

Welcome to the Issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

COVID-19 has changed the world. People have learned to deal with it, although there is no end in sight to the pandemic. The ISOH has also been forced to face this challenge. Since the printed edition of the *Journal* cannot be sent to all countries, we have decided to make the new edition available without restriction to all interested parties.

In agreement with the IOC, the Tokyo 2020 Organising Committee decided on extensive measures to secure the Games of the XXXII Olympiad, postponed to 2021. The *Journal* will continue to closely monitor these developments.

In this issue, IOC Doyen Richard W. Pound begins a series on the history of Olympic television. His first article examines the topic from its beginnings to the 1960 Rome Games, which were broadcast worldwide for the first time.

The focus of this issue is once again the 60th Anniversary of the Rome Games. Pasquale Polo and Elmer Sterken concentrate on the sporting results. Ian Jobling writes about the spectacular 100 m freestyle duel between the Australian John Devitt and challenger Lance Larson from the USA. Although the electronic timers indicated that Larson had won, the judges ruled in favour of Devitt.

There was no such doubt on the Bay of Naples, where Crown Prince Constantine helmed the Greek boat to victory in the Dragon class. Philip Barker looks back on the victory by a man who later became King of the Hellenes.

African American Lee Calhoun also had a struggle on his hands – and not just with high hurdles, but with the officials. After his 1956 gold medal, he appeared on a television game show. Because his wife accepted its gifts, Calhoun was suspended for violating amateur rules. This was eventually rescinded in time for him to win a second Olympic gold in 1960.

San Charles Haddad has been doing pioneering work for quite some time with his research into an age-old conflict. This time, he investigates the role of the Nazi Party in Palestine, the Jerusalem YMCA, and Attallah Kidess in connection with the 1936 Berlin Games.

From Christian Wacker we learn that the IOC first presented itself in 1911 in Dresden at the International Hygiene Exhibition. The fact that the sports competitions were grandly described by the organisers as “Olympic Games” was accepted without argument.

November, in which this issue is published, is considered a “quiet month” in many countries in the northern hemisphere. It is often also the month for commemorating those lost in war. That’s why we take the 75th anniversary of the end of WW II as an opportunity to remember at least 480 Olympians who lost their lives in the conflict. But not all were victims; some were also perpetrators.

What else is on offer? The IOC Members’ biography series continues. We mourn Olympic legends, review the Olympic book market, and highlight Olympic news. ■

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Olympic History for Everyone



Christian Wacker
ISOH PRESIDENT

As a trained archaeologist and historian, I have tormented my family, students, and other knowledge seekers for years by visiting ancient sites such as Olympia, Delphi, or Sparta and I still enjoy doing so today. There was interest in history, but also a lot of incomprehension.

What does this have to do with me? What use is this information in the here and now?

Unfortunately, there is a common misperception that history is boring, a field of employment for white-haired men (and few women) and therefore of marginal importance. If historiography were marginal, the narrative of Olympic history would be a short note in the big book of the Olympic Movement. But it is not!

Anecdotes of past games and stories of experiences inside and outside the Olympic stadium do not only come from supporters and fans of the Olympic Movement. Everyone has a story to tell, so Olympic events are anchored in the collective memory. Or put another way,

do you know anyone who would not be able to tell an Olympic story?

The International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) has been doing this for almost 30 years. It contributes to preserving and expanding Olympic memories, making the stories known. In the future, moving away from the image of the greying storyteller or even the more knowledgeable teacher will be major objectives. Because, as already mentioned, we are not the only ones in society who know Olympic stories.

Olympic historiography is not a colonial heritage, even if some events from the past might suggest this. It is the narrative of Olympic events and becomes interesting when it is anecdotal, like a novel. It could be a ten-page account of an Olympic finish, or two lines of coverage of ten years of Olympic events. This decision is up to the interpreter. He or she does not have to be a history professor or trained academic, but does need the ability to tell a story.

Nor should the historical dimension be forgotten. From today's perspective, for example, Pierre de Coubertin's resolute rejection of women's participation in the Games is not considered acceptable. Yet during his time and zeitgeist, the question did not even arise. Interpreters of Olympic history must understand this and make it clear.

The same applies, for example, to the assessment of 1912 double gold medallist Jim Thorpe. North American native tribes tell his story in a different way to that portrayed in Olympic historiography. For there is no such thing as a universal history, an elementary historical fact, a historical totality in the sense of Arnold Joseph Toynbee and the elitist thinking that goes with it. The great French philosopher of history, Paul Veyne, put it in a nutshell in his book *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, from 1971: "Because everything is historical, history is what we choose!" History in itself does not exist; there are stories that are subjectively chosen and told.

We invite everyone to contribute their Olympic stories and help us to expand the canon of well-known Olympic events. As ISOH, we would prefer not to be viewed merely as an association of academic Olympic historians, but as collectors and interpreters of Olympic events and information, which we share with a wider audience on our various platforms. Consider this an open call to join us in our efforts. ■

Season's Greetings and Happy New Year 2021

International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH)



Waiting for the start: The Olympic flame on 23 July at Tokyo Olympic Stadium.

Photo: picture-alliance/Xinhua

Measures to Make the Olympics Fit for a Post-Corona World

On 7 October 2020, the IOC Executive Board (EB) and Tokyo 2020 Organising Committee discussed the estimated USD 280 million (JPY 30 billion) in cost savings that will be achieved by initial simplification and optimisation measures developed to deliver Games fit for a post-corona world. This tentative figure is based on over 50 measures that to which the IOC and Tokyo 2020 agreed at last month's Coordination Commission meeting.

Speaking after the meeting, IOC President Thomas Bach said: "We got another very encouraging, precise and excellent report from the Tokyo Organising Committee. There is really great progress being made to make these Olympic Games fit for the post-corona world. Savings of about USD 280 million will be achieved in the operational budget by applying 50-plus measures, which had been agreed between the Organising Committee and the IOC Coordination Commission in the last meeting."

Examples of some of the key measures being implemented include: the review of specifications for temporary overlay and other equipment at venues; the reduction of service levels and the *Look of the Games* in venues and in the Olympic and the Paralympic Village; the optimisation of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay operations; encouraging stakeholders to optimise their delegation working in Tokyo; and also staffing plans for the Organising Committee.

The results of these efforts will now allow Tokyo 2020 to estimate the total additional costs associated with the postponement, including the approximate costs for COVID-19 countermeasures. The Organising Committee will work through these topics in detail and present its updated budget by the end of this year.

On the countermeasure planning, President Bach commented: "We also see that the work on COVID countermeasures is making good progress, and that more and more measures are being added, including the potential availability of vaccines and rapid testing – where we are very confident that they will be available. All these new methods will be added to the toolbox, which will then be available when we have to take the final decision. Then we can decide which tools we can take out of this toolbox, and apply them for the safe organisation of these Olympic Games, about which both the Organising Committee and the IOC are very, very confident." (IOC/JOH) ■



Facelift for the Olympic rings: Transported by barge from Tokyo's waterfront area to a factory in Yokohama, where they will be refurbished for the postponed Olympic Games in 2021.

Photo: picture-alliance/MAXPPP

The Olympic Flame as Light at the End of the Tunnel

The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Tokyo 2020) announced an outline of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay planned for 2021. The Relay will start its journey on 25 March 2021 from the J-Village National Training Centre in Fukushima Prefecture and then traverse all 47 prefectures across Japan. In principle, the route and schedule of the Relay will remain as originally planned.

As the year 2021 will mark the 10th anniversary of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, the rescheduled Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay aims to showcase the recovery of the areas worst affected by the disaster, in line with the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay concept "Hope Lights Our Way". In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, it will also symbolise the light at the end of the dark tunnel; a beacon of hope for the world in the run-up to the Tokyo 2020 Games, themselves a symbol of the resilience, the unity and the solidarity of humankind.

The Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay will travel for 121 days across Japan. The scheduled dates for each prefecture in 2021 will be one day earlier than the originally scheduled dates in 2020.

Tokyo 2020 is reviewing a number of COVID-19 countermeasures for the Torch Relay consulting with the experts and the health authority. (Tokyo 2020/JOH) ■

Those Elusive Rome Olympics: The Games and the Competitions

By Pasquale Polo and Elmer Sterken

A magical moment: Ethiopia's Abebe Bikila is the first runner to reach the finish line of the marathon at the Arch of Constantine in a world best time of 2:15:16.2 hours. Runners completed the last few kilometres along the historic Via Appia Antica almost in darkness. It was lit only by torches.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



Introduction

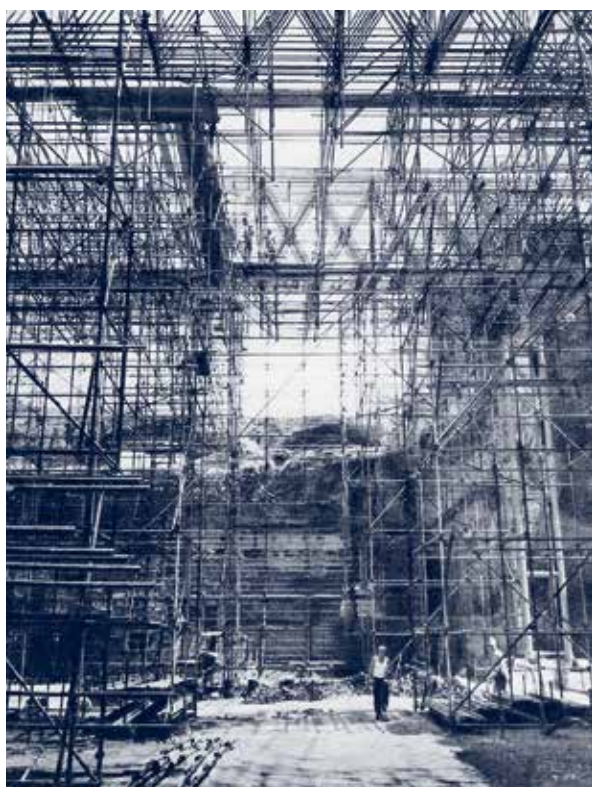
The Games of the XVIIth Olympiad were celebrated in Rome from 25 August to 11 September 1960. They were opened by President of the Italian Republic, Giovanni Gronchi. Afterwards, the President of the Organising Committee, Giulio Andreotti, addressed the crowd at the Opening Ceremony in the renewed Olympic Stadium on Mussolini's Foro Italico. The setting was like a fairytale: Rome had prepared some of its best and most beautiful locations to host the Olympic events.

Italian society was undergoing a *miracolo* (miracle), a flourishing period both economically and culturally. But the Cold War meant international politics were at a high temperature. And the start of the Olympic Games coincided with the start of a serious heat wave in Rome. On 28 August 1960, official temperatures reached 34 degrees Celsius in the shade.

In the previous issue, we described the history of and the preparations for the Rome 1960 Olympics. After a troubled first half of the century, Italy re-entered the international forum by becoming a member of NATO,

the United Nations, and – as a founding member – the European Union. The country was experiencing an economic boom, tourism was increasing, the National Olympic Committee (CONI) was under the strong leadership of its impressive president, Giulio Onesti, and the local organising committee had been able to invest in infrastructure.

In this article, we discuss the Games and the competitions. We examine whether the bold statement made by David Maraniss in the title of his 2008 book, *Rome 1960: The Games that Changed the World*, is valid. Were the Rome Olympic Games so special? Or were they, like Barbara Keys (2011) argues, part of the Olympic evolution rather than a revolution? We first describe the scene of the Rome 1960 Olympics and focus on the prevailing economic and political conditions. Next, we describe in headlines the major results of the competitions and focus on the impact of the Cold War. In Rome, the Soviet Union (USSR) and USA together won more than half of the events. We conclude that, in the light of history, this is indeed special. Thereafter we describe two major Olympic developments in the



Welcome to the consumer society: Coca-Cola advertisement during the 1960 Olympic Games.

Far left: Construction of the grandstands for 5,300 gymnastics spectators. Competitions were held at the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla.

Photos: Games of the XVII Olympiad Rome 1960, Official Souvenir

1960s, commercialism and doping, which are labelled by Maraniss as “special in Rome”. We conclude by evaluating the Maraniss–Keys debate.

Setting the scene of the Roman fairytale

Understanding the impact of the organisation of the Olympic Games in 1960 requires a discussion of Italy – and in particular, Rome’s – economic, cultural, and political conditions. For comparison, we use the Cold War period (1947–1991) as a time frame.

To discuss the Italian economic status in the 1950s, we need to go back to the aftermath of the Second World War. The European Recovery Programme – better known as the Marshall Plan – had helped boost western and southern European economies between 1948 and 1952 by almost US\$13 billion – about \$120 billion today. Italy received about 10% of the total funds. Some may be surprised that such a large share was given to a former enemy.

But the war in Italy had two different phases. Between June 1940 and September 1943, the first phase, Allied Forces attacked large industries in urban areas. After signing the Armistice de Cassibile in September 1943, known as the second phase, Allied bombing was focused on Nazi troop concentrations, railways, and roads. The Marshall Plan typically wanted to cover the damage of the second phase.

In the end, the Second World War had a great impact on the Italian economy: industrial production had shrunk by two-thirds. About half of the roads and 70% of the railroads were damaged, but 80–90% of industrial

sites survived (see Bianchi and Giorcelli, 2018). The Italian provinces, which had especially suffered from the Allied bombings in 1944–1945, had received sufficient finance to restore industrial and agricultural infrastructures.

The Marshall Plan gave the Italian economy a strong impetus. Especially in the years 1953 to 1957, this had some impact on the golden years of the Italian economy, the famous *miracolo*. According to the Maddison database (see www.ggdc.net), during the Second World War, the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in Italy had fallen from around US\$3,200 in 1939 (2011 price level) to slightly over US\$1,800 in 1945, which is an enormous loss of income. After the Second World War, the country developed from an agricultural economy into a modern industrial society – all kick-started by the Marshall Plan. And Italy had a strong comparative economic performance. Table 1 presents average (over the four years prior to the Olympic Games) growth rates of real GDP per capita for Italy and for those countries which were the most successful at the 1960 Olympic Games.

1 FOUR-YEAR AVERAGE GROWTH RATES OF REAL GDP PER CAPITA					
	Australia	Germany	Italy	USA	USSR
1952	0.8	16.7	9.2	3.2	5.6
1956	2.5	9.7	7.3	1.5	5.8
1960	1.1	6.0	6.8	0.9	4.1
1964	2.4	3.5	7.4	3.2	4.5
1968	2.8	3.2	6.6	4.1	5.6
1972	2.8	4.8	3.9	1.8	3.3
1976	1.1	3.1	4.9	1.6	4.4
1980	1.6	2.7	7.0	2.4	1.3
1984	0.6	-0.9	-1.1	2.1	2.1
1988	3.8	4.3	4.5	3.0	2.2

Source: www.ggdc.net

The Italian *miracolo* also led to a boom in cultural development. For instance, in the film industry, Italian neorealism was represented by famous directors like Vittorio De Sica, Federico Fellini, and Luchino Visconti. Fellini directed four Academy Award-winning films, which is still a top performance even today. Italy won seven out of the 29 awards for the best international feature films between 1947 and 1959. Rome was called "Hollywood on the Tiber" and many American movies were produced at Cinecittà Studios. Together with London, Rome was the European link for the American film industry. This contributed to the marketing of Italy in general and Rome in particular.

Martin (2017) reports an increase in the number of students and vehicles as well in the *miracolo* years. In 1960, the first highway in Italy was opened between Bologna and Firenze. The growing industry asked for better infrastructure, such as Fiumicino Airport near Rome. The leading Italian Christian Democratic government also wanted to increase the number of tourists. A successful Olympic Games would be a great marketing tool.

Since 1936, the Olympics have been broadcast on TV. This has led to an increase in the number of companies that wanted to advertise during the Games. In Rome for the first time, TV coverage was broadcast live to 18 European countries and tapes were sent to CBS in the US for coverage with a delay of a few hours.

Also for the first time in Rome, sponsorship was offered in the form of "Official Supplier" or "Official Sponsor". For the marketing of sports, it was a bonus that the future King of Greece, Cassius Clay (later Muhammad Ali), and Wilma Rudolph were so successful as athletes.

The Rome 1960 Olympic Games were also the last to impose a serious economic burden on future generations until 24 years later in Los Angeles. As Chalkley and Essex (1999) argue, the costs of the Olympic Games infrastructure increased sharply, and the improvement of the municipal water supply system, public transportation, street lights, and illumination of monuments increased the opposition against investing in the Olympics after Rome 1960. The Summer Games would grow in size and need more and more public funding and require a stronger supporting economy of the host country.

Besides economic developments, three international political issues were relevant at the beginning of the 1960 Games. They would be the last Games for 32 years that South Africa could participate in because of its apartheid policy. The second controversy was related to the situation between Chinese Taipei and the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC had participated in Helsinki 1952 with a few athletes, but would only return to the Summer Games in 1984. Under the name Republica di Cina (Formosa), Chinese Taipei attended Rome. The third and most important political controversy was the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The so-called Cold War started with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine on 12 March 1947 and lasted until 26 December 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Historians tend to make a distinction between the start (1947–1953), the escalation (1953–1962), the détente (1962–1979), and the revival (1979–1991). For the summer of 1960 the period of escalation is significant.

The Cold War parties were the USA and its western allies, since 1949 under NATO, and its eastern counterpart, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies, formed by the Warsaw Pact of 1955. The start of the escalation years coincides with the strong policies of the newly-installed US president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Soviet party leader and prime minister, Nikita Khrushchev.

Shortly before and after the Rome Games there were many so-called incidents. After the Hungarian Revolution was crushed by Soviet tanks at the end of 1956, the nuclear arms race and the struggle for dominance in space developed. The Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik into space on 4 October 1957, triggering American interest in space operations. In November 1958, Khrushchev gave the Western Allies an ultimatum to withdraw their troops from West Berlin in order to bring it under Soviet influence.

On 1 January 1959, Fidel Castro took control of Cuba, leading to the Bay of Pigs invasion attempt in April 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis at the end of 1962. On 1 May 1960, American pilot Gary Powers was caught flying at high altitude in his U2 spy plane over the Soviet Union.

The Cold War had a serious impact on Italian society and thus on the Olympic Games. After the end of the



Two "faces" of the Roman Games: One was the "Black Gazelle", as Wilma Rudolph was dubbed in the press. She won gold over 100 m and 200 m and also as part of USA's 4 × 100 m relay team. The other was Italian sprinter Livio Berruti, who focused on the 200 m, which he won in a world record time of 20.5 s.

Photo: Collection Pasquale Polo



Olympic sports: the first sub-Saharan African winner of a gold medal.

The athletic events will also be remembered for the strong victory of the Australian Herb Elliott in the 1500 m. In swimming, there was a close finish in the 100 m freestyle between the Australian John Devitt and the American Lance Larson. And there were athletes like the Swedish canoeist Gert Frederiksson and Hungarian sabre fencer Aladár Gerevich, who won their sixth gold medal in Rome.

The American Cassius Clay, later known as Muhammad Ali, won the light-heavyweight class in boxing. The 17-year-old East German diver, Ingrid Krämer, ended four decades of dominance by the US with victories in springboard and platform. The Swedish sailor Paul Elvström achieved his fourth Olympic victory in the Finn Monotype class. Crown Prince Constantine, later the last King of Greece, won sailing in the Dragon class, while his sister Sofia took part in the Games as a reservist. Two years later, she became Queen of Spain. And in the team sports, the USA won the gold medal in basketball for the fifth time since 1936.

There was no shortage of prominent losers. India lost the hockey gold medal to Pakistan for the first time since 1928. The defeat of the high jump world record holder, John Thomas, who lost to Robert Shavlakadze (gold) and Valery Brumel (silver) from the Soviet Union, was sensational. The US 4x100 m relay squad, which had won eight straight gold medals, was disqualified because Ray Norton crossed the 20 m passing zone. Gold went to the Germans, whose rowers also won in the coxed eighth, while the Americans, who had won all Olympic races since 1920, only finished fifth.

The most successful athlete: The Soviet gymnast Boris Shakhlin won four gold medals, two silver, and a bronze.

Photos: Official Report Rome 1960, vol. 2.

Second World War, both the USA and the Soviet Union tried to gain control of Italian politics. For the USA, the worries typically applied to Soviet influence on the Italian Communist Party, which formed an alliance with the Socialist Party until 1958 (at the elections the Socialist Party separated from the Communist Party because of the Hungarian protest). The Christian Democratic party was therefore supported by the West and the Vatican.

The battle between the left and the right is very apparent in the results of the Italian elections. After the 1958 elections, the Christian Democratic Party had 45.8%, the Communist Party 23.5%, and the Socialist Party 14.1% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies in 1960. Until the end of the Cold War in 1991 the battle between the left and right in Italy would continue.

The winners of the competitions

The Soviet Union ranked number one in the medal tally of the 1960 Games. With 43 gold, 29 silver, and 31 bronze, the Soviets left the USA (34–21–6) in second place and the host country Italy (13–10–13) third. In athletics, the famous stars were the black American athletes Wilma Rudolph (100 m, 200 m, 4x100 m) and Rafer Johnson (decathlon), the German Armin Hary (100 m, 4x100 m), and the Ethiopian Abebe Bikila.

Abebe, born on the day of the marathon of the 1932 Olympics, was from a family that suffered during the Second Italo-Ethiopian war (1935–1937) and served as a member of the Imperial Guard. At that time an unknown Ethiopian soldier, he entered the marathon race. Starting at the Capitoline, he passed the Obelisk of Axum, taken by Mussolini's troops from Ethiopia in 1937 to Rome. Due to the heat in Rome the marathon started before dawn, but at the time of completion, it was already dark in Rome and torches shed light on the Via Appia Antica, the last part of the route. His finish at the Arco di Constantino in a new world best time is one of the great moments in



The winner in light-heavyweight boxing was the African American Cassius Clay. After defeating Poland's Zbigniew Pietrzykowski in the Olympic final, he turned professional. In 1964, he won the heavyweight world title for the first time. Upon converting to Islam he became known as Muhammad Ali. On the left, bronze medallists Giulio Saraudi (ITA) and Anthony Madigan (AUS).

“La bionda tedesca”: 17-year-old Ingrid Krämer from Dresden ended the American dominance in women’s diving, which had lasted since 1920.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



The Olympic Games during the Cold War

We define the Cold War Olympic Games as being from London 1948 up to and including Seoul 1988. Wallechinsky and Loucky (2012) present the following general statistical information on these 11 Olympics (see Table 2).

The Montreal, Moscow, and Los Angeles Games were affected by boycotts and thus had fewer participants. The Melbourne Games also showed a reduced number of participants – probably due to both a smaller boycott after the Hungarian invasion and the relatively remote location in those days (the equestrian events took place in Stockholm). The Tokyo 1964 and Seoul 1988 Games were impacted by smaller boycotts.

There is ample evidence that the Cold War affected the Olympic Games. We illustrate this in terms of participation and performance of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries (see participation and medal success in

2 | OVERVIEW OF THE COLD WAR OLYMPIC GAMES

Olympiad	Host City	Year	Competitors	Women	W (%)	Nations	Events
14	London	1948	4064	355	8.7	59	136
15	Helsinki	1952	4879	518	10.6	69	149
16	Melbourne	1956	3258	384	11.8	72	151
17	Rome	1960	5348	610	11.4	83	150
18	Tokyo	1964	5081	683	13.4	93	163
19	Mexico C.	1968	5423	768	14.2	112	172
20	Munich	1972	7173	1058	14.7	121	195
21	Montreal	1976	6024	1246	20.7	92	198
22	Moscow	1980	5217	1124	21.5	80	203
23	Los Angeles	1984	6797	1567	23.1	140	221
24	Seoul	1988	8465	2189	25.9	159	237

Table 3). At the first post-war edition in London 1948, the Soviet Union did not participate and the Warsaw Pact was not yet in existence. Almost half of the participants in London 1948 originated from future NATO countries. The share of the Warsaw Pact countries' participation gradually increased to more than 20%. For NATO countries, participation has dropped slightly over the decades.

Further examples are the US boycott in Moscow in 1980, and the Warsaw Pact boycott in Los Angeles in 1984. In terms of medal winning, it is clear that the 1960 Olympic Games were extremely successful for the Soviet Union (USSR) and the Warsaw Pact countries. Later on, East Germany (GDR) was able to copy the medal winning success, explaining the increase in medal shares of the Warsaw Pact countries in the 1970s.

To what extent are the Rome 1960 Summer Games special? The build-up of the political tension between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the 1950s culminated in a historical fight for medals in general and gold medals in particular in Rome in 1960. In Rome, more than half of the gold medals were won by either the USA or the USSR. Almost 86% of all gold medals in Rome ended up in either the hands of NATO or Warsaw Pact countries.

If we ignore the boycotted Games of 1980 and 1984, the Soviet Union as a whole had a top performance with a gold medal share of 28.1% in 1960 in Rome

3 | PARTICIPATION AND MEDAL SHARES (%) DURING THE COLD WAR OLYMPIC GAMES

		PARTICIPATION				MEDALS			
		NATO	WARSAW PACT	USA	USSR	NATO	WARSAW PACT	USA	USSR
London	1948	49.04	5.55	7.36	0.00	55.10	9.30	19.05	0.0
Helsinki	1952	42.29	15.62	5.82	6.00	39.00	28.54	16.56	15.47
Melbourne	1956	35.58	17.96	9.11	8.40	38.51	32.13	15.74	20.85
Rome	1960	38.17	18.36	5.47	5.30	39.87	38.58	15.30	22.20
Tokyo	1964	29.99	18.97	6.74	6.17	43.09	34.87	18.04	17.23
Mexico City	1968	33.98	20.08	6.43	5.62	38.71	35.67	20.30	17.27
Munich	1972	35.17	21.16	5.62	5.21	34.00	41.67	15.67	16.50
Montreal	1976	37.64	22.75	6.52	6.75	32.46	47.80	15.33	20.39
Moscow	1980	17.31	35.80	0.00	9.29	10.83	70.06	0.00	31.05
Los Angeles	1984	42.40	1.82	7.66	0.00	60.17	8.90	25.29	0.00
Seoul	1988	33.71	16.64	6.24	5.70	30.58	42.76	12.72	17.86

Source Tables: Wallechinsky and Loucky (2012)

4 | GOLD MEDAL WINNING SHARES DURING THE COLD WAR

	NATO	WARSAW PACT	USA	USSR
1948	55.17	11.72	26.21	
1952	44.30	30.87	26.85	14.77
1956	40.52	32.68	20.92	24.18
1960	45.75	39.22	22.22	28.10
1964	41.10	35.58	22.09	18.40
1968	41.95	35.63	25.86	16.67
1972	32.31	46.67	16.92	25.64
1976	26.77	54.55	17.17	24.75
1980	11.76	72.06		39.22
1984	62.83	7.70	36.73	
1988	31.54	48.96	14.94	22.82

(see Table 4). Not only was Italy a political arena for international politics, the Olympic Games were used by the superpowers to emphasise their influence. The balance between the USA and the USSR has been covered by the press in great detail.

Olympic commercialism

One of the claims by David Maraniss in his book is that the 1960 Rome Olympic Games were a turning point for Olympic commercialism. Perhaps it is the story of the German sprinter Armin Hary and his shoes which triggers this idea. The son of a coal miner from Saarland was the expected winner of the 100 m in Rome. He had been the first man to run the distance in 10 seconds flat in Zurich, before the Rome Olympics, wearing Adidas shoes. But Hary, having spent time in the United States, wanted to become a dealer for Adidas in the United States and made a business proposal to the Dassler family, which they refused.

Hary then used the rivalry between Adi Dassler and his brother Rudolf, the owner of Puma, and joined the Puma family. At the 100 m final, Hary ran in Puma shoes (receiving an estimated bonus of 10,000 German marks for winning the gold medal), but on the winner's podium wore Adidas shoes – perhaps for another bonus.

But commercialism in sports is more than wearing shoes. It concerns sponsorship, licensing, and television rights. Modern sport cannot do without commercialism. The Olympic Games have become so expensive that private participation is a necessity. This has been apparent since 1984 in Los Angeles. The Games in Munich, Montreal, and Moscow had been financial losses, largely due to an excessive public share of the costs, leading – in the case of 1976 – to a tax burden for the Québec citizens for the next 30 years. In Los Angeles, private participation led to a big financial success, setting a model for future editions.

It was a misconception that commercialism would interfere with amateurism. IOC President Avery Brundage strongly advocated amateurism in sports and tried to ban commercial influences at the individual level.

But even in the ancient Olympics there is evidence of financial support for the athletes, like free meals and bonuses for winning. And the wealthy Greek architect Georgios Averoff helped to finance the first edition of the modern Games in Athens in 1896 to the tune of one million drachmas.

Thus commercialism and the Olympic Games is much older than 1984, and even older than 1960, as argued by Jensen (2015). As early as 1896, Kodak used the Olympic Games to advertise its products. In 1912, licensing of Olympic merchandise was allowed. At the 1928 Games, ten sponsors featured in the official guidebook, including a first appearance for Coca-Cola, a company that would support the IOC for a long time.

Television was already present at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Twenty-four years later, CBS paid US\$50,000 for the rights to broadcast the Winter Games of Squaw Valley. The 1960 Olympics were the first Summer Games with semi-direct overseas coverage in the US. Since there were no satellites, tapes were taken to Paris, copied onto other tapes, and loaded onto airplanes to New York. In the end, people could see the televised reports on the same day in North America. This has surely contributed to the “myth” of the Rome Games.

In the Maraniss–Keys debate, “Rome 1960 – Special or Not?”, we conclude that, regarding commercialism and television rights, Keys is right: Rome was just a step in an ongoing process. Technology developed fast, allowing for more commercial choices and better media



The men's 100 m final was a “duel” between the Italian starter and Germany's world record holder Armin Hary, who was known for his “lightning start”. Hary held his nerve. He was penalised with a false start, but narrowly beat the American Dave Sime on the fourth attempt.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



In temperatures touching 42 degrees Celsius in the shade, the Danish cyclist Knud Enemark Jensen (no. 127) suffered from dizziness during the 100 km team time trial. On the third lap, he fell from his bike. Unconscious, he was taken to hospital where he later died.

Photos: Olympiaboken 1960, Svenska Sportförlaget, Stockholm

coverage. The Games opened up to more countries, reaching out to larger audiences and so increasing their commercial value. But real commercialism only started after Brundage stepped down. And after the end of the Cold War, professional athletes were officially allowed.

The death of Danish cyclist Knud Enemark

Is doping special to Rome 1960? On the second day of the Olympic Games, Danish cyclist Knud Enemark Jensen died during the 100 km team time trial on Viale Cristoforo Colombo in the Europa (EUR) quarter. The heat was intense, reaching 42 degrees Celsius. One of the four members of the Danish team, Jørgen B. Jørgensen, dropped out in the first half of the race, leaving the other three to complete the race. Knud Enemark then started to feel dizzy and the other two riders, Niels Baunsøe and Vagn Bangsborg, tried to keep him steady. Enemark ultimately fell and fractured his skull on the pavement, was taken to an ambulance, and finally arrived in an overheated military facility where he died a few hours later.

It has never been finally proven what caused his death, but the Danish trainer Oluf Jørgensen declared that he had supplied the drug Roniacol, a substance that widens the blood vessels, to all the four riders, and there is also some post-mortem – but disputed – evidence that Jensen used amphetamines. As Møller (2005) describes, amphetamines could have offset the impact of Roniacol and so improved performance. What is known is that they suffered serious dehydration – a loss of six litres of fluid per rider was suggested. The Danish riders carried no fluids, and dehydration combined with insufficient cooling and rehydration in the military tent likely contributed to the death of Enemark.

Again, concerning the issue of doping we agree with Barbara Keys: Rome 1960 was just a step in a process and more likely larger steps were taken at other editions of the Games. Although the Enemark case was influential on the decisions taken by the IOC to control the use of doping, the case itself is not completely clear-cut (as to

the use or abuse of drugs). As Møller argues, it is by far more likely that it was one of Enemark's teammates, Baunsøe, the best-performing rider in the Danish team at the occasion, who used amphetamines, rather than Enemark himself.

It was not the first time doping was used to improve performance at the Olympic Games. The first known use was during the 1904 Olympics, where US marathon runner Tom Hicks was given strychnine sulphate with brandy and eggwhite by his coach at various points in the race. In 1912, the coach advised the four US 100 m finalists to drink a cocktail of sherry and raw eggs before the final. Apart from alcohol, the invention of synthetic testosterone in 1935 is believed to have had a major impact on drug abuse.

In 1952 at the Winter Games in Oslo, syringes and ampoules were found in a locker room. At the Summer Games in Helsinki, there were rumours about the use of drugs in weightlifting. It is said that, at the 1954 Weightlifting World Championships in Vienna, an anonymous Soviet doctor had admitted testosterone abuse by his athletes to the American coach John Ziegler. The cases of drug abuse in the 1950s were probably blurred by the Cold War setting.

In his circular letter No. 167 in 1961, Brundage drew the attention of IOC Members to the doping problem, which he described as serious. He announced sanctions for athletes found guilty of doping, but the first step should be to inform the IOC as to what constituted doping. At the next IOC Session in Athens, a working group headed by Dr. Arthur Porritt was founded. But it was not until 1967 that the IOC Medical Commission was officially formed under a new chairman, the Belgian Prince Alexandre de Mérode.

Enemark's death led to a fundamental change in the official policies on performance-enhancing drugs. But that did not solve the abuse of drugs.

Is there any support for the Maraniss statement?

The 1960 Games were successful. Nevertheless, there were a number of negative factors, like the stubbornness of IOC President Avery Brundage concerning the innovation of the organisation, the expulsion of a large group of poor people to make way for the construction of the Olympic Village, and Enemark's death due to a lack of medical knowledge. There were some reported cases of corruption in and around the local organising committee as well.

Furthermore, the IOC, whose members lived in the elegant Hotel Excelsior on Via Vittorio Veneto (a meeting place for high society), hit the headlines. It was the Portuguese Saul Ferreira Pires, living with his wife and three children in the hotel during the Rome Games, who caused a scandal when he "forgot" to pay his invoice for 310,000 lire on his departure.

The IOC President commissioned the Egyptian Executive Board member, Mohammed Taher, and the Italian, Giorgio de Stefani, to investigate the case. Taher wrote a friendly letter to Ferreira Pires asking him to pay his debts, but the Portuguese, a managing director of a wholesale equipment enterprise, refused. Thereupon, Ferreira Pires was suspended from the IOC Executive Board and removed from the membership list without a dissenting vote at the 1962 Session in Moscow.

David Maraniss reports mainly on the adventures and performances of US athletes in their preparation for and participation in the Olympics. There is a good reason to do so: the bridge between the United States and Italy impacted the Italian economy, cultural life, and further development of the image of Rome and Italy as tourist destinations, all of which were probably signs of the lasting impact of the Olympic Games. Italy revived after the Second World War and was looking for international connections and acknowledgement. The Marshall Plan brought US funding to rebuild infrastructure and transform Italy from an agricultural to an industrial society. Italy was discovered (again) by tourists, and many of them were Americans.

Due to the economic *miracolo*, Italian culture blossomed. American motion pictures were produced in Rome and the international jet-set celebrated on Via Vittorio Veneto. The US administration was afraid that the strong connection between the Italian Communist Party and the Soviet Union would pull Italy into the clutches of the Warsaw Pact. Western countries and the Vatican supported the Christian Democratic Party for political stability focused on Western Europe.

The 1960 Games fitted into this general setting. They helped Italy to confirm its regained international status after the troubled first half of the 20th century. They helped Rome in reaffirming its status as an important tourist destination. They helped Italian cultural life by showing images of Rome to the world. They helped in repurposing and improving some of the metropolitan facilities. The “fairytale games” gave pride back to the city of Rome.

Summary and conclusions

The Olympic Games of 1960 were a great success for the IOC, CONI, and the local organising committee. The scenic setting in Rome, with strong references to its history, the glamorous cultural atmosphere, the Italian *miracolo*, and the sports stars, were assets to the international development of mega sports events.

In the summer of 1960, the build-up of Cold War tension was serious and had a significant impact on results. The Games were in a process of change in those years. We show that this was gradual and that the Rome Olympics dovetailed with the general picture of

technological change, professionalisation, and a more serious approach to the legacy.

What is the legacy? In economic terms, Italy benefitted for another two decades from the *miracolo*, but lost momentum thereafter. But it is unclear whether the Olympic Games contributed to the *miracolo*. After 60 years, one can conclude that Rome is one of the top tourist cities in Europe. Some of its sports facilities are still in use, for instance Stadio Olimpico, where the two Roman Serie A Teams – SS Lazio and AS Roma – play their home matches. Other facilities, like Fiumicino Airport, are still important for the region. In terms of competitiveness, Italy is still successful in international sports.

In an unofficial all-time ranking of Olympic nations, Italy is sixth. Since Atlanta 1996, Italy has been in the top ten of the Summer Games rankings. The legacy for the IOC and the international world of sports is that Rome contributed to further professionalisation, commercialisation, technological innovation, and the start of the fight against doping.

The 1960 Games are a brick in the Olympic wall and contributed to Olympic development. They did not change the world, and probably did not contribute to the détente during the Cold War. But they brought Italy back into the world of sports and European society. It is most likely that the impact of the Rome Olympics on international tourism helped the national and the local economy. In short, the greatest effect that Rome 1960 had was on Italy itself. ■

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A New Olympic Life Form: The Beginning of Olympic Television

By Richard W. Pound

Introduction

Paris 1924: Start of telecommunications. The French Ministry of War had installed a transmission system between the competition facilities, which made it possible for telephone correspondent clerks to transfer information on the competition standings. The Eiffel Tower transmitter had been in operation since 24 December 1921.

Photo: Igrzyska VII-mej Olimpijady Paryż 1924, Lwów, Warszawa, Kraków 1926.

This is the first of several articles that explore the history of Olympic television, as seen from the perspective of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as it gradually became aware of its impact on the growth of the popularity and universality of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. This first article primarily covers the period ending with the 1960 Games in Rome and Squaw Valley as the IOC attempted to come to grips with a new medium that it did not fully understand and from which it tried to benefit, all without engaging in many of the activities that were required to maximise both its promotional potential and economic returns. The outcome was a series of frustrating and often confrontational interchanges with Olympic Organising Committees (OCOGs), International Federations (IFs), National Olympic Committees (NOCs), and broadcasters over a period of several decades. These articles are not intended to be an examination of the technical aspects of Olympic broadcasting (although some are noted), but rather to document the IOC's voyage as it came, by trial and error, to understand the new medium and eventually to exercise definitive hands-on control with respect to its production and exploitation.

International sport and technology at the end of the 19th century

With the development of organised sport and the improved ease of travel made possible through the harnessing of steam came another phenomenon, namely the growing interest of spectators in sporting contests and, perhaps more important for the expansion of sport, a willingness to pay to watch them or to read about them in the press. Such practices were well-established even



Richard W. Pound | 1942, Lawyer, Fellow Chartered Professional Accountant; Olympic finalist in Rome 1960 in 100 m freestyle (6th) and 4x100 m medley relay (4th), winner in 110 y freestyle and silver medallist in 440 y freestyle at 1962 Commonwealth Games; Secretary General (1968-1972) then President of the Canadian Olympic Committee; IOC Member since 1978, EC Member (1983-1987, 1992-1996), Vice-President (1987-1991, 1996-2000); Chairman of the TV Rights Negotiations Commission (1983-2001); Chairman of the WADA (1999-2007).



before the Modern Olympics elevated sport competitions from essentially domestic affairs to an international level. By 1896, photography had sufficiently evolved to provide reliable images, at least for outdoor events held during the day. Radio signals became available by the turn of the century and long-distance cross-Atlantic transmissions were achieved early in the new century. As equipment improved and radio technology became more sophisticated, it became possible to transmit music and voice. Broadcasting was born following the 1908 Olympic Games. "Broadcasting" was a term derived from farming a background, referring to the casting of seeds in all directions.¹ By the early 1920s, radio transmissions were much clearer and broadcasting became more ubiquitous. The first "radio" Olympics were in 1924 in Paris, with essentially local coverage and only very limited broadcasting distances then achievable. By 1936, technology had advanced rapidly and the Berlin Games were broadcast by NBC directly to New York. Crystals and vacuum tubes were, in due course, replaced by transistors, which enabled production of smaller and lighter high-quality radios.

Birth of Olympic television

Such is the accelerating nature of technical evolution/revolution that, even as radio entered its golden age from 1936-1960, a nascent technology called television, then using a cathode-ray tube, was already in its early stage of development. Progress had been sufficient



The Telefunken company's swivelling iconoscope, also known as the "television cannon". For the first time, it made live broadcasts from the Berlin Olympic Stadium in 1936 (far left). Left: Recordings made with the film camera first had to pass through an intermediate film scanner before they could be transmitted 90 seconds later. Below it: Italian athletes are shown a television set in the Olympic Village.



At the 1936 Olympic Games, there were 25 television rooms in Berlin, as well as two in Leipzig and one in Potsdam, which were connected by cables. Around 162,000 TV viewers were recorded. Left: Admission ticket to a television room. On 10 August 1936, the viewing session went from 10 am to 12 am.

Photos: Olympia-Weltseher, Reichsrundfunk GmbH Berlin (Ed.); Volker Kluge Archive

to allow some closed-circuit experimentation during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. There were viewing rooms (*Fernsehstuben*) equipped with several television sets assigned for watching the Games. The screen size, measured diagonally from lower left to upper right, was 50 centimetres. There were 138 viewing hours and 162,000 viewers and the television programmes were made from filmed coverage taken earlier in the day. The pictures were limited and not particularly impressive. But the seed of television had nevertheless germinated.

Twelve years later, when the Games were renewed following World War II in London in 1948, the British Broadcasting Corporation conducted its own trials of Olympic television coverage, but again, the coverage was not widely distributed (nor even distributable) to the still-recovering post-war public. The BBC paid the paltry sum of 1,000 guineas for the right to broadcast the Games. The IOC was not involved in this transaction,

which was between the London organising committee and the BBC. There were radio, but no television, broadcasts at the Oslo and Helsinki Games in 1952.

Cortina in 1956 marked the first occasion when the Olympic Games were broadcast outside the host country. The Italian public broadcaster distributed the signal to 61 broadcast organisations around the world. It was not until early 1956, almost 20 years following Berlin, that the IOC Executive Board had its first discussion on television in relation to the Games. Little more was done than to note some of the technical and other challenges, such as the fact that the Cortina organising committee had paid 40 million Italian lire to build the various relays required for television, and to conclude that a careful study of the matter should be undertaken.

The Executive Board members were generally aware that television was used differently in different parts of the world. In America, for example, private companies

Commentary box at Wembley Stadium in London in 1948. Live broadcasts were only possible from the stadium and the Empire Pool. There were an estimated 80,000 televisions in the UK – mostly in private households. The broadcasting range was limited to a radius of 50 miles around London. In all, the BBC transmitted 64 hours and 27 minutes.

Photo: The Official Report of the Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London 1948

offered large amounts to televise spectacles, whereas in other countries, governments maintained control of television broadcasting.² Advertising was identified as a possible economic factor, but commercial advertising was not always allowed.³ The IOC had, however, even without knowing much about the medium, laid claim to television revenues during the Olympic Games. Armand Massard (FRA), had been interviewed to that effect on French radio and IOC President Avery Brundage (USA) had, or at least so he thought, reserved the right to claim revenues from Squaw Valley and Rome, hosts of the 1960 Games.⁴

While the IOC had not been quick to recognise the revenue potential in television, the omnivorous international federations had immediately understood both the increased reach provided by the medium, and the potential of monetising broadcast rights. At the 1955 IOC Session in Paris, the IFs had applied for a share of the profits derived from televising the Games. It was this demand by the IFs which had caused Brundage to forewarn the organising committees of Squaw Valley and Rome of the IOC's claim to an entitlement derived from the television revenues. No such claims had been asserted by the IOC with respect to Cortina and Melbourne, the respective host cities for the 1956 Winter and Summer Games.⁵

Games organisers expressed early concerns that they might suffer financially if the Games were to be available on television, fearing that spectators would prefer to stay at home to watch the Games on television, for free, and would not be willing to buy tickets. This had not mattered for Cortina because the venues were small enough that they could be filled even if there were television broadcasts. At that stage neither the IOC nor Olympic host cities seemed to have grasped that television exposure of the Games, far from reducing



spectator interest and presence, would soon lead to hugely expanded Olympic audiences. It would have been impossible for the IOC to conceive that, well before the end of the 20th Century, Olympic television audiences would be measured in billions of viewers and that the related revenues would be measured in billions of dollars.

Relations with television broadcasters

An even more dynamic early concern came to the fore during the course of internal discussions, namely that of relations between the IOC and executives of television organisations. Initially, the IOC thought that discussion should be framed as advising the television executives regarding the difficulties of organising the Games and the general lack of funds required to achieve the “vast and heavy tasks” incumbent in staging the Games. The IOC concluded that it should, therefore, advise the executives that, in large centres, television would, to a certain extent, be prejudicial to the finances of the Games, and that it was evident that the quality of an attraction like the Olympic Games, which excited a worldwide interest, would bring the broadcasters a great number of new subscribers and publicity contracts. The general IOC view was that the television managers were sharp businessmen, who were perfectly aware that they could not retain all the profits for their own account. If, however, the IOC were to adopt a defiant attitude toward them, the IOC would find itself in an awkward position, but the problem could be solved to the mutual interests of both parties.⁶

Brundage was, typically, not quite so accommodating. First, he said that once the IOC had laid down a rule regarding television (i.e., that the IOC had a right to share revenues from television), it was the responsibility – he called it “duty” – of the organising committees thereafter to deal with the television representatives, which would insulate the IOC from involvement in commercial disputes.⁷ He reviewed the communications he had received from the largest of the television companies. Some of them, he said, hinted at threats and boycotting. All of them claimed freedom of the press and

A visionary look from 1936 into the year 2000: The husband lies on the sofa watching the Olympic competitions on television. His wife goes to make coffee, but wants to be called to watch the finals.

Cartoon: Reichssportblatt 1936





A television camera in Melbourne's Main Stadium in 1956. The Official Report of the Games noted that three Australian TV stations used mobile vans linked by radio with their main studios, but each had "atmosphere" circuits connecting to the public address.

Far left: A broadcasting car belonging to the Italian radio and television company RAI at the Winter Olympics in Cortina d'Ampezzo. Broadcasts could only reach some regions of northern Italy.

Photos: Official Report Cortina d'Ampezzo 1956; The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVI Olympiad Melbourne 1956

information, with a decided emphasis on "free" – for them.

Brundage proposed, therefore, to undertake a detailed inquiry on the subject and report back to the IOC Members later that year in Melbourne and perhaps the following year, once the IOC had acquired some experience with television at those Games. It was obvious (to him) that the IOC was entitled to deduct a sum from the profit realised by means of television, but the matter was so involved that it was necessary to act with great circumspection and fairness.⁸

A month or so before the Melbourne Games, Brundage reported to the Executive Board members that the television companies, including EBU and the three major US broadcasters (NBC, ABC, and CBS), had decided to boycott the Melbourne Games, on the stated basis that the conditions imposed by the organising committee were unacceptable. This was shorthand for the matter of the broadcasters being required to pay for access to the television signal. Since this was a problem then falling entirely within the IOC-mandated competence of the organising committee, the Executive Board decided it would not intervene.⁹ In Melbourne, just prior to the Games, the Executive Board decided to postpone action on the complicated question of television until the next Session. At that time, the IOC might have the benefit of the experience of the Melbourne organising committee.¹⁰

Brundage has often been criticised for a statement attributed to him, to the effect that the Olympic Games had got along perfectly well for 60 years without television and could get along just as well for another 60 years. The statement has been used by some commentators to "demonstrate" that Brundage was hopelessly out of tune with the development of television, but it is clear from his positions during IOC Executive Board meetings that he was fully aware of its importance, both in general and in relation to the IOC.

It is far more likely that he was warning the television companies that they would not get access to valuable rights without making reasonable payments for those rights and that he, the IOC, and the organising committees would not be bullied into submission by the television industry. Melbourne, for its part, would not

have been willing to pay for (or forego ticket revenues because of) television broadcasts, so the stand-off was complete. At the time, there were not more than 5,000 television sets in Melbourne, so no significant public pressure would have existed even in favour of local broadcasts of the Games.

Undaunted by the failure of television broadcasts to produce income with respect to Melbourne in 1956, the IFs continued to press for a share of television revenues early the following year. The IOC appears to have acknowledged that the IAAF and the boxing federation were entitled to some refund of the expenses they incurred while participating in the Games.¹¹ At the level of television itself, the IOC continued to try to establish a set of governing principles, as between television and some of the traditional methods of publicising the Games.

Newsreels, it thought, could probably work in conjunction with the spoken word (radio) and the written press,¹² while the official film¹³ would require some concessions before television rights could be acquired by broadcasters.¹⁴ This was prior to colour television broadcasts and satellite communications, which arrived a few years later in 1963, and which would require more extensive re-thinking with respect to many of the parameters.

It soon appeared that there would be difficulties with the television rights relating to Squaw Valley. Despite the early notice given by the IOC regarding its entitlement to a share of the television revenues, the Squaw Valley organising committee had made an arrangement with the government of California to pay the full amount of any such revenues to the government, against the government's guarantee provided in relation to the costs of the sports installations. The initiator of the candidature of Squaw Valley (Alexander Cushing) had "neglected" to advise the organising committee of the IOC decision which had been communicated to him.¹⁵ There was not much the IOC could do in the circumstances, faced with the *fait accompli*, other than to forego its asserted rights in return for the assurance to be given by the American delegation that it would assume responsibility for any unexpected liabilities which the IOC might incur.¹⁶

RAI advertisement for the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, for which international live coverage was available for the first time. Thirty-eight countries took advantage of the new service. The BBC transmitted 24 hours 57 minutes of coverage of which 18 hours 47 were live.

Source: Games of the XVII Olympiad Rome 1960, Official Souvenir



By now, Brundage had reached the conclusion that television, despite the low levels of money involved at that time, could nevertheless become a significant source of profit to the IOC and the matter, therefore, required very special attention, which was left to the Executive Board to manage.¹⁷ The Rome organising committee was to be asked to sell the television rights at the highest possible tariff, although a short topical news film would still be allowed.¹⁸

This was the first time that television "rights" to the Games were to be sold as such.¹⁹ No further discussion on the subject of television is recorded throughout 1957, 1958, and even in 1959 and it is evident that the principal concern of the IOC and the IFs was not so much managing Olympic television broadcasting as it was focused on the general financial circumstances of the IOC. The Marquess of Exeter (GBR) proposed that in future, a global sum of US\$150,000 should be asked from the Games organisers, to be divided equally between the IOC and the IFs. The organisers would be in a position to collect such an amount from the "profits" they would make on television.²⁰

At the same meeting, the Rome organising committee is reported, "contrary to our rules, agreements and instructions", as offering the IOC a mere 5% of the television rights. Brundage was opposed to the proposal and undertook to reply accordingly.²¹ The following year, the matter had not yet been resolved, although Brundage reported to the Session that the 5% offered by

Rome was now accompanied by a minimum guarantee of US\$50,000. The IOC's newly stated position was that it (not the organising committee) should receive the full amount of the television rights, in order to make the appropriate allocations. It was left to the Executive Board to act on behalf of the IOC and in its best interests, including in relation to Innsbruck and Tokyo for 1964.²²

At the 1959 IOC Session in Munich, there had been a lengthy discussion on financial assistance requested by the IFs. During the 1957 IOC Session in Sofia, Exeter had proposed a 5% tax on tickets, of which 3% of the proceeds would go to the IFs (of which his federation, the IAAF, having by far the largest stadium and lengthy programme, would obviously benefit the most). The implied threat was that the IAAF would hold its own world championships, which might have serious consequential effects on the Olympic Games.

This was a threat which one of Exeter's successors in the presidency of the IAAF, Primo Nebiolo (ITA), would later use on IOC President Samaranch, in the period up to 1983, when the World Championships were first organised in Helsinki, and later expanded to world championships held every two years. Samaranch and I always had differing views regarding this threat. Samaranch thought it was a very serious issue which could have an adverse effect on the Games. I thought that only good could come from it. Nebiolo would never have attempted to run IAAF championships against the Olympic Games, since none of his member federations, or their countries, would prevent their athletes from participating in the Games. If the world championships were held the year before the Games, they would simply set up the Games and if they were led the year after, they would be an anti-climax. I said that the more world championships Nebiolo organised, the more he would increase the prestige of the Olympic Games and lower the importance of the world championships. In fact, I said, Samaranch should encourage Nebiolo to have world championships every year.

It did not take long for many of the television broadcasters to lose most of their interest in IAAF world championships and Nebiolo was soon back to beg Samaranch to use his influence to persuade Olympic broadcasters (e.g., NBC) even to provide coverage of his world championships. NBC was quite prepared not to broadcast the world championships, being firmly of the view that athletics was only important (at least in the United States) in the context of the Olympic Games and said, in reply to Samaranch's entreaties on Nebiolo's behalf, that if he insisted, NBC would deduct whatever it paid for the world championships from what it paid the IOC for Olympic rights.

The Rome Olympics were the first Games to receive significant television coverage across Europe. Some 18 countries broadcast the Games. In addition, for

the first time, viewers in the United States, Canada, and Japan were able to see the Olympics on television through a combination of taped and live events. The US broadcaster, CBS, flew film across the Atlantic to New York every evening. CBS had also by then overcome its pre-Melbourne refusal to pay rights fees for Olympic access.

The interim legacy of IOC non-involvement

The real problem for the IOC in coming to grips with the matter of television had been its reluctance to insert itself directly into the negotiation process. Part of that reluctance resulted from its lack of knowledge of the new medium, but this could likely have been mitigated by a judicious choice of professional advisers, who could have provided the necessary counsel. Another part related to possible exposure of the IOC to financial responsibility, especially with respect to any failure of the technical facilities required for broadcasting such a huge event as the Olympic Games, but, again, much of any such exposure could easily have been pushed off onto the organising committees or have been insured against. It was true that the IOC had insufficient resources to discharge any significant liability, perhaps even to pay the legal costs of defending an action, since it still depended for its financial existence on annual assessments of contributions from its individual members together with whatever it might be able to squeeze from Olympic organising committees.

This fiscal reality, on the one hand, might well have been an incentive for the IOC to have stepped in aggressively to take control of a growing and potentially significant revenue stream attached to its one-and-only event, the Olympic Games. On the other hand, as a volunteer-based and impecunious organisation having minimal professional staff, the IOC might have been justifiably nervous about engaging with seasoned professionals who understood the medium and who devoted all their waking efforts to the advancement of their own financial interests. Possibly, however, the real root cause for its standoffish attitude was a residual, amateur-based, philosophical distaste for involvement in any organisational activity smacking of commerciality.

The result was an unworkable combination of gradually attempting to claim ownership of the television rights, while assigning all responsibility for management of them to the organising committees, which, in consequence, had all the direct relationships with the broadcasters and on whom the broadcasters depended for the necessary facilities, camera positions, studios, work permits, and local assistance.²³ For the organising committees (which already had what they needed from the IOC, namely, the right to organise the Games) and for broadcasters, therefore, the IOC was little more than an off-site nuisance, huffing and puffing, but



Rome 1960:
CBS reporters in action. These were the only summer Games for which they held the rights. Since direct satellite broadcasts between Italy and the United States were not yet possible, the footage was first sent to London; from there the videotapes were transported by plane to New York.

Photo: Official Report Rome 1960, vol. 1

completely irrelevant from the perspective of getting the organising and broadcasting jobs done. The organising committees were quite content with this form of arrangement and constantly took advantage of the IOC, cheerfully sharing their divide-and-conquer strategies with other organising committees which were coming on line, so that the IOC was regularly faced with contractual arrangements beyond its power to alter.

By the end of its 1960 experience, the IOC seemed to have realised that it was being regularly outplayed by the organising committees and that it was becoming impracticable to simply claim a portion of the television rights. Instead, in a rather startling and short-sighted reversal of its oft-stated position, the Executive Board proposed that the IOC stop asking for a share of the television rights and that, in future, the television rights would belong to the organisers of the Games, from whom the IOC would demand a fixed rate of indemnity. The amount to be requested from Tokyo was US\$130,000 and from Innsbruck, US\$20,000.²⁴ These decisions were made in the context of the continual demands from the IFs for a share in the Games television rights and it was considered that amendments to Olympic Charter Rule 49 should solve the financing problem.²⁵ Massard (FRA) once again raised the issue of considering the NOCs in the repartition of revenues.

While the short-term exasperation of the IOC in this context might be understandable, it is hard to imagine the short-sightedness of the Executive Board



View of the reporters stand in Rome's Olympic Stadium. Far right: A badge for radio and TV employees.

Photos: Official Report Rome 1960, vol. 1; collection Pasquale Polo

in permitting the organising committees to own the Olympic television rights. Among other things, it fostered an episodic, one-off, view of each edition of the Olympic Games, rather than an Olympic continuum, and merely exacerbated the resentment of organising committees of being taxed on "their" revenues, so urgently needed to finance the costs of organising the Games. The only reasonable conclusion can be that, apart from Brundage (coming from the United States), the other Executive Board members had no visceral sense of the magnitude of the impending expansion of commercial television and continued to focus on incremental increases from previous narrow revenue bases. Nor did they seem to anticipate the growing appetites of both the IFs and NOCs for shares of Games-related revenues.

Massard did not let the NOC matter drop. When Brundage reported to the 1961 Session that Tokyo had made payments on account of the requested indemnities and that half of each payment had been deposited in a special account placed at the disposal of the IFs, Massard objected once more to the system of distribution of the subsidies. He said the IFs had their championships, whereas NOCs, which were also in need of funds, often depended on governments. Brundage replied that the benefits realised from the television rights were not sufficiently large to allow the IOC to subsidise NOCs as well.²⁶ Exeter was in charge of drawing up a chart for the distribution of revenues to the IFs. The revenues were to be distributed following the Games in 1964, but the only IFs entitled to benefit from the financial support were those which acknowledged the Olympic Games as their own world championships and which did not organise world championships during the year of the Olympic Games.²⁷ No further discussion on television was recorded until just prior to the Innsbruck Games in 1964, when it was noted that the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) had sent in a request for an increased number of accreditations for commentators



and assistants, which was referred to specialists for both radio and television and the press agencies.²⁸

During the Innsbruck Session, Marc Hodler (SUI) reviewed the receipts and expenses from 1956 to 1960, during which period the financial situation of the IOC was catastrophic. After 1960 the situation had improved as a result of the payments made from television royalties by the cities organising the Games. There were now more than SF400,000 in reserve and contributions were still to come from the 1968 host cities. Up to that time, the IOC President had paid his enormous expenses himself. New expenditures had to be faced because the City of Lausanne had now allocated the second floor of Mon Repos, where the IOC was already occupying the third floor. The IOC could at last have a reception room worthy of its visitors and more spacious offices.²⁹

No other discussion occurred regarding television and no reference was made to the subject in the meeting in Tokyo prior to the 1964 Games, although at the next Executive Board meeting, Brundage deplored the fact that in the United States, certain television broadcasts of the Games were sponsored by firms advertising alcoholic drinks and cigarettes. In the future, commercial sponsorship should be submitted to the IOC for approval.³⁰ This was a typical Brundage after-the-fact response to situations by making a rule and trying to insert a requirement for IOC approvals.

As the IOC headed into the next Olympiads, it had not addressed the structural issues affecting its relations with the organising committees and broadcasters, which would continue to plague it. Rules and demands that IOC approval must be sought before contract were signed were largely ignored. There was a consensus among organising committees that the IOC was not prepared to insist that its rules and requests be complied with and that it would not be willing to litigate. Given that the IOC would be a foreign organisation litigating in the national courts of the host country, it is perhaps a realistic

assessment by the IOC that it would be unlikely to be successful. Other measures would need to be applied in future to protect the IOC, but they had not yet been devised.

There were other storm clouds forming that would have serious impacts on the IOC and the Olympic Games and which would distract the IOC's attention from its unsatisfactory position regarding television, even as the revenues were beginning to become more significant.

But, to use the television expression: "Stay tuned ..." ■

- 1 This is to be contrasted with "narrowcasting", which involves a single target, such as a particular ship at sea at which the signal is directed.
- 2 In many countries, television was a monopolistic instrument of the state, used to control the information made available to its public and to deliver government propaganda.
- 3 IOC EB 22 January 1956, Cortina, item 11.
- 4 IOC EB 22 January 1956, Cortina, item 11.
- 5 IOC Session, 24–25 January 1956, Cortina.
- 6 IOC Session, 24–25 January 1956, Cortina, Prince Axel (DEN).
- 7 Brundage, wearing his Olympic "hat", abhorred the idea of commercialism touching upon the IOC and, while he could rationalise the thought of Olympic organising committees becoming involved in commercial matters as a practical necessity of generating sufficient revenues to organise the Games, he did everything possible to ensure that none of the commercial ordure would attach to the IOC.
- 8 IOC Session 24–25 January 1956, Cortina, Brundage.
- 9 IOC EB 3–4 October 1956, Lausanne.
- 10 IOC EB 17 November 1956, Melbourne, 4. No doubt this referred to the possibility of a full assessment of the positions taken by the television broadcasters and the responses from the organising committee as a precursor to evolving a strategy for the future.
- 11 IOC EB 3–4 June 1957, Evian, 1.
- 12 It would not take long for Games television coverage and televised news coverage to collide and for the latter to be cut back severely in favour of the general Games "spectacle" coverage for which rights fees were paid. Tensions continue to exist between what are now termed "rights-holding broadcasters" and "non-rights holders" on the occasion of the Games.
- 13 The IOC required the organising committees to produce a visual record of each Games.
- 14 IOC EB 3–4 June 1957, Evian, 1.
- 15 IOC Session 23–28 September 1957, Sofia, 9.
- 16 This reflected one of the shifting "philosophical" approaches adopted by the IOC from time to time in relation to its claim to a share of revenues derived from television. It was essentially an "alms" approach, namely that the claim could be justified as being used to offset or reimburse costs incurred by the IOC in relation to the Games (and possibly costs of the IFs), without any entrepreneurial thought of using the television revenues to expand the IOC's financial and operational capacity. It would not be until the late 1970s and early 1980s that television rights fees became significantly greater and thus fundamentally changed the role and influence of the IOC. It was only after Juan Antonio Samaranch became IOC President in 1980 that the IOC stepped (not without difficulty and resistance from OCOGs) into the centre of the negotiations for television rights, which altered the entire Olympic television paradigm.
- 17 IOC Session 23–28 September 1957, Sofia, 7–8.
- 18 IOC Session 23–28 September 1957, Sofia, 14. Note also p. 15 regarding Rule 49, where all arrangements were left to the care of the "editorial committee", which would act in accordance with the arrangements made by the television. The modern version of the rule leaves such matters to the attention of the IOC Executive Board. The IOC had not yet formally asserted that the IOC itself "owned" the television rights, but had merely taken the position that it was entitled to a

share of the revenues derived from the sale of the rights by the organising committees.

- 19 While there are many references to television rights in the early discussions, these were not rights in the intellectual property sense that they now represent, but rather in the sense of the IOC asserting the right to claim a share of whatever revenue might result from the Olympic broadcasts.
- 20 IOC EB 2 October 1959, Paris, item 23.
- 21 IOC EB 2 October 1959, Paris, item 24.
- 22 IOC Session 15–16 February 1960, San Francisco, 7–8. The total television rights for Rome amounted to US\$1,178,257, which were paid as follows: CBS \$394,940; EBU \$667,967; OIRT \$66,320; NHK \$48,400 and others, \$630. The \$50,000 guarantee to the IOC would have been just over 4% of the total rights fees.
- 23 In the early years, especially in Europe and Japan, the improved television coverage of the Games was assisted by the fact that the broadcasters were public broadcasters and had a certain level of technological and production expertise to put at the service of the organising committees. The Japanese, in particular, would use the 1964 Games in Tokyo to demonstrate the enormous progress they had made, inter alia, in television and electronics. These factors led to a notional split of the television revenues into rights fees and services, from which the IOC derived a share of the former, but not the latter.
- 24 IOC Session 22–24 August 1960, Rome, 7–9. Tokyo had agreed with the IOC proposal. Innsbruck had complained at the Paris Session in 1955 that the amount of the indemnity had been fixed at SF30,000. US\$20,000 was too high and they did not think the organising committee would accede to the new request. In Austria, the television rights belonged to the government and the organising committee derived no benefit from them. It was agreed that the organising committee would study the request and respond definitively at the 1961 Session in Athens. Count de Beaumont (FRA) seems to have figured out that requests and rules emanating from the IOC were not effective and proposed that in future, a contract "drawn in good and due form" be signed between the contracting parties, namely the IOC and the organisers of the Games (p. 14). Even this, however, would not have enabled the organisers to bind the government regarding television, but, if the rights were not necessary in future, the monetary obligation was one which the organising committee could undertake, even if it did not have access to television revenues. The matter was resolved and Brundage reported to the next Executive Board meeting that agreement had been reached and payment made on account (IOCEB 15–18 June 1961, Athens, 1–2). The television rights for Tokyo realised US\$1,557,778, of which NBC paid US\$1,500,000 and other broadcasters paid US\$77,778 (an approximate ratio of 95% to 5%).
- 25 The principle underlying Olympic Charter Rule 48 of the day was: "The IOC takes all the necessary steps in order to ensure the fullest coverage by the different media and the widest possible audience in the world for the Olympic Games."
- 26 IOC Session 19–21 June 1961, Athens, 3. The formula based on venue size (or ticket revenues) was a regular contributor to the constant demand by IFs for larger Olympic venues: they did not care about after-use, but only wanted additional revenues based on ticket sales at the time of the Games. See, for example, distribution key proposed for the 1968 Games (IOC Session 3–9 May 1967, Tehran, p. 13, item 19 and Annex XIIIa).
- 27 IOC EB 2–3 March 1962, Lausanne. This was approved at the 1962 IOC Session, 5–8 June 1962, Moscow, 7.
- 28 IOC EB 25–26 January 1964, Innsbruck, 2. At the following Executive Board meeting, it was decided that it might be better for the IOC rule to specify a minimum number of accreditations, rather than a maximum, and leave it to the organising committees to deal with the matter thereafter (IOCEB 26–27 June 1964, Lausanne, 6).
- 29 IOC Session 26–28 January 1964, Lausanne–Innsbruck, 2.
- 30 IOC EB 11–14 April 1965, Lausanne, 5, item 21, Other business, Commercial publicity and television.

The Devitt–Larson Race: Decided by the Width of a Fingernail

By Ian Jobling

Action from the 100 m freestyle final in 1960: Lance Larson in lane 4. Out of picture are John Devitt (lane 3), Richard W. Pound (lane 1), and the Hungarian Gyula Dobay (lane 2).

Photo: Olympiaboken 1960, Svenska Sportförlaget, Stockholm



In August this year it was 60 years since two swimmers, an Australian and an American, touched the end of their respective swimming lanes to become gold and silver medallists in the 100 m freestyle at the Rome Olympic Games. Who won the gold medal? Who won silver? A good question, but it was a result that was to transform Olympic swimming.

The close finish, and the consternation and the debate that followed among judges, lane timekeepers, observers, commentators, and the sporting world generally continued for months and years afterwards. It was also seen by Australian journalist Harry Gordon as “one of the greatest and most unedifying controversies in the history of Olympic swimming.” And while the argument and even fury was undoubtedly “unedifying”, some good did come of it because it hastened the use of technology and an immediate stimulus in judging, timing, and recording in swimming.

The Australian John Devitt won the race, and the American Lance Larson was awarded silver, the difference

being, as journalist Arthur Daley of the *New York Times* wrote, “no further apart than a flattened sardine.”¹ *The Report of the US Games* includes this description:

*The first two ... can't have been any more than a fingernail apart, but Lance Larson seems to think he has won. Anyway, he poses for the photographers and cameramen as becomes king of the swimmers. John Devitt congratulates him and stays modestly in the background as becomes a beaten contestant – even though it was only by a hair's breath [sic: breadth]. But then the judges announce their verdict. John Devitt has won and Lance Larson is second! The photographers and cameramen cluster around Devitt, while Larson climbs disappointingly into his sweat suit.*²

So, what actually occurred in this race that upset everyone and how did it affect timekeeping?

Finish judges won against timekeepers

At the 1960 Rome Olympics electronic timing was in its infancy and used as a back-up system only. For finishes, three judges watched for first place, three for the second, and so on. In the 100 m freestyle, two of three first-place judges called Devitt as the first-place winner, but two of the three second-place judges had Devitt as the second-placegetter. It also transpired that the three stopwatches used for each swimmer showed Lance Larson with the faster time – 55.1 sec to John Devitt's 55.2 sec.

The electronic timer – as back-up – had Larson at 55.10 and Devitt at 55.16. The head judge, who by FINA rules did not have the power, made the decision that Devitt won even though the decision should have been based on the back-up timing system.³

American David Maraniss wrote extensively in his book, *Rome 1960: The Olympics that Changed the World*, of Larson's frustration and anguish over the decision which relegated him to second place. Maraniss describes Larson, a keen surfer at California's Huntington Beach, as the first of the great male swimmers who peroxided his hair, “and in that small way helped shape the national imagination about the sun-worshipping culture of the Beach Boys.”⁴

Just after 9 pm on Saturday, 27 August 1960, Larson, with no sign of his blonde hair because he had shaved

down, stood on the lane 4 block for the final, with Devitt in lane 3. Maraniss wrote:

At the seventy-five-meter mark, Larson sees a shadow to his left, slightly ahead, and says to himself, "When are you going to start moving?" And he starts moving. Twenty metres out Devitt "is now a poor Christ, his arms flaying with frenzy. ... The water becomes frothy. Larson worries that he can't see and that his stroke is off. They are straining furiously at the finish, side by side. Larson pulls so hard that Abramson of the New York Herald Tribune thinks he might drive right through the wall."⁵

John Devitt told his story of the final to fellow Rome Olympian and butterfly champion, Kevin Berry:

Twenty-five metres to go. Whatever Larson did in that third 25 metres, it cost him – I'm gaining. The grate! Fifteen metres left! A quick look and g-o-o-o! So, who had won? I didn't know. I knew I had missed the wall with my left hand and started to raise my right, but then stretched out with my left to touch."⁶

Harry Gordon, who was at the pool, described the finish in his book, *Australia and the Olympics*: "With 10 metres to go Devitt surged to the front and looked set to win. Larson then unleashed a furious finish, and the pair battled together to the line."⁷ He revisited that finish in *Gold! An Olympic Celebration*: "With 10 metres to go Devitt surged to the front – but as he closed on the final wall the American Lance Larson launched a furious assault, and the pair battled stroke for stroke. Both touched underwater."⁸

Before that description, and that specific sentence, Gordon opens the paragraph with: "One of the greatest and unedifying controversies in the history of Olympic swimming took place following the men's 100 metres final in Rome in 1960." It is difficult not to agree with Gordon's summation and aspersion. What happened next is certainly not consistent with the ideals and objectives of Olympism, the Olympic philosophy.

There seems to be consistency in the fact that two of the three first-place judges nominated Devitt as the winner, but two of the second-place judges picked him as second. All three timekeepers in Devitt's lane gave him 55.0, 55.1 and 55.1.⁹ David Maraniss wrote:

The three officials hovering over Larson in Lane 4 clocked his time at 55.0, 55.1 and 55.1. According to the rules, if two of the times agree, that is the accepted time. So, by the timers, Larson swam the 100 meters in 55.1 seconds.

The three timers over Devitt in Lane 3 clocked his time at 55.2, 55.2, and 55.2. No doubt in that case – the Omega watches showed he swam the 100 meters in 55.2 seconds, one-tenth of a second slower than



Who won? Exhausted and unsure: Lance Larson (left) and John Devitt.

Photo: Official Report Rome 1960, vol. 2

Larson. Backing up those times, a contraption known as the three-tape finish recorder also listed Larson as the winner; the operator of the device had already congratulated U.S. officials."¹⁰

Maraniss asks bluntly in his book, "So what was the problem?" After an eight-minute delay, it was announced that John Devitt was the winner, and the official time for both swimmers would be 55.2 seconds – an Olympic record.¹¹ But there is more – the American team immediately appealed against the decision, but an international jury of FINA announced after a few more minutes that the appeal had been rejected. The official placings and times are:

100 m FREESTYLE FINAL – ROME OLYMPIC GAMES – 27 AUGUST 1960				
Rank	Swimmer	Nation	Time	Record
1	John Devitt	Australia	55.2	OR
2	Lance Larson	United States	55.2	OR
3	Manuel dos Santos Filho	Brazil	55.4	
4	Bruce Hunter	United States	55.6	
5	Gyula Dobay	Hungary	56.3	
6	Richard W. Pound	Canada	56.3	
7	Aubrey Burer	South Africa	56.3	
8	Per-Ola Lindberg	Sweden	57.1	

David Maraniss asserts:

They rushed the awards ceremony. Devitt was in a daze as he walked over to the victory pedestal. He shook hands warmly with Larson, who had to stand one rung down from Devitt and listen to "God Save the Queen" as the flags were raised. Although he was praised for good sportsmanship, a photograph caught Larson with a look of disbelief. "I was not feeling so good, ... I felt sick to my stomach, like somebody had just told me my family was wiped out on the freeway."¹²

Recalling Gordon's comments about the Devitt-Larson race decision being an "unedifying controversy", the matter did not rest after the medal ceremony. Devitt has been asked about the race and subsequent decision on many occasions. It should be recalled also that neither Devitt nor Larson, indeed none of the swimmers, were



Premature jubilation: Lance Larson pictured alongside Devitt, believes he has won.

Photo: Olympiaboken 1960, Svenska Sportförlaget, Stockholm

wearing swim goggles, which might have enabled them to see the "touch" more clearly.¹³ Devitt's immediate reaction was that he did not know who had won. He is quoted as stating:

I hit the wall. Personally, I didn't know if I hit first, or not. There was lots of spray, and it was so fast nobody could tell. What I do remember distinctly is Bob Kiphuth, the legendary swim coach from Yale University, coming across and telling Larson he had won. I had a lot of respect for Kiphuth, so after hearing his verdict I climbed out of the pool and congratulated Larson. Afterwards I realised that Kiphuth, who as a timekeeper on one of the other lanes, could not have seen Larson win if he was clocking the swimmer in his lane. ... In retrospect, I think the timekeepers on my lane were in error. I have short arms and slide my arm through very quickly. I believe my fast touch confused the timekeepers.¹⁴

Devitt also related this interaction with Australian swimmers and ABC [Australian Broadcasting Commission] Radio soon after the race:

I climbed out of the pool, went to the ABC radio commentary position and was joined by about ten to fifteen Australians, "Who won", I asked. "You did", they replied. ABC Radio had called me first in their broadcast of the race – but they were 25 metres down the pool. Other Australians around the ABC location also thought I had won.¹⁵

The ABC's Norman May was intimately involved in how information about the race was broadcast in Australia. In 1960, May had two jobs associated with the Rome Olympics: he worked in the newsroom of the ABC in Sydney checking cables as they came from Italy, and prepared radio reports. He has written about the American CBS television coverages which came to the ABC about a week after each event:

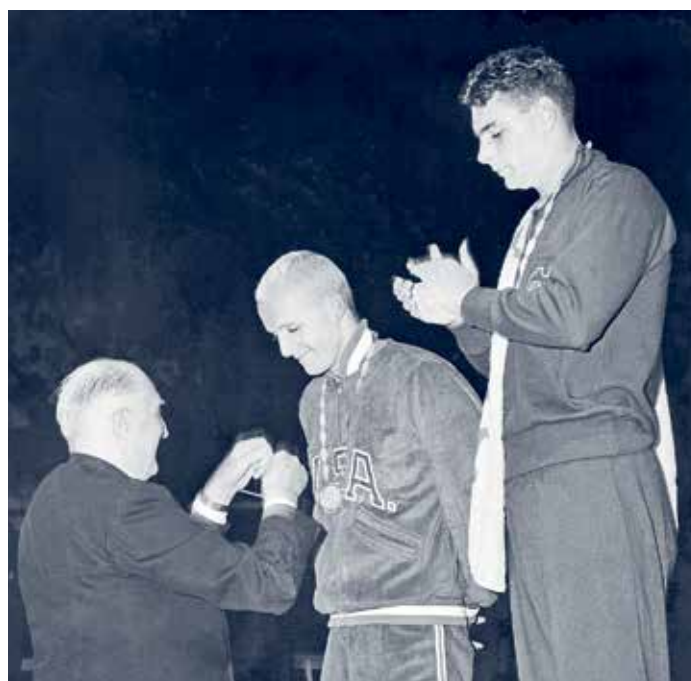
The CBS films were shown first of all with the American commentary and the reason for the re-write was the amount of public criticism over the pro-American bias of the commentators. ... The major controversy centred around the finish of the 100 metre freestyle. ... In those

days, there were no such things as touch pads and electronic timing. ... The controversy was still raging when the CBS programme was shown in Australia and the commentator raised a lot of eyebrows when he said, "if you look closely at this film you'll agree with me that Lance Larson won the race." I was in a position to look at the race more closely than anyone else. With a film editor, we wound it through a bench viewer at least a dozen times and also projected it onto a wall frame by frame and there was no way of reaching a conclusion. All it showed was a flurry and splash of an extremely close finish. It was in wide shot and the only possible doubt was caused by the fact that Devitt started a new stroke with his right arm after touching with his left hand. But Devitt frequently finished that way because of his high-stroke rating. It might have been a wrong decision but it's a pity that John Devitt, one of our greatest Olympians, should be the innocent victim of criticism over this incident.¹⁶

Marannis, who understandably takes a stance supportive of Larson, stated that Arthur Daley of the *New York Times* wrote they "finished no further apart than the width of a flattened sardine." But he also wrote that Larson thought he had touched at least six inches ahead. Although not acknowledging his source, Maraniss writes, in quotation marks, that Devitt said, "At the end of the race, I thought I was second, so I congratulated Lance Larson, climbed out of the pool and tried not to think about it." Maraniss neither refers to the fact that Devitt was reacting to Kiphuth's utterance to Larson that he had won, nor to Devitt's later reaction that Kiphuth did not, or could and should not have seen either of them touch because he was timekeeper for another lane.¹⁷



"The judges took 120 minutes to make their decision. In this tense time, Larson was congratulated and photographed, while Devitt relaxed believing he had lost." Source: unnamed newspaper, Scrapbook



As at Melbourne 1956, John Devitt was the Olympic champion. Lance Larson was awarded the silver medal. The bronze went to Brazil's Manuel dos Santos.

Far left: Devitt's parents in Sydney speaking to John in Rome, but he was unable to hear them.

Photos: picture-alliance; unnamed newspaper, Scrapbook

Lance Larson recalled his post-touching action, in the light of what Kiphuth had purportedly relayed to him in person – that he had won:

It all happened so fast, ... I won the race. I threw up my arms and was congratulated by all the other swimmers. I took a victory lap, swam down the other end and back [a lazy backstroke down and a happy butterfly back], and finally got out of the pool. ... and an American official came up to me and said there was a problem.¹⁸

Finally, when the place-getters were announced over the loudspeaker of the Stadio de Nuoto, American R. Max Ritter, one of the founding fathers of FINA, could not believe the outcome of the American swimming team's protest. He was unable to speak to the FINA Secretary, Bertil Sällfors of Sweden, until after the medal awarding ceremony. Ritter was then able to peruse the judges' cards. Maraniss cites Ritter's alleged response after seeing the first-place cards, which had two places for Devitt and one for Larson:

I demanded to see the judges' card for second. Most reluctantly, the chief judge placed these cards on the table, which revealed two votes for Devitt for second and one for Larson as second. When I pointed out to the chief judge that this indicated a tie – and that under the rules he would have to admit this tie to a referee, he hesitated and consulted with the FINA Secretary, and came back and said that as chief judge he had a vote, and he voted for Devitt; therefore it was not a tie but a clear majority for Devitt.¹⁹

An AAP journalist who filed the story in an Australian newspaper cited both John Devitt and Lance Larson's

comments immediately following the decision by the International Swimming Jury the following morning:

[Devitt]: This is great – wonderful news. I couldn't tell who won last night, and I know Larson couldn't either." ... [Larson]: The judges were on the side, where they could not get a clear view of the finish ... The way they were placed it was impossible for them to tell who did finish first particularly when you touch underwater as I did.²⁰

The journalist added, "he [Larson] said that a deciding factor, which the jury had apparently failed to take into consideration, was the clockings of the timers."

Max Ritter then lodged a protest directly with IOC President Avery Brundage; his argument and the outcome are recorded in *The United States Olympic Book: Quadrennial Report of the United States Olympic Committee*:

[Ritter] protested that the FINA rule called for the use of the timing machines in the event the judges were unable to decide. Ritter further claimed that the chief judge was in no position to judge the finish and that FINA rules do not provide him with a vote. The three machines in lane 3 (Devitt) and the three in lane 4 (Larson) showed Larson the winner. Devitt was given three similar times of 55.2. Larson was clocked in 55.0, 55.1, and 55.1, making his time 55.1.²¹

Devitt's restraint earned him sympathy

As intimated, the controversy has gone on for decades.²² If readers would like to feel more involved, then view the black-and-white footage and commentator's frantic call of the CBS broadcast.²³ As most commentators on the Devitt-Larson dispute have concluded, the outcome

Post medal ceremony: A triple handshake by the medallists.

Photo: Official Report Rome 1960, v. 2



was an immediate stimulus for the development of electronic timing. (NB: There is now a YouTube clip, in colour, which highlights this issue pertaining to judges and timekeeping.)²⁴

It is with some reluctance that this swimming event at the 1960 Rome Olympics is raised yet again, but it has been done so in the context of the introduction of electronic timing equipment in swimming. There is sympathy for both John Devitt and Lance Larson who have endured the saga for so long. Harry Gordon, who was an officially accredited member of the press for the Games, and witnessed the drama of the decision-making process, wrote this piece which was published in the Australian press the following morning:

*Lesser men might have been tempted to enter the slanging match, or at least make some statement which could contribute to the general bad feeling – but Devitt stayed amiably aloof from it all. He gave the impression that this, after all, was just a sport; and in doing so he gained more stature than in any medal could have given him.*²⁵

Meanwhile, in 1994, former ISOH President Bill Mallon interviewed Lance Larson and talked to him about many of the details of what has occurred since the race.²⁶ So long after the actual event, it is important to recall some of the more personal aspects of that great race. For example, Brazilian bronze medal winner Manuel dos Santos swam a personal best time of 55.4 sec so all place getters were within a fifth of a second of one another. And only two tenths of a second outside an Olympic record.

John's parents in Sydney had to wait six hours before they could congratulate their son on his success. Telephone calls were tricky and unreliable. They had sent a cable, which cost £20 (US\$40) but eventually John was connected – but he could not hear his parents.²⁷

When interviewed by Kevin Berry for the book co-written with Robin Poke, John Devitt recalled:

*Many other people at the finish and in the stands also thought I had won, and told me so. However, just as many thought Larson had won, and the American team continued to protest for the next six years – during which time I received numerous letters supporting my victory.*²⁸

Reet and Max Howell quote John as saying, "Even in 1987, the argument rages on in aquatic circles, particularly in the United States, where they have never accepted the decision. The latest claim is that the Australians were friendly with the Swede who cast the deciding vote for to Australia."

Many years later, Lance Larson was quoted by Gordon: "The watches and automatic machines had me the winner. But the only thing is what the judges see."²⁹

Larson's statement was prophetic in that elite swimmers, coaches, international swimming officials, and journalists associated with swimming were calling for changes. Gordon added to the above by Larson a few lines later, thereby succinctly surmising the situation: "The most positive outcome of the whole unhappy episode was to provide impetus for the introduction of electronic timing."³⁰

The revolutionary innovation of electric timing

Things moved quickly after those 1960 Rome Olympics, but it is appropriate for the context to review some developments throughout the 1950s. For example, it was only in the early 1950s that swimmers had access to a "pace clock". Noted University of Indiana coach, James "Doc" Counsilman, is reputed to have attached a timing motor to a 15-inch clockface to record lap times.³¹ Counsilman combined his expertise in physiology and psychology to introduce techniques and technology to swimming, such as underwater filming, to observe swimming stroke mechanics, which dispelled some previously held beliefs about which specific "forces" are utilised, especially in relation to the arm stroke. The pace clock he developed allowed swimmers to keep their own time during interval training, a training method popular in track and field that Counsilman discovered also worked well with swimmers.³²

In the Rome Swimming Stadium, the watches were started with the gun and stopped manually at the finish. This, of course, eliminates reaction time at the start of the race, estimated at being 0.2 seconds slower than manual. As Professor Frank Cotton's article states, this also affects world records both pre- and post-"electronic timing".³³ However, if arguments in judging and timing were to cease, then complete electric timing from start to finish was vital.

In those early days, the method was to use two thin parallel plates of metal, insulated from each other and

the water, and located at the end of each lane. On the swimmer's touch, the plates contact and lights record placings on a judging panel in the correct order. And, most importantly, the same mechanism could be used for stopping the watches, or an electronic timing apparatus.

"Photo-finishes" are not used in swimming because of the difficulty in judging the actual touch underwater with water turbulence, diffraction, and lighting. Cotton stated he used a Polaroid camera and a flash gun; he maintained that the photographs in the majority of cases were most helpful to the judges. The good feature with the Polaroid was that the photograph was available within one minute for the judges to check their placings.³⁴

Professor Cotton foretold: "In future years swimming spectators will be able to see, at the instant of finishing, places and times recorded for each lane on a large panel. Lap times will also be flashed on at the end of a race."³⁵

It was clear in the 1950s that Omega of Switzerland, which were first involved with the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games, was one of the leading companies in the development of electronic timing systems generally, and for several innovations that assisted in judging and time-keeping for swimming specifically. The 1956 Melbourne Organising Committee (MOC) entrusted the timekeeping to Omega, which cooperated to the extent of flying its timekeeping squad of ten men and 32 cases of timekeeping equipment valued at £110,000 to Australia free of charge.³⁶

Omega had introduced the Racend Omega Timer at the 1952 Helsinki Olympics, the MOC were very proud that the 1956 Olympics would have "state of art" technology:

*Melbourne saw the revolutionary innovation of electric timing in swimming. For the first time in the history of the Olympic Games, swimming times were taken electrically by a special device, the Omega Swim-O-Matic timer, constructed in cooperation with FINA. As the 24-individual electric timers – 3 per lane – were put into motion automatically at the start of the gun, it meant that the swimmers started with a handicap of one to two tenths of a second in compassion with competitors at previous Games, where the reaction time of the human timekeeper was included. This, however, did not prevent innumerable records being broken in Melbourne.*³⁷

In relation to what occurred following the finish of the 100 m freestyle event featuring John Devitt and Lance Larson, clearly, there needed to be an improvement in technology with the timers so they "automatically" recorded each swimmer as they "touched" at the end of the race. Yes, to reiterate, there was an electronic timer at Rome, but it was used as a back-up system only.

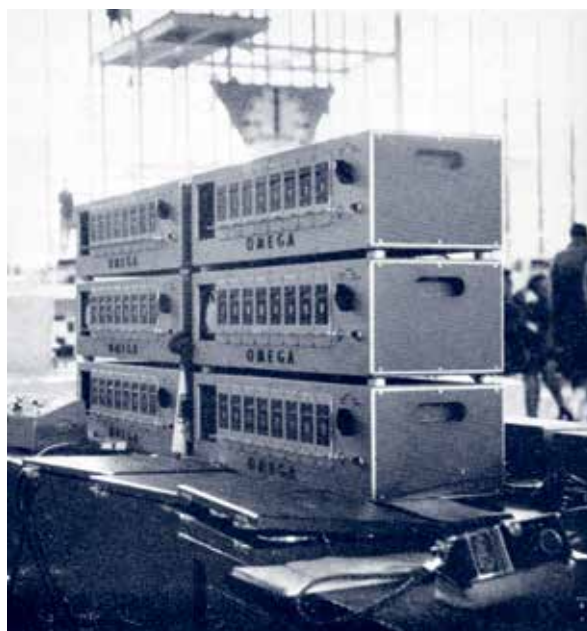
It may be that at about the same time of Cotton's article in the late 1950s³⁸ that Bill Parkinson, a physics

professor at the University of Michigan, and also a swimming official, was acutely aware of the difficulties of both judges and timekeepers in coping with splashing and underwater touches. He was also aware the mechanical stopwatches were accurate to one-tenth of a second. Indeed, Parkinson felt that timers often varied on the same race by as much as 4/10 of a second. Something had to be done to the technology of timing at the end of the race to remove the "human" discrepancies.³⁹

Tom Slear has written that Parkinson started by having his wife Martha sew copper wire in a zigzag pattern into a rubber mat, which he mounted on an aluminium plate. His thinking was that when a swimmer pressed the mat, the wires would touch the aluminium plate, thereby completing a circuit and triggering an electrical timepiece and placing system.

Parkinson attached a second sheet of rubber over the first to ensure insulation. Dealing with the water pressure was also a problem because the pad had to distinguish between the relatively soft touch of a swimmer and the considerable pressure of water, which can be enormous even at a depth of only a few inches.

Parkinson's solution was to fill the pad with non-conductive, silicone oil, as the oil neutralised the water pressure, thereby preventing it from closing the circuit, but offering no resistance to a hand-touch. Slear quoted Bob Clauson of Colorado Time Systems, the Denver-based company that would corner the market in the United States, who commented, "It was ingenious what he came up with."⁴⁰



The battery of the Omega timing apparatus at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games at the swimming pool, including the Omega Swim-O-Matic timer. This was constructed in co-operation with FINA.

Photo: The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVII Olympiad Melbourne 1956



After his sports career, John Devitt worked for the swimwear manufacturer Speedo. He rose from salesman to become the European manager, later for the international section. In 1979 he founded his own company with former breaststroke world record holder Terry Gathercole. In the 1990s, he was involved in Sydney's winning bid for the 2000 Olympics. In 2018, he and the author Larry Writer published the story of Cecil Healy. The Australian world record swimmer and 1912 Olympic gold medallist was killed during the First World War in France. Photo: Volker Kluge Archives

By the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, the National Gymnasium Pool in the city had been described the finest in the world. British journalist Pat Besford wrote that "looked like an extravaganza of marine architecture, a huge concrete shell set upside down."⁴¹ Besford thought it was even better for the swimmers, judges, and timekeepers:

Everything was so precise. The organisation was immaculate and there was an automatic judging-timing, which was capable of doing the work of 24 timekeepers and 20 judges. The machines could even do the work of the recording clerk for the results were printed automatically.

*Human officials were used because at that stage, the FINA Congress had not accepted the exclusive use of the machine, but they were supplementary and were not the final arbiter.*⁴²

In 1967, the Omega Company developed the first electronic timing system for swimming that attempted to coordinate and physically record the time. This new system placed contact pads (known as touch pads) in each lane of the pool, calibrated in such a fashion that the incidental water movement of the competitors or wave action did not trigger the pad sensors; the pad was only activated by the touch of the swimmer at the end of the race. The touch pad technology was refined after 1967. The pads themselves were then constructed from a series of very thin vertical sheets, which extended underwater the width of a competitor's lane, so as to permit a recorded touch no matter where in the lane the swimmer may finish the race.

The starting block was also integrated into the overall timing system. The starting block was equipped with a speaker system to permit the starter's horn to be directly communicated to each competitor as they awaited the start. When the swimmer left the starting block, the motion of the athlete signalled the individual start by its registration on a sensor device in the block.

This meant the timer and the judge of the race could instantly determine, through the coordination of the starter's signal and the athlete movements as recorded on the block, whether there was a false start, and in which lane. In the same fashion, the timing system was coordinated with the video recording of each race, to permit judges, by replay, to determine the order of result in the event of any dispute.

The official acceptance by FINA of electronic timing was in the Francisco Marquez Olympic Swimming Pool,⁴³ built specifically for the 1968 Mexico City Olympics with a seating capacity of 4,300. The number of events increased significantly: the men's went from 10 to 15 events; women's from 8 to 14 events.⁴⁴

Judges and timekeepers would have been really working overtime with this increased activity but pressure, anxiety, and accuracy in decision was reduced because FINA accepted that the Omega electronic equipment was reliable, and all went smoothly.

Michael Wenden of Australia won the 100 m freestyle in a world-record time of 52.2 sec, and, by also winning the 200 m freestyle became the first swimmer to win the Olympic double. Incidentally, a young American, Mark Spitz, made his Olympic debut – he would perform much better at the 1972 Munich Olympics.

Fortunately, the technology brought in to assist judges, timekeepers, and recorders had brought the focus of swimming events back to the athletes and, especially with the development of visual information available on large ("super-size") scoreboards, accurate and instant information to spectators.

Finishing line

Both John Devitt and Lance Larson were guests at the wedding of another Games swimming champion, Australian Jon Henricks, when he married American Bonnie Wilkie towards the end of the 1960 Rome Olympics. At the reception following the church service, swimmers from both the American and Australian teams, dressed in their respective team uniforms, formed a guard of honour. Lance and John warmly embraced – Olympism personified.⁴⁵ ■

1 Arthur Daley, as stated in David Maraniss, *Rome 1960: The Olympics that Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 129.

2 Harald Lechenberg, ed., *Olympic Games 1960: Squaw Valley – Rome*, trans. Benjamin B Lacy, Jr (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1960), 127.

3 This summary is based on Mat Luebbers, "8 Olympics Controversies and Scandals in Swimming," updated 18 July 2018, accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.liveabout.com/olympics-controversy-and-scandal-in-swimming-3169880>.

4 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 126. Larson began using peroxide because after worrying his hair was turning greenish from pool chlorine, "it burned the hell out of my scalp."

5 *Ibid.*, 128–129.

6 Robin Poke and Kevin Berry, *Olympic Gold: Our Greatest Individual Olympians since 1896* (Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2012).

7 Harry Gordon, *Australia and the Olympic Games* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1994).

8 Harry Gordon, *Gold! An Olympic Celebration* (Melbourne: Wilkinson Publishing Pty Ltd, 2008), 100.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 130.

11 Gordon, *Gold*, 100.

12 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 131.

13 Early swim goggles had limited success because of their rigidity. They were first used at the 1970 Edinburgh British Commonwealth Games

- by Scottish breaststroker David Wilkie. Their use was permitted by FINA at the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games.
- 14 Reet and Maxwell Howell, *Aussie Gold: The Story of Australia and the Olympic Games* (Waterloo: Brooks Waterloo, 1988), 202. In a personal telephone conversation (26 May 2020), John Devitt advised this author that Kiphuth was a timekeeper in lane 1 or 2 – at least 2 or 3 lanes from Lance Larson in lane 4.
 - 15 Poke and Berry, *Olympic Gold*, 114.
 - 16 Norman May, *Gold! Gold! Gold! Norman May Looks at the Olympics* (Cammeray: Castle Books – Horwitz Grahame Books, 1984), 59–60.
 - 17 In a personal telephone conversation with Ian Jobling on 20 May 2020, John Devitt stated that Kiphuth was timekeeping in lane 5; Larson was in lane 4.
 - 18 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 129.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 132.
 - 20 “Devitt Survives U.S. Protest to Win First Gold Medal,” unnamed author and newspaper, no date (probably 29 August 1960), no page number, in Yvonne Allen Scrapbook, *Australia’s Famous Swimmers*, 261. The journalist also wrote: “Devitt, Larson and Dos Santos (Brazil) finished the race in a welter of foam, and many spectators thought Larson had won. Larson threw his hands high when a friend in the crowd signalled a win. ... John Devitt said he did not see Larson finish, but thought the American must have won when everyone congratulated the American. Later, when Devitt stood on the victor’s rostrum, Larson warmly shook his hand.” (The journalist was probably one of three accredited AAP writers: John William Dunn, John Al Fitzgerald, or Lyall Walter Rowe.)
 - 21 *1960 United States Olympic Book: Quadrennial Report of the United States Olympic Committee* (New York: United States Olympic Association, Inc., 1961), 157.
 - 22 David Wallechinsky wrote, “Four years of decades have failed to change the result.” [David Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book of the Olympics*, (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2000), 698]. In an article in *Swimming World* in 1961, Mike Mullins wrote, “The IOC reconsidered the race and in 1964 and again in 1968, both times upholding the decision.” [Mike Mullins, “A Rome Retrospective: The Decision of the Judges is Final”, *Swimming World & Junior Swimmer*, vol. 21, no. 11, November 1980, 37]. In 1994, Bill Mallon wrote “The 1960 Men’s 100 Metre Freestyle Swim” in the former ISOH Journal *Citius, Altius, Fortius*, Winter, 1994, 12. A short piece, with no references, about Max Ritter and the ongoing protests in 1994: “Max Ritter was Treasurer of the US Olympic Committee in 1960, and was also a member of the Executive Committee of FINA. There was also one Australian member (William Berge Phillips) on the FINA Executive Committee. Ritter took the protest at Rome to FINA, again headed by Jean de Vries and again is was rebuffed by the Executive Committee by a vote of 5–3. After the Rome Olympics, the protests did not end. Max Ritter took it as his personal mission to see that Lance Larson received the gold medal he likely had earned. Over the next four years, he continued to file official protests, first with the entire membership of FINA, and finally the IOC. They were all rejected.” [“Swimming at the 1960 Rome Summer Games,” accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.sport-olympic.gr/sp/index.php/olympic-games/modern-olympic-games/summer-olympic-games/1960-rome-summer-olympics/1749-1960-summer-olympics-the-results-swimming>]. John Devitt stated, “Even in 1987, the argument raged on in aquatic circles, particularly in the United States, where they have never accepted the decision.” [John Devitt, cited in Reet and Maxwell Howell, *Aussie Gold*, 202].
 - 23 “1960 Rome Olympic Games men’s 100m Freestyle,” accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KWKtmV5YU>.
 - 24 “The Race That Changed Olympic Swimming,” accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCR2tWg92FY>.
 - 25 Gordon, *Gold!* 101. Harry Gordon noted that FINA presented John Devitt with its highest individual award, the FINA Prize, in February 2008. Only one such award is made annually; only two have been awarded to Australians – administrator Bill Berge Phillips and distance swimmer Kieran Perkins.
 - 26 Personal email from Bill Mallon to Ian Jobling, 1 June 2020. Mallon also stated in his 1994 article (p. 13), “Devitt and Larson met again for the first time in more than 20 years after the race and got on very well.”
 - 27 “John: Six Hours Wait to Phone Parents,” Unnamed newspaper, no date, no page number, Yvonne Allen Scrapbook *Australia’s Famous Swimmers*, 260.
 - 28 Poke and Berry, *Olympic Gold*, 100.
 - 29 Harry Gordon, *From Athens with Pride: The Official History of the Australian Olympic Movement, 1894–2014* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2014), 137.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, 137.
 - 31 Tom Slear, “The Not So Bad Ol’ Days,” *USA Swimming*, 2004, accessed 1 October 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060427232545/http://www.usaswimming.org/USASWeb/ViewMiscArticle.aspx?TabId=507&Alias=Rainbow&Lang=en&mid=864&ItemId=1501>. For a more extensive coverage see also Tom Slear, “The Story of Electronic Timing, Part 1,” 1 May 2018; “Part 2,” 4 May 2018, accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.usaswimming.org/news/2018/05/01/the-story-of-electronic-timing-part-1> and <https://www.usaswimming.org/news/2018/05/04/the-story-of-electronic-timing-part-2>.
 - 32 James Counsilman, “Making Waves,” accessed 1 October 2020, <https://indianapublicmedia.org/doc/docbio.html> [Accessed 29 April 2020].
 - 33 Frank Cotton, “Let’s Rely on the Electric Eye,” unnamed author, unnamed newspaper/magazine, no date, no page number, Yvonne Allen Scrapbook *Australia’s Famous Swimmers*, 365. It is noted that the only mention of Frank Cotton is in the caption of the photograph. It is possible the article was also written by Professor Cotton.
 - 34 *Ibid.* The writer added, “one new film for (Polaroid cameras) now allows this to be done in 10 seconds.”
 - 35 *Ibid.*
 - 36 *Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVI Olympiad Melbourne 1956* (Melbourne: W H Houston, Government Printer, 1956), 82–83.
 - 37 *Ibid.*
 - 38 Kristen Chonowski, “How Touchpad Technology Revolutionized Swimming,” *Arrow Electronics*, 11 August 2016, accessed 1 October 2020, <https://www.arrow.com/en/research-and-events/articles/how-touchpad-technology-revolutionized-swimming>.
 - 39 Slear, “Story of Electronic Timing, Part 2.”
 - 40 Slear, “The Not So Bad Ol’ Days.” The Swim Eight–0–Matic Timer, reputed to be the world’s first semi-automatic timer, was used at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. John Devitt has advised this author that timekeepers used clocks at Melbourne Games. However, the system was refined by Omega with the introduction of “touchpads” placed at each end of the pool; this system was introduced officially at the 1967 Winnipeg Pan-American Games, and then used at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.
 - 41 Inside the National Gymnasium Pool in Tokyo, Besford wrote, “the roof, hanging from the superstructure, like sails on either side, enclosed a water wonderland in which even the high diving-board was dwarfed.” Pat Besford, “Swimming,” in *British Olympic Association, Official Report of the Olympic Games 1964*, ed. Doug Gardner (London: World Sports Publication, 1964), 74.
 - 42 Besford adds that the bronze medal for the 100 m freestyle was awarded to Germany’s Hans-Joachim Klein without argument because the machine showed he had finished 1/1,000th of a second ahead of Gary Ilman (USA) [Besford, 1964, 74]. 1968 Mexico City Olympic gold medalist Michael Wenden estimates that would be the length of an average fingernail [Ian Jobling, telephone conversation, 30 April 2020].
 - 43 FINA website, accessed 1 October 2020, <http://www.fina.org/news/celebrating-110-years-history>. See also [swimming/history/swimming-timing](https://www.fina.org/news/swimming/history/swimming-timing).
 - 44 Additional events for men were the 200 m freestyle, and in the non-freestyle strokes an additional two events for each backstroke, breaststroke and butterfly (100 m and 200 m) and 200 m and 400 m individual medley. Added to the women’s events were the 200 m and 800 m freestyle, and two events in each of the non-freestyle disciplines.
 - 45 Both swimmers were inducted into the Swimming Hall of Fame: John Devitt in 1979 and Lance Larson in 1980. Mike Mullins wrote in 1980, “One thing both men reiterate is their longstanding friendship as a result of the famous race in Rome” [Mullins, *Decision of the Judges is Final*, 37].

Finishing note:

In several personal telephone conversations with this author (20–26 May 2020), John Devitt mentioned there were several other issues associated with FINA and the use of electric timing at the Rome Olympics that have never been substantiated. The 60th anniversary of a fantastic race, in which two swimmers are remembered as both recording the same Olympic record-breaking time, ought to be acknowledged in their own right.

Olympic Gold for a Future King

By Philip Barker

Special edition for Greece's first Olympic champion since 1924. Crown Prince Constantine placed first in the fourth race of the series with his yacht, *Nirefs*, to move into the medal placings for the first time (GE-3).

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



Sixty years ago, the only Greek gold medallists at the Rome Olympics toured Athens in open top Rolls Royces. Crown Prince Constantine, later King of the Hellenes and Member of the IOC from 1963 to 1974, had skippered the Greek boat *Nirefs*, crewed by Odysseus Eskitzoglou and Georgios Zaimis to victory in the Dragon class at the 1960 Olympic sailing regatta in the Bay of Naples.

"I took up sailing seriously about a year prior to the 1960 Olympic Games," His Majesty recalled. "I had participated in the Lightning Class in the Greek Championships, which I was fortunate enough to win. It was then suggested to me to switch to a Dragon, as I preferred a keelboat, and to take my sailing seriously."

Barring art contests, Greece had not won Olympic gold since 1924 and many criticised team preparation. The Prince consulted the illustrious Danish sailor, Paul Elvstrøm, who had already won three consecutive gold medals and was to win a fourth himself in Rome.

"Elvstrøm's contribution was vital. He had gained so much experience over the years, which he passed

on to me. He trained me for six months before the Olympic Games, during which time he suggested that I participate in as many international regattas as possible to gain experience."

In the run up to Rome, the Crown Prince took to the water at the crack of dawn for practice.

"I recall a particular piece of his advice: that I should always 'stop the boat from dancing', i.e. to keep the boat steady, neither too high nor too low in the wind." A second-place finish at the Kiel regatta gave a hint of the crew's potential.

Within a few weeks, he was bound for Rome and was flag bearer at the Opening ceremony. "I wanted to represent Greece to the very best of my ability. My father, King Paul, had said to me that if I finished in sixth place or above, it would be considered a victory both for my country as well as myself."

"To be representing my country felt completely different from sailing for my own pleasure. My focus was my country and the Greek people, so I did feel more



pressure, but this just served to concentrate my efforts and dedication yet further."

After a nervous start, the boat hit a vein of consistent form, and by race four had moved into the medal placings. The fiercest competition came from the Argentinian boat, *Tango*, helmed by 1959 Pan American champion Jorge Alberto Salas and hometown favourite Antonio Cosentino, in his third Olympics on board *Venilia*. But by the final race, the Greeks were in gold medal position.

"It was only on the last day that I became aware of this. In sailing, one might do quite well one day, and have a disastrous result the next day, so I tried hard not to be complacent, and to stay absolutely focused until the very end of the final race."

He later recalled the victory for students at the International Olympic Academy in Ancient Olympia: "I found that winning the gold medal was the greatest sensation I have ever felt in my life apart from the time I got engaged."

Constantine's sister Sophia (later Queen of Spain) had been a reserve but did not qualify for a medal so he presented her with a bracelet in the shape of the Olympic rings.

Destiny beckoned before Tokyo. In 1964, Constantine acceded to the Greek throne. His reign was short. Exile followed a military coup in 1967 and the monarchy was subsequently replaced by a republic.

Even so, his bond with sailing remained unbreakable. The International Sailing Federation made him their President of Honour and he remains an Honorary IOC Member. ■



Constantine paid tribute to Danish sailor Paul Elvstrøm, who had trained with him for six months before the Olympics. Elvstrøm won his fourth Olympic gold medal in the Finn class at the same regatta.

Far left: The medal ceremony in Naples. Constantine's crew included Odysseus Eskitzoglou and Georgios Zaimis.



Below: The reception for the victors in Athens.

Photos: Official Report Rome 1960, v. 2; Philip Barker Archive



With his feet on the starting line of the ancient Olympic Stadium, King Constantine II received the 1964 Olympic flame from the high priestess before it began its journey to Tokyo.

Photo: International Olympic Academy

“You May Kiss Your Bride”

The Curious Violation of Amateur Rules by Double Olympic Champion Lee Calhoun

By Tiara Cash, Austin Duckworth, and Jörg Krieger



Lee Calhoun (1933–1989) was the first athlete to retain the Olympic 110 m hurdles title. Roger Kingdom also did so in 1984 and 1988.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

Introduction

On 28 November 1956, the American hurdler Lee Quincy Calhoun clocked a time of 13.5 seconds in the 110 m hurdles final to win the Olympic gold medal in a photo finish at the Melbourne Olympic Games. His victory, and the American sweep of the podium, was important within the context of the Cold War, as the non-American starters in the final had come from the behind the Iron Curtain.

Four years later, on 5 September 1960 Calhoun repeated his triumph, by claiming his second straight victory in the 110 m hurdle in yet another photo finish, almost half a second slower than he had run at the previous Olympics. What sounds like a script written in a television studio was in fact the first successful defence of an Olympic hurdles title.

However, reducing the story of Calhoun's Olympic victories to his two final races would not tell the whole story. Television did indeed play a significant role in his career, but not for offering a cinematization of the sprinter's career. On 9 August 1957, between his Olympic wins, Lee Calhoun married Gwendolyn Bannister on the American television show, *Bride and Groom*. The groom paid a hefty price for exchanging the vows and receiving official allowance to kiss his bride. Crucially, the newlyweds had received gifts worth approximately US\$2,500 and, after his appearance on the show, the governing body of track and field in the United States, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), suspended Calhoun for one year for violating amateurism rules. The following paper analyses what is arguably one of the most curious suspensions of a double Olympic champion against the background of the amateur regulations in place at the time. Previously unexamined archival material and personal interviews with Calhoun's family members are utilised for the research. Therewith, the paper adds to existing literature on the case.¹

Amateurism

First established in Britain during the 19th century, the principle of amateurism had several meanings and was rather difficult to enforce. While often conflated with making money from sport, as pointed out by sport historians Matthew Llewellyn and John Gleaves, the principles guiding amateurism stemmed from “a philosophy of moral improvement.”² Simply put, if one was busy practising sport, then there was less time for other, less edifying pastimes. For the purposes of this analysis, strict amateurism meant preventing athletes from profiting from their athletic ability. While it may have been the code that athletes swore to live by, there was little to stop someone from pledging to follow the rules and accepting payments outside the gaze of the authorities.³



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Far left: Lee Calhoun, champion of North Carolina Central (NCC); 1957 winner, Calhoun flanked by the college president (right) and Dr. LeRoy Walker (left), the first African American to lead a US Olympic team and become President of the United States Olympic Committee (1992–1996).

Photos: Private Collection
Tiara Cash

According to Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the Olympic Movement, amateurism was the foundation for the Movement's educational aspirations, despite his own ambivalence towards the notion.⁴ Coubertin accepted amateurism as a first step to regulating participation at the Olympic Games, because he required the support of powerful individuals who saw in amateurism a tool for social class distinction. However, as previous research has shown, Coubertin never thought payments to athletes should automatically be restricted.⁵ The governing body for track and field, the International Association of Amateur Athletics (IAAF) also adopted strict amateur regulations and required its national federations, such as the AAU, to follow its principles.

The amateur regulations were an enormous challenge for governing bodies of sport. Throughout the 1950s, incidents occurred that centred on the track and field sport organisations' fears that athletes were making a living off athletics. A topic of particular significance for the AAU arose in the 1950s with so-called athletics scholarships, a practice within the United States university system. Within this system, athletes attended a university for little cost in exchange for representing the university team in competitions.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) oversaw such a system and emerged as a rival institution to the AAU.⁶ Athletes who attended NCAA universities could receive scholarships to cover their costs, in exchange for competing on the university team. By the late 1950s, the NCAA felt disadvantaged due to the AAU's authority over international athletics and began to challenge the AAU's power.⁷ The two organisations had originally agreed to cooperate in 1946, but by the late 1950s, the NCAA's college coaches perceived that

the AAU expanded on their costs. The NCAA provided the framework for the success and development of US athletes, but the AAU controlled all aspects of international competitions. A few years later, this led to the foundation of a competing national athletics organisation, the United States Track and Field Federation (USTFF), in 1961.

Besides the crucial context on the regulation of athletics in the United States, it is important to highlight that Calhoun competed in what is best considered the beginning of a transitional era for track and field regarding amateurism. Less than a decade after his second gold medal, at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, the vast majority of American Olympians received money from the two leading shoemakers of the time, Adidas and Puma.⁸ While there are arguments that athletes had never truly taken amateurism seriously, and merely paid lip service to the idea in order to maintain their eligibility, Calhoun's era saw the beginnings of the advent of satellite television and a subsequent avalanche of money towards the Olympic Games.⁹

"L.Q."

Born in Laurel, Mississippi, on 23 February 1933 to Erma McMillian and Jonny Jordan, Lee Quincy Calhoun (née Jordan) grew into arguably one of the greatest hurdlers in the modern era. In addition to his two Olympic gold medals and litany of other victories, Calhoun, nicknamed "L.Q.", could lay claim to world records in the 50 yard hurdles, 60 yard hurdles, 70 yard hurdles and 110 m hurdles. As a small child, he and his mother moved to Gary, Indiana, where Erma met Lee's stepfather, Reverend Corey Calhoun, who adopted Lee. Lee Calhoun grew up in the church as a pious young man. He did not



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First Olympic gold: Melbourne 1956. World record holder Jack Davis (left) was given the same time as the winner but, had to be satisfied with silver as he had been at Helsinki in 1952.

Photo: The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVI Olympiad Melbourne 1956

particularly enjoy playing with others or sports; however, shortly after graduating from Roosevelt High School in 1951, he earned a scholarship to attend North Carolina Central College (NCCC), a historically black college and university (HBCU), to train under Dr. Leroy Walker, who would later head the United States Olympic Committee.

The NCAA oversaw the organisation of athletics at United States colleges at the time Calhoun attended NCCC. In an interview given in the late 1980s, Calhoun noted a crucial difference he saw three decades after his experience in the NCAA system. "You can do about anything you want to [in 1988]," he remarked, "as long as you don't represent a university."¹⁰ He attended NCCC and trained under the tutelage of Dr. Walker until 1953 when the Korean War interrupted his schooling. Drafted into the United States Army, Calhoun did not allow his service to interrupt his training.

Welcome home: Calhoun's return from the Korean War.

Photo: Private Collection Tiara Cash



In a display of the sharp organisational and recruiting skills that would serve him well later in life as a coach for several universities, Calhoun later recounted that he "got a list of all the units in Korea and mailed a letter of information" in an effort to scrounge together a track and field team.¹¹ His efforts succeeded and he even managed to join forces with a team from the Air Force. The United States team travelled to Tokyo to compete against a team representing Japan and won. Calhoun recalled, "It was a real surprise to the Japanese that our military team was that strong."¹² The American team included Sherman Willer, Aleck Hickman, Ansel Robinson, and Willie Attebury.¹³

Lee completed his two years of service and returned to NCCC in 1955 to enhance his athletic abilities and focus his ambition on becoming an Olympic athlete. Those ambitions paid off only one year later: in 1956, Calhoun won his first NCAA gold medal in the 120 yard hurdles and his first AAU gold medal in the 110 m hurdles. The public began to take notice of the young man's talent, and his name soon appeared amongst those favoured to medal at the 1956 Summer Olympics in Melbourne, Australia. Journalist Pat Robinson of the *New Journal and Guide* predicted Calhoun would lead a sweep of the hurdles in Melbourne with his teammates, Harrison Dillard and Jack Davis, finishing in the silver and bronze positions.¹⁴

Despite the positive buzz surrounding his performances, Calhoun travelled to Melbourne for the 1956 Summer Olympics as the underdog. His compatriot, a California native named Jack Davis, had previously set the world record and was the favourite to win gold after a runner-up finish four years prior. The newspaper *Daily Defender* described the aura around Davis quite succinctly as, "the man everyone believed unbeatable".¹⁵

Calhoun responded by having arguably one of the best races of his career in Melbourne, beating his own personal record by a full second, winning the Olympic Gold, and setting an Olympic record in the process.¹⁶ Paul Zimmerman, a journalist for the *Los Angeles Times*, marvelled at Calhoun's feat. "[Calhoun] ran a perfect race," Zimmerman wrote, "He got off the blocks flawlessly and didn't hit a hurdle."¹⁷ The 23-year-old was in the prime of his career, and if he continued on this streak, would be the medal favourite going into Rome four years later.

The wedding

Calhoun's success in athletics coincided with a promising turn in his personal life as well. He met his future bride, Gwendolyn Bannister Calhoun, during a school dance at NCCC in 1955. Gwendolyn stated in 1957, "it was love at first sight for me."¹⁸ After a few years together, with his stint in the Korean War over and following graduation from



Love at first sight: Gwendolyn and Lee Calhoun married in 1957. With little money, the couple accepted an offer to appear on the television show *Bride and Groom*. Lee was suspended from the AAU in 1958 because his wife had received gifts during the programme. A year before the next Olympic Games, the ban was rescinded.

Photos: Private Collection
Tiara Cash

NCCC, Lee promised to marry Gwendolyn. By 1957 Lee was a well-established athlete and wanted to keep his promise but did not have any money to pay for a wedding. Dr. LeRoy Walker, Calhoun's former collegiate and Olympic coach, suggested to Gwendolyn that she should look into the television show *Bride and Groom*, which married couples and provided them with gifts and a honeymoon.

Based on a radio show with the same name, the show was a popular advertisement opportunity for household products. In those shows, still available today, soap companies featured heavily with their ads in the show in an attempt to target the presumed and mainly female viewership. Regarding Walker's advice, Gwendolyn later recounted:

LeRoy said this might be something good for you. He showed me what you had to do to be on the show. If they enjoyed your letter, they would put you on the show. Mine must have been a humdinger. I didn't tell Lee about it until I knew for sure. He thought it was wonderful. We knew we didn't have anything ... it was my choice. Lee didn't have anything to do with it.¹⁹

Gwendolyn Calhoun recalled during an interview in 2019 that her letter expressed how happy she was after Lee proposed in front of their friends. She stated the letter outlined her excitement for being asked her hand in marriage, mentioning her euphoric engagement experience as "float(ing) up the stairs" because she had no idea she would be receiving a ring. She opined, "[i]t seemed that my information, to them, they enjoyed it. So, they did contact me about being on the programme."²⁰ To her recollection, the show chose the couple from the letters the brides sent in, and Gwendolyn made no mention that her future husband was a world-class athlete.

However, only a year after receiving international and national fame through his Olympic win, there is a good chance that the producers knew about Calhoun's athletic career. But it would not have been up to the broadcasters to warn the athlete about a potential rule breach due

to the money the couple would receive. In any case, they might have hoped to attract more viewers due to the Olympic champion's presence, particularly because there was much discourse on the subject around the time they were going to be married. News stories began to appear everywhere, although the couple was focused on preparing for this joyful life-long commitment.²¹

Amongst the readers of the news reports was also the AAU's powerful secretary and amateurism advocate, Dan Ferris. A former sprinter himself, Ferris served as the Secretary-Treasurer of the AAU for over four decades and served as a champion for amateurism.²² Throughout the 1950s, Ferris kept himself occupied by finding and suspending athletes for illegal payments, including paid appearances on television.²³

Gwendolyn expressed that Ferris "carried a lot of power" and that in response to the couple's decision to marry on the television show, he threatened to ensure that Calhoun would no longer be an amateur if they went on the show and received gifts. As shown in his chronicle of the 1960 Rome Olympics, David Maraniss argues that Ferris altered his position and extended his threat to revoke Calhoun's amateur status if he even appeared on the show.²⁴ In that 2019 interview, Gwendolyn expressed that Dan Ferris threateningly told her, "Lee would not run again if he decided to do this."

A rather simple question undergirded this entire complicated situation. Did Lee Calhoun benefit and receive his position on the television show as a result of his status as an athlete and Olympic gold medallist? As a bastion of amateurism, Dan Ferris would nod his head vigorously, arguing that Calhoun only received the benefit due to his status as an athlete.

The couple decided to follow Dr. Walker's advice and appeared on the show, marrying on 9 August 1957 in New York City, with Lee's stepfather Rev. Corey Calhoun leading the ceremony. Jackie Robinson, the famed baseball player who broke baseball's colour barrier in 1947, cut the couple's cake on air, and they received congratulatory gifts (amounting to US\$2,500), in addition

Olympic gold number two: in 1960, Calhoun (lane 2) beat Willie May. A few days earlier, he had equalled Martin Lauer's world record of 13.2 seconds in Berne, Switzerland. As in Melbourne in 1956, the German only managed fourth place in Rome.

Photos: Official Report Rome 1960, v. 2



to an all-expenses paid trip to Paris, France, for their honeymoon.²⁵

At the wedding, Dr. Walker expressed that he “had weighed all the pros and cons of Lee’s marriage and couldn’t find anything wrong in his going through with it.”²⁶ He continued, “I’m as proud of him on his wedding day as I’ve been proud of him ever since I began teaching and coaching him as a hurdler. It’s a pity that his marriage may disqualify him as an amateur but in suspending him, the AAU may lose more than he will. For Lee is the world’s greatest hurdler.”²⁷ Ferris, however, had other ideas.

The ban

Following the wedding, Ferris planned to remove Calhoun from the AAU permanently. Ferris stated, “I had told Calhoun that I wouldn’t give him permission to be married on TV for that show was capitalizing on his athletic fame to gain publicity. I had warned him that going through with that marriage would cost him his standing as an amateur hurdler.”²⁸ Ferris exceeded his level of competency as he could himself not make such a decision. Instead, he had to run the case through the AAU Board. Gwendolyn argued that those who granted the couple access to the show initially had no idea that Calhoun was an Olympian and that they chose the couple solely from the letter that Gwendolyn had provided. It was also importantly noted by Gwendolyn, at the time, that the reason behind this TV marriage was not for notoriety or publicity, but simply so that they couple could be married, as they had no money to be wed otherwise.²⁹

Support for Calhoun came from all corners of athletics to show support of his choice and criticise the AAU’s decision. Jackie Robinson, who also cut the couples’ cake, stated:

In the past, the AAU has pulled many boners but this is the worst of all. It’s stupid to penalize a fine youngster like Calhoun just for getting married in the way he wanted to. It seems to me amateur athletes should have the right to marry when, how and where they choose, without having pompous AAU officials sounding off righteously on the sanctity of such marriages.³⁰

Floyd Patterson, 1957 heavyweight boxing champion of the world, said in support, “I and all America are in his corner!”³¹ Calhoun defended himself in 1957, arguing he defied the AAU because they had no right to be involved in his personal life. He also declared his intent to maintain his fitness while fighting his suspension so he could defend his title in Rome:

I defied the AAU ban because I decided I’m not going to let anyone push me around. I went through with the wedding because I didn’t think I ought to let the AAU get into my personal life. I want to run again, and I intend to keep in shape to defend my championship in the 1960 Olympic Games. I’m going to fight my suspension right through to the end.³²

Whether it was public pressure or an internal realisation that the punishment did not fit the crime, Dan Farris opted to suspend, rather than ban, Calhoun for a year in 1958. In his telling of the story of amateurism in track



Lee Calhoun, in 1976, at the Olympic Games in Montreal, where he was assistant coach to Dr. LeRoy Walker.

Photo: Private Collection
Tiara Cash

and field, the historian Joseph Turrini notes that the broadcasting company NBC, which aired the show, even offered to take legal action against the AAU. Calhoun declined, a decision he later stated he regretted.³³ According to Calhoun's account, at the time he worked for the Chairman of the Lake Erie AAU, who had raised US\$35,000 for an AAU project to purchase a new house on Fifth Avenue in New York. Calhoun later stated his employer "would not give [the AAU] the money until they disposed of [Calhoun's] case."³⁴

The AAU Council voted in December to allow Calhoun, banned in August of 1957, to return to competition after a one-year suspension. Gwendolyn said her husband "was never a professional. Dan Ferris called him a professional, but he had always been an amateur. He [Ferris] just wanted to set a precedence. Just to say that if anybody did anything like this, they would be suspended for life."³⁵

In any case, the stretch of the amateur regulations is remarkable. Calhoun had not accepted payment for anything related to his sport and had participated in an event open to the general public. The AAU was on its way to a years-long battle with the NCAA over who controlled amateur sport, and one could envision Ferris viewing this as an opportunity to stake his organisation's claim to control what defined an "amateur". What is remarkable is how quickly Ferris, the bastion of amateur sport, folded on his threat to ban Calhoun. There are several considerations. While Ferris headed the organisation, the matter of Calhoun's case lay in the hands of the AAU Council. That the sentence was reversed from a ban to a suspension suggests that Ferris's ideals outstripped

even those of his contemporaries. There is also a chance it was the threat to withhold the funds to build a new headquarters or, least likely of all, perhaps it was due to Ferris's impending retirement, as he left the organisation in 1957.³⁶

Life after 1960

After his championship race at the 1960 Olympic Games, Calhoun took a break from his sporting endeavours to focus on his growing family. The Calhouns had recently welcomed their first child, Brenda, in 1959, a year before Calhoun won his second title. They would soon welcome a second child, Dan (now Victor Logan) in 1961. The athlete worked with the mayor's office in Gary, Indiana, from 1960 until 1967. During this stretch he earned a master's degree from his alma mater NCCC in 1965 in Physical Education.

Calhoun did not return to the sport until 1967 when, with Gwen, Brenda, and Dan in tow, he moved his family to Shreveport, Louisiana, to embark on a coaching career. He spent the next three years as the head coach at another HBCU, Grambling State University. During this time, famed Stanford athletics coach, Payton Jordan, approached Calhoun and asked if he was interested in being an assistant coach for the American Track and Field team at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Enthused, he agreed to the request unbeknownst of the political experiences he would be involved in.

Calhoun had a clear belief on the role of a coach for a national team. He later stated in an interview, "a coach's position on the National Team is more of a supervisor than a coach."³⁷ However, it was the 1968 Olympic coaches' voices that ultimately sounded the end of Tommie Smith and John Carlos's careers. The pair were told by the coaching staff the ultimatum given to the team and coaches, by Avery Brundage, for their use of a closed fist in support of black people in America. According to Carlos, it was either their expulsion or everyone else's. Following this political statement, both men were expelled from the Olympic Games in response to a threat made against the entire US Track Team.³⁸

Gwendolyn noted that when Lee, a black athlete himself, came home and spoke with her about the expulsion, he stated, "I just hate to do this, but this is something that they asked me to do and I have to do what's stated in the Olympic [guidelines]. She continued, "he really hated to send them [home]."³⁹ It is interesting to consider that the history of black athletes in America would bring Calhoun to this point. As noted previously, amateurism was originally seen as a way to ensure social class distinction of athletes in society.

There have been plenty of narratives about black athletes paving the foundations for future athletes to break through social class barriers, based solely on

their racial background. It seems much of Calhoun's life, although coloured through the lens of being a black male, was not necessarily limited by this fact. Racism did influence some of his encounters, yet he had other experiences that would seem privileged in some circumstances, like his reinstatement. This dichotomy could be the ultimate factor of his legacy during this time period, as his life seemed to be a quiet, important driving force for opening doors for black athletes and athletes of colour through his ultimate reinstatement.

In regard to the 1968 Olympics, a statement article by Dr. Harry Edwards outlined that, "because of the overawing of some black athletes by the Olympic men's track and field coaching staff and by Avery Brundage, it became necessary to make certain changes with regard to the forms of protest."⁴⁰ This statement would appear to include Calhoun, as he was a part of the 1968 coaching staff. Yet, by being a key member of this '68 coaching team, he was, intentionally or unintentionally, creating groundwork for other black athletes to be involved as coaches in the future. It is also noted that he did not agree with the decision to send the young men home, but felt he did not have a choice for the rest of the team's continuation and greater good.⁴¹

This historical paradox is a consideration for future research and introspection. Can an athlete's life be a symbol of activism solely based on his gender, socio-economic status, race, creed, etc., specifically during a time of such politically charged activism?

After the 1968 Games and two more years as head coach at Grambling State, Robert F. Giegengack at Yale University in Connecticut offered Calhoun a role as an assistant coach. The two had a relationship dating to 1956, as Giegengack was one of the Olympic coaches in Melbourne, the site of Calhoun's first gold medal.⁴² Calhoun served as an assistant coach for six years until Giegengack retired, which saw Calhoun promoted to Yale's head coach in 1976.

According to Gwendolyn, he faced racial discrimination and had difficulty trying to advance the programme because of these racial tensions.⁴³ An example, detailed by Gwendolyn and Brenda, included being adamantly and routinely denied equipment exchanges and upgrades to the physical track during his six year head coaching stint. He struggled to recruit high achieving athletes because of the increasingly old equipment.

However, after Calhoun was hired as head coach for Western Illinois University in 1980, the administration at Yale decided to approve the long-standing request for a new track surface.⁴⁴ After leaving Yale, Lee and Gwen found a home in Macomb, Illinois, where Lee coached at Western Illinois University from 1980–1989. During his years as WIU, he inspired and produced many successful athletes.

Lee Calhoun's coaching career and life ended in 1989 after he suffered a debilitating stroke, which led to life-ending complications. He passed away in Erie, Pennsylvania, surrounded by family. ■

- 1 The best examples are found in David Maraniss, *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008); Joseph Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
- 2 Matthew P. Llewellyn and John Gleaves, *The Rise and Fall of Olympic Amateurism* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 16.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ian Ritchie, "Pierre de Coubertin, Doped 'Amateurs' and the 'Spirit of Sport': The Role of Mythology in Olympic Anti-Doping Policies," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 8 (2014): 820–838.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Turrini, *End of Amateurism*, 63.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Barbara Smit, *Sneaker Wars: The Enemy Brothers Who Founded Adidas and Puma and the Family Feud That Forever Changed the Business of Sports* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008), 68.
- 9 See for example, Stephen R. Wenn and Robert K. Barney, *The Gold in the Rings* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2020); Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, and Scott G. Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2002).
- 10 Don Holst and Marcia S. Popp, *American Men of Olympic Track and Field: Interviews with Athletes and Coaches* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 17.
- 11 Ibid, 12.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Pat Robinson, "New Prospect Ups U. S. Chances: Lee Calhoun seen as '56 Olympic Hurdles Winner," *New Journal and Guide*, 18 February 1956.
- 15 Charles Denton, "Coach Kelly Calls Olympic Team Greatest Track Team in History," *Daily Defender*, 5 December 1956.
- 16 "Calhoun Takes 110-Meter Hurdles and O'Brien Scores in Olympic Shot-Put," *New York Times*, 28 November 1956.
- 17 Paul Zimmerman, "Calhoun Upsets Davis – 13.5; O'Brien Breaks Shot Record: Toss of 60–11 Wins for Parry," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 November 1956.
- 18 Mac Davis, "Suspension of Top College Hurdler For TV Wedding on Bride & Groom Proves Unpopular Decision," personal collection of Gwendolyn Calhoun.
- 19 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 269.
- 20 Gwendolyn Calhoun, personal interview with author, December 2019.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Holst and Popp, *American Men of Olympic Track and Field*, 16.
- 23 Turrini, *End of Amateurism*, 38.
- 24 Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 269.
- 25 Ibid; Davis, "Suspension of Top College Hurdler".
- 26 Davis, "Suspension of Top College Hurdler".
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Gwendolyn Calhoun, personal interview with author, December 2019.
- 30 Davis, "Suspension of Top College Hurdler".
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Turrini, *End of Amateurism*, 38; Holst and Popp, *American Men of Olympic Track and Field*, 17.
- 34 Holst and Popp, *American Men of Olympic Track and Field*, 17.
- 35 Gwendolyn Calhoun, personal interview with author, December 2019.
- 36 "A.A.U. to Lift Ban on Calhoun After One Year of Ineligibility," *New York Times*, 1 December 1957.
- 37 Holst and Popp, *American Men of Olympic Track and Field*, 15.
- 38 John Carlos and Dave Zirin, *The John Carlos Story: The Sports Moment That Changed The World* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013), xvi and 100.
- 39 Gwendolyn Calhoun, personal interview with author, December 2019.
- 40 Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press: 2017), 84.
- 41 Calhoun, Calhoun-Cash, Logan, 2020.
- 42 Robert Thomas Jr, "Robert F. Giegengack, Coach of Track at Yale for 29 Years," *New York Times*, 28 May 1987.
- 43 Personal interview with Gwendolyn Calhoun, Brenda Calhoun-Cash, Victor Logan (formerly Daniel Calhoun), 2020.
- 44 Ibid.

Museum for All to Experience the Same Way

By Christian Wacker



The US Olympic and Paralympic Museum in Colorado Springs has opened.

Photo: Jason O'Rear

Despite the dramatic spread of the coronavirus in the country, the United States Olympic & Paralympic Museum, USOPM, opened in Colorado Springs on 30 July 2020. The date was deliberately chosen to draw attention to this highlight of Olympic culture during the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games.

The Tokyo Games have been postponed by one year; the opening of the USOPM took place and with good reason. According to Christopher Liedel, the CEO of the USOPM, the museum sees itself as an institution “[...] created to be all-inclusive”, which of course also ensures that hygiene standards are maintained in times of pandemic. It is the first museum of its kind in the world to be created for Olympic and Paralympic sports at eye level, following the integrative approach of the United States Olympic & Paralympic Committee.

It also attaches great importance to ensuring that it can be visited and experienced by as many people with disabilities as possible. The museum is extremely media-driven and all media have been designed in such a way that they can be used by as many people as possible in terms of accessibility and inclusivity. “A museum for all to experience the same way!” is a slogan of the USOPM.

The website reads: “With its universal design and technology capabilities, the Museum is one of the most accessible and interactive museums in the world. Guests can customize their sport preferences and accessibility needs for a tour that is uniquely their own. Team USA athletes were involved and consulted throughout the project to achieve the Museum’s goal of an authentic experience and inclusive design”.

The foundation stone for this museum was laid in 2017 and, in only three years, it was possible to illustrate and exhibit the broad theme of the Olympic and Paralympic Movement on 60,000 square feet or 5,500 square metres. Compelling images and exhibition areas filled with large-format pictures and films provide emotional moments. The following themes are presented in 12 galleries or chapters: Hall of Fame; Introduction to the Games; Athlete Training; The Lab; Parade of Nations; Summer Games; Winter Games; The World Watches; Medal Collection; screening of a film titled “To Take Part”; Medal Ceremony; and a gallery for temporary exhibitions. Using RFID technology for transmitter-receiver systems, 87 stations in the museum are equipped with individualised ways of recording and collecting information. Every visitor can take this personal digital portfolio home.

A special suggestion is the spotlight section of the website, where short stories are told in the form of picture galleries, columns, or even films about the Olympic and Paralympic Movement in the USA.

In the exhibition itself, 460 original objects are presented, which seems to be manageable in relation to the size of the museum. Therefore, one wishes for the USOPM to be able to expand this collection in the future and to preserve it as a heritage of Olympic and Paralympic sports in the USA for promoting the museum’s goal. According to Christopher Liedel, “The Museum is committed to education and working with future generations to instill the Olympic and Paralympic values”. Further information: www.usopm.org ■

Rise of the Reich in Mandate Palestine: The NSDAP, Jerusalem YMCA, and “Participation” of Attallah Kidess in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (Part 2)

By San Charles Haddad

The work of the Association in Jerusalem started on a small scale. Front center is Sir Herbert Samuel, first British High Commissioner for Palestine. Middle right (in dark overcoat) is Archie Harte, the secretary before Heinrichs.

Source: University of Minnesota Libraries' Department of Archives and Special Collections, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Records of YMCA International Work in Palestine and Israel.



NB: This is the third article in a series for *Journal of Olympic History (JOH)* that explores Mandate Palestine's connections to the 1936 Berlin Games. The *nota bene* from the first article¹ also applies to this contribution. The articles in the series should be read in sequence.

Foreword

The first article in this series (*JOH* vol. 28, no. 1) examined the complex history of the formation of the Palestine Olympic Committee (POC), its recognition by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in the context of global efforts to boycott the Games of the XI Olympiad, and the centrality of the Maccabi and Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) sport movements in negotiations designed to achieve Jewish–Arab cooperation in sport.

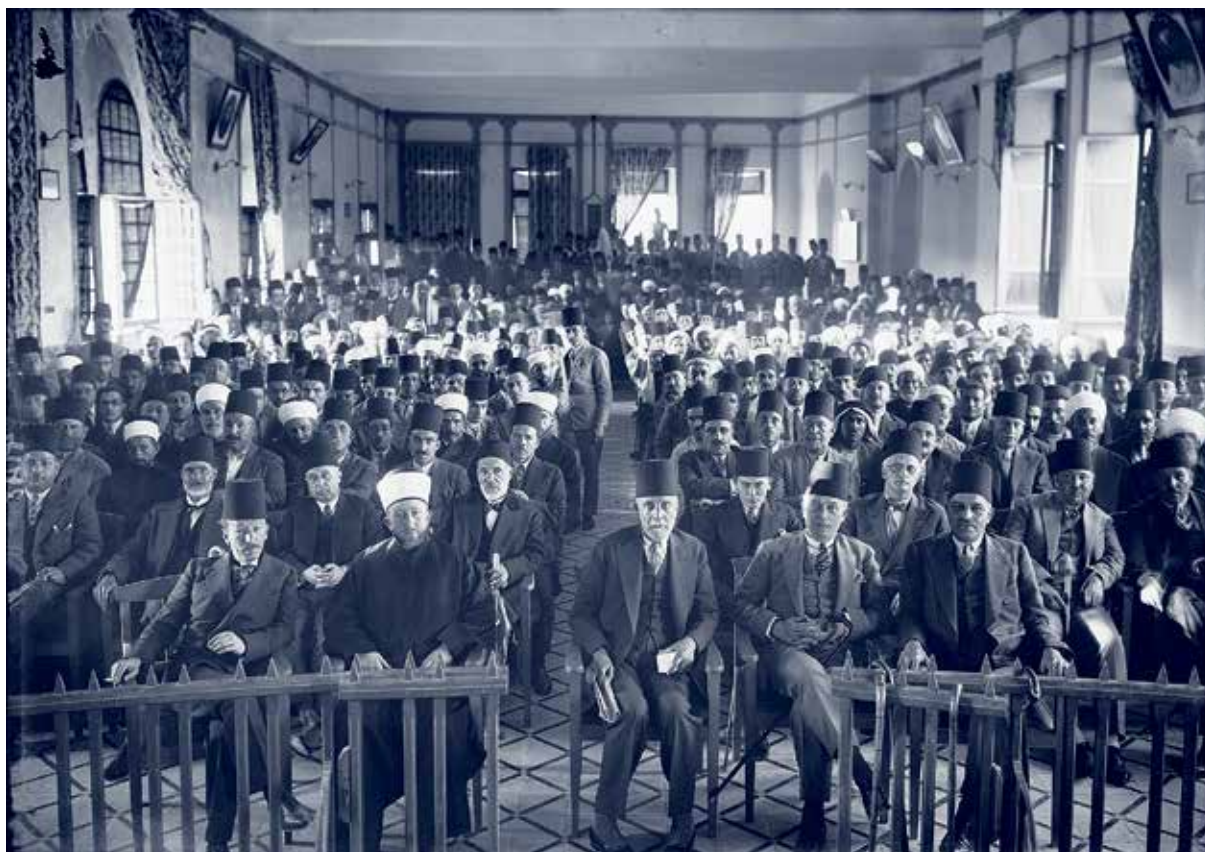
The second article (*JOH* vol. 28, no. 2) began an examination (Part 1) of claims by or about Attallah

Alexander “Ted” Kidess and his role leading a Palestinian delegation to the XI Olympiad in Berlin. The introduction of Kidess raised questions about remarkable claims, stored in the collection of Kidess's papers at Springfield College, that he was an Olympian for Palestine at the “Nazi” Olympics. The article established parallels between aspects of his sport profile and the bifurcated nature of the Arab camp's attitude and position toward cooperation with Jews in sport on the one hand, while simultaneously confronting Zionism's stated objective of establishing the Jewish National Home in the territory. The rise of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) and, in particular, a Nazi cell at the Jerusalem YMCA, complicated the Arab attitude and position, while Kidess was studying at Springfield College, and led to the removal of the secretary-general of the Jerusalem YMCA, Waldo Heinrichs Sr., the man who hired Kidess to his role of associate physical director.

This third article presents Part 2 of the examination of Kidess and his connection to the Berlin Games. It focuses on material available in the archival and published record relating to Kidess's profile as a Palestinian athlete and sport leader, as well as his transition, in 1947, to the United States. Key elements in the papers at Springfield College are presented against other archival evidence, revealing what appears to be significant inconsistencies in the narrative about Kidess and Berlin. Because the

Cui bono? YMCA values or Arab nationalism?

The appointment of Kidess to the role of associate physical director at the Jerusalem YMCA was key to resolving the lack of a trained Arab staff, which had been a primary shortcoming of the tenure of Archibald Harte² (the association's secretary who had preceded Heinrichs). Kidess, along with the physical director Frederick Auburn, would have provided the consistency required from the



An Arab protest gathering at *Rawdat el Maarefschool* after the 1929 riots. The riots encouraged the Association to mediate formation of a Palestine Olympic Games Association. Haj Amin Al Husseini, who later collaborated with the Third Reich, is seated second from left in the front row.

Source: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc 03048 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.03048>

examination of the various narratives was, ultimately, quite long; a Part 3 on Kidess and his "participation" in Berlin will follow this article in a future issue.

Part 3 will address specifically the various claims, made over decades, that Kidess was an Olympian and compare these claims to the documentary evidence of note, some of which I alluded to in the last issue (*JOH* vol. 28, no. 2). Ultimately, the three articles that examine Kidess and his Berlin delegation attempt to define a more accurate picture of what transpired with Palestine's presence at the "Nazi" Olympics, while presenting it in the context of NSDAP activity in Mandate Palestine, most importantly at the Jerusalem YMCA, but also on a regional level. Together, the three articles will also contribute a more complete picture of Kidess to the scholarly record, although by no means do I claim that this picture will be comprehensive. For me, Kidess, as a Palestinian athlete and sport leader during the British Mandate for Palestine, remains an enigmatic figure.

Arab sport camp for negotiations with the Zionists, while also diffusing the effect of ardent Arab nationalism. Heinrichs granted the physical department committee the autonomy to determine the final outcome of the negotiations to join the Federation of the Amateur Sports Clubs of Palestine (FASCP).³ Although Kidess was not in the country when this committee decided against cooperation with the FASCP, Kidess's claim to have participated in a delegation to the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, sourced from the physical department once it was under his control, raises questions about whether he, in 1936, was pursuing organisational policy or the delegation was the result of a group of Jerusalem YMCA members motivated by nationalistic sentiments.

Within weeks of his arrival in Palestine, Heinrichs experienced the first of his many conflicts with the Jerusalem YMCA's board. "Most of these conflicts were tinged with an intrinsic anti-Semitism"⁴ and fuelled by ardent Arab nationalism, according to Heinrichs. The



During the Nazi newspaper incident, the building was described as "so huge that it is all out of proportion to the local needs." The eight-acre campus included many sport facilities, including Jerusalem's first natatorium. c. April 1933. Source: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc15855 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.15855>. See Note 2.



A swimming practice for boys inside the Association's natatorium, date unknown. Source: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc22514 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.22514>.

latter chapters of my book, *The File*, discuss in detail the tactics that the Arabs used to try and seize control of the Jerusalem YMCA and convert it into a nationalist association that mirrored the policy positions of the avowedly anti-Zionist groups in the country, many of which were influenced by Haj Amin Al Hussein. Appointed the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem by the British, Hussein remains a controversial figure, not the least because he served on the Nazi payroll in Berlin during the Second World War to the tune of 50,000 Reichsmarks per month (whereas a German field marshal only earned 25,000 Reichsmarks per year).⁵

Hussein's rhetoric was central to the Great Arab Revolt. The *New York Times* would even reference him, in 1941, in the context of the assassination of Fakhri Bey Nashashibi,⁶ one of Heinrichs' main defenders in the *Völkischer Beobachter* incident at the Jerusalem YMCA. In April 1931, it was Nashashibi who, at an event at his home, had first introduced Heinrichs to Arab sport leaders.⁷ Nashashibi also demanded, in 1934, that the YMCA membership (*not* its board) investigate the ouster of Heinrichs by the Nazis.⁸ Since the Jerusalem YMCA's delegation to Berlin coincides with the beginning of the Great Arab Revolt (1936–39), one must consider the revolt's effect on the psychology of its Arab staff and the concomitant surge in nationalistic sentiment.

The revolt was front and centre at the association. Alvah Miller, Kidess's boss (who had replaced Heinrichs as secretary-general in 1935), kept Frank Slack (in New York) informed with correspondence, press reports, and a position paper of the Arab political camp.⁹ Within this context, Nicholas Lattof, the associate secretary-general (under Heinrichs, and Archie Harte before him) fled the country and was finally (and mysteriously) relieved of his role on 5 June.¹⁰ Miller then met with the High Commissioner and, on 16 June, convened a two-hour

discussion at the Jerusalem YMCA with "thirty-three men representing different Christian communities."¹¹

Miller noted, "nothing very constructive came out of the gathering, although a sub-committee consisting of pre-war Europeans and a few more of us are meeting again tomorrow to see if we can formulate anything more definite."¹² It is highly likely that Kidess participated in these discussions, himself a prominent Christian from Jaffa who resided in Jerusalem. But even if Kidess did not participate in the meeting, within this highly-charged context, the delegation to Berlin, which Kidess allegedly led, takes on heightened purpose in Palestinian history.

The depths of Nazi agitation at the Jerusalem YMCA is now well documented. The connection between this agitation and Germany's deeper role in militarising the Great Arab Revolt (1936–1939) is less clear. But by the Second World War, the Grand Mufti's loyalties were clear: Haj Amin Al Hussein recruited Bosnians to serve in Nazi killing squads, but they ultimately refused to serve when they discovered that the Nazis' Serbian allies were murdering Muslims.¹³ The Grand Mufti also advocated for the bombing of Tel Aviv by the Luftwaffe.¹⁴

It is therefore reasonable to deepen our understanding of the Berlin delegation to (1) confirm any Nazi involvement in its origination, and (2) clarify the psychological role that the delegation played in the participants' own opposition to Zionism, as well as for the Arabs in the wider context of the revolt.

Hitler only ever referenced the Palestine question once in *Mein Kampf*, and this begs the question: Why are there so many indications of a sustained Nazi involvement in the Palestine sport file than we have historically understood? After all, "the ambivalence of Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP toward sport ... is well documented," but "sport was not just a primary instrument, but also considered the final resort for

advancing NSDAP interests in Palestine.”¹⁵ Since Kidess appears to be the only Palestinian to ever have gone on record about his involvement in Berlin, the task of deepening our understanding must begin with him.

Kidess: profile of a Palestinian sport leader

So who exactly was Kidess in Palestine?

Well, it is not that clear. It seems to me that the material in the archives at Springfield College presents a veneer indicative of Rosen et al.’s (2006) argument regarding “official collective memory... and ... the memory which it constructs.”¹⁶ There are some thought-provoking questions that come to mind. First and foremost, why would the story of Palestine’s earliest documented alleged Olympian be so inaccessible?

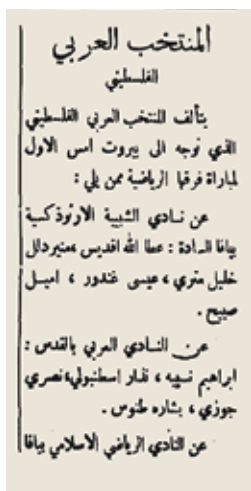
The inability to scrutinise Kidess’s Olympic credentials is eerily reminiscent of how Pierre Gemayel, founder of the Lebanese fascist Phalange Party, declined to address the particulars of his own participation in the XI Olympiad.¹⁷ Like Kidess, Gemayel was a Christian who captained a newly formed Olympic delegation to Berlin – in his case, for Lebanon.

Kidess almost certainly met Gemayel at the Games, although there is no archival evidence yet found to confirm this assumption.¹⁸ Neither the Lebanese nor Palestinians (as claimed by Kidess) participated in the Olympic football tournament, but both probably embarked for Berlin on similar routes. The Palestinian delegation probably departed for Berlin around the same time as Gemayel’s delegation: in those days, ships plying the ports of the eastern Mediterranean had fixed routes that were less frequent than today’s airport travel. Dylan Baun (2018) notes that the Lebanese delegation was interviewed in *Bayrut* newspaper on 27 July 1936, a few days before it left for Berlin via the Italian port of Trieste.¹⁹

Press reports in Palestine document only the *return* of Kidess’s delegation, on 2 September 1936.²⁰ Although the route Kidess took is not specified, the timing of his return seems to match that of Gemayel’s delegation.²¹

Twenty-five years later, in 1961, a journalist from the *Springfield Sunday Republican* interviewed Kidess and reported on the former physical director’s role as captain of the Palestinian football team in Berlin.²² He also transcribed Kidess’s remarks about participating, in 1931, on the first Arab Palestinian national football team, which travelled to Beirut in an early cross-border display of Arab Palestine’s sporting prowess: “In high school, Ted was the youngest member of the soccer team that represented Palestine against Lebanon. He was about 17, all other players were in their 20’s and 30’s, were professional businessmen, etc. etc.”²³ Kidess’s recollection of being fairly young is consistent with archival documents: *Filastin* newspaper identified that he had been selected for the team from the Orthodox Youth Club team in Jaffa, along with four of his teammates.^{24, 25}

Kidess’s membership on this team, which had highly nationalistic origins, establishes a seminal connection between his personal sport activities and the commencement, during the preceding year, of the Arab Palestinian camp’s overt political utilisation of sport, as is most concretely demonstrated by the founding of the Arab Palestinian Sport Federation (APSF). The APSF was established to counter specifically the Zionists’ domination in sport, but its formation transpired during a period when the Arabs were supposed to be organising themselves toward cooperation with the Jews in sport governance, not in competition against them. Issam Khalidi (2013) translated *Filastin* newspaper’s coverage of this “national” team: “It will refute the Jewish claims and the Zionist propaganda that the Palestinians are ignorant and have no relation with sports.”²⁶ Kidess



Sources: Arabic Newspaper Archive of Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine, National Library of Israel, <https://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/en/jraved>.

Reprint courtesy The Republican, Springfield, Massachusetts. Permission granted by Cynthia G. Simison, Executive Editor, by email on 22 September 2020.

Left: A portion of the article from *Filastin* newspaper, 24 May 1931, p. 3. It identifies Kidess as a national football team member that traveled to Beirut. Right: A portion of the article from *The Springfield Sunday Republican*, 17 December 1961, p. 20C: “In 1936, he [Kidess] was captain of the Palestine Olympic soccer team which went to Berlin and lost in the third round.”

is later identified as “the secretary and the technical advisor of the Palestine Sports Federation [APSF] from 1935–1947”²⁷ (all the while serving at the Jerusalem YMCA as physical director).

The feature story about Kidess in the *Springfield Sunday Republican* appeared on the occasion of his promotion to the position of vice president of Springfield College. The newspaper described Kidess as “unable to be anything but frank and open in his relations.”²⁸ The corresponding interview notes recorded how Kidess was extremely proud of his doctoral dissertation, likely an important step toward his promotion. “The dissertation is considered the best doctorate job in [the] history of the college, has received [the] highest praise from experts in all areas. Said one expert after reading it – ‘This is Springfield College [underline as in original].’”²⁹ The dissertation would not have been possible without having access to the private letters of James Huff McCurdy,³⁰ upon which Kidess based much of his research.³¹ Clearly Kidess was a man who understood the importance of, and benefitted from, the analysis of historical correspondence. Yet, many of Kidess’s own private letters³² – perhaps more historic than merely historical – seem inaccessible to the public and were not made available to the college’s archives or to me. Instead, I received the strongly-worded letter from a lawyer to which I referred in my previous article.

The interview notes and article for the *Springfield Sunday Republican* also provide a window into Kidess’s genealogy and early history. He is alleged to have been born on Christmas Day in 1910 and named Attallah, which in Arabic means “Gift of God.”³³ He was the third of eight children, a family in which he was the eldest of five brothers; he also had three sisters.³⁴ Kidess’s father was Alexander Kidess and his mother, Jane Tamari, was a woman of French descent and the daughter of the French consul in Jaffa.³⁵

The paternal line of the family was of Spanish descent and traced its Christianity to the 10th century.³⁶ One of Kidess’s ancestors arrived in Palestine on one of the Crusades from Spain, where a village is named for the family, as is a Crusader castle in Jaffa.³⁷ His great-

grandfather owned much of the Palestinian village of Dir Kidess and harvested wheat there.³⁸ His father owned 500 acres of orange orchards near Jaffa, exporting the fruit to the Middle East and Europe using his own fleet of 12 boats in trade at other Mediterranean ports.³⁹

In his interview, Kidess clarified that he was not an Arab, even though he was a Palestinian.⁴⁰ During the Mandate, Jews, Arabs, Armenians, Turks, Germans, and many other ethnic and religious groups became Palestinian. The Mandate Administration issued the first Palestinian passports, currency, and postage stamps as part of an emerging modern nation state. Kidess was born into a sea of multiethnic communities comprising diverse religious practices, all of whom lived as subjects under the Ottoman Sultan. During this period, the Kidess family would have been viewed as Spanish-French at best (albeit Arabized), Crusader at worst. In British Palestine Kidess would have been considered a Palestinian and a Christian, specifically of the Greek Orthodox faith.⁴¹ After Kidess came to the US, he clarified that he was “Arabian by nation, not by blood. By blood, Spanish-French.”⁴² The archival record indicates that he advocated for the plight of the Palestinian refugees after the 1948–49 war, but only in the early part of the 1950s and in a limited way. These reports refer to the refugees using the term “Holy Land” or “Trans-Jordan”⁴³ refugees, not “Palestinians.”

According to the material in Springfield, Kidess graduated from St. George’s School in Jerusalem in 1927 with the Oxford-Cambridge Certificate.⁴⁴ He did a short stint at the American University of Beirut between 1927 and 1928, but transferred to the American University of Cairo, graduating in 1931 with a BA.⁴⁵ He claimed that he intended to go into medicine at Oxford, but that his inability to cope with dissections caused him to abandon the field, despite the wish of his father.

Kidess worked for a British bank,⁴⁶ most likely Barclay’s Bank, where the Jerusalem YMCA kept its accounts. He seems not to have enjoyed the work and chose to resign, thereafter applying to the Jerusalem YMCA.⁴⁷ This is where his path crossed with that of Heinrichs. Perhaps Heinrichs had met Kidess at the bank and suggested to him that he apply to the Jerusalem YMCA? We do not know.

But it was Heinrichs who hired Kidess,⁴⁸ a fact that contributes to an air of suspicion regarding Kidess’s actions in Berlin. Heinrichs clearly saw in the young man something special: his diaries indicate that he chose Kidess from a pool of over 350 applicants. Aside from appearing a presentable, enthusiastic, and upstanding individual (holding the relevant degrees), Kidess was also a Mason in King Solomon Quarries Lodge of Master Masons in Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Frederick Kisch helped establish this lodge. Norman Bentwich and Kisch’s son Michael, in their biography of Frederick Kisch, described how this lodge’s Masonic proceedings “took place in the ancient

Barclays Bank pictured, in 1936, during the Great Arab Revolt. The Association banked at Barclays; Heinrichs and Kidess might have first met one another there.



Source: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc18204 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.18204>.



During the World War, the Association continued to organise sporting events, like this 1941 Gymnastics exhibition. Far right: Tea after tennis at the Jerusalem YMCA, August 1939. Kidess is standing in the double-breasted jacket. Seated second from right (in spectacles) is Miller, Heinrichs' replacement.

quarries of the Jerusalem temple."⁵⁰ These Masonic credentials establish a direct link between Kidess and Kisch, who served as the chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive. Therefore, it is also possible that it was Kisch who introduced the two men. According to his wedding announcement, Kidess also served in the British Army in the African campaign,⁵¹ another possible touch point with Kisch. This raises even more unanswered questions, including whether or not the Zionists knew about the Palestinian delegation through Masonic channels and whether Kidess and Kisch, the Chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive, knew one another well.

Kidess: an American in transition

Who was Kidess during his transition to the US? We gain some insight into the answer to this question from the correspondence record of the man who succeeded him as physical director in Jerusalem, Paul Hartman, as well as that of YMCA officials who engaged with Kidess once he was in the US. A Palestinian press report on Kidess, contemporaneous to his departure from Jerusalem, also sheds some light on what Kidess intended to do in the US, and how this was reported to his Arab compatriots.

In 1949, Kidess was the resident director in Alumni Hall at Springfield College. He was "feeling home sick"⁵² and penned reflections on, and his yearnings for, Jerusalem. The document, titled *I Remember*, resides at Springfield College Archives and Special Collections (SCASC). The finding aid for the collection of his papers (MS 528 Attallah A. Kidess Papers, ca. 1930–1999)⁵³ notes the document to be "[o]f particular importance",⁵⁴ and it is described as "a document that Kidess wrote on the Palestinian/Jewish situation."⁵⁵

Kidess began his piece, "I remember Jerusalem, the cradle of Judaism, Christianity and Islam; the city from which the light of salvation shone forth into the darkness of the world. I remember Jerusalem, the Holy City, the

home of peace and inspiration and my home. I remember Jerusalem, the place of prayers, of communion with God, who forgives and protects."⁵⁶ He concluded with the following words: "Ours was indeed a Holy City, a city of peace, love and brotherhood, where the stranger could find shelter, the pilgrim, loving care and the faithful, salvation. Now ... Alas, the Holy City, the cradle of the three great faiths, lay before me bleeding and crying in agony for the 'Peace of Jerusalem.' And I cried in anguish, I REMEMBER!"⁵⁷

It is a curious document, which does not provide clear answers as to the complete man who Kidess was.

Approximately one and a half years before writing *I Remember*, Kidess had come to the US. "He returned to Springfield College in 1947 as a member of the Springfield College faculty, saying 'when I was invited back, I felt it an opportunity for me to return and, in a sense pay back the college,'"⁵⁸ clearly implying that his transition from Jerusalem to Springfield was both induced by the college and elective. Other archival material on Kidess presents a more complex and contradictory picture.

Documents at the Kautz Family YMCA Archives in Minnesota tell us that, when Kidess left Jerusalem, the staff of the Jerusalem YMCA bid him a fond farewell. He carried with him letters of introduction for YMCA leaders in the US, including Dr. Harold Frierhood,⁵⁹ an active YMCA leader, member of the US Olympic Committee (1944–1985), and the "Grandfather of Volleyball."⁶⁰ "Treat him well,"⁶¹ another letter stated. This second letter also requested that YMCA headquarters in New York provide Kidess the equivalent of US\$4,045.00 (2020 equivalent of US\$44,320).⁶² Contrary to the recollections attributed to Kidess in the finding aid for his papers in Springfield, there is no evidence in Minnesota that an invitation from Springfield College served as the primary stimulus for his departure from Jerusalem.

Quite the contrary: Kidess's trip appears to have been personal, but fortuitously combined with some YMCA

Sources: Courtesy of Springfield College, Babson Library, Archives and Special Collections. MS528, Box 2, Folder 15. Reproduced with permission.

G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc19811 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.19811>.

refresher experiences. It seems to have been funded by back salary⁶³ and perhaps other financial instruments through the YMCA. A correspondence from 14 March 1947⁶⁴ suggests that Kidess, who had applied for a visa to the US, still did not have the visa in hand. Another letter from 2 April 1947⁶⁵ indicates that the primary purpose of his trip was to take out US citizenship papers. His visa probably arrived shortly thereafter, because, by 30 April, Miller provided to Kidess the letter of introduction for Frierhood. Miller held Kidess in high esteem:

After 12 years of work in this Association, he is returning to America for a refresher period. I am sure you will be pleased to meet him and to give him any advice he may need regarding the most profitable way of spending his time. I am anxious that he see as much of our work as possible, particularly in some of our larger Associations. I thought particularly of Buffalo and St. Louis...

*You will find Kidess one grand fellow. He has done an outstanding job in organizing and promoting what I believe to be as inclusive a physical department program as any in the world. We shall miss him tremendously.*⁶⁶

Far from receiving an invitation to work at Springfield, Kidess appears to have gone to the US without tremendous direction or a (disclosed) plan, of his own accord, and with the intent to remain. An undated, handwritten note merely records, "Theodore (ATTALLAH) Kidess GIFT OF GOD Wants to go west – Will stay in various Assns for trip expenses + do any kind of work laid out for him." Following a list of his three academic degrees, the note continues "Asst. Inst. [Assistant Instructor] this fall at Spfd [Springfield College]" followed by a list of various locations, presumably YMCAs: "St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver [?], San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland [?], Seattle, El Paso, Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston..."⁶⁷ In addition to back salary, Miller provided a stipend of support for Kidess's tour of the YMCAs. Perhaps Kidess wanted to find employment in the US while he pursued citizenship? We do not know exactly from the archives: however, Miller did task Kidess with updating the headquarters in New York on the very difficult situation emerging in Palestine.⁶⁸

On 8 May 1947, Kidess departed Palestine for New York, taking the USS *Marine Carp*, never to return.⁶⁹ Upon arrival in New York, he received the money that Miller had requested be advanced to him, as confirmed, on 3 June by Mary Porter (at headquarters in New York).⁷⁰ But by 9 June, Miller reported to Porter that he had "no word at all from Attallah,"⁷¹ which is a bit strange given that it would have been easy, standard practice, and courteous for Kidess to wire news of his arrival to his boss.

In the meantime, Paul C. Hartman, who had assumed Kidess's title and role in Jerusalem – apparently on a

permanent basis – began looking into reports in the Jewish press that Palestine had received an official invitation from the Organising Committee for the 1948 Olympic Games in London.⁷² Had Kidess travelled to the United States because the 1948 London Games would revive talk about who, from Palestine, had been present in Berlin in 1936? Was Kidess concerned that memories of the "Nazi" Games would increase scrutiny of his role captaining Palestine's alleged football team to those Games? As yet, the archival records that I examined do not provide clear answers to such questions.

On 28 May the Government of Palestine received Hartman's inquiry about the London Games. The government acknowledged his correspondence on 30 May and referred his request to the District Commissioner (DC) of Jerusalem on 3 June. The DC personally fulfilled the request on 13 June and provided all the relevant information on the POC to his governmental colleagues. On 19 June, Chief Secretary A.G. Antippa sent the official reply to Hartman. He informed him that the Palestine Olympic Committee (POC) was recognised and provided Hartman with the names and positions of all board members *and* the organisation's contact address.⁷³ This list was up to date, and reflected the fact that Kisch had died (heroically during the war in North Africa) and been replaced by Judge Gad Frumkin. The DC of Jerusalem who provided this information was James Huey Hamill (J. H. H.) Pollock – none other than the vice president of the POC!

During his short tenure in Palestine, Hartman made a number of errors. He was new to Jerusalem and not particularly knowledgeable of the local governance structures and politics. Some of his decisions can even be called into question from an ethical perspective. But he had a close and frank relationship with Frierhood, which reinforced his YMCA credentials and gave him serious Olympic access – to Avery Brundage.

To start, Hartman seems never to have made the effort to reach out to Pollock, even though he knew, by 19 June 1947, that the DC of Jerusalem and the vice president of the POC were one and the same individual.⁷⁴ Hartman could have easily reached out to Pollock through Miller. Despite this, Hartman wrote to Frierhood, somewhat audaciously, and admitted his spying on the Jewish organisations (apparently on behalf of Frierhood and Brundage): he incorrectly and presumptuously stated, "My report to Brundage was as complete as I could make it *without* [emphasis added by author] asking the Jewish groups directly about their organisations ... The personnel of the Olympic Committee is entirely Jewish with exception of one British who is the District Commissioner of Jerusalem and probably has never been to a meeting if they have meetings."⁷⁵

It is true that there are very few records of POC meetings in the archives. However, Hartman's presumptions belied

Sept. 13, 1947.

Mr. Avery Brundage
10 N. LaSalle St.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Brundage:

Your communication to Mr. Frierwood regarding Sports organizations in Palestine reached me about a month ago and I have been trying get as many facts and observations as possible since that time. I have closer contact with the Arab groups than the Jewish, but there are enough news reports, stationery and correspondence from them to make a fair appraisal. In all matters related to Palestine, there is no such thing as an unbiased view, but I will try to give you an honest picture of the situation as I see it.

I am enclosing a pamphlet "Sports in Palestine", which is an appeal to the International Football Federation for recognition. The printing was poorly done and I think it was not sent out, but it is readable enough to see their argument. They have been refused a number of times on the basis that one Football organization is already recognized in Palestine.

The Federation of Amateur Sports Clubs of Palestine is the apparent recognized organization in International Sports. It is 100% Jewish and was organized at a time when Jewish power was on the rise and the Arabs had not been unkind as to what was going on. I believe they had a small representation before the difficulties of 1935, but had no say in the administration of the Federation.

The Palestine Olympic Committee has essentially all Jewish with one British representative, Mr. J.H.H. Pollock, District Commissioner of Jerusalem. One half Arab, who is not recognized by the Arabs is on the committee, apparently to make it look as though the Arabs were represented. In fact, I am told that he is half Jewish. I wrote to the Olympic Committee for information as to how our athletes might qualify for the Olympic team, but was told that chairman was on leave and would answer as soon as he returned on September first. I have not heard from him. His name is Lt. Col. F. H. Kisch. The secretary is Mr. N. Heth, Box 459, Haifa. I am enclosing the notation to me to verify the statement in the pamphlet that the Jewish overshadows both the English and Arab in the heading.

The Federation of Sports Clubs is primarily controlled by the Maccabi organization, although the Maccabi Sports Clubs are individual members. The other Jewish organization, Kapsel, is related to the Labor groups and has its own national group. From all reports the two do not get along together although they do try to play championships at the end of the season. An outsider was asked to referee their basketball game because neither team had faith in a man from the other organization, even with one from each group officiating. The game was cancelled because of some terrorist shootings the day previous. Their championship Football game was called just after the start of the second half because of a fight. This has been a common newspaper report throughout the past year.

Arab and Jewish teams have not played against each other for some time as there was so much feeling between the supporters of the team that there were always scraps among the spectators, and occasionally the players. We have had many Arab-Jewish basketball games before my time and I understand that the trouble was always among spectators.

The Palestine Sports Federation is Arab. They have a good group of officers and the Federation includes all Arab clubs in the country, including both Moslem and Christian. They hold a number of championships each year and conduct leagues in Football and Basketball. They are primarily a young organization as Sports are new to Arabs. They have come along way in fifteen or twenty years without any outside help to speak of.

RAPPORT SUR LA SITUATION DES SPORTS EN PALESTINE

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Contacts entre JUIFS & ARABES !

(C.O.F. dirigé par Juifs, tandis que "Federation of Sports Clubs par arabes")
September 13, 1947

The Palestine Olympic Committee is essentially all Jewish with one British representative, Mr. J.H.H. Pollock, District Commissioner of Jerusalem. A one-half Arab, who is not recognized by the Arabs, is on the committee, apparently to make it look as though the Arabs were represented. In fact, I'm told that he is half Jewish. I wrote to the Olympic Committee for information as to how our athletes might qualify for the Olympic team, but was told that the secretary was on leave and would answer as soon as he returned on September first. I have not heard from him. The chairman is Lt. Col. F. H. Kisch. The secretary is Mr. N. Heth, Box 459, Haifa. I am enclosing the notation to me to verify the statement in the pamphlet that the Jewish letterhead overshadows both the English and Arab in the heading.

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the reality of the power dynamics in the city: Pollock, or more accurately the British Mandate Administration, was likely keeping close tabs on Hartman. His inquiries about another Palestinian delegation to the 1948 Olympics were occurring just as Jerusalem was sliding into a civil war. Hartman's inquiry had been passed onto Pollock, a POC member, who provided to Hartman the very information that was now being misrepresented to Brundage and Frierwood.⁷⁶

Hartman had been tasked by Frierwood to generate, and send directly to Brundage, a report on the sport situation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. This text was then lifted by Brundage and, as noted in my first article, presented under the title RAPPORT SUR LA SITUATION DES SPORTS EN PALESTINE.⁷⁷ Members of the IOC probably discussed this report as they debated Palestine's eligibility for the 1948 Winter Games in St. Moritz, and subsequently for Israel's request to participate in the Summer Games in London. The Mandate Administration blocked the attempt at the Winter Games,⁷⁸ while the IOC blocked the attempt at the Summer Games.⁷⁹

Hartman, having taken over Kidess's role in Jerusalem, inherited Kidess's departmental work history and was well-positioned to comment on it to Frierwood. He began reporting his impressions only days after Kidess departed (having worked in tandem with him during a transitional phase between approximately August 1946 and May 1947). Hartman identified areas of "stimulation" [improvement] for Kidess: "more personal interest from members and guidance with leaders [interpersonal relationships], increased use of facilities when adjustments are needed [adaptability] ... These are my

reactions from observation and remarks by the members. He has a tendency to make everything a problem and get all worked up about it instead of taking it in stride as a daily need."⁸⁰ And although Miller knew Kidess much better than did Hartman (and held Kidess in high esteem), the longer Kidess remained in the US, the more he seemed to induce observations from others similar to those of Hartman.

Records in Minnesota permit one to infer that YMCA colleagues in the US, during this period, found Kidess erratic and without focus. In June, Dalton F. McClelland, in charge of YMCA headquarters in New York, noted to Miller that Kidess expressed his desire to enrol at Columbia.⁸¹ Kheir Eldin Abul Jubein, a sport columnist for the Jaffa Arabic daily *Al Difa*, wrote about Kidess's intention in this regard, using laudatory nationalistic language: "There is no doubt that his presence in America has all the benefits for the Palestinian cause."⁸² In late August, Porter's remarks to Miller did not reinforce Abul Jubein's attestation: "Kidess seems to be on the go here most of the time. At present he is sailing with a friend who is on a cruise. He speaks of going to Springfield this autumn," she wrote.⁸³ Twenty-one days later, Frierwood confirmed to Hartman the expectation of Kidess to be at Springfield during the winter [of 1948].⁸⁴ By this time, Kidess had commenced the process of obtaining US citizenship.⁸⁵ Hartman expressed relief to Frierwood, in his continued correspondence on the subject:

I was a bit concerned when he [Kidess] spoke of going after his doctorate [at Columbia]. I don't know whether someone helped him change his mind or [he] did it on his own. He plans to return a year from now

Hartman's letter to Brundage about the situation in sport between Jews and Arabs, page 1. Right: The IOC's adaptation of Hartman's report, page 1. Pages cropped for layout purposes only.

Sources: 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 6, Folder 5.

IOC Historical Archives / D-RM01-PALESBRI-002 - Correspondence NOC of Palestine - 1934-1948.

Attallah Alexander Kiddess

BORN: Jerusalem, Palestine Date: December 25, 1910

FATHER: Alexander A. Kiddess
Merchant - deceased

MOTHER: Jane Tamari Kiddess
Homemaker - deceased

MARRIED: August 14, 1954

WIFE: [Redacted]

CHILDREN: [Redacted]

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION: Communicant, St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church

EDUCATION: St. George's School, Jerusalem, 1927 - Graduated with Cambridge-Oxford Higher Certificate

American University of Beirut, 1927-28

American University of Cairo, 1931
B. A. English and Social Science

Springfield College, 1933-35
Master of Physical Education
Springfield College International Scholarship
Thesis: "Physical Education as Related to Health Education"

Springfield College, 1958
Doctor of Physical Education
Dissertation: An historical study of "The Work and Contributions of Dr. James Huff McCurdy to Physical Education" (Dr. McCurdy served Springfield College from 1895 to 1935).

HONORS AND ACTIVITIES: House Prefect (four years), St. George's School
School Prefect (two years), St. George's School
Four letter man, St. George's School
Choir, St. George's School
King (Eagle) Scout
Junior Davis Cup Champion, Middle East, Alexandria, Egypt 1930
Debating Team, American University of Cairo
Dramatic Club, American University of Cairo
Captain, Palestine Soccer Team, Olympics, Berlin 1936
Squash Champion, Middle East, 1938-39-40-41
Tennis (doubles) Champion, Middle East 1939-39

The first page of Kiddess's CV (redacted), one of several documents that connect Kiddess to a Palestinian delegation to the 1936 Olympic Games.

Source: Courtesy of Springfield College, Babson Library, Archives and Special Collections. MS 528, Box 1, Folder 2. Reproduced with permission.

and probably resume his old position. His relationship to the members was not very good which leaves a number of problems that aren't too serious in regards to straightening them out, but might undo some of the straightening when he returns. I am not sure how I can make it stick except to do some real selling to the members. I felt a little discouraged also from his letter when he intimated that he hadn't found anything in the conferences or visitations at other associations beyond what we were doing here. To me, those things were the areas where he would get the most good, and if he was unable to recognize them, he couldn't have been as observant as he should be or else he has an overinflated idea of how well the work is being done here. I hoped that he might see some good departmental organization, thru the Phys. Ed. Committees, Athletic Councils, and Leaders Clubs that would give him a clearer idea of democratic procedures and Volunteer leadership. He does state that perhaps he should have more time to explore and spend longer periods in one place. Perhaps a word ... might produce some good results and if you can help steer him a bit when he has time it should do a lot of good. When he returns I'll probably have some of my responsibilities shifted as I imagine [Lee M.] Terrill [the

associate secretary-general after Lattof] will go to the states next year on furlough and Miller will return permanently the following year. When Kiddess was here he thought it would be fine for us to team up together with him handling the administrati[o]n and I would direct activities. I didn't say much, but the reverse would be much the wiser set-up if we were both to stay in the department, and I'm not sure that would be good.⁸⁶

Despite these vagaries, the YMCA leaders in the US wanted to support Kiddess, probably in a manner consistent with the movement's principles and because, ultimately, Kiddess was a man of their creation, in whom a lot had been invested at one of the most important YMCAs in the world. Nonetheless, this did not prevent their confusion and pondering Kiddess's sudden desire to return to Jerusalem. In January 1948, McClelland informed Miller that "Kiddess has felt, I think, that we here have not perhaps been as hospitable as we might have been."⁸⁷ This is a rather surprising inference for the seasoned McClelland, given the amount of YMCA money Kiddess had received while in the United States.

By this time, Kiddess had begun to discuss a possible return to Jerusalem. Perhaps he realised that he was not as employable in the US as he might have thought. But as part of his proposal to return, Kiddess introduced the subject of his personal security to McClelland, which the latter understood as "some special arrangements in view of his [new] American citizenship ... some kind of paper which he wanted me to sign which would help him preserve his American relationships *in case* [emphasis added by author] he returned to Jerusalem. I do not know what kind of paper would be necessary to meet his requirements. It might be such that I could not sign it."⁸⁸

In the same letter to Miller, McClelland also noted that Kiddess had told him that "he had several offers in New England so I imagine that his decision will depend a good deal upon your decision there and the offer you make."⁸⁹ McClelland's remarks imply that, originally, Kiddess had *not* been committed to returning to Jerusalem. Or perhaps Kiddess claimed to have options as a form of leverage in negotiations. Most important, this exchange implies a clear break from Jerusalem: Kiddess needed an *incentive* to return. His negotiation tactics might explain the growing frustration of YMCA leaders in the US, tangible in later correspondence. McClelland wrote to Miller with this air of increased frustration, one month later:

We thought he was coming down last Saturday for a talk with Lee Terrill and myself. He wrote that he could not but will come later. I think it is necessary for the two of us to have a talk with him after which Lee or I can write to you regarding his attitude. Kiddess is very much concerned with the question of security. I have

been wondering myself if he is not contemplating matrimony. I understand he would not in any case be able to return to Jerusalem until after August. He completes his first year since application for naturalization at the end of August [1948]. I hope that before long we can see Kidess and clear matters with him. It might be even worthwhile for Lee to make a trip to Springfield to see him.⁹⁰

At this point, the correspondences between Jerusalem and the YMCA leaders in the US necessarily shifted focus to the more important matter of the impending withdrawal of the British from Palestine and the need to preserve the building and Association from the war that would break out. Almost one year after Kidess's departure, and just before the Arab–Israeli War broke out in May 1948, the ever-optimistic Miller made only a brief reference to Kidess in his Annual Report (dated 20 April 1948), noting that he was still “at Springfield, taking a refresher course.”⁹¹

On 11 June 1948, two months after the start of open warfare, McClelland managed to re-connect with Kidess at Springfield. By this time, the Jerusalem YMCA fell behind Jewish lines, and the last Arab males of fighting age on the staff were about to be ordered behind Arab lines, to avoid being taken prisoners-of-war.⁹² In the context of losing their entire Arab staff, and with Kidess now holding American papers, McClelland began negotiating the return of the former physical director to Jerusalem for the substantial annual salary of US\$3,200.⁹³ In addition, Hartman had decided to leave Palestine in March 1948 with his family, anticipating the brewing war.⁹⁴ Hartman had reason to do so: even Miller acknowledged that, after the 1947 Partition Plan for Palestine, “as far as the Arabs are concerned, America is Enemy Number One.”⁹⁵ Miller and the Holy City were without a physical director.

In July, Miller told McClelland that he still hoped for Kidess to rejoin the staff, but, by this point in time, Miller's language, albeit praiseworthy of Kidess, also revealed an air of concession about his shortcomings:

There is no doubt at all but that Paul [Hartman] made a grand impression on our Physical Department members particularly, and I was surprised to get many comments from members that, even though Paul happened to be an American, they welcomed the change in leadership. Attallah [Kidess] is excellent in his organizational and promotional activities. He does not have the knack of winning the members in close friendship and loyalty. Perhaps after his present experience in America he will develop this side which, as you know, is after all the most important of an Association man's work. He is a hard worker – in fact, so far as our Arab staff is concerned, he is unique in this respect. He also is loyal, and that means

*everything, especially in Jerusalem. Another strong point in his favor is that he is broad-minded and welcomes all types of members, irrespective of their particular background. That, too, is vitally important, and perhaps will be more so in the future. All in all, I personally feel that Attallah should come back, and the salary which you suggest seems to me to be reasonable.*⁹⁶

Conclusion

Kidess was unable to return and resume his role. Instead, he was integrated into the faculty at Springfield College, where his CV on file purported his status as “Captain, Palestine Soccer Team, Olympics, Berlin 1936.”⁹⁷ He remained in the US for the remainder of his life, dying on 26 May 1999. The college appears never to have investigated his alleged status as an Olympian on the Palestinian delegation to the “Nazi” Games. Even though this Olympic status was rarely touted, from time to time it would come up in news articles about Kidess, his career advancement, or the situation in the Near East. Two days after his death, his daughter did not remember him as an Olympian, remarking simply that he had been in Berlin and “witnessed Jesse Owens win his Olympic gold medal in 1936.”⁹⁸ ■

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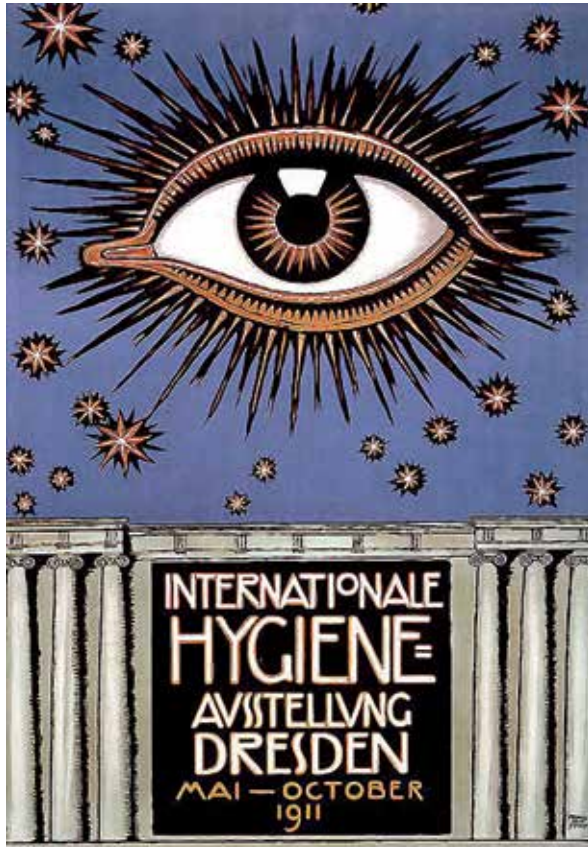
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International Hygiene Exhibition 1911: The IOC Takes a Wider Stage for the First Time

By Christian Wacker

Exhibition poster by Franz von Stuck, who later also designed the Olympic poster for the 1916 Games. Next to it: an advertisement for Odol mouthwash.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



Industrialisation in the 19th and early 20th centuries brought with it rapid population growth in the corresponding conurbations, where new living spaces were also created. People now lived crowded together in apartment blocks with little light and just as little room to spread out. In many cities, this was accompanied by an impoverishment of society marked by housing shortage, disease, addiction, and lack of physical exercise to compensate for hard and monotonous activities performed during work in factories.

These problems were recognised and described by the term “hygiene”, which encompassed far more than simple personal hygiene and also dealt with topics such as work and housing, clothing, health care, traffic, and physical exercise. Exhibitions and courses on hygiene were held in almost all industrialised cities, such as the Hygiene Exhibition in Berlin in 1883 and the *Exposición Internacional del Centenario* in Buenos Aires in 1910, which included a detailed section on the subject.

The first International Hygiene Exhibition (German: *Internationale Hygiene Ausstellung /IHA*) took place from 6 May to 31 October 1911 in Dresden, capital of the Kingdom of Saxony. One of the residents of the city was German entrepreneur Karl August Lingner, who became the driving force behind this project, which had the size and scope of a world exhibition. He was the inventor and manufacturer of Odol mouthwash. Lingner was rich. An early capitalist, he was obsessed with technology and progress, and was a monarchist and philanthropist.

Lingner was a “self-made” man in the best sense of the word, loved art, and promoted it as a patron, but he also cared about his society and saw it as his duty to address social ills and to improve conditions by teaching and educating the individual. He was the main sponsor and head of the board of directors of the IHA. He formulated his typically immodest goal of “presenting a complete world view of hygiene to mankind.”¹

Early last century, the age of hygiene had arrived, and the central concern was to educate visitors to the exhibition about health care and far beyond. Accordingly, the exhibition was structured like a “pulled apart hygiene textbook” with five large sections: Science, History and Ethnography, Popular Exhibition, Sport, and Industry. People visiting the exhibition were to be encouraged to protect their bodies through an appropriate lifestyle. Gymnastics and sport played a central role in educating the healthy and holistic individual. Visitors were encouraged to participate actively in the IHA, which featured more than 3,000 events. There were also international pavilions, including displays from Brazil, Japan, and Russia.²

That Dresden should be the site for such an exhibition seemed obvious in those years before the First World War. It was selected “because of its central location in Europe and its special reputation as an international tourist city”.³ Ultimately, the IHA proved a great success from an economic point of view. In just under six months, 5.5 million people visited the events, almost as many as had attended the World Exhibition in Turin in 1911 (7 million visitors).

Lingner had succeeded in bringing hygiene to the attention of a wider public. The event combined scientific explanations with entertainment in such a way that “edutainment” in the best sense was already being practiced in Dresden over 100 years ago.

The IHA also provided the initial spark for the establishment of a National Hygiene Museum in Dresden in 1913 and a second International Hygiene Exhibition in 1930.⁴ In the years before the IHA, the organisers had already undertaken extensive promotional activities to give the event maximum international visibility.

As part of their campaign, they sent a letter to the IOC. The subject was discussed at the 11th Session in Luxembourg on 12 June 1910.⁵ The corresponding agenda item was inserted into the presentation of the programme for the Olympic Games in Stockholm 1912 and Paul Martin, the Secretary of Germany's NOC, then called the *Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Olympische Spiele* (DRAfOS), was invited specially to discuss the matter.



Among those who took part in the Session was Czech IOC Member Jiří Guth. He was to play an important role in the IOC's participation in the IHA. In their letter, the IHA Presidium asked if the IOC would take over the patronage of the exhibition and also be prepared to organise sporting competitions on the fringe of the IHA. The IOC was also offered the opportunity to present itself in a separate exhibition with “flags and medals”.

IOC President Pierre de Coubertin asked Martin to confirm that DRAfOS would be in charge of the exhibitions of the sports department, but did not feel that the IOC should preside over them. Discussion followed. It was decided not to offer patronage for the sporting events or to undertake their organisation. They considered that this should be a task for DRAfOS. The IOC would not pursue the idea (probably expressed during the discussion) of organising an Olympic Congress in Dresden in 1911. Only the idea of a presentation of the IOC in an exhibition was open to discussion (“Le C.I.O. ne se refuse point, en principe, à exposer certains objets qui sont en sa possession.”).

Plan of the International Hygiene Exhibition.

Photo: Dresden City Archives



View of Hall 55. Far left: Statue of a ball thrower, by Richard Daniel Fabricius, in front of Hall 55. It has stood in front of the Dresden Hygiene Museum since 1983.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



1904 double Olympic champion James D. Lightbody (alias "Davis") of the United States was studying at Berlin University at the time. He won the 800 m and 1500 m in the vest of the Berlin Sports Club. Far right: Berlin's Richard Rau won the hurdles race.

Photos: Sport im Bild, 1911.



The members of the IOC were invited to Dresden to visit the IHA as guests of honour. Victor Balck, President of the Organising Committee for the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm, was among them. On his return from the 12th IOC Session in Budapest, he made a stop along his journey back to Stockholm to give a lecture in Dresden on the upcoming Olympics.⁶

1911 "International Olympic Games" in Dresden

The IHA had good reason to want the closest possible IOC connection to their Dresden show. After all, the German Empire Reich was in the midst of an ultimately successful bid for the 1916 Olympic Games. These were duly awarded to Berlin in 1912. Many sports competitions of a supra-regional but also local nature were styled "Olympic" in the empire at that time.

While the German gymnastics community had vehemently rejected the terms "Olympia" and "Olympic Games", the Academic Sports Federation in Leipzig organised the first championships for students in 1909, and called them "Academic Olympics".

These forerunners of today's student championships or "Universiades" at international level took place in Berlin in 1910 and in Breslau in 1911. Although the German gymnastics community had supported the competitions of the "Academic Olympics", there had been a smouldering dispute stretching back to the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. This culminated in a "battle between gymnastics and sport".⁷ While the gymnastics community supported the event in Breslau, DRAfOS organised its own "Academic Olympics" at the IHA in Dresden on 9 July 1911.⁸

The term "Olympic" was used in the years before the IHA in an almost inflationary way in the German Empire, which makes a discussion in the IOC, whose results were published in April 1911, understandable. The sporting competitions within the IHA should therefore not be called "Olympic Games", as they would not recur

periodically ("puisque l'essence même des manifestations olympiques est dans leur périodicité").⁹ Even though this wish was implemented officially, everyone was talking about the Olympic Games. The biggest sporting event at the IHA was an international athletics meet held on 16 July 1911. Participants included athletes from previous Olympic Games and several records were set. The meet attracted 8000 spectators. The press described this event without further ado as "International Olympic Games".¹⁰

For the sports competitions and the presentations of the sports department, the IHA had created a separate area in the southwest of the exhibition grounds. This included a stadium-like sports field, a sports hall, an indoor wave pool, a sports laboratory, and Hall 55.¹¹ At the time, this was considered an innovative, ultra-modern ensemble. The credit for arranging this should go to DRAfOS and in particular its 31-year-old Secretary-General, Arthur Mallwitz.

Mallwitz was a physician who had taken part in the 1906 Olympic Games in Athens and also competed at London 1908. To this day, he is still considered one of the most important pioneers of sports medicine. At the IHA he succeeded in showing visitors the importance of sporting activities for the wellbeing and health of the individual. He did this by means of a large, special exhibition on the muscle and bone system with an apparatus on which self-tests could be carried out.¹²

Medals, journals, books, and flags of "Olympic nations"

In addition, there were exhibitions by all the sports associations of the time, including the gymnastics federation. Room 26 featured "associations for the organisation and supply of the 'Olympic Games'" (in German: Vereinigungen zur Veranstaltung und Beschickung der 'Olympischen Spiele'). Originally, the room had been allocated to the IOC, the Greek Olympic

Committee, the British Olympic Association, and DRAFOS. According to the official exhibition catalogue, however, the British Olympic Association seems to have withdrawn, so that only three organisations participated.¹³

Each sports federation was given a separate room for its presentation, while the three Olympic Games institutions had to make do with a room measuring only 5 x 4 metres. This meant that each organisation only had one wall area available for use. The IHA catalogues recorded that the IOC displayed a wall panel listing the previous Olympic Games, Olympic medals, the *Revue Olympique*, meeting reports of international congresses, and photographs of important personalities of the Olympic Movement.¹⁴

There is no photograph of what would appear to be the first IOC exhibition, but there is a sketch by Pierre de Coubertin himself. This was discovered by Norbert Müller in the literature department of the National Museum in Prague.¹⁵ It was attached to a letter from Coubertin to Jiří Guth dated 7 April 1911, which explains its present whereabouts.

As a Bohemian, Guth was geographically closest to the IHA and Dresden, so Coubertin obviously asked him to take care of the IOC exhibition. Coubertin released 600 francs for his visits to Dresden and proudly reported that Secretary-General Godefroy de Blonay had accepted his idea of a large tableau. This was to be in red, blue, and black letters and the poster was to bear the inscription "included in this letter" ("portant l'inscription qui est sur cette carte"). This could only mean the hitherto unknown sketch by Coubertin. The background was to be of white fabric and Guth was to look for suitable workers for the production of the tableau via an intermediary. Coubertin

was to send illustrations of the medals, the *Revue Olympique*, and books to Guth.¹⁶

Coubertin's sketch clearly shows the concept of the exhibition. A white banner was stretched across a wooden frame and inscribed with a list of the Olympic Games until 1912. This list did not, of course, include Athens 1906, because Coubertin rejected those as "intermediate" Games. Also listed were the Olympic Congresses and key information about the *Revue Olympique*. The flags of the "Olympic nations" Greece, England, France, Germany, USA, and Sweden were to be hung along an upper crossbeam.

In his letter, Coubertin offered to send these flags directly from Paris. At the lower edge of the tableau there was space left for frames, photographs, documents, and medals. This element of the exhibition was titled "Comité International Olympique". At an IOC plenary session, Guth was praised for his services to the IOC exhibition at the IHA in Dresden. During the session, he described the 4 x 3 m tableau with its corresponding contents, as being mounted on a grid frame, which in turn carried the flags. Among other things, photographs, copies of medals, the files of the Olympic Congress in Brussels, and editions of the *Revue Olympique* were exhibited.¹⁷

A sports laboratory and the world's first wave swimming pool

It was probably the first time in its history that the IOC participated in an international exhibition dedicated to hygiene. At the time, this was a topic of worldwide importance.

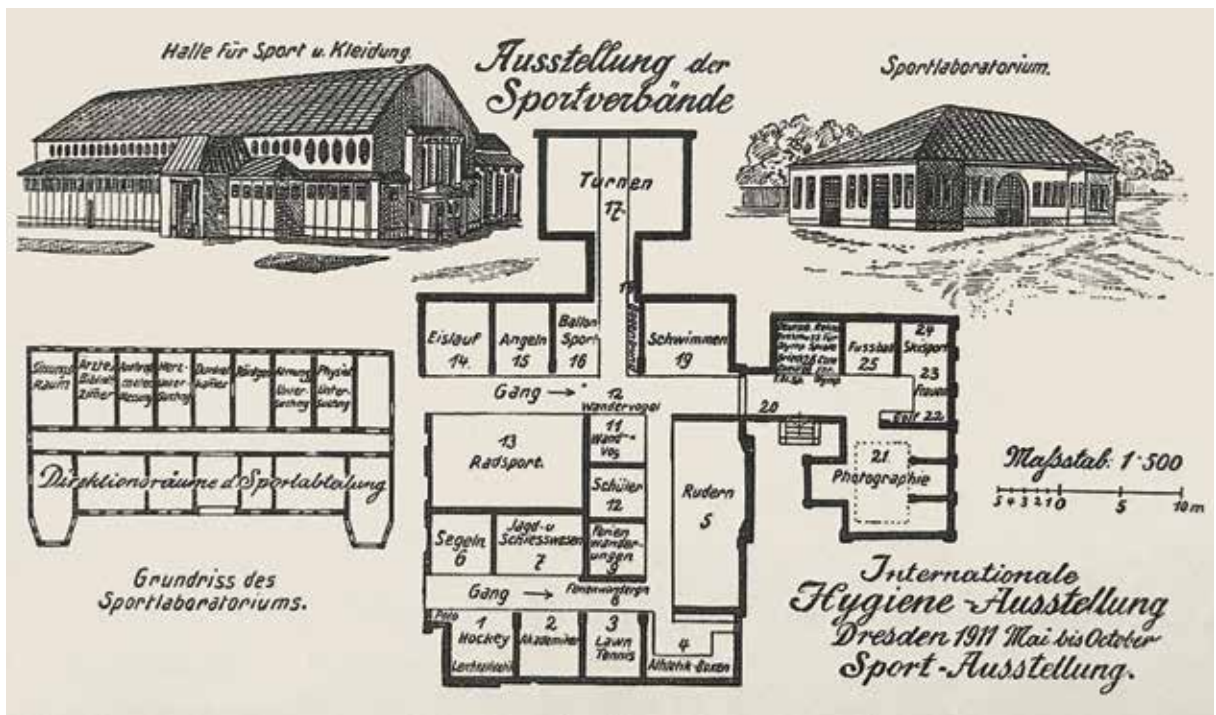


Pierre de Coubertin's sketch of the IOC exhibition at the IHA.

Source: Department of Literature at Muzeum V Praze Narodne, Prague

Plan for the hall of the sports associations in Hall 55.

Photo: Dresden City Archives



The IOC had already considered it important enough to include on the agenda of the second Olympic Congress in Le Havre in 1897.

The organisation of the IHA sports department under Mallwitz's leadership was modern, even progressive to some extent, and set the course for sports, the construction of sports facilities, and sports science well beyond the borders of the German Empire at that time.¹⁸ For example, it proved possible to persuade all sports federations under the patronage of DRAFOS to participate in the special exhibition, and even the initially-reserved German Gymnastics Federation was involved. Mallwitz himself described this sports department as a "turning point in the history of physical education". Since

cooperation was also demanded at lower levels of sport, different committees were founded and an international honorary committee was also convened.

Although Coubertin was not a member of this committee, the IOC offered high praise for Mallwitz's achievements inside and outside the IHA ("le mérite en reviendra pour une très large part au Dr Mallwitz...").¹⁹ In the IHA sports laboratory, for example, the Olympic idea of "wholeness" was combined with the idea of sports hygiene. The IHA was a kind of sports medicine training ground with a strong presentation of sport, but also humanities studies and exhibitions on the subject of sport and art.²⁰

According to Mallwitz, modern sports facilities were a fundamental prerequisite for a "hygienic sports operation" and the perfection of the human being. It was for these reasons that a first stadium-like facility was built in Germany. It had an oval track and elevated curves.²¹ The IOC report of April 1911 enthused about the modernity of this stadium. Other facilities, such as the world's first wave swimming pool and the many exhibits, served to entertain visitors, but were also the object of scientific study at the sports laboratory.²²

Basically, Mallwitz attached great importance to the scientific character of the sports department within the IHA, where about 300 congresses took place. Some 3,000 scientists were involved in its preparation and implementation. Systematic and encyclopaedic completeness was of great concern to the organisers, which is why a bibliography of sport containing approximately 6,000 titles was published. In addition, the field of German sports science was launched, as Mallwitz and his colleagues not only carried out

Arthur Mallwitz took part in the 1906 and 1908 Olympic Games. Three years later, he became head of IHA's sports department. For the 1916 Olympic Games in Berlin, he was to be appointed a stadium doctor.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive





a variety of mainly medical examinations, but also compiled the results and presented them for discussion. In retrospect, the IHA can be seen as a hub of a sports science revolution long before the subject was taught at German universities.²³ In their own report, the organisers suggested that with the IHA, "hygiene and physiology of sport has become one of the most important aspects of public health..."²⁴ ■

- 1 German: "...ein abgeschlossenes Weltbild der Hygiene der Menschheit vorzuführen..." in *Offizieller Katalog der Internationalen Hygiene Ausstellung in Dresden*, Mai bis Oktober 1911 (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse, 1911), 13. See also: Karl August Lingner, *Programm für die geplante Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung zu Dresden, aufgestellt im Auftrage des Ausstellungs-Direktoriums für die Königlich Sächsische Staatsregierung und den Rat zu Dresden* (Dresden: 1906).
- 2 Arthur Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung Dresden 1911," *Jahrbuch 1911 für Volks- und Jugendspiele* (1911), 332–336.
- 3 German: "...wegen seiner zentralen Lage in Europa und seines besonderen Ansehens als internationale Fremdenstadt..." in Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," 333.
- 4 Klaus Vogel and Christoph Wingender, "'... deren Besuch sich daher unter allen Umständen lohnt'. Die I. Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," *Dresdner Hefte, Nr. 63, Große Ausstellungen um 1900 und in den zwanziger Jahren* (Dresden: Dresdener Geschichtsverein e.V., 2000), 44–51.
- 5 Comité International Olympique, ed., *Réunion tenue les 11, 12 et 13 Juin 1910 à l'hôtel de ville de Luxembourg, Paris 1910*, 23.
- 6 Volker Kluge, "Die große ‚Volksbelehrung‘ des ‚Odo!‘-Erfinders Karl August Lingner. Vor 100 Jahren: Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung Dresden 1911," *Der Olympia- und Sport-Philatelist*, vol. 2, 2011, 18.
- 7 Jürgen Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus, vol. 1: Die Vorgeschichte 1900–1918," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Sports*, vol. 6, ed. Wolfram Pyta, Giselher Spitzer, Rainer Gömmel, and Jürgen Court (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008), 81; Roland Naul, "Willibald Gebhardt, Carl Diem und die Anfänge des olympischen Sports in Deutschland," in *Die Olympischen Spiele: Bilanz und Perspektiven im 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Krüger (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001), 83–84.
- 8 Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," 347.

- 9 Comité International Olympique, ed., *Revue Olympique*, April 1911, 53.
- 10 Kluge, "Die große ‚Volksbelehrung‘," 15–16; Volker Kluge, "Als in Dresden der Sport zur Wissenschaft wurde," *Sächsische Zeitung*, 28 December 2011.
- 11 Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," 339–347.
- 12 Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft," 73; Kluge, "Die große ‚Volksbelehrung‘," 9.
- 13 See also: *Offizieller Katalog 1911*, 320, and *Sonderkatalog der Abteilung Sportausstellung der Internationalen Hygieneausstellung Dresden 1911*, ed. Nathan Zuntz, Carl Brahm, and Arthur Mallwitz (Dresden: Verlag der Internationalen Hygieneausstellung, 1911), 67. Also the exhibition hall plan inside Hall 55 names the three sports organisations as being the IOC, DRAfOS, and the Greek Olympic Committee.
- 14 *Offizieller Katalog 1911*, 314, 320; *Sonderkatalog 1911*, 67.
- 15 I would like to thank Norbert Müller very much for providing me with the sketch by Pierre de Coubertin for the exhibition of the IOC at the IHA (original at Muzeum V Praze Narodne in Prague). He was always ready to discuss the topic with me and provided valuable impulses that were incorporated into this contribution.
- 16 Letter from Pierre de Coubertin to Jiří Guth dated 7 April 1911 (Historical Archives of the IOC, Lausanne). Three days later, Coubertin sent another letter to Guth requesting confirmation that his previous letter containing the sketch and the details of the exhibition had actually arrived in Dresden. See: Letter from Pierre de Coubertin to Jiří Guth of 10 April 1911 (Historical Archive of the IOC, Lausanne). In his first letter, Coubertin asked Guth to have a close look at the Greek Olympic Committee's display. He was concerned that it might contain different or incorrect information that might have contradicted the interpretation by the IOC.
- 17 Comité International Olympique, ed., *Revue Olympique*, June 1911, 88.
- 18 Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft," 72, 84; *Offizieller Katalog 1911*, 26, 313.
- 19 *Revue Olympique*, April 1911, 53.
- 20 Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft," 76, 85.
- 21 *Revue Olympique*, April 1911, 52.
- 22 Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft," 71, 75; Kluge, "Die große ‚Volksbelehrung‘," 13.
- 23 Court, "Deutsche Sportwissenschaft," 86–87; Kluge, "Die große ‚Volksbelehrung‘," 19; Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," 335, 342–345; *Offizieller Katalog 1911*, 323.
- 24 German: "... Hygiene und Physiologie des Sports zu einem der wichtigsten Dinge im Bereich der Volksgesundheitspflege geworden ..." in Mallwitz, "Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung 1911," 339.

Remembrance Is No Substitute for Contemplation and Consideration

By Volker Kluge



The National Memorial of Belarus at Khatyn. The memorial depicts the blacksmith Josef Kaminski with his murdered son Adam.

Photo: Creative Commons (CC) / Aschroet

Seventy-five years ago, the Second World War came to an end. It had been a conflict which had enveloped 72 states. Four fifths of the world's population were involved. The defeat of Germany was followed by the unconditional surrender of Japan on 2 September 1945.

The war spanned almost six years and led to the deaths of around 55 million people.

Among them were at least 480 Olympians from 30 countries. About three quarters died as soldiers in combat or as prisoners of war. Around 60 athletes, most of them Jewish, were killed in German concentration camps or executed as resistance fighters. Some fell victim to the bombs or blockades.

To examine their life stories is to discover that generalised commemoration is difficult, possibly even inappropriate. Certainly, they were all victims in different ways, but some were also perpetrators.

During the European Games 2019 in Minsk, a small German delegation, including members of parliament, visited the Khatyn Memorial, where they laid a wreath.¹ This was where, on 22 March 1943, the village of Khatyn was completely destroyed by an SS special unit, its inhabitants murdered in the most gruesome manner.

In preparation for the trip, "Team D" were told about German-Belarusian history. Khatyn was mentioned, but not the German Olympic champion Hans Woellke, whose death was considered to be the pretext for the massacre.

Khatyn was not rebuilt, instead it was dedicated as a National Memorial. You can see the outlines of 26 houses. All that remains of them are the chimneys. Each has a bell which strikes every half a minute, as a reminder of vigilance. They also serve as symbolic documentation of the other 5,294 villages destroyed in Belarus.

The role model was the American Harold Osborn

Woellke was known as "Blonde Hans". In photos he looks good-natured and maybe he was. He was born on 18 February 1911 in Bischofsburg, known today as Biskupiec in the Masurian region of Poland. His father was a secretary in the criminal justice system who was relocated to Berlin. There Hans attended high school, finishing the 11th grade early. Instead of remaining in secondary school, he began an apprenticeship as a decorator but soon gave this up. In October 1929 he became a police cadet.²

As a schoolboy, Woellke had joined a sports club where he excelled thanks to his physical strength. At the age of 16, he was able to put the 5 kg shot 15 m. He was inspired by watching 1928 bronze medallist Emil Hirschfeld who had featured in the *Wochenschau* weekly newsreel shown at the cinema. One month after the Amsterdam Games, Hirschfeld set a world record with a put of 16.04 m.

When Woellke graduated from the Brandenburg Police School in 1930, he began regimented training. But it took him six years to surpass the 15-metre mark. Injuries often set him back in his development, to the point where he wanted to give up. Only when he realised that he was lifting too many weights and putting the shot too often while his leg muscles remained weak, did he change his training regime. He started to sprint and trained in high jump. His role model was the US

American Harold Osborn, who had become Olympic champion in high jump and decathlon in 1924.³

The 1936 Olympic Games, awarded to Berlin during the time of the Weimar Republic, took on a completely new meaning after Hitler established a totalitarian regime in 1933. It was not just about being a good host, it was primarily about prestige. The aim was to ensure the world was impressed by the “new” Germany.

“Must win under all circumstances”

At the beginning of 1934, practical preparations of the future German Olympic team began. According to the wishes of Reichssportführer Hans von Tschammer und Osten, the leading German Sports Officer, and an SA group leader, this team was to be the “Guard Regiment of the German People”. No expense was to be spared.

For the first time, the athletics association was able to employ two full-time Olympic trainers. One of them was Georg Brechenmacher, former record holder in the shot. He set the tone with a speech to the prospective team members at the former Prussian state parliament, an institution which the National Socialists no longer needed for its original purpose. Brechenmacher told the athletes that there was one thing that mattered: “Only victory, and the German athletes must win the 1936 Olympic Games under all circumstances.”⁴



A Goliath: world record holder Jack Torrance during training at the Berlin Olympic Village. In the competition, he only managed fifth place.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



Extract from the personnel file of Olympic champion Hans Woellke, who became a policeman in 1929.

Source: BArch R 19/1508

1934 had been declared the year of the “Search for the unknown sportsman”. Its best discovery was the middle distance runner Rudolf Harbig, who would later set world records at 400 m and 800 m. By contrast, Woellke’s talent had already been discovered, and his increased training intensity at the police sports club enabled his performance to explode within just one season. For the first time he became German champion, but his lack of international experience was exposed a month later when he failed to make the final at the First European Championships in Turin. Woellke missed out on a spot in the final. He finished a disappointing eighth after a put which was more than a metre below his personal best.

Even then, the Germans had several athletes who were able to put the shot over 15 metres, but their performances were inconsistent. In 1934, American John C. Lyman came to Nuremberg to assess potential Olympic competitors for 1936 and to offer coaching.⁵

Lyman, who studied at Stanford University, was by no means a nobody. He narrowly missed out on the 1932 Olympic team after finishing fourth in the US trials. In April 1934, he set a world record with 16.48 m, which he lost only six days later to the Louisiana student Jack Torrance, who was an imposing athlete simply because of his stature. Torrance stood 1.96 m tall and weighed 129 kg. The trial of strength between the two Americans came on 5 August 1934 at Bislett Stadium in Oslo. It ended with a sensational result. Lyman’s best effort was 15.80 m, but Torrance improved his world record to 17.40 m. His marks stood until 1948.⁶

In 1935, it became clear that Woellke had benefited from meeting Lyman, who spoke a little German. Now, significantly faster and more athletic, he didn’t lose a single competition. In an international match against Finland in Helsinki, he beat Hirschfeld’s seven-year-old record with 16.15 m. That year, a result of 16.33 m put him second in the world rankings, behind only Torrance (16.98 m). He was ahead of Lyman (16.07 m) and Estonia’s European champion Arnold Viiding⁷ (16.06 m).



Berlin 1936: Preliminary shot put event. It was only in the closing stages, contested by the top six, that Hans Woellke removed his tracksuit top and hit the 16.20 m mark. At that time, the sideways method was used for thrusting the shot. A concrete throwing circle was not yet the norm. The technology in use today was not developed by the American Parry O'Brien until the 1950s. Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

Until then, Woellke was only considered an outsider, but in the Olympic year of 1936, he set a new national record of 16.54 m, which catapulted him to the top of the world's 'best of the best'.

It was a surprise to see that the giant Torrance, until then the undisputed favourite, was losing form. He had not yet recovered from injury, and at the AAU Championships he was only able to produce a modest 15.42 m, losing by one centimetre to Dimitri Zaitz. Nor did he move any mountains at the Olympic trials at Randall's Island Stadium in New York. It was only in the final round that he worked his way up from fifth to first place. With a winning distance of 15.71 m, he did not look like a prospective Olympic champion.

What of John Lyman? Since he had continued his studies with a Stanford scholarship at a German university, he was not allowed to take part in the trials. He was left with the role of interpreter for the US Olympic team.

Olympic gold rewarded with a lieutenant's uniform

Woellke was initially chosen to carry the swastika flag on 1 August 1936 at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games when his team marched in. But he refused, as did

his fellow shot putter Gerhard Stöck.⁸ Both feared that participating in the ceremony might impair their athletic performance. The Reichssportführer then selected discus thrower Hans Fritsch, another policeman, as flagbearer. He only finished 11th in the competition.⁹

There were six medal events on the programme for the first day of the competition, four of them in athletics. All the prominent Nazi figures had come to the Olympic Stadium to watch. They were captured in film by Leni Riefenstahl's cameras; she had been commissioned by Hitler to make the Olympic film.¹⁰

In the spirit of the Nazi leadership, the timetable was planned to the minute. At three o'clock, the women's javelin began. It was an event in which the hosts had high hopes. Leading the world rankings was Austrian Herma Bauma, who had set a European record with 45.71 m in mid-July, but behind her were no fewer than four German athletes. These included Luise Krüger (45.27 m) and the bronze medallist from Los Angeles, Tilly Fleischer, who had recently won the national championship with 44.56 m.

It all worked out as they had hoped: Fleischer was Olympic champion ahead of Krüger. Bauma's best throw of the competition was four metres below her best

which meant that Poland's Maria Kwasniewska took bronze. After the victory ceremony, Tschammer dragged the medal winners into the Führer's box. There, to the annoyance of IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour, Hitler posed with them for the cameras.

The shot put was scheduled for 5:30 pm. This was the same time as the 10,000 m race, in which three Finns wore down the heroic efforts of Kohei Murakoso from Japan. It was already clear from the qualification round held that morning that Torrance, with a current body weight of 147 kg, would not play a prominent role. His first throw was 15.38 m but it proved his best effort. In the rounds that followed, he only exceeded the 15 metre mark once and finished in fifth.¹¹

After the first three rounds, the leader was Finland's Sulo Bärlund, who had posted an Olympic record of 16.03 m on his second throw. Woellke (15.96 m) and Stöck (15.56 m) were next. The top six advanced to the last three throws, held in prime position, immediately in front of the grandstand, Woellke managed 16.20 m in the fifth round. Bärlund countered with 16.12 m, which was only enough for silver.

Riefenstahl often disregarded the chronological order of events to increase the dramatic tension in her films, and did so with the shot put. "... 16.20 m, victory for the German!" announced the narrator. You can see Woellke on the field, snapping his heels together and eyes fixed on the grandstand, raising his arm in the Nazi salute, then known as the "German greeting" to the enthusiastic applause of Hitler and his entourage. Playing in the background is the *Horst Wessel Song*, which was like a second national anthem in the Third Reich.

Woellke and bronze medallist Stöck have happy faces. In the original 1938 version of the film, they are shown talking to Hitler and the then Prussian Prime Minister, Hermann Göring. The sequence does not feature in many later versions. In 1957, Riefenstahl was forced to cut some 86 metres from her film, because the Wiesbaden film evaluation agency saw the scenes as a glorification of National Socialism. Even with the cuts, Riefenstahl was denied a rating, whereupon cinema owners were afraid to include the film in their programmes again.¹²

Since Woellke was the first German man to win an Olympic gold medal in athletics, his success was particularly suited to launching a propaganda offensive.¹³ "We owe the victories to the Führer", announced the *Völkischer Beobachter* (the Nazi party newspaper), because Hitler's "seizure of power" welded the German people together, thus enabling them to achieve greater things.¹⁴ On the following day, the papers reported that Göring, who was Woellke's employer, had given his own reward to the Olympic champion. Effective retrospectively from 1 August 1936, Woellke was promoted to lieutenant of the police force.¹⁵

Mentally active, but no leadership qualities

Shortly before the Games, on 17 June 1936, Hitler had appointed Heinrich Himmler as head of the German police, giving the Reichsführer-SS (leader of the SS) a central position of power in the Nazi regime. This gave Himmler additional control over the entire police apparatus, which was divided into the regulatory police, responsible for public security (protection police, gendarmerie, community police), and the non-uniformed security police (criminal police and secret state police/Gestapo).¹⁶

However, Himmler did not succeed in bringing about the planned removal of the state police from internal administration and their strict subordination to the SS. He did, nevertheless, achieve close cohesion between the two, as he allocated most of the management positions to high-ranking SS leaders.¹⁷ He also tried to persuade veteran police officers who had already joined the Nazis before 1933, to join the SS. Later, the younger age groups, especially prominent figures, were courted, but for Woellke, who had never been involved in party politics, a change was out of the question.

Since he was only accepted into the officer's class because of his sporting successes, he had to attend the police school again. After that he received an early promotion to first lieutenant. However, he was not considered suitable for a lifelong position, as was customary with civil servants. His superiors attested that he was "a mentally very active person", but they criticised his "lack of leadership qualities".¹⁸ A decision was postponed for a year.



After Woellke's Olympic victory, Hitler and other Nazi celebrities basked in the glow of the gold medal. Right: Bronze medallist Gerhard Stöck. Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

The reason why the Olympic champion did not meet expectations was suspected to be his frequent absences from police work. The sports authorities, predominantly interested in international success, had a different perspective. Woellke was still number one nationally, but internationally, young athletes like Columbia student Francis J. Ryan had pushed their way to the top. Woellke was forced to concede victory to him in the Germany–USA international match on 15 August 1938. And behind them lurked "Big Bill" Watson, who in 1940 was to become the first African American to win the AAU decathlon championship. In the Second European Championships, held at the beginning of September 1938 in Paris, Woellke received yet another setback. He lost to the Estonian Aleksander Kreek,¹⁹ and Stöck snapped up the silver medal.

At the beginning of 1939, Woellke was transferred to the newly built police sports school in Berlin as a sports teacher, which suited his image. He was also appointed to the rank of captain by Himmler, although his immediate superiors considered him "not yet suitable" for it.²⁰ But no one wanted to put him at a disadvantage against other successful police athletes.

In 1939, Woellke recorded a put which was only 15 cm short of his own European record of 16.60 m, set shortly after his Olympic win. This proved that he was

in contention for the upcoming Helsinki Olympics. Only Stöck (16.49 m) was ahead of him in the annual European ranking list.

But it was a short season. On 1 September 1939, the German army invaded Poland, and the Second World War began. The international match against Sweden scheduled for the weekend was cancelled. Germany was operating under a new motto: "All weapons united to counterattack England's mercenary Poland".²¹

Not suitable as a company commander in Norway

In September 1939, the Ordnungspolizei, or regulatory police, were required to set up 21 battalions to support the Wehrmacht. These were to be mainly used in occupied Poland to guard prisoners of war and to secure infrastructure and industrial plants. For the time being, however, Woellke remained in Berlin, at the 109th police station.

At the end of April 1940, he was posted to Norway, where he was used as a company commander near the Swedish border in the area of Kongsvinger, a hub of the Norwegian resistance. But after just a few weeks, the commander there demanded that he be recalled because he was unable to "deploy his company properly".²² The dismissal was justified with a lack of initiative but exactly what was meant cannot be found in the document.

On 30 July 1940, Woellke returned to Berlin, where, according to the orders of his superiors, he was to be taken "under strict supervision". He cannot have been particularly unhappy, because just a few days later he had the opportunity to compete in the German championships. Although scarcely in training, he still finished second behind Heinrich Trippe, another policeman who was also stationed in Norway. Trippe stood almost two metres tall and was seen as the "up-and-coming man".

Three weeks later, however, Woellke turned the tables. In a triangular international against Finland and Sweden, held in the sold-out Helsinki Olympic Stadium, he defeated Trippe with a throw of 16.06 m, a performance which proved that he could still be counted among the best in the world. The Finns were originally to have staged the 1940 Olympics and considered the competition in some way a replacement. Unsurprisingly, the Swedes won the match by a six-point margin. Germany had sent a team of 33, of whom 25 were soldiers who had been given a short leave to take part.²³

At this point in time, the Nazi leadership tried desperately to maintain international sports "traffic" and to uphold a pretence of a certain normality, albeit only with allied states such as Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, and Croatia, or with neutrals such as Sweden and Switzerland. In addition, there were foreign policy aspects. There was a need to foster relations with



"The police on the front lines" – with the SS behind them. As an award, the police troops were renamed SS police regiments on orders from Heinrich Himmler in 1943. Source: Poster of Felix Albrecht

Finland, heavily strained by German neutrality during the "Winter War" against the Soviet Union.

In the long run, however, even the top athletes, who had been spared as long as possible, could not evade military service. In the spring of 1942, Woellke was assigned to the guards of the Danzig-Matzkau penal camp. This was where members of the SS and the police, who had been convicted of disciplinary or criminal offenses, were imprisoned. To keep himself fit for further sporting competition, he had his wife send him weights.²⁴

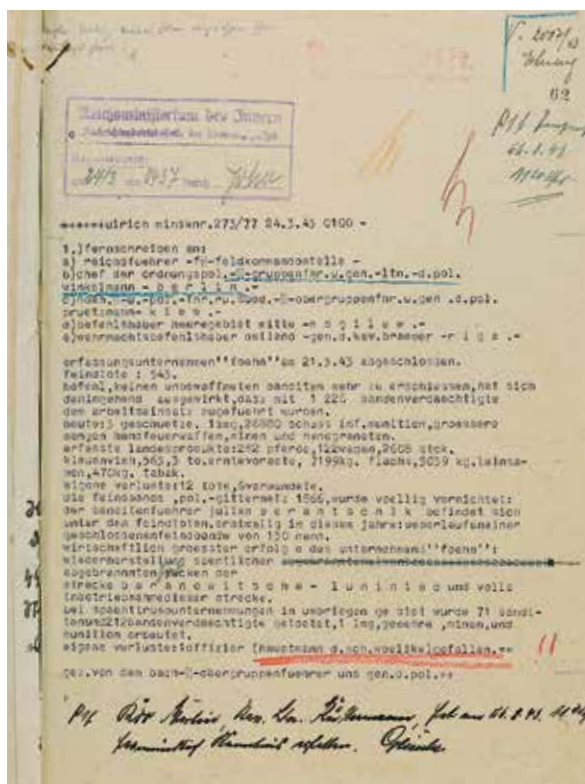
Woellke maintained his condition and won his seventh championship title in the summer. The "3rd War Championships" had begun with a "memory of heroes" and the reading of an ever-growing list of the dead. In autumn 1942, the national championships and the competitions for "troop entertainment," were suspended with a few exceptions, the Nazi leadership having overestimated the propaganda value of these events. The chief of staff of the Reichssportführer, Guido von Mengden, announced that "the word 'victory' would now be measured by the standards of Stalingrad".²⁵

Woellke's death and the Khatyn massacre

By December 1942, the Battle of Stalingrad had already been lost. Woellke was also called up. At the turn of the year he arrived in Minsk, the capital of Belarus, which was then under the control of the Reichskommissariat Ostland, the civil occupation regime, under the name Weissruthenien. The leading Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg was in charge and preached a "racially organically structured state system" and "Germanisation" of the East, including the annihilation of the Jewish population.²⁶

Hitler ordered a counter offensive to try and alter the course of the war, but the deployment of 300,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks and assault guns, which was originally to take place in the spring of 1943 under the strictest secrecy, was delayed again and again. The activities of an army of 200,000 Soviet partisans caused this delay. They were hiding in the deep forests and inaccessible wetlands of Belarus and parts of Ukraine. They controlled entire areas in the occupied hinterland, where their primary target was the railway network. From February to June 1943, they carried out 840 attacks in a campaign known as the "rail war".²⁷

Hitler considered the fight against what he regarded as "unruly bandits" – the term "partisans" was banned for psychological reasons – an urgent task.²⁸ He demanded the "toughest measures". He assigned Himmler to take sole responsibility. Himmler in turn appointed the SS-Obergruppenführer (high-ranking SS official) and general of the police, Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, as



Report of "completion" of the assignment by SS-Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach on 24 March 1943: Railway lines restored, population murdered, agriculture ruined. Casualty: Captain Woellke.

Source: BArch R19/1508

the "authorised representative of the Reichsführer-SS for fighting gangs".²⁹

Woellke was assigned to the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon (Schuma) 118, as one of three company commanders. The battalion was formed in Kiev in July 1942 and reorganised in Minsk that November. On Hitler's orders, "state-owned associations" were also recruited for this purpose, the members of which had been promised a generous distribution of land after the final victory.

The core of the 1st Company, commanded by Woellke, consisted of Ukrainian nationalists, some of whom had already been involved in mass shootings of Kiev Jews in Babin Yar. The auxiliary policemen were dressed in discarded black SS uniforms from the pre-war period, which is why they were known inside the party as "the blacks".

The battalion's tasks included securing the railway lines that ran northeast of Minsk through swampy areas on the right bank of the Berezina, a place where Napoleon bivouacked with the Grande Armée in the winter of 1812 during his retreat from Russia.

On the morning of 22 March 1943, around 10 o'clock, the motorcade of the 1st Company was on the road to Vitebsk (today's M3 motorway) when it came under attack by partisans. Woellke, leading the convoy on a motorcycle, and three Ukrainian auxiliary policemen were killed. The German forces pursued the attackers as they retreated towards the village of Khatyn but in vain.

Reinforcements were summoned by radio and arrived that afternoon: the 1st Company of the Dirlewanger

Hans Woellke's grave at the German military cemetery in Minsk in 1943. The German War Graves Commission is responsible for the upkeep of this and other military graves. Most of them have now disappeared.

Photo: Edith Woellke's estate



SS Special Battalion, which had been formed in 1940 in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp under the command of Oscar Dirlwanger, who had several convictions. The unit was made up of convicted poachers and other convicts and soldiers.

Together with the 118th battalion, the SS men surrounded Khatyn. They drove the residents into a barn which was set on fire. When the people managed to break open the gate, they were shot down. 149 were murdered, including 75 children. Only five children and blacksmith Josef Kaminski were able to flee to safety.

On 24 March 1943, von dem Bach reported to Himmler on the "successful" completion of the "Föhn" campaign and the restoration of the Baranovichi–Luninets railway line. His men had shot 543 "bandits" and confiscated 282 horses, over 2,600 cattle, and thousands of tons of crops. There was no mention of the number of villages burned down. "Own losses: 1 officer (Captain Woellke) killed."³⁰

Edith Woellke first learned about the death of her husband, who had been buried in the "Heroes Cemetery" in Minsk,³¹ from his former trainer. He had heard the report on the radio. A week later, she received the official notification, which contained the usual phrases: "example of loyalty to duty", "heroic commitment", "fallen in the name of the Führer and the people".³² Five days later, their only child, a boy who had recently been born, died.

From the memory of heroes to the day of national mourning

In Germany today, people generally commemorate the victims of wars, tyranny, and terrorism on a Sunday in November. Since 1982, people have gathered on the day of national mourning in the Berlin Olympic Stadium at the silent bell from 1936, to commemorate the "perished Olympians of the world". Edith Woellke, never married again, was amongst those who regularly attended the memorial event.

What prompted the Bavarian town of Selb, which became famous for its porcelain production, to name a street after her fallen husband, remains a mystery.³³ The crime committed at Khatyn had been known since at least 1954, when members of some of the police battalions were investigated.³³ There is no such information about Woellke. However, taking into account his position, it is possible to assume that he was not without some degree of guilt.

It has been a long path from commemorating heroes to the national Remembrance Day and a differentiated view of the fallen. It was not until Markus Meckel, who in 2013 was elected President of the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge,³⁵ responsible for the care of soldiers' graves, that a new model was developed. When he defined the Second World War "as a war of aggression and a racially motivated extermination, as a crime caused by National Socialist Germany",³⁶ heated arguments broke out within the organisation. Meckel ended a year-long "mud-slinging fight" in 2016 with his resignation.

But the problem remained: simple remembrance is no substitute for contemplation and consideration. ■

- 1 Member of the Parliament, Dr. André Hahn (Left Party) to the President of the German Bundestag, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, Report on the trip to the 2nd European Games in Minsk (Belarus) from June 20 to 25, 2019, 14 August 2019.
- 2 Federal Archives (BArch) Berlin, R 19/1508, Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMdI) no. IV/48, proof of identity, 8 August 1936.
- 3 *Der Leichtathlet* (The Athlete), no. 57, 22 December 1936, 9, 12.
- 4 *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 26 January 1934. "Geo" Brechenmacher (1896–1944) was German shot put champion three times between 1925 and 1927. In 1934, he was appointed director of the Ettlingen Reich Sports School. The second Olympic coach was Josef Waitzer (1884–1966), who competed in discus, javelin, and pentathlon at the 1912 Olympic Games.
- 5 Hans von der Planitz, "Wie Amerikaner trainieren" ["How Americans Train"], *Reichssportblatt*, vol. 1, no. 26, 12 August 1934, 738–9; Ralph J. Hoke, "Vom richtigen Kugelstoßen" ["On the right shot put"], *Reichssportblatt*, no. 27, 19 August 1934, 756–7.
- 6 On 17 April 1948, American Charles E. Fonville improved the world record to 17.68 m.
- 7 After the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, policeman Arnold Viiding (1911–2006) became SS-Obersturmführer (high-ranking commander) and commander of the Estonian School of the Security Police (Sipo). At the end of the war he fled to Bavaria and emigrated to Australia in 1949.
- 8 Gerhard Stöck (1911–1985) was also the German javelin record holder. He threw 73.96 m in 1935. At the 1936 Games his throw of 71.84 m was

- sufficient for the gold. In addition to the javelin and shot put he was also entered for the decathlon but did not take part. In the same year he passed the state examination for teaching at secondary schools. In 1941, he became head of the Nazi Reich student organisation. He had been a member of the paramilitary SA since 1933 and was promoted to Sturmbannführer. After the war, he headed the sports department in Hamburg from 1950 to 1975. He was also Chef de Mission of the joint German Summer Olympic teams for 1956 and 1960.
- 9 "Hans Fritsch," *Das Ostpreußenblatt*, 5 August 1961, 13.
 - 10 For years, Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) wanted the world to believe that she had been entrusted with the Olympic film by the IOC. However, at the 1949 denazification commission in Freiburg, she had already testified that Hitler had given her this assignment in the summer of 1935. Freiburg State Archives, D 180/2 No. 228165/1. With film costs totalling 2,652 million Reichsmarks, Riefenstahl exceeded the production budget specified by Joseph Goebbels from the Propaganda Ministry by more than one million marks. In a contract of 10 October 1941, it was agreed with Riefenstahl Film GmbH that the Olympic film would be owned by the German Reich and Riefenstahl would only be commissioned to evaluate and manage the negatives. (BArch R 55/1327. 137) Nevertheless, in 1964 the director was tacitly given the film rights for 30 years in the Federal Republic of Germany. (BArch R 109 I / 2163, agreement with Transit Filmgesellschaft, 16 January 1964).
 - 11 Jack Torrance (1912–1969) became a professional boxer after the Olympic Games and made his debut in the ring on 7 December 1936 with a knockout in the first round against Owen Flynn. He fought nine times and lost twice. In 1939, he signed a contract with the Chicago Bears in the National Football League.
 - 12 In the early 1950s, Riefenstahl, who was in financial difficulties, tried unsuccessfully to reconstruct the Olympic film with its two parts, *Festival of the Nations* and *Festival of Beauty*. As the original negative was lost at the end of the war, all she had at her disposal was a copy adapted for the Anglo-American market, which the then IOC President, Avery Brundage, had made available, and a damaged French version. It was only in 1965 that the IOC managed to purchase a copy from Riefenstahl. Letter from IOC Secretary Lydie Zanchi to Riefenstahl, 14 December 1965, Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne (OSC).
 - 13 Before Woellke, only one woman had succeeded. Lina Radke-Bat-schauer (1903–1983) who won 800 m gold at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics.
 - 14 "Die Leichtathletik-Wettkämpfe in Anwesenheit des Führers" ["The athletics competitions in the presence of the Führer"], *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3 August 1936, 1–2.
 - 15 BArch R 19/1508, Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior, memo, 8 August 1936. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 4 August 1936, 2.
 - 16 The main office of the Ordnungspolizei (regulatory police) was headed by SS-Obergruppenführer Kurt Daluege (1897–1946) and that of the security police by SS-Gruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942). Heydrich was also subordinate to the Security Service (SD) of the SS.
 - 17 See Hans Buchheim, "Die Höheren SS- und Polizeiführer" ["The high-ranking SS and police leaders"], *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* [Quarterly Issues for Contemporary History], Institute for Contemporary History Munich, vol. 11 (1963), no. 4.
 - 18 BArch, R 19/1508, Police President of Berlin to Reichsführer-SS, "Subject: Lifetime appointment of officers of the Schutzpolizei," 21 February 1938.
 - 19 Aleksander Kreek (1914–1977) won the student world championship in 1937. During the Second World War he served as a police officer for the German occupying forces. At the end of the war he fled to Sweden and emigrated to Canada in 1951. His grandson Adam Kreek was a member of the Canadian rowing eight which won Olympic gold in 2008.
 - 20 BArch, R 19/1508, Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMdI), assessment by General Jürgen von Kamptz, 2 January 1939.
 - 21 *Der Leichtathlet* [The athlete], no. 36, 4 September 1939, 3. In an editorial (p. 2), editor-in-chief Heinz Cavalier, who saw the disciplined athletes as "the standard bearer of the combative German will", wrote: "So we follow the Führer whenever he calls us and wherever he orders us to go."
 - 22 BArch, R 19/1508, Commander of the Ordnungspolizei (regulatory police), Paul Riege, to Chief of the Ordnungspolizei, 26 June 1940.
 - 23 Hans Joachim Teichler, *International Sports Policy in the Third Reich* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1991) 298.
 - 24 Interview Volker Kluge with Edith Woellke, née Wegner, West Berlin, March 1984. Woellke was allowed to marry on 10 July 1941. As was customary for members of the SS and Police, Himmler had approved the marriage.
 - 25 Guido von Mengden, "Unser Maßstab" ["Our scale"], *Reichssportblatt*, no. 40, 6 October 1942, 2.
 - 26 Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts [The Myth of the 20th Century]* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1930).
 - 27 Thomas Jander, "Der Partisanenkrieg in der Sowjetunion" ["The Partisan War in the Soviet Union"], German Historical Museum, Lebendiges Museum Online (Living Museum Online), 2015.
 - 28 BArch RW 4/554, "Weisung Nr. 46 für die Kriegsführung. Richtlinien für die Bekämpfung des Bandenunwesens im Osten" ["Instruction No. 46 for warfare. Guidelines for Combating Unruly Gangs in the East"], 18 August 1942.
 - 29 Although Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski (1899–1972) was instrumental in numerous murders, including the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, he was not indicted in the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Instead, he served as the prosecution's key witness in the International Military Tribunal. It was not until 1962 that he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of five communists in 1933.
 - 30 BArch, R 19/1508, telex from von dem Bach to Reichsführer-SS field command post, 24 March 1943.
 - 31 Ibid., Major Körner reported to the commander of the regulatory police Weisruthenien, Pleshchenitsy, 23 March 1943. Since Woellke did not have an identification tag, a sealed bottle with his particulars was enclosed with his coffin. The grave was at the German military cemetery in Minsk, Moscow Street, individual grave 28, row 22, west side.
 - 32 Ibid., Chief of the Ordnungspolizei, SS-Obergruppenführer and Lieutenant General of the Police, Otto Winkelmann to Edith Woellke, 31 March 1943.
 - 33 Communication from the city of Selb, 10 September 2019. A volunteer archivist could only find a record of Resolution no. 200 from 1954 on naming a neighbouring street after Hanns Braun, a Munich middle-distance runner who fell in the First World War. A city council had proposed the name "Ritter-von-Halt-Strasse" as an alternative, but this was rejected because of the "unsuitable length" of the name. Karl Ritter von Halt (1891–1964) was among the "Friends of the Reichsführer-SS". As director of Deutsche Bank, he regularly transferred large donations to Himmler's account. From 1929 until his death he was an IOC Member and President of the NOC for Germany from 1951 to 1961.
 - 34 Stefan Klemp, "Nicht ermittelt", *Polizeibataillone und die Nachkriegsjustiz – Ein Handbuch [Not Investigated, Police Battalions and the Post-War Justice System] – A Guide* (Essen: Klartext, 2005).
 - 35 German War Graves Commission.
 - 36 Ibid., Work-Balance Sheet 2015. Report of the Federal Executive Committee, 20. On 12 September 1990, the former pastor, Markus Meckel, was the last foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic to sign the "Two Plus Four Agreement" in Moscow, which replaced a peace treaty with the former war opponents and made German reunification possible.



Remembrance without reflecting on history: A street named after Hans Wöllke in the Bavarian town of Selb. The misspelt name is definitely a lesser problem.

Photo: Gabriele Kluge

Biographies of All IOC Members

Part XXXIV

By Marcia De Franceschi Neto-Wacker and Volker Kluge



479. | Sir Matthew Pinsent | Great Britain

Born: 10 October
1970 in Holt, Norfolk
Elected:
6 February 2002
Resigned:
26 August 2004
Attendance:
Present: 3, Absent: 0



With four Olympic gold medals, Matthew Pinsent is one of the most successful rowers in the world. He started rowing at Eton and, as a student at Oxford University, took part in the traditional University Boat Race on the Thames three times, from 1990 to 1993.

Pinsent's partnership with rowing legend Steve Redgrave started in 1990. Together they won Olympic gold in 1992 and 1996 in the coxless pairs and in 2000 were both members of the successful coxless four in 2004. After Redgrave retired, Pinsent won his fourth Olympic gold in 2004, again in the coxless four.

He was also world champion ten times: six times in the coxless pair, three in the coxless four, and once (2001) in the coxed pair. The World Championships in Milan in 2003 was the only occasion on which he did not win a medal. After retiring, he received a CBE in the 2001 Honours List and was made a Knight Bachelor in 2004.

On 11 December 2001, the Czech triple world and Olympic Javelin champion Jan Železný co-opted onto the IOC in 1999 as a member of the Athletes' Commission, (*JOH*, vol. 27, no. 1/2019, p. 73) stepped down from the IOC. The Athletes' Commission recommended Pinsent to succeed him. Pinsent was elected at the 113th IOC Session in Salt Lake City in 2002. This presented an unusual situation, as the British Olympic Association had nominated bobsleigh's Sean Olsson as a candidate for the Athletes' Commission. As only one athlete per country was allowed to be a member, Olsson was obliged to put his ambitions on hold. Pinsent's IOC tenure ended in 2004.

After his active sports career, Sir Matthew worked amongst other things as a BBC reporter. He carried the Olympic torch in London in 2004 and in 2012, took the torch onto the rowbarge *Gloriana* on the final day of the relay. (*MNW*)

480. | Pernilla Wiberg | Sweden

Born: 15 October
1970 in Norrköping
Elected:
23 February 2002
Resigned:
24 February 2010
Attendance:
Present: 8, Absent: 1



Pernilla Wiberg was the first Swedish world champion and Olympic champion in alpine skiing. She won the giant slalom at the 1992 Winter Games and the combined in 1994. In 1998, she took silver in the downhill.

Wiberg was also one of the most successful all-rounders at the World Championships and World Cup races. At the World Championships from 1991 to 1999, she won medals in four disciplines, including four gold, a silver, and a bronze medal.

Altogether she won 24 World Cup races in all of the five individual disciplines. She was most successful in the slalom, which she won 14 times. She won three super-giant slalom and three combined races, two downhill, and two giant-slalom ones. Her most successful season was 1996–97 where she entered 32 races, 24 of which she won. She won the overall World Cup

once (1996–97) and the individual crystal globes four times: the combined three times (1993–94, 1994–95, 1996–97) and the slalom once (1996–97).

Wiberg suffered numerous injuries during her skiing career, having 12 operations on her knee alone. She contested her last races at the 2002 Winter Olympics, where she finished 12th in the super giant slalom and 14th in the downhill.

The fact that she received the highest number of votes in the IOC Athletes' Commission election in Salt Lake City showed how popular she was. At the end of the 113th Session, she was co-opted into the IOC, where she became a member with a mandate of eight years until 2010.

During this period, she participated in eight different commissions at the IOC, among them the Sport and Environment Commission, the Ethics Commission, and the Evaluation and Coordination commissions for the 2010 Winter Games. She was also Chair of the Coordination Commission for the 2012 Youth Olympic Games in Innsbruck.

Pernilla Wiberg is a businesswoman. She lives in Monaco and owns a hotel in the Swedish province of Dalarnas. (MNW)



481. | Jari Pekka Kurri | Finland

Jari Kurri was one of Europe's top ice hockey players between 1980 and 1998 and an outstanding winger. He made his debut at Jokerit Helsinki at the age of 17 as a junior. In 1978, he became European champion with the Finnish junior team (U18), and in 1980 he won the silver medal with the U20 team.

As of 1980–81, Kurri played in the National Hockey League (NHL), appearing in 1,251 regular season matches until 1998, scoring 601 and 797, a total of 1,398 points. In the NHL playoffs, he scored 106 and 127 points in 200 matches.

He spent the first ten years of his career with the Edmonton Oilers, with whom he won the Stanley Cup five times. His best season was 1984–85 with 135 points and 50 goals in his first games. A year later, he led the league with 68 goals.

The "Finnish Flash" was best known for partnering Wayne Gretzky, who prepared 361 of a total of 601 goals that Kurri scored for the Oilers.

Kurri made a trip to Italy in 1990–91 wearing the Devils Milano jersey. He then returned to the NHL. From 1991 to 1996, he played for the Los Angeles Kings but was transferred to the New York Rangers in 1996 for their playoff run. He spent the last two years of his career with the Mighty Ducks of Anaheim and the Colorado Avalanche.

Kurri played 65 games for the Finnish senior team. He took part in four World Championships and three Canada Cups. At the 1980 Winter Olympics, his team placed fourth. In 1998, he won bronze with Finland in a 3–2 win against Canada, scoring the first goal.

In the elections for the IOC Athletes' Commission during the 2002 Winter Games in Salt Lake City, Kurri received the third highest number of votes. Then, at the 113th Session, he was co-opted into the IOC with a four-year mandate.

After his sports career, he founded a company for sporting books and new media products. He remained loyal to ice hockey. He was Assistant Coach and then General Manager of the Finnish national team, later GM of the KHL team of Jokerit Helsinki. He is married to former Miss Finland Vanessa Forsman and has five children. (VK)



Born: 18 May 1960
in Helsinki
Elected:
23 February 2002
Resigned:
23 February 2006
Attendance:
Present: 5, Absent: 0

482. | Ådne Søndrål | Norway

Born: 10 May 1971
in Notodden,
Telemark
Elected:
23 February 2002
Resigned:
23 February 2006
Attendance:
Present: 5, Absent: 0



The Norwegian speed skater was a specialist in medium-track skating. At the age of 20, he won an Olympic silver medal in the 1500 m race in 1992. However, he disappointed two years later at the Winter Games in Lillehammer, where he stood in the shadow of his fellow countryman John Olav Koss. After finishing fourth in the 1500 m race, he then crashed during the 1000 m.

His heyday came in 1996 with the introduction of the World Single Distances Championships. He won four times: the 1000 m races in 1997 and 2000, and the 1500 m in 1998 and 2001.

At the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, he only concentrated on the 1500 m event and won the gold medal in world record time (1:47.87), which he improved to 1:46.42 minutes six weeks later in Calgary. He finished his sports career at the 2002 Winter Games with bronze in the 1500 m event.

Søndrål, who had also made a name for himself as an anti-doping campaigner, was elected into the IOC Athletes' Commission in Salt Lake City with the fourth highest number of votes. At the 113th Session, he was co-opted into the IOC with a four-year mandate, where he was also a member of the Medical Commission from 2002 and the Marketing Commission from 2003.

At the age of 31, he completed his studies at the Norwegian Business School with a Master's in management. He also studied at Harvard University for a few months. As a young businessman, he first worked with private equity and then for a brokerage house. He tried his hand as a hotel director for two years before entering the real estate business with varying success. In 2007, he and a partner designed a shopping centre in Vestby, which was completed six years later to become a Norwegian outlet centre – a great success for him. (VK)

483. | Sir Philip Craven | Great Britain

Born: 4 July 1950
in Bolton, Greater
Manchester
Elected: 4 July 2003
Resigned:
8 September 2017
Attendance:
Present: 8, Absent: 1



As a 16-year-old, Philip Craven was seriously injured in a climbing accident. The result was paraplegia, which has confined him to a wheelchair ever since. While still in hospital immediately after the accident, he discovered a type of sport that he would be a part of his life: wheelchair basketball.

At the 3rd Commonwealth Paraplegic Games in Edinburgh in 1970, he won the gold medal with the English team, beating Australia in the final. From 1972 to 1988 Craven took part in wheelchair basketball at the Paralympics five times and in swimming in Heidelberg in 1972 when the event was still called Paralysed World Games. With the British team, he was European Champion in 1971 and 1974 and World Champion in 1973.

Craven, who received a Bachelor of Arts (Hons) in Geography from Manchester University from in 1972, served intermittently as Chairman of the Great Britain Wheelchair Basketball Association (GBWBA) between 1977 and 1994 and was Performance Director of the men's team from 1998 to 2002. He was President of the International Wheelchair Basketball Federation (IWBF) from 1988 to 2002 and Chief Executive Officer from 1994 to 1998.

On 9 December 2001, Craven was elected President of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC), succeeding Canadian Robert D. Steadward, who had been co-opted into the IOC a year earlier (*JOH*, vol. 27, no. 3/2019, p. 69). In 2003, he was elected to the IOC, of which he was a member until the end of his fourth and final term as IPC President.

Craven was Group Head of the Administration Coal Corporation from 1986 to 1991. In June 2018, he became a member of the Board of Directors of the Toyota Motor Corporation. (VK)

484. | Frank Fredericks | Namibia

Frank Fredericks, known in the sports world as “Frankie”, was born in a black township outside Windhoek, at a time when Namibia was ruled as a mandate by the South African Union. Fredericks was educated at St. Joseph’s Catholic High School in Döbra and at Concordia College in Windhoek, where he began his athletic training. In his final year, he became South African schools champion in the 100 m and 200 m races.

Fredericks then worked in a management training programme for the Rössing Uranium Mine. In 1987, he was given the opportunity to study at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah on a track and field scholarship, which he completed with a Bachelor of Science and Master of Business Administration. In 1991, he was the first athlete in 13 years not born in the USA to win the 100 m and 200 m events at the NCAA championships.

During his first three years in Provo, Fredericks had no chance of starting internationally, as South Africa and the former South West Africa it had annexed had been banned from world sports due to the apartheid laws. The situation changed when Namibia gained independence on 21 March 1990 and established an NOC that was recognised by the IOC in 1991.

In that same year, Fredericks was able to prove that he was one of the world’s top sprinters. In 1991, he was runner-up in the 200 m race at the World Championships in Tokyo, and at the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona he won silver medals in the 100 and 200 m races – successes that he repeated four years later in Atlanta. He was world champion in 200 m in 1993 in Stuttgart and in 1999 at the indoor championships in Maebashi. Fredericks also won gold over 100 and 200 m at the Africa Games of 1991 and the Commonwealth Games of 1994. His favourite discipline was the 200 m, which he won again in 2002 at the Commonwealth Games. He ended his sports career with a fourth place at the Olympic Games in 2004.

During the Athens Olympics, Fredericks was elected to the IOC Athletes’ Commission for eight years with the most votes. He was then co-opted into the IOC and in 2004 became a member of the Evaluation Commission for the Olympic Games 2012 there. From 2005, he was a member of the Coordination Commission for the 2012 Olympics in London and the programme commission. After becoming Chair of the Athletes’ Commission in 2008, he was elected to the IOC Executive Committee on 7 August 2008, of which he was a member until 2012. On 27 July 2012, at the 124th Session, he was appointed IOC Member in Namibia.

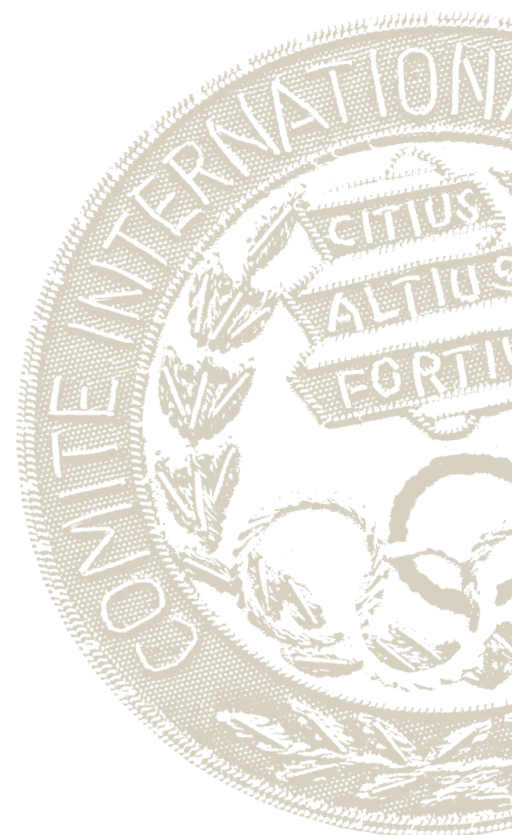
After the French judicial authorities launched an investigation against the former President of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF, now World Athletics), Lamine Diack (*JOH*, vol. 26, no. 3 / 2018, p. 70) because of corruption and money laundering, Fredericks (who had been a member of the IAAF Council since 2011) was also targeted by the judiciary. According to media reports, he was accused of accepting USD 299,300 from Diack’s son Papa Massata before the 2016 Olympic Games were awarded to Rio de Janeiro.

Subsequently, on 7 November 2017, the IOC Executive Board decided to suspend all Fredericks’ rights, prerogatives, and functions connected with being an IOC Member. On 7 March 2017, he had already voluntarily waived taking part in the 130th and 131st IOC Sessions and gave up his membership with the Evaluation Commission for the 2024 Games and the Commission for the Youth Olympic Games 2018.

Fredericks was not proposed for re-election by the IOC Members Election Commission at the 136th IOC Session on 17 July 2020 and his membership ended after his eight-year term. (VK)



Born: 2 October
1967 in Kututura,
Windhoek
Elected:
29 August 2004
Resigned:
17 July 2020
Attendance:
Present: 14,
Absent: 2
Executive Board
Member No. 85
7 August 2008 –
27 July 2012



OBITUARIES

Willi Holdorf (FRG), *17 February 1940 in Blomesche Wildnis; †5 July 2020 in Achterwehr. Holdorf grew up in a village in northern Germany, where he played football and handball. At the age of 17, he was discovered as a track and field athlete. But the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome came too soon for the high-voltage electrical engineer by training.

At the end of 1960, he moved to SV Bayer 04 Leverkusen, where he was initially looked after by Armin Hary's coach, Bertl Sumser. After Friedel Schirmer, who took eighth place in the 1952 Olympics, had become national coach, Holdorf won the first of what was to be four national championship titles for the decathlon under his leadership in 1961.

Over the course of his career, Holdorf competed in 23 decathlons,



of which he won eight. As the victor in the East–West qualifiers, he made it onto the last common German Olympic team in 1964. His best performance came at the Tokyo Olympics, where he won the gold medal with 7,877 points. In doing so, he benefited from the new scoring table that had been introduced just a few weeks earlier, and which – to

the detriment of world record holder Yang Chuan Kwang (TPE) – took into account the explosive technical developments in pole vaulting that had set in since 1961.

At the age of just 24, Holdorf resigned following his Olympic victory. As a graduate of the German Sport University Cologne, he looked after athletes in Leverkusen like Claus Schiprowski, who won Olympic silver in the pole vault in Mexico City in 1968.

He then tried his hand in the property industry and became a representative of a large sporting goods manufacturer. He also coached the Bundesliga football club Fortuna Cologne for a few months. He succeeded in a second sporting career in the early 1970s in bobsleighting, as pusher for the Olympic silver medallist Horst Floth, with whom he became the European runner-up in the two-man bobsleigh in 1973 in Cervinia. (VK)

Donald F. Macgregor (GBR), *23 July 1939 in Prestonpans, East Lothian; †3 June 2020 in St. Andrews. The Scottish runner, teacher, and politician served on the staff of the *Journal of Olympic History* for seven years. He tirelessly translated and edited texts, and himself wrote a few articles on his favourite subject: the marathon race.

At the end of 2018, when he felt that his strength was diminishing, he gave notice of his departure. The ISOH Executive Board ultimately awarded him the Vikelas Plaque, which he had truly earned. He died shortly before his 81st birthday.

Don attended George Heriot's School in Edinburgh. In 1957, he won an inter-school event, breaking the five-minute barrier for the mile. He competed in his first marathon in 1965 at a Scottish Amateur Athletic Association (SAAA) meet. He finished second in 2:22:24 – a remarkable result for a debutante. However, that was just the beginning of a marathon



career that lasted until 1988. He ran in 51 races, attaining a personal best of 2:14:15.4 with his sixth-place finish in the 1974 Commonwealth Games in Christchurch.

Perhaps his most important race was held in Manchester in 1972, when he qualified for the British Olympic team as he took third place.

In Munich, he then never left the side of the 1969 European champion and winner of the 1970 Commonwealth Games, Dr. Ron Hill, who had actually been thought capable of taking Olympic gold. Yet, he only finished sixth, and Don – with his typical modesty – let the favourite go first at the finish.

Don taught German at Madras College in St. Andrews for 25 years. He also spoke French and occasionally worked as a tour group guide. He trained middle- and long-distance runners and was involved in local politics as a Liberal Democrat councillor on the North-East Fife District Council for 20 years.

Don was known for his gentle humour and self-irony. He wrote dream-like poems and penned several books, including an autobiography in 2010 entitled *Running My Life*. A lovable, always reliable friend, and a colleague who should not be forgotten. (VK)

Nina Antonovna Bocharova (URS), *24 September 1924 in Suprunivka/UKR; †31 August 2020 in Rome/ITA. The Ukrainian studied at the Pedagogical University in Kharkiv and belonged to the Budivelnik/Stroitel Kiev "builders" club. At the Soviet championships in 1949, she won the all-around event as well as on the balance beam. In 1951, she reached the titles on uneven bars and the balance beam. She made her first international appearance in 1951 at the World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin.

At the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952, she won gold with the USSR team as well as on the balance beam and silver in the all-around event behind her teammate Maria Gorochovskya (1921–2001) as well as in the team exercise with hand apparatus event. After the 1954 World Championships in Rome, where she earned the title with the team, she resigned and worked as a gymnastics coach. When the 2004 Olympic Torch Relay reached Kiev, she was the first torchbearer. (VK)

Noël Vandernotte (FRA), *25 December 1923 in Anglet; †19 June 2020 in Beaucaire. "Nono", as Vandernotte was called, was the youngest participant in the 1936 Games in Berlin. When he died at the age of 96, he was France's oldest Olympic medallist.

Vandernotte came from a rowing family from Nantes that managed to win 42 national titles between 1928 and 1962. His father, Henri Vandernotte (1899–1945), was several-time French champion, along with his brothers Fernand (1902–1990) and Marcel (1909–1993). Fernand and Marcel achieved international success when they took part in the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles in the coxless pairs.

Together with Marcel Cosmat and Marcel Chauvigné, the Vandernotte brothers also started in Lucerne in 1934, where they became vice European champions in the fours.

This same crew won Olympic bronze in Berlin in 1936. Since Noël, then 12 years and 233 days old, weighed in at only 42 kg, the boat had to be further weighed down with an eight-kilo sandbag. He won a second bronze medal in an hour and a half in a pair rowed by Georges Tapie and Marceau Fourcade.



During the Second World War, a now adult Noël joined the Resistance, during which time his German Olympic ID, which he showed to the occupiers during controls, served him well. His father, who had helped Allied airmen who had crashed to reach the unoccupied zone in southern France, was arrested in the summer of 1943 and deported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. After the liberation, he was awarded the order of the Knight of the Legion of Honour, an honour that was also bestowed on his son in 2015. (VK)

Marlene Ahrens Osterdag (CHI), *27 July 1933 in Concepción; †17 June 2020 in Santiago. The only Chilean woman to win an Olympic medal was the daughter of German immigrants. Her father, Hermann Ahrens, came from Hamburg and went to Chile in 1913 at the age of 23. When an earthquake destroyed his new home in the Región del Bío-Bío in January of 1939, he moved to the Aconcagua Valley, where he and his family made a living from growing apples.

As a schoolgirl, Marlene was sent to live with relatives in the garden city of Jardín, where she played hockey and volleyball. In 1953, she

married Jorge Ebersperger, who was 15 years elder and who discovered her talent for throwing. When she gave birth to her daughter Karin that same year, she received a Held metal javelin as a gift from her husband and her father, with which she came in second in the 1954 South American Championships.

At the Olympic Games in 1956, Ahrens was the only female participant in her team and also the only woman to carry the flag of her country at the opening ceremony. She came to Melbourne as 19th in the annual world rankings and with the South American record of 48.73 m, which she improved on there, achieving 50.38 m. In doing so, she won the silver medal behind the Latvian medical student Inese Jaunzeme (1932–2011), who became Olympic champion with 53.86 m.

Ahrens won the Pan American Games twice (in 1959 and 1963) and the South American Games four times (1956–1963). At the Olympic Games in Rome in 1960, she came in 11th. Whether or not she would even start was in question for quite some time, as the Valdivia earthquake on 22 June 1960 had devastated large parts of Chile. A small delegation was able to travel when the NOCs of Italy and France assumed the costs. She was prevented from participating in the 1964 Games in Tokyo by the then president of the Chilean NOC, whom she had accused of sexual assault.



Angry about her unjustified suspension, she traded in her javelin for a tennis racket at age 32. In 1967, she became national champion in the mixed doubles and number one in the national rankings. After she had to end her tennis career due to a knee injury, she discovered dressage in 1979. At the age of 62, she represented Chile at the 1995 Pan American Games in Mar del Plata. (VK)

Dieter Krause (GDR), *18 January 1936 in Brandenburg; †10 August 2020 in Bad Saarow. Krause studied at Leipzig Sports University (DHfK), where he also began his career as a competitive athlete. Between 1955 and 1965, he was East German champion in canoe racing 23 times. After becoming European champion in the K4 in 1959, he achieved his greatest success at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome in the common German 4x500 m kayak relay, taking the gold medal. He was world and European champion in the K4 twice – in 1961 and in 1963.

After his resignation, Krause dabbled in sports journalism from 1966. He later worked as a canoe coach and sports methodologist. In 1989/90, he was the last General Secretary of the GDR Cycling Association. (VK)

Olga Tass (HUN), *29 March 1929 in Pécs; †10 July 2020 in Budapest. Olga Tass took up gymnastics in 1941, but had to wait until the end of the Second World War to begin her international career. She made her debut for Hungary at the 1948 Olympics, where she won silver in the team all-around, the first of six medals she earned at the Games.

She repeated her silver in the all-around in 1952 and 1956, and also took bronze in the team portable apparatus in 1952, and gold in that event and bronze in the horse vault in 1956. She also competed at the 1960 Rome Olympics, but did not medal.

She won gold in the team portable apparatus and silver in the team all-around at the 1954 World Champion-

ships. She also competed at the 1958 World Championships, as well as the 1957 and 1959 European Championships, without medalling.

During her career, Olga Tass married water polo player and 1952 Olympic champion Dezső Lemhényi (1917–2003). After her retirement from active competition following the Rome Olympics, she had a lengthy career as a gymnastics trainer and coach, including a stint as the head of the French national gymnastics team during the 1960s. (RL)



Dr. William Albert "Bill" Yorzyk (USA), *29 May 1933 in Northampton, Massachusetts; †2 September 2020 in East Brookfield, Massachusetts. Yorzyk was the first Olympic champion in the butterfly event, setting a world record in the heats and final of the 200 m butterfly at Melbourne in 1956.

He was a fine all-round swimmer and won AAU titles in the butterfly and individual medley, as well as a gold medal in the 4x200 m freestyle relay (with Jimmy McLane, Wayne Moore, and the non-Olympian Martin P. Smith) and a silver medal in 200 m butterfly at the 1955 Pan American Games.

After graduating from Springfield College, Yorzyk attended medical school at the University of Toronto and in 1958 and 1959 won the university's Bickler Prize as the top scholar-athlete. He became an anaesthesiologist, later serving as a captain in the US Air Force medical corps and as an associate physician

to the US Olympic team in 1964. Yorzyk was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame in 1971. (BM/WR)

Jan Kowalczyk (POL), *18 December 1941 in Drogomyśl; †24 February 2020 in Warsaw. Kowalczyk competed in three Olympics (1968, 1972, 1980) in equestrian team jumping, but his finest Olympic hour came in 1980 at Moscow when he won gold in individual show jumping, aboard *Artemor*.

Kowalczyk began riding horses as a youth with LSZ Drogomyśl, although he later wore the colours of Cwału Poznań and then Legia Warszawa. Kowalczyk worked in the 1960s as a miner, and then did his mandatory military service before returning to the jumping arena.

He was fortunate to compete in 1980 at Moscow, as he had fallen off his horse a few weeks before and broke his collarbone. He was able to ride by changing from the tailcoat to his standard military uniform which was allowed, and that seemed to calm down *Artemor*. (BM)

Dr. György Kárpáti (HUN), *23 June 1935 in Budapest; †17 June 2020 in Budapest. Kárpáti tried many sports, including diving and two years playing football, before choosing swimming. He finally opted for water polo, and despite not being a classic player, compensated with great skill and speed. To the surprise of many, the national team head coach Béla Rajki, invited Kárpáti onto the squad at just 16 years of age. A year later, in 1952, he was a member of the Hungarian team that won the Olympic gold medal. As of 2020 he remained the youngest male Olympic water polo champion.

Kárpáti was a gold medallist again at the 1954 European Championships in Turin, and, despite the turbulent political situation in Hungary at the time, his country successfully defended its Olympic title in Melbourne. After the 1956 Games, he

was one of the Hungarian athletes invited by *Sports Illustrated* to take part in a demonstration tour in the United States. Unlike many of his teammates, he returned to Hungary.

He also won a gold medal at the European Championships of 1958 and 1962, and finished third with the national team at the 1960 Olympics in Rome. In 1964, he won their third Olympic gold medal. Between 1952 and 1969 he played in a total of 165 games for the national team.

Although he had a degree in law, Kárpáti never entered the legal profession. He also received a coaching degree in 1964. At the peak of his career, he was assistant coach to Dezső Gyarmati at the men's national team between 1970–80. Their greatest success was the 1976 Olympics when they won their fourth gold together. Kárpáti worked abroad as well, coaching the Victoria State team in Australia from 1988–91, with whom he won the championship. (RL)

Aleksander Ivanitsky (URS), *8 October 1937 in Yarovo /UKR; †22 July 2020 in Veyna River, Moscow Oblast. Ivanitsky was born in Ukraine, but grew up in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), where his family had fled during Second World War. He took up wrestling in 1954 and was selected for the Soviet team in 1961.

Ivanitsky, who competed exclusively in the freestyle heavyweight class, made his international debut at the 1962 World Championships, where he won a gold medal and was undefeated for the next four years until another great Soviet freestyle wrestler, Aleksandr Medved, moved up to the heavyweight division. Ivanitsky won Olympic gold in 1964 and, in addition to his 1962 World title, also won the titles in 1963 and 1965–66. Domestically, Ivanitsky earned two Soviet titles (1964, 1965), four silver medals (1960, 1962, 1963, 1966), and one bronze (1961).

After finishing his sporting career, Ivanitsky worked as a sports



journalist. From 1973–91 he was chief sports editor for the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio (Gosteleradio) that operated all the Soviet radio and TV stations.

He was also the main organiser of the broadcasts for the 1980 Olympics. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the shutdown of Gosteleradio, he moved to the newly created TV channel RTR, where he served as chief sports editor. He also wrote books and TV documentary scripts about sports and worked as a journalism lecturer with Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Ivanitsky died while swimming in the Veyna River in Moscow Oblast. (TK)

Tibor Benedek (HUN), *12 July 1972 in Budapest; †18 June 2020 in Budapest. Benedek hailed from an acting family. Due to spinal problems as a child, he started swimming, but soon switched to water polo. At the age of 20, he participated in the Barcelona Olympics and became the tournament's top scorer with 22 goals. With his club side, Újpest, Benedek won four national championship titles, the LEN Cup in 1993, and the Champions League a year later. Although the Hungarian team missed a medal at the Atlanta Olympics, Benedek was again the tournament's top scorer. After the Games, he moved to Italy and spent five years with AS Roma and a further three years with Pro Recco.

Benedek won a World Championship silver medal in 1998, followed by gold at the 2000 Games, when Hungary became Olympic champions for the first time in 24 years. In 2002 and 2003 the team won both the World League and the World

Championships and, in 2004, they defended their Olympic title at Athens. Benedek also became Olympic champion for a third time in 2008 in Beijing.

After the Olympics he retired from the national team and started to work as an assistant coach with the national team. In 2013, he was appointed head coach. After finishing fifth at the 2016 Olympics, he left his position and joined the presidency of the Hungarian Water Polo Association. (RL)

Finn Christian Jagge (NOR), *4 April 1966 in Oslo; †8 July 2020 in Oslo. Jagge was brought up in a highly competitive sports family. His father, Finn Dag Jagge, garnered 42 Norwegian championship wins in tennis from 1955–68, a record for a Norwegian tennis player. His mother Liv Jagge-Christiansen was an Olympian in alpine skiing in 1960 and 1964. Together the husband and wife won the Norwegian championships in mixed doubles tennis in 1968.

Finn Christian Jagge earned his first of eight national titles in Alpine skiing when he won the slalom event in 1985, aged 18. He qualified for the 1988 Olympics where he competed in every Alpine skiing event with little success. After that he specialised in slalom, which resulted in Olympic gold in 1992, sixth place in 1994 and seventh place in 1998.

He won seven World Cup competitions in slalom in the period 1992–2000. He ended his skiing career after the 1999/2000 season. He later settled in Oslo, working as a Director of Business Development for a Norwegian mobile telephone company. (OM)

John Lysak (USA), *16 August 1914 in Bound Brook, New Jersey; †8 January 2020 in Fremont, California. John Lysak was born in New Jersey. When his mother died during the 1918 flu pandemic, his father sent him and his brother, Steve, to an orphanage because he was unable to raise the



children by himself. The brothers began rowing in the Hudson River with homemade boats. After the 1936 Olympics, where Lysak (photo right) finished seventh in the folding kayak doubles over 10,000 m, he graduated from Springfield College where he met his wife, June.

During this time, he suffered serious injuries after being hit by a car. He had his arm torn seriously by the hood ornament, and was told he would never be able to use his hand again, but eventually recovered after teaching himself to use a small ball to regain mobility in his hand.

Lysak served with the Marines in Second World War, but later became

a painting contractor in the San Francisco area. While at that job, he was working on a roof and fell 3.60 m onto a cement driveway. Lysak crushed his feet and was told he would never walk, but after many operations and a year spent in rehab, he taught himself to walk again.

Lysak died at the age of 105 years, 145 days, making him the second oldest Olympian living ever. The oldest living Olympian was US pistol shooter Walter Walsh (*JOH*, vol. 22, no. 2/2013, p. 69). Lysak had become the oldest living Olympian following the passing of 1936 hurdle runner, Simone Schaller, on 20 October 2016. (*PT*)

Ben Jipcho (KEN), *1 March 1943 in Chepchabai; †24 July 2020 in Eldoret. Jipcho was a Kenyan middle-distance runner who competed at the 1968 and 1972 Olympics. With a reputation of being one of the foremost “rabbits” on the track, his selflessness was best displayed in his efforts in the 1500 m at Mexico City 1968. Despite the fact that he could have run to win the race, he ran a blistering 56-second first 400 m as a rabbit for his teammate Kip Keino, negating the finishing kick of the US favourite Jim Ryun, and capturing the gold medal, with Ryun in second.

At Munich 1972, Jipcho’s steeplechase silver medal saw him follow his countryman Keino across the line. His greatest results came from the 1974 Commonwealth Games in New Zealand, where he won gold medals in the 3000 m steeplechase and 5000 m, and bronze in the 1500 m. During his career he set three world records in the steeplechase and won two gold medals at the 1974 All-Africa Games (3000 m steeplechase, 5000 m).

IOC Honorary Members passed away

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) mourns the deaths of Honorary Members. As a mark of respect, the Olympic flag was set at half-mast at Olympic House.

The Venezuelan **Flor Isava Fonseca**, who died on 25 July 2020 at the age of 99 in Caracas, was a pioneer in the promotion of gender equality in sport and one of the first two women elect as IOC Member in 1981. She also was the first female member of the IOC Executive Board (1990–94).

Born in Caracas in 1921, she studied in France and Belgium and worked as journalist and author. She was a national champion in equestrian and tennis, and won a silver medal in the latter at the Central American and Caribbean Games in 1946. She was President of the Sports Confederation of Venezuela from 1977 to 1981, and a sports advisor to the President of the Republic from 1989 to 1995.

At the age of 97, **Dr. Günther Heinze** died on 4 October 2020 in Berlin. He was President of the NOC of the German

Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1990, Vice-President from 1955 to 1972 as well from 1982 to 1989, and Secretary General from 1973 to 1982.

Thomas Bach recognised him as a very engaged IOC Member for many years. “Up to his death he followed developments in the Olympic Movement in a very interested and positive way. It was widely appreciated how he paved the way for the reorganisation of sport in Germany after the reunification in 1990 by offering his resignation as an IOC Member.”

Lee Kun-hee, Chairman of South Korea's largest conglomerate, Samsung Group, has died aged 78 on 25 October in Seoul. He was elected as an IOC Member in 1996 and became Honorary Member in 2017.

IOC President Bach said: Lee Kun-hee made a great contribution to the Olympic Movement and the success of the Olympic Games by not only making Samsung a TOP Partner of the IOC, but also by promoting the Olympic Games world and by forstering the bond between sport and culture. (*IOC/JOH*)

Jipcho was discovered by Keino who brought him from the Sabao people of Mount Elgon district to Kiganjo. Together they refined their talent and teamwork, which became the foundation of both their own success and that of Kenya, as they put their country on the world map in distance running. Jipcho later spent a few years running as a professional with the short-lived International Track Association. (BM)

Dr. Wilbert "Skeeter" McClure (USA), *29 October 1938 in Toledo, Ohio; †7 August 2020. The light middleweight boxer had won the 1959 Pan American Games gold medal as well as the 1959 and 1960 National AAU championships by the time he went to Rome in 1960. At the Olympics he won four straight decisions but was never seriously challenged. In the final he defeated the Italian Carmelo Bossi on points.

McClure turned professional shortly after his Olympic victory. He fought for seven years as a pro, compiling a lifetime record of 24 wins, 8 losses and 1 draw. Wilbert McClure always stood on the edge of greatness as a pro. Several times he had fights which, had he won, probably would have brought him a title shot, but he could never quite break through. Among these were two losses by decision in late 1963 to recently dethroned middleweight champion, Luis Rodríguez; a loss in May 1964 to future lightweight champion (and former Olympian), José Torres; and a loss and a draw in early 1966 to ill-fated middleweight contender, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter.

After earning degrees in literature and philosophy from the University of Toledo (1961), and a PhD in psychology from Wayne State (1973), McClure became a professor at Northeastern University and Bentley College and ran his own consulting firm, also serving a term as chairman of the Massachusetts State Boxing Commission. (BM)

Charles Moore (USA), *12 August 1929 in Coatesville, PA; †8 October 2020 in Laporte, PA. As a high hurdler, Charles "Crip" Moore, Sr. went to Paris in 1924 as an alternate on the Olympic team. In 1952, 28 years later, his son, Charlie Moore, Jr. enjoyed far greater success at the Olympics when he won the 400 m hurdles and ran a 46.3 relay leg for the team that took the silver medals behind Jamaica.

After the 1952 Olympics, at meets in London, he twice posted a world record for the 440 y hurdles within the space of five days, leaving it at 51.6. Moore finished second in the balloting for the Sullivan Award in 1952. He was world ranked no. 1 in the 400 m hurdles in 1949, 1951, and 1952, and was in the top 10 of the open 400 three times, ranking fifth in 1949 and 1951.



Moore went into the business world and became managing director of Peers & Co., an investment banking firm, and was then CEO of Peers Management Resources, in management consulting. He then served as vice-president of Advisory Capital Partners, an investment advising company. He was athletic director at Cornell from 1994-99 and served as president of the Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletics of America (IC4A) starting in 1999. Later he was Chairman of the Institute for Sustainable Value Creation, serving as executive director of the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy (CECP) from the organisation's

founding in 1999 through 2013. In 2008, CR (Corporate Responsibility) Magazine recognized him as the Non-Profit & NGO CEO of the Year and gave him its Lifetime Achievement in Philanthropy award in 2013. (BM/WR)

Sonja Edström (SWE), *18 November 1930 in Luleå; †15 October 2020 in Luleå. Sonja Edström-Ruthström belonged to the elite cross country skiers of the late 1950s and early 1960s. She took part in the first ever women's Olympic event in cross-country skiing at Oslo in 1952. In 1956 at Cortina d'Ampezzo she took bronze medals in both ladies events, the individual 10 km as well as the 3x5 km relay.

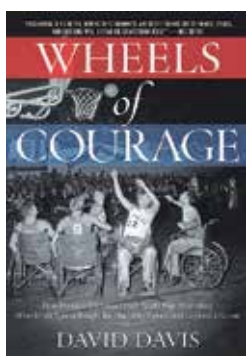
Sonja Edström also ran the third leg with the Swedish relay team that won Olympic gold in 1960 in Squaw Valley together with Irma Johansson and Britt Strandberg. She also won two 3x5 km bronze medals at the Nordic World Ski Championships in 1954 and 1958. One of her biggest individual successes was victory in the 10 km at the 1956 Holmenkollen Ski Festival. Between 1953 and 1960, she won a total of 12 individual Swedish championships and three in the relay, achieved three victories in the Swedish Ski Games in Falun and one in the Lahti Games.

When Sonja Edström was six years old, her mother fell seriously ill and her father was left alone with six young children. When she was 14, she began working as a maid. Two years later she got a job washing empty bottles at the Luleå Brewery. For more than 30 years she worked at the hospital in Luleå as a nursing assistant. She started competing as Edström-Ruthström in 1960. (OM)

BM = Bill Mallon, OM = OlyMADMen, PT = Paul Tchir, RL = Rudolf Laky, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt

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

BOOK REVIEWS



David Davis

Wheels of Courage: How Paralyzed Veterans from World War II Invented Wheelchair Sports, Fought for Disability Rights, and Inspired a Nation

Nashville, TN: Hachette Book Group, 2020

US\$28.00, 401 pages, ISBN: 978-1-5460-8464-8

(hardcover), 978-1-5460-8462-4 (eBook US\$14.99)

Reviewed by Bill Mallon

David Davis has written a book that will be of interest to members of ISOH and Olympic historians, especially those with an interest in the Paralympics. It should also be of interest to all readers with an interest in people with disabilities and disability rights.

When David contacted me about the book I thought it sounded like a history of the Paralympics and their predecessor, the Stoke Mandeville Games. To a degree, that is true, but it is so much more than that. Davis tells the story basically via the founding of wheelchair basketball in the United States by returning World War II veterans who had been paralysed or otherwise rendered incapable of walking by the horrors of war.

Davis focuses especially on three returning American veterans – Johnny Winterholler, Stan Den Adel, and Gene Fesenmeyer. The three were all paralysed by various war wounds and their rehabilitation began in California, led by some remarkable doctors who focused on the rehabilitation of severely injured veterans to return them to mainstream society.

In my day job I am an orthopaedic surgeon, but I learned a lot from this book. Prior to World War II, paralysed veterans had almost a 70% mortality rate in the year or two after their injury, but the rehabilitation pioneered and described in this book lowered that to about 10%, both things I never knew. It has been said that the history of surgery can be told by the history of the treatment of war wounds, and this book is further evidence of that.

As a physician, when I read books by lay authors that have a lot of medicine in them, I am often highly critical because they usually contain so many errors. Not so in this book. David has done an exemplary job in getting the medical aspects of the injuries and the treatments correct, and I had almost nothing to criticise in that regard.

Winterholler, Den Adel, and Fesenmeyer had all been good athletes prior to the war, and their rehabilitation focused especially on allowing them to play wheelchair basketball, a sport that basically did not exist before. This helped their physical conditioning but also their self-esteem and made them feel like they could function in society. Davis goes on to describe how wheelchair basketball spread to other parts of the United States, notably my hometown of Framingham, Massachusetts, and around New York City. In those sites, other rehab physicians helped veterans in similar ways and wheelchair basketball eventually started small leagues and touring teams where many of the veterans played each other, but also, often played against able-bodied athletes who played in wheelchairs. That usually did not turn out well for the able-bodied athletes.

All of this did not take place solely in the United States and midway through the book, Davis brings up Ludwig Guttmann and his rehabilitation hospital that he started at Stoke Mandeville, Buckinghamshire, England. Guttmann is considered the

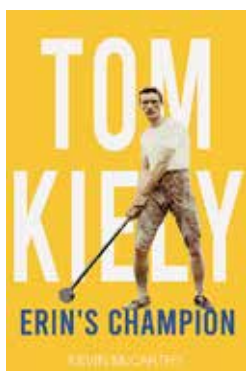
father of the Paralympics, because he started the Stoke Mandeville Games in 1948. The first edition had only one sport, archery, and less than 20 athletes, all from England, but the Games quickly expanded. They later added wheelchair netball, a sport with many similarities to basketball.

The Stoke Mandeville Games would morph into the Paralympics by the time of the 1960 Olympic Games. This is described in the middle of the book and the troubles Guttmann had in getting those Games established, although he eventually succeeded.

There is a lot more in this book. You will learn about disability rights, and how wheelchair-bound veterans in the 1940s and 1950s struggled with few accommodations to allow them the ability to manoeuvre in public. You will learn how various veterans and disabled persons organisations were founded, and newsletters and magazines focused on their stories – all information I never knew. You will learn how many of these veterans and doctors became voices for the disabled and pushed through, in the United States, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990, signed by President George H. W. Bush, which has helped disabled persons the ability to function in society to a degree they never could before.

If I had any criticisms of the book, as an Olympic historian, I guess I would say that I was looking for a bit more on the Stoke Mandeville Games and the Paralympics. But the overall story is so well told and the background to them is fascinating, filled with information that was all new to me. Though Davis does have a few chapters on the Paralympics in the middle of the book, the early part is about wheelchair basketball and sport and its origins, and the end of the book is more about society mainstreaming disabled persons.

In all, I found this a wonderful book. I learned a lot, which surprised me as an Olympic historian and a physician. I highly recommend it.



Kevin McCarthy

Tom Kiely: Erin's Champion

Cork, Ireland: Mercier Press, 2020

€16.99, 288 pages, ISBN: 978178117112

Reviewed by Bill Mallon

Kevin McCarthy is known as a historian of Irish Olympians, notably by his previous work – *Gold, Silver, and Green: The Irish Olympic Journey 1896–1924*, which won the Karl Lennartz Award from ISOH in 2010. He now gives us a biography of Ireland's greatest champion of the 19th century, Tom Kiely.

Kiely's exploits carried over into the 20th century, highlighted by his winning the All-Around Championship at the 1904 St. Louis Olympics – more on that in a moment. The all-around was an early forerunner of the decathlon as a multi-event, which was first popular in Ireland, and Kiely was the greatest Irish all-around athlete in the 1890s.

He was quite a bit more than that. He was also one of Ireland's greatest weight throwers, which was saying something in that era, as they gave us John Flanagan, Jim Mitchel, Paddy Ryan, and Pat McDonald. Kiely was also a top high hurdler and long jumper and often competed in, and won, five to seven events at an athletic meet.

McCarthy's biography tells the story of Kiely's athletic feats in Ireland and is quite detailed in giving us the results of the many meets he won and the records he set. It is capped off with appendices

which contain summaries of his medals and records, although there is much more to tell.

Kiely was born to a farming family in Ballyneal, a small village near Carrick-on-Suir in County Tipperary. He was one of nine surviving children, of whom five sisters became nuns and entered convents. He had two brothers who were also good athletes, Willie and Laurie, and Laurie Kiely would also compete at the Olympics, in 1908 at London in the high hurdles, though without distinction. There is no doubt that Tom was the best of the athletic bunch, but it was never something that pleased his father, who did not like Tom leaving farm chores to compete in athletic competition.

Kiely made two trips to the United States. The first was to compete at the Olympics at St. Louis in 1904, while the second was in 1906, when he returned to compete in the AAU All-Around Championship, which he won at Boston, defeating Ellery Clark easily, and Kiely had few good words to say about Clark, which seemed a common sentiment among athletes of that era.

The last chapter of the book deals in some detail with the controversies surrounding Kiely's efforts in St. Louis in 1904, some of which have been discussed in the pages of *Journal of Olympic History*. Not everyone considers Kiely's all-around championship to have been an Olympic event. The well-known decathlon expert Frank Zarnowski has specifically said it was not, using his favourite catchphrase, "make no mistake", to put down anyone disagreeing with him, which includes me.

McCarthy goes deep into this controversy with multiple sources, and probably ends the argument with pictures of the medal Kiely won and the trophy he was given, both of which have the term "Olympic Games" on them, although technically, it is at the top of the ribbon above the medal.

The other controversy deals with whether Kiely competed for Great Britain or Ireland in St. Louis. He paid his own way, as did the other two Irish athletes at the 1904 Olympics, John Holloway and John Daly, and he often said he was not representing the Amateur Athletic Association, the British governing body of athletics.

The problem is that Ireland was not an independent nation in 1904 as it was part of the United Kingdom, or Great Britain, whichever you prefer. McCarthy accepts this but also notes that there were multiple exceptions in that era at the Olympics, especially Bohemia competing in 1908 and 1912 when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Finland competing in 1912, when it was a part of Russia.

It's a controversy where both sides can make cogent arguments and there is probably no absolutely correct answer. If it was me, I would vote for Kiely representing Ireland, but a disclaimer here is in order. Mallon was originally O'Meachlain, and my family came from the Auld Sod, specifically Country Tyrone, so I am a bit biased.

McCarthy also deals with Kiely's later life, when he apparently became a very successful farmer, buying multiple farms and lots. He married Mary O'Donnell and they would eventually have ten children, although only eight survived childhood, and two others also died young, as was common in that era. As befitting a great champion, Kiely was often present at athletic meets in his later years, carrying in the Irish flag at the 1924 Tailteann Games, the first of the modern era, and frequently serving as a judge and official at meets and also hurling and Gaelic football matches. Kiely died in 1951 in Carrick-on-Suir, with his wife, Mary, surviving him.

This is a well-told story of a great Olympian and Ireland's greatest all-around athlete, and one which has needed to be told in full for many years. Kudos to Kevin for this effort.



Marian Rijk

Vergeten goud (Forgotten Gold)

Het leven van olympisch kampioene

Rie Mastenbroek

Ambo/Anthos, Amsterdam, 2020

€21.99, 222 pages, ISBN: 9789026351105, in Dutch

Reviewed by Ruud Paauw

With her three gold medals and one silver captured at the 1936 Olympic Games, Rie Mastenbroek was the most successful Dutch swimmer of the 20th century. At last there is now a biography of this remarkable woman, well-written by journalist and writer, Marian Rijk. As for so many Dutch today, Mastenbroek was previously unknown to Rijk. In a book by the German writer Oliver Hilmes, Rijk found her name by chance, linked to Jesse Owens. Owens she knew, but who was Hendrika Wilhelmina Mastenbroek? This sparked the start of a very thorough research process, resulting in this publication.

Forgotten Gold does not provide spectacular facts or new points of view. Mastenbroek died in 2003 and the former ISOH Secretary-General, the late Tony Bijkerk, wrote an excellent obituary for the *Journal*, which laid out the essential aspects of her career. But what makes Rijk's biography both interesting and pleasant reading is that it places the swimmer in the spirit of the times, the depression of the 1930s, the war years, and the difficult period after the liberation.

Rieki, as she was called in her youth, was born out of wedlock

in 1919. Her mother Mien, from a working-class family, was only 18, and tried to earn a living as a cleaner in a school. Their social conditions were rather poor. But that did not harm Rieki: she was a child full of life who loved to be in the swimming pool. There was no money for swim lessons but she learned to swim by watching other girls – she never got an official swim certificate!

At the time she lived in Rotterdam and there was only one rather small indoor pool. The famous coach, Maria Johanna "Ma" Braun, trained her pupils there in winter. She was an authoritarian with a stentorian voice, and the mother and coach of Zus Braun, the 1928 Olympic backstroke champion. Rie, a little rascal, had the habit of swimming under one of Ma Braun's pupils and then pulling her down. Ma Braun did not approve at all and harshly reprimanded her. But she also asked Rie to show how well she could swim herself. With her sharp eyes, the coach immediately recognised Rie's talent. She took her under her wing, even arranging for Rie to have free entrance to the pool.

This dramatically changed the life of young Rie. She made tremendous progress. In four years' time, Rie was an international star. At the age of 15, she won three titles at the 1934 European Championships in Magdeburg, Germany: 100 m backstroke, 400 m and 4 x 100 m freestyle. In the 100 m freestyle she was beaten by her great Dutch rival, Willy den Ouden, double silver medal winner at the 1932 Olympics. Ma Braun dominated Rie's life: even going to the cinema required that she ask her permission.

Throughout her life, Rie had weight problems. At age 13, she weighed 76 kg! In response, Ma Braun put her on a strict diet. At the 1936 Olympics she was back to 63 kg, trim and fit. Her programme in Berlin was very strenuous: 11 starts in five days. Her first final was the 100 m freestyle. She never was a fast starter

and at the turn she was only fourth. But her last 25 m were so much faster than the others that she finished with a clear margin.

In the 100 m backstroke, her compatriot Nida Senff was the favourite, but she missed the turn and had to go back to avoid disqualification. This should have given the victory to Rie, but she got into trouble with the ropes. Senff swam a fantastic second 50 m and finished first to everybody's surprise. For Rie, it was the silver medal.

She also swam the last leg in the relay, and was in a winning position, when at 10 m for the finish, she swallowed water and almost choked. She only just saved the gold medal for the Dutch team.

In the run-up to the Games, Rie had lost a few times to the young Danish swimmer, Ragnhild Hveger. In the final of the 400 m they met again. At the direction of Ma Braun, Rie swam a tactical race. She stayed with Hveger all the way, to pass her in the last 50 m. And so it happened: three gold and one silver; only Jesse Owens did better in Berlin.

Back in Rotterdam, Rie was the central figure of an endless series of festivities and celebrations. Moreover, the KNZB (the Dutch Swimming Association) used her for propaganda purposes. It went on for weeks and it exhausted Rie. Her mother had no clue how to deal with it, but Ma Braun came up with a solution: she took Rie into her home so she could control her agenda.

She had done this earlier with Mietje Baron (world record holder 200 m breaststroke, silver at the 1928 Olympics) and with success. Had Ma Braun left it to this, things might have gone smoothly. But she crossed a line: after some time she started proceedings to become Rie's legal guardian. The court rejected the claim: there was nothing wrong with Rie's mother. The painful affair led to a lasting rupture between swimmer and coach. Rie tried working with another coach but the ambition

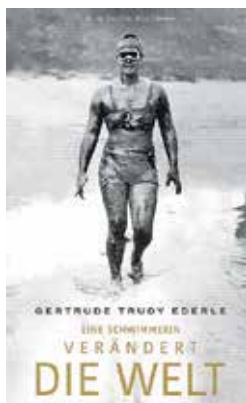
was no longer there, and at age 18, her swimming career was over. She took a job as a swimming instructor though she had no experience in teaching; it made her a professional according to the rules in those days.

In 1939 Rie married an airport operator, going on to have two children. In the last years of the Second World War her husband went into hiding to escape the *Arbeitseinsatz* (forced labour) in Germany, and she could see him only a few times. After the liberation in 1945, the marriage did not endure.

Rie moved to Amsterdam with her children and worked very hard in various jobs to earn a living. Life was never easy. After all that had happened in the Netherlands between 1940 and 1945, the Berlin Games were now seen in a different light; it was no longer an honour to have participated in them. Rie's name and her gold medals fell into oblivion. Now and then, in an Olympic year, she was interviewed but, according to Rie, the media were mainly interested in just one question: How was it to swim for Hitler?

Abroad they did not forget her. She was inducted in the International Swimming Hall of Fame in Fort Lauderdale, was invited to attend the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, and the IOC honoured her with the Olympic Order. In 1986 she was a guest of honour at a reunion of German medal winners at the 1936 Games. On this occasion Willi Daume, president of the West German Olympic Committee, referred to her during a speech as "the Empress of Berlin". The standing ovation she received from her fellow Olympians brought tears in her eyes.

In the 1990s her health deteriorated: she had diabetes and suffered from rheumatism. In a matter of a few years she broke both her hips. Remarried in 1975, she lost her second husband to Alzheimer's disease. Rie Mastenbroek died in 2003, 84 years old.



Anne-Kathrin Kilg-Meyer

Gertrude Trudy Ederle.

Eine Schwimmerin verändert die Welt

[A Female Swimmer Changed the World]

Verlag Eriks Buchregal, Kellinghusen

16.90 EUR, 128 pages, ISBN: 978-3-9818798-3-4
in German

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

6 August 1926 has gone down in sporting history as a date to remember. On this day, American swimmer Gertrude Ederle, known as "Trudy", swam across the English Channel, a distance of 34 km. Thickly smeared with grease, she started from the beach at Cap Gris-Nez. She reached the English shore at Kingsdown after 14 hours and 32 minutes. Driven by the currents, she actually covered 56 km.

Ederle, who was born in New York in 1905 as one of six children of German immigrants, was not the first to swim the channel. That distinction belongs to the English Captain Matthew Webb. In 1875, he conquered the difficult waters in the opposite direction. But Ederle was the first woman, and she swam faster than the fastest man at the time. On the night of 11 to 12 August 1923, Enrico Tiraboschi of Argentina had set a record with 16 hours and 33 minutes.

The second man to swim the channel was Thomas William Burgess of Great Britain. He lived in Paris and had taken part in the 1900 Olympics. He made his channel crossing at the 16th time of asking in 1911, with a time

of 22 hours and 35 minutes. Fifteen years later, Burgess became Ederle's coach.

Ederle was the fourth person to swim the channel. She had not been the first woman to try. In 1905 Australian swimmer Annette Kellermann gave up the project in 1905 after three unsuccessful attempts. Her swimwear proved more spectacular than her attempts at crossing the channel. It earned her a career as a silent movie star in Hollywood.

Ederle was a well-known swimmer long before her channel swim. Between 1922 and 1923, she set no fewer than 11 world records. At the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris, she started as a world record holder in the 100 m and 400 m freestyle. They ended in disappointment after she "only" achieved bronze in both individual events. There was consolation of relay gold.

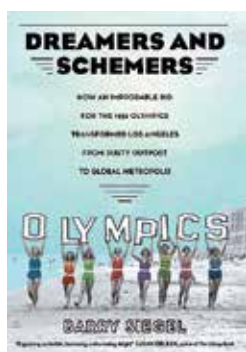
She was still an amateur swimmer when she started thinking about a new challenge. Encouraged by Charlotte "Eppie" Epstein, who had accompanied the US girls to Paris in 1924, she worked on a plan to increase the visibility of the Women's Swimming Association (WSA), which Epstein had founded. They decided on an attempt at crossing the channel, for which Ederle was systematically prepared with long-distance swimming training.

Accompanied by a convoy of newspaper reporters, she travelled to England in 1925 and entered the water in Dover. But the weather upset the schedule. It progressively worsened until, after hours of swimming, the crossing had to be abandoned.

In this biography, Anne-Kathrin Kilg-Meyer vividly describes how the battle with the waves became a success one year later. On 26 August 1926, Trudy Ederle was celebrated in her hometown by a confetti parade, and an estimated two million people who turned out to greet her. President Calvin Coolidge received her at the White House.

But her fame quickly faded. In the race for the best headlines, the newspapers quickly focused on the next generation of rising stars and Ederle's advertising contracts soon expired. She never had the idea of patenting the "bikini", which she had developed with her sister and then wore while crossing the channel. Instead, she pursued other ideals, as she wrote to me in 1969: "Naturally, as a Professional Swimmer my most heartfelt interest in life has always been to stimulate public enthusiasm in this beneficial sport, and, particularly to inspire and instruct YOUTH ... in Swimming!"

She also advised women worried about their figure: "Don't diet ... swim the channel". The letter from Trudy Ederle, who reached the age of 98, is published in this book that is well worth reading.



Barry Siegel

Dreamers and Schemers

University of California Press, 2019

US\$29.95 (hardcover), 24.95 (paperback)

256 pages, ISBN-10: 0520298586

ISBN-13: 978-0520298583

Reviewed by Harry Blutstein

It was a miracle when the Los Angeles Olympic Games opened in the Coliseum on 30 July 1932 to the cheers of 105,000 spectators.

There were many reasons why it could have been cancelled. And once the decision had been made to go ahead, circumstances conspired to push it toward failure. Yet

it was a stunning success, and in *Dreamers and Schemers*, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Barry Siegel describes how the organisers, particularly Billy Garland, were able to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles to stage one of the finest Games in Olympic history.

Garland had all the personal qualities needed to pull off this coup. Part hustler, he was able to excite the cautious burghers of Los Angeles with his dream. In wooing the IOC, Garland proved to be a natural diplomat, shamelessly flattering and charming its fusty aristocratic members, most from Europe, to embrace far away Los Angeles as host. Perhaps one of the oddest friendships developed between Baron de Coubertin and the brash American. And when it came to dealing with unsympathetic politicians, Garland's irrepressible enthusiasm, guile, and skill kept critics at bay.

It was not his love of the Olympics that drove Garland but his love for Los Angeles, and in particular its real estate, which had made him a wealthy man. His dream was to put the City of Angels on the map. In this way, he hoped to attract visitors and business to Los Angeles. For Garland, this would undoubtedly increase the demand for real estate and fortuitously increase Garland's wealth.

Garland's grand plan almost ran aground on the shoals of the Great Depression, which, by 1932, had unleashed its misery on the world. In the US the *New York Times* called for the Olympics to be called off, while protesters carried signs that read: "Groceries not Games". Even in Los Angeles his critics were calling the Games "Garland's folly".

Showing grit in the face of adversity, Garland refused to accept defeat, and came up with plans to keep his dream alive.

Costs of travel for overseas teams were reduced when he arranged cheap steamship and rail fares,

and the organising committee charged countries just US\$2 day to accommodate athletes in the newly-built Olympic Village, well below the actual cost.

At first, few countries accepted invitations to participate, but then a combination of nationalism and Olympic fever took over, and countries found ways to fund their teams. For example, the Brazilian team arrived in the US with 50,000 bags of coffee beans, which they sold to cover their expenses.

To fill the stands, Garland turned to Hollywood royalty, enlisting the help of Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. to spruik the Olympics, and Walt Disney produced a seven-minute cartoon called *Barnyard Olympics*, in which Mickey Mouse competes in a cross-country race.

The campaign worked, and over 16 days 1,247,580 people attended, a record, although understandably, the number of countries participating was low at 37, compared to 46 countries who turned up in Amsterdam for the 1928 Olympics.

At the end of the Games, Garland was able to boast: "In almost every part of the world, Los Angeles has been advertised."

Siegel argues that the Olympics helped transform Los Angeles from a dusty pueblo into a thriving metropolis. It also helped transform the Olympic Movement. For the first time it attracted a mass audience. It was the first Olympiad to provide accommodation for athletes. And it achieved what few Olympics, before or since, have been able to do: it made a profit of US\$1.25 million. Finally, it gave other American cities an appetite for bidding for future Games.

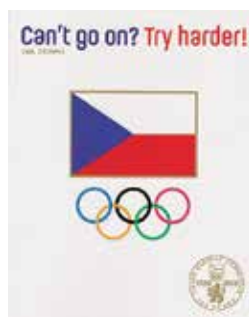
Siegel was lucky to have such a larger-than-life character as Billy Garland around which to base his story. Thoroughly researched and peppered with entertaining anecdotes, *Dreamers and Schemers* is an excellent account of how Los Angeles successfully bid for and

staged the 1932 Olympics. Siegel also makes a strong case that the Games helped put the city on the map.

Dreamers and Schemers however devotes only one chapter to the Games themselves, skipping quickly over notable events on and off the field. For example, the Japanese threatened to boycott when the IOC would not allow a team from Manchukuo, a puppet state Japan created after it occupied Manchuria. In response, China sent a single competitor, to make the point that it was the sole representative of all Chinese people, including the Chinese population of Manchuria.

During the Opening Ceremony, the Italian team gave the fascist salute as they marched around the stadium. And while prohibition was in place in the US, the government relaxed its rules, in the interests of international goodwill, which allowed French, Italian, and other athletes to import and drink wine.

With Los Angeles due to host the Summer Olympics again in 2028, for the third time, there is room for another book that gives the 1932 Olympic Games themselves the attention they deserve.



Michal Osaba / Milan Jaroš

Nemůžeš? Přeidej! / Can't go on? Try harder!

Prague: Universum, 2019, in Czech and English
449 Kč (US\$19.89), 184 pages, ISBN 9788076176188

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

"Can't go on? Try harder!" A saying typical of the "Prague locomotive", Emil Zátopek, this serves as the title for an attractive work published by

Tokyo 2020 – Moving in the Right Direction

Mario Capuano and Pasquale Polo have dubbed the eighth edition of the "lo colleziono" series *Verso Tokyo 2020* (Towards Tokyo 2020). Over 480 pages, a team of collectors documents all 33 sports and 339 medal events that are on the programme at the next Olympic Games. An interesting album with numerous philatelic objects and Olympic memorabilia.



Unione Italiana Collezionisti
Olimpiche Sportivi (UICOS)
Largo Lauro de Bosis 15
00135 Rome, Italy

the Czech NOC in 2019. There were two occasions for this: firstly, the 120th anniversary of the constitution of the committee in support of the participation of Bohemian athletes in the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris and, secondly, the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak NOC on 13 June 1919.

The book is divided into six eras: 1899–1918 (Bohemia as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire); 1918–1938 (the First Czechoslovak Republic); 1938–1948 (German occupation and the post-war period); 1948–1968 (communist takeover until the Prague Spring); 1968–1989 (Prague Spring until the "Velvet Revolution"), 1989–2019 (post-revolutionary era, separation into the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

What is particularly spectacular are the numerous photos from the early years that are closely associated with the names of Jiří Guth-Jarkovský and Josef Rössler-Ořovský. Guth, a headmaster, was one of the founding fathers of the IOC, of which he was a member until his death in 1943. Rössler-Ořovský was as multitalented an athlete as he was an organiser. It was a diplomatic feat to send Bohemian teams

to the Olympics of 1908 and 1912 despite resistance by the Viennese government.

The heyday of Czechoslovak sport began in the First Republic when the Sokol – the Czechoslovak gymnastics association – became a member of the NOC. The gymnasts also provided the first Olympic gold medal, which the 24-year-old Bedřich Šupčík won in 1924 in Paris for rope climbing. A year later, Prague was the site of the VIII Olympic Congress, at which Pierre de Coubertin bowed out as IOC President.

A photo of the 30,000 gymnasts who swore the oath to the Republic at the X All-Sokol Festival in Prague's Strahov Stadium in front of 100,000 spectators marks the beginning of the decade from 1938 to 1948. A few months later, Czechoslovakia was broken up. Hitler's troops occupied the so-called rump of Czech Republic, which was converted into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

One of the Olympic participants who joined the resistance was the 800 m runner, Evžen Rošický, who was arrested and executed after the attempted assassination of the Reich Protector, Reinhard Heydrich. One of the best Czech gymnasts,

Ladislav Vacha, who had won five Olympic medals, died as a result of Gestapo interrogations. One victim of the Holocaust was Oskar Hekš, who had finished eighth in the marathon in Los Angeles in 1932 and became spokesman for the Czechoslovak boycott movement against the Berlin Games in 1936. His life ended in the gas chambers at Auschwitz in 1944.

After the liberation and seizure of power by the Communist Party, Czechoslovak sport was organised based on the Soviet model. There was no place in this concept for the re-established Sokol. Nevertheless, these were "golden years", for which the Zátopeks, above all, were responsible. Dana won the javelin

in 1952, and Emil became Olympic champion four times, in 1948 and 1952. It remained for the gymnast Věra Čáslavská to top these results, with seven golds and four silvers between 1960 and 1968.

The brief Prague Spring, ended by Soviet tanks, was followed by a period of normalisation, but also stagnation. The ice hockey duels against the Soviet Union became more heated. Up until 1980 and 1988, the teams always returned with Olympic medals, but the Czechs had to wait until 1998 for their first Olympic victory.

At the end of 1989, Věra Čáslavská was one of the faces of the "Velvet Revolution". In April 1990, she was elected President of the "new"

NOC, though it lasted not even two years. After the Federal Republic, the Czech Republic and Slovakia were constituted as independent states with their own Olympic Committees in early 1993. Names and photos like those of the javelin throwers, Jan Železný and Barbara Špotáková, the speed skater Martina Sáblíková, the cross-country skier Kateřina Neumannová, and the alpine racer and snowboarder, Ester Ledecká, represent a new generation of a small country with great Olympic traditions.

In addition to the Czech edition of the book, there is also an English version being issued in a small print run, which is intended for representative purposes.

NEWS

IOC President Thomas Bach received the prestigious Seoul Peace Prize on 26 October 2020. He joined the ceremony virtually from Lausanne, with the award collected on his behalf by the former UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon. In particular, the Seoul Peace Prize Cultural Foundation highlighted three major achievements: contributing to peace through sport in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia; the creation of the Refugee Olympic Team and the Olympic Refugee Foundation; reforms of the IOC through Olympic Agenda 2020. The Seoul Peace Prize comes with a US\$200,000 prize which the President will donate to the Olympic Refugee Foundation and three other social charities. (IOC/JOH)

The 137th IOC Session will be held in Athens on 10–12 March 2021. It will be hosted by the Hellenic Olympic Committee, which will also celebrate the 125th anniversary of the 1896 Olympic Games next year. The Session will include the IOC presidential election in accordance with the IOC statutes. The term of office will begin on the day after the closing ceremony of the Tokyo Games. In an announcement made during the 136th Session, held virtually on 17 July, President Thomas Bach confirmed that he will seek a further four-year term. Other candidates must announce their intention to stand by 30 November 2020. The election of new members to the Executive Board will take place at the 138th Session, to be held in Tokyo. (IOC/JOH)

A sketch of an original design for the Olympic flag sold at auction for €234,950 on 26 July 2020 in Cannes, France. It was bought by a collector from Brazil. The graphite and watercolour drawing, measuring 21 x 27.5 cm, was expected to fetch between €80,000 and €100,000. Designed in 1913 by IOC founder Pierre de Coubertin, it was owned by Lucien Perrot of Lausanne, of whom little is known. The sheet bears a dedication by Pierre de Coubertin. Beyond that, however, there is no authentication that this really is the hitherto unknown original design. (JOH)

Doha is planning an Olympic bid for 2032. The Emirate of Qatar staged the 2019 World Athletics Championships and will also host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. (JOH)

At its meeting in Stockholm in 2017, the ISOH Executive Board decided to reduce administrative costs by decreasing the number of payment categories. The annual dues for ISOH membership are new:

Regular 1 year US\$ 35.00
Regular 5 years US\$ 145.00
Regular Life US\$ 400.00

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Receiving Bank Name: Chase Bank
Receiving Branch Address: 270 Park Ave., New York, NY 10017, USA
Receiving Bank Account Number: 935886908

For domestic wires between banks within the United States of America: ABA Routing/Transit Number: 021000021

For international wires to the United States of America from a bank in another country, also identify: SWIFT Code: CHASUS33