The File, 81–82.
14 Ibid.
Olympic Films 1998-2018: Emphasis on Human-Interest Stories

Part 5

By David Wallechinsky

1998 – Nagano

There are two official films of the 1998 Winter Olympics, both produced and directed by Americans. Nagano ‘98 Olympics: Bud Greenspan’s Stories of Honor and Glory, is another of Greenspan’s made-for-TV movies, but only two hours long.

The limitations in Greenspan’s approach to official films appear in this one. Although he does show us all the goals in the inaugural women’s ice hockey final, there are some significant aspects of the Nagano Games that are left out. For example, there is no mention of the fact that this was the first time that professionals from the National Hockey League (NHL) could compete in the Olympics, which led to a thrilling final between the Czech Republic and Russia. There is also no mention of snowboarding’s first appearance in the Olympic programme or that curling was back after 74 years. Biathlon, which is not included in the film, was affected by Japan’s strict gun laws. The biathletes had to keep their rifles under lock and key and could only retrieve them after submitting to a retina scan.

Greenspan focuses on seven stories. He opens by following the fates of two 31-year-old downhill skiers, both of whom are competing in their fourth Olympics. Jean-Luc Crétier of France had never won a World Cup race. But his wife encourages the disheartened skier to give it one more try. Brian Stemmle of Canada almost died after a terrible skiing accident in 1989. At the Nagano Games, Crétier has the run of his life and takes the lead, which holds up through the rest of the 15 seeded skiers. Then Stemmle, in the 20th start position, takes off and betters Crétier’s split times. However, late in the course, he catches a rut, misses a gate, and is disqualified. Greenspan shows us the two skiers’ contrasting emotions, which are extreme.

The film follows Bjørn Dæhlie’s attempts to set the record for most gold medals by a Winter Olympics athlete. He is thwarted by fellow Norwegian Thomas Alsgaard, who defeats him in the pursuit event. But in the 4x10 km event, it is Alsgaard who stretches across the finish line ahead of Italy’s Silvio Fauner to give Dæhlie, who skied the third leg, his record gold. Later, the camera follows Dæhlie as he uses all of his body's...
energy to win the 50 km race, defeating Niklas Jonsson of Sweden by 8.1 seconds. As Dæhlie lies face down in the snow, unable to stand and barely able to breathe, Jonsson crawls over to him to congratulate him. That’s what the film would have us believe. However, at the medal–winners’ press conference, Jonsson told the media what he really whispered to Dæhlie was “Why didn’t you go nine seconds slower?”

Greenspan also tells the stories of Dutch cyclist Leontien Zijlaard’s battle with professionals in the men’s 4x100 m freestyle relay. He gives us a lengthy section about the overall victory of Cathy Freeman, who talks about fulfilling her dream by taking her victory lap carrying both the Australian flag and the flag of the Aboriginal people. In the women’s 800 m, Maria Mutola, competing in her fourth Olympics, wins Mozambique’s only Olympic gold medal. The evening culminates in the thrilling last lap of the men’s 10,000 m, as defending Olympic champion Haile Gebrselassie of Ethiopia outlasts defending silver medal winner Paul Tergat of Kenya to win by less than one-tenth of a second.

Other segments portray two stories in the decathlon. Chris Huffins of the United States improves his personal best at 1,500 m by 12½ seconds to earn the bronze medal. Meanwhile, Erki Nool of Estonia survives an overruled foul on his last discus attempt to win the gold medal. A close-up shows Nool almost touching the edge of the rink with his shoe. Although it is not mentioned in the film, a 30–page analysis of the controversy, released several months before Sydney 2000: Stories of Olympic Glory, concluded that Nool did, indeed avoid a foul … by nine millimetres.

Greenspan uses excellent camera coverage of Australia’s victory over the United States in the men’s 4x100 m freestyle relay. He gives us a lengthy section about Dutch cyclist Leontien Zijlaard’s battle with...
anorexia and her spectacular comeback to earn gold medals in cycling on both the track and the road. The equestrian three-day event is portrayed through the stories of Andrew Hoy of Australia and David O’Connor of the United States.

Greenspan presents a detailed accounting of the US victory in the baseball tournament by focusing on coach Tommy Lasorda, whose microphone picks up a seemingly endless string of bleeped obscenities. Greenspan might have done better to have highlighted a few of the other team events. For example, the US softball team ended their 112-game winning streak by losing three games in a row – to Japan, China and Australia – but came back to defeat the same three teams and win the tournament. In the inaugural women’s water polo tournament, the Australians defeated the United States in the final with a goal with 1.3 seconds to play. And by winning the women’s 4x100 m relay, the Bahamas became the smallest nation (population: 270,000) to win a team event in any sport.

**2002 Salt Lake City**

For *Salt Lake City 2002: Bud Greenspan’s Stories of Olympic Glory*, Greenspan concentrates on six stories, five gold medal winners, and one winner of a bronze medal.

The first story, that of US skeleton slider Jimmy Shea, is irresistible. Shea’s grandfather, Jack Shea, recited the Athletes’ Oath at the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Olympics and then won two gold medals in speed skating. Shea’s father, Jim Shea, competed in cross-country skiing and Nordic combined at the 1964 Innsbruck Games. Thus, Jimmy Shea was a third-generation Olympian. His story and that of his family are told by weaving together archival footage, interviews, and skeleton action. Seventeen days before the Opening Ceremony of the Salt Lake City Olympics, Jack Shea, who had planned to watch his grandson compete in person, was killed by a drunken driver. At the Opening Ceremony, Jimmy Shea reads the Athletes’ Oath, just as his grandfather had done 70 years earlier. Then he joins his father and helps carry the Olympic Torch inside the stadium. He goes on to earn the gold medal and reach inside his helmet to extract a photograph of his grandfather. A close-up shows him wearing one of his grandfather’s gold medals when he receives his own at the Medal Ceremony. Not mentioned in the film is that 12 days after the Games, while speaking at the high school he attended, he appeared to accept illegal underage drinking. This was particularly awkward because his family owned the liquor store on Main Street in Lake Placid.

In another heartwarming story, we meet the Kostelić family from Croatia. With all the stories one hears about parents who push their children in sports, Ante Kostelić comes across as a refreshingly positive influence on his children, daughter Janica and son Ivica. Competing with her brother’s name painted on her fingernails, Janica wins the Alpine combined and goes on to earn two more gold medals and one silver. Ivica also competes at the Salt Lake City Games, placing ninth at the giant slalom and falling on the second run of the slalom despite being the World Cup leader. Unbeknownst at the time of the film, Ivica would earn silver medals at each of the next three Winter Olympics.

Extended coverage of the men’s ice hockey tournament is presented from the point of view of Wayne Gretzky, who is chosen as executive director of the Canadian team, and Mario Lemieux, who competes in his first Olympics at the age of 36. Despite losing to Sweden in their opening match and struggling to qualify for the final, the Canadians defeat the United States, and Canada wins the Olympic tournament for the first time in 50 years. Greenspan points out that one-third of Canadians watched the final on television. In fact, it was the most watched TV broadcast in Canadian history – until the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics.

Having already covered Italian cross-country skier Stefania Belmondo in his 1988 film, Greenspan reviews her Olympic history, including having her gold medal from 1992 shattered and having her skis, along with those of the rest of the Italian team, stolen two weeks before the Salt Lake City Games. Belmondo is leading the 15 km race when, with 4½ kilometres to go, her right pole snaps. Using a long-distance shot with Belmondo highlighted, we watch as she panics. A French coach hands her a pole, but it is a man’s pole and too long for her. Then a member of the Italian support team gives her a pole, and, having fallen back to tenth place, she is able to regain the lead and win the race. She later tells Greenspan’s crew that she had been screaming in despair, but “but now my screams were joyous ones.”

Next, we follow the attempts of two female aerials skiers to win Australia’s first Winter Olympics gold medal. When favourite Jacqui Cooper is injured in training at the Salt Lake City Games, Australian attention turns to Alisa Camplin, who had incurred nine concussions during her
comparatively brief competitive career. She had told her family not to travel to Salt Lake City, but her mother and sister go anyway without telling her and congratulate her after her victory. She tells them, “What are you doing here? You’re so naughty.”

The final story is that of bobsledder Brian Shimer of the United States, who earns a bronze medal in the four-man event, his first Olympic medal, while competing in his fifth Olympics. In 1992, Shimer had become the first bobsledder to be disqualified for overheating his runners. This incident is briefly touched upon in the film, with Shimer implying that such a thing could have occurred.

2004 – Athens

Just like the 2002 official film, Bud Greenspan’s Athens 2004: Stories of Olympic Glory tells the stories of five gold medal winners and one winner of a bronze medal. This time, it is the bronze story that is the most moving. Pyrros Dimas was born in Albania. A member of the Greek minority, he fled to Greece in 1991 and was immediately given Greek citizenship. The following year, he earned a gold medal in light–heavyweight weightlifting at the Barcelona Olympics. Because hurdler Voula Patoulidou also became an Olympic champion, it was the first time since 1896 that two Greek athletes won gold medals at the same Olympics. Greenspan shows us the heroes’ welcome that the two receive upon their return to Greece, including a special ceremony for them held at the Panathenaic Stadium that was used for the 1896 Olympics. Dimas won again in 1996 and 2000. By the time of the 2004 Games, Dimas, plagued by injuries, is past his prime, but he wants to compete in Athens. He tries to win the gold medal, but he is unable to hold a clean and jerk weight that would have been easy for him four years earlier. Still, he places third. At the Medal Ceremony, when the bronze medal is placed around his neck, the Greek spectators give him a ten-minute standing ovation. Visibly deeply moved, Dimas later says, “I left with two medals that day: one the bronze which was given to me by the officials, and a gold which was given to me by the people – with their love.”

We also meet Polish swimmer Otylia Jędrzejczak, who wins the 200 m butterfly and then auctions off her gold medal and gives the proceeds to a children’s hospital for leukemia victims. Also profiled are fencer Mariel Zagunis, who wins the inaugural women’s sabre event to become the first US fencing champion in 100 years; softball pitcher (and hitter) Lisa Fernandez, who leads the United States to its third consecutive gold medal; and 20–year-old Australian cyclist Anna Meares, who wins the 500 m time trial in world record time after her older sister, Kerrie, withdraws from contention for the Olympics because of a bad back injury. The segment about Fernandez does go into the fall and rise of the US softball team in 2000, which was left out of the Sydney film.

More dramatic is the profile of Hicham El Guerrouj of Morocco, who had dominated the 1,500 m for eight years, but had never won an Olympic final, having fallen in 1996 and placed second in 2000. As narrator Will Lyman tells us, in 2004, if he loses in Athens, El Guerrouj would become one of the greatest runners to never earn an Olympic gold medal. But he does win the 1,500 and then gains a second gold medal in the 5,000 to become the first runner to win both races since Paavo Nurmi 80 years earlier.

The limitations of Greenspan’s approach are again evident in this film, which does not explain the use of important historical venues. The women’s and men’s shot put events were held in Olympia, site of the Ancient Olympics. The marathon route followed the one used at the first Modern Olympics in 1896, and the original Panathenaic Stadium from 1896 was used as the venue for the 2004 archery events.

2006 – Torino

Bud Greenspan’s Olympic films were characterized by four goals: 1) tell good stories; 2) emphasise the best of the Olympic Movement, its message of peace and friendship; 3) remind viewers that it is possible for athletes (and others) to overcome adversity; and 4) emphasise that, in the words of Pierre de Coubertin, “The most important thing is not to win but to take part.” While remaining true to the first three ideals, Bud Greenspan’s Torino 2006: Stories of Olympic Glory gives up on number four by concentrating only on gold medal winners – five of them.

As in his Athens film, Greenspan makes good use of split screens. In his coverage of the Opening Ceremony, he
includes Luciano Pavarotti, in his last public appearance, performing “Nessun Dorma” from Giacomo Puccini’s last opera, _Turandot_.

The first story is that of US speed skater Joey Cheek, who wins the 500 m race and places second at 1,000 m. Inspired by Johann Olav Koss, he donates his prize money ($40,000) to Right to Play, the philanthropic organization Koss founded in 2000. We see him in Chad, playing with child refugees from the Darfur region of Sudan. (Just before the Opening Ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the Chinese government revoked Cheek’s visa because of his criticism of its support for the Sudanese dictatorship.)

Other segments deal with Japanese figure skater Shizuka Arakawa and Norwegian Alpine skier Kjetil André Aamodt, emphasising their struggles with injury and self-doubt.

Not surprisingly, the most attention is given to two Italian Olympians: speed skater Enrico Fabris and cross-country skier Giorgio Di Centa. Fabris talks about competing in a sport for which Italians have little interest. In Italy, 300 people belonged to speed skating clubs, whereas in the Netherlands, there were 170,000 speed skating club members. Fabris becomes an overnight sensation when he earns Italy’s first-ever speed skating medal and then adds two gold medals. Di Centa talks about his father, who besides teaching skiing, spent 40 years as a baker. “As a family,” Giorgio explains, “there was always lots of cross-country skiing – and always plenty of bread.” Greenspan reviews the rivalry between Italy and Norway in the 4x10 km relay, with the last three Olympic gold medals decided by a combined total of less than one second. In 2006, Di Centa skis the second leg and Italy gains a clear victory over Germany. For the first time, the 50 km marathon is contested with a mass start. Di Centa saves his strength for the final sprint and overtakes Yevgeny Dementyev of Russia to win by less than a second in the event’s closest-ever finish. At the Closing Ceremony, Di Centa is presented the gold medal by an IOC Member – his sister Manuela Di Centa, herself an Olympic champion, who earned five medals at the 1994 Winter Olympics.

One notable aspect of _Bud Greenspan’s Torino 2006: Stories of Olympic Glory_ is watching the eventual gold medal winners as they watch their rivals perform after they themselves have finished competing. In the first race of the 500 m, Joey Cheek has to wait for two more pairs to race before he knows that he leads after the first of two rounds. Shizuka Arakawa sits backstage with her support team intently following Irina Slutskaya’s free skate on a monitor until they learn that Arakawa has gained the gold medal. And Kjetil André Aamodt waits at the bottom of the hill during the Super G competition until Hermann Maier crosses the finish line thirteen hundredths of a second slower than Aamodt, before he is sure that he has won his fourth career gold medal.

### 2008 – Beijing

*The Everlasting Flame* was only the second official film to be directed by a woman, the first since Leni Riefenstahl in 1936. Before the Beijing Olympics, Gu Jun spent seven years researching and recording the preparations for the 2008 Games. Her film _Dream Weavers: Beijing 2008_, was released in China six weeks before the Beijing Opening Ceremony. This film focused on Chinese hurdling star Liu Xiang, female gymnasts during their almost brutal training, a family displaced by the building of the Olympic Village, the construction of the Bird’s Nest Olympic Stadium, and the training of a Beijing SWAT team. Gu also produced a film in 2004 that described the visit to Beijing of the Olympic Flame as part of the Athens 2004 Torch Relay.

For _The Everlasting Flame_, Gu employs a mixture of techniques, weaving together high-quality camerawork and editing, snippets of a variety of sports, and Bud Greenspan-style profiles. In fact, Greenspan is credited with being one of the film’s many executive producers. Gu begins by briefly introducing us to seven non-Chinese athletes: defending Olympic champion canoeist Tomasz Wylenzek of Germany; US BMX rider Kyle Bennett; Jamaican sprinters Asafa Powell and Usain Bolt; two-time Olympic champion Haile Gebrselassie of Ethiopia; and Iranian taekwondo defending champion Hadi Saei Bonehkohal and his teammate, Sara Khoshjamal Fekri, the first woman to represent Iran in taekwondo.

Gu devotes a great deal of time to the spectacular Opening Ceremony, including rehearsals and director Zhang Yimou’s meeting with bureaucrats who must approve his plans. These government representatives are identified on-screen as “experts” rather than by their positions.

After a half hour, Gu presents us with our first competitive event, the final of the men’s 100 m, which
Usain Bolt wins in world record time. Later we see him dancing at a party, winning the 200 m with another world record and passing to anchor runner Asafa Powell in the 4x100 m relay.

Along the way, Gu devotes a few minutes to world record setters and another segment to Chinese successes. References are made to athletes overcoming hardships and injuries. For example, Maarten van der Weijden of the Netherlands wins the inaugural 10 km open water swimming race seven years after overcoming leukemia with the aid of chemotherapy and a stem cell transplant. The defending champion in the 110 m hurdles, Liu Xiang, with the weight of China’s expectations on his shoulders, is forced to withdraw on the starting line because of injury. Speaking to the media afterwards, his coach, Sun Huiping, breaks down in tears. Canoeist Tomasz Wylenzek collapses after placing second in the Canadian doubles-1,000 m final and falls into the water. He recovers in time to earn another medal in the 500 m event. Kyle Bennett, in the BMX quarterfinals, takes a hard fall after a Dutch racer crashes in front of him. After receiving medical attention, he insists on remounting and completing the course. During the section about Hadi Saei, Gu introduces us to two–time gold medal winner Steven Lopez and his family. Lopez’s pursuit of a third gold is derailed because of a penalty call. South Korean weightlifter Lee Tae–young, who earned a silver medal at the 2004 Olympics, tears a calf muscle during his first lift, but tries two more lifts anyway, although he cannot complete them.

We are also introduced to fencer Jujie Luan, who won a gold medal while representing China in 1984. Ten years later, she moved to Canada and became a Canadian citizen. With the Olympics in her birth country, she returns to compete at the age of 50.

As beautiful as is The Everlasting Flame, there is an extensive dark side to the Beijing Games which is not portrayed in the film. Some of the problems were not known at the time. During the world records montage, the film hails the achievements of Chinese female weightlifter Liu Chunhong, the defending champion in the light-heavyweight division. After her doping sample was retested several years later, her Beijing gold medal was taken away from her.

Several times during the film, Usain Bolt’s joy is contrasted with the disappointment of Asafa Powell, who places out of the medals in the 100 m, just as he did in 2004. In the Beijing 4x100 m relay, he runs the anchor leg for the Jamaican team, taking the baton from Bolt and crossing the finish line in first place. However, in 2017, a retest revealed that another Jamaican team member, Nesta Carter, tested positive, and both Powell and Bolt lost their gold medals. American taekwondo champion Steven Lopez, presented along with his family as an inspirational story, was, in 2018, permanently banned from the sport because of allegations of sexually abusing a child.

Not mentioned in the story of Kyle Bennett is the fact that, despite dislocating his shoulder, he qualified for the semi-finals anyway. He died four years later when he crashed his truck while driving under the influence of alcohol and without a seatbelt.

Some of the problems with the Beijing Games were known at the time. In The Everlasting Flame, the international Torch Relay is described as a “Journey of Harmony.” However, in reality, it was disrupted by numerous protests against the Chinese government’s suppression of the Tibetan people, as well as its extensive human rights abuses. In San Francisco, when an American Torch runner displayed a Tibetan flag, Chinese paramilitaries, accompanying the Flame, grabbed her torch and police shoved her to the sidewalk.

The film shows a series of fireworks “footprints” leading to the Opening Ceremony. It looks impressive; however it was not really part of the Opening Ceremony. Rather, it was computer generated and spliced into the international video feed.

And then there is the story of the Chinese “women” gymnasts, who look suspiciously underage in a sport that required participants to be at least 16 years old. In fact, researchers used Chinese sources to prove that some of the gymnasts were indeed underage, based on their entry forms in earlier events. But the IOC and the International Gymnastics Federation cleared them to compete, and the Chinese won the team event.

2010 – Vancouver

By the time of the Vancouver Winter Olympics, Bud Greenspan was suffering the effects of Parkinson’s disease, but his team carried on to produce Bud Greenspan Presents Vancouver 2010: Stories of Olympic Glory. Greenspan, who accepted ISOH’s Vikelas Plaque award in Vancouver, died ten months later.
The film focuses on six stories. The first is the women’s moguls rivalry between defending Olympic champion Jennifer Heil of Canada and Hannah Kearney of the United States. Narrator Will Lyman reminds us that the previous two times Canada hosted the Olympics, Montréal 1976 and Calgary 1988, Canada failed to win a single gold medal. So, Canada poured $120 million into the project Own the Podium to make sure it didn’t happen again. Consequently, there was great pressure on Heil, as her event was held on the first day of competition. But Kearney places first and Heil second.

The segment on pairs figure skating covers both the eventual winners, married couple Shen Xue and Zhao Hongbo of China, and their coach, Yao Bin. Yao had competed at the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics, finishing in last place. Consequently, there was great pressure on Heil, as her event was held on the first day of competition. But Kearney places first and Heil second.

The segment on pairs figure skating covers both the eventual winners, married couple Shen Xue and Zhao Hongbo of China, and their coach, Yao Bin. Yao had competed at the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics, finishing in last place. Yao turned to coaching and, 24 years later, two of his pairs won gold and silver medals in Vancouver.

Another segment profiles Canada’s Clara Hughes, one of only four athletes to earn medals at both the Summer Olympics (in road cycling) and the Winter Olympics (in speed skating). In Vancouver, at the age of 37, she wins a bronze medal in the 5,000 m race. The film also highlights her involvement, like Johann Olav Koss and Joey Cheek, in Right to Play. Hughes says that she wants to be “more than an athlete”.

The section on the United States Nordic combined team begins with a short history of cross-country skiing, including the Nordic nations’ distain for Alpine skiing as a sport for “the leisure classes”. We are introduced to three team members, who go on to win four of the nine Nordic combined medals awarded at the 2010 Games despite the fact that the US had never before won an Olympic medal in the sport.

Petra Majdič of Slovenia was the two-time defending World Cup champion in the cross-country sprint event. But while warming up before the qualifying race, she slips on a curve and falls three metres into a ditch, landing not on snow, but on rocks. She emerges in great pain. Although she relates her subsequent travails in graphic detail for the film, we hardly need to hear her words because her suffering is alarmingly obvious. She competes in three races and qualifies for the final. After each race, she struggles just to breathe. In the final, she hangs on to earn the bronze medal (her first Olympic medal after eight previous career races). Taken to the hospital, she discovers that she has four broken ribs and a collapsed lung. She tells the camera that the doctors told her to stay in bed and forego the Medal Ceremony. But, with a tube in her lung, she insists and is helped onto the platform. “This is not a bronze medal,” she says. “It’s a gold with diamonds.”

It almost goes without saying that Bud Greenspan Presents Vancouver 2010: Stories of Olympic Glory concludes with the men’s ice hockey final, the most-watched broadcast in the history of Canadian television. The filmmakers give an informative history of ice hockey in Canada, beginning with the first official match in 1875 and including the development of teams across the country for both men and women, some of whom use their long skirts to hide the puck. Canada’s Olympic ice hockey history is reviewed. In Vancouver, the Canadian men struggle through the tournament and then watch as the Canadian women earn their third straight Olympic championship. In the final, the United States comes from behind to tie the game with 24 seconds to play. Canadian star Sidney Crosby then scores in sudden death overtime. Although Canada won a record 14 gold medals at the Vancouver Games, it is a good bet that they would have given up the other 13 just to have this one.

2012 – London

For First, director Caroline Rowland chooses to follow 12 athletes who are competing in the Olympics for the first time. This seems like a good idea; however, the theme is never really developed. What is interesting about each athlete has little to do with their previous athletic achievements. Another annoying aspect of First is that Rowland often does not bother to identify the athletes by name until late in the film, if at all. The most glaring example is the British cyclist Laura Trott. Audiences in the UK were no doubt so familiar with Trott’s story that she didn’t have to be identified. However, for viewers from the rest of the world, it is frustrating.

Rowland introduces us to many of the athletes while they are training back home and concludes with shots of several of them after the London 2012 Olympics. In between, she weaves in and out amongst the various athletes, their families, the atmosphere in London, and Usain Bolt. Adding to the confusion is a soundtrack that is often difficult to decipher. During coverage of Brazilian swimmer Bruno Fatus’s attempt to gain a medal in the 50 m freestyle, someone says, “This is the last race of the first part of my life.” Is this Fatus speaking? He competed again in the 2016 Olympics.
US swimmer Missy Franklin wins four gold medals and one bronze medal. “It’s incredible,” she notes, “that my lifelong dream is happening when I’m seventeen.”

Another champion who is well covered is Kenyan David Rudisha, who explains that his Olympic dream began when he discovered his father’s Olympic medal (a silver medal won in 1968 as a member of Kenya’s 4x400 m relay team). Rudisha, in the climax of the film, wins the 800 m in world record time.

Rowland does an excellent job of revealing and contrasting the emotions of winners and the disappointment of athletes who do not meet their own expectations. Some are satisfied knowing they will be Olympians for the rest of their lives. Others not so much.

2014 – Sochi

*Rings of the World*, the three-hour official film of the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, is an excellent example of what an official film can do, combining competition footage, interviews with athletes, beautiful cinematography, and thoughtful editing. The director, Sergei Miroshnichenko, produced a 55-minute documentary, *Unknown Putin*, about Vladimir Putin in 2000, shortly after Putin assumed power. So, it is not surprising that Putin is shown three times in *Rings of the World* in the first minute-and-a-half and several more times thereafter.

The film opens with joyous scenes of the Torch Relay intercut with arresting shots of the Opening Ceremony and the credits, which are accompanied by a naked woman, Irina Shayk, who also carries the placard for the Russian team at the Opening Ceremony.

The first event to be highlighted is the inaugural women’s ski jump, seen from the perspective of the eventual gold and bronze medal winners, Carina Vogt of Germany and Coline Mattel of France. As more events are shown and more athletes are interviewed, Miroshnichenko frequently refers back to previously highlighted athletes to comment on such themes as rituals, fear, losing, dealing with fans (good and bad), winning, not cheating, making mistakes, the meaning of the Olympic rings, God, and love.

Although the film concentrates on the athletes, it also gives an instructive view of many of the other people who make the Olympic Games possible. There are numerous dancers and musicians, and we frequently see the media, particularly cameramen, at work. Workers are preparing the courses of ice and snow. People are cleaning official national flags in preparation for medal ceremonies, and medal bearers are seen putting on makeup and rehearsing. There are also many shots, and even interviews, with coaches.

Miroshnichenko does a much better job of pulling out interesting quotes from athletes than other makers of official films.

He devotes three separate sections to biathlon. Martin Fourcade of France says of Norwegian rival, Emil Hegle Svendsen, “I hate him and love him at the same time.” Later, another Norwegian biathlete, Ole Einar Bjørndalen, says, “I need to learn how to defeat myself in any situation. And that’s much harder than beating Martin Fourcade.” Dutch speed skater Jorrit Bergsma also speaks of the need “to race against yourself; to compete against your mind.” On a similar subject, 15-year-old Russian figure skater Yulia Lipnitskaya explains, “When you start, you shouldn’t think. The body remembers. It will do the work by itself. So, when pesky thoughts get in the way ... you have to be really smart to not let them get in the way.”

When Swiss snowboarder Iouri Podladtchikov wins the halfpipe after the two-time defending Olympic champion, Shaun White of the United States, falls, he embraces his father and tells him, “Dad, I got him.” Nearby, US radio reporter Ted Emrich asks White, who placed fourth, what he will do next. White replies that he will return to his family, “be a little depressed for a while, and then snap out of it.” Podladtchikov says that he aims to make his halfpipe performances “like the Mona Lisa of Paris.”

Also prone to similes, US figure skater Patrick Chen, explaining his costingume, says, “I try to shy away from shiny crystals,” and instead “dress like a Ferrari.”

There are many telling images. The Canadian women’s moguls team includes three sisters, Justine, Chloë, and Maxime Dufour-Lapointe. Justine and Chloë earn the gold and silver medals. Maxime places twelfth and cannot hide her disappointment as she watches her sisters accept their medals.

Russian-born ice dancing coach Marina Zoueva coaches both the Canadian pair of Tessa Virtue and Scott Moir and the US pair of Meryl Davis and Charlie
White, Jr. After sitting with the Canadians as their scores are posted, Virtue and Moir urge her to move over to the coaching spot to help Davis and White, where she removes her Canadian team jacket and replaces it with a US one.

Czech biathlete Gabriela Soukalová acknowledges that her sport is generally considered an obscure one. However, after a scene in which men line up to have their photo taken with her, Soukalová notes, “Some men told me that they like to watch the women’s biathlon because they consider women with guns very sexy.” She also relates one of the more memorable anecdotes of an athlete’s pre-Olympic career. Competing in Slovakia, the wind was so strong that, at the shooting range, it blew away a piece of her equipment. Knowing that her father was in the crowd, she turned to him for advice … but she forgot to lower her rifle. The spectators all ducked, and Soukalová was disqualified.

There is one unfortunate inclusion of one of the Russian “heroes”. Short track star Viktor An had previously competed for South Korea. Between Olympics, he became a Russian citizen and won three gold medals and one bronze medal. However, four years later, the IOC banned An from the PyeongChang Olympics because he failed to prove that he was “clean”. In Rings of the World, An says that after changing his citizenship, Russia “charged me with positive energy.” Apparently, his new nation charged him with something else as well.

2016 – Rio de Janeiro

Days of Truce is directed by Breno Silveira, who was best known for his award-winning biopic Two Sons of Francisco. The Rio 2016 Olympics gained a well-deserved reputation for being poorly organized, with venues and transportation systems not completed, understaffing, and many other problems. To its credit, Days of Truce confronts these problems and admits to them. However, it implies that the problems were caused by the Brazilian attitude towards deadlines and to life in general. This is unfair to the citizens of Rio de Janeiro. In fact, the Rio problems were caused by corruption. Early in the film, we are introduced to a taxi driver who is studying English to be ready to interact with tourists when they arrive for the Olympics. But, because of corruption, only one of Rio’s many taxi companies was allowed to come near the Olympic Park, so it’s doubtful that this featured taxi driver had much chance to practice his English during the Games. At the Opening Ceremony, we see Carlos Nuzman, the head of the Rio Olympics Organizing Committee, giving a welcoming speech. A year later, he was arrested and charged with corruption related to bribing IOC Members to win their votes.

On the other hand, everyone in the film, as in real life, praises the people of Rio de Janeiro for their friendliness and openness to strangers. As one German boy tells the camera crew, “And they help when you need help.”

The IOC picked ten athletes without a country to compete as the Refugee Olympic Team. Although half of the chosen athletes were from South Sudan, Silveira focuses on two judokas originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo. One of them, Popole Misenga, tells the filmmakers, “I want my refugee flag to be orange and black like a life jacket.”

To demonstrate the theme of inclusion and diversity, we meet, among others, Fabiola Fontenelle, the first transgender Opening Ceremony placard bearer, and fencing gold-medal winner Ibtihaj Muhammad, the first woman to compete for the United States wearing a hijab.

The nicest sequence in Days of Truce is a montage of nine athletes who earn their nation’s first-ever gold medal, as well as a tenth, the rugby sevens team from Fiji. One of these athletes, judoka Majlinda Kelmendi of Kosovo, was also featured in the London 2012 film, when she represented Albania because Kosovo had not yet been recognised by the IOC. Using a dual screen,
we watch the final shot of the men’s air pistol event as Hoàng Xuân Vinh of Vietnam hits a bullseye to edge Brazil’s Felipe Wu by four-tenths of a point.

Two Brazilian athletic successes bracket the coverage. Rafaela Silva, who grew up in Rio’s Cidade de Deus slum, is seen shedding tears of disappointment at the 2012 Olympics when she is disqualified for using an illegal move. Four years later, in her hometown, it’s tears of joy when she earns the gold medal.

Not surprisingly, competition coverage in *Days of Truce* concludes with the men’s football final between Brazil and Germany. Like Canadians and men’s ice hockey at the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, many Brazilians would have given up all other gold medals if they could just win this one. The match goes to a penalty shootout. When Neymar scores the winning goal, the nation’s sense of relief almost leaps out of the screen.

2018 – PyeongChang

Directed by Yi Seung-jun, *Crossing Beyond* follows the stories of six athletes as they prepare for the 2018 Winter Games. In fact, it is a full hour into this 101-minute film before we reach the Opening Ceremony. Two of the athletes, Alpine skiers Sajjad Husaini and Sayed-Alishan Farhang of Afghanistan, end up not qualifying for the PyeongChang Games. Two of the others are given secondary attention.

Although it is not mentioned in the film, snowboarder Billy Morgan of Great Britain had already competed in the Sochi Olympics in the slopestyle event. When big air is added to the Olympic programme for 2018, Morgan seizes his chance. We watch him become the first person to complete a backside quadruple cork. “If it was easy,” he says, “it wouldn’t be fun.” At the PyeongChang Games, he earns the bronze medal.

Daniela Iraschko-Stolz of Austria, a pioneer in women’s ski jump, won the silver medal in the inaugural Olympic competition in 2014. This time around, she places sixth. She calls attention to the fact that although the men have three Olympic ski jump events, the women have only one. (A mixed gender team event was later added for the Beijing 2022 Games.)

The two athletes who get the most attention are Ghanaian skeleton competitor Akwasi Frimpong and Korean/USA ice hockey player Park Yoon-jung. Frimpong lived in Ghana until he was eight years old and then joined his parents in Amsterdam, where he lived, initially, as an illegal immigrant. He moved to the United States when he was 22 years old. There, he became a door-to-door vacuum cleaner salesman in Salt Lake City, married, and became a father. Originally a sprinter, he discovered skeleton racing and qualified as Africa’s representative to the 2018 Games. He places last in a field of thirty, but he entertains the crowd with a victory dance for having made it to the Olympics and surviving all three runs.

The centre of attention in *Crossing Beyond* is ice hockey player Park Yoon-jung. Adopted from Korea when she was four months old, Park grew up in the United States, in Minnesota, a hotbed of hockey. In fact, her sister, Hannah Brandt, played for the US team at the PyeongChang Olympics and won a gold medal, which, in the film, she shows off to Yoon-jung and others towards the end of *Crossing Beyond*.

Park, who grew up with the name Marissa Brandt, unexpectedly finds herself in the heart of the big story of the 2018 Olympics: the entry of a combined South Korea–North Korea ice hockey team. At first, Park and her South Korean teammates are upset at the prospect of incorporating not two or three but twelve new players into their squad. However, the North Koreans prove to be hard working and, Park tells us, after the third practice, the situation settled down and she even made new friends. Park says that she did not anticipate large crowds for their matches because ice hockey is not a popular sport in South Korea. But because of the addition of the North Koreans, the team becomes a symbol of peace and reconciliation, so the stadium is packed with wildly cheering fans (and the North Korean cheerleading squad) for each of their three matches. They lose all three, but Park earns the assist for the Koreans’ only goal of the tournament.

Director Yi dispenses with the other 96 events of the PyeongChang Games in a six-minute montage interspersed with shots of people around the world watching on television or on their computers. The film climaxes with the Korean hockey players saying goodbye to one another after the 2018 Winter Olympics.
Scottland and Scottish Identity at the 1908 Olympics

By Luke J. Harris

Introduction

Recent political episodes such as Scottish Independence and the Brexit Referendum, along with the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games, have raised questions about Scotland’s place in the United Kingdom and the identity of Scottish athletes. Tennis player Andy Murray came under particular scrutiny because of initial refusal to give his opinion on Scottish Independence, then on the eve of the vote came out in favour of it. At the 2014 Winter Olympic Games, Scotland’s representatives in the British team were posed questions regarding their views on independence, and their identity as to feeling British or Scottish. This appears to be a debate that will continue for the foreseeable future.

Scotland’s sporting identity has not always been so divided, and this article intends to determine the expressions of Scottish identity present at the 1908 London Olympics as seen through the press. For this, three aspects will be considered; Scotland’s perspectives of the Games, coverage of Scotland’s premier athlete, Wyndham Halswelle, and the views of the Glasgow Observer, a newspaper written for the Scottish Irish-Catholic.

Scotland and the Union

When reflecting on the Edwardian period, historians consider that Scotland had a stable position in the Union and primarily British identity, owing to Scotland’s central position in the United Kingdom and British Empire. An example of this perspective comes from Iain Hutchinson: "The wars with France, which ended in 1815, helped bind Scotland closely into the idea of Britishness, as the menace of invasion unified opinion and identity. The prominent part played by Scots in acquiring and running the Empire cemented wholehearted identification with Britain. ... The presence in the settler colonies of hundreds of thousands of people with Scottish origins further underlined the identification. It was no coincidence that opposition..."
among Liberals to Irish Home Rule was especially strong in Scotland, for it was regarded as presaging the break-up of the Empire."

This quote comes from a chapter focusing on Scotland in the 19th century, entitled “Workshop of Empire”, with a sub-section entitled “Scots or Britons”. The conclusion reached was that Scotland considered itself as British. Hutchinson stated that Scotland presented “an unusual picture of a people who were intensely conscious of their distinct national characteristics but were uninterested in any outright form of separatism or independence.” He continued by indicating that Scots felt no “serious grievance” towards England and this was because “their prosperity was intimately bound up with the union of the two countries.”

Other historians argue that Scottish people felt both Scottish and British. John Macintosh stated that many people across different periods of Scottish history felt a “dual consciousness or loyalty”. Bernard Crick shares this view, believing the population had a “vivid sense of dual nationality”, which gave them an “enhanced quality of life in being able to live in two worlds, enjoying two cultures and their hybrids.” These perspectives indicate that although there was a Scottish identity, the dominant outward identity expressed was British.

Sport gave a different dynamic to Scottish identity, because the first sporting internationals were affairs between the nations of Britain, such as the inaugural international soccer match between Scotland and England in 1872. Contests in other sports such as rugby and hockey began shortly afterwards and ensured that the age-old rivalry between Scotland and England continued. Richard Holt states that “national rivalry in rugby was friendly but in football it was fanatical.” In both sports, Scotland’s independence allowed for a new Scottish identity to develop.

One aspect to this identity was an adversity to England, as stated by Derek Birley. He considered these clashes as an important force in the forging of British national identity; “it was not always a unifying influence, at least on the surface: in this it was a microcosm of the complex political and social relationships of the alliance.” Football was the defining sport for Scotland and prior to the outbreak of the First World War the game provided a focus for Scottish national feeling. The identity expressed here was oppositional towards England, but it did not threaten or conflict with Scotland’s broader British identity.

While different sporting identities did develop in Britain, the principle of the “gentleman amateur”, with the values of fair play and sportsmanship at the heart of this, together with the rejection of professionalism, went across national borders. Despite the acceptance of professionalism in some British sports, most prominently soccer and cricket, there remained a dislike and distrust of professionalism. The aristocrats and upper-class governors of British sport believed it should be played by “gentlemen” and this meant not training hard and relying upon natural talent, known as “effortless superiority”. Other important elements to this identity included treating the opposition with respect and accepting officials’ decisions, a principle that was questioned during the 1908 Olympics.

The inaugural Olympic Games of 1896 opened the possibility for a different British sporting identity to emerge, as it represented one of the first times that Britain competed as one. Such was the minor impact of the Olympics in Athens, Paris, and St. Louis in Britain that there was no significant impact on Britain’s sporting identity. Hosting the 1908 Olympics provided Britain with its first significant interest in the sporting festival.

The 1908 Olympics

London 1908 remains Britain’s most successful Olympics, with 146 medals, of which 56 were gold. Despite Britain’s domination, its poor performance in the athletic events,
featuring the Games largest overseas contingent, ensured that sections of the press believed this was another indication of British sporting decline which had been repeatedly brought into question during the Edwardian period. The USA concentrated its effort in athletics and won sixteen of the 27 titles. Consequently, the press attacked the weaknesses of the British amateur philosophy of effortless superiority, along with the morals and amateur status of the American athletes.

The focus of this article will be on athletics, as those events which took place outside of this period. Those which took place in the spring of 1908 were only briefly mentioned in the press, if at all. In total, Scotland only contributed a small percentage of the British medal haul, with nine medals. The most notable Scottish performance was that of 400 m runner Wyndham Halswelle, and the controversy which followed this race ensured that it was extensively covered in the press.

The decision to bring the Olympics to Britain in 1906 (after Italy pulled out), brought previously unprecedented interest from the British sporting associations. Following this decision, Scotland’s Amateur Athletic and Swimming Associations (along with their Irish counterparts) stated in letters to the Secretary of the British Olympic Association (BOA) that they desired their own independent national teams for the Games (they also suggested that England and Wales had the same). Little is known about the political affiliation of the Scottish associations, but their desire for a Scottish team could be attributed to the regularity which Scotland competed by itself in sporting competition rather than any nationalistic tendencies.

Kevin McCarthy, author of *Gold, Silver and Green*, a book that examines Irish Olympic interest prior to its independence in 1922, notes that the Irish associations were not “vehicles of extreme nationalism”, but rather “independent minded bodies”. The same could be said of the Scottish associations, who were used to their independence.

It was the International Olympic Committee rather than the BOA that prevented Scotland from having its own separate Olympic team. At its 1907 Session it determined that a country is “any territory under one and the same sovereign jurisdiction”, ensuring Britain would compete as one at the 1908 Olympics. Following this refusal, McCarthy notes that “annoyed responses” were sent to the Secretary of the BOA. His opinion is that the Scottish associations were even angrier about this decision than their Irish counterparts.

Despite the ruling, Scotland did have its own team in the Olympic hockey tournament (proposals for Scottish teams in the soccer and water polo competitions came to nothing, owing “solely to expense”). This occurred after there was a lack of international entries for the event and consequently the numbers were made up by the four British nations entering their own team. All of the teams were called “Great Britain and Ireland” and competed alongside the nation’s teams of France and Germany. The English team won the event and Scotland’s team took the bronze medal after they lost to the eventual champions in the semi-final. Scotland’s representatives defeated Germany in the first round, but with no bronze medal match, both the Scots and Welsh (the losers of the other semi-final), were jointly awarded bronze.

Scottish press coverage of the 1908 Olympics

Compared to the press across Great Britain, the Olympic coverage from Scotland was notably different in content. This occurred because the Scottish press made little comment relating directly to the Scottish athletes who competed. The preference within the Scottish press was to concentrate on a British perspective, and excluding the interest surrounding Halswelle, there was almost no mention of the performance of Scotland’s competitors.

By comparison, in the most significant Welsh publications, the *Western Mail* and *South Wales Daily News*, there was inclusion of a British perspective, but when one of their own athletes, such as aquatics team member Paulo Radmilovic, came to the fore, the preference was to concentrate on and promote Welsh achievements. The tone in the English press was commonly of a British perspective, but such was the number of regional periodicals such as Birmingham’s *Sporting Mail* and the *Manchester Guardian* for example, there was a concentration of their representative, in preference to the British perspective.
One of the most striking demonstrations of the British perspective in the Scottish press came via the belief in national superiority. As mentioned previously, the notion of British superiority in track and field athletics suffered a major blow during the 1908 Olympic Games. Despite these performances the British belief in her superiority remained a prominent theme in the press. The following quote is an example of this from the Weekly News for Edinburgh and the South editorial, with an emphasis on reinforcing the notion of British superiority:

... the summary of results at the Stadium is entirely favourable to Great Britain. It shows that the representatives of this country have achieved far more successes than those of any other nation. Even after liberal allowance is made for contests in which the awards were disputed by the Americans, the number of wins credited to Great Britain considerably exceeds that allotted to the United States.19

This editorial was published after the conclusion of the athletic events where Britain had endured numerous defeats to the United States. These defeats had encouraged some commentators to question British sporting prowess, such as Birmingham’s W.W. Alexander who felt the Olympics “has had a most disastrous effect upon the reputation of British athletics.”20 A Northern Athlete columnist bemoaned that “England at the present time is a long way below her athletic strength of some twenty years ago.”21 The London weekly, the Sphere, concluded that Britain’s athletic performance was “disgraceful”.22

The material analysed demonstrates a divided opinion on how Britain had performed. The Scottish press was almost entirely supportive of the British performance, with no hint of the criticism that was prevalent in some English publications. For example, the Weekly News for Edinburgh and the South wrote solely of “British successes”23 rather than failure. The indication was that the Scottish press remained positive about the performance.

A prevalent theme across the coverage by the Scottish press was the use of the terms “England” and “English” when “Britain” and “British” would have been more appropriate, a reflection of English dominance of Britain. Krishan Kumar states that “Englishness modulated into Britishness”,24 while Ben Wellings argues that the distinction between England and Britain became “blurred when the ideology of nationhood was beginning to emerge”25 in the 19th century, so didn’t emerge. Both of these perspectives were also apparent in the London press, who regularly referred to England and English,26 when Britain and British would have been more appropriate.

The mixed use of these terms first appeared in the description of the opening ceremony by The Scotsman. It commented that “the Swedes and Danes were particularly well received, as were the Canadians, Australians, and Englishmen.”27 There is the possibility that only the Englishmen were given a good reception,
but with the British team coming out as one (apart from the Irish athletes that marched slightly behind in protest about the lack of an Irish team), it would have been incredibly unlikely that any national group would have been singled out by the small crowd that attended.

Another example of the mixed use of terms appeared in *The Scotsman* in an editorial, published shortly after the marathon race — the blue-ribbon event of the Games and a disaster for Britain with its first representative coming into twelfth position. It linked the failure to apparent British physical decline:

*But where were the Britishers? A fourth and fifth American, three successive Canadians, a Swede, and the Russian, a Finn, and another Canadian were cordially welcomed before the first of the few British survivors arrived. Only two others finished — a fact reflecting in no favourable manner upon the physical status of the Englishman of to-day.*

This article declares that the athletes were “Britishers” and “British” before concluding by calling them “Englishmen”. This could just be a prime example of the interchangeable nature of the terms “England” and “Britain” which was so common in press coverage of not only these Olympic Games, but also in reporting other matters, such as the Monarchy, always referred to as the King or Queen of England, not Britain. Alternatively, the reference to “Englishmen” used here could have been done so as to potentially separate Scotland from this English failure, as only English athletes competed in the Marathon.

The separation of Scotland and Scottish athletes from England was also apparent in an editorial reflecting on the tug-of-war competition. Here, the intention was to mock the three English police teams that had represented Britain in the event:

*Scotland is not equal to (now, so far as we know; is any home nation through their police forces) sending athletes to the Stadium. Not that they have not members able to engage in the various competitions, but that duty compels them to do their “bests”, and by all men’s, if possible, capture the lively, alter, and ubiquitous criminals who night and day prowl and plaque against the lives and property of decent, law abiding citizens.*

This editorial presents a different standpoint than given in the examples used previously, as there appears to be a divide between Scotland and Britain. The opinion here was that the Scottish police were employed to combat crime, not partake in sport. There appears to be frustration about the inequality, potentially about a discrepancy in terms of funding between the Scottish Police forces compared to their English counterparts.

From the coverage analysed there was only one significant reference towards a uniquely Scottish perspective of the Olympics. This came in an athletic preview in *Scottish Referee* which bemoaned the small role Scotland would play:

*... we regret that Scotland in these is to play such an insignificant part. We have, sorry to say, only one representative likely to bring Olympian honour over the border, and he, of course, is Lieutenant Halswelle, upon whom we pin our faith to win the quarter-mile for Britain and Scotland especially.*

The opinion presented here should not be seen as an expression of individualism, but rather disappointment of the lack of Scottish representation, excluding Halswelle. The indication that his success was jointly for Scotland and Britain.
Apart from Halswelle, other Scottish athletic hopes came from weight thrower Tom Nicolson and 1,500 m runner J. M’Gough, winner of the British Olympic trial. Unfortunately for the latter athlete, he withdrew shortly before the Games owing to a foot injury. Nicolson, from Kyles of Bute, did compete, finishing fourth in the hammer competition, but failed to reach the final of the shot put.

The Scottish Referee, a sporting weekly, made little reference to the Olympics, but when it did, typically a British standpoint was projected, such as the comparison between British and American training methods: “Our systems of training compare badly with the Americans. For instance, we learn that daily an hour or more is spent by their athletes in starting off their marks alone, British training is antiquated and requires reforming.” The argument here was one typically found in articles that bemoaned the British athletic performance. This comment and other Olympic related editorials in this periodical were pro-British in tone, although not always positive about the overall British performance.

The representation of Wyndham Halswelle

The 400 m runner, Wyndham Halswelle, received the most extensive coverage of any Scottish athlete at the Games. He entered the Games as the favourite for his chosen event and the universal feeling expressed across the British press was that he was certain to win gold. His depiction in the press makes for an interesting perspective of both Scottish and British identity.

Halswelle was London-born to Scottish parentage in 1882, but his nationality should be defined as Scottish. He was educated in Scotland and entered the army after leaving school and served as an officer in the Highland Light Infantry during the Boer War. When fighting in South Africa, his natural talent for running was noticed by former professional athlete Jimmy Curran, whom he served alongside. From this point onwards, Halswelle took up running seriously and in 1904, he won his first major title, the 880 yards at the 1904 Army Championships, followed by the 1905 Scottish and AAA 440 yards championships. The following year at the so-called Intercalated Games, he won the 400 m and bronze in the 800 m. Prior to the Olympics in 1908, he set two Scottish records on the way to collecting the 100, 220, 300, 440, and 880 yard races at the national championships. The man who was known as “The Flying Scotsman” or simply “Scot” also set a record in the 300 yard event that was to last for 53 years.

At the 1908 Olympics, Halswelle competed solely in the 400 m, an event run in four-man races without lanes. Consequently, the typical race was a physical affair and resembled a modern-day 800 or 1,500 m race, with all the athletes jostling for position. In the events semi-final, Halswelle won the race in an Olympic-record time of 48.4 seconds. The events final pitted Scotland’s finest against three American athletes: John Carpenter, John Taylor, and William Robbins. In this race physical contact occurred and in the view of the referees, Carpenter blocked the Scotsman unfairly. Consequently the officials “cut” the tape and deemed the race void, before the leader Carpenter reached the finish.

In the aftermath, the judges (who were all British) disqualified Carpenter and determined that the race must be re-run. In protest at the decision, both of Carpenter’s compatriots boycotted the re-run, leaving Halswelle to race alone. The controversy of this event had ramifications upon both sides of the Atlantic, and was central to the American complaints that followed the conclusion of the athletic events. The consequence of this race was that lanes were introduced for 400 m competition and at future Olympics the officials would come from all nations, not just from that of the host.

The following passages are an examination of Halswelle’s portrayal with regard to his perception in the press. A prominent theme found in the English press was to describe Halswelle as English. This could be an example of the use of the interchangeably used terms of “Britain” and “England” that was so common in the press.

An example of Halswelle’s representation as an Englishman appeared in the London periodical The Bystander, which described: “there were three Americans to one Englishman.” This is just one of many examples of when Halswelle was referred to as being English in the Welsh and English press. Keith Robbins offered a suggestion to why Halswelle, along with the institutions and people from Scotland, might have been considered English. To do this he used an example of an address by Lord Roseberry to an audience at the University of Edinburgh in 1882. Roseberry remarked that when the English set out to dominate Britain, their belief was that all parts of the nation were “England” – a concept that may help us explain why so many of the newspaper articles refer to “England” and the “English” when they should have referred to Britain: “He noted that Englishmen generally eschewed the terms ‘British’ and ‘Great Britain’. They tended to think that every part of the United Kingdom was ‘English’. This self-possession, characteristic, he thought, of dominant races, had indeed made England what it was.” The examples found regarding Halswelle suggest that he was perceived in a similar manner.

Not only did the English press refer to Halswelle as being English, but on occasion the Scottish press did the same, such as the following from The Scotsman: “It was known after his wonderful running of the last few days that Halswelle’s chance of winning the
400 metres for England against his three American opponents was at least a good one. He lay back at the start, as usual, and was beginning to close up with the leaders at the corner, when Carpenter, who had started in the inside position ran right across the track, until finally the Englishman was almost off the cinder track altogether and on to the cement by the side ... 3

Throughout this article Halswelle was depicted as being English, which could be explained by The Scotsman’s heavily reliance on the London-based Press Association reports for their articles. Although there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case in this instance, this article could have potentially been written by a journalist from this group, although it would not be an unrealistic expectation for a journalist from the Press Association to have background knowledge on one of Britain’s premier athletes.

Such a report is an unusual example from the coverage analysed, as Halswelle was primarily viewed as British and only on rare occasions as Scottish. There were instances when he was represented as both British and Scottish, such as in an editorial from Glasgow’s Evening Times. It referred to the 400 m final as “the affair”, and projected Halswelle as both British and Scottish:

To the enthusiast and the devote the shorter events of the week were indefinitely more interesting than the Marathon race. It was in these that Scotland, at all events, was chiefly centred, for although we had representatives in the big race, men who under more favourable circumstances, might have done well, yet we knew exactly where we were in the 400 with Lieut. Halswelle. That race – the equivalent of the British quarter – was gradually installed as the real sporting culmination and climax of the fortnight’s struggle between Britain and America. What actually took place is the best proof of that contention. It was Halswelle against the world, and the world, unfortunately, did not give him a fair and unfettered chance to win his laurels....

... My sympathies are all with Lieut. Halswelle in the unfortunate position in which he was placed, and I am only a representative of 99 per cent of the country in this matter. He did not seek a cheap honour and in ordinary circumstances would have declined the walk-over, which completely spoiled the race of the fortnight. 38

This article appears to be in no doubt of the nationality of Halswelle. He was stated as being Scottish and there appears to be pride in Halswelle’s role in defending British honour via his victory and the manner in which he conducted himself.

Halswelle’s nationality was also a theme in an article in the Weekly News for Edinburgh and the South. Its heading was “the Scotsman who broke the record”, with a short accompanying article that made reference to his nationality:

The rise to the front rank of athletes of that “Flying Scotsman,” Lieutenant W. Halswelle, has been phenomenal. A couple of years ago he was practically unknown, and now he has broken the record at the Stadium for the 4000 metres flat race. 39
This was the only reference of the Scottish press referring to him as the “Flying Scotsman” in its 1908 Olympic coverage. There was a genuine belief in his ability as an athlete, but in comparison to other articles that wrote of Britain’s athletes, there was no expectation that he should be victorious, as was frequently expressed in the English press.

The representation of Halswelle in the British press fits in well with the conclusions reached by historians. Halswelle is identified as Scottish and British, and this keeps in with those historians quoted from who argue that British identity was a central part of Scottish identity during this period. The impact of these events and the controversy that followed the Olympics led Halswelle (still a serving officer in the British Army) to retire from athletics at the end of the 1908 season. He returned to serve in the army and was killed by a sniper at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle on 31 March 1915.

Anti-British sentiment in the Scottish press

The indication from the publications mentioned in this article is that Scotland’s identity was of Britain, and this was the widely acclaimed viewpoint of Scotland and its people, but this was not universal. The following section analyses the perspective of the Glasgow Observer, a daily newspaper for the Irish immigrant population, which wrote about the Olympics from the perspective of the Irish nationalist press, who were fiercely anti-British. This reflected the feeling amongst this group who “resisted wholesale assimilation” into Scottish society. David McCrone believes that such divisions were important for Scotland’s identity, arguing that “the image of Scotland as a divided and unhealthy society is a common one in Scottish literature, which has acted as a key carrier of Scottish identity.”

The Olympic coverage in the Glasgow Observer examined the fortunes of “Irish” athletes, both those that competed in the British team, but also the substantial number of men of Irish descent that competed for the USA. The closeness between this publication and the Irish nationalist press came through a cartoon which depicted Ralph Rose who had defeated Denis Horgan, an Irishman who competed for Britain in the shot put. This cartoon was the same as that which appeared in Irish nationalist daily The Freeman’s Journal and depicted Rose as “the man who beat Denis Horgan”.

The Marathon race enjoyed the most comprehensive press coverage, owing to its physicality and it being viewed as the ultimate test of human physicality and endurance. The belief was that victory would not only prove that Britain’s sportsmen were not on the wane, but the entire British race was not becoming “degenerate” as was feared. Such comments were commonplace during this period, due to international...
sporting defeats along with the recruitment problems for the Boer War, where a large number of British volunteers had to be rejected because of their poor physical condition.

This publication’s initial article on the race preferred not to highlight the success of Hayes, but to ask “Where was Duncan?” – a reference to the leading English hope, Alexander Duncan, who failed to finish the race. Notably, it is England rather than Britain which is referred to (potentially done so not to include Scotland). This was comparable to the tone demonstrated across the Irish nationalist press throughout the Olympics and particularly after this event, which presented them with the opportunity to show themselves as separate and physically superior to Britain.46

Throughout the entire Olympics, the Glasgow Observer included just five articles about the Games. It included no retrospective on the Games and the only article that made any reference to the Olympics after its conclusion came on 1 August 1908. The focus of this editorial was the plan by the Gaelic Athletic Association to send a team to the sporting events that were part of the Pope’s Jubilee in late September 1908. Here, the sporting freedom of Ireland was on the mind of the author:

Thinking its high time for a distinctively Irish turnout in the international athletic contest which are becoming so popular the world over… The Association gives the reasons why Ireland was not per se, represented at the London Stadium. Summarised, they are that the English Olympic Committee refused to recognise Ireland as a separate entity, and insisted that the only condition on which Irish athletes could enter for the contests was that they sink their nationality and allow themselves to be exploited under the Union jack. Such a condition was impossible (says the “Irish News”); and thus, while Irishmen scooped in most of the trophies, the glory of them went to the countries of their adoption.47

This editorial was more of a reflection of the perspective seen in the Irish nationalist press, bemoaning the lack of an Irish team and how the British only desired Irish representatives in order to “exploit” them. The most prominent examples of this were the Cork Sportsman’s editorials of 25 July and 1 August. McCarthy believes this publication was “the most vocal publication when it came to Irish identity”48 at the Olympic Games. Its articles posed questions such as “How long, then is Ireland to be exploited for the athletic development of other nations?”49 and bemoaned that “Ireland’s sons have helped materially to swell the list of victories of both the United States and United Kingdom.”50 This is comparable with the tone of this editorial.

The Glasgow Observer is an interesting source for analysis because it presented a prime example of the differing identities that were present in Scotland. It revealed that, despite the overriding British identity in Scotland, this was not universal and imbedded amongst the pride being British, and there were those in Scotland that were set against this identity.

Conclusions

The indication from the sources examined demonstrate that Scottish and British identity were intertwined. Scotland considered itself to be British, and this generally came at the expense of the Scottish perspective. The exception to this was The Glasgow Observer.

Scotland only played a minor part in the Olympic Games, but there was pride in the performance of Halswelle aiding the British cause. In the early part of this article there was reference to how international sport had begun as matches between the nations of Britain and that this had allowed a separate Scottish sporting identity, one that was often averse to British development. From the coverage analysed here, it appears that the identity present at the 1908 Olympics was of Britain, and integral to this was the British characteristic of amateurism and fair play.

2 Ibid., 237.
6 Derek Birley, Sport and the Making of Britain (Manchester University Press, 1996), 335.
9 Kevin McCarthy, Gold, Silver and Green (Cork: Cork University Press, 2010), 169.
10 Ibid., 169.
11 IOC Conference, The Hague, 25/05/1907, quoted in McCarthy, Gold Silver and Green, 171.
12 McCarthy, Gold, Silver and Green, 169.
13 Second ASA meeting of 1907–08 Season. ASA 1908 Handbook, 126; Steve Menary, GB United (Durrington: Pitch, 2010), 44.
14 Western Mail, 14/07/1908, 6; South Wales Daily News, 25/07/1908; 6 & 23/07/1908, 7.
17 Holt, Sport and the British, 6.
21 “Athletics”, Northern Athlete, 15/09/1908, 2.
22 Sphere, 25/07/1908, 69.
Letter to the Editor

Kevin McCarthy: A response to Dr. Tom Hunt’s article on “Tom Kiely: Ireland’s First Track and Field Olympic Gold Medallist?”, JIH, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 52–55

The letter from Dr. McCarthy in response to Tom Hunt’s article on the 1904 Olympic Champion Tom Kiely proved of huge interest to me and the research of both is to be lauded. Dr. McCarthy raises some hugely significant points as regards Kiely and his presence at St Louis in 1904.

There is obviously no doubt whatsoever, in retrospect at the very least, that Kiely is recognised as an Olympic champion – the [bar to the] medal awarded is conclusive proof. What remains in question is to what colours Kiely competed under but here again there is little doubt. As Dr. McCarthy notes Kiely had very little interest in politics. What was paramount to him was his standing in the Athletics’ World at the time. It is invariably contentious to assign a country of affiliation to any competitor at these ‘early’ Olympic Games [1896–1904], again mentioned by Dr. McCarthy.

Kiely, like his fellow athletes, who resided in Ireland would compete for Club, parish, townland or similar when competing in Ireland. These would be familiar to followers of athletics on the Island. However, if competing ‘abroad’ – whether in England [at the A.A.A. Championships] or the United States – it was very much the case of wearing the Irish singlet. This was the singlet worn by athletes at the annual International against Scotland. Kiely, Holloway and Daly donned the singlet in 1904, O’Connor, Daly and Leahy did so in 1906.

Kiely’s participation in 1904 at St. Louis in some ways matches Denis Horgan’s foray to the United States in 1900. Richard Sheldon won the AAA Championships that year, beating the defending champion, en-route to claiming the Olympic title in Paris. Horgan sought revenge and where better than to beat Sheldon in the United States which he did and so would claim to be the best putter in the world.

Thus Kiely in 1904, at the age of 35 he was nearing the end of an illustrious athletics’ career. His final Irish Championships [IAAA and GAA] and International were in 1903. How better to bow out as all-round Champion of the World. The Irish Times noted Kiely’s absence from the IAAA Championships [of 1904] “we would not expect him to compete, knowing that he is training for the All Round Championship of the World, which takes place at St. Louis on July 4th”. Kiely wanted to bow out on a high and what better than to be crowned All-Round Champion of the World and beat the Americans in their own championships. Very much a case of competing for himself, and ... for Ireland. Kiely did receive offers of monetary assistance, both in Ireland and in the United States, to help with the costs involved in travelling and with accommodation, all declined. He was in a position to refuse but he also realised, of course, that accepting any assistance meant being beholden to those who helped.

Kiely wanted to be seen as the great all-round athlete of his generation and where better to emphasise this than by laying claim to the honour in the United States. His many AAA, IAAA and GAA titles ensured his standing in Britain and Ireland; winning the AAU/Olympic title in the United States ensured an even better standing in the history books. Kiely would appreciate the attention he still commands through the articles and letter in the Journal and the forthcoming biography of Dr. McCarthy.

The Journal remains a very professional production full of interesting articles. Keep up the exemplary work.

Colm T. Murphy, Rochester, Kent, England
The 1908 Olympic Individual Gymnastics Competition

By Bill Mallon, Hilary Evans, and the OlyMADMen

In 2000 Ian Buchanan, the first ISOH President, and I wrote a book entitled The 1908 Olympic Games: Results for All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary (McFarland, 2000). It contained the “complete” results of those early Games and was one of a series I produced, with various co-authors, on the early Olympic Games from 1896 to 1920.

Except the 1908 results were not quite complete. We could never find the full results for the individual gymnastics competition, called the heptathlon in the 1908 Official Report, because that all-around consisted of seven routines performed on five apparatus.

In the book, Ian and I described our efforts to find the full results of this event, which had been futile, noting, “We have not been able to obtain complete results for the individual gymnastics event, and it is the only event at the 1908 Olympic Games for which these results are not available. Be assured it has not been from a lack of effort. Our sources consulted in an effort to find these results include the following: 1908 Official Report, Sporting Life, all major British and American newspapers, multiple Olympic record books, the Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique (FIG), the National Governing Bodies of gymnastics for every nation which competed in 1908 gymnastics, Olympic historians for every country which competed in 1908 gymnastics, the gymnastics historians of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Germany, and gymnastics magazines from 1908 in the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany. The results must exist somewhere, as is evident from Tony Bijkerk and Ruud Paauw’s book on Dutch Olympians, Gouden Boek van de Nederlandse Olympiers, which contains the placements for all the Dutch gymnasts.

“The source was a 1908 magazine published by the Dutch Gymnastic Association. Tony Bijkerk, Secretary-General of the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) kindly provided us with the original Dutch article which gave these placements and scores for the Dutch gymnasts. Unfortunately, it contains no other placements or marks, and does not give a source for its marks. In addition, places and marks are known for the gymnasts of Bohemia, Canada, Finland, and Hungary, so we conclude that there is some 1908 source with the marks, but it has eluded us. Perhaps it is in some obscure archive somewhere or hiding in the attic of a relative of one of the 1908 gymnastics officials. If any reader can provide more complete results, please let us know and we will gladly supplement this work with an errata sheet which would complete the record of the 1908 Olympic Games.”


We had 97 entries listed in our book. We did not use the 1908 Official Report as a final source in all cases, because the British sporting magazine Sporting Life and the German gymnastics journal Deutsche Turn-Zeitung (DTZ) actually had deeper results in many cases and were better. Those had the top 20 finishers, but then our results...
had large gaps, with the next known result at 25th place, then 34th place, and a very large gap from 49th to 59th place. We filled in the missing results after 20th place with the results from the Dutch, Bohemian, Canadian, Finnish, and Hungarian sources noted above.

And that is how it seemed to end back in 2000. At about that time, I was also starting the forerunner of what would become Olympedia (www.olympedia.org – private site but ISOH members may contact me for access), with the Norwegians Arild Gjerde and Magne Teigen, and the Brit David Foster. Jeroen Heijmans (NED) would join a few years later and set up our websites, and shortly thereafter a younger Welsh sheep farmer named Hilary Evans came on board the group we were then called the OlyMADMen. (It’s a take-off on the popular US television show “MadMen”, a nod to our crazy devotion to our Olympic statistical hobby, and an acronym for the first 4 starting members – M – Mallon/Magne, A – Arild, D – David.)

On a chilly, severe clear morning in Durham, North Carolina, on 9 March 2020, I received an e-mail from Hilary with the tagline “BOOM” and the only phrase: “Just checking it out but I think I’ve found something very important” Imploring Hil to not leave me in the dark, as Hilary could always find things that the rest of us never could, he followed with: “https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5325208tfz.item.zoom – I think these are the full results of the 1908 individual gymnastics?”

And so they were, found in the pages of the newspaper Les Jeunes: courrier de quinzaine du journal “Le Patronage”, the journal of the Fédération sportive et culturelle de France from 8 August 1908. So here is that errata we had hoped for, and promised 20 years ago today.

Ian Buchanan died on 6 April 2008, in the small village of Aylsham, Norfolk, England. To the end, Ian liked his stout, and I suspect when we first published the final bit of the tale of the 1908 Olympic Games on www.olympedia.org (specifically https://www.olympedia.org/results/70048 for those looking), he was raising a glass of it, with a big smile, and that chortle that so endeared him to us.

Here are the full results of the 1908 Olympic gymnastic individual heptathlon competition – after 112 years.

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### GYMNASTICS, COMBINED EXERCISES, INDIVIDUAL

| 1. | Alberto Braglia | ITA | 317.00 |
| 2. | Walter Tysall | GBR | 312.00 |
| 3. | Louis Ségura | FRA | 297.00 |
| 4. | Curt Steuernagel | GER | 273.50 |
| 5. | Fritz Wolf | GER | 267.00 |
| 6. | Samuel Hodgetts | GBR | 266.00 |
| 7. | Marcel Lalu | FRA | 258.75 |
| 8. | Robert Diaz | FRA | 258.50 |
| 9. | Edward Potts | GBR | 252.50 |
| 10. | Jules Rolland | FRA | 249.50 |
| 11. | François Nidal | FRA | 249.00 |
| 12. | George Bailey | GBR | 246.00 |
| 13. | Karl Borchert | GER | 244.00 |
| 14. | Antoine Costa | FRA | 241.75 |
| 15. | János Nyisztor | HUN | 236.00 |
| 16. | Thomas Dick | GBR | 233.50 |
| 17. | Alfred Hodges | GBR | 233.50 |
| 18. | Georges Thurnherr | FRA | 232.00 |
| 19. | Guido Romano | ITA | 230.00 |
| 20. | Joseph Castiglioni | FRA | 227.00 |
| 21. | Otello Capitani | ITA | 226.75 |
| 22. | Joseph Lux | FRA | 226.00 |
| 23. | William Watters | GBR | 225.50 |
| 24. | James Graham | GBR | 225.00 |
| 25. | Josef Čada | BOH | 222.50 |
| 26. | Dominique Follacci | FRA | 222.00 |
| 27. | Georges Charmoille | FRA | 222.00 |
| 28. | Wilhelm Weber | GER | 220.00 |
| 29. | Auguste Castille | FRA | 220.00 |
| 30. | Fernand Castille | FRA | 218.00 |
| 31. | Joseph Cook | GBR | 219.00 |
| 32. | Victor Dubois | FRA | 212.50 |
| 33. | Josef Krämer | GER | 212.00 |
| 34. | Kálmán Szabó | HUN | 209.00 |
| 35. | Paulin Lemaire | FRA | 207.25 |
| 36. | Boris Honzátko | BOH | 205.50 |
| 37. | G. Meade | GBR | 205.00 |
| 38. | G. Mounier | FRA | 204.50 |
| 39. | Imre Gellért | HUN | 202.50 |
| 40. | Heinrich Siebenhaar | GER | 198.50 |
| 41. | Paul Fischer | GER | 198.00 |
| 42. | Edgar Dyson | GBR | 195.00 |
| 43. | E. Gauthier | FRA | 195.00 |
| 44. | Jean Van Guusse | BEL | 194.00 |
| 45. | Sidney Domville | GBR | 193.75 |
| 46. | Robert Hanley | GBR | 193.50 |
| 47. | Mihály Antos | HUN | 192.50 |
| 48. | John Watters | GBR | 187.50 |
| 49. | Michel Biet | NED | 187.50 |
| 50. | Georg Karth | GER | 186.50 |
| 51. | William Fergus | GBR | 183.50 |
| 52. | Carl Körting | GER | 181.00 |
| 53. | Wilhelm Kaufmann | GER | 180.50 |
| 54. | Félicien Lekim | FRA | 180.50 |
| 55. | Antoine De Buck | BEL | 180.50 |
| 56. | Edmund Aspinall | GBR | 177.00 |
| 57. | Gaston Ratelot | FRA | 172.75 |
| 58. | C. H. Smith | GBR | 171.50 |
| 59. | Allan Keith | CAN | 170.00 |
| 60. | Gerardus Wesling | NED | 165.00 |
| 61. | Reinier Blom | NED | 160.50 |
| 62. | Isidore Goudoeket | NED | 159.00 |
| 63. | Johannes Stikkelman | NED | 159.00 |
| 64. | Emanuel Brouwer | NED | 158.00 |
| 65. | August Ehrich | GER | 156.75 |
| 66. | Johannes Posthumus | NED | 155.50 |
| 67. | John Skrataas | NOR | 154.50 |
| 68. | Aleko Mulos Bey | TUR | 154.50 |
| 69. | Dirk Janssen | NED | 153.50 |
| 70. | Peter Hol | NOR | 152.50 |
| 70. | Cornelius Becker | NED | 152.50 |
| 72. | Jan Bolt | NED | 150.50 |
| 73. | Otto Bauscher | GBR | 149.50 |
| 74. | Jan Kieft | NED | 149.50 |
| 75. | Riku Korhonen | FIN | 143.50 |
| 76. | Carl Klaath | NED | 142.00 |
| 77. | Frigyes Gráf | HUN | 141.50 |
| 78. | Abraham Mok | NED | 141.00 |
| 79. | A. F. Ford | GBR | 140.50 |
| 80. | Orvil Elliott | CAN | 132.50 |
| 81. | Jaska Saarivuori | FIN | 132.00 |
| 82. | Frithjof Olsen | NED | 127.50 |
| 83. | Hendricus Thijsen | NED | 127.00 |
| 84. | Conrad Carlсуд | NED | 124.00 |
| 85. | Leonard Hanson | GBR | 121.00 |
| 86. | Ivan van Partanen | FIN | 121.00 |
| 87. | Per Jespersen | NOR | 120.50 |
| 88. | Eetu Kosonen | FIN | 120.00 |
| 89. | Emmanuel Boislèvé | FRA | 120.00 |
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Those Elusive Rome Olympics:
Pre-History and Preparation of the 1960 Games

By Pasquale Polo and Elmer Sterken

Introduction

Sixty years ago, the Olympic Games were finally staged in the Eternal City of Rome. Italy was in the midst of an economic and cultural miracle after troubled years in the first half of the 20th century. In 1960 the so-called Cold War in sports between the USA and Soviet Union was conducted at a variety of locations in Rome. Some were from ancient times, others from the Mussolini era, and some even had associations with Pope John XXIII.

The Games were like a fairytale. Italy was able to demonstrate that it was a modern nation and Rome was to display itself as a marvellous city for tourists. Recent writers such as David Maraniss (in his 2008 book, Rome 1960: The Games that Changed the World) have argued that the Rome 1960 Olympics were special and even had a significant impact on the future in politics, commercialism, culture, media, in anti-doping policy, and results achieved on the sports field.

Did the Rome 1960 Games “change the world” in a broad sense or even just within the world of sport? We argue that the 1960 Summer Games was a magnificent celebration in the spectacular city of Rome. Like any other edition it left impressive memories, but did not have a decisive impact either on world politics or in the development of the Games. Indeed, the 1960 Summer Games were typical, not so much in sports results, but in integrating sports, culture, and politics, especially in an Italian society which was undergoing a revival.

We present our findings in two parts. In this part we offer a view on the pre-history and preparation of the 1960 Games. In order to understand the significance
and impact of the Rome Olympics, an awareness of the historical origin of the event is needed. The Italian strategy was to once again become part of the international community. How did the Games fit into this? How did the troubled history of Italy in the first half of the 20th century affect the organisation and preparations for the Rome Games? In the second part we will describe in detail the results of the Games and competitions and discuss what made them special.

Why was Rome such a marvellous setting and so particularly suited to the Olympic Games? In the first place, like Athens, Rome is a city which represents the ancient classical world. Two millennia ago, the Romans had organised sports events similar to the Olympics. The most famous of these were held at the stadium of Domitian. This was located in the area where the Piazza Navona can now be found. The course was 250 m in length.

Secondly, the installations of the fascist period under Benito Mussolini had a significant part to play in the 1960 Games in Rome. Even today, the Foro Italico, the main Olympic site, has many echoes of 21 years of fascist dictatorship.

Thirdly, it seems that Italy was one of the European focal points of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s. Apart from Germany, which would be divided by a wall into East and West one year after the 1960 Games, no other country in Western Europe felt such strong foreign interference in local politics. In Italy, the communist party was strong, and as this had alleged ties to the Soviet Union, the United States were keen on supporting the Christian Democratic movement. So politics interfered with sports both before and after the Second World War.

Lastly, in this period no other country in Europe experienced such a sustained economic and cultural rebound as Italy. But did this special setting have a strong impact on the Olympic Games?

There can be no doubt that Italy in general, and the City of Rome in particular, were influenced by the 1960 Olympics (see Martin, 2017, for an extensive analysis). But there is a debate about the impact that the Rome Games had on the Olympic Movement. Like David Maraniss, who labelled the Rome Olympics “special”, Martin reassessed the notion that the 1960 Olympics were “the last Games with a human face” (although other authors write about “on a human scale” instead of “with a human face”).

Writing in 2011, Barbara Keys disagreed with Maraniss and his idea that Rome 1960 was so special. She described it as a “myth”, arguing that, although there might be a core of truth, there is also a lot of “hot air”. So how much impact did the 1960 Games have? Were they a success? Were they a turning point for the world, the world of sports, commercialism, or on a smaller scale, for Italy and for Rome?

Indeed, one can consider whether a certain edition of a mega sporting event series has been statistically extraordinary, and/or influential to its further development. But the history of the Games has shown that every Summer Olympics is “special” to some extent. There are always famous sportmen winning medals. There are often surprising results. But is it true that the Olympic Games after 1960 have differed from those before? In the two parts of our article we provide some impressions to contribute to what we have called the “Maraniss–Keys–debate.”

We examine the organisation of the Games in Rome, because that is special to a large extent. How did the Olympics come to Italy after two unsuccessful attempts made for the Games in 1908 and 1944? We describe the long and troubled road to Rome 1960 and pay attention to the “real story” behind the failed attempt in 1908 and the key players in the Mussolini regime for the 1944 bid. Mussolini’s effort to win the Games and the post-war response by the Italian National Olympic Committee are key to the success in 1960.

The long road to Rome

In 1960 the Games of the XVII Olympiad were held in Rome (they were in fact the 14th modern Games to actually take place). There had been attempts to organise the Modern Olympic Games in Italy before but both had proved unsuccessful. In March 1903, Baron Pierre de Coubertin was first made aware of Italian interest in organising the Olympic Games. This came from IOC Member Count Eugenio Brunetta d’Usseaux, Senator and President Francesco Todaro, and the Secretary of the Italian Gymnastics Federation Fortunato Ballerini (the Gymnastics Federation was one of the oldest sports federations, founded in 1869).

On 22 June 1904, at the seventh IOC Session in London, Rome was indeed chosen as the host city for the Games of the fourth Olympiad. But two internal disputes disrupted
the initiative. Baron de Coubertin had been able to convince King Victor Emanuel II, Prince Prospero Colonna, and Pope Pius X, but had less success in discussions with Prime Minister Giolitti (see Cassar and Creaco, 2012, for an overview). Giolitti had received protests from the cities of Milan and Turin: there were other expensive projects such as the construction of the Simplon Tunnel. To add to this, Giolitti’s government fell shortly afterwards in a period of political turmoil. In the end, Giolitti did not support Rome’s candidature.

Secondly, there were serious internal sports-related disputes. Angelo Mosso, professor of Physiology at Turin University, was a strong opponent of the Olympic project. Mosso – known as “the philosopher of the national gymnastics movement” (see Bosworth, 2011, p. 249) – declared that the Italian government should not waste money on organising the Games (a figure of 303,000 lire was mentioned, in today’s prices about USD 15 million).

Moreover, Mosso argued that there was almost no interest in sport across Italy. The conclusion was that the Italian sports organisation, due to internal disputes among the different federations, was not yet strong enough to support the organisation of the Olympic Games. There was not yet a National Olympic Committee; the Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano (CONI) was only established after the First World War.

So, although many believe that the consequences of eruption of the Mount Vesuvius and the effect on public finances were the prime reasons behind the decision to renounce the hosting of the 1908 Games, it was the internal disputes around the organising cities and difficulties in Italian sports administration which really prevented the organisation of the Olympic Games in Rome in 1908.

The Vatican and the Olympic Games

In those years and after, the Vatican had a dominant impact on the Italian society. Before turning to the Italian situation in the remainder of the 20th century, we will briefly review the interaction between the Vatican in general and some Popes in particular and the Olympic Games.

Until the early 20th century, the Vatican did not consider sport to have any value, because it did not originate from the “recommendations and principles” of the Catholic Church. This changed after the start of the modern Olympic Games, mainly as a result of the personal interest of successive Pontiffs.

The history of the relationship between the Vatican and the Olympic Games has its origins with Pope St. Pius X (1903–1914). He was an active gymnast and offered his support to the idea of organising the Olympics in Rome in 1908. Pius X was aware of the educational potential of sport. In those days, sport was seen as a form of military training or as an activity of the upper class. He considered it a means of bringing people together, irrespective of race, religion, or political background. In February 1905 he met Baron de Coubertin in Rome and supported the Olympics which had been awarded to Rome for 1908.

Pope Pius XI (1922–1939) was an alpinist, who in his younger years had climbed the Monte Rosa, Matterhorn, and Mont Blanc. In 1923 he praised the Olympic Games as an institution to stimulate goodwill among different nations. But he also opposed a plan to send an Italian women’s athletics team to Los Angeles for the 1932 Olympics. The first Italian women did not make their appearance until the 1936 Games. Pius X was aware of the educational potential of sport. In those days, sport was seen as a form of military training or as an activity of the upper class. He considered it a means of bringing people together, irrespective of race, religion, or political background. In February 1905 he met Baron de Coubertin in Rome and supported the Olympics which had been awarded to Rome for 1908.

Pope Pius XII (1939–1958), also a mountaineer, horseman, and boxer, blessed the “Roman” Olympic Flame in 1956. This was lit on the steps of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill for the Olympic Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo. He disliked the commercial and nationalistic influences on the Games. Even so, he argued that Rome was an appropriate city to organise the Olympics because it was also the global centre of the Catholic Church.

The coalition with the Christian Democrats also formed a kind of political barrier for the fear of communism and the impact of the Soviet Union. But in 1960 there
were still “doubts” about the Olympic Games in the Catholic Church. Young priests were not supposed to attend events such as swimming or wrestling when the competitors wore very little in the way of costume.

During the Rome Olympics, Pope John XXIII (1958–1963) gave a blessing to 4,000 athletes in St. Peter’s Square but the Soviet team did not attend. He also opened a temporary church in a prefabricated building at the Olympic Village. This subsequently became the permanent Chiesa de San Valentino, located at Viale XVII Olimpiade, 13. The church commemorates the 4th century Basilica and Catacombes of San Valentino a bit further away at the edge of the Pinciano quarter in Rome; San Valentino is a popular public figure on Valentine’s Day.

Mussolini wanted the 1944 Games

Rome also made a bid for the 1944 Olympics. In fact, this actually was the city’s third attempt. They had also made one for 1924 but this was passed over when the IOC decided to award those Games to Paris and the 1928 Olympics to Amsterdam at the same time. In June 1921, when the IOC met for the 20th Session in Lausanne, memories of the 1908 failure were still in their minds. The Italian delegation was not even permitted to table a bid, because there was no proof of financial support (Coubertin, 1931). In response to the decision, Italy even threatened not to attend the 1924 Games in Paris, although they eventually relented and enjoyed some success.

It was only a year after the unsuccessful episode in Lausanne, that the political situation in Italy changed completely with the rise of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. He had hoped to win the hosting rights for 1940, but Rome stood aside in favour of Tokyo. (In fact the 1940 Games were eventually transferred to Helsinki and ultimately, they never took place because of the war.)

Mussolini then set his sights on the Olympics in 1944. He constructed a complex which was named Foro Mussolini from 1928 to 1937. Later it was renamed Foro del’ Italia, and since 1945 it has been known as Foro Italico. This sports park in the northern part of Rome was a part of a wider scheme for the city with a university section in the eastern and an exposition area (EUR) in the southern suburbs of the Eternal City. The impressive bid book of the 1944 Games illustrates the extensive attempt by the fascist regime to win the Games. In June 1939 at the 39th Session of the IOC in London, Rome lost out to London by 20 votes to 11.

It cannot be doubted that Mussolini’s efforts to bring the Olympics to Rome did have a bearing on the decision to award the 1960 Summer Games to the City of Rome. First, and quite prominently, many of the Olympic sites of 1960 were heavily inspired by plans and design for the 1944 bid. In Rome the Olympic Games were organised at venues scattered across the city. Some ancient sites were used, such as the Terme di Caracalla for gymnastics events. Other venues made use of installations built in the Fascist period such as the Foro Italico and the EUR.

Two counts and a Fascist general

But the political aspects were also important. In 1939 Italy had three IOC Members: Count Alberto Bonacossa (appointed in 1925), Count Paolo Ignacio Maria Thaon di Revel (appointed in 1932), and General Giorgio Vaccaro (appointed in 1939).
The appointment of Vaccaro and his subsequent refusal to step down from the IOC after the Second World War ultimately paved the way for the modernisation of the Italian Olympic Committee (CONI). Born on 12 October 1892 in San Marzanotto d’Asti, he was an important leader in sports during the years of Italian Fascism and a prominent lifelong fan of the Lazio Football Club. As a youngster he was a passionate boxer, fencer, and cyclist. But his main interest was in the military and he became a member of the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF).

Vaccaro was a member of the Fencing Association and served as President of the Federazione Italiana Rugby (FIR) (1928–1929), but his most prominent activities were with the Italian Football Association (1933–1942), as Secretary-General of the Italian Olympic Committee (CONI) (1933–1939) and as an IOC Member (1939–1949). In his life and career, he combined his military and political activities with his interest in sports management. Vaccaro is most widely known for the episode after the Second World War when he refused to relinquish his IOC membership.

By 1927, Mussolini’s Fascist regime had started to use sport as a political instrument. The regime took an interest in the rugby union. The Italian Rugby Federation (FIR) was founded under Piero Mariani. After a while rugby was integrated into the Fascist system and Vaccaro succeeded Mariani as FIR President in 1928. It was his first step into sports administration.

Vaccaro was also well known for his work in football management, especially in preventing a merger between S.S. Lazio and Roma in 1927. His fencing experience also proved useful when he became involved in a dispute between Lazio goalkeeper Ezio Sclavi and journalist Eugenio Danese in 1930. After an initial fight, Danese challenged Sclavi to a classical duel in Grottarossa. Vaccaro gave instruction to Sclavi, who won the duel and inflicted an injury on his opponent. Later, it emerged that Danese was innocent; after all, Danese appeared to be innocent.

Vaccaro’s passion for the Lazio team became apparent on other occasions, too. He once kicked the ball as an official in a match between Lazio and Roma when Roma had been awarded a free kick and instigated a brawl on the field. His leadership of the Italian Football Association coincided with the national team lifting the World Cup in both 1934 and 1938, and taking home an Olympic gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics (see Pennacchia, 2008). He became secretary of CONI and joined the IOC in 1939 as its third Italian member. With Mussolini he was involved in the ultimately unsuccessful bid for the 1944 Olympics.

Vaccaro remains best known for his refusal to step down from the IOC after 1945 (see Sbetti, 2019). He had served as an IOC Member alongside fellow Italians, Count Alberto Bonacossa and Count Paolo Thaon di Revel (team epee gold medallist in 1920). Bonacossa and Thaon di Revel, both aristocrats, had displayed greater loyalty to the crown than they had to Mussolini. Accordingly, they were considered more acceptable in the new democratic regime. While both Bonacossa and Thaon di Revel did offer their resignation to IOC President J. Sigfrid Edström, both stayed on despite their connections with the Fascist regime.

Count Bonacossa became an important figure in helping to reform CONI with the new President Giulio Onesti. Italy was invited to the 1948 London Games. Other IOC Members who had emerged unfavourably from the war chose to resign voluntarily, but Nicholas Horthy, Jr. of Hungary and Vaccaro refused to resign even though they no longer retained a connection with sport.

Vaccaro had been put on trial in July 1945, and during the proceedings he was not permitted to leave the country. Even so, he participated in the IOC Session at the 1948 Saint Moritz Olympic Winter Games, but did so without informing the CONI.

Onesti, the new CONI President, had testified in favour of Vaccaro at his trial, but he and Bonacossa fell in line with CONI’s position and asked Edström to remove Vaccaro.
from his IOC position. Edström did not want national politics to influence IOC policy, but in August 1948, Vaccaro was finally asked to resign by that October. He refused, citing parallels with a case in 1933, when the Nazi regime sought the resignation of German Theodor Lewald, but the IOC stood up for him.

In January 1949 the IOC introduced a new rule. This stipulated that expulsion of a member was justified if he had lost all contact with sports organisations in his country. After conferring with Italian sports federations, the IOC implemented this new legislation at their Copenhagen Session in 1950. Vaccaro was therefore not expelled due to his Fascist past, but because he was no longer connected with Italian sport. He later became an official with Lazio in 1964, and was present when the team won the Italian League (Scudetto) in 1974. He died in Rome on 25 September 1983.

Due to the role that Vaccaro had played, CONI’s post-war President, Giulio Onesti, was able to pursue an effective strategic policy. Onesti had served as CONI commissioner from 1944 to 1946 and became its president shortly after the Second World War. As a book collector he had assisted CONI under its press officer, Bruno Zauli.

Onesti is generally considered to be the key individual responsible for the successes of Italian sport in general in the decades after the war (Colasante et al., 2018). These included winning the Winter Games for Cortina in 1956 and in particular bringing the 1960 Summer Games to Rome.

Born in Incisa Scapaccino in northern Italy, Onesti was one of three children; he had a brother and a sister. In 1917, he moved with his family to Rome, because his father Lino had started to work at the Ministry of Transport. He attended the Liceo Classico Terenzo Mamiani and later Sapienza University, graduating with a law degree in 1939.

After working as a lawyer for a few years, Onesti fought on the Yugoslav front during the war. After the Armistice de Cassibile in September 1943, he joined the Partisans. Through the Socialist leader Pietro Nenni – an old acquaintance of his father – he was approached to become CONI’s Extraordinary Government Commissioner, in order to replace the organisation’s fascist leadership.

In January 1944, Onesti placed his bicycle alongside the crumbling walls of CONI headquarters at the Foro Mussolini (later renamed Foro Italico) in order to take up his duties. In a short space of time, he managed to reform CONI into a strong, democratic institution. In 10 August 1947 he was formally installed as its president.

Onesti made a remarkable impact. Starting in 1948, he was able to attract funding for sports from the betting industry (Totocalcio). Here he drew on his political instincts by involving his friend, the Christian Democrat politician Giulio Andreotti. By 1965, Andreotti had helped in getting agreement for a 50/50 split in the revenues of Totocalcio, divided between the Ministry of Finance and CONI. This would support the development of sport in schools and in the armed forces. Andreotti also assisted in the organisation of the 1956 Winter Olympics and was asked by Onesti to become President of the 1960 Organizing Committee.

It was Onesti who split with the past to reform the international role of the Italian Olympic Sport movement. He objected to General Vaccaro continuing as an IOC Member, who was finally forced to resign in 1949.

But Onesti did continue to work with the other two Italian IOC Members from the Mussolini era: Bonacossa and Thaon di Revel. This political sensitivity made it possible for Italy to participate in the 1948 Games. It also ensured that Italy was quickly reconnected to international sports institutions after the end of the Second World War.

Onesti had a great sense for creating a sports infrastructure in Italy, both in a physical and in an intangible sense. As far as the latter was concerned, he followed in the footsteps of Bruno Zauli, by developing CONI’s Olympic library. To this day it is located at the Aqua Acetosa Olympic Training facility – another of his initiatives, which is now known as the Centro Sportivo Giulio Onesti and is located close to the Foro Italico and the former Olympic Village.

Onesti also worked on bringing sports closer to young people by launching Youth Games in 1968 and he had a great impact on international sports diplomacy. In 1964 he became an IOC Member and founded the General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees, to which he was unanimously elected as its president. In 1972, he became the first IOC Member to travel to China as part of efforts to bring the country back into the Olympic fold.

Onesti was able to reform the CONI in a fundamental way, steering it away from the political instrument it had been in the Fascist period, to become a solid grouping of sports federations. In doing so, it was a response to the old criticisms that Italy lacked a decent sports culture. Onesti’s tenure lasted until 1978. In the early years he was successful in organising the 43rd IOC Session in Rome in 1949, where Cortina was elected as a host city for the 1956 Winter Games.

But Onesti’s greatest achievement was to bring the Summer Games to Rome. His victory in the “battle” with General Vaccaro demonstrated that the Italians had moved away from the past, and at the IOC Session in Paris 1955, Rome was selected as the host city for the 1960 Summer Olympics.

After the failures of the past, resulting from a lack of sports organisation and political issues, the long Olympic road to Rome was completed. But as the French theologian and poet Alan de Lille stated in 1175: “A thousand roads lead a man forever toward Rome” – later on known as: “All roads lead to Rome” (De Lille, 1175).
Final preparations for the Rome Games

The IOC Executive Board of 1955 consisted of President Avery Brundage (USA), Vice-President Armand Massard (France), Prince Axel of Denmark, Count Paolo Thaon di Revel (Italy), Lord David Burghley (Great Britain), Mohammed Taher Pasha (Egypt), and Miquel Angel Moenck (Cuba). Having an Italian member on the Executive Board must surely have been of help to Rome in winning the bid. In Paris, 62 of the 69 members were present at the meeting, whereas before 1955, the average attendance rate at IOC Sessions was only about 44%.

Out of the 62 members present, 59 voted. The election went to three rounds before Rome beat Lausanne by 35 votes to 24. This overwhelming success for Onesti brought Italy fully back onto the international stage both in sporting and political terms. She had become a founding member of NATO in 1949, won the right to stage the Winter Games in Cortina that same year, successfully bid for the 1960 Olympics in 1955, and become a member of the United Nations in December 1955. The Treaty of Rome was signed in March 1957, laying the foundation of the European Union. Italy was back as an important country in the western sphere.

Now that the Olympics were coming to Rome, the Organizing Committee under the leadership of Finance Minister Andreotti had a serious job to do. Although Rome had the Campionato Airport, it was not up to the standards required. The Leonardo da Vinci Fiumicino Airport had already been planned and was officially opened in January 1961. Unofficially, it was open to receive Olympic flights on 20 August 1960, shortly before the Olympic Games. Although it was reported even in the days before the opening of the Games that Fiumicino would not open until 1964, it did in fact bring in many Olympic visitors in 1960.

Rome had sports venues, but it needed better roads to connect them. The city also needed infrastructural investments in electricity, streetlights, and water supply. And an Olympic Village was needed, preferably close to the area around the main sports venues, the Flaminio area north of central Rome, where Mussolini had built the Foro Italico. Here the Fascist inheritance proved helpful. Many of the installations built were almost ready to use.

The Foro Italico on the banks of the Tiber River was really the focal point of Olympic events. In 1932, the Mussolini regime wanted to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the March to Rome by opening a sports park for young members of the Fascist party (the Opera Nazionale Balilla). But soon after, the Duce decreed that the park was to be to be the main site for the Olympic bids of 1940/1944.

The Foro Mussolini was opened in 1936. It consisted of the Stadio dei Cipressi (opened in 1934 with a capacity of 50,000 spectators, later transformed into the Stadio Centomila for the Olympic Games and after 1974 into the Stadio Olimpico), Stadio dei Marmi (1928), Campo di Tennis (1933), the Palazzo della Faresina (completed in 1959), and the Stadio del Nuoto (1959). At the centre of the park was the Piazzale del’Impero, the grand entrance, connecting the Fontana della Sfera and the Mussolini obelisk.

The Mussolini Dux Carrara marble obelisk dates from 1932. While the obelisk itself is prominent, it is not as well known that hidden below, there are three gold coins and a piece of parchment with a Latin text: Aurelio Amatucci’s Codex Fori Mussolini.

Amatucci’s text describes the rise of Fascism, the greatness of its leader Mussolini, details of youth education programmes, and the construction of the Foro and the obelisk (see Lamers and Reitz-Joosse, 2018). It is impossible to gain access to the text without demolishing the obelisk, and it is believed that the Fascist leaders were inspired by Roman history and the look of the historic sites and their ruins when they set about preparing the Codex. Other Fascist texts can still be seen on mosaics on the main pathway to the Olympic Stadium, the Piazzale del’Impero. One of them bears the words Molti Nemici, Molti Onore (many enemies, much honour), for instance.

In the end, the Olympic Stadium on the Foro Italico hosted the official opening and closing ceremonies. The nearby Stadio Flaminio was used for football, and the Olympic Village was built across the Tiber River with attractive architecture and streets named after the competing countries and Olympic personalities. The Olympic Village brought together a variety of nationalities and a united German team, but separate sections for men (to the east of the elevated Via Francia) and women (to the west).
A memorable feature of the Rome Olympics was the use of the classical Basilica di Massenzio for wrestling, the Terme di Caracalla for gymnastics, the Piazza di Siena in the Parco Borghese for the equestrian events, and the Lago Albano, close to the summer residence of the Pope in Castel Gandolfo, for the canoeing and rowing events.

In addition, in the EUR suburb, originally established for the 1942 World’s Fair, basketball and boxing took place at the Palazzo dello Sport and fencing was held in the Palazzo dei Congressi. Probably the most impressive setting was that of the Olympic marathon. In previous years it had been customary for the marathon to start and finish at the Olympic Stadium, but not in Rome. The route began at the foot of the Capitoline, passed the Colosseum and the Terme di Caracalla, went along Viale Cristoforo Colombo, passing the Palazzo dello Sport in EUR, made a loop and took the circular highway, and then turned back onto the Via Appia Antica. The finish was at the Arco di Constantino, close to the Colosseo.

The Olympics increased Rome’s magic

Although the Italian economy was very strong in the times of the miracolo (the economic boom or “miracle” after the Second World War until the late 1960s – eds.) the investments for the Olympic Games were substantial. It is clear that the budget of the Rome Games cost as much as London (about US$1.5 million in 1948 which equates to US$13 million in 2019) and Helsinki and Melbourne (both about US$2 million in 2019 US$15–16 million).

But there is more than that. In financing there are typically turnover costs during the event itself, investment costs for sports facilities, and other infrastructure costs. In 1960, ticket sales earned 2.6 billion lire (US$4.2 million) – in today’s terms US$28 million. Television rights brought in 700 million lire; a third of this came from the CBS network in the United States. It is estimated that about 21 billion lire (US$290 million at 2019 rates) was spent on stadiums, swimming pools, and indoor and outdoor training facilities (see Telesca, 2014).

The Olympic Village cost 6.4 billion lire. After the Games, 1,800 civil servant families were allowed to live in the apartments, but the construction of the village had forced many poorer people to leave their homes. Ultimately, the Italian Government, the CONI, and the Municipality of Rome spent a total of 100 billion lire (US$1.1 billion at 2019 rates) on infrastructure. Around 25 billion lire went to new roads inside and outside of Rome, which included the connection between the northern and EUR sites by way of the Via Olimpica. The Italian government covered two-thirds of these expenses.

Can we say anything about the impact of this investment? Although there is no strong evidence of any
macroeconomic impact at a national level, there can be serious economic consequences at local or city level, for instance in terms of (temporary) employment and tourism. Formica and Uysal (1996) argue that, from 1950 to 1973, Italian tourism grew from almost 5 million visitors to more than 35 million. For 1960, they gave a figure of 18 million tourists coming to Italy, indicating an average growth rate of 11.5% in the years 1951 to 1965.

Cassar and Creaco (2012) estimate that during the Olympic Games, more than 147,000 foreigners arrived in Rome for an event which lasted a little more than two weeks. Moreover, another 49,000 Italians also came to Rome. During the period from 1958 to 1962, the growth in tourism was estimated between 6% and 12% per year, the higher figures in more recent years. It should be remarked that the increase in tourists had already started after the year of the giubileo [jubilee, a holy year for the Catholic Church] in 1950. There is also some evidence that due to the Italian miracolo and the positive image of Italy after the Games, tourism in Italy continued to grow. But the Olympic Games increased the magic. A first sign of the positive impact became clear.

Summary and conclusion

The long road had much to do with the Italian strategy to offset the history of the first half of the 20th century and to take its place on the international stage once again. CONI President Onesti was the right man at the right place at the right time to bring the Olympics to the Eternal City. As a result of the Italian miracolo, the authorities were able to get enough funding to finance necessary infrastructure on time. And although the history and the preparations of the 1960 Games were different from the celebrations of previous Olympiads, we need to have a closer look at the competitions to judge whether Rome 1960 really changed the world.

The EUR Complex is located in the south of Rome. This was where Mussolini wanted the 1942 World’s Fair to take place. The Palazzo dello Sport (now PalaLottomatica) was as a second centre for the 1960 Olympic Games, and this is where the boxing and basketball tournaments were held.
References


Alan (Alanus) de Lille, *Liber Parabolarum* (1175).


Park, who comes from one of the most influential South Korean entrepreneurial families, studied Business Administration at the National University in Seoul (1959–1965). He received an MBA from New York University in 1969. He started his professional career as President (1984–1994), then Chairman (1994–2001), of Oriental Brewery Co, the sponsor of the Doosan Bears professional baseball team.

Park was Vice-President (1988–2000), then Chairman, of the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In 2001, he became Chairman of Doosan Heavy Industries & Construction Co Ltd, the largest Korean manufacturer of nuclear and thermal power plants and a subsidiary of the Doosan Group, managed by his brother Park Young Oh.

Like his brother, who was Commissioner of the Korea Baseball Organisation (KBO) from 1998 to 2005, Park Yong Sung was involved in sports. He was Vice-President (1982–1986), then President (1986–1995), of the Korea Judo Association, and Competition Manager of the 1986 Asian Games and of the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. In the International Judo Federation (IJF), he served as General Treasurer (1992–1995), then later as President (1995–2007). He was elected to the IOC in this role in 2002.

In 2005, during a family feud that gained a lot of attention, he managed to oust his brother from the Doosan Group. Park Young Oh then accused him of creating a slush fund out of embezzled corporate assets and by means of accounting fraud, which sparked a corruption scandal. On 8 February 2006, the Seoul Central District Court sentenced Park Yong Sung to three years of suspended imprisonment and fined him eight billion won (US$8.5 million). He also had to step down as Chairman of the Doosan Group. Park Young Oh, also sentenced to three years in prison, committed suicide in 2009.

On the recommendation of the Ethics Commission, Park was suspended from the IOC Executive Committee in March 2006. After being pardoned by South Korean President Roh Moo Hyun in February 2007, he again became an official IOC Member in May, albeit for five years and without the right to be elected or be a member of any commission.

In 2007, Park was among the PyeongChang bid team for the 2014 Winter Games (which went to Sochi), and then again in 2011, when PyeongChang was awarded the 2018 Games. This time, however, it was not as an IOC Member, but as President of the Korean Olympic Committee, an office that he held until 2013. (VK)
Prince Tamim was born the fourth son of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa. He belongs to the House of Al-Thani, which has ruled modern-day Qatar since the 19th century.

Sheikh Hamad became Emir of Qatar in 1995 after the overthrow of his father, Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad. In August 2003, the Sheikh appointed Tamim Crown Prince and handed over the official duties to him on 25th June 2013, the first ruler of Qatar to do so voluntary. At 33, Sheikh Tamim thus became the youngest head of state in the world.

As Prince, Tamim attended Sherborne School in the United Kingdom and went on to Sandhurst Military Academy, graduating in 1998. After returning to Qatar, he was Deputy Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces (2003–2013). As Emir, he also became the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

From the mid-1990s onwards, Sheikh Hamad had opened up the emirate, which today is one of the richest countries in the world due to its oil and gas reserves. Under Prince Tamim, President of the Qatar Olympic Committee since 2000, sport was assigned a growing social and political role, which is emphatically reflected in the organisation of a number of World Championships and the XV Asian Games in 2006 in Doha. The next high point comes in 2022, as host of the FIFA World Cup.

In 2002, Prince Tamim was elected as President of a National Olympic Committee to the IOC, where he was a member of the Sport for All Commission from 2002 to 2015. (VK)
On 3 December 2000, Sandra Baldwin was elected President and Chairman of the Board of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC). She was the first woman in the committee’s 106-year history to hold the office, and had to manage a budget of $426 million for a four-year period.

After an internal agreement, her predecessor William J. Hybl (see JOH, vol. 27, no. 2, 2019, p. 69) declared himself ready to vacate his IOC seat for Sandra Baldwin, whereupon she was co-opted into the IOC at the 113th Session in Salt Lake City.

Seventy-seven days later, Sandra Baldwin resigned from all offices after a conference call with the USOC Executive Committee after it became known that the academic degrees stated in her USOC biography were based on falsehoods. She had neither graduated from the University of Colorado in 1962, nor had she received her Doctorate in American Literature from Arizona State University in 1967. Neither had she taught as a professor for 11 years, but only as an English teacher in Arizona, before founding a real estate company in the early 1980s.

This all came out due to an alumni student who wanted to write an article about the first female USOC President for a magazine. During her research in the academic records department of the University of Colorado, the student found out that Baldwin had studied at the university under her maiden name Hawes from 1957 onwards, but had already dropped out of her studies in 1959. At Arizona State, she only received a BA in 1962 and an MA in 1969, but no PhD.

With this embarrassing tale, Sandra Baldwin tarnished the services she had undoubtedly rendered to US Olympic sports. She was Treasurer (1978–1982), Executive Vice-President (1982–1984) and President (1984–1986) of USA Swimming and President of USA Shooting (1994–1995). She had served on the USOC Board of Directors since 1985 as Treasurer, Budget Committee Chairman, and Vice-President. She also chaired the Budget Committee from 1993 to 1996. She was Chef de Mission of the US delegation to the Pan American Games in 1995 and to the Sydney Olympics in 2000. She also served on the Board of Directors of the Organising Committee for the 1996 Atlanta Games (ACOG) and the Board of Trustees for the Salt Lake Organising Committee for the 2002 Winter Olympics. (VK)

Narmon studied economics at Rijksuniversiteit in Ghent and Business at École de Commerce Solvay. He began his business career at the Crédit Communal de Belgique, of which he became Secretary–General in 1972. In 1999, he became Chairman of the Board, a post he held until his retirement in 2005.

His experience in the world of finance led him to set the finances of the Belgian Sports Development Committee, of which he was President from 1981 until 2002.

In 1974, he joined the Belgian NOC as a council member. From 1998 to 2004, he was President of the Belgian Olympic and Inter–Federal Committee (COIB). Then he handed over the presidency to Pierre–Olivier Beckers.

Narmon also served, as his predecessor Adrien Vanden Eede, as General Secretary of the European Association of NOCs for ten years. In 1996, King Albert II conferred on him the title of Baron. In 2004, he received the Olympic Order. (MNW)
Holm was a swimmer and water polo player at national level in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as well as being a football player in Denmark’s first league. In 1961, he completed his engineering degree at the University of Horsens in Denmark. He was CEO and owner of a constructing firm from 1963 to 1986, a mortgage banker (1974–1997) and, since 1987, Vice–President of Danish Pools and Lotto Company Ltd.

From 1967 to 1971 he was a member of the Executive Board (1967–1974) of the Danish swimming and Lifesaving federation, then Vice–President (1974–1977) and President (1977–1983). Holm was on the board of the Danish Sports Confederation (which subsequently joined the Danish NOC) for 24 years. In 1983, he was elected Vice–President, and from 1992 to 2007 served as President. He led the Danish Olympic teams six times (1980–2000) at the Summer Games and four times (1992–2002) at the Winter Olympics.

After serving on the IOC for eight years, Holm was Chairman of the Organising Committee’s 13th Olympic Congress in Copenhagen in 2009. During the Congress, he was awarded the Olympic Order by IOC President Rogge. He was also a member of the Sport for All Committee (2002–2014), the International Relations Committee (2003–2014) and the Evaluation Committee for the XXII Olympic Winter Games 2014. Since 1992, he has been President of the International Masters Games Association (IMGA). (MNW)

Born: 1 December 1938, Viborg
Elected: 6 February 2002
Resigned: 7 August 2008
Attendance: Present: 7, Absent: 0

Ndiaye has also achieved success as a football player, winning, inter alia, a gold medal in the Dakar Friendship Games of 1963. He was Vice–President of the Senegalese Football Federation (1980–1984), then President of Provisional National Committee (1986–1988), the body responsible for the reorganisation of football in Senegal. Furthermore, he was President of the Senegal Tennis Federation (1983–1986) and of Gorea Sports Association (1986–2002), and later its Honorary President.

From 2007 to 2015 he was Chair of the IOC Ethics Committee, and was re-elected until 2017. After his resignation, the judge was granted the status of IOC Honour Member. (MNW)

Born: 9 May 1938, Saint–Louis
Elected: 6 February 2002
Resigned: 7 August 2008
Attendance: Present: 7, Absent: 0

IO Olympic Honorary Member Boris Stanković died on 20 March 2020 in Belgrade at the age of 94. The Serb was a member of the IOC from 1988 to 2006, Secretary–General of the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF) and Secretary–General of the International Basketball Federation (FIBA) from 1976 to 2002. At FIBA, Stanković built bridges between East and West during the Cold War, and worked with the National Basketball Association (NBA) in the US to make the Dream Team a reality, with NBA players competing at the 1992 Olympics. (JOH / IOC)

Jean–Claude Ganga, Secretary–General of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa from 1966 to 1979 and President of the Association of NOCs of Africa from 1989 to 1999, died on 28 March 2020 at the age of 86 in Mansimou, Republic of Congo. Throughout, he was dedicated and relentless campaigner against apartheid. He made an eloquent address to the IOC Executive Board in April 1968, which became a turning point in the IOC’s attitude towards apartheid. He joined the IOC in 1986, but was excluded of corruption in 1999 in connection with the bribery scandal surrounding the 2002 Olympic Winter Games of Salt Lake City. (JOH)
Dana Zátopková (TCH), *19 September 1922 in Karviná; †13 March 2020 in Prague. The Czechoslovak sports legend grew up in Uherské Hradiště in South Moravia, where her father, Antonín Ingr, commanded the 27th Infantry Regiment. From 1939 to 1945, the former legionnaire was imprisoned in the German concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald, among others.

After the liberation, as colonel, he became the superior of a recruit named Emil Zátopek, who had heard of his commander’s beautiful daughter, who was also said to be a good handball player. However, it was to be another year before the talented long–distance runner saw her for the first time and fell in love with her. It turned out that both of them happened to be born on the same day and in the same year.

Dana Ingrová – her maiden name – studied at the University of Brno, where she first came into contact with javelin throwing at the age of 23. In 1946, after a few weeks of training, she became the Czechoslovakian champion. Instead of flowers, Zátopek promised to give her a Czechoslovakian national record. He did this in May 1948 in the 3,000 m race.

Ten weeks later, they both travelled to the London Olympics, where Dana finished seventh. Emil became the 10,000 m Olympic champion and then, in a “mud–slinging match”, the 5,000 m silver medallist, behind the Belgian Gaston Reiff. After the Games – on 24 October 1948 – they married.

In 1952, in Helsinki, Zátopek repeated his 10,000 m Olympic victory. Four days later, he then won a dramatic 5,000 m race. At the same time, the javelin competition began, in which Dana Zátopková prevailed against three Soviet athletes with just her first throw. The family’s happiness was complete when Emil also won the gold medal in the marathon three days later.

Dana Zátopková participated twice more in the Olympics, finishing fourth in 1956 and second in 1960. She won the European Championships in 1954 and 1958, and was Czechoslovakian champion 13 times. She set a world record (55.73 m), two European records, and 14 national records. Still, she could never step out of the shadow of her husband, who died in 2000 at the age of 78. In public, she mostly remained “only” his wife. But in their marriage, which remained childless, she was the “general”.

After her athletic career, Dana Zátopková worked as a coach; she was a member of the IAAF Women’s Committee from 1960 to 1972. In 1988, she was awarded the Olympic Order. She was also the first Czech woman to receive the Pierre de Coubertin Fair Play Trophy. (VK)

John Cuneo (AUS), *16 June 1928 in Bulimba, Queensland; †2 June 2020. Between 1956 and 1965, Cuneo won seven Australian national sailing titles across two Sharpie classes, before experimenting with different vessels and eventually settling on the Dragon class. It was in this category that he won back–to–back national championships in 1968 and 1969, and earned himself the opportunity to represent his country at the 1968 Mexico Olympics. There he finished fifth overall with John Ferguson and Tom Anderson. Four years later in Munich, however, with John Shaw replacing Ferguson, Cuneo’s crew won the Dragon class event by a considerable margin. In the interim, Cuneo had come in second at the 1969 World Championships.

In 1974, Cuneo was briefly part of the Australian Southern Cross that challenged for, but ultimately lost, that year’s America’s Cup. (PT)

Thomas Peter “Pete” Rademacher (USA), *20 November 1928 in Tieton, Washington; †4 June 2020 in Sandusky, Ohio. Rademacher eventually fought professionally but his amateur record was far more impressive. Rademacher won several Golden Gloves titles in the Seattle area before entering Washington State University, which made him...
Georgios Zaimis (GRE), *28 June 1937 in Piraeus; †11 May 2020. Zaimis was part of the Greek team that won gold in the Dragon class at the 1960 Summer Olympics. Also on that team were Crown Prince Constantine and Adolph Kiefer. He switched to the 50 km, which paid off: in 1980, in Moscow, he was part of the Greek team that won gold in the Dragon class at the 1960 Summer Olympics. Also on that team were Crown Prince Constantine and Adolph Kiefer. (BM)

Robert Mikhaylovich Shavlakadze (URS), *4 March 1937 in Tbilisi; †22 April 2020. Shavlakadze was a member of the Dynamo Tbilisi sports club, trained by Boris Dyachkov, the husband of discus world-record holder Nina Dumbadze. He became Olympic champion in just over three years, winning 17 and losing six, but he never again fought for the title. His coach was the former world-class swimmer Boris Dyachkov, the husband of discus world-record holder Nina Dumbadze. (DK)

Rademacher had a very successful career as a salesman, and also patented several inventions. One company of which he eventually became president, Kiefer-McNeil, was started by another Olympian, swimmer Adolph Kiefer. (BM)

Tom Bruce (USA), *17 April 1952 in Red Bluff, California; †9 April 2020 in Royal Oaks, California. Bruce swam for UCLA and the Santa Clara Swim Club. He was a high school All-American during his last three years at Peterson High School in Sunnyvale, California. His biggest title was winning the 1972 NCAA 100 yard breaststroke championship. That same year, at the Munich Olympics, he earned a silver medal in the 100 m breast and a gold medal with the 4x100 medley relay. He later became a hospital facilities director. (WR)

Hartwig Gauder (GDR), *10 November 1954 in Vaihingen; †22 April 2020 in Erfurt. Gauder was born in Baden-Württemberg. In 1960, he moved with his family to Thuringia in East Germany, where his mother had inherited a house. It is there that he started as a cross-country skier, until he was discovered for the race walk. His coach was the former world-class runner Siegfried Herrmann, who had dropped out of the 1,500 m heat at the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956 due to an Achilles tendon tear.

Gauder initially specialised in the 20 km distance. In 1978, he set a European record on the track at 1:24:22.7 h. After the European Championships, where he finished seventh, he switched to the 50 km, which paid off: in 1980, in Moscow, he became Olympic champion in just his fourth competition.


From 1994 onward, the architect suffered from tiredness, insomnia, and declining performance. In March 1995, a viral infection that affected his heart muscle was detected. At the end of 1996, it was clear that he could only be saved by a transplant.
He was given an artificial heart as a temporary measure and finally received a transplant on 30 January 1997. In autumn 1998, the 43-year-old took part in the New York Marathon for the fifth time. In 2003, he became the first person to have received a transplant to climb Fujiyama Mountain in Japan.

Gauder became the Deputy Chairman of the association Sportler für Organspende (Athletes for Organ Donation) and later, its General Secretary. From 2007 to 2013, he worked at Jena University Hospital. In 1998, he published his autobiography, Die zweite Chance. Oder: Mein Leben mit dem dritten Herzen (The Second Chance. Or: My Life with a Third Heart). He died of a heart attack 22 years after his transplant. (VK)

Jānis Lušis (URS), *19 May 1939 in Jelgava/LAT; †29 April 2020 in Riga. The Latvian was one of the best and most solid javelin throwers in the world. He participated in the Olympic Games four times and won a complete set of medals: gold in 1968, silver in 1972, and bronze in 1964. In Montreal, in 1976, he came eighth.

Lušis grew up in a village about 100 km from Riga. As a 14-year-old, he started playing sports to emulate his older brother Aivar. He initially tried his hand as a triple jumper. After finishing secondary school, Lušis graduated from the Latvian Sports Institute in Riga. It was there that he met the successful decathlon coach Valentīns Māzzalītis (1930-2017), who mentored him from then on. Lušis first attracted attention in 1962, when he won two bronze medals at the Soviet championships: in javelin throwing and decathlon. He won his first European championship title in the same year, followed by three more by 1971.

After “the iron man”, as Lušis was called, had improved the world record of the Norwegian Terje Pedersen (91.72) in 1968 by throwing 91.98 m, he won at the Olympic Games in Mexico City, as expected, with 90.01 m. He lost the world record to the Finn Jorma Kinnunen (92.70) in 1969, but then quickly regained it shortly before the 1972 Games, with 93.80 m, meaning that the army officer travelled to Munich as the favourite. It was one of the big surprises when Klaus Wolfermann (FRG) snatched a second Olympic gold medal from under his nose by a minuscule two centimetres.

Lušis was married to the 1960 Olympic javelin champion, Elviņa Ozolina. Once his sports career came to an end, he became a coach in Riga. Their son, Voldemārs Lušis, took part in the Olympic Games in 2000 and 2004, taking 18th and 17th place, respectively. (VK)

Wolfgang Gunkel (GDR), *15 January 1948 in Berlin; †20 May 2020 in Berlin. Gunkel started out as a swimmer before turning to rowing. He trained on the 1936 Olympic regatta course in Berlin-Grünau. At the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, he finished fourth with Helmut Wollmann in coxed pair. Four years later, he won Olympic gold in the same category with Jörg Lucke in Munich. In 1976 he joined the East German Olympic team, but only as a substitute. He ended his sporting career at the 1977 World Championships, winning eight.

Having trained as a surgical mechanic, Gunkel worked as an expert in boat building at the Institute for Research and Development of Sports Equipment. In 2002, he founded the Berlin Master Rowing Club. (VK)

Nate Brooks (USA), *4 August 1933 in Cleveland, Ohio; †14 April 2020. Brooks was a three-time champion of the Cleveland Golden Gloves. After the 1952 Helsinki Olympics, when he won the gold medal in the flyweight class, he went on to have a short career as a professional after his Olympic triumph. He fought as a professional and in 1953 chalked up seven victories against one defeat. On 8 February 1954 he won the North American bantamweight championship by KO’ing Billy Peacock in the eighth round. He defended the title twice before losing it to Mickey Mars in April 1954. This defeat led to a string of eight consecutive losses, and he left the ring after 1958, retiring with a professional record of ten wins (three by KO) and nine losses. Brooks later worked as a survey engineer with the Ohio Department of Transportation. (VK)

John Davies (AUS/on the photo right), *17 May 1929 in Willoughby, NSW; †24 March 2020 in Pasadena, California. The top breaststroker of the world at the start of 1950s, Davies first rose to prominence in 1946, when he won both breaststroke events at the New South Wales championships. He then earned a spot on the 1948 Australian Olympic team. At the Olympics, Davies competed in the 200 m breaststroke, finishing fourth. Although the timekeepers recorded him at 0.2 seconds faster than the bronze medallist Bob Sohl, the judges believed that Sohl had touched first and awarded him the bronze.

After the London Olympics, Davies enrolled at the University of Michigan, where he studied political science and law. He continued to swim, winning silver in the 200 yards breaststroke at the 1948 NCAA Championships and at the AAU Meet, won gold in the 1951 200 breaststroke, and indoors in the
1952 200 short course breaststroke. These results earned him a spot on the 1952 Australian Olympic team without competing at the Australian Championships. Considered as a favourite for 200 m breast gold after setting a new 200 yard world record earlier this year, Davies did not disappoint, winning gold with a strong finish after trailing by two seconds at midway.

Davies retired from swimming after the 1952 Olympics and returned to the United States to continue his studies at the University of Michigan. He later transferred to UCLA, where he completed his degree in 1959. After graduation, Davies settled in Pasadena, California and became a naturalized US citizen, passing the bar examinations to become an attorney. In 1986, Davies was nominated to a seat on the United States District Court for the Central District of California. He presided over the 1992 trial of a group of Los Angeles Police Department officers charged in relation to the Rodney King incident. In 1993 he was named District Judge of The Year by the Criminal Justice Section of the Los Angeles County Bar Association and received the Congressional Certificate of Special Recognition for Exemplary Performance. He also received the Daniel O’Connell Award from the Irish-American Bar Association. He was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame (ISHOF) in 1984, and the Sport Australia Hall of Fame in 1992. (BM/WR)

István Kausz (HUN), *18 August 1932 in Budapest; †3 June 1920. Dr. Kausz began his modern pentathlon career in the colours of Vasas in 1949. From 1952 he competed for Budapest Haladás and won the winter pentathlon team championship three years in succession (1952–54). In 1954, he switched to épée fencing, as an OSC competitor. Between 1957 and 1965, he reached the top as a member of the Hungarian fencing team. He was a world champion at both individual (1962) and team (1959), and was also a double silver and single bronze medallist in the team event. Kausz was a World College Games champion and a Universiade winner.

Kausz was also a two-time Olympian, first in Rome, where he finished fourth in the team competition, but his greatest achievement was at Tokyo in 1964, where he won a gold medal in the team event.

He obtained his medical degree during his active sporting career, and went on to work as a doctor at the Central Sports School and then for the Hungarian swimming team. As a member of the medical team, he represented the Hungarian aquatic team at several Summer Olympics, from Munich in 1972 to London 2012. (RL)

Balbir Singh (IND), *31 December 1923 in Haripur Khalsa, Punjab; †25 May 2020. Balbir Singh Dosanjh is one of the legends of Indian hockey, winning three gold medals at the 1948, 1952, and 1956 Olympic Games. In 1952 and 1956 he was selected as the Indian flag bearer at the Opening Ceremonies. In 1952 Singh Dosanjh scored five goals in the tournament final, still an Olympic record for most individual goals in a hockey final, and led all scorers that year with nine goals for the tournament.

He also won a silver medal with the Indian team at the 1958 Asian Games, and at the 1962 Asian Games, he was selected to light the flame at the Opening Ceremony in New Delhi. He later became a well-respected coach, guiding the Indian national team at the World Cup, Asian Games, Champions Trophy, and Esanda Trophy, and never failing to lead the team to a medal performance. In 1957 Singh Dosanjh became the first hockey player to be awarded the Padman Shri, the fourth-highest civilian honour given by the Indian government. His business career was with the Punjab Government in the police and sports departments. (OM)

Bobby Joe Morrow (USA), *15 October 1935 in Harlingen, Texas; †30 May 2020 in San Benito, Texas. Although other sprinters can claim faster times, Morrow has the finest competitive record of any man in the history of sprinting and is unquestionably the greatest white sprinter in history. In his freshman year at Abilene Christian he lost only once; the following year he was undefeated at 220 yards and lost only once at 100 yards.

Apart from his triple Olympic successes at the Melbourne Games, he equalled the world 220 yards turn record three times and matched the world 100 m record three times. As a member of the winning Olympic relay team in 1956, he shared the world record of 39.5 (39.60) and he twice helped Abilene Christian set a world record in the 4×110 yards relay. He was also a member of three teams that set world records for the 4×220 yards relay. In addition, he took the AAU 100 three times, the 220 yards once, and won the sprint double at the 1956–57 NCAA. Perhaps Morrow’s greatest honour came in January 1957, when he was named Sportsman of the Year by Sports Illustrated. (BM)

(BM = Bill Mallon, OM = OlyMADMen, RL = Rudolf Laky, DT = David Tarbotton PT = Paul Tchir, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt)

The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.
Heather L. Reid

OLYMPIC PHILOSOPHY

The Ideas and Ideals behind the Ancient and Modern Olympic Games

Parnassos Press, 2020


Reviewed by Elizabeth A. Hanley

OLYMPIC PHILOSOPHY is a remarkable book, in that it can be easily read by those who have little or no expertise in philosophy. What better way to open Professor Reid’s book than with a poignant poem by Christos C. Evangeliou, Olympic Spirit, written after the destructive fires of 2007 in Ancient Olympia?

Ancient Olympia is home to the International Olympic Academy, educational and cultural domain of the Olympic Movement, where Professor Reid has appreciated its ambience and the opportunity to lecture over the years. The introduction to her book is a personal description of how she, as a cycling athlete, initially became interested in Olympic philosophy – a good way to pique the reader’s interest. This also sets the stage for the series of essays she has woven together for a comprehensive book on Olympic philosophy.

In the prologue, Reid stresses why Olympic scholars should continue to study the ancient Games, the concept of Olympism and its ideals, as well as the pitfalls of the Olympic Movement and its future. Eight sections are comprised of three essays each, relating to the specific section’s topic. There is also a guide to Olympic studies topics which are helpful to those teaching a course in Olympic philosophy. An extensive bibliography and index are provided at the back of the book. This is a well-written and well-documented book that will be valuable in any library.

Pre-Olympic heroes and the ancient Greek world provide the reader with a fascinating history, including descriptions of sporting competitions in Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey; Greek gods, mythology, and festivals; Olympia’s religious heritage, prior to and during the ancient Olympic Games; the role of Pindar and poetry; and a brilliant comparison of ancient sport with modern-day sport, noting that the same crises and conflicts have essentially not changed. The introduction of Greek words (e.g. Sophia/wisdom; arete/virtue) are included throughout the book as a way of engaging the inquisitive mind, and a glossary of Ancient Greek terms is included at the end of the book.

Philosophies from East and West, ancient and modern, are incorporated throughout the book, relating them to sport and Olympic Games in a variety of aspects. Highlighting Olympic athletes and other well-known athletes adds another dimension to Reid’s ability to connect with the reader, since many of the athletes chosen are familiar and their accomplishments notable, whether for good or bad (e.g. Nadia Comaneci, Lance Armstrong). Pierre de Coubertin’s philosophy of Olympism might lack a strict definition, but its fundamental principles of mutual understanding, friendship, solidarity, and fair play are an integral part of the IOC’s Olympic Charter and deserve to be adhered to today.

Understanding and discussing the following topics provide the reader with essential knowledge regarding Olympic philosophy, from antiquity to the present: intrinsic and extrinsic values; educational, sociological, political, and commercial links to sport and character; the quest for peace and world community; amateurism and professionalism; excellence and sacrifice; sport for all; the role of women over the centuries; and true globalism through the five interconnected Olympic rings.

With regard to virtue (or arete), Reid quotes Confucius as saying that it “never dwells in solitude; it will always bring neighbours.” This coincides with Professor Reid’s final thoughts: “To understand Olympic philosophy, we should experience Olympia … In Olympia we can remember what sport was once capable of, and perhaps we can discover the strength to renew its ancient power.”
historically structured, the publication has an interdisciplinary character that “covering fields such as anthropology, geography, literature, management, and philosophy”. As the editors themselves point out in the introduction, “A single book cannot cover all topics related to the relationship between the Olympic Movement and Latin America and the Caribbean.” Despite this caveat, the authors manage to give an overview of how Latin America and the Caribbean participated in the Olympic Movement. The experts examine the rich and complex involvement of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in the Olympic Movement, starting from concrete situations.

The book contains nine articles written by renowned researchers who investigate the influences, struggles, and contributions of Latin American and Caribbean societies in the Olympic Movement. By investigating nationalist political movements, post-revolutionary diplomacy, struggles for colonialization, gender discourses, inclusion, and exclusion, they define how the nations of this region shaped and were shaped by the Olympic Movement.

The “grand finale” is left to Christopher Gaffney in the final chapter, who masterfully and critically brings together points addressed in the previous articles. He highlights that “the chapters in this volume are indicative of the wider trends in Latin American sports scholarship and the generalised crisis of the Olympic Movement in Latin America and the Caribbean”.

Gaffney also notes that the “authors are predominantly male, investigating men both on the field and in male-dominated institutional/political contexts. This is not to imply that the editors and authors are biased, gender-blind, or discriminatory (they are not) or to diminish the quality and importance of their scholarship in any way. It is simply a reflection of the status quo of sports scholarship”. Absolutely true!

Shunsuke Matsuo contributed the first article, “Sport Policy, the YMCA, and the Early History of Olympism in Uruguay”. It examines the process of incorporating Uruguay into the Olympic Movement in the context of the Uruguayan sports system.

The second article, “Enthusiastic Yet Awkward Dance Partners: Olympism and Cuban Nationalism”, was written by Thomas F. Carter. It provides an overview of the involvement and understanding of Cuban nationalism from 1896 to 2016. In addition to being extremely rich in analysis, the text “provides a potential starting point for further investigations,” according to the author.

The third article, by Claire Brewster and Keith Brewster, presents a brilliant analysis of the Mexican process. Its title, “Olympic Diplomacy and National Redemption in Post-revolutionary Mexico”, is a succinct description of the authors’ subject matter.

At the conclusion of the fourth article, Antonio Sotomayor states that “Puerto Rico’s Olympic sport tells us much more than the confluences between nationalism and the Olympic Movement in Latin America and the Caribbean”. This sentence indicates the importance of reading this informative chapter, on “The Nationalist Movement and the Struggle for Freedom in Puerto Rico’s Olympic Sport”.

Chapter five, “Adhemar Ferreira da Silva: Representations of the Brazilian Olympic Hero”, is authored by Fabio de Faria Peres and Victor Andrade de Melo. The high point is their affirmation that sport, at least in the Brazilian case, has limited power in terms of changes in current social structures. The article is quite critical and contains fascinating details, which the authors sourced from newspapers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo related to Adhemar da Silva in the period between 1952 and 1956.

Cesar R. Torres contributed the article, “Solving – the Problem of Argentine Sport: The Post-Peronist Olympic Movement in Argentina”. It is worth noting that the author is a reference for all researchers of the Olympic Movement in Latin America. The highlight of the article is its wealth of detail and information.

In “Un compromiso de tod@s: Women, Olympism and the Dominican Third Way”, April Yoder addresses the theme of female participation in the Olympic Movement. Her analysis focuses on the X1 Central American and Caribbean Games in 1974, and how women conquered their space in the Dominican Republic.

The essay, “Dis-assembling the Logocentric Subject at the Paralympic Games”, by Chloe Rutter-Jensen, inserts a series of discussions regarding exclusion and inclusion in the context of the Colombian Olympic Movement. She examines the case of the Paralympic athlete, Fabio Torres. This is an article to think and rethink the notions of gender, race, social class, and above all, the imaginary of perfection.

Chapter nine was written by Lamartine Pereira da Costa. He masterfully presents an overview of the Olympic Movement in Latin America, from its beginning to the 2016 Games. But, as it should be, Lamartine is always one step ahead of the discussions. This is clear from “A Brief Excursion into the Future” at the end of the chapter.

A critical remark is related to the publication’s title. The Spanish word Olimpismo might lead to false expectations about the content and deter potential readers who are not interested in the issue of Olympism. Of course, Olympism is an aspect of some discussions about the Olympic Movement, but it is not the focus of this publication.

What the publication actually discusses, as its subtitle informs us, is The Olympic Movement in the Making of Latin America and the Caribbean.
Stephen R. Wenn & Robert K. Barney
The Gold in the Rings
The People and Events that Transformed the Olympic Games
University of Illinois Press, 2020

Reviewed by Arnd Krüger

According to the press, the postponement of the Tokyo 2020 Olympics will cost the IOC an estimated 800 million US$. In previous times this would have meant the bankruptcy of the IOC. Today, the IOC can handle this and continue to subsidise National Olympic Committees and International Sports Federations. This book is the perfect explanation why.

There are many ways to look at the workings of any organisation. The Canadian authors decided to look at where the finances originate and what is done to convert an international sports organisation into a brand. After their books, Selling the Five Rings. The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Commercialism (2004), and Tarnished Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal (2011), the authors now consider the period extending from the Brundage years to the Rogge years of the IOC. The more recent Thomas Bach years are only dealt with in short.

Despite the “people” mentioned in the title, this book is focused on money matters, specifically the negotiations concerning the commercial revenue of the Games. Brundage’s and Lord Killanin’s (or Monique Berlioux’s?) blunder, not to register the Olympic Games internationally as a brand, was at the core of the problem that occupied the IOC for 40 years.

With the passing of the Amateur Sports Act by the United States Congress in 1978, the United States Olympic Committee was legally the sole owner of the Olympic symbols in the US. As soon as the IOC began to acquire American sponsors for the Olympic television coverage and their TOP sponsorship program, the quarrel began, as the IOC did not have any rights in the US.

The demand for a larger share of the income than any other National Olympic Committee spoiled much of the relationship between the USOC and the international sports community for 40 years. The bid by Chicago for the 2016 Olympics was quickly dropped, in the first round of the Copenhagen IOC selection session. This was all the more embarrassing for the US, as President Obama made a last-minute appeal for his city of Chicago in person.

The authors focus in their ten chapters on ten events that best explain the Gold in the Rings. For them it starts with Helms vs. Brundage, which underscores the problem of advertising an Olympic brand (in their case an Olympic bread) from the 1932 Olympics onward without paying for the use of the name “Olympic” and the symbols of the Olympic Games – ending with Barack Obama and a short look at the present situation with Thomas Bach.

The book draws on the IOC Archives and many interviews with North American and other English-speaking personalities, particularly with IOC Member Richard Pound and IOC-marketer Michael Payne. Both were responsible for the surge in value of the IOC during the Samaranch years.

The money came, however, mostly from North American sources. Some of the negotiations (pp. 155ff.) remind you of the good cop–bad cop tactics, with Samaranch being on very friendly terms with USOC President LeRoy Walker, while at the same time their financial officers quarreled severely with their USOC counterpart Harvey Schiller. When the rest of the world started to pay much more than before, the situation relaxed somewhat after 1996.

The book therefore gives many hitherto unknown details of the financial input into the coffers of the IOC. This inside look at the financial side of the IOC makes it fascinating reading if you are in for business details. As an historian you wonder about all of the other IOC Members. After all, the financially successful IOC Vice-President Richard Pound was not elected IOC President, but Dr. Jacques Rogge was. So there is still plenty of research to do.

The book is heavily documented, with 50 pages of endnotes (easier to read as much of the fine points are in the notes) along with a 27-page bibliography – and makes it a perfect basis for more research into the financial matters of the IOC. A detailed index tremendously helps in using the book.

Danyel Reiche
Success and Failure of Countries at the Olympic Games

Reviewed by Luke J. Harris

What makes a successful Olympic Games for any country is a pertinent question for athletes, administrators, governments and the media at
every Olympic Games. For many nations, medals are determinant of not just pride, but also the future of funding individual athletes and entire sports. Despite this, success can mean many different things and author Danyel Reiche seeks to explain ‘how “Olympic success” is defined differently around the globe’ (p.1).

The studies and analysis here are presented in four sections. The first part is an introduction, it defines success, analyses targets and motives. To the IOC, there is only one determinder of success; medals, a model also used by its member countries, many of which have become ‘obsessed’ with winning medals. Here, Reiche demonstrates an excellent use of the secondary material available to explain and develop his argument and does much to explain the role of international politics within the Olympic narrative.

This book is rich in statistical analysis and this strengthens the argument. Many of the statistics used are from the period between the 1988 and 2012 Olympics. Amongst the many revelations from this data are the low percentages of competing nations that have actually won medals, such as at the 2008 Summer Olympics, where 205 nations competed, only 85 of these (42.1%) won medals, a comparable statistic across the modern history of both Games.

The second part of the book refers to ‘general Olympic success factors’. Here, there is discussion upon the factors of wealth upon success, also ‘population size’ and ‘geography’, which reveals that small countries with a high population density, such as Lebanon, lack space for sport, and consequently struggle. It is also noted that a great deal of snow isn’t always a formula for success at the Winter Olympics. Rather it is the number of ski resorts which are important, demonstrated by Bolivia, which has all the natural ingredients for success, but without the required facilities and consequently is without a Winter Olympic medal since 1992.

Ideology is a recurring focus with analysis upon historical socialist practices and attitudes, such as Hungary’s motivations at the 1948 Olympics, where it sought to use its athletes’ success to promote the country and its values. This occurred even more extensively, the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In its relative short period of existence, the GDR had a major impact upon the manner by which nations up to the current day have approached their preparations for the Olympics. Consequently, there is extensive analysis of its Olympic performance, along with that of Cuba since the 1960’s.

These two examples are directly linked to other nations in the section ‘Institutionalization’, within the third section of the book, beginning with Australia and Canada, and more recently China and Great Britain and how they have adapted this approach within their own framework in their quest for success.

The third section; ‘specific Olympic success factors’, beginning with the ‘Promotion of Women’ includes detailed statistical analysis that breaks down the extent of women’s Olympic involvement. Reiche explains how women have boosted the position of countries such as Greece and New Zealand and how for Arabic countries such as Iran, who competed without women prior to London 2012, have suffered in terms of their overall performance.

The final section analyses the impact of ‘home advantage’ upon success. Reiche explains that it is easier for home nations to be successful because of qualification standards which are ‘substantially easier’ (p. 144). It is also proved that those nations that have hosted the Games, are the most successful – the GDR is the only country which is the top 10 all-time medals ranking not to have hosted.

In conclusion, this book offers a new and comprehensive analysis of ‘success’ at the Olympic Games. Throughout Reiche goes far beyond the medal table and seeks to explain why some countries are successful and others are not. Perhaps rather frustrating for the historian, the focus is primarily upon the period beginning in the 1980’s for much of the statistical analysis and very rarely it approaches anything prior to 1945, although there is still plenty to think about for the historian interested in both older and more recent Olympic Games in analysing performance and trends of performance.

San Charles Haddad
THE FILE
Origins of the Munich Massacre
Post Hill Press, 2020

Reviewed by Christian Wacker

Almost unconsciously, I experienced my first Olympic Games at the age of six on my father’s lap inside the Munich stadium 1972. As a resident of the city, it was easy for him to get tickets at that time, but today I don’t remember which event we attended.

In my memory, the bright colours of a design that was supposed to stand for peace, international understanding, and a modern West Germany mingled with the horrors of the Cold War, was manifested for me by the entry of the two German teams.
Germany was a divided country, and the world was divided by a deep ditch between East and West, which even the Olympic Games could not overcome. On the contrary, the competitions underlined the enmities between the two political blocs.

It was in this field of tension that the cruel assassination of Munich took place on 5 and 6 September 1972, with 11 Israeli fatalities and one German one. Five Palestinian terrorists were shot dead by the West German police. The powerlessness of the international press coverage was followed by a plethora of academic and popular science treatises on the subject, serious but also politically motivated written debates, and numerous documentaries and feature films. A place of remembrance in the Olympic Park in Munich, as well as commemorative plaques in the Bavarian town of Fürstenfeldbruck and at the Ben Shemen Memorial in Israel, keep the memory alive.

What else could San Charles Haddad contribute that has not already been researched and documented? To understand the purpose of the book, one should consult the author’s biography. Haddad is a cosmopolitan, comes from a Palestinian family, and grew up in Kuwait. He lived in the Middle East for many years, but was equally socialized in the USA, where he received his university degrees. He comes from a rowing background, founded the Palestinian Rowing Federation, and was its president for 11 years. Someone like Haddad, who is at home in different worlds and can empathise with them, is predestined to approach such a topic without prejudice. He documents this already on the first page, where he combines quotations from the Tanakh, Christian Bible, and Qur’an.

The book mentions the assassination attempt in Munich in 1972, but its primary purpose is to trace the history of the Palestinian Olympic Committee (POC). Huge amounts of archive material were evaluated, arranged, and put into context. When reading the book, one senses that Haddad has dealt intensively and over a very long period of time with these materials and has also examined them critically. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in creating a book that is not a sober collection of sources, but rather one that is easy to read and works with narrative methods. One gets very close to protagonists like the father of Zionist sports, Yosef Yekutieli, or YMCA director Waldo Heinrichs, when details of their stories are lovingly told.

The reader is taken back to the early years of organised sports in Palestine with a focus on the decades 1920 to 1940. With the support of the YMCA movement and against the background of the discussions about an Israeli state, the Maccabi movement was established, in which a “muscular Judaism” was propagated as a counterpart to “muscular Christianity”. From this historical situation, the Palestinian Olympic Committee finally emerged in 1934; however, it did not send a team to the 1936 Games. Haddad portrays these events like a dramaturg and captures the individual stories masterfully, so that one would like to read the book in one go and not put it away.

As explained by the book cover, “This book narrates the previously untold history of a Palestine Olympic Committee recognized before the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. It sheds light on some of the darkest events in sport history, exposing secretive relationships behind the doors of the Jerusalem YMCA, Nazi agitation, arrests, internments, and other intrigue in the complicated history of Israeli and Palestinian sport.”

In addition to an archive index, an appendix is included, in which the chronology of events is listed in keywords. This is especially helpful as a source for reference and for the classification of the stories in the continuous text.

**Benjamin Tappan Wright (USA),** *24 August 1922 in Berkeley, Cal.; †30 November 2019 in Lexington, MA. ISOH member Benjamin Wright graduated with a degree in history from Harvard College in 1944. After serving in the US Navy, he earned his jurisprudence degree from Boston University School of Law. His professional career was spent as a general council for the Badger Company, a subsidiary of Raytheon Company. Wright became involved with figure skating in the late 1940s, and remained active for more than a half century. He is an honorary member of the International Skating Union (ISU) and an honorary World Championship referee. Wright served on many ad hoc committees and as the chair of the figure skating technical committee. He is also an honorary member of and a past president of the United States Figure Skating Association (USFSA).

His two major books are *Skating Around the World, 1892–1992*, written for the centennial of the ISU, and *Skating in America*, written for the 75th anniversary of the USFSA. Numerous articles have appeared in *SKATING* magazine. He served as a referee at the World Championships for 18 consecutive years, 1974–1991, and at five holdings of the Olympic Winter Games, 1976–1992. Wright was elected to the World Figure Skating Hall of Fame in 1997.

*Jim Hines*