Welcome to the issue

Volker Kluge
EDITOR

It was obvious that the first edition of 2013 should be dedicated to that man who came into the world on New Year's Day 150 years ago: Pierre de Coubertin. He is not only the father of the Olympic Movement but also the most important witness to early Olympic history. For that reason the cover carries the highest distinction given by ISOH: the portrait bust created by sculptor Karlheinz Oswald.

Coubertin's contradictory nature is described by his fellow-countryman Thierry Terret in an essay. Karl Lennartz discusses the current state of Coubertin research, and Andreas Höfer has gone on the trail of the first monument, which was erected as early as 1938 in Baden-Baden.

It was Coubertin's ideals (and the practical organisational experiences of 1976) that were called upon by Mayor Jean Drapeau in his letter of reply to Canada's Prime Minister Joe Clark, when Clark asked him in January 1980 if it would be possible to transfer the Moscow Games, which were threatened by the boycott, to Montreal for a second time. An exclusive document, which not even the IOC knew about at the time, and to which Richard W. Pound has written an introduction.

What else do we offer? Jeffrey Segrave writes about the French author Henry de Montherlant and his relationship to Olympism. Geoffery Kohe remembers the New Zealand running legend Jack Lovelock. Pascal Charitas, who in 2009 received the Ian Buchanan Scholarship, describes the hard road that Black Africa had to cover before it found acceptance in the IOC. Ana Adi discusses the relations between the media and the Olympic Movement and how these relations found their outcome in the Olympic Charter.

The praise we have received from our readers for the last edition strengthens us in our efforts to publish especially, along with in-depth analyses, also shorter, entertaining articles. This time we again offer some "Short Stories" by Philip Barker, Ruud Paauw and myself. Besides those I present the Zoltán Halmay Olympia Club in Szombathely in Hungary, who invited me last December to visit them.

In our obituaries we commemorate honoured ISOH members and a series of Olympic champions and Olympic medallists who have left us in the last few months. With the publication of the biographies of IOC Members we have now reached the mid-Sixties, the last period when membership of the IOC was for life.

We hope again with this edition to offer an interesting mixture. Enjoy! ■

On the cover: The ISOH Award for the Lifetime Achievements of an Olympic historian, presented since 2006, is a bronze Coubertin bust. It was created by the German sculptor Karlheinz Oswald. The postcard next to it, from the collection of ISOH member Rüdiger Fritz, shows the Château de Mirville near Le Havre in the Upper Normandy region. Here the young Coubertin spent many summers with his family.

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Message from the President

David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

In November I was invited to moderate a panel at the International Peace and Sport Forum, which was held this year above Sochi. I gave a short lecture on the history of politics and the Olympics. Afterwards, several attendees approached me to say they learned a lot about the history of Olympic boycotts, not realizing that there had been a boycott movement in 1936 and two actual boycotts in 1956. I joined several others for an official bus tour of the Sochi venues. However we were not allowed to leave the bus and visit the venues, which was not an encouraging sign.

After the forum, I flew to Moscow and joined Tony Bijkerk in presenting the Vikelas Plaque to Oleg Milshteyn and (via his son) Vladimir Rodichenko. Sadly, Vladimir died just a month later. Oleg was kind enough to donate to the ISOH 512 original taped interviews with Olympic Family members collected during the 1990s.

In January I visited the IOC offices in Lausanne and met with:

1. Mark Adams, director of communications
2. Peter Schmitz, editor of the IOC Internet site
3. Anna Volz Got, head of the IOC oral history project
4. Sabine Christe, head of the historical archives. Joined by Bill Mallon, I then met with
5. Jocelin Sebastiani, head of the results databas project
6. Patrice Cholley, head of youth strategy coordination.

At each meeting I stressed that the ISOH was grateful to receive funding from the IOC and that we are ready to cooperate in any way we can so that the IOC gets its money's worth from helping us.

The clear theme of the meetings was that this is a period of transition for the IOC in that there will be a change of leadership in September. Consequently, I stressed that we would be happy to work with all concerned to present proposals to the new president.

As I am sure you all know, in February the Executive Board of the IOC recommended to eliminate wrestling from the list of core sports for the 2020 Olympic Games. From an historian's perspective, this was a shocking and disappointing decision. Wrestling was included in the Ancient Olympic Games and in the first Modern Games in 1896. It is so much a part of Olympic history that it is even mentioned in the Greek version of the "Olympic Hymn", which is sung at each Opening Ceremony:

O Ancient immortal Spirit, pure father
Of beauty, of greatness and of truth,
Descend, reveal yourself and flash like lightning here,
within the glory of your own earth and sky.
At running and at wrestling and at throwing,
Shine in the momentum of noble contests,
And crown with the unfading branch
And make the body worthy and ironlike.

It is also worth noting that at the 2012 London Games 29 different nations earned medals in wrestling, so the sport clearly is still popular and still relevant to the Olympic programmes. If any ISOH members have personal access to any of the 15 members of the IOC Executive Board, I hope you will take the opportunity to put in a good word to retain wrestling in the Olympics. ■

Wrestling not be included on the list of core sports

The Executive Board (EB) of the IOC recommended at its meeting in Lausanne on 12th February 2013 that wrestling not be included on the list of core sports for the 2020 Olympic Games. Wrestling will now join the seven shortlisted sports – baseball/softball, karate, roller sports, sport climbing, squash, wakeboarding and wushu – vying for inclusion in the 2020 Olympic programme as an additional sport.
The eight sports are scheduled to make presentations to the EB at its meeting in St. Petersburg in May. The EB will select which of the eight sports recommend to the 125th IOC Session in Buenos Aires (September 7–10) for inclusion as an additional sport.
The 25 core sports are: athletics, rowing, badminton, basketball, boxing, canoeing, cycling, equestrian, fencing, football, gymnastics, weightlifting, handball, hockey, judo, aquatics, modern pentathlon, taekwondo, tennis, table tennis, shooting, archery, triathlon, sailing and volleyball. (IOC/JOH)

Message from the Secretary-General

Anthony Th. Bijkerk
ISOH SECRETARY-GENERAL

My congratulations on behalf of the ISOH go to our Australian member Peter Montgomery, who will be inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame as one of the 2013 honorees. When you look at his contribution to aquatic sports and to the Olympic Movement over the years (you can see all details on the ISHOF website), it is a more than well deserved award!

At the end of November 2012, ISOH President David Wallechinsky and I visited Moscow, Russia, to present the Vikelas Plaque to ISOH members Oleg Milshteyn and Vladimir Rodichenko. Unfortunately, Dr. Rodichenko was then already too ill to attend the meeting himself and he sent his son Sergey to receive the Vikelas Plaque on his behalf.

However, in the early days of 2013, we received a message from Oleg Milshteyn informing us that Vladimir Rodichenko had passed away on January 2 in Moscow. Our Russian members have combined to write his obituary, which you can find in this issue.

Vladimir Rodichenko was well known in the ISOH, as he attended several conferences and congresses about Olympic subjects. He was a prolific writer and Olympic historian, who was also involved in the organising of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. The ISOH offered its condolences to his family and friends by letter.

E-mail addresses: The ISOH Secretariat will be using the internet more often, as it offers a direct contact with the members all over the world. However, we have many members who never supplied us with their e-mail address.

In the ISOH Directory 2013, which is attached to this mailing, you will all find your personal data and my request to each one of you is: please check your own data and, if your e-mail is not correct in the listing, please inform me as soon as possible. Similarly if you have changed e-mail address, then please let me know.

In particular though, we ask anyone who hasn't provided their internet address to do so. ■

To commemorate the centennial of the Spanish Olympic Committee (COE), three stamps have been issued. They feature important figures related to the Olympics. In chronological order, the first despicts Lucio Lucius Mincius Natalis, who was the best charioteer of the 227th Olympiad. The second shows Gonzalo de Figueroa y Torres (1861–1921), Count of Mejorada del Campo and Earl of Villamejor, who was responsible for the foundation of the COE on November 25, 1912. The third stamp is dedicated to Juan Antonio Samaranch (1920–2010). He was President of the COE from 1967 to 1970 and IOC President from 1980 to 2001. An article on the foundation of the COE by Conrado Durántez will appear in the next issue.

Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937): A Proponent of Sporting Masculinity

Thierry Terret

Charles Pierre Fredy, Baron de Coubertin (in a photograph from about 1894) was born on New Year's Day 1863 at 17.00 at 20 Rue Oudinot in the VII[ème] arrondissement of Paris.
Below: The Avenue Pierre de Coubertin is in the south of Paris in the XIII[ème] arrondissement. Since 1994 the headquarters of the Comité National Olympique Sportif Français (CNOSF) has been there.

Pierre de Fredy, Baron de Coubertin, was born on 1 January 1863 in Paris and died on 2 September 1937 in Geneva, after devoting decades to the development of the Olympic Movement. Almost everything has been said about his life, his work, his ideas and his legacy. Almost everything has been studied concerning the influence of Great Britain and North America on the development of his thoughts. Almost everything has been discussed concerning the contradictions and ambiguities of his actions and personality: a pacifist, humanist, and democratic and social reformer. He was also a colonialist, racist, elitist and misogynist individual.

Now, 150 years after the birth of Coubertin, we are given the opportunity to reconsider one of the stimulating crossing points of all these issues: his role as "passeur". Or, to place this essay within the orientation of cultural history, as "cultural conveyor", working for a sporting masculinity that had, as yet, been only lightly disseminated beyond the Anglo-Saxon world. Gender studies have now amply demonstrated that masculinity is constructed throughout one's whole life, according to the main experiences lived under the influence of the social categories, and ethnic and religious circles to which the individual belongs. The life of the one who revived the Olympic Games may, therefore, be revisited in the light of models of masculinity that he gradually built and disseminated though sport.

Coubertin's childhood and adolescence must be addressed first. At the age when primary socialization constructs the marks of masculinity and femininity, the family environment played a key role, both in Paris where the young Pierre spent most of his time, and at the Castle of Mirville where he stayed for two and a half months each year. Heir to an ancient noble family, which counted many individuals at high levels in the Royal State Administration, his parental models were more oriented towards culture than the military or world of business, where a man of his class was expected to flourish. His father, Louis de Fredy de Coubertin, was a painter who broke with the traditional figures of aristocratic masculinity. His mother, Marie-Marcelle Gigault de Crisenoy, was a woman of great culture who loved to write and play the piano. In an environment where a man follows a military, colonial, commercial or political career, Pierre de Coubertin turned away from all these potential commitment to follow the professional artistic path traced by his father.

His secondary socialization, developed within the rigor of the Saint-Ignace Jesuit School in Paris from 1874 to 1881, changed nothing. Although he had been accepted at the Military School of Saint-Cyr, he decided not to go – choosing instead to attend the École Libre des Sciences Politiques. In 1888, when he was put forward for the position of deputy of Mirville and was elected to its city council without having stood for election, he turned his back on a political career. He showed no interest in law either, despite pressure from his parents.

His professional success, which contributes also to the construction of masculine identity, thus took another direction and was strongly influenced by the British and American models of education that he discovered during study visits in the 1880s. Realizing the potential of sports competitions, Coubertin became a social reformer, implementing the paternalistic and pacifist ideals of Frédéric Le Play, whose influence over him was immense. For Coubertin, indeed, the development of the Olympic Movement was the institutional and ideological consequence of his beliefs on the benefits of sport education. Yet sport, as experienced in British puplic schools, contributed primarily to the construction of masculinity among the young élites, as shown so brilliantly by James Mangan[1]. It served only as a tool to build young and virile male conquerors, confident and sure of themselves, adding noble souls to bodies that were accustomed to exceeding their limits.

The establishment in 1894 of an Olympic institution at the Congress of the Sorbonne, and the first Games in Athens two years later, were channels (among others) through which the sport phenomenon spread and, along with it, the values of the British élite. By becoming a proponent of sporting ideals, Coubertin helped disseminate a model of masculinity that was specific to England's middle and upper classes – first throughout France and then, through the international visibility later achieved by the Olympic Games, throughout the Western world and beyond. Coubertin himself subscribed to this process of constructing manliness through sport, yet did not use the main English sporting educational models (outdoor team sports). He preferred instead to conserve the values of competition and asceticism of training. Although he tried various sports, it was in pistol shooting that he achieved his best performances and was seven times national champion. Shooting was also a symbolic activity in terms of masculinity, given its close relationship with war and its martial heritage.

In the period prior to the First World War, forty-year old Coubertin became an activist engaged in Olympism. His commitment did, of course, have much to do with his opinions on sport, although his tenacity to keep the Olympic institution afloat after its semi-failure of Paris in 1900 may not be entirely separated from the necessity to be successful. Given that he had not adopted the expected career path for a representative of republican aristocracy, Coubertin should at least have responded positively to the natural social summons of building a family through marriage and children.

In 1895, he married Marie Rothan, the daughter of a Protestant diplomat. They had two children, Jacques, in 1896, and Renée, in 1902. His wife suffered from instability and his children from serious psychological disorders, all incompatible with the image of a successful family that constituted one of the marks of the socially accepted norms among male élites.

The success of the Olympic Movement and its influence on society therefore remained, for Coubertin, one of the few ways to consolidate his position as a man. Institutional success was all the more important, since France gave him no sign of recognition and during the war, in 1914, even refused to send him to the Western Front despite his request. It is true that the Baron was then 51 years old, at the time the same age as France's average life expectancy. After the war and then an elderly man, he felt betrayed by his country which was then undergoing a masculinity crisis. In 1922, he decided to settle in Lausanne. A year earlier he had taken a step back from the Olympic Movement by accepting that an Executive Committee be set up. And then, in 1925, he left the IOC Presidency.

The first stamps to feature Coubertin's image were issued by Haiti in 1939. They also depicted the Olympic rings in colour, another first. Through the three stamps it was hoped to finance the building of a modern stadium in Port-au-Prince. Immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War the series was however a flop. Of 350,000 printed, only six per cent were sold. They are all the more valuable today. This block is from the collection of the late Juan Antonio Samaranch, the former IOC President who bequeathed his collection to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.

These well-known biographical elements explain why Olympism may have played a symbolic role for Coubertin in the construction of his own gender identity. Being institutionally and ideologically responsible for the movement, his own masculinity was at stake. Hence, no doubt, the misogynistic positions that surrounded the early decades of his work. For Coubertin, the Olympic Games remained fundamentally a male affair. A few months before the end of his life, he continued to write that "The only true Olympic hero, as I said, is the male adult. Thus, neither women nor sports teams."[2]

This masculine ideal was defined in full compliance with the codes in use within the circles of the bourgeoisie and enlightened republican aristocracy, in which the renovator of the Games circulated. Coubertinian masculinity reflected well the characteristics of a white, urban, Christian, heterosexual and conquering social élite – if not in martial terms, at least in economic and imperialistic ones. It was built through diverse, but preferably individual, physical experiences (rescue, defence, locomotion), as shown by his remarks on sport education for young people, his views on *gymnastique utilitaire* or even his sustained enthusiasm for a sport which he imposed as part of the Olympic programme: the modern pentathlon.[3] This

On 10th April 1915, in the middle of the First World War, Coubertin signed an agreement at the Town Hall in Lausanne, transferring the headquarters of the IOC to neutral Switzerland. At the same time he temporarily gave up his presidency. During the war he was represented by one of his closest colleagues, the Swiss Godefroy de Blonay (to the right in the photo).

masculinity was opposed to the more collective and less combative forms of rural and worker masculinities, sharing little more than normative heterosexuality and masculine utilitarianism with them.

In addition, although Coubertin was opposed to the Anthropological Games in St. Louis, the ideal masculinity that promoted Olympism was then barely compatible with non-Western alternatives. Is it not a coincidence that the first athlete to be disqualified for professionalism in the history of the Olympic Games was a Native-American Indian, Jim Thorpe, a double Olympic champion in the decathlon and pentathlon[4] and, as such, the ideal model of a man in the eyes of those who promoted Olympism. Most certainly an apparent paradox when remembering that many participants, in fencing and shooting for example, were far from complying with the rules of amateurism!

Coubertin's concept of femininity was logically symmetric with his perception of men and masculinity. He made it particularly clear in his *Notes sur l'Education publique*, where he stated as a principle that "the role of women remains what it has always been: she is above all the man's companion, the future mother of the family, and she must be educated in view of this immutable perspective".[5] Admittedly, there was nothing too surprising in such a vision which confined women to the domestic sphere and turned them towards the dual role of wife and mother. Such discourses were to be found in the dominant fringe of physicians and scientists who "rationally" justified that women should remain in a subordinated position. They were also in close affiliation to a part of the education community that considered education for girls inappropriate under the pretext, precisely, that girls did not possess the intellectual and physical capacity for it. They were finally in line with the main discourses on physical activity for women in the fields of sports and gymnastics.

But what was still an only lightly questioned norm in late nineteenth Century France was already no longer as hegemonic a mere few years later. In both the United States and England, for instance, women had access, albeit not without great difficulty, to professional positions from which they had been banned a few decades earlier. Corsets were progressively condemned by the daughters of those women for whom wearing them was still part of everyday life. Participation in sport slowly grew among women of the élite.[6] The orthodox models of bourgeois femininity had already been challenged before the Great War and were then strongly impacted by the war itself.

Coubertin, however, refused to see these changes. It was all he could do to admit that, in the case of behaviours he disapproved of but could not prohibit, it would be appropriate to reduce their visibility. Once again, in 1935, he stated: "I personally do not approve of women's participation in public competitions, which does not mean that they must abstain from practicing a great number of sports, provided they do not make a public spectacle of themselves. In the Olympic Games, just as in former tournaments, their primary role should be to crown the victors."[7]

The political equivalent of this symbolic refusal could be found within the Olympic institution itself. There, the issue of gender relations may be usefully analyzed in terms of power relationships between men and women, relationships that are reflected in both the positions each of them held within decision – making institutions (IOC, NOC) and, more pragmatically, in access to the most visible area of sport: the Olympic Games.

On the first point, it is clear that during this period Olympic institutions, and all other places where decisions were made, remained tightly closed for women. As a reflection of domination over women within the political sphere of the very same Western societies that presided over the future of Olympism, this situation resulted in the emergence of a rival movement a quarter of a century after Coubertin's renovation of the modern Games: that of Alice Milliat and the Fédération Internationale du Sport Féminin. It was a federation with solely feminine governance, and which mirrored the sexual division of sport in quite radical terms.[8] Although women's participation had already been featured on the agenda of the Olympic Congress in Brussels in 1905, Coubertin succeeded in postponing the issue to a "more appropriate" time, thus expressing his hostile reluctance to negotiate the indisputable.

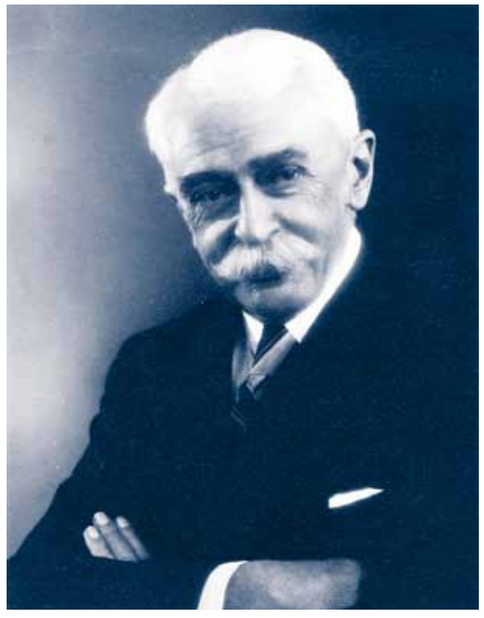
On the second point, which also reflected the gender hierarchy within the Olympic Movement, women represented less than 5% of all participants in the Games until 1924, and their participation was restricted to activities having the greatest social acceptability, while in other early sporting nations, they practiced many more disciplines and took part in competitions. Restricting the Olympic programme in this way was at odds with the reality of women's sport during the *Belle Epoque*.

Over and beyond this statement, three processes came together to combine their effects. The first concerned the refusal for women to participate in the Olympic Games, under various official pretexts ranging from the additional cost for the organisation to missed deadlines. A second mechanism of marginalization, visible in the early programmes, confined women to demonstration events rather than real competitions, i.e. with a different status that clearly hierarchised men and women's participation.

In addition, whether for competitions or demonstrations, the organisers, and the IOC itself, worked at times in the realm of oblivion when writing Official Reports, since they failed to identify certain female competitors whose presence was confirmed by other sources. According to Ana Maria Miragaya's detailed work, IOC official sources indicate that 112 women took part in the Olympics before World War I, whereas other sources actually give a figure four times higher: 416![9]

Restricted participation in the Olympic programme, refused access to the Games, participation in demonstrations rather than competitions, and memory lapses, were all signs of discrimination against women. The few women who succeeded in forcing the stadium gates were, moreover, still too many or too visible for Coubertin, who throughout his whole life remained hostile to "female Olympics" because he believed the Games should remain a symbol of masculinity. And since mixed competitions would inevitably lead to victory for the men, the only solution was to separate events and even Olympics. For him, however, a female Olympiad would be "impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic and, we are not afraid to add, incorrect (...). This is not our idea of the Olympic Games, where we feel we have sought and must continue to seek the realisation of the following: the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism with internationalism as a base, loyalty as a means, art as a setting and female applause as a reward".[10]

Coubertin defined himself as an internationalist and open to the Anglo-Saxon world. From a gender perspective, however, he was, in fact, shaped by the traditional French culture in which he had grown up. Educated in the light of the traditional views on gender relations which characterized the liberal aristocracy throughout the French Third Republic, he never really expanded his horizons on the role of women, thus neglecting the considerable progress that had occurred in the US and UK in this regard. In many ways, a visionary in education, he remained extremely conservative in terms of gender socialization. And in the irony of history, when considering the relationships between Olympism and gender, Pierre de Coubertin, in 1937, was laid to rest in the cemetery of Bois-de-Vaux, Lausanne, a mere few metres from the burial place, thirty-four years later, of "Coco" Channel, the famous fashion designer who revolutionized and freed the silhouettes of women through clothing and suntan, drawing her inspiration largely from sport.[11] ■

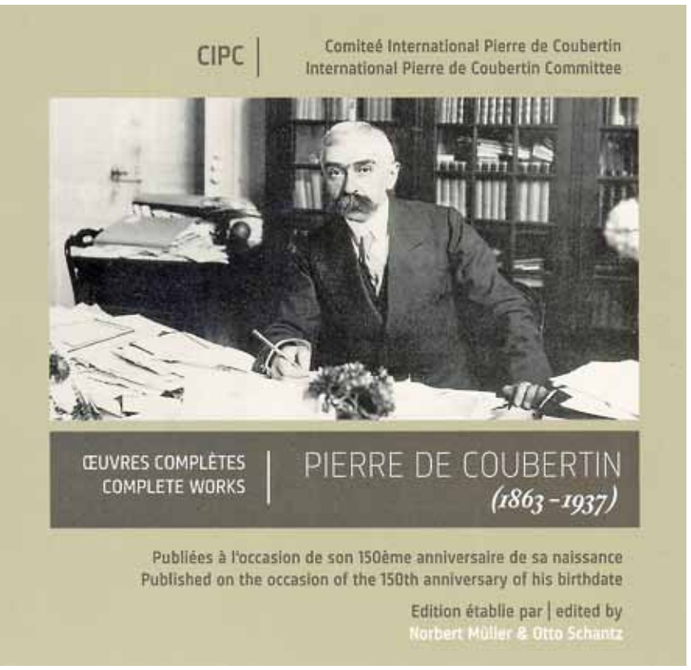


After his 70th birthday, which curiously was celebrated in June 1932 in the Aula of the University of Lausanne, Coubertin moved to Geneva, where he rented the "Melrose" guesthouse at the Park La Grange. On Thursday 2nd September 1937 a gendarme called Grandchamp was called to a bench in the park near the gardener's house, where he found Coubertin sitting, his eyes open. He was already dead. The gendarme noted the time of death as half past two in the afternoon.

1 Mangan, James A., *'Manufactured' Masculinity. Making Imperial Manlines, Morality and Militarism*, London, Routledge, 2011.
2 Coubertin, Pierre de, in: *Le Journal*, Paris, 27 August 1936
3 Ibid., *L'éducation des adolescents au XXe siècle*, Paris, Alcan, 1905; Coubertin, Pierre de, *La gymnastique utilitaire. Sauvetage-Défense-Locomotion*, Paris, Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1906. On modern pentathlon and masculinity, see Heck Sandra, Modern Pentathlon and World War I – When Athletes and Soldiers Meet to Practise Martial Manliness, in: *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 28, n° 3-4, March 2011, pp. 410-428
4 Delsahut, Fabrice, Les hommes libres et l'Olympe, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004.
5 Coubertin, Pierre de, L'éducation des femmes, in: *Notes sur l'Education publique*, Paris, Hachette, 1901, pp. 297-310.
6 Mangan, James A. & Park, Roberta (eds)., From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism. Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras, London, Frank Cass, 1987.
7 Coubertin, Pierre de, in: *Sport suisse*, 7 August 1935
8 Leigh, Mary H., Bonin, Thérèse M., The Pioneering Role of Madame Alice Milliat and the F.S.F.I., in: *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 4, n° 1, 1977, pp. 72-83; Drevon André, Alice Milliat. La Pasionaria du sport féminin, Paris, Vuibert, 2005.
9 Miragaya, Ana Maria, The Process of Inclusion of Women in the Olympic Games, PhD dissertation, Gama Filho, Rio de Janeiro, 2006, p. 178.
10 Coubertin, Pierre de, Les femmes aux Jeux olympiques, in: *Revue olympique*, July 1912, n° 79, pp. 109-111.
11 Gidel, Henry, Coco Chanel, Paris, J'ailu, 2002.

Coubertin goes digital: his complete works on DVD to mark his 150th birthday

By Karl Lennartz



Baron Pierre de Coubertin would thus have been 150 years old on 1st January 2013. We therefore have a Coubertin year and the chance of studying him more closely.

Coubertin was a teacher, philosopher, historian and journalist, but above all the man who founded the Modern Olympic Games.

While he was still alive a great deal was written about him. Research into Coubertin began whilst he was still alive but intensified after his death. It is curious that for many years, most interest in Coubertin came from Germany. Why?

As a Frenchman Coubertin was for a long time reserved towards the Germans. He had problems with the German Olympic enthusiast Dr. Willibald Gebhardt, perhaps because the latter wanted to organise Olympic Games in Germany as early as possible.

But Germany did not host the IOC until the 1909 Session in Berlin. When the German capital was chosen in 1912 in Stockholm to be the host city for the Games of the VI Olympiad. Coubertin was obliged to work more closely with the German Imperial Committee for Olympic Games. He met the young Carl Diem, who was preparing for the Games as General Secretary. At the very first meeting the two became friends. Both had the same conception of the idea of Olympic Games.

After the First World War the interrupted connections were re-established. When Berlin was elected to host the 1936 Games and Diem was once again chosen as General Secretary, the two met several times once again and discussed the ceremonial of the Games. Their alliance was so close that Coubertin left his estate to the International Olympic Institute (IOI). Diem was the director of this institute which began to publish the *Olympische Rundschau* (*Olympic Review* on behalf of the IOC). Unfortunately the Coubertin archive was destroyed in an Allied air raid on Berlin on the night of 3rd to 4th September 1943.

Researchers have concentrated in depth on Coubertin and his work since the 1930s. It is perhaps surprising that so few French scholars had taken an interest. Instead it was the Germans who took the lead. Perhaps this was because over half the Olympic literature produced came from German authors. Today that has changed to some extent with a greater body of work now emerging in English, Spanish and French.

In 1931/32 Coubertin's *Mémoires Olympiques* was serialised in 25 episodes in *L'Auto* (nowadays *L'Equipe*). It appeared in book form the following year, published by the Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive in Lausanne.

The Jewish-German journalist and writer Curt Riess published a translation entitled *Ein Leben für die Olympische Idee* in the magazine *Die Woche* in the same year.

The Organising Committee of the Berlin Games then had the idea of having Coubertin's Olympic biography translated by Gertrud John with the title *Olympische Erinnerungen* with a foreword by Theodor Lewald and an epilogue by Carl Diem. The book was presented to every Olympic champion at the Berlin Games. The text was revised in 1959 and 1961 (new impression 1996), this time with a foreword by Carl Diem. In 1987 the title appeared in a new translation in East Berlin, edited by Erhard Höhne with notes by Volker Kluge.

In 1976 Coubertin's grandnephew Geoffroy de Navacelle wrote an introduction for a new edition. In 1997 the IOC then published a further French edition, to which translations in English and Spanish were added. Besides those there is a Czech edition translated by Jiří Kroutil (*Olympijské Paméti*, Prague 1977). For the 2008 Games in Beijing, the work was translated into Chinese, again under the editorial guidance of Norbert Müller.

The early biographical Olympic text *Une campagne de vingt-et-un ans (1887-1908)*, Paris 1909 was re-issued in 1974 as *Einundzwanzig Jahre Sportkampagne* by the Carl Diem Institut in Cologne. Further writings by Coubertin have also been translated into German: *Notes sur l'Education publique*, Paris 1901 as *Schule – Sport – Erziehung*, Schorndorf 1972, *L'Education des Adolescents au XXe siècle*, Paris 1915 as *Die gegenseitige Achtung*, published by Carl Diem Institut, Sankt Augustin 1988, *and Leçons de Pédagogie sportive*, Lausanne 1921 as *Sportliche Erziehung*, Stuttgart 1928. In 1966/7, the Diem Institute brought out an anthology of Coubertin's important writings in three languages: *L'Idée Olympique*, *The Olympic Idea*, *Der Olympische Gedanke* (all Schorndorf). From this arose in Cologne the idea of a collected edition of the writings of Carl Diem.

Seven volumes were envisaged. In 1977 the first volume of *Œuvres complètes* (Köln, 1082 pp.) was printed. As there were problems with publication rights, the book never "appeared" and those in circulation today are an antiquarian rarity. The whole undertaking was put on hold.

When the project was restarted, it was put in the hands of Mainz teacher and historian Norbert Müller. The work now had the backing of the IOC, the Coubertin family, the Diem Institute, the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee, and the German NOC.

It appeared as a three volume edition in 1988. Published by the IOC it came with an illustrated brochure. Georges Rioux wrote an introduction to the first volume. Müller himself introduced the second and combined with Otto Schantz to write the introduction for volume 3.

Müller, who has been researching into Coubertin since the 1970s is today considered the most significant expert in the works of Coubertin. The IOC contracted him to publish an English translation of the most important articles by Coubertin, with expanded notes. In 2000 *Olympism. Selected Writings* appeared in Lausanne with forewords by Juan Antonio Samaranch and Geoffroy de Navacelle (863 pp.). The IOC made this work widely available so that practically all those interested in the Olympic Movement could have a copy.

The English edition was followed in 2011 by the Spanish *Olimpismo. Selección de textos* (Lausanne, 871 pp.) with forewords by Jacques Rogge and Geoffroy de Navacelle.

What however was still missing was a complete edition of the writings of Coubertin.

As part of their original project, the Carl-Diem-Institute had systematically collected orginals or copies of Coubertin's writings. Norbert Müller continued this, and together with Otto Schantz he published a *Bibliographie des œuvres de Pierre de Coubertin*. These activities made possible a DVD containing everything for the anniversary year. Müller and Schantz again combined to write an introduction:

"This DVD contains the first edition of the complete works of Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), the founder of the Olympic Games. The collection of these works is the result of 30 years of research by Prof. Müller (University of Mainz) and Prof. Otto Schantz (University of Koblenz). The entirety of Pierre de Coubertin's works that are presented on this DVD amounts to about 16,000 printed pages. The content is divided in four sections: 34 books, 57 brochures, pamphlets and reprints, 46 leaflets and posters, and 1,224 articles from periodicals and books. The present edition of the complete works of Pierre de Coubertin is a precious and indispensable source not only for philosophers, educators and historians, but also for sport administrators, journalists and for all who are interested in the Olympic Movement."

The DVD also contains a copy of the *Revue Olympique* (1986), which contains essential articles about Coubertin, conference volumes from 1986, *The Relevance of Pierre de Coubertin*, 1997 *Coubertin and Olympism, Questions for the Future*, as well as 2003 *Internationale Einflüsse auf die Wiedereinführung der Olympischen Spiele durch Pierre de Coubertin*, the text by Jean Durry, *Pierre de Coubertin. The Visionary.* As well there are the English edition *Olympism. Selected Writings* of 2000 and the Chinese edition of 2008.

Also to be welcomed is the possibility of inserting and successfully seeking ideas and expressions with the help of Text.Mark. The whole package is essential for any Olympic scholars and researchers at a cost of 25 Euro.

Müller was prepared to deliver it at cost to all ISOH members, but in the editorial board there was no majority (a tie). The author of this article has acquired a number of copies which he will make available to ISOH members at no charge. ■

Dresden artist Wieland Förster created this memorable sculpture in 1963 to mark the centenary of Coubertin's birth. It was the gift from the NOC of the GDR to the IOC, where for many years it adorned the office of the IOC President. Since 1993 it has been exhibited in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.

A Life after Death: Coubertin in Baden-Baden

By Andreas Höfer

The first step is the hardest. This classic from the inexhaustible store of cast-iron truisms is valid for everything and everyone and thus also for the Olympic Movement and for its distinguished founding fathers.

At the outset, Pierre de Coubertin did not meet with enthusiastic agreement for his groundbreaking innovation. Instead he found considerable resistance from some quarters, particularly in Germany. In the land of poets and thinkers, doubters and sceptics, the gymnasts provided the tone as far as physical exercise was concerned, and they were obviously anything but enthusiastic about a global world sports event. They saw themselves as the Grail guardians of German (physical) culture, with the sacred duty to defend against the beginnings of un-German activity. And since the originator of this wrong thinking was a Frenchman as well, and so a traditional enemy, the only answer to the "Olympia" question in Germany-only-gymnast land was: No thank you.

Even if it was not always logical, the gymnasts remained true to their position of refusal for a long time. This only changed when a new political power provided a new Olympic line and a deviation from it was no longer possible. With this leap in time to the year 1933 we are approaching the last chapter as well as an epilogue to an historical morality tale entitled "the Frenchman and the Germans" or even more appropriately "the Germans and the Frenchman", and that town comes into view whose connection with the said Frenchman is of particular interest to us here. But before we move to Baden-Baden, we have to discuss Berlin.

The Games of the eleventh Olympiad took place not in the famous spa town, but in the much more famous German capital. And it was those Games which entered the Olympic history of success as their darkest chapter and were to cast a shadow on the achievements of their brightest leading light.

On the 1st January 1933 Pierre de Coubertin turned seventy. By the end of the month a new era had begun in Germany. Whether Coubertin really can be suspected of having a soft spot for Hitler and his radical ambitions, as has sometimes been rumoured, can hardly be convincingly judged on the basis of available sources. Probably however the suspicion that in his later days he felt flattered by German advances which expressed themselves in a campaign to have Coubertin awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and not least a payment of 10,000 Reichsmark. In view of his financial position, this may have been a welcome sum. At this point, it is worth asking if Coubertin allowed himself to be influenced and corrupted by the Nazi philosophy.

The new German rulers had immediately undertaken a complete re-organisation of sport to fit in with their views. It could not be said that they were aflame with a sudden love for the Olympic idea, but rather from despicable calculation. In 1925 Coubertin had retired at IOC President after some 29 years at the helm of the Olympic Movement. Although he had withdrawn from the operational side and deliberately kept his distance, the views of the Honorary President still carried considerable weight. If he then lent support for the Olympic Games in Nazi Germany, the increasing adverse wind which threatened to manifest itself in a boycott movement could perhaps be effectively softened.

Even this can at best be guessed at, whether Coubertin's corresponding efforts, i.e. his famous radio address of the 4th August 1935 – later published under the title "Pax Olympica" – which begins with compliments to the organisers of the Berlin Games and also discussed the "philosophical bases of Olympism" or other topics, had any real effect on the failure of the opponents of the "Games under the swastika".

With this background let us direct our attention to a remarkable event which happened less than a year after Coubertin's death. He had collapsed and died on a park bench in Geneva – a memorial to him was erected in Germany of all places. That this happened in Baden-Baden may just be historical coincidence, were it not for the fact that the town on the Oos River features explicitly much later on the Olympic map as a milestone. That a certain Carl Diem played an important part can on the other hand hardly cause surprise.

After all Diem had always thought himself to be a convinced supporter of the French baron, indeed as his born interpreter and promulgator of his Olympic will, and had tried to bring this to fulfilment in the organisation of the Berlin Games as his hoped-for masterpiece.

At least twice, in Schaffhausen and in Zürich, he had met his "spiritual father" in the run-up to the Games and had also invited him to attend the Games, with all the courtesies and privileges appropriate to such a visit.

On 28th June 1938, he sent a letter from the International Olympic Institute to Madame de Coubertin. This expressed his "great joy" that a monument to her late husband was to be erected. This, as he indicated, corresponded to the idea of the German-French Society, while the speed of execution was evidence of the character of "la Nouvelle Allemagne".

While in his two-page communication in French he assured the widow of the personal high esteem in which he held Coubertin and continued to say that the Olympic heritage of the deceased was in the best of hands with the institute in Berlin which he directed, he also

The Baden-Baden Coubertin memorial created by sculptor Wilhelm Gutwillinger. The IOC received the same portrait bust, of which they had replicas made. These were presented to the NOCs of Uruguay (2002) and Spain (2006) as well as in 2006 to the Coubertin-Gymnasium in the Slovakian spa town of Piešťany.

Photo: German Olympic Academy

transmits at least some details in respect of the planned ceremony. Thus the sculpture showing Coubertin speaking is to be created by the sculptor Wilhelm Gutwillinger [1], its site was to be in the "Gönnergarten" and the privilege of an official speech was to be given to the French IOC Member Marquis de Polignac. Diem also writes of a meeting in Baden Baden when Mme Coubertin accompanied her husband there. In respect of this biographical detail the respected readers, both male and female, are politely requested to search through their memories and archives.

This could equally be true of that German-French Society whose history sand significance would also be worth a diversion. Let us restrict ourselves here to the second "Cultural Conference" of that society, where Carl Diem is once again – not to say "as always" – brought in as the source. This time the preferred origin of the corresponding entry in his extensive diaries dedicated to his visit to Baden-Baden. When we learn that he stayed there from the 23rd to 25th of June, it can be supposed that the timing of the Coubertin ceremony was deliberately chosen, and that not (only) because the middle date of the three was Diem's birthday. Rather it was the day before, i.e. the 23rd, the date which had received lasting significance with the foundation of the IOC and the birth of the Olympic Movement. To honour the founding father on that very day with a memorial for the first time had a special resonance.

After Diem has spoken at length in his own fashion about the well-tended beauty of the town and its prices – a night's stay for 55 Reichsmark, including breakfast – he describes the gathering in the Kurhaus, at which he can count 150 guests, half Germans and half French. Among them is an embassy adviser or a member of staff "from Ribbentrop's office", in other words Hitler's supporter who had just been promoted in February from being German Ambassador in London to become Reichs Foreign Minister. Then he reports on two lectures in the morning, about genetic research and the manifold nature of the gene as well as his intention to read up about all this.

There follows the passage which is of a special interest, so that it may be permissible to quote it word for word:

At 3 p.m. Marquis de Polignac spoke about Coubertin. He read also. It was a fine piece of work which brought some new information. He found friendly words for Berlin 1936 and for Lewald and concluded wonderfully with the Olympic Institute and its director, the closest disciple of Coubertin.

Then the whole company went together, with me quickly ahead, along Lichtensteinallee up the valley of the Oos. Behind the mini-golf course, on which as everywhere the notice 'Jews not desired' is emblazoned, to the left over the brook, into the stylised garden of the Gönner park with its pergola, fountain etc. The bust had been erected at an attractive circular junction. Eight days ago the thought had come, and via Alvensleben[2] we landed on the German Bohemian who had created Coubertin's bust and relief from photographs. He had previously shown it to me, I explained to him that apart from the wrinkled brow no feature of his model resembled the Baron. He then greatly improved the relief on the basis of my corrections and some pictures I gave him, but not the bust. As I was absent, the bust was simply fetched from his house, cast in bronze and put up. No monument has probably been more casually erected. Everything is just an appeal for sympathy, art and a honoured personality are completely irrelevant to those who realised the thought. In an open square stood the Hitler Youth with fanfares and military drums. The stone was concealed under the Olympic Flag. Behind it were 10 maidens in white dresses. Oh, do not, do not touch it.

When all were gathered I stepped up to the memorial and spoke. The beginnings of Coubertin's beautiful speech about Germany's excavation of Olympia and France's right to assist it to acquire new brilliance and then I briefly sketched his great service. I then handed over the memorial to the town, but the honouring of

continued p. 12

continued from p. 11

him to the hearts of the young people. Then Polignac made a very nice speech, as always in his mother tongue. The mayor then accepted the memorial with just a few words.
The entrance and conclusion were well played fanfare pieces by the Hitler Youth. The celebration was very tasteful and short.
And so the memorial column of the man stands in a beautiful park like that in which he breathed his last on the 3rd [sic] September last year, wonderfully sympathetic, and it is a lovely stroke of fate that I was permitted to inaugurate the memorial.[3]

With these words this contribution could be ended, but a short epilogue at least seems appropriate. Thus is might be mentioned that Coubertin's statue moved several times before it found his last "place of rest" until today in 1981 in the gardens in front of the Kurhaus. The reason for the move was the Olympic Congress, so important in sports historical terms, when its dazzling host Baden-Baden left a lasting impression. Nor should it be forgotten that an IOC Session was staged in the town in 1963, after it was moved from Nairobi at short notice. The mandate was taken over from Nairobi and the IOC Session was equally able to provide more than just one roof over people's heads.

So the picturesque town has received a number of Olympic honours in the 75 years since Coubertin was acknowledged as an honorary citizen, albeit in stone. That it was in 1996, the year of the Atlanta Games, received by the IOC into the distinguished circle of "Olympic Cities" was more than deserved. The certificate was personally delivered by Juan Antonio Samaranch in July 1997, he paid homage to his predecessor at the memorial. What Coubertin's reaction would have been can only be guessed at. ■

1 Wilhelm Gutwillinger (b. 1910 in Mährisch Trübau/now Moravská Trebova/SVK) was a Sudeten German sculptor. After the Second World War he lived in Stuttgart.
2 Ludolf von Alvensleben (1901–1970), at that time adjutant of the Reichssportführer Hans von Tschammer und Osten, 1938–39 chief adjutant to Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler, during the Second World War as SS-Gruppenführer responsible for mass executions in Poland and the USSR. After fleeing from British internment in 1945 he settled in 1946 with his family in Argentina, where he was part of the circle of Adolf Eichmann.
3 Diary of Carl Diem, 23rd June, 1938, Diem Archive, Cologne.

Don Anthony – a life remembered at the BOA

By Philip Barker

The Olympic Family have paid a warm tribute to 1956 Olympian and ISOH member Don Anthony who died in 2012. Don's wife Jadwiga and son Marek received the British Olympic Association's "Lifetime Achievement Award" on his behalf.

"This is the ultimate accolade that we at the BOA can present", said outgoing BOA Chairman Lord Moynihan who made the presentation (above). "Don was a great character who made an outstanding contribution to Olympism and he would have been immensely proud of many things during the Games this year, how sport inspired a country and left memories that all of us will savour for the rest of our lives."

"His influence on the BOA was profound", said long time BOA General Secretary Dick Palmer. "Few educationalists have made a greater contribution than he did." The pair had worked together over for over three decades and became close friends.

Anthony represented Great Britain in the hammer at the Melbourne Olympics and founded the English Volleyball Association, but his life's work was as a pioneer of Olympic Education. He worked closely with UNESCO and was a driving force in the development of Olympic Solidarity. He taught Physical Education and in his later years supported the introduction of the Coubertin Awards which focussed on sport and ethics with the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee.

The presentation was attended by his many friends including Coubertin's great nephew Antoine de Navacelle and television commentator Paul Dickenson, a fellow Olympian and member of the "Hammer Circle" which set up an award in his honour. There were also representatives of the Olympian Games at Much Wenlock, an event he did so much to bring back to prominence. ISOH were represented by Peter Lovesey and Philip Barker.

The golden Olympic stamps

Britain's Olympic and Paralympic champions have all been recognised with gold of a different kind. To honour their achievement, a post box in their home town has been painted gold. The box for four-time Olympic sailing champion Ben Ainslie briefly caused controversy. The Post Office initially decided to paint a box in the Cornish town of Restronguet where Ainslie grew up. In Lymington, Ainslie's training base for the last 12 years, a local resident spray painted a post box and a local protest campaign forced the Post Office to change their mind.

The Royal Mail also issued a postage stamp for each champion. This featured a photograph from the Games and was put on sale the following day. Each champion was given an outsize version of their stamp. It marked a break with tradition. Hitherto, the only living people depicted on British stamps had been members of the Royal Family.

The issue of postal souvenirs was in stark contrast to the 1948 London Games when very few such items were available. The four special stamps were the first issued in Britain to commemorate a sporting event.

A post box was painted gold to celebrate each British Olympic and Paralympic champion in 2012.
Left: The "golden" stamps for the winner in sailing Ben Ainslie.

Legendary Sailor's Wise Royal Counsel

1960 sailing gold medallist King Constantine II has revealed he received some timely advice from the legendary Danish Olympic sailor Paul Bert Elvstrøm, the winner of four consecutive Olympic gold medals.

"You have to get into that boat and sit in that boat six hours a day every day of the week otherwise forget it", he told the future King, then Crown Prince of the Hellenes. The advice clearly paid off as Constantine won gold in the Dragon class in Rome.

Constantine, now a Honorary Member of the IOC, was a guest at the launch of ISOH member David Miller's "Official History of the IOC and the Olympic Games", newly updated to include the London 2012 Olympic Games.

Constantine II recalled his sister's Princess Sofia's involvement in the Greek sailing team of 1960. "She had to practice as much as anyone else she was one of two reserves if anybody was ill she would have had to take part, so she had to practice as much as anyone else. As it happened nobody fell ill, so she did not get a medal."

He brother had a special bracelet made for her as a memento. Her future husband King Juan Carlos of Spain did sail at the 1972 Munich Games and and her son and daughter also became Olympians. ■

Finnegan's Plaque

A plaque to commemorate the boxing career of 1968 Olympic middleweight champion Chris Finnegan has been unveiled at Hayes Boxing Club in West London. Finnegan learnt to box at the club and had been life president at the time of his death in 2009.

The plaque was unveiled by Hillingdon Mayor Michael Markham at a ceremony attended by members of Finnegan's family.

"The council is very proud to honour Chris in this way and it hoped that he will continue to be an inspiration to up and coming young boxers for many years to come", said Council leader Ray Puddifoot.

King Constantine II, Olympic sailing champion and IOC Honorary Member, was a guest at the launch of an updated version of the "Official History of the IOC and the Olympic Games" by ISOH member David Miller (left).
Photos: Philip Barker

The Szombathely Olympia Club called Zoltán Halmay

By Volker Kluge

The university town of Szombathely in Western Hungary was known in antiquity as Savaria. Nowadays, it is home to 80,000, amongst then probably the highest concentration of Olympic fans. The town has one of 30 Hungarian Olympia clubs, as well as the internationally renowned DOBÓ Club for Hammer throwers. Amongst its most distinguished current members is 2012 Olympic champion Krisztián Pars. The Magyars have won five gold medals in this event since 1948. It would have been six had not Adrián Annus been disqualified for a doping offence in 2004.

It is possible to establish exactly when this Olympic euphoria took hold in Szombathely. In 1996, to celebrate the Olympic centenary, Hungarian television organised an Olympic Quiz which ran over four month, which was won by a three-person team of Komitat Vas.[1] The first prize was a ten-day trip to the Olympic Games in Atlanta, during which Vilmos Horváth, a member of the winning team, allowed himself to be so bewitched that he resolved to form an Olympia Club after returning to his home town.

No sooner said than done: on 17 December 1996 Horváth founded an Olympia Club with 32 enthusiastic members. The club's aim was to spread the Olympic idea among Hungarian young people. In the search for a name the members came upon the once famous Hungarian swimmer Zoltán Halmay, who had won medals at four Olympic Games including Athens in 1906, among them three golds. They wanted the name to reflect local tradition they decided on Halmay. Today, his name is little known but they believed he had been born in Magasfok.[2] This turned out not to be the case for after some time it was established that Halmay had, in fact, come from the similar sounding village of Magasfalu, which is part of modern Slovakia.[3]

The initial disappointment, however, soon gave way to a new inspiration. In 2004 – 100 years after Halmay had twice won Olympic gold – the Olympia Club in cooperation with the administration of Vysoká pri Morave (the former Magasfalu) had a memorial stone erected with the portrait of Zoltán Halmay. Since then, the Magyars have met annually at the stone with their neighbours from the north. Even if these people have ranked Halmaj (the Slovakian spelling) as a native Hungarian among their own medallists, this unscientific approach (since Slovakia did not then exist) brought its own benefits. Now the two communities are able to celebrate together.

Back to the Olympic Quiz. Magyar Rádió organised another four years after Atlanta. This time the first prize was a car, while a trip to the Olympic Games as a runners-up prize. Vilmos Horváth, who had been elected President of the Halmay Club in 1996, agreed with his friend and deputy László Gál that, if as in 1996, both should reach the final, they would sell the car and travel together to Sydney. And that is what happened.

Horváth und Gál returned full of experiences and ideas. They honoured the only Olympic champion born

A mutual Hungarian-Slovakian birthday celebration at the Zoltán-Halmay-Monument of Vysoká pri Morave, the former Magasfalu. Left of the memorial: Vilmos Horváth, President of the Olympia Club of Szombathely.

Photo: Zoltán Horvath

On the sports ground in Kőszeg stands the memorial stone for football legend Gyula Lóránt, who began his great career here.

in Szombathely with a commemorative plaque at his house. He was Imre Rajczy-Rasztovich, a fencer who had won team sabre gold in 1936. In the neighbouring village of Kőszeg, the graves of Béla Zuławszki (1908 silver in sabre fencing) and of the legendary football player and coach Gyula Lóránt (1952 gold) were decorated with memorial tablets.

The Zoltán Halmay Club now meets regularly in a cosy Szombathely pub. It now boasts some 70 members among them Dr. Pál Hencsei, Vilmos Horváth and Tamás Karakai, all members of ISOH. The walls are covered in Olympic posters, banners and diplomas, reminding people of the numerous events organised by the club since 1997. Every year there are between ten and twelve. Around 150 Olympic participants and experts have been invited to take part up to date.

Perhaps the most notable of these was the Slovenian gymnastics Olympic champion of 1924 and 1928, Leon Štukelj, who – then 98 years old – crowned the evening on a simple chair with a demonstration of a perfect angle support. The long list of those who spoke and answered questions after him reads like a Who's Who of Hungary's dazzling Olympic history. To mention but a few: the athletes Ibolya Csák (1936), Gyula Zsivótzky (1968), Balázs Kiss (1996) and Krisztián Pars (2012), the water polo players Sándor Iványi (1932), László Jeney, Dezső Gyarmati and György Kárpáti (1952–1960), the football players of the 1952 "Golden Team" Nándor Hidegkuti, Jenő Buzánszky, József Tóth II, Pál Várhidi and "Black Panther" Gyula Grosics, the Olympic fencing victors Győző Kulcsár (1964–1972) and Lídia Sákovicsné Dömölky (1964), the modern pentathletes István Szondy (1952), András Balczó (1960, 1968/72) and Dr. Imre Nagy (1960), the wrestlers Imre Polyák (1952) and János Varga (1968), the canoeist Tibor Tatai (1968) and the gymnast Zoltán Magyar (1976 and 1980).

Not to forget foreigners like the Austro-Hungarian speed skate Emese Hunyady (gold in 1994), the Olympic hammer champions Yuri Sedykh (URS/1976/80) and Szymon Ziółkowski (POL/2000), the Croatian water polo player and coach Ratko Rudić (1984/2012 gold) or the South Korean wrestler An Han Bong (1992 gold).

Even in the 17th year of his presidency no obvious signs of exhaustion seem to affect Vilmos Horváth, who works as the advertising manager of a newspaper. He has also become a member of the Hungarian National Olympic Committee and of the Hungarian Olympic Academy, which helps with the financing of the club. In addition to members' contributions the club gets money from sponsors, and in addition it receives grants from the town, to whose fame it contributes through exhibitions and publications. Since 2004, girls and boys have competed for a cup named after Halmay, which – as in 1904 in St. Louis – is carried out in the proper style over a 50 yards distance.

The influence of the Zoltán Halmay Olympia Club, to which a range of young members belong, does not stop at the Hungarian frontier. Every year the club makes an excursion to the neighbouring countries, where members meet people with similar interests. In 2013 they will travel to Transylvania in Romania. The region was once part of Hungary. ■

1 Regional administration units are described in Hungary as Komitat.
2 Magasfok, which belonged in the time of the Kingdom of Hungary to the Komitat of Vas, is the modern Slovenian Martinje.
3 With the 1921 Peace Treaty of Trianon, recognised by the Horthy government, Hungary lost two thirds of its area to Czechoslovakia, Austria, the later Yugoslavia and Romania. Magasfalu, which lies around 30 km north of Bratislava, is today known as Vysoká pri Morave.

Further information: www.halmay.hu


FÁKLYA

XVII. évfolyam 1. szám • 2013. január

Száz éve született Dombóvári Sándor
„Ezt fütyülték az olimpiákon"

Halmay Bál és közgyűlés

"FÁKLYA" – the "Torch" is the name of the journal that regularly reports events in the Zoltán Halmay Olympia Club.

At the former home of Imre Rajczy-Rasztovich a memorial plaque commemorates the Olympic fencing champion of 1936, who was born in Szombathely. His daughter travelled all the way from Argentina to attend the inauguration ceremony and subsequently became a member of the Club.

Photos: Gabriele Kluge

Jean Drapeau – still an Olympic Standard Bearer in 1980

Introduction by Richard W. Pound

For the Olympic Movement, 1980 got off to a bad start. Within the first week of January, the possibility of a boycott of the Moscow Games was mooted at a NATO meeting in Brussels, as part of a package of sanctions considered by the Western powers in response to the December 1979 armed intervention by the Soviet Union in its then client state of Afghanistan.

US President Jimmy Carter, in electoral trouble as he sought re-election, leapt on the idea with reckless enthusiasm and set about trying to organise the cancellation, postponement or relocation of the Games. It was a strange juxtaposition, given the fact that the United States was the host country for the 1980 Olympic Winter Games in Lake Placid. Carter issued an ultimatum, stating that the United States would not participate in Moscow unless the Soviet Union were to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in 30 days. There was no practical way for the Soviets to do this, nor any political likelihood that the Soviet Union would sacrifice its perceived national interests at the behest of its archrival Super Power.

Carter was right in his political assessment of the domestic popularity of the "Soviet-bashing" posture. The US, and his own Administration had been smarting for months as a result of the occupation of its embassy in Teheran and the holding of the US embassy officials by the Iranians. The Americans had proved to be incapable of negotiating their release and were growing increasingly frustrated by the inability to accomplish anything positive. A tough position against the Soviet Union, while accomplishing nothing, was at least a means of venting some of this frustration.

The Carter Administration mounted a worldwide diplomatic effort to find allies for its boycott proposal, even calling for support from South Africa, which had been expelled from the Olympic Movement ten years earlier because of its system of apartheid. Willing support for the US initiative came from Margaret Thatcher's Britain, Malcolm Fraser's Australia and Canada, where the incumbent Prime Minister, Joe Clark, was facing an election in February 1980, confronted with polls indicating that he was very likely to face defeat.

On January 26, 1980, Clark announced that Canada would boycott the Moscow Games. Such a decision, however, could not have been legally imposed without the need for legislation, since the authority to decide on participation rested with the National Olympic Committee, which was then opposed to a boycott. It was, nevertheless, an indication that there would be difficulties ahead, should the Canadian Olympic Association decide to participate.

Even before the announcement, as part of the Canadian contribution to the combined efforts to derail the Moscow Games, Clark had already explored the possibility of moving them, having approached Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau to inquire whether Montreal, host of the 1976 Olympic Games, could envision restaging them in 1980. Costs were not to be a consideration in Drapeau's assessment – where political expedience was in play, economics, normally an overriding concern of governments (including the Canadian government in relation to the 1976 Games), were rendered incidental.

Clark had not reckoned with the degree to which Drapeau had embraced the concept and spirit of the Olympic Movement. Drapeau's response was a carefully constructed assessment of the underlying philosophical foundation of the Olympic Movement, as well as the practical aspects of any proposal to move the Games from Moscow to Montreal. In addition to pointing out the practical difficulties involved, the letter provided a gentle rebuke to the Prime Minister.

Drapeau was discreet enough not to make public either his response or the request received from Clark, no doubt in view of the forthcoming federal election. The Canadian government has never acknowledged that the request was made and has never released Drapeau's response.

The letter, provided by François Godbout of Montreal, a keen amateur of the Olympic Movement, is a remarkable treasure of Olympic history, which deserves being made accessible to the entire Olympic community as a principled response to a request driven by no other motives than political expedience and a desire to interfere in the operations of a peaceful international organisation.

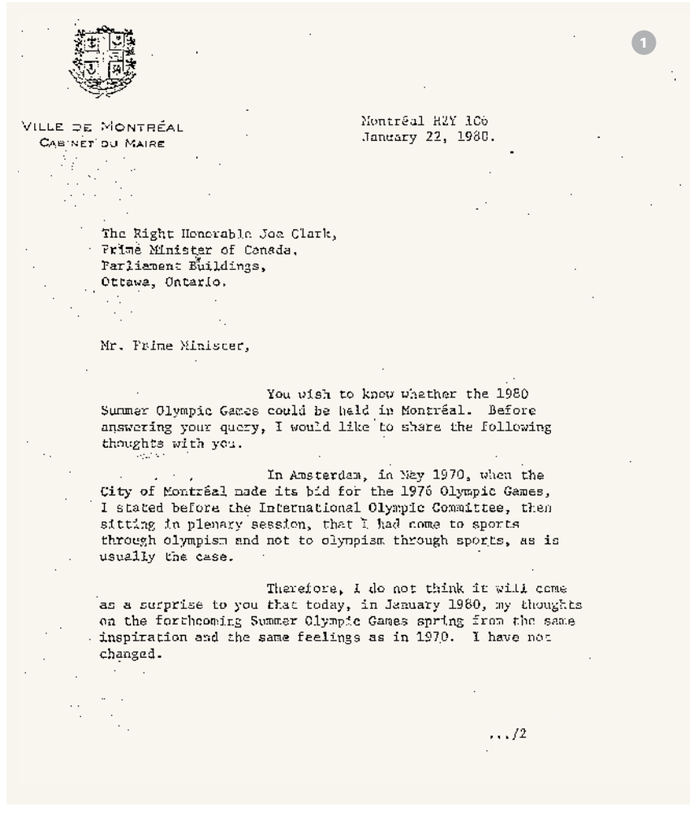
Jean Drapeau was the driving force behind the Montreal bids for both the 1972 and 1976 Olympic Games. Neither bid would have been advanced without his vision of Montreal as an Olympic city. The success in winning the 1976 bid was almost entirely the result of his skillful management of the campaign and his personal relations with many of the IOC Members. His personal sense of "ownership" of the Olympic portfolio and his control of the organisational process eventually created financial and logistical problems that required rescue by the Quebec government and, in the end, it was a close-run race to complete the facilities in time for the Games.

None of this diminished Drapeau's philosophical or emotional commitment to the Olympic Movement, as can be seen in his response to Prime Minister Clark. Clark was defeated in the federal election in February 1980 and the Liberal government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, which had interfered with the 1976 Games, also decided that Canada should boycott the Moscow Games. Its pressure led the Canadian Olympic Association to decline the invitation to participate.

That decision led to another problem for Drapeau. The Olympic protocol of the day was that the host city of the Olympic Games retained the Olympic Flag until the Opening Ceremony of the succeeding Games, at which time it was passed by the Mayor of the previous host city to the President of the IOC, who passed it in turn to the Mayor of the current host city. The Canadian government decision made it politically impossible for Drapeau to go to Moscow for the Opening Ceremony, but, somehow, the Olympic Flag had to be returned to the IOC President. Drapeau hit upon an elegant and non-controversial solution: the two final torch runners in Montreal in 1976, Sandra Henderson and Stéphane Préfontaine, would take the flag to Moscow and hand it over on behalf of Montreal.

Drapeau was awarded the Olympic Order by the IOC in 1983, a much-deserved recognition of his dedication to the Olympic Movement. Once again, he combined his commitment to the Olympic Movement and his beloved city by waiting to have the presentation of the Order made to him in Montreal. The IOC never knew of the letter which follows. ■

An elegant and non-controversial solution: instead of Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau, the last two torch-bearers of 1976, Sandra Henderson and Stéphane Préfontaine, handed over the traditional Olympic Flag to IOC President Lord Killanin, who on the occasion of the opening of the 1980 Games passed it on to the Mayor of Moscow. Opposite: Jean Drapeau (1916–1999), Mayor of Montreal from 1954 to 1957 and from 1960 to 1986.



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VILLE DE MONTRÉAL
CABINET DU MAIRE

Montréal H2Y 1C6
January 22, 1980.

The Right Honorable Joe Clark,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Mr. Prime Minister,

You wish to know whether the 1980 Summer Olympic Games could be held in Montréal. Before answering your query, I would like to share the following thoughts with you.

In Amsterdam, in May 1970, when the City of Montréal made its bid for the 1976 Olympic Games, I stated before the International Olympic Committee, then sitting in plenary session, that I had come to sports through olympism and not to olympism through sports, as is usually the case.

Therefore, I do not think it will come as a surprise to you that today, in January 1980, my thoughts on the forthcoming Summer Olympic Games spring from the same inspiration and the same feelings as in 1970. I have not changed.

.../2

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To my way of thinking, the Games are sports competitions held every four years while olympism is a ferment of inspiration which, from day to day, and indeed each day, must motivate sports athletes, of course, but also and to the same extent educators, parents and political leaders. It is from this inspiration that the Olympic Games draw their meaning and their value.

I have no personal experience of the 1916 pre-olympic period, my only knowledge being that there were no Olympic Games in 1916. I am also aware that there were no Games in 1940, nor in 1944, and that in all three cases, this was because the war made it impossible to hold them. At that time, there was no question of a boycott of the Games – they just didn't take place.

Today, as I write you, the 1980 situation is very different in that there is no war preventing the Games from being held. May such a cause never again arise!

"NEVER AGAIN WAR". Thus His Holiness Pope Paul VI cried out to the whole world when he spoke at the United Nations. That same exalted thought was expressed in other words by His Holiness Pope Jean Paul II in his 1979 Christmas message. The Holy Father then drew an apocalyptic, albeit unquestionably realistic, picture of the immediate future of Humanity if present-day Man has neither the wisdom nor the courage to avoid setting off the deadly spark.

This preamble, Mr. Prime Minister, is not without purpose. It re-establishes a fundamental principle which is essential to the answer I must give to your question.

Whether that question is submitted to me or to any mayor of any city of the world, whether it is submitted to you or to any chief of state of any country of the world, the answer will be the same.

3

Nothing, absolutely nothing, no consideration of any kind, must lead us to forget that there can be true Olympic Games only if they are in keeping with the ideal set by the man who brought the Games back to life at the end of the last century. This ideal, this objective of Pierre de Coubertin, of those who worked with him and of those who came after him, was to bring and to preserve for the Youth of the world a vehicle of communication and of brotherhood operating under the double aegis of physical and moral achievement, in a constantly maintained climate of humanism dedicated to peace.

I therefore venture to state that such an ideal of, perhaps, a fragile yet undeniable and indissociable nobility, is incompatible with any proposal to boycott the Games in any way or anywhere.

My mind cannot conceive that the tearing apart of a great human endeavour can really serve it better. Montréal lived through such a painful experience some four years ago with the withdrawal from the 1976 Games of the contingent from an entire continent. While this sad event will be recorded by historians, the very genuine success of the Montréal Olympic Games will remain one of the highlights of Olympic history.

The Olympic movement has acquired a much better and much greater stature than the Games. It has risen to the status of an international institution of great value for Humanity; in fact the actual frontiers of the movement merge with those of the very universe of Man.

It is an institution with its own government, its own rules, its own duties, its own responsibilities. It does not stand above but rather at the side of other governments. It is a government which is not perfect and which is not deemed perfect by all other governments, nor by itself for that matter. In that respect, it is like other governments, for none claim to be perfect.

4

However, there is no guarantee, to my way of thinking, that fewer mistakes would be made if, in the event of a political crisis, the conduct of olympic affairs were to be entrusted to political governements. To recognize this fact does not imply any form of disparagement of such governments.

It is of paramount importance that there be no confusion as to powers and to jurisdictions. It is well known that "Politics make strange bedfellows".

There is a government for the world of sports and that government poses no threat to any one. I therefore submit that the International Olympic Committee should not be compelled to defend its international jurisdiction. I was tempted to say territory. Such an attitude does not preclude dialogue but is a deterrent to encroachments. It is something quite different and much more reassuring.

Subject to this explicit reserve based on my deep conviction as summarized above, I could answer your question either affirmatively or negatively. All would depend on the content of the Games involved and on the date on which the signal to go ahead would be given.

In any case, it is absolutely impossible to organize and hold properly the Olympic Games on a scale satisfactory to all parties concerned, a scale scrupulously respected by Montréal four years ago. This is not a personal impression but an opinion reached in the light of the examination of the main implacable requirements of the various bodies involved and of conversations with those in charge of organization and service areas in 1976.

I could answer affirmatively to a proposal for a "rescue operation", recognized and accepted as such by all parties, with a generous show of understanding by all. However, I very much doubt that such a hypothesis is realistic. In fact, I very much doubt that it is desirable. There is a certain level below which the Olympic Games cannot go. This is in the interest of the Games themselves and also of the country and the city in which they are held.

5

"Noblesse oblige" applies not only to active participants but also to spectator participants and to television audiences. There are more than one billion such participants. The Games must be up to expectations. The problem is not one of size, it is one of quality, indeed one of excellence.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am sure your assistants have drawn up for you a complete list of what the holding of the Olympic Games implies. While I willingly admit some obstacles are more apparent than real, we must also recognize that other problems of which the public and many of those involved in this debate are not sufficiently aware could actually be insuperable within a time frame.

I do not wish to deceive you nor to project a personal image of weakness. I still believe in the value of challenge. I will always believe in it. However, if I never jump in the water, it is not because I fear the challenge but simply because I don't know how to swim!

The holding of the Games in Montréal forms an equation with a number of unknown factors, a condition making it impossible to measure the true extent of the challenge or, for that matter, to identify it at all. As in the case of circumstantial evidence, the organization of the Olympic Games is similar to a chain made up of a great number of links: such a chain is only as strong as the weakest of its links. At this point in time, it is simply not possible to make an inventory or to check the strength of each link.

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I am honoured by the trust you put in my opinions and feel duty-bound, under the circumstances, to follow the dictates of elementary – not excessive – prudence in formulating an answer which is respectful of your feelings, worthy of your intelligence, one which does not lead you into a dead-end.

True, the sports facilities are there, but they would need preparation, even readaptation in order to meet the requirements of the various olympic disciplines since, in a number of cases, they have been altered so that they might be suitable for regular activities. Transport, housing, food, furnishings and sports equipment, technical, professional, service and sports personnel, manual labour, office staff, doping detection, world-wide communications and telecommunications, medical facilities, safety of athletes and of the public, the actual organization of an extensive number of activities and services of all types – this is just a very limited list of the areas which require a time-consuming effort. There is no room for improvisation as the consequences involved would be too serious in all respects. National – or bi-national – honour would be at stake and could be seriously jeopardized, as would be the very future of the olympic movement. I really do not have the right to lead you to any other conclusion.

Nothing is said here of the financial aspect of the undertaking since your question expressly precluded that particular aspect of the problem.

Nothing is said here either of the participation of the athletes from the 130 national committees which are members of the olympic movement, since your question did not bear on that subject.

This last matter remains of paramount importance. At the Winter Olympic Games to be held at Lake Placid next February the International Olympic Committee will meet. The international federations and the national olympic committees will also consider this matter.

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Until that time and even after that, let us hope that minds will open to the idea of a psychological truce, so that the olympic movement may express itself in a spiritual climate free from those fears and constraints which tend to bring human beings into conflict with one another.

Let us allow the olympic movement to proceed in freedom and in peace. Let us not stand in its way as it moves up. Let us rejoice in the knowledge that a non-governmental organization should thus have asserted itself, for close to a century, as an agent of promotion and international relations in the world of sports. Its achievement brings to mind a number of other endeavours which exist and function successfully, thus relieving governements from the need to initiate them.

Should it be said that there is more shadow than light in the picture I have drawn, then I would suggest that you answer by saying as I would that "there is greatness in believing in light in the midst of darkness".

Mr. Prime Minister, I trust that my remarks will be informative and of value to you in your consideration of this matter.

Please accept my warmest personal regards.

Mayor of Montréal

Better late than never

By Ruud Paauw

You become Olympic champion but you only receive your gold medal 62 years after the Games …

It seems to be an incredible story but this is what happened to the Belgian riders Lode Wouters, Leon De Lathouwer and Eugeen Van Roosbroeck who won the team event in the cycling road race at the 1948 Games, held in Windsor Great Park.

In the individual standings of the 194 km race Wouters finished 3rd, De Lathouwer 4th and Van Roosbroeck 9th. These results gave them the first place as a team. But that was not clear immediately after the race. The judges had to calculate the times of tens of riders and without a computer it took them many hours to work out the ranking. Strangely enough there was no medal ceremony for the teams at all.

According to Van Roosbroeck more than sixty years later "there was complete chaos after the race" and that is why they jumped quickly on the double decker bus back to the army barracks that served as the Olympic Village. A day later they were back in Belgium. "It was only afterward we heard we were the best team. None of us thought of the medal which went with the victory. The honour was enough for us", said Lode Wouters. "There was no one to wish us well when we left and no one to welcome us when we returned." The shadows of war were still present.

The years went by. One day in 2010 Van Roosbroeck by now 82 years old, read a newspaper article which caught his eye. Belgian sailor André Nelis had won silver at the Melbourne Games in 1956 and bronze at the Rome Games four years later. Both these had been lost in a fire. IOC President Jacques Rogge had presented him with replacements. "Then I thought: now is the time to ask for my medal of 1948." He telephoned the Belgian Olympic Committee but nobody knew where the original medals were and why they had never distributed. So a copy of the medal was struck for Van Roosbroeck and on June 4, 2010 he finally received his gold medal in Brussels from the IOC President. Later a copy was also given to Lode Wouters. Unfortunately it all came too late for the third rider, Léon De Lathouwer who had passed away in 2008.

Sources: De Standaard, Thierry Bousse, The Daily Telegraph

After 62 years the Belgian cyclist Lode Wouters received his Olympic gold medal, which he had earned in 1948 in the road race along with his teammates. Right: Gaston Roelants, Olympic 3000 m steeplechase champion of 1964 and now as Baron Roelants President of the Federation of Belgian Olympians.

Photo: belga picture

"Chevalerie du néant"[1] – Henry de Montherlant and Olympism*

By Jeffrey O. Segrave

In both word and deed, Henry de Montherlant personified the man of letters as the man of action. Heralded as one of "France's greatest writers"[2], Montherlant also delighted in the world of sport. He played soccer, ran track, and developed a deep passion for tauromachy (the art of bullfighting). Sport provided Montherlant with an outlet for the virile masculinity and combat camaraderie that he had experienced in war. Consequently, Montherlant's fictional as well as his real world was to a great extent the world of male comradeship and the angst-ridden drive to decisive action, the world of war and bullfighting, an anti-religious Nietzschean world in which power, conflict and force were enacted and confronted, one in which the taste for blood and the proximity to death helped define the athlete as the personification of manliness. It was his glorification of both war and sport, as well as his admiration for the German values of courage, hard work, discipline and militarism, that caused Montherlant's athletic philosophy to be informed by what Frese Witt calls an "aesthetic fascism",[3] and Montherlant, himself, to be condemned for his political sympathies with Nazism.[4]

Les Olympiques. Montherlant's two volume paean to sport, published in 1924 by Grasset, Paris. Montherlant, who from 1920 to 1924 was General Secretary of the military cemetery of Donaumont, entered the book for the Paris Olympic Art Competitions but failed to win a prize. The gold medal went to his compatriot Géo-Charles (Charles Louis Guyot).

But, there was just enough of a humanist in Montherlant, especially at a young age, to find value in the Greek model of sport. He developed more than a passing interest in the Olympic Games, not only because of his love of sport, but also because he found much to admire in Coubertin's ideology of Olympism with its attendant moralism, athletic aestheticism, and philosophical integration of the intellectual and the physical. Like Coubertin, Montherlant divined an almost mystical theology in the ascetic of sport. Not himself an Olympic athlete – although a sprinter who once ran the 100 metres in 11.8 seconds (not an unreasonable time considering that Charles Paddock won the 100 metres at the 1920 Antwerp Games in only 10.8 seconds) Montherlant was an Olympic aesthete, an entrant in the 1924 Paris Fine Arts Competitions. Notwithstanding Montherlant's Olympic sympathies, there was a fundamental difference between his and Coubertin's athletic cosmology: Coubertin's athlete was born of a romantic, idealistic inclination, and represented the consummation of a life based on a commitment to the highest virtues of nobility, unselfishness and community; Montherlant's, on the other hand, became the personification of an atheistic nihilism, the expression of a life of *service inutile*, a self-centered ideal that posited that the only choice individuals have to create any sense of a meaningful existence is to commit to a purpose, a cause, knowing at the same time that any purpose or cause is merely a chimera. For Coubertin, the athlete represented a knighthood of purpose; for Montherlant a "knighthood of nothingness".[5]

The purpose of this paper is to explore Montherlant's relationship to Olympism and the Olympic Games. Ultimately, I wish to argue that while both Montherlant and Coubertin shared much in common in their commitment to the practices and virtues of sport, in the end, they are best understood by their differences, especially the fundamentally divergent world view that each adopted and that lead each to espouse radically different perspectives on the ontological value of sport.

Modernism and the Great Age of Sport

Both Montherlant and Coubertin were part of the modernist preoccupation with physicality that developed in Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries within the context of a widespread disenchantment with an overbearing and stultifying intellectual culture. Sport emerged from the backdrop of philosophical anti-rationalism, the primitivism of avant-guardist linguistic experimentation, the modernist critique of tradition and convention, and the emergent primacy of spontaneity and intuition. Modernist anti-intellectualism championed action over contemplation and the passive culture of language; the transvaluation of values, to use Nietzsche's phrase, seriously questioned the epistemological hegemony of the word, and the virtues of the mind tended to give way to the virtues of the body. The philosophical emphasis on the body transformed school curricula, gave birth to a widespread concern for health, revolutionised dress codes – especially for women – and facilitated the genesis of modern dance. The era witnessed an explosion in organised programmes broadly centered on physical exercise, including mass physical education movements in Europe, the Boy Scouts, and national revitalisation movements, such as the German Turnverein and the Czech Sokol, that integrated nationalism and paramilitary preparedness.

The past was not without significance in the framing of the modernist attitude towards the body. Nietzsche's enthusiasm for the ancient Hellenic culture, the resurgence of classical architecture, art and literature in Western Europe, the instigation of the classical liberal arts curriculum in the British public school system, and the German fascination with classical Greek civilization all contributed, not only to the development of sport but also to the way in which sport was theorized and practiced. An idealized pre-Christian paganism canonised manly virtues and consecrated the ascetic, competitive ethic. The dual modernist pillars of physicality and antiquity merged to provide the fertile cultural environment in which the works of both Montherlant and Coubertin flourished.

The culture of the body, in fact, reached its apogee at precisely the same time as both Montherlant and Coubertin were launching their literary and athletic careers. In short, both Montherlant and Coubertin drew their inspiration from the same modernist culture, one that prioritised the active over the passive, the physical over the intellectual, the sensual over the rational, and celebrated sport as direct experience of the phenomenological world. While Coubertin wrote political and philosophical tracts advocating sport and the Olympic Games, Montherlant wrote the novels that distinguished his early literary career as well as his Olympic paean to sport, *Les Olympiques*.[6]

Henry de Montherlant and *Les Olympiques*

Written between 1920 and 1925, the two volumes *of Les Olympiques – Le Paradis à l'ombre des épées* and *Les Onzedevantla portedorée* – were published separately in 1924 by Grasset and together in 1938. The book comprises a series of poems, stories, essays and a one-act play dedicated to football. The sports poems touch on a variety of subjects including football boots, hurdling and the winner of the women's 100 metres. While the world of sport surfaces in several of Montherlant's other works, most especially track and field in *The Dream* and bullfighting in *The Matador, Les Olympiques* is Montherlant's only book-length manuscript specifically dedicated to sport. Arguing that enough has already been written about the positive impact of sport on health, character and intelligence, Montherlant instead focuses of what he describes as the comradeship and poetry of the sports stadium[7], but what he actually writes about are the moral, aesthetic and social dimensions of sport.

Two photographs of young Montherlant at Roland Garros taken by Karel Egermeier from Paysage des Olympiques, 87 photographs by Karel Egermeier, published in 1924 by Grasset, Paris.

Interestingly, *Les Olympiques* also gives voice for the first time to Montherlant's famous doctrine of *syncretism et alternance*, a philosophical *totalisme* that sought to reconcile opposites and posited that wholeness and diversity were inseparable and that genuine diversity must absorb contradictions. While this metaphysic was more formally systematised *in Aux fontaines du désir*[8], in *Les Olympiques* Montherlant speaks of his belief in a well-ordered universe in which everything is justified and where happiness is obtained by embracing every human experience: "And may I live all lives, all the diversity and contradictions of the world, with intensity and detachment; and let that come to pass, since I will it so. Be able to do everything to experience everything, experience everything to know everything,

Henry Marie Joseph Frédéric Expedite Millon de Montherlant, French essayist, novelist and dramatist.
Born: April 20, 1895, Paris.
Died: September 21, 1972, Paris.

Illustration: La Reine Morte, 1942.

know everything to understand everything, understand everything to express everything."[9] Using sport as an analogy, Montherlant analyses the style of a high-jumper as "consisting of a perfect and economical distribution of weight and effort between the different parts of the body" such that "harmony is not absence of difference but a perfectly proportioned use of different elements."[10] In other words, the athlete exemplifies the way in which unity can be present in diversity, the personification of his Goethean ideal.

In *Les Olympiques*, Montherlant also demonstrates his diverse talents both as a moralist and as a poet, the gifts of attentive observation and imagery being what he called "the two fundamental gifts of the craft of writing".[11] As a moralist, Montherlant was a meticulous witness to the diversity, complexity and nuance of human behavior. As a poet, Curtis describes him as one of "the highest order".[12] In "To a Retired Athlete", Montherlant employs a sobriety of language to invoke a powerful Romantic intensity and pathos appropriate to the distress he feels about the demise of his fallen athletic hero:

You were the flower of young men when I was a small child.
Why, after thirteen years, did I have to find myself beside you?
I turn from you. I speak to you as I look out of the window.
The trees are dying, but will live again, and the river has not changed.[13]

An interesting admixture of prose, poetry and drama, *Les Olympiques* has drawn both critique and praise. Johnson judges it to be "a strange lyric work"[14] whose "conceptual framework" is "vague" and its definitions "disparate".[15] On the other hand, Cruickshank argues that it "must rank very high indeed in the literary expression of those sporting experiences that lack the more obvious drama of such violent, blood-drawing exercises as bull-fighting, foxhunting, and boxing".[16]

Either way, *Les Olympiques* was Montherlant's submission to the 1924 Art Competitions, specifically the Literature Competition which, in Paris, was comprised of lyric, dramatic and Romanesque works. Montherlant's work was among 12 other entries from France, and one of 32 entries from 10 countries in all. Among the 31 jurists for the Literature Competitions were some of Montherlant's literary compatriots, including, Maurice Barrés, Jean Giraudoux, Marcel Prévost, and Paul Valéry. Also on the jury was the famed and flamboyant Italian writer, Gabriele D'Annunzio, himself, like Montherlant, a literary man irrevocably drawn to war, danger and adventure.

The jury was chaired by Melchior de Polignac. After three sittings of readings, the jury awarded the medals on June 29, 1924. Montherlant was not among the medal winners, his entry rejected because it had already been accepted for publication. His countrymen, Géo-Charles (Charles Louis Proper Guyot) won the gold medal for his poem titled *Jeux Olympiques* and Charles-Anthoine Gonnet won the bronze medal for his poem, *Vers le Dieu d'Olympie*.

There is no record of Montherlant's reaction to the results, no surviving account justifying the judges' decisions, and no record of the level of agreement among the panel; apparently, the only thing the judges could all agree upon was that the system of judging needed to be revised.[17]

Even though *Les Olympiques* was withdrawn from consideration for Olympic honours, it remains an insightful if enigmatic and disjointed presentation of Montherlant's athletic philosophy. Imbedded also in the work is the conceptual framework by which Montherlant considers aspects of the Olympic Games. Taken in concert with his other works that touch on the subject of sport, we can explore Montherlant's disposition towards Coubertin's idiosyncratic Olympic creation. In many ways, Montherlant found an affinity with Coubertin's formulations; in other ways, he did not. But certainly both Montherlant and Coubertin shared an analogous belief in the power of sport to invigorate a nation.

Sport and the Revitalisation of France

Sport represented an antidote to what Montherlant saw in early 20th Century France as the idiocies of bourgeois mores and pusillanimity. Consequently, he advocated sport on the basis of his conviction that French society was enervated by a mawkish and emasculating morality. Just as Coubertin promulgated Olympism as a way to rejuvenate a nation humiliated and dispirited by war, so Montherlant championed sport as an essentially masculinist social practice that would counteract the disintegrating elements of effeminate bourgeois society and an equally feminizing Christian moralism. Like war, sport for Montherlant served as a searing and searching test for the awakening of those moral qualities – will, courage, honesty and integrity – that atrophied under the weight of what he called "une nation faisandée"[18], a decaying, stagnant culture in which the youth of France were attracted to the banal and superficial, the sensational and sentimental, with little or no appreciation for quality. According to his famed "Letter from a father to his son", courage, citizenship, pride, frankness, detachment, scorn, politeness and gratitude were essential moral qualities[19], and Montherlant argued that the strength and vigour of a nation depended on the establishment of an élite possessing a distinctly masculine character, a qualité, that was constituted of wisdom and force, incapable of vulgarity or sentimentality, and bereft of softness, tenderness, pity, self-deluding romanticism and the need for approbation – a character, as Guerard puts it, that was "solidly masculine".[20] Women, according to Montherant, tended to retard the vitality of a culture based on their "refusal to face reality, useless suffering, desire to please, gregariousness and sentimentality".[21]

In *Les Olympiques*, Jacques Peyrony personifies Montherant's intellectual-poetic view of sport that reinvigorates society. Peyrony's parents, on the other hand, exemplify the degeneration of the French culture; they "represent a cancerous-like disorder eating away at grandeur sports, and they threaten society itself", Johnson writes.[22] They are incapacitated by moral repressiveness and hypocrisy, weakened by those very Christian virtues – humility, self-denial, self-denigration – that Montherlant rejected in favour of strengthening the body and will in fulfillment of masculine virility, the transformation of the self into something akin to what Ernst Jünger once immortalised as "the man of steel"[23]. Like Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, Robert Brasillach and other "aesthetic fascists"[24], Montherlant's writings exemplified nostalgia for the heroic, violent and tragic universe of the front; and like Marinetti, Gumilyov and La Rochelle, Montherlant's passion for war presaged his critique of post-war French society and spurred his advocacy of violent sport as a regenerative cult of energy that served as a source of morality and virtue, even as an aesthetic.

The modernist cult of the physical, which, in Montherlant, combined the clinical and the aesthetic, and, in Coubertin, merged the ascetic and the philosophical, ultimately lent itself to facile exploitation by racist supremacy ideologies. One of the key features of fascism was, in fact, a dismissal of "the easy life", and a renewed emphasis on physical fitness and devotion, especially as the cult of the physical contributed to the reinvigoration of a spiritualised nation. Broadly speaking, both Montherlant and Coubertin contributed to the resurgence of what Griffin calls "palingenetic ultranationalism",[25] an ideology that emphasized the degeneration of a culture coupled with a nationalistic myth of regeneration. But, while Coubertin quickly transcended his nationalist sportive agenda, embedding his regenerative cult of the physical in his internationalist ideology of Olympism, Montherlant's condemnation of bourgeois and ecclesiastical morality coupled with his exaltation of force, violence and virility – what Raimond describes as the "Nietzschean Mask"[26] – easily lead him to find favour with the militarism of the Wehrmacht and the politico-athletic doctrines of Nazism. In fact, as Golsan notes, it was through his fascist tendencies that Montherlant could denigrate and belittle France's physical and moral shortcomings and arrogantly announce "his readiness, indeed his obligation, to make common cause with the heroic élite of the new Europe, the Nazis themselves".[27] But, despite his fascist proclivities, Montherlant's philosophy of sport in many respects transcended political ideology, and allowed him to adumbrate a more humanistic perspective that advocated sport as an expressive and challenging medium through which the individual could pursue the drive for self-realisation. Like war, sport and tauromachy affirmed life, and, by furnishing opportunities for adversaries to live more intensely, more passionately, permitted individuals to embrace life and move not just toward self-improvement but self-realisation.

Montherlant and Olympism

Like Coubertin, Montherlant recognised and embraced the ontological value of sport, realising that sport was not an inconsequential and transient preoccupation but rather an activity endowed with enduring human worth and of profound developmental significance that reached far beyond the benefits it bestowed on the body. Montherlant delighted in the sheer pleasure of

Henry de Montherlant in military uniform in 1917. In the First World War he received several distinctions. He made use of his war experiences in his autobiographical story "Dream" and the song "Le Chant funèbre pour les Morts de Verdun" (Death song for the Fallen of Verdun).

Photo: Collections A.R.T.

physical activity, a delight that bordered on the reverent and revealed his nuanced appreciation for the mystical appeal of physical effort. During a practice session in her "beloved thousand-metre race", Dominique Soubrier, the young athlete in Montherlant's novel, *The Dream*, contemplates her performance:

> *At this moment, she was conscious at the same time of her perspicacity, her technical knowledge, her bearing, her presence of mind, her vastly organized powers of endurance; and then the freedom and the strength of her legs, the close grain of her cheeks which never shook as she ran, her ease of movement, all the potentialities in the muscled body, the deep reserves of strength and breath unused in her heaving chest.*[28]

Like Coubertin, Montherlant found sensual enjoyment in physical exertion; it offered an exhilarating and intoxicating brew of bodily freedom and disciplined intensity.

Montherlant also found sport of abiding educational value; it offered a didactic experience that nurtured the human soul throughout life: "An athletic youth", he wrote, "contains sufficient richness, varied richness, to nourish each moment of our internal development and each stage of our destiny with something."[29] Sport offered health, vigour and vitality, and nourished body and character such that no youth could be spent more productively or with greater satisfaction than in the arena of sport. Reflecting on his own life, he wrote that he found "in the superabundance of energy of this body one of the greatest joys of his life".[30] Indeed, he reveled in the sport of his youth:

> *If we still worshipped the hours, I should adore the hour when for the first time we set foot on our stadium; the stadium with its boys with little heads, short nails, flat stomachs, with its basketball goals, with its cross-beam for gymnastics, with its jumping pits and heaps of clothes at the foot those pits, with its goal-posts, with its oriflammes, with its exquisite lawn, glowing with freshness, 'covered in a vast wave of friendship and familiarity'.*[31]

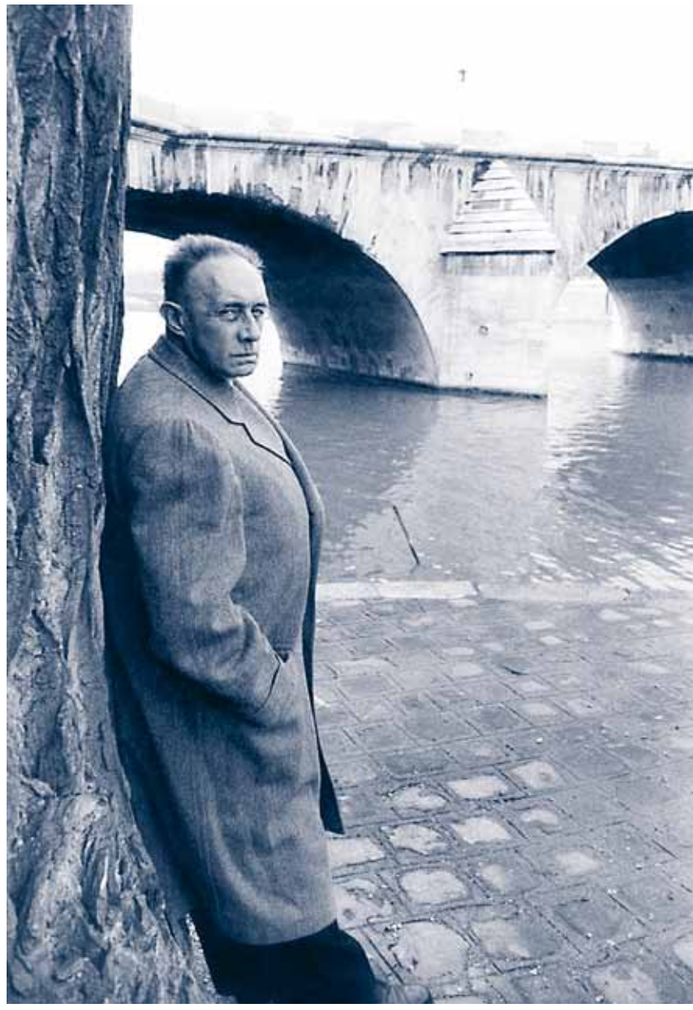
In keeping with one of the fundamental tenets of Olympism, Montherlant also embraced the basic derivative of the ancient Hellenic ideal of balance, the marriage of muscles and mind, as Coubertin put it.[32] Thus, Montherlant celebrated the natural relationship between physical and intellectual accomplishment, a relationship symbolised for him by Hermathena, the athletic muse who combined the skills of Hermes, the patron of all gymnastic games, and Athena, the goddess of wisdom.[33] Sport without intelligence held no meaning for Montherlant. While Coubertin proposed the motto "mens fervida in corpora lacertoso",[34] Montherlant championed the phrase "l'âme d'ord ans le corps de fer".[35] In both cases, the practice of sport was elevated beyond the purely physical and located instead at the heart of a holistic perspective on humanity, one that acknowledged sport as a powerful catalyst in the task of moral education. Both Coubertin and Montherlant conceived of sport as an effective instrument of moral training.

The general framework for Motherlant's athletic morality can be found in his notion of "intoxication through discipline"[36], the idea that the greatest satisfaction to be gained through sport was derived through the necessarily imposed discipline of training, practice and effort. Sport also demanded a moral asceticism that taught "acceptance", what Montherlant defined as "consent with regret and approval".[37] As such, the athlete was compelled to confront and deal with a wide variety of vicissitudes and exigencies that comprised the reality of sport – the decisions of the referee, the ebb and flow of form, the effect of the weather. These seemingly inconsequential moments, especially as they cultivated the fundamental ethic of fair play, consummated the relationship between athletic and moral culture for Montherlant: "I am more in favour than Coubertin of a certain relationship between physical culture and moral culture", he wrote in *Les Olympiques*, "fair play, the fact of suffering an injustice on the part of the judges or the public (especially for professionals), the sense of measure (which I shall call sports litotes), discipline, solidarity with comrades, fraternisation with the opponent, are virtues going beyond sport and which belong well and truly to morals, and to the highest at that".[38]

Although sport was neither a religion nor a system of ethics to Montherlant, it was a site where the athlete came into contact with a certain sensitising reality, the reality of his own strengths and weaknesses, his own possibilities and limitations, his own capacities of character and ability. Above all, the athlete confronted his authentic self, one of the most important reasons why Montherlant extolled bullfighting, because the corrida served as a particularly intense terreno de verdad; after all, he wrote, "even the most inspiring masterpiece on canvas is a pale sort of thing compared with a bull glaring at you with nothing between you and him".[39] Within Montherlant's athletic philosophy, as it was in Coubertin's Olympism, sport served as a powerful instrument for moral education where, as Coubertin put it, "the muscles are made to do the work of a moral educator",[40] and it did so for both Montherlant and Coubertin because on the field of play the athlete was constrained "to know, to govern and to conquer himself";[41] or, as Coubertin was wont to say, "athletae proprium est se ipsum noscere, ducere et vincere".[42] Consequently, like Coubertin, Montherlant also championed sport as a field of action where character could be fashioned and forged, and where moral development could be honed and vitalised in the face of adversity. Ultimately, as a palpable struggle of force and energy rather than an obscure struggle of ideals and interests, sport for Montherlant celebrated the athlete's sense of being truly and fully engagé; sport conferred qualities of judgment and self-judgment and facilitated the ultimate drive for self-understanding and self-realization. As such, Montherlant echoed many of the themes that pervaded Coubertin's athletic moral cosmology.

Montherlant and Coubertin also shared a common aesthetics of sport. Like Coubertin, Montherlant rejoiced in the beauty of sport itself. In particular, he extolled the perfection of form embodied in the female athlete. In anything but a sexist approach to women in sport, Montherlant wrote of Dominique Soubrier: "So young she looked, her strong delicate legs evoking the Homeric expression of 'charming virility'."[43] Furthermore, and more than reminiscent of Hemingway's celebration of tauromachy as choreography, Montherlant also eulogised the fusion of courage and artistry, majesty and beauty, displayed by the matador. In fact, Montherlant writes, "one understands nothing about tauromachy if one does not realise that, among the great ones, the matador's art is a mode of self-expression on exactly the same level as literature, the plastic arts, music and the dance".[44] In Montherlant's prose, the symbiotic relationship between man and bull, and the sheer perfection of form and technique, acquired a transcendent gracefulness that touched on the sublime: "It was no longer a fight, it was a religious incantation performed by these pure gestures, more beautiful than the gestures of love."[45] In the end, Montherlant's aesthetics coalesced in his adulation of style: "There is no complete and perfect joy in sport without style. One's performance may satisfy the mind, but style benefits one's whole being."[46] Style for Montherlant represented harmony and simplicity of effort, what Cruickshank describes as "the perfectly proportioned use of different elements".[47] Likewise, Coubertin writes: "There can be no beauty without poise and proportion, you [sport] are the incomparable master of both, for you create harmony, you fill movement with rhythm, you make strength gracious, and you lend power to supple things."[48]

But, perhaps, most obviously, even if only by his participation in it, Montherlant contributed to Coubertin's vision for the Olympic Movement by submitting his work, *Les Olympiques*, for consideration for a medal in the literature category in the 1924 Paris Pentathlon of the Muses. The Arts Competitions were the ultimate expression of beauty for Coubertin, the institutionalisation of "the involvement of the arts and mind in the Olympic Games"[49], a way to "ennoble"[50] the Games and "restore the Olympiads to their original Hellenic beauty"[51], and the contribution of a novelist, essayist, poet and dramatist of the reputation of Montherlant would have done nothing but epitomise the fusion of art and sport that Olympism institutionalised and that Coubertin strove to canonise.



Montherlant, 64 years old, on the banks of the Seine, March 15, 1960. In the same year he was elected to the Académie Française.

Photo: René Vital

While Montherlant may well have affirmed many of the core tenets of Olympism, however, he did not subscribe to the notion that the Olympic Games were a "festival of human unity"[52], a catalyst in the production of international harmony, peace and goodwill. The athletic arena may well have served as an important social leveler and a source of true comradeship for Montherlant but he interpreted competitive international sport as the cause of international conflict, not the resolution of it. Consequently, he adopted a much less charitable perspective on the reconciliatory powers of the Olympic Games than Coubertin. In fact, the whole idea that

international athletic meetings could contribute to "the peace of the world" was to Montherlant "nonsense". Peace, he wrote, "is a word covered with sticky slime by the surfeit of mouths that have pronounced it ... If the Games favored anything", he argued, "it was not so much peace as national animosities, by virtue of that excellent saying ... 'Groups do not unite, they divide'". Montherlant was equally scathing about the motives that compelled individual athletes and countries to participate in the Games: "Moreover, neither the nations nor the men who competed for them were interested at the Games in the peace of the world. They were interested in making their colours win." On the other hand, he did go as far as to propose that since "ten out of the seventeen nations who competed in the Games had taken part in the war", perhaps "the Games should be solemnly dedicated to the war dead" and the concept of the "the unknown soldier".[53] The idea, of course, never took root.

Given Montherlant's disinterest in what Cruickshank characterises as "the prestige aspects of sport" – "Neither sports chauvinism nor the records interested me", Montherlant declared[54] – as well as his scepticism about Coubertin's claim that the Olympics constituted a "peaceful internationalism"[55], it is doubtful that Montherlant embraced much of the idealistic cosmopolitanism that comprised Coubertin's internationalist agenda for Olympism and that was, in Coubertin's eyes, nurtured by the quadrennial festival of Olympiads. In fact, nowhere in his voluminous writing, and, especially in his Olympic entry, *Les Olympiques*, does Montherlant even mention the word Olympism or acknowledge the ideological tenets of Coubertin's philosophico-religious doctrine, never mind support the assertion that through competitive international sport the youth of the world might "learn to respect one another" and "the diversity of national traits" might become "a source of generous and peaceful emulation".[56]

This was Coubertin's vision, clearly not Montherlant's. While Montherlant did embrace the participatory ethic of the Olympic code – "What would a race look like at the finish", he wrote, "where any runner who thought he had lost his chance of a placing gave up?"[57] – and while he clearly acknowledged the syncretic physical, intellectual, moral and aesthetic value of the agonetic struggle, he stopped short of ascribing to sport the sort of global didacticism and reformist potential that Coubertin spend his life promulgating. Moreover, Montherlant was more of an athlete than a spectator, and he remained indifferent to the exuberance, pageantry and ritualized hoopla that constituted the Olympic celebration: "I followed the Games", he said, "but without exultation."[58]

It is also worth remembering that Montherlant's passion for sport was largely a dimension of the adolescent exalté of his early life rather than the Nietzschéan méprisant of his later years. When in 1925, at the age of almost 30, a bullfighting injury ended his athletic career, he no longer took any interest in sport. His preoccupation with sport was part of the joie de vivre of his youth; his later years were filled with the disillusionment of embittered old age: "The abyss behind: a wasted life. The abyss in front: decrepitude and death."[59] Hardly the words or sentiments of a convinced Olympian. Increasingly obsessed with the taedium vitae, Montherlant's theatre became that of indifference and despair. His athletic heroes, both male and female alike, exhibited the same characteristics as his dramatic heroes, each seeking to transcend the absurdity of human existence and to realize what the Infanta in *La Reine morte* called "the great things within ourselves".[60] Yet, each dénouement revealed to Montherlant's heroes the vanity of their actions, the futility of their quest for nobility and meaning, and, sport, like any cause, any commitment, became a pointless struggle, like any sacrifice, a chimera. And so, Mademoiselle de Plémeur runs "with a beauty there was no one to witness, to accomplish an aim no one was interested in".[61] No wonder she runs "in a state of sacred horror".[62] For Montherlant's athletes, as it is for all of his heroes, the search for deliverance ends where it begins, in futility and despair.

Conclusion

Ultimately, Coubertin and Montherlant adopted very different metaphysical perspectives. Coubertin was an incurable romantic and idealist who adumbrated a new athletic humanism as a palliative to some of the problems of his era. His grandiose vision for the Games was written into his Olympic philosophy, Olympism, which, he suggested in typically hyperbolic rhetoric, would "bring together in a radiant gathering all the principles contributing to the perfection of man".[63] Throughout a life of unremitting altruism, he committed to his apostolic mission of proselytising the world to the abiding worth of his humanistic Olympic dream. His Olympic athlete, his Olympian, the personification of his dream, became what Lucas aptly described as "a kind of Greek reincarnation, a modern-day medieval knight, a slightly modified aristocratic English gentleman athlete",[64] with all the trappings of a Coubertinesque athletic noblesse oblige. In the final analysis, Coubertin believed in the intrinsic goodness of the human soul, and, like Charles Beard, Jacob Bronowski and others, he saw in the progressive ascent of humanity the gradual fulfillment of a noble human destiny. The Olympic motto – citius, altius, fortius – was not just a call to Olympic athletes but a challenge to a collective humanity.

Montherlant, on the other hand, was an obdurate atheist and nihilist who lived in a pitiless universe bereft of nobility and purpose, devoid, in fact, of all transcendent values. Montherlant's response to the despair occasioned by the absurdity of human existence was not to propound a new humanism, as Coubertin did, or as Camus and Sartre did, but rather to retreat into a purely personal code of ethics which left individuals in constant opposition to the world. Unlike Coubertin, who challenged his heroes to sublimate themselves to the good of the community, or, at least, to serve as models for the community, ultimately Montherlant divined a completely egotistical hero responsible only to himself and heedless of others or of community. Whatever wrongs or ills Montherlant's heroes committed were justified if they furthered the individual's self-absorbed quest for self-realisation. Coubertin's athletic heroes were filled with joy, altruism and unselfishness, called upon to change the world; Montherlant's with sadness, solitude, and the desperate submission to the futility of existence.

Perhaps, in the end, it was as simple as the fact that Coubertin was, as Lucas judged him, "a very good man"[65], and Montherlant, in the estimation of Yale University critic Henri Peyre, "a very bad man"[66]. But, be that as it may, Coubertin adumbrated a philosophy of hope and purpose; Montherlant one of despair and meaninglessness. Coubertin's athlete-heroes were knights on a mission, Montherlant's "knights of the void"[67] ("knights of nothingness"). ■

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10 CRUICKSHANK: Montherlant, p. 117.
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30 Ibid: Service, p.18.
31 Ibid: Les Olympiques, p. 35.
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33 MONTHERLANT: Les Olympiques, p. 20.
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46 Ibid: Romans, p. 259.
47 CRUICKSHANK: Montherlant, p. 117.
48 COUBERTIN: Olympism, p. 629.
49 Ibid: p. 583.
50 Ibid: p. 614.
51 Ibid: p. 613.
52 Ibid: p. 477.
53 MONTHERLANT: Les Olympiques, p. 179.
54 Ibid: p. 179.
55 COUBERTIN: Olympism, p. 537.
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61 Ibid: Mademosielle, p. 33.
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Our Distinguished Son: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the reappropriation of Jack Lovelock*

By Geoffery Z. Kohe

With his world record time of 3:47.8 min over 1500 m, Jack Lovelock was one of the outstanding performers at the 1936 Olympic Games. The silver medal went to the American Glenn Cunningham, who had broken Lovelock's world mile record in 1934. 1932 champion Luigi Beccali (Italy) took bronze.

During the 1920s, New Zealand, in common with other nations,[1] experienced a period of fluctuating economic conditions, a changing political landscape, and, a resurgence of a (masculine) sports culture.[2] Stronger trans-Tasman relations and a renewed sense of imperial allegiance, for instance, prompted nationalistic and patriotic resurgence. In addition, regional parochialism challenged the partisanship of central government, growing discontent among working class labourers over wage and working conditions rocked trade industries, concerns over indigenous health and welfare thwarted racial harmony; and global conflict threatened national security and colonial ties.[3] These tumultuous forces precipitated a reappraisal of New Zealand's economic position, national direction, identity, and culture, which, in turn, also influenced the country's sports organisations. Indeed, sport was an active constituent in many of the social and cultural tensions and conflicts in New Zealand life.[4] Social and cultural forces also influenced the amateur New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) and its involvement in the Olympic Movement. During this time NZOC sent the country's first "national" team to an Olympic Games and athletes celebrated the first exclusively "New Zealand" Olympic victories.[5] However, local and global forces still curtailed the NZOC's ability to expand and develop the Olympic Movement. Such was the case that by the 1930s, and in spite of continued contributions to the international Olympic Movement, NZOC's position as the country's eminent sporting authority was not yet secure.[6] To consolidate its significance and better advertise its causes, what the NZOC essentially required was a public relations strategy that utilised not only the social pedigree of its members, but also capitalised on the nation's sporting affectations.

Part of the NZOC's growth in the post-War era can be attributed to its members who appeared to have been united by a shared vision to raise the profile of New Zealand athletes in international sport. Yet, NZOC also experienced a number of leadership changes that impeded any hoped for progress.[7] In addition, the increase in athletes with Olympic aspirations precipitated the NZOC to develop better strategies to support larger Games teams. Although its members had the best of intentions, the organisation was voluntary in nature. In addition the intervals between Olympic Games made it difficult for the NZOC to sustain its administrative activities, and maintain public interest in the Olympic Movement. This was vital if the NZOC was to generate enough income. Thus by the dawn of the thirties although NZOC had been in existence for twenty years, the survival of the body was essentially contingent on its members working hard to consolidate the organisation (by stabilising leadership, policies, and objectives) and promote its causes (by enhancing its public image, managing media relations, procuring sponsorship, and lobbying for political patronage).

In what follows I examine how NZOC capitalised on the expertise and popularity of Jack Lovelock – one of the country's top scholars and emerging middle-distance running star of the 1930s – to help develop the organisation and prepare it for future adversities. Significant global developments such as the depression and the volatile European political situation were unfolding. In sporting terms the introduction of the British Empire Games were introduced. The NZOC effectively used Lovelock as a positive symbol of the achievements of the nation's sporting culture. Lovelock was, aside from being an athlete extraordinaire, a competent scholar who benefited from an elite English tertiary education and the vigorous competition afforded him by the Northern hemisphere sporting circuit (which though amateur by name was certainly professional by nature). Through his experiences, education, socialisation, and travels Lovelock amassed a wealth of knowledge which, among other feats, culminated in his 1500 metres triumph at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. However, prior to and beyond this famous moment, Lovelock appeared keen to offer NZOC advice which, he believed, might help them to improve the organisation and preparation of Olympic teams for competition abroad. Conversely, by reappropriating Lovelock for their own purposes, I contend, NZOC fortified their own public persona (by basking in reflected glory), and, showed their professional responsibility by demonstrating an attentiveness to athlete concerns; both of which became enduring issues for the organisation.

NZOC and the Depression

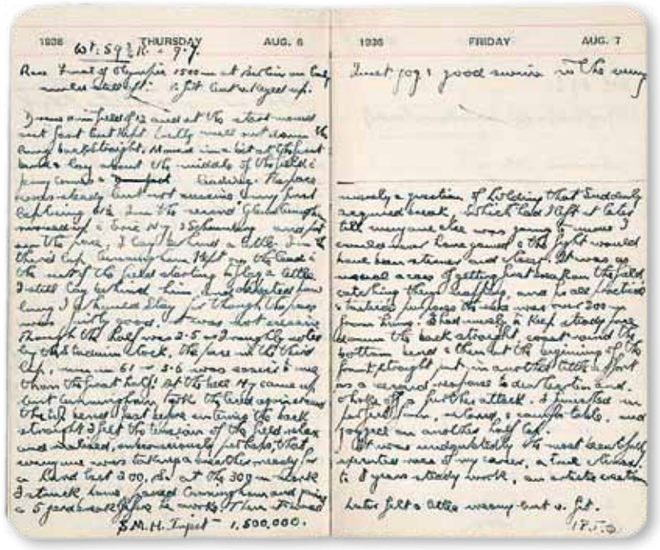
To understand the significance of Lovelock's relationship to NZOC, it is worth considering the context. By the 1930s NZOC, its members, and their business were firmly entrenched in the syncopated rhythms of local sport, national culture, and broader global processes. For instance, NZOC held sole responsibility for the country's participation in the Olympic Games. In so doing, and even in its earliest years, the organisation exerted authority and influence over the vast majority of the country's amateur sporting bodies and their athletes. NZOC, via its relations with trans-Tasman sport administrators, and through its various IOC Members, also maintained necessary and valuable links with the global sporting community. Moreover, the NZOC had some notable and powerful members and patrons, such as Governor Generals, other government officials, senior civil servants, and well known businessmen. Although essentially a volunteer organisation, NZOC's members had financial, social, and cultural capital that enabled them to approach their roles with considerable professionalism. As part of developing its image and identity, NZOC had forged a close relationship with national media outlets which regularly published the minutes of NZOC meetings and reported positively on

administrative and athletic successes. NZOC also relied on the press to raise awareness about their work. Public interest, they hoped, would invariably translate into significant financial support.

NZOC appeared to be well-placed to advance its cause, yet as with the coming of World War its members could not have possibly envisioned the widespread economic and political changes that were about to be wrought upon the world and its sport. The global economic depression, which began with the demise of the American stock market in October 1929, was one of the defining events of the decade. NZOC did not appear to immediately respond to the effects of economic collapse. Even in spite of the financial uncertainties NZOC had gone through during 1920s, its members largely followed the responses of the country's businessmen who remained largely indifferent to the catastrophe.[8] As had occurred during the First Worl War, New Zealanders continued to indulge in their love for sports. Administrators and organisations were still needed to organise competition and facilitate participation in international events and in these austere times NZOC served a vital function. Enabling the achievements of sport figures such as Jack Lovelock and others, for instance, effectively aroused popular sentiment by providing light relief and distracting citizens from their daily lives and concerns.

Although at the outset of the decade, NZOC appeared unscathed by the depression some members, and attentive athletes like Lovelock, evidently realised that broader economic pressures were curtailing the

After Lovelock had won the Rhodes Scholarship in 1931, he was borne on the shoulders of pupils at his former school, Timaru Boys' High, during a visit there. The bursary helped him to study in Oxford, where he became a member of the exclusive Achilles Club. In Oxford Arthur Porritt (above) , an earlier New Zealand Rhodes scholar, became his good friend and promoter. Porritt, who had been an IOC Member since 1934, advised him to run the 1500 m in Berlin instead of the 5000 m.


1936 THURSDAY AUG. 6 — Wt. 59½ K. — 7.7.
Run 7 out of Olympic 1500 m at Berlin in [illegible] 3.52.8 — a fast and tough effort.
[illegible] 1936 FRIDAY AUG. 7 — Last jog + good exercise in the evening
[illegible] 6th August 1936. Today I ran the most beautifully executed race of my career, a true climax to 8 years steady work, an artistic creation. Later felt a little weary but v. fit. 17.7.36
S.M.H. Input – 1,500,000.

Jack Lovelock's training diary demonstrates the thoroughness with which he prepared himself. The entries include those for the 6th August 1936. On that day he became Olympic champion in Berlin. He ends his entry: "It was undoubtedly the most beautifully executed race of my career, a true climax to 8 years steady work, an artistic creation. Later felt a little weary but v. fit."

Photos: Jack Lovelock Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Archive Kluge

growth of the organisation. In 1931, in a letter to the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Chairman Harry Amos outlined the financial and practical constraints of the time and the associated difficulties of sending a team to the impending 1932 Olympic Games. Then in 1934, Amos wrote openly to IOC President, Henry Baillet-Latour, about the impact was having on the NZOC and on life in New Zealand.[9] The letter was also an acknowledgement that irrespective of political and economic forces both organisations should do everything to ensure the continuation of Olympic sport.[10] The Depression, and concomitant broader international political shifts that were manifesting themselves in and through sport, forced NZOC to pragmatically re-evaluate how it advanced the Olympic Movement in New Zealand.

NZOC and the British Empire Games

During the twenties and thirties, in particular, countries like the United States, Britain, France, Germany and USSR were using sports, and sporting events like the Olympic Games, as a way to restore order, friendly nationalistic rivalries, and international political ties.[11] Participation in Olympic and later Empire Games, thus, was symbolically entwined with the construction of a national identity and international allegiances. During the 1930s, for example, "governments and private groups in countries across the world", such the USSR, the United States, Germany, and the IOC and the International Football Federation (FIFA), used "international sport as a medium for mediating between national identity and an emerging international society".[12] "At the conclusion of the 1920, 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games", for example, "athletic contests were held between combined Empire Teams and teams from the United States".[13] These British Empire teams occasionally had included New Zealand athletes.

The establishment of the British Empire Games (held first in Hamilton, Ontario in August 1930 and designed to be held every four years between Olympics),[14] meant that the thirties would be a busy time for sport institutions, such as NZOC, which now worked within a biennial cycle of international athletic competitions.[15] NZOC officials welcomed the Empire Games, but, expressed reservations. NZOC's concerns were three-fold. They needed to find ways to foster athletic participation at both competitions, preserve their limited resources, and protect the athletic talent pool to better ensure New Zealand representatives could "bring back Olympic laurels".[16] The Empire Games were an ideal platform to showcase New Zealand's athletic talent. Yet, it seems NZOC also valued the event as a way to prepare athletes for Olympic success (though not Lovelock who, though a developing national athlete, was not yet considered a prime contender).

Eventually, efforts to maximise participation in the Empire Games brought about the unification of the New Zealand's respective Olympic and Empire Games Committees. The new body was titled the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association (NZOBEGA). The amalgamation shifted the momentum of NZOC from a largely part-time body with a four-yearly focus, to one now focused on increasing New Zealand participation and performance at the two main international athletic events.[17] The Empire Games enhanced the sporting calendar and created new opportunities for New Zealand athletes, yet the biennial schedule also posed new challenges. For instance, in addition to financial concerns, a pressing issue in the lead up to both the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games and the 1934 Empire Games in London was the lack of available athletic talent in New Zealand.[18] However, these initial worries were misplaced as NZOBEGA continued to send increasingly larger teams to both Empire and Olympic Games. Moreover, these teams, with the help of Lovelock and his peers, enjoyed considerable success particularly at Empire Games.[19]

NZOBEGA members evidently worked hard during the 1930s to ensure the organisation would remain both viable and successful. The result of this investment was that New Zealand's best athletic talent would continue to be represented on the world stage. One of the best returns on NZOBEGA's investments came during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin with the success of middle-distance runner, Jack Lovelock. Amidst the overtly totalitarian politics and explicit Nazi propaganda of the Olympic Games, Lovelock cruised to victory in the 1500 metres and instantly became a national hero in New Zealand.

Lovelock's angst over amateurism

During the early to-mid 1930s Lovelock became a sporting superstar. Even now, almost eighty years later he remains one of New Zealand's most popular sporting heroes.[20] Born and raised around Timaru (a small provincial town in New Zealand's South Island), Lovelock was educated at Timaru Boys' High School, and later attended the University of Otago. In 1931 like his mentor 1924 100 m bronze medallist Arthur Porritt, Lovelock left New Zealand, to take up a Rhodes Scholarship in medicine at Oxford.[21] Lovelock had an "intense preoccupation with his sport",[22] and by competing internationally, specifically at the 1932 and 1936 Games, earned prestige that reflected positively on NZOBEGA. Although born and educated in New Zealand, Lovelock spent the majority of his adult life studying, working, and competing in England and the United States. Living predominantly in England as a Rhodes Scholar, Lovelock had also used his athletic success to gain entrance into and maintain affiliations with the "upper-class Oxbridge sporting set".[23] Lovelock's athletic successes against some of the world's best milers gave him a high profile in 1930s international sporting circles.

Lovelock travelled widely and competed extensively across Europe and North America. Even so, he maintained, through telegrams and letters, close relations with NZOBEGA and its Chairman and Secretary-General Harry Amos. In his letters to Amos and NZOBEGA, for example, Lovelock provided valuable logistic and pragmatic feedback on the New Zealand team and their Olympic performances. While he praised Porritt for facilitating the visit of New Zealanders to London, he also expressed concern that New Zealand athletes' continuous training on the trip over and the inadequate time allowed for acclimatization led to poor performances.

In particular Lovelock saw the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles as "a big disappointment".[24] Consequently, he urged NZOBEGA to get serious about providing their athletes with proper coaches, trainers, and technique specialists. There was, as Lovelock seems to have thought, a gulf between the organisation's attitudes to its amateur athletes and the invariably professional ethos already evident in international athletic sport.

NZOBEGA had slowly been reacting to the rapidly modernisation of western sport cultures (e.g. commercialisation of popular sports, embracing innovations in clothing and equipment technologies) which necessitated modification and adoption of amateur rules and policies. These changes also regarded loosening the regulations and restrictions surrounding payments for loss of earnings, reimbursements of expenses, and the alignment of amateur definitions with those of the IOC. Although NZOBEGA members did not seem to like radical change, it was a necessity if the organisation was to survive.[25]

Amateurism was an important ideology for NZOBEGA; indeed it formed the backbone of the modern Olympic Movement. Yet, while NZOBEGA remained resolved to preserving the allegedly amateur essence of the Olympic Movement, it is clear that promoting "amateur" ideals worked against the continued cost of sending New Zealand athletes to compete at both the Olympic and Empire Games. Invariably, such a conservative and elitist belief system could not endure the constant barrage of assaults brought about by changing conditions (i.e., new groups participating in sport, new economic opportunities, and the modernisation of sport practices), and calls for change, flexibility, and negotiation by the athletes themselves. Indeed, Lovelock's own personal circumstances, professional occupation, and sport participation were fraught with contradictions to the amateur ethos.[26]

The New Zealand boy in Berlin

The 1936 Berlin Games need little detailing here. These Games, arguably more so than any other event in the history of sport, have been the subject of intense scholarly debate and scrutiny.[27] Notwithstanding antecedents and consequences, German Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, was able to allay much of the criticism and the Olympic Games went ahead as a coup for Nazi propaganda.[28] Hitler's Nazis and the unfolding humanitarian catastrophe in Europe were, to a large extent,

A happy Jack Lovelock just before the start of the Olympic victory ceremony. New Zealand's most famous runner died on 28th December 1949 in New York while he was changing trains at Church Avenue Station and fell under unexplained circumstances under the approaching train.

far removed from daily sporting culture in New Zealand and the lives and concerns of NZOBEGA members. Their prime concern, at least at first, remained whether New Zealand could send a successful team abroad, and thus, continue its growing international profile in athletic sport. Arthur Porritt, a close friend of Lovelock, resided in London but had recently been elected IOC Member in New Zealand. Porritt reassured NZOBEGA agents in the lead up to the 1936 Olympic Games that the Germans [sic] were indeed on track to arrange superb Games with excellent facilities, and that importantly, New Zealand athletes should very much look forward to competing there.[29] Porritt's affirmation seems to have been enough of a guarantee for NZOBEGA to commit their financial and administrative resources to sending a team. These comments were also echoed by Lovelock who expressed more interest in the efficiency and competence of the organisation of the Games than in the political ether in which he was competing.[30] Lovelock went on to win the 1500 metres as Hitler watched from his viewing platform.

Lovelock's success in Berlin ultimately consolidated his relationship with NZOBEGA and their efforts to improve athletes' experiences. The Games were a poignant moment for global politics and the development of the Olympic Movement. Yet, the provocative nationalistic sentiments added weight to Lovelock's achievement, subsequent NZOBEGA renderings of him as an iconic (white colonial) hero, added jingoistic romanticisations in historical discourse.[31] The Games ultimately added gravitas to Lovelock's reputation, and importantly, garnered him prestige that became instrumental currency in his later dealings with NZOBEGA and related plight to advocate athletes' causes.

Learning from Jack Lovelock

Even before his triumph Lovelock was a well-respected athlete and emerging medical, health, and physical education scholar. He was a proud expatriate who believed his athletic expertise and experiences with elite sport would benefit NZOBEGA's administration of Olympic teams and ensure the future success of New Zealand athletes.

His frank comments were a strong impetus for change in the way NZOBEGA worked. Lovelock lamented the lack of financial support provided by the NZOBEGA to Porritt or himself as leaders of the New Zealand team. "I believe that your Committee is hopelessly ignorant." Lovelock wrote to Amos, "of the state of affairs, the expenses of living, and conditions of competition on this side of the world".[32]

Notwithstanding Lovelock's criticism of the NZOBEGA, he does have some appreciation of the administrative and practical problems faced by the NZOBEGA. Lovelock confessed to Amos, in fact, that "such insularity of knowledge is perfectly understandable" given the "the difficulties you are up against, both you personally who understands how things work on this side of the world and your Committee who obviously do not yet. Even if they did, are severely handicapped by economic factors".[33] Amos and NZOBEGA were clearly receptive to Lovelock's suggestions, and from the thirties, they began to implement Games management plans more appropriately tailored to athletes' individual needs and the broader demands of intensive international competition.

To this end, Lovelock was a key figure. As a respected and knowledgeable sportsman Lovelock provided a voice for athletes' concerns which had hitherto been predominantly filtered through a Games manager or chaperone. Amos and NZOBEGA, in return, were clearly appreciative not only to have Lovelock compete on the New Zealand team, but for his interest in the affairs of the organisation and its future. Lovelock was certainly admired by NZOBEGA and the New Zealand public at large. "New Zealand will not only fittingly welcome the temporary return of a very distinguished son", Amos wrote to the NZOBEGA:

> *... A son who has distinguished himself not only by his athletic prowess, but by his studies abroad. The growing importance of national physical education makes Mr. Lovelock's visit a great moment to us. His athletic achievements have been the result, not only of his natural talent, but of deep and intelligent study. The government feels that Mr. Lovelock will have something to impart of very great value, not merely in connection with track athletics but also in connection with physical education generally.*[34]

At the victory ceremony in Berlin in the presence of Adolf Hitler Lovelock was also presented with a small oak tree. As he was to stay in America, he entrusted the sapling in its pot to a friend, the 5000 m runner Cecil Matthes, who looked after the plant on the long sea voyage to New Zealand. For the next five years the curator at the Christchurch Botanic Garden looked after it, until the oak could be planted in 1941 in the garden of Timaru Boys' School. Lovelock's oak is one of only a few trees to survive. 138 were originally presented .

As well as frequent praise, Lovelock also received jewellery and medical instruments as gifts from visiting New Zealand athletic teams. Little more is known about Lovelock's friendship with Amos, or why he felt so compelled to advise NZOBEGA. What is certain, however, is that without figures such as Lovelock, a man who could cast a critical gaze over NZOBEGA and its affairs – the Council may not have instigated the changes necessary to bring continued success for New Zealand at the Olympic Games. Lovelock was useful not only because he was a successful runner – although this gave him popular profile – but because he was a well-educated intellectual who believed in New Zealand athletes and spoke up about their place in the Olympic Movement.

After Berlin, Lovelock toured America, the Pacific, and New Zealand. At a time when New Zealand was still recovering from the effects of the Depression, Lovelock's tour provided NZOBEGA, and local politicians, with an excellent opportunity to bask in reflected glory. Referring to Lovelock's academic prowess,[35] Joseph Heenan, a senior public servant who headed the Department of Internal Affairs and was an NZOBEGA member, proclaimed:

> *This is a matter of policy. If it were simply a matter of giving a great athlete a free trip I would unhesitatingly recommend against it. But Lovelock is more than merely the greatest mile runner the world has yet produced. I feel sure he is of great physical and educational value, for Lovelock has made a really scientific study of sport.*[36]

Throughout the exhaustive tour Lovelock generously proffered his athletic and academic expertise to many members of the country's athletic, educational, and scientific communities. He also competed at a number of invitational and exhibition athletic meets, toured many local schools, and spoke at a variety of public and private events.[37] As one commentator remarked, "New Zealand's most famous track athlete aroused great enthusiasm, and wherever he appeared to give exhibition runs the attendances were excellent. Lovelock gave we New Zealanders much good advice".[38] The attention he received, Woodfield recalls, was overwhelming, "the public response was remarkable. Large, enthusiastic crowds welcomed him wherever he went".[39]

The fervor generated by Lovelock's trip is perhaps unsurprising. As Woodfield has commented, in an era of economic uncertainty, events such as the Lovelock tour afforded New Zealand citizens respite, relaxation, and camaraderie.[40] However trivial Lovelock's heroism may have seemed to some, his visit was indeed a matter of national significance. The intense interest in Lovelock during his visit, and the iconography of Lovelock as a "national" figure, is interesting when we consider

Lovelock left New Zealand permanently in 1931. He returned to New Zealand just once for this short tour, and then, after he returned to England moved to America, where he and his wife resided until his untimely death 1949. While Lovelock had family in New Zealand, and recalled fondly the time he had spent here, he seemed relatively content to live his life abroad and agreed to come to New Zealand and partake in an organised tour if all the required travels costs could be arranged.[41]

Lovelock's feelings about the trip aside, his homecoming was clearly a meaningful event for NZOBEGA. Lovelock's gold medal undoubtedly meant something quite significant for the public, not least New Zealand's athletic administrators. This was not the first time that a New Zealand athlete had won an Olympic gold medal. Boxer Tom Morgan won the country's first gold at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics. Morgan was greeted triumphantly upon his return, but his experiences, and the subsequent public, media, and NZOBEGA interest pale in comparison to that of Lovelock. NZOBEGA were evidently keener to use the internationally acclaimed, educated, gentile Lovelock, rather than the local resident, rugged, working-class Morgan, to advocate the benefits of health and physical activity to New Zealand youth.

Beyond athlete

Lovelock's achievements on the world stage made him a paragon of colonial virtue. That is, Lovelock's corporeal politics – his identity as a successful, white, educated male athlete – personified ideals NZOBEGA sought to promote in and through amateur athletics. At the time, Lovelock epitomised the very best of New Zealand sport. As such, he cast a positive reflection upon New Zealand citizens at least as far as the wider world was concerned, and about the vitality of the country's way of life. Of course, all this was despite the fact Lovelock already lived abroad and his success was rather the product of a narcissistic obsession with personal performance.[42] Irrespective of the peculiarities of his personality, the NZOBEGA and politicians touted Lovelock as one of the New Zealand's most beloved sons.

Understanding the relationship between Lovelock and the NZOBEGA is complex. Lovelock and others forced the NZOBEGA to confront a number of problems. These reminded the organisation that their position as a sports authority was tenuous. Given the rise of social sport and leisure clubs around the country and the increasingly porous borders between middle-class and working class athletes and their sports, they could not afford to remain complacent or nonchalant. Yet, the ways in which NZOBEGA experienced, negotiated, and resolved various conflicts were also an indication that the organisation was evolving and maturing. The capacity to be receptive to change, yet respectful toward ensuring elements of continuity, was to be invaluable to the NZOBEGA as it entered the 1940s; a decade in which athletes would make increasing demands on NZOBEGA to satisfy their needs and wants, and, severe international tensions re-ignited.

NZOBEGA evidently appreciated that someone of Lovelock's calibre helped generate interest in the Olympic Movement within New Zealand, and, encouraged other athletes to support the country's Olympic participation. By residing in England and maintaining useful European and North American social networks, Lovelock also provided a voice and face to their organisation. Lovelock was not an NZOBEGA administrator, but his interest in the organisation, and more generally, in the development of the country's athletic talent, contributed to NZOBEGA's ability to administer Olympic teams abroad and maintain better working relations with athletes and respond more appropriately to their elite sporting needs. NZOBEGA also provided Lovelock with a link back to his home country. To counter, Lovelock provided NZOBEGA necessary critique, insight, and vision that brought the realities of Olympic competition into sharp relief. ■

1 Richard Cashman, John O'Hara, and Andrew Honey. Sport, Federation, Nation (Sydney: Walla Walla Press, 2001).
2 Jame Belich, Paradise Reforged: A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000 (Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001; Michael King, The Penguin History of New Zealand (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003).
3 Paul Baker, New Zealand, The Great War, and Conscription (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986); Belich, *Paradise Reforged*; King, The Penguin History of New Zealand; William H. Oliver, The Story of New Zealand. (London: Faber, 1960); Matthew Wright, Old South: Life and Times in the Nineteenth Century Mainland (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009).
4 The racialised experiences of athletes in the 'natives' colonial rugby team is one example, the use of cycling by white protestant women to affect the female cause is another. Clare Simpson, "A social history of women in cycling in late-nineteenth Century New Zealand" (PhD diss., Lincoln University, 1998); "New Zealand nineteenth-Century 'New Women' – On bicycles!", in: *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18 (2) (2001) pp. 54–77.
5 Joseph Romanos, Our Olympic Century (Wellington: Trio Books, 2008).
6 To summarise NZOC's history up to this point, the organisation initially emerged in October 1911 as an offshoot of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA) and a subsidiary body, the Festival of Empire Sports Committee (FESC). Constant friction precipitated a drastic overall of NZAAA in 1908; the effects of which (namely political cautiousness an overarching concern for the stagnated development of amateur sport in the country) lingered through to 1911, to the formation of the FESC, and beyond into the nascent Olympic Council. In its early years, NZOC had comprised of some competent leaders, such as Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies who, as well known and respected members of the athletic fraternity, established preliminary administrative structures to better facilitate the participation of the country's athletes at Olympic Games. While World War One effectively curtailed the efforts of these men, the organisation survived and in the early 1920s operations were resumed with renewed vigour.
7 NZOC had a progression of individuals who were at the helm of and involved in the organisation's administration. There were, for example, six IOC Members, four Secretary-Generals, five Chairmen, and many more executive members and affiliated representatives. Further difficulties were caused by the resignation of several IOC Members to New Zealand. Wellington educationalist Joseph Firth, respected military hero Bernard Freyberg, and former sportsman, lawyer and expatriate Cecil Wray were all nominated by NZOC as suitable candidates for the role, but, all three held only very short terms.
8 The economic shock waves eventually came to New Zealand. Revenues for the country's primary export industries, for example, plummeted. The consequences for the lives and experiences for everyday citizens, however, were broad and varied (these included, a dramatic downturn in trade, a rise in unemployment, significant drops in consumption, stabilised wage rates, and lower consumer prices). Belich, Paradise Reforged; Making peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century (Auckland: The Penguin Group, 2007); Miles Fairburn and Steve J. Haslett, "Stability and egalitarianism in New Zealand, 1911–1951", in: *Class, gender and the vote: Historical perspectives from New Zealand*, eds. Miles Fairburn and Eric Olssen (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 15–34; King, A Penguin History of New Zealand.
9 Harry Amos, correspondence to IOC President, Comte Henry Baillet-Latour, 19 February 1934, New Zealand Olympic Committee Archives, Wellington.
10 Amos' correspondence is somewhat ironic as Baillet-Latour had recently enjoyed lavish hospitality with the wealthy American IOC Member (and future President) Avery Brundage, and, from the NZOC during his visit to the country in 1932. Despite the efforts of Amos and other NZOC members to preserve their organisation, the exchange of letters about the precarious position of both the national and international Olympic organisations shows how neither was impervious to external global and local influences.
11 Barbara Keys, Globalizing sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Anton Rippon, Hitler's Olympics: The Story of the 1936 Nazi Games (Barnsley, U.K: Pen & Sword Military, 2006).
12 Barbara Keys, Globalizing Sport, pp. 183–184.
13 Garth Henniker and Ian Jobling "Richard Coombes and the Olympic Movement in Australia: Imperialism and nationalism in action", in: *Sporting Traditions*, 6 (2) (1989), pp. 2–15, 11.
14 Katharine Moore, "Strange Bedfellows and Cooperative Partners: The Influence of the Olympic Games on the Establishment of the British Empire Games", in: *Sport and Politics*, ed. Gerald Redmond (Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics, 1984), pp. 109–125.
15 The introduction of the Empire Games had precipitated the formation of a separate national organisation, the New Zealand British Empire Games Council (NZBEGC) to deal with the practicalities of participation. Yet, if they were to be successful NZOC and NZBEGC could not co-exist as there was considerable overlap between the two organisations. Administratively, they comprised the same members with the same ideals, although the NZBEGC had not yet created some of the formal policies, for example a constitution, official amateur code, or athlete selection criteria. They were also vying for the same financial resources, which amounted to some already heavily mined patrons of amateur sport and a near exhausted pool of amateur association subscriptions. In November 1930, NZOC and NZBEGC effectively became the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association (NZOBEGA). It retained this particular name until 1967 when is became the New Zealand Olympic and British Commonwealth Games Association (NZOBCGA). For consistency and clarity I have chosen to retain using the simple NZOC nomenclature.
16 New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes 1912–1932, NZOC Archives: Wellington, 1929, p. 155.
17 Ibid: 20 November 1930, p. 168.
18 As NZOC remarked at the time, "At the time we do not appear to possess any world-beaters in track and field events, swimming and boxing, we might well consider the advisability of sending to Hamilton a 'rowing eight'", Ibid, 155–156. Despite their uncertainty in 1929, within 12 months they had managed to draw together, across five sports (rowing, athletics, swimming, diving, and bowls), a team of 22 athletes. In Canada, these athletes eventually competed against 378 athletes from 10 nations. New Zealand athletes achieved 3 firsts (in the Six Mile Run, Javelin, and Coxed Four rowing events), several second and third-placings, and numerous other credible finishes.
19 Although Keys (2006) argues that the 1932 Los Angeles Games were an important historical marker for international political relationship, they were, in regards to NZOBEGA's identity, status, and cultural significance a mere interlude to the greater political spectacle of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. New Zealand athletes, moreover, had enjoyed success at the 1932 Olympic Games; however, their achievements were not appropriated to the extents that Lovelock's were later on. New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association Official Minutes, 1927–1938, Vol. 3. National Library Archives: Wellington; New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes 1912–1932, NZOC Archives: Wellington, 1932.
20 David Colquhoun, As if Running on Air: The journals of Jack Lovelock. (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2008); Dylan Cleaver, "Lovelock enigma continues", New Zealand Herald (online edition) 17 May 2009, www.nzherald.co.nz; James McNeish, Lovelock: A Novel (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986); "Death of a dream: The fact and fictions of Jack Lovelock,", in: Sport, Society and Culture in New Zealand, ed. Brad Patterson (Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1999), 31–37; Joseph Romanos, New Zealand's Top 100 Sports History-makers (Wellington: Trio Books, 2006); Graeme Woodfield, Lovelock: Athlete and Doctor (Wellington: Trio Books, 2007).
21 Woodfield, Lovelock.
22 Colquhoun, As if Running on Air, p. 29.
23 Ibid, 22.
24 New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association Official Minutes, 1927–1938; New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes, 1933–1964, NZOC Archives: Wellington.
25 As evidence of their initial conservatism toward change, the records of both NZOC and NZAAA show only moderate alterations to amateur policies in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Yet, from the mid-1930s onwards, possibly precipitated by Lovelock's recommendations, there were more frequent and decisive amendments to NZOC's constitution and amateur regulations. These did not totally evaporate amateur constraints, but, were evidently shifted the organisation from its stifling past practices.
26 Colquhoun, As if running on air.
27 Stan Cohen, The Games of '36: A pictorial history of the 1936 Olympics in Germany (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1996); Keys, Globalizing sport; Arnd Krüger and William J. Murray, The Nazi Olympics: Sport, politics and appeasement in the 1930s (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Karl Lennartz, "Difficult times: Baillet-Latour and Germany, 1931–1942," *Olympika: International Journal of Olympic Studies* 3 (1994), 99–105; Rippon, Hitler's Olympics; Guy Walters, Berlin Games: How the Nazis stole the Olympic dream (New York: William Morrow, 2006).
28 The Nazi's ability to dupe the IOC was largely due to their allies in the Olympic Family, including Carl Diem, Theodor Lewald, and IOC President Avery Brundage, and International Amateur Athletic Federation President Sigfrid Edström. Hoberman, Sport and political ideology; The Olympic crises; Taylor, Jews and the Olympic Games.
29 New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes 1933–1964, NZOC Archives: Wellington.
30 Woodfield, Lovelock; Jack Lovelock, correspondence to the New Zealand Olympic Committee, 3 October 1936, New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association Archives, National Library, Wellington.
31 Colquhoun, As if running on air; McNeish Lovelock: A novel; "Death of a dream"; Romanos, New Zealand's top 100 sports history-makers; Woodfield, Lovelock.
32 Lovelock, correspondence to Harry Amos, 19 July 1936, New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association Archives, National Library, Wellington.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid: correspondence to NZOC, 3 October 1936.
35 Lovelock: "Youth and modern sport", in: Growing opinions: A symposium of British youth outlook, (London: Methuen, 1935), pp. 221–232.
36 Woodfield, Lovelock, p. 94.
37 New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes 1933–1964; Woodfield, Lovelock.
38 William Ingram, "Panorama of the playground – Physical fitness and the 'Daily Dozen'", in: *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 11 (10) (1937), p. 54.
39 Woodfield, Lovelock, p. 97.
40 Ibid.
41 New Zealand Olympic Committee Official Minutes 1933–1964.
42 Colquhoun, As if running on air.

Six Bottles of Red Wine for a Collection of Original Photos of Athens 1896 Games

By Volker Kluge

The 70th Olympic Memorabilia Auction by Ingrid O'Neil, which took place on the third weekend in January, satisfied at least three people. Lot 105, 28 original platinotype photos of the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens, which had been submitted by a German collector, was sold for the record price of US $44,000.[1] The new owner too, who lives in the USA, was certainly happy, for such a rare lot had never been on offer previously. And the auctioneer, who was permitted to levy 15% on each successful lot, was surely pleased as well.

As film was not invented until 1895 by the brothers Louis and Auguste Lumière, it is understandable why no moving pictures exist. That we nonetheless have a certain idea how the competitions in Athens proceeded is due primarily to seven photographers to whom pictures can be attributed. The finest and most important motifs were left to us by the German photographer Albert Meyer, who produced the 28 original prints that have now been sold in California.[2]

Meyer was 24 when he went to the USA, where he trained as a photographer. After two years he returned to Germany, where he settled in Berlin and set up two successful studios. One of the workshops was at 125 Potsdamer Straße. Very close by – in Nr 27B – lived the chemist Dr. Willibald Gebhardt, who on 13th December 1895 founded a Committee for German Participation in the Athens Olympic Games.

As Gebhardt was photographed by Meyer at that time, it is very probable that the two men became friends in such circumstances. In any event it can be proved that Meyer took part in the second meeting of the committee on 16th January 1896 and joined along with his wife, which involved a financial contribution. After Meyer in the following weeks had also photographed some athletes due to compete in Athens, he became such an enthusiast for the project that he resolved, along with his wife, to accompany the Olympic team on their journey.[3]

The small number of photographers who worked in Athens shows that sports reporting was still in its infancy. Anyone who at that time was a professional normally came from studio photography, where stable large format wooden cameras were used, mounted on heavy column stands. The photograph formats were mostly 24x30 cm. Besides so-called travelling cameras were also used, which were part of the standard equipment of well-known professional photographers.[4]

The German gymnastics squad of 1896 in Albert Meyer's studio before their departure for Athens. Hermann Weingärtner is standing in the upper row on the far left. Above: court photographer Albert Meyer as he liked seeing himself best – decorated with his orders and medals.

Meyer also remained faithful to the art of studio photography in the open air photographs in Athens. Competitors whom he photographed are mostly seen in posed positions, reminiscent of athletes of antiquity. In the few instantaneous images showing sportsmen in motion there is a lack of definition. Not until the improvement of cameras and lenses, the shortening of exposure time and the introduction of slide film, the "American film", was a new dimension of motion photography opened up.

Meyer, to whom his prince, the King of Saxony, had granted the title of "court photographer", remained faithful also to this role in Athens. He photographed not only the most important participants but regarded himself as an official photographer. When the IOC had its first Session he recorded that for posterity as well as the reception given by the Greek Crown Prince. Apart from his photographic skill he also demonstrated his commercial talent. He sold his photos even during the Olympic Games to Athenian publishing houses, where they occasionally served as a model for the then customary press drawings. In the Official Report alone, known as "Becks's Album", Meyer is represented with 17 images. But probably even more photos are his, as the originator is not always identified.

On return to Berlin he began his proper business. A bookbinder whom he had employed along with a further 14 colleagues in his studios prepared leather albums with the inscription "Olympic Games", which Meyer presented to some European Kings and Princes, principally in order to receive in return new "court titles" and medals which he could use effectively for advertising. Today at least seven such albums can be identified.[5] Within eight years Meyer in this way collected no less than ten distinctions and medals. But only the Duke of Sachsen-Altenburg agreed to give him a title for an Olympic album.

When Coubertin, who had also acquired or been presented with an album, enquired of Gebhardt if he should award the IOC medal to the photographer, Gebhardt advised against it: "Herr Meyer has performed no great service to the Olympic Games. He went to Athens to enjoy himself, to photograph and to make money on the side. He sent albums with Olympic photos to princes only with the intention of receiving distinctions. He did not provide one single mark for our expedition: and yet he is a rich man."[6]

Gebhardt, himself not at all wealthy, had invested some money in the undertaking so that the bitterness which can be read in the letter can be well understood. It would have been even greater, had he been able to read the 1898 police report in which Meyer's annual income was estimated at 17,500 to 18,500 Reichsmark and his private fortune at 110,000 to 120,000 Reichsmark.[7]

One of the best-known of Meyer's photos: the seven IOC Members who were present in Athens. The picture (as well as another with the Greek Princes) was taken on 10th April 1896 when the Olympians were received in audience by the Crown Prince. Meyer had covered the stairway to the rear and the lower part of a door with material (or cardboard?). At the same place Meyer later photographed the Greek Olympic marathon champion Spiridon Louis.

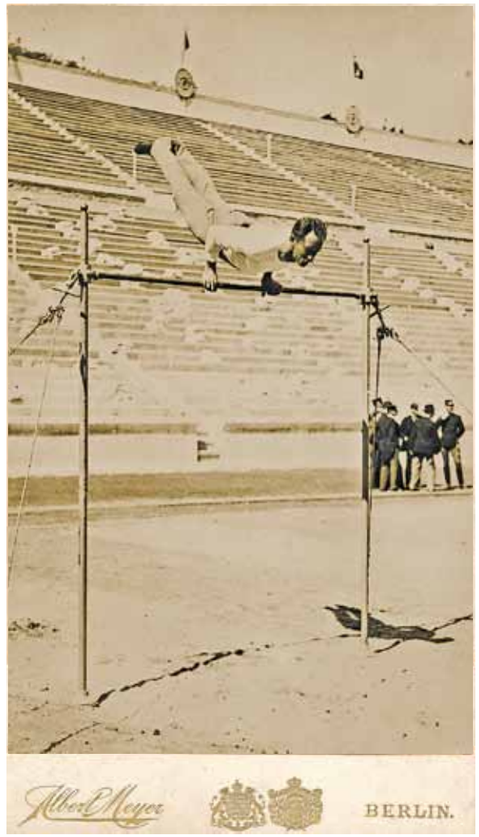
After Meyer had moved to Hanover in 1901 at the age of only 44, he decided from then on to live as a man of private means. He sold his studio, which had been extended to 24 rooms. He began to travel and devote himself to hunting. But his life ended unhappily. Through the First World War he lost his fortune, which he had invested in war loans. When he died in Dresden in 1924 he was not only a poor but also a forgotten man, whose work was used by anybody as they wished.

But back to the 28 fine but expensive platinotype photos, which have now been sold and which perhaps were not just a loose collection but may have also constituted an album. This supposition becomes likelier in view of the fact that the extent of the extant albums is in each case 25 to 30 pages. The choice of subjects in the albums varied only slightly, so that up to now only a few unknown snapshots have emerged. In my research I have discovered so far around 70 different images whose copyright can be shown to lie with Meyer.

In any event there is no doubt about the provenance of these photos. They once belonged to the German gymnast Hermann Weingärtner, who was the 1896 Olympic champion on the horizontal bar and was part of the winning squad on the horizontal and parallel bars. In addition he was second on the rings and third on the parallel bars. After his death – the owner of a river bathing establishment in Frankfurt on the Oder succumbed on the 22nd December 1919 to a heart attack – his son Erich, born in 1902, inherited the Olympic memorabilia.

Erich, who was trained as a locksmith, qualified to be a pilot with Deutsche Lufthansa. Among his duties was included flying the exposed film material for the Riefenstahl Olympia film from Greece to Berlin in the

Among the 28 subjects which Hermann Weingärtner bought from Albert Meyer "for his own use", was the photo which shows him on the horizontal bar. On this apparatus he became Olympic individual champion. Adjacent: as was usual at that time, the other sides of the valuable platinotype photos were used for the photographer's advertising. Added to the two "court awards" which Meyer had until then received from the King of Saxony and the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen, came a third after the Olympic Games.



summer of 1936. His private life however was less happy. After his marriage had been dissolved he had for years to pay alimony for his son Erik, this having finally been demanded by the mother.

To avoid being pursued by the authorities he therefore temporarily took himself off to Rio de Janeiro where he also worked as a pilot. After his return to Germany he was so indebted that he saw himself obliged to dispose of his father's Olympic estate. On the 8th August 1937 he turned to the General Secretary of the 1936 Olympic Games Carl Diem, to whom he offered the Olympic gold medal [sic] from Athens 1896, the victor's diploma which was attached, the honorary letter from the Pan-Athenian Gymnastics Club, the invitation card to the Royal palace as well as the honorary prize of the City of Rome – a gold medal for the first place at the Italian Federal Gymnastics Festival of 1895.[8]

As demanded by Diem, Weingärtner's son gave him the trophies on the 30th August 1937 for inspection with the words that it would be his request that these unique documents should find a "dignified and honoured place" in a future sports museum. However he urged speed: "I am currently in great need, I ask you to speed the matter up."[9] As Diem was travelling abroad, the letter was forwarded to the press office of the Reichssportführer with the request that the objects should be valued by a jeweller and then bought.

There was as yet no mention of the Olympic photos, which Weingärtner obviously thought less important. The owner, who was beginning to grow impatient, did not refer to them until the 10th September 1937 with the remark "I leave it to you to fix the price", whereupon the press spokesman Heinrich Troßbach offered 120 Reichsmark for the whole inheritance (!), which caused Weingärtner rightly only to "smile pityingly".

In the same letter he informed Diem: "Today I have sold this gold medal to Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels."[10] As Goebbels was only interested in this prize medal the rest of the offer remained. But it is clear that Weingärtner's expectations were too high, with the result that Diem refused the offer.

It took 27 years until the actual highlight of the inheritance reappeared in a report in the biggest German popular newspaper about the Olympic gymnastics competitions in 1964 in Tokyo. On behalf of Erich Weingärtner, who loved to be the centre of attention, a journalist of the newspaper *BILD* presented his father's winner's medal to the Olympic all-round champion Yukio Endo. Since Weingärtner had no heirs and had thus to fear that "the medal right later on get into the wrong hands", he had decided on this step, he was quoted as saying.[11] That was in fact untrue as his son Erik lived until the late 1990s. The painter and sculptor only learned of the loss many years later, whereupon he wrote a letter to Yukio Endo but received no answer.

Erich Weingärtner, who had lived in his last years as a decayed "clochard" with no fixed abode in Mainz (Rheinland-Pfalz), died in 1993. Before his death he left the rest of his inheritance apart from the Olympic diploma, over the whereabouts of which no information exists, to a local gymnastics official, who in return gave Weingärtner six bottles of red wine. A deal which paid off for him, for the price he received about two decades later when he sold it for 7500 Euro on to a collector, was already considerable. As Ingrid O'Neil's auction however showed, an end to the increase in value is not in sight. ■

The pilot Erich Weingärtner loved showing off his muscles as a young man. He also preferred a life of leisure.

Photos: Archive Kluge, Sportmuseum Leipzig

1 Ingrid O'Neil, Olympic Memorabilia, Mail Bid Auction 70: January 19, 2013, p. 11.

2 Albert Meyer was born on the 27th February 1857 in Klotzsche near Dresden. He thus had Saxon citizenship, which is why he was regarded as a foreigner in his later chosen home of Berlin. Apart from Meyer other photographers in Athens were the Greek Nikolaos Birkos (1861–1923), Ioannis Lambakis (1848–1916), Paul Melas (1870–1904), Nikolaos Pantzopoulos and Ioannis Makropoulos as well as the American athlete Thomas Curtis (1872–1944), who had shortly before his departure for Greece bought a Kodak Personal Camera, which had come on the market only in December 1895 as the first manual camera in the world. Curtis became Olympic champion over 110 m hurdles.

3 Volker Kluge (Ed.), Athens 1896. The Pictures of the First Olympiad by Albert Meyer and other Photographers, Brandenburgisches Verlagshaus, Berlin 1996, pp. 34–52.

4 Ibid, Peter Frenkel, The successful attempt to freeze movement, pp. 174–183.

5 Albums are to be found in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne (from Coubertin's possessions), in the Athens Benaki Museum (from the possessions of the Secretary of the Organising Committee of 1896, Georgios Streit), in the Royal Library in Brussels, in the Frederiksborg National Library (from the possessions of King Christian IX), in the Veste Coburg (from the possessions of the Duke of Sachsen-Coburg), in the Thuringian State Archive (from the possessions of the Duke of Sachsen-Altenburg) as well as in Sofia (probably from the possessions of the Bulgarian Czar). It is very likely that the German Kaiser, the King of Saxony, the King of the Hellenes and King Alexander I of Serbia received Olympic albums, whose whereabouts however are unknown.

6 Gebhardt to Coubertin, 27th March 1897, IOC Archive.

7 Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam, Rep 30 BIn C 11770, pp. 28–29. The police file was added on 31st May 1887 when Meyer sought permission from the Berlin police president to use the "court title" bestowed on him by the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen.

8 Bundesarchiv (Barch) R 8077/104, Weingärtner to Diem, 31st August 1937. The individual Olympic champions were honoured with a silver medal and a diploma. The second placed athletes received bronze medals, the third-placed received no prize. The members of victorious squads were only honoured with diplomas. The honorary diploma of the Pan-Athenian Gymnastics Club and the invitation were also sold at the 70th Auction.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, Weingärtner to Diem, 17th September 1937.

11 BILD, Berlin, 27th October 1964.

It was a happy chance that Meyer's grandson Johannes Gebbing decided in 2001 to sell a case with 31 Olympic photos to the Sports Museum of his home town Leipzig for € 15,000, instead of having them auctioned at Sotheby's. The case had lain for years unnoticed in his grandmother's armchair.

Imperialism in the Olympics, 1910–1965: British and French Empires to the IOC*

By Pascal Charitas

Jack London became the first black athlete to win medals for Great Britain when he took 100 m silver and 4 x 100 m relay bronze at the 1928 Games in Amsterdam. London had been born in British Guiana. He studied at the Regent Street Polytechnic and was a member of the Polytechnic Harriers where he was looked after by Sam Mussabini who had also trained Harold Abrahams.

Introduction

"Politically, the USSR seems to be dominating the scene with little opposition in any quarter. Today the Communists control all of Eastern Europe, they have come to hold the balance of power in most of the liberated countries, and they are extending their authority in Eastern, Western, and Central Asia. […] If they decide to operate independently and command the participation of all the states under Soviet hegemony it will be most unfortunate. Without England and the dominions, the United States and Sweden, it would be difficult for them to make a showing, but on the other hand, if most of Europe is not represented, our events will not be all that they should be." [1]

On April 5, 1945, a month before the German surrender (May 8), the American IOC Member Avery Brundage informed his British collegue, Lord Aberdare, of an issue concerning a third (Afro-Asian) bloc. The rise and fall of Nazism called into question the continuation of colonial domination. The progressive liberation of populations oppressed by colonialism, and the advent of the "Third World", were supported by the Cold War Superpowers, the USA and the USSR. But as Africa became part of the IOC, these issues took on a different aspect: the need to reconcile the values of humanism and universalism with the conservative positions of its Western members – themselves influenced by the two Cold War blocs.

Pierre Mitza, a French historian specialist of the International relations, writes that, although the colonial powers endeavored to limit the scope of the Atlantic Charter, it soon became a universal cause and fed the calls for internationalization of the colonial territories, under the UN's control (1945). At the same time, according to John Darwin, a British historian specialist of the Commonwealth, the two colonial empires, France and Great Britain, were entering their "second colonial occupation" or "fourth colonial occupation" phases. In the French Empire, the 1944 Brazzaville Conference followed by the *Etats généraux de la colonisation* in 1945 rejected any idea of independence. Moreover, in the British Empire, although autonomy and political independence arrived quickly, beginning in Indiain 1947, its colonial territories remained under the influence of the Commonwealth. Internationalization of the

Also in Amsterdam Boughéra El Quafi became Olympic marathon champion. He came from Algeria, which was regarded by the French colonial rulers as a département.

Photos: IOC Archives, Archive Kluge

colonial problem forced the two empires to implement practical measures to develop their colonies through economic and social assistance programmes based on the capitalist model and UN principles. This may in fact have represented a strategic response by the empires, according to Marc Michel, a French historian specialist of the contemporary history of Africa, since at the Manchester Pan-African Congress in October 1945 a geopolitical positioning of black Africa began to take shape, between Communist and Western blocs.

The New International Order thus incorporated the ongoing decolonization of the British territories, and then the French territories following the 1955 Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. The USA and the USSR supported anti-colonial movements in Africa, thwarting the plans by France and Great Britain by energizing the nationalist demands that were then taking shape in black Africa.

Confronted with this unheard-of situation, the colonial powers sought to identify alternative forms of power: a more "flexible" domination based on strategies of influence, development assistance, humanitarian actions, and commercial agreements. Joseph Nye, an American geopolitician of the International relations defined these in the notion of influences and sponsorships as "soft power". The influence of the colonial powers would then play out in their abilities to guide the behavior of their "partner" nations, or to ensure their preponderance in the joint decision-making process – allied with the "power of the Olympic rings."

Olympic Black Africa, 1910–1945: Political and cultural conditions emerging from French and British Empires

"Sports were a part of the colonizing process, and have remained in most colonized countries following independence. Given the presence of neo-colonial relationships, however, there is clearly no unambiguous division between colonialism and post-colonialism, and it can be argued that post-colonialism is something that has yet to be achieved, that it is, indeed, a scenario for the future. In fact, the international governing bodies of sports are often still intent on a colonizing mission." [2]

Envious of the wealth acquired by Portugal and Spain in the 15th and 16th Centuries, England launched its own exploration of the world via a series of colonial and commercial wars with France and the Netherlands, in America and in Asia. It then turned its attention towards Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. With the confidence stemming from its advances during the Industrial Revolution, it introduced innovative pedagogic and educational methods for the young, who would become its future ruling class. This enabled England to invent modern sport and to spread its model around the world.

For example, it granted various levels of autonomy to its white colonies in Africa, some of which became dominions. The 1930 British Empire Games were grounded in British imperialist ideology, throwing light

Lord Burghley, the future Marquess of Exeter (1905–1981), IOC Member for Great Britain from 1933 until his death and IAAF President (1946–1976)

on the constitution of National Olympic Committees (NOCs) in British colonial countries such as Egypt in 1911, South Africa in 1912 and Southern Rhodesia in 1934.

The fact that the British Empire Games were open only to the self-governing white dominions (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), and the creation of NOCs in colonial enclaves with a high proportion of British settlers encouraged, in response, the creation of the 1934 Pan-Indian Games held in New Delhi. This colonial model was strengthened by the Commonwealth's institutional system, established as an association of free and equal countries whose membership was based on a common allegiance to the British Crown. This new entity, the British Commonwealth of Nations, formed in 1926, was the successor to the British Empire "Statute of Westminster" in 1931.

As regards French policy concerning its colonies, from the 18th Century onwards there was "a willingness to wait for England in every part of the world". In the period immediately following the French Revolution of 1789, discussion of colonial matters had to be seen through the prism of France's war with Great Britain from 1793 onwards, and Napoleon's attempt to affirm the French sphere of influence in its broadest sense through expansion beyond its frontiers, and the proclamation of the Empire.

But after the 1815 Congress of Vienna and the fall of Algiers in 1830, the France's Second Republic (1848–1852) abolished the slavery and then the Second Empire France – in contrast to the British colonial system but nevertheless inspired by its rival – is based on a direct colonial administration founded on assimilation, since it would henceforth be built on an economic and populating colonization. The French colonial model of the nascent Republican State would alternate between expansionism and colonial retreat (Sedan, 1871), while after World War I it responded to the peace conferences by developing the French colonies so as to disseminate the cultural influence. This mode of operation worked by implanting civil servants from France, who held most of the power, and a colonial population composed of merchants and, particularly active, rich industrialists, which Raoul Girardet, a French historian of French nationalism, called the "Colonial Party", and which constructed a genuine "colonial ideology": a civilizing mission. France developed a sport that was exclusively colonial, exhibiting the athletic qualities of Africans, as at the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition.

In spite of this, Baron Pierre de Coubertin had been influenced by British educational methods in the promotion of modern sports. His renewal of the Olympic Movement followed the Colonial philosophy of Hubert Lyautey, a French military officer during the colonial wars. According to that social action doctrine and after Coubertin's first stance in 1912 in favor of a "geography of sport", Coubertin renewed his devotion to the Olympic principle of "All games, all nations". He then worked for the development of an African sport so as to contribute to the universalization of the Olympic idea, on the model of the 1921 Far-East Games and the 1922 Latin-American Games. This was expressed in the African Games project announced in 1923 under the IOC's patronage, and with the support of the imperial homelands carried forward after 1924 by the formerly Greek Egyptian member, Angelos Charles Bolanaki, who in 1927 chose the Egyptian city of Alexandria. However, these African Games were postponed until 1929.

The balance of power between the IOC and the colonial powers turned in favor of the latter with the cancellation of the African Games project for reasons that were racial, economic and political.

It would appear here that although the post-World War I international situation might be encouraging, it did not present the conditions for sport to blossom in

NOCs	NOC formation	IOC recognition	State independence	UN recognition	Former colonial Empire
Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe in 1980)	1934	- (1980)	1965 (1980)	- (1980)	Great Britain
Ethiopia	1948	1954	1896	1945	Empire
Uganda	1950	1956	1962	1962	Great Britain
Nigeria	1951	1951	1960	1960	Great Britain
Ghana	1952	1952	1957	1957	Great Britain
Kenya	1955	1955	1963	1963	Great Britain
Sudan	1956	1959	1956	1956	Great Britain
Tanganyika (Tanzania)	-	1958	1961	1961	Great Britain

First movement to form an African Olympic bloc:
NOCs created in English-speaking former colonies in Africa (1950–1958)

NOCs	NOC fomation	IOC recognition	State independence	UN recognition	Former colonial Empire
Tunisia	1957	1957	1957	1956	France
Morocco	1959	1959	1956	1956	France
Senegal	1961	1963	1960	1960	France
Côte d'Ivoire	1962	1963	1960	1960	France
Mali	1962	1963	1960	1960	France
Dahomey	1962	1962	1960	1960	France
Mauritania	1962	1979	1960	1961	France
Algeria	1963	1964	1962	1962	France
Malagasy	1963	1964	1960	1960	France
Chad	1963	1964	1960	1960	France
Togo	1963	1965	1960	1960	France
Cameroon	1963	1963	1960	1960	France
Dem. Rep. of Congo	1963	1968	1960	1960	France
Niger	1964	1964	1960	1960	France
Congo-Brazzaville	1964	1964	1960	1960	France
Guinea-Conakry	1964	1965	1958	1958	France
Central African Rep.	1964	1965	1960	1960	France
Haute-Volta	1965	1972	1960	1960	France
Gabon	1965	1968	1960	1960	France

Second movement to form an African Olympic bloc:
NOCs created in French-speaking former colonies in Africa (1959–1963)

Count Jean de Beaumont (left / 1904–2002), IOC Member in France from 1951 until his death, President of the COF (1967–1971), and Maurice Herzog (1919–2012), IOC Member in France from 1970 to 1995, French High Commissioner of Youth and Sports, 1958–1963.

Africa within an entity such as the IOC, as long as the competing colonial empires were not ready for it, given their colonial approaches to management. In fact, this distancing of the colonized peoples and the instrumentalization of their bodies for the benefit of the colonial project by acculturation to Western practices had not yet become the subject of questioning by the indigenous nationalist movements that 1920 and 1930 were forming in the homelands' great national education centers of London and Paris between.

Moreover, until World War II, the rise of totalitarian regimes, combined with the difficulties of implementing the principles of the League of Nations given the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by the fascist Mussolini regime, for example, did not favor the conditions for the emergence of a social and political criticism of athletic practices – which, in any case, remained a marginal activity among the colonized populations until after World War II.

Post Second World War: Contexts, methods and goals of British and French Empires in the IOC

> *"With regard to sport in India, Lord Aberdare has contacted the new Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, in order to encourage and develop physical education in the country. A very cordial response has already been received from the Viceroy, and an Indian delegation has been sent to Great Britain for the purposes of study."*[3]

But how did colonial policy and British decolonization fit in with the IOC?

The correspondence between IOC President J. Sigfrid Edström and its American Vice-President Avery Brundage (IOC President from 1952 to 1972) on August 15, 1944, illustrates the relations between British IOC Members and the Empire and Commonwealth. The promotion of sport and physical education, particularly cricket, revealed UK's cultural imperialism. But football as a world sport also helped to shape the national identities of citizens in the British and French empires. This brought sport as a means of human development into line with the ideals promoted by the IOC as well as the UN.

The influences of the colonial empires' home countries in this acculturation process would accelerate, as a means of "breaking the barriers" between the colonizers and the colonized. In Egypt, South Africa, Zanzibar and India, the practice of sports by indigenous peoples gradually came to symbolize the struggle for emancipation, despite the racism that confronted the construction of a national identity, even in a more open geopolitical space such as the Commonwealth.

At first, the UK's political arsenal included the concept of "race relations" imported from the United States and associated with the promotion of peaceful relationships with colonies about to obtain independence, and with the absorption, assimilation, or integration of immigrants of color from the "New Commonwealth" in Britain's major cities. In the 1950s, this was reflected in bills introduced by Members of Parliament that were aimed at regulating race relations. These bills outlawed discrimination in public places as well as incitements to racial hatred, and marked British society's transition from an imperial to a post-colonial situation.

In response firstly to the wishes of the European communities and then to those of the colonized peoples, the Colonial Office's first move was to send sports equipment to the colonies as early as 1944–1945. Allocations of sporting goods were initially reserved for colonizers and Europeans in the colonies for reasons of social hygiene, civilian health and logistical support for the colonial troops. This award of sports equipment was made with the discreet financial support of the Americans, which, if it was not granted, became an argument for the Colonial Office in seeking support from the British government for developing the colonies.

The following year, in 1945–46, the market began to open up to exports once again. New players joined the sporting aid provided by the UK to its colonies. The allocation of sports equipment by the British Board of Trade would gradually be abandoned, giving way to a market system operated by the Crown Agents' colonial importers, a kind of commercial intermediary between the governors of the British territories and dominions and the relevant departments of the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office.The Crown Agents included William Tomlinson (Glasgow), Frank Bryan Ltd (London), Gunn and Moore Ltd (Nottingham), Slazenger Ltd (Essex), R G Spalding and Sons Ltd (London), H J Gray and Sons (Cambridge), Alfred Reader and Co. (London), Dunlop Rubber and Co. Ltd.(Sports Division, Essex), Benjamin Crook & Sons Ltd (Huddersfield), and United States Rubber Export Co. Inc.(Washington), among others.

With these sporting goods, the British were working to open up and calm their colonies through community

Abdoulaye Seye (right / 1934–2011) first competed under the colors of France. He won the 100 metres final at the 1959 Mediterranean Games in 10.3 s, ahead of his teammates Paul Genevay and Alain David, and then in the French team at the Olympic Games in Rome, he won the bronze medal in the 200 metres (20.7 s). Once Senegal became independent in 1960 he returned to his native land as a national coach. Above: Senegal took part in the Olympic Games in 1964 in Tokyo for the first time with its own team.

organisations. The economic policy was an integral part of the British colonial policy established by the 1948 Development Act, covering the Overseas Food Corporation, Colonial Development and Welfare, Colonial Secretary Cooperation and the creation of the East African Common Services Organisation based on the existing model of the Central African Council, to regionalize Britain's colonial domains.

These development measures were accompanied by a draft Nationality Act. The UK faced reluctance from the dominions with regard to a legal system that obliged them to become "aliens" to the British Crown as soon as they gained independence. The reform of the 1948 British Nationality Act granted the status of Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies (CUKC) to any person born in the United Kingdom or a colony of the empire that conferred the status of British citizen: these were *Commonwealth citizens*, which was not equivalent to the situation in France. However, this policy interfered with those of International Sports Federations (IF) such as the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), led by the British IOC Member Lord Burghley, the future Marquess of Exeter. The Federation met on November 27, 1949, in Paris and decided to redefine Rule 9 for European championships, which also covered international events: "only subjects of a country may represent that country".

In the French Empire, beginning in 1946, the new *Union française* formed the cornerstone of France's overseas diplomacy. Out of a desire not to give full power to the colonists, and to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new native-born politicized elites, France introduced a dual electoral system that comprised both subjects and citizens of the Empire, thereby preserving the authority of Metropolitan France. This entity was to build Franco-African unity based on recognition of the citizenship of certain subjects of the Empire in 1947 in order to form a French-speaking international bloc. For France, it was a matter of positioning itself within an international system that would now be dominated by Anglo-Saxons, as leaders of the group that had emerged victorious in World War II. In this way, the associative tissues of sport were developed, especially in the black colonies and territories – French West Africa (FWA) and French Equatorial Africa (FEA). They became available to the Empire's subjects, now citizens, as described by Bernadette Deville-Danthu, historian of the French colonial sport.

However, the unsatisfactory performance of the *Federal Sports Committee* (FSC, Dakar, Senegal) (the structure that managed sport in French West Africa) emphasized the inadequacy of the financial credits provided, raising questions about the effectiveness of the colonial administration, which had dismissed this project. Although Rule 39 of the Olympic Charter had, since 1949, permitted the creation of autonomous overseas Olympic Committees, it had not been applied, since sport in both FWA and FEA was copied from the metropolitan French sports system, with a FSC modeled on the National Sports Committee (NSC). These organisations, controlled by the colonial administration, then received subsidies from the African sports leagues that were affiliated to the metropolitan French sports federations, both via the National Education Ministry on the Youth and Sports (NEMYS) and the French Overseas Ministry (FOM).

In 1951, however, the NSC envisaged the emancipation of the Union française, but the French diplomatic service wanted to retain the utilitarian concept of the Empire, and the French Foreign Ministry agreed with the French Members of the IOC to prevent any emancipation before political independence was granted. The African Olympic Committee's project then represents the logical follow-up – after the mission by the French Athletic Association (FFA)/L'Auto and after the Quinzaine Impériale (1942) before that – to the Félix Eboué sporting challenge (1945), which became the Union Française Pre-Olympic Games (1950) –, repeatedly proposed to the Assembly of the Union Française (AUF) and to the French National Assembly (ANF).

As such, the national political context regarding colonial matters and the international situation account for the impossibility of this project's being recognized by the Olympic Movement, which feared a renewal of regional Games established by Third-World countries and competing with the Olympic Games. In the francophone colonial space, regional events like the Mediterranean Games – vestiges of the IOC's African Games of 1929 – enabled native populations to express themselves in sport under the control of the home countries, and to develop modern sport in Africa.

Meanwhile, in France, from 1947 to 1957, the project underwent a joint instrumentalisation by the "evolved elites" and the metropolitan French political parties ensconced in the "colonial lobby", which the stranglehold of the FOM and the NEMYS only confirmed. However, these French endeavors in Africa to select African athletes were not aimed at an Olympic emancipation of the colonized territories, but only at the inclusion of international-class athletes in a metropolitan French team. A French team that wished to demonstrate on the international sporting stage that it was taking its indigenous peoples into consideration, just as Great Britain and the United States had done with their racial minorities. For example, in this context the Olympic's incorporation of the former imperial colonies would become an area of competition and control for the IOC, with an active role played by the British Foreign Office.The UK gained a head start by hosting the 1948 Olympics in London.

From British and French Colonial Empires to Imperial Commonwealth and Communauté franco-africaine

> *"The liberation of the colored countries, who have more or less been under the yoke of the western powers such as India, Pakistan, Dutch Indies, Algeria, Indo China etc. is continuing. These colored people in Asia and Africa are now uniting themselves not only to take care of their own affairs but also trying to influence and perhaps lead the world. At the great congress in Bandung on Java, which is going on just now, 29 colored countries are taking part. They will not be aggressive now, but in a few years they will have more courage, and we Western countries can fear difficulties. It is therefore highly desirable that the Western countries organize themselves to defend their common interests. Thus we will have two great parts of the world."*[4]

Owing to the international context and the characteristics of the British colonial and imperial system, the first attempt by the British Empire to integrate African colonies into the IOC concerned the territories and colonies of the Anglophone Pacific, Atlantic and Caribbean: The Bermuda Islands and Jamaica in 1936, Trinidad and Tobago in 1948, and Barbados in 1955. The UK exercised its influence through its dominance in the International Federations of the world's most widespread modern sporting disciplines, and those that were most developed in Africa by settlers: football and athletics. Indeed, in 1956, almost a dozens years after World War II, football took on a continental dimension in Africa in 1956 with the formation of the Confederation of African Football (CAF). The creation of this African sports organisation reflected the Africans' desire to unite against colonialism through the Africa Cup of Nations (CAN). The first four events were held in former British colonial territories: Sudan in 1957, Egypt in 1959, Ethiopia in 1962 and Ghana in 1963. It was not until Tunisia in 1965 that the Cup came to a French-speaking country.

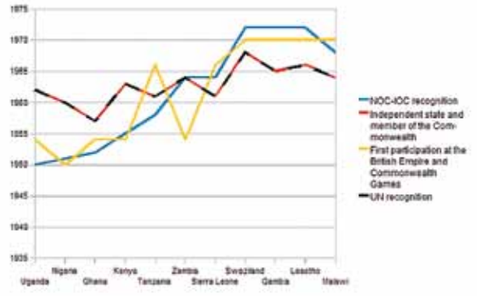
This Pan-Africanism expressed through sport was nonetheless conditioned by affiliation with Western sports federations such as Fédération internationale de Football Amateur (FIFA), led by the British under Arthur Drewry (1955–1961) and subsequently by Sir Stanley Rous (1961–1974). Moreover, the IAAF was led by the IOC's Vice-President from 1952 to 1966, the Marquess of Exeter (Lord Burghley), a former governor of Bermuda.

Directives issued by this influential member bestowed greater autonomy and favored the gradual recognition of NOCs in the British colonies, a subject on the agenda at the IOC Session in Copenhagen on May 17, 1950. At the suggestion of Lord Burghley, it was decided to recognize them if the Olympic terms were met and if these specific countries had regularly constituted governments. The changes at the IAAF, dominated by the British, were not trivial. The gradual dual recognition of the citizenship of the native populations of the British Empire opened a door to the sporting representation of African athletes at the 1948 London Olympics and served as a step in the process of British decolonization based on the Olympic Movement and the formation of the Commonwealth.

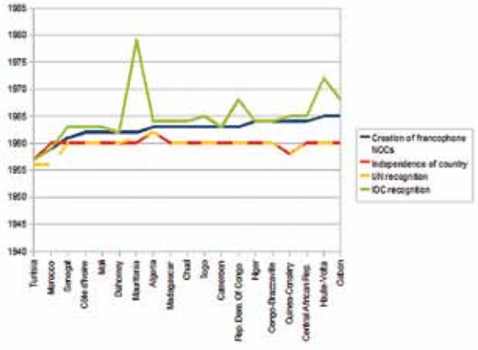
India's membership from 1949 as an independent nation and Republic demonstrated that the constitutional link with the British crown was no longer necessary for membership in the Commonwealth of Nations. Consequently, the change of name from the IV[th] British Empire Games in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1950 to the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1954 in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, marked a transformation. Indirect rule had enabled a dual process of self-government under British influence. This process unfolded with the first participation at the Empire and Commonwealth Games and thus endorsed membership of the geopolitical space of the Commonwealth of Nations (1950–1965).

The process resulted in the birth of the African football and athletics federations, controlled by International Federations. Starting with the presidency of Avery

From British Colonial Empire to Imperial Commonwealth: NOCs in English-speaking Africa (1950–1972)



From the Union Française to the break-up of the Franco-African Community (1956–1968)



Brundage, this necessitated the intensification of close collaboration between the IOC and IFs to manage the creation and recognition of NOCs in the former colonies, as Otto Mayer indicated to Avery Brundage with regard to the creation of NOCs in Uganda, Tanzania, and Tanganyika.

Sporting decolonization accelerated. Ethiopia became a member of the IAAF at its council meeting in Rome on May 20, 1951. Otto Mayer asked Lord Burghley and Lord Aberdare to investigate the creation of NOCs in Nigeria and the Gold Coast on January 15, 1951. The country had taken part in the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1950. Burghley then proposed the Gold Coast on April 26, 1951 after the country formed an NOC and joined the IAAF. The application process for membership in the IAAF was a critical step in the recognition of the NOCs. The Gold Coast was proposed at a meeting in Finland on July 17 and 18, 1952. Next came the Dominican Republic and Uganda.

This phenomenon can be seen as related to the acceleration in the number of African NOCs recognized by the IOC, especially between 1950 and 1962, in spite of these countries not yet being politically independent and not yet having seats at the UN. Thus, the British and French colonial regimes, and then the Italian regime, except for the Ethiopian empire, tried to act as mediators in the NOCs instituted under their guardianship. The challenge now was to prevent the formation of an anti-colonial bloc within the IOC that favored the Soviet ideology, as the USSR had in 1956 quickly recognized the new governments of Morocco and Tunisia, in 1957 held up Ghana in 1957, then on the way to independence, as an example, and a year later provided political and economic options for Sékou Touré's Guinea.

From 1959 onwards the phenomenon was reversed, which can be explained by the desire of the newly independent countries in francophone black Africa to join the Olympic Movement, and to have their nations internationally recognized via the Olympic Games.

In 1951, the French IOC Members, Armand Massard and François Piétri, were forced to take notice of the British advance in the Olympic recognition issue, with the candidacy of the NOC from the British colony of Nigeria for the 1952 Games. The decolonization process in francophone Africa began in 1956 with the application of the Loi-Cadre, a reform measure, and granted greater autonomy to French possessions and colonies in Africa. This legal and institutional development was then amplified in 1958 by the accession of General de Gaulle as head of the Fifth Republic, creating the Franco-African Community. This francophone geopolitical space, modeled on the Commonwealth, gave the status of Republics to the colonies, which would henceforth be linked to Metropolitan France in a partnership structure.

As regards French sport overseas, it was a matter of applying the renewed French colonial policy in the service of the Olympic emancipation of its colonies on the international sporting scene. To implement this "sports decolonization", the establishment of the High Commission for Youth and Sport (HCJS) in France, with Maurice Herzog at its head from 1958 onwards, accelerated the French decolonization process and promoted the recognition of NOCs in francophone black Africa. France thus instrumentalized sport via the HCJS, which transformed the planned Union Française Games into the Friendship or Community Sporting Games from 1960 to 1963, so as to create NOCs in the former French African colonies and thereby enable the emergence of a francophone space within the Olympic Movement.

In the IOC in 1961, France was supported by the International Olympic Aid Commission (IOAC), a commission that was also supported by the United States' NOC since the French member, Count Jean de Beaumont, had the dual mission for the IOC and for France of carrying out an Olympic publicity tour in Africa and Asia. The IOAC was an instrument of geopolitical strategy, since it was established jointly by the French member de Beaumont, and the Soviets in the IOC, who hoped thereby to exert their progressive influence in Africa. The Commission allowed France to ensure the "Olympic emancipation" of the former francophone African colonies by creating NOCs, and to avoid the IOC, dominated by Anglo-Saxons, having to see new NOCs linking up with a communist ideology. Favorable conditions were in place to create

At the 1964 Games in Tokyo 14 black African countries took part, including Mali with two athletes.

NOCs in francophone Africa and to expedite their incorporation into the IOC. Thus usually, even before France's former African colonies obtained independence, they had established their own NOCs and it was only once autonomy from the imperial tutelage was secured that they were provisionally recognized by the IOC. But all this took place with the support and discreet control of the French influence, based on partnerships established by a policy of Franco-African cooperation at the highest level of the French State.

Conclusion

"It was only after World War II that, regarding members of the IOC, reference was made to a "European bloc", a "Latin bloc", a "Western-Hemisphere bloc", a "British Empire bloc" and so on. There can be no doubt that in our time all this has taken on very disturbing proportions, but the mere fact that these blocs were mentioned indicates that something is amiss. There should be no blocs or nationalisms in the International Olympic Committee." [5]

Africa's entry into the IOC was the subject of issues arising from changes in the two Empires – British and French – whose hegemonic desires were themselves now subject to the influences of the superpowers, which were remaking world force relationships in the wake of World War II. Although before World War I the conditions for Africa's entry into the IOC did not exist, it was a different story after World War II. In the first place, use of the Olympic Movement was a tool both for British decolonization, and for the extension of the Commonwealth's geopolitical space, so as to associate these new partners with the recognition of NOCs from Britain's black African colonies.

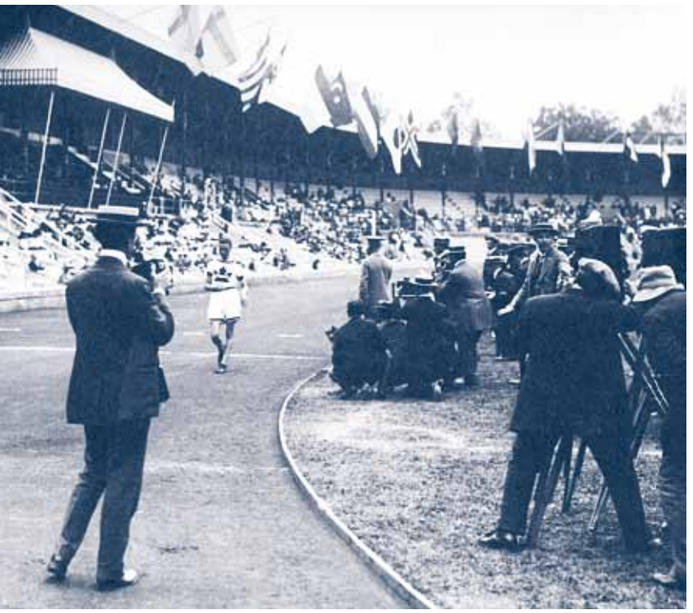
Subsequently, in the French Empire, the strong presence of colonists holding a monopoly of power, and the delayed implementation of Africanization of the managerial caste in the management of the colonies placed limits on the abandonment of colonial policies. The haste of the French decolonization is explained by the joint action of the Western powers in the Cold War (USA and USSR), whose influence with the anti-colonialists and independence fighters raised fears of a return in 1955 to a French "African preserve" (*Bandung*), together with the continuing counterpoint of competition with British influence for the leadership of Europe. Thus, rather than definitively losing all control and influence over its Empire, the French State – for a brief historic moment – accelerated the decolonization of these African elites so as to become the favored partner of its former African colonies (1959–1965) and pursue the colonial project in other ways. From then on, this colonial reshaping consisted of simultaneously supporting the political independence of the African countries; with as a consequence the blessing of the UN from 1957 to 1990 and finally the recognition of the NOCs from francophone black Africa at the IOC.

Finally, in the Olympic Movement, although the British were making use of the IFs to put pressure on the IOC to recognize their NOCs following self-government model of the Commonwealth Games, France was delaying this process in its own colonial territories, whose autonomy was still limited within a stillborn Community which at last selected the Friendship Games as the indispensable moment for "Olympic emancipation". Thus, between 1959 and 1965, the intersection of two processes for the internationalization of African sport also coincided with the phase of Franco-British cooperation, which we identified in an earlier work conducted under a post-graduate fellowship from the IOC. This phase represents the moment when the colonies of these two Empires were most likely to become allied to the Soviet ideology, then engaged in propaganda for the recovery of the non-aligned nations of the "Third World", with the new Regional Games of the New Emerging Forces (1963), and then the future African Games (1965), which were also to arouse competition between the British and the French over their Olympic recognition. ■

1 Avery Brundage, 5th IOC President 1952–1972, Olympic Studies Center, April 5, 1945.
2 John Bale & Mike Cronin, two British historians who mixed geographical and postcolonial sport analyzes, in: Sport and Post-colonialism. Global Sport Cultures, 2003.
3 Johannes Sigfrid Edström, 4th IOC President 1946–1952, Olympic Studies Center, August 15, 1944.
4 Avery Brundage, the second IOC President after the Second World War, who carried out the transformations of the New International Order, Olympic Studies Center, April 22, 1955.
5 Avery Brundage, IOC Bulletin 47, August–September 1954.

Media Regulations and the Olympic Charter: a history of visible changes*

By Ana Adi



At the 1912 Games in Stockholm the Organising Committee had granted the rights to the Stockholm agency Hasselblad & Scholander, who engaged eight photographers. Besides them three foreign photographers were permitted. The cameramen can be seen on the right. Olympic events were filmed and photographed extensively for the first time. Adjacent: by the 1996 Games in Atlanta 1000 photographers were accredited.

Introduction

Ever since antiquity, the "media" has played a vital role in promoting the Olympic Games. In Ancient Greece, sculptures were carved to celebrate the Olympic champions and the results of the competitions were announced by heralds in the most crowded public places. Today, the Olympic media reaches all over the world. The written word, both in print and electronically runs to billions, and thousands of hours of broadcast time are with information from and about the Games. It can be argued that this is a reflection of the growing importance and popularity of the Olympics.

Handling this media attention requires extensive work for many organisations including the IOC, the host city Organising Committee (OCOG), National Olympic Committees (NOC) and International Sports Federations (IF). These preparations are to a great extent laid down in rules, regulations and guidelines aimed at the media and Olympic stakeholders.

Among the key documents which address the media and, its relationship and role with the IOC and the Olympic Movement, is the Olympic Charter (Charter). Drawn up by the IOC, it is a basic constitutional document that defines the fundamental principles of Olympism and serves as a governance document for the IOC. It outlines the reciprocal rights and obligations of the main constituents of the Olympic Movement. The Charter [1] also reflects the IOC's official position on certain issues concerning the Olympic Movement at large.

This article considers processes of change within the Olympic Charter, to better understand how the relationship between media and the Olympic Movement has evolved in time. As the media presence at the Games increased, along with the increase of TV rights revenues, the Olympic Movement was forced to address and re-define its requirements for, responsibilities towards and relationship with the media, itself in a period of great change. This paper focuses in particular on the development of Article 49 of the Olympic Charter. This is the clause which defines this relationship and discusses how changes brought about by technological advances and transformations of how journalists conduct their work influenced it and its development. The analysis draws on different editions of the Charter, the minutes of the IOC Executive Board Meetings from 1921 until 1975 and of the IOC Sessions from 1894 to 2000 [2].

Charter, Laws and Bye-laws

The Olympic Movement is founded on the concept of autonomy and good governance of sport [3]. From an organisational perspective, it has its own system of rules that address not only sporting matters but also organisational aspects of the Olympic Games. Structurally, the Movement is constituted by the IOC, its governing body and supreme authority. Beneath it, the IFs with the OCOGs and NOCs are required to accept its authority and adhere to its rules.[4] Within this structure it is the IOC alone which decides on the eligibility of a National Olympic Committee to join the movement and has the right to change or introduce new rules related to the Olympic Games. Since this study is concerned with alterations to the Charter, it is useful to begin with a discussion about the Charter's role and structure and to clarify its purpose, in terms of its rules and bye-laws, along with their legal power.

The Charter is one of the main regulatory documents of the Olympic Movement. It is the codification of the "Fundamental Principles" of Olympism, rules and bye-laws adopted by the IOC that regulate the organisation and functioning Olympic Movement, the IOC, IFs and NOCs. The Charter also sets forth the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games [5]. The articles of the Charter define the basic principles of the Olympic Movement, its aims and mission. In one sense, they are "a small body of essential provisions characterized by their permanence and stability"[6].

In this research, both rules and bye-laws are important. However taking into account that bye-laws are a concept introduced to the Charter in the 1970s and that they can in theory be amended before each staging of the Games, this analysis focuses only on the rules. Additionally, two assumptions underpin this research: that the rules address issues considered to be directly linked with the core of Olympism and that the rule changes address issues whose potential impact on Olympism is deemed significant enough for the IOC to take action.

The Olympic Charter and the Media Rules

The revival of the Olympic Games happened at a time of rapid technological change. The emergence of high-speed photography (1877), the invention of radio (1890), the invention of roll film camera (1888) and of cinematography (1895) or the first transmission of human voice (1906) were all beginning to transform how historical events were documented. For the IOC, this eventually resulted in a reassessment of its relationship with and expectations of both traditional and emerging media.

The first regulations regarding media interaction and use are to be found in the Charter as early as 1930. Section XVII, "The taking of photograph and cinematograph-pictures", stipulated:

"The Organizing Committee must make the necessary arrangements for making a record of the Games by means of photography and moving pictures, but must organize and limit these services in such a way that they do not interfere with the conduct of the Games." [7]

In the same edition of the Charter, Section XXVI, elaborates on the seating arrangements for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies while mentioning the existence of "a big stand reserved for the press". Both sections indicate the IOC's desire to have a positive record of the Games.

The IOC's ability to award exclusive rights to media representatives existed in the Charter as early as 1949. Article 60, was an enlarged version of what had been article 27 in 1930, it contains a paragraph limiting exclusive film rights:

"Exclusive rights to the films shall expire one year after the Games are finished. At that time a copy of the films shall be given to the International Olympic Committee for its Museum, without charge, and National Olympic Committees and International Sport Federations may purchase copies at a reasonable price with the right to show them to their members." [8]

In 1955 a technical provision was added to the paragraph. It now required that a 30 minutes 16 mm film covering highlights of the Games be provided immediately after the end of the Olympics to NOCs and IFs. This film was to be for non-commercial use

Paris 1924: The telephone switchboard in which the information items were assembled was infield of the Stade Olympique in Colombes. The first worldwide live radio transmissions were first made in Berlin in 1936. The reports reached all continents except Australia via short wave.

The first "Media Games" took place in Berlin in 1936. With these Olympics also began the television age. Excitement was generated by the giant "television cannon" in the Olympic Stadium as well as by the new type of "Telefunken-Bildfänger" (photo). Altogether there were 15 broadcasts with a total transmission time of 19 hours. In the 25 public television rooms there were 162,228 visitors.

and would be provided to members of the Olympic Movement at a cost[9]. This too, reflects the IOC's attempt to have a visual record of the Games, to expand the use of footage while also ensuring that the images transmitted about the Games were coherent and consistent.

In 1956 the Executive Board recommended to the Melbourne organisers that they permit spectators to take film and photos as long as these were used only for personal purposes.[10] That same year, the first live broadcast of the Games took place at the Winter Games at Cortina. During the Opening Ceremony, the final Olympic torchbearer Guido Caroli stumbled and fell over a television cable placed on the ice surface of the stadium. While there is no conclusive evidence, this incident may well have influenced the addition to the Charter of a paragraph emphasizing that cameras on the field should be kept to a minimum.

The 1958 Charter features other changes. The rule regarding media presence at the Games can now be found in Article 49, "Publicity". The IOC had become increasingly conscious of the media's role in disseminating the Olympic ideals. It could also be inferred that the new name of the article highlights the movement's general acknowledgement of the increasing importance of communication and a growing awareness of its trends and terminology.

Compared to the previous editions, Rule 49 of the 1958 edition is very lengthy, explicitly addressing several issues considered of high priority and importance for the IOC such as the organisation of a camera pool for television and cinema newsreels, restrictions on Olympic footage use with a non-commercial restriction for spectators and a time constriction for news programmes, and technical provisions. The edition also included the first mention of television rights. This followed IOC President Avery Brundage's address to the Session in Sofia, where he explained how television could be a source of profit to the IOC.[11]

In 1959, IOC Members discussed the possibility of allocating funds for a public relations office whose influence would become considerable in the following decade.

"It would give us the opportunity to promote and revive the olympic ideal under up to date methods. This matter could be referred to a commission for examination. He [Lord Luke] also thinks that we could assist the press in its task by giving it more information."[12]

At the IOC Session in Rome in 1960, Rule 49 was discussed. Television rights were debated. While some called for a full revision of the rule, others wanted to clarify the percentage of rights which the IOC were entitled to claim from OCOGs[13,14]. It was then that Brundage suggested that the rights would remain the sole property of the organizers of the Games from whom the IOC should ask for a fixed percentage. At that time, it was considered that this would provide the IOC with an income that could later be redistributed to IFs. The Executive Board however deferred and requested the full revision of the rule. Until the amendments came into operation, the figure of 5% of the rights would be maintained together "with a guarantee of 50,000 dollars"[15]. For the Tokyo and Innsbruck Games in 1964, the Board decided

"(...) to forego the rights of television in favour of the organizers of the Games, but to ask them to pay a contractual indemnity. This has been fixed as follows:
Tokyo: 130,000 dollars
Innsbruck: 20,000 dollars.
The I.O.C. will share this sum between the IFs and himself [sic] according to a scale which is to be settled at a later date."[16]

In 1966, the IOC was still discussing revenue sharing, but this time both IFs and NOCs were involved. The IFs claimed a third of the total proceeds.

"The Executive Board proposed that the first million dollars go entirely to the I.O.C. who would divide it between the International Federations and the National Olympic Committees, on the basis of 1/3 to each, the I.O.C. reserving for itself the final third. The Organizing Committee would receive no part of this initial sum in order to encourage it to obtain as much as possible from the television companies.
The second million would be divided as follows: l/3 to the Organizing Committee and 2/3 to the I.O.C. who would distribute 2/9 to the I.F.s, 2/9 to the N.O.C.s and 2/9 to the I.O.C.
Starting from the third million, 2/3 would go to the Organizing Committee and 1/3 to the I.O.C. to be re-distributed as indicated in the preceeding paragraph.
In regard to the Winter Games, the progression would be the same starting from the sum of $200,000."[17]

Three-quarters of a century after the start of the Olympic television age: transmission centre at the 2010 Winter Games in Vancouver

This distribution formula was put in place for the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

No other major structural changes to the rule were made until 1971. However, additions and clarifications are found both in the 1962 and 1966 editions of the Charter. At the IOC Executive Board meeting at Mon Repos in Lausanne in 1965, Brundage complained that "certain television broadcasts of the Olympic Games were sponsored by firms advertising alcoholic drinks and cigarettes".[18] As a result the board decided to prohibit such sponsorship in the future. This is perhaps one of the biggest changes brought by the 1960s and reflects both an increased awareness of public relations and publicity strategies and a growing sensitivity over exactly who the IOC should do business with.

There was growing discussion about IOC's messaging to external audiences, trademarks and the Olympic Movement's relationship with media. In 1969, Vernon Morgan, former Chief Sports Correspondent of Reuters, told the IOC Session about a Seminar on the Responsibilities of the Mass Information Media. The recommendations included asking the media to give publicity to the background of the Olympic Games and offering an annual prize to the journalist who best served the Olympic Movement[19].

In the following decade, Rule 49 was expanded and revised. For instance, where the OCOG was made responsible for granting journalists free access and facilities to the Olympic zones[20]. This was a particularly important and difficult task, as the number of accredited journalists increased from a few hundred in the thirties to more than 7,500 in the sixties and seventies.

This led to an overhaul of accreditation procedures. NOCs were charged with the accreditation of journalists in their countries. The sale of TV rights was now well established. OCOGs were already organising a broadcast pool, the question of access for rights holders and what was permitted for "non rights" holders was a question which needed to be addressed. In 1971 the Charter had this to say.

"News coverage showing, whether cinema or television, shall be limited lo regularly scheduled program, where news is its essence either of networks, individual stations, or cinemas. No individual program may use more than three minutes of Olympic Coverage a day. No network, television station, or cinema may use more than three presentation of such coverage per day and there shall be at least four hours between presentations.
In no case can this coverage be used for the compilation of any kind of special Olympic program."[21]

Further provisions dealt with the sale of media rights and the distribution of revenue. However, unlike previous editions, the 1971 Charter stipulates that the revenue is due to be remitted in full by the OCOG to

Twice Olympic press centres in London: in 1948 the "office girl" still had to connect long-distance calls. Below: The work room at the 2012 Main Press Centre was named in honour of the late John Rodda, a distinguished journalist for the *Guardian* newspaper and ISOH member. The "Steve Parry Bar" commemorated another great journalistic servant of Olympism. A longtime senior journalist at *Reuters* died shortly before the Beijing Games.

the IOC. This measure, as reported by the IOC Finance Commission at the 69th IOC Session held in Amsterdam in 1970, was not greeted with enthusiasm by the Munich and Sapporo organisers[22]. For them, as much as for the IOC, the sale of media rights was a strong source of income as well as of potential profit. OCOGs had already been in charge of the negotiations of media rights sales. For them it was an important source of revenue. The 1970s marked a major shift towards making OCOGs fully responsible financially for the Games[23]. In addition the IOC were increasingly zealous in protecting their brand. The media accreditation process which recognizes and grants access to journalists based on the media organisation type they come from is fundamental to the control and protection of the brand.

The paragraphs regarding accreditation were revised several times during the seventies, as were the TV rights negotiations provisions. In 1972 the accreditation responsibilities of nominating journalists to be granted access to the press designated areas during the Olympic Games were extended to IFs as well. Also, any television contracts required the written approval of the Executive Board of the IOC. Additionally, restrictions on using Olympic footage to create special editions were extended from the media organisations and Olympic Movement to individuals participating in the Games[24].

In 1974, the regulations were further revised. Rule 48 dealt with: "accreditation", "written press, radio, filmed [sic] press, cinema", "rights and concessions", "news", "technical films" and "Olympic film". Special attention was given to athletes and officials and their potential media role. Both groups were prohibited to act as accredited journalists or to take photos or record video especially during the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Games. The financial responsibilities of the IOC underscored committee's lack of liability, under any circumstances, for directly or indirectly incurred costs. This meant that the costs incurred for renting technology or making sure the venues were "media-friendly" were down to the OCOGs.

In 1975, bye-laws were introduced in the Charter for the first time although their purpose and formulation had been under discussion both during the IOC Session and the meetings of the Executive Board of 1974[25]. The introduction of bye-laws was intended to reduce the necessity of revising the rules of the Charter.

The first bye-law to Rule 48, together with a shortened and restructured text of the rule itself, was approved by the IOC Executive Board during its meeting in Vienna in October 1974.

"(...) the final text (annex 11) was the joint work of the Television Sub-Committee, the Finance Commission and the Juridical Commission. It had been checked and re-checked several times and had been circulated to all members. Certain amendments had been made once again but this was now the final draft to be submitted to the Session, upon the approval of the Executive Board."[26]

The rule, called "Information Media", contained five paragraphs, compared to twelve of the previous edition and concentrated more on defining the regulatory aims and the IOC's position as sole holder of media rights.

"In order to ensure the widest possible audience for the Olympic Games, and subject to the rights of the International Olympic Committee, the necessary steps shall be taken to allow representatives of all forms of mass media to attend and report on the events and ceremonies accompanying the Games, under the conditions laid down by the I.O.C."[27]

Instead, the bye-law's text is very similar to the one of the 1974 Rule 48 and presented it in the following sections: accreditation, broadcasting rights, photograph and film pool and Olympic film. Of particular interest in the bye-law is the definition provided for broadcasting, as it emphasizes the process as well as the technology. It reflects, as did the Charter many years before, the IOC's and the Olympic Movement's awareness of their technological presence as well as of the potential influence on the Movement's general mission. Detailed definitions of what constituted mass-media were included. This attempt by to confine broadcasting to a more limited and defined sphere was intended to strengthen the IOC's ownership of media rights:

"(...) 'broadcasting' means informing the public of the official events and ceremonies within the Olympic Games, by all radio and audio-visual forms of mass media (cinema, radio, television, close-circuit programmes, video-cassette, etc.)".[28]

A similar preoccupation with aligning the Olympic Movement to the technical realities and practices of its time is evident within the paragraph regulating the Olympic film which requires the film to be distributed according to practices internationally accepted by the film industry, however the Charter does not elaborate on what those practices are.

The fact that media represent a valuable vehicle of publicity as well as a powerful opinion influencer would explain the discussion regarding the accreditation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to cover the 1980 Moscow Games.. The presence of two media outlets often described as propaganda vehicles of the Western regimes was always heavily contested by Eastern bloc countries. After lengthy discussions at the 78th IOC Session in Montreal it was decided to accredit the two

"on condition that no propaganda be broadcast for the period of the Games, that all tapes of programmes be submitted for checking upon written request, and that no athletes from countries to which programmes were broadcast be interviewed".[29]

In 1978 the Rule was changed considerably showing a reconsideration of the IOC's position with towards accreditation, its purpose and method. Published under a new title, "Mass-Media", the rule now covered issues of accreditation, television news reporting, broadcasting and distribution and films. It also contained several additions and definitions such as those clarifying the IOC's view of accreditation as a way of facilitating the reporting of the Games "subject to the conditions laid down by the IOC"[30] in the bye-law of the rule. As before, it called on journalists to respect the Olympic principles and support the Movement in its mission of promoting positive values.

"In order to ensure the fullest news coverage and the widest possible audience for the Olympic Games and the Winter Games, the necessary steps shall be taken to accredit the representatives of the different mass media so that they can attend the competitions, demonstrations and ceremonies accompanying the Games. The Executive Board of the IOC, whose decision shall be final and binding, reserves the right to grant or to refuse accreditation in the case of any applicant or to withdraw any accreditation already granted."[31]

The Charters of 1980 and 1982 maintain the IOC's accreditation decision as final and binding. Rule 49 becomes rule 51, an integral part of the "Mass-Media-Publications-Copyrights" subchapter. The subchapter also contains separate rules for publications – 52, propaganda and advertising – 53, music and fanfares – 54, responsibilities prior to and after the Olympic Games – 55, which are not discussed and analyzed in this paper.

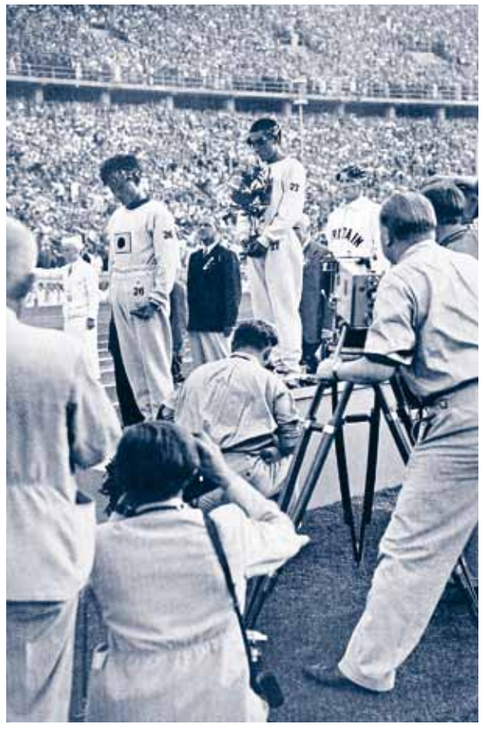
As with previous cases, the further tightening of the rules provides better protection to the Olympic Movement and its assets. This also confirms the IOC's increasing understanding of how the media worked. This enabled it to formulate regulations that reflected its vision of positive coverage. It also highlighted the IOC's growing awareness of media tools and techniques which could potentially contribute to building a positive and fruitful relationship with the media.

Despite the extended boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games by the USA and other Western nations and the retaliation by the Eastern bloc in 1984, the Olympics were, in terms of media coverage, a big success with more than 150 nations acquiring television and radio rights. This could be considered as a reflection of the generally good relationship that the IOC had built with the media. Events such as the International Symposium on Sport, Media and Olympism held in Lausanne in 1984 helped this to grow[32].

The IOC needed a good relationship with the media. Dialogue within the Olympic Movement was deemed to be equally necessary. The Mass-Media Commission, formed by President Juan Antonio Samaranch in 1985[33] aimed to maintain contact between the Press, Radio and Television IOC Commissions and strengthen the ties between the three means of communication. At the same time, inquiries on the impact of television and low cost solutions for radio broadcasters were launched[34] while the Press Commission continued to brief IOC on its activities and work closely with OCOGs in preparation for the Games.

In 1985, the Executive board looked at the media rules again. The text was consolidated in one section. Accreditation was to guarantee access to Olympic events[35] but, as in previous editions, indicated that athletes, coaches, press attaches and other accredited personnel were not allowed to perform as journalists.
The rule remained unchanged until 1991, when the Charter underwent a complete overhaul of its structure. It was the result of an eight-year long process and a response to the evolution of the Olympic Movement.

The 1984 Media Guide, published by the IOC, in which the requirements for the work of the mass media at the Olympic Games and meetings of the IOC were established.



The first professionally produced film of the Olympic Games was made in 1936 in Berlin. The director Leni Riefenstahl pursued artistic pretensions and also had the aim of presenting Adolf Hitler, whom she admired, as the "Peace Chancellor". Although many still believe it today, the film was not a pure documentary. Instead the director altered the competitive order of events according to her own ideas and set up scenes such as those of the marathon race under "studio conditions".
In the photo: in the foreground one of the cameramen at the marathon victory ceremony.

Rule 51 became rule 59. Its text was reduced to two paragraphs, one noted the IOC's mission to ensure that the Games receive the fullest news coverage, the other dealt with the IOC Executive Board's authority and competence in accreditation matters. The bye-law to the rule was reintroduced in the text and, unlike in the 1970s and early 1980s when it offered great detail on accreditation categories, procedures, requirements for different types of media and even the provision of reserved seating, the 1991 bye-law merely highlighted the importance of the media guide and pointed out the importance, role and guarantees derived from an Olympic accreditation.

Another addition followed in 1996. It acknowledged the Olympic Movement's desire to promote Olympism through the Games..

"1 – It should be an objective of the Olympic Movement that the media coverage of the Olympic Games, by its content, spread and promote the principles of Olympism." [36]

That same year, the Olympic Movement was preparing for the Games of the Internet era as well as the fully funded from private resources. 214 countries, a record number, broadcast the Olympics while the IOC underwrote the cost of transmission to Africa[37]. The technical difficulties encountered by the Media and Press Commission representatives during the 1996 Games led the IOC to call for more attention to be paid to technology and in particular its impact on media operations. Two years later, the Nagano 1998 Games offered video-on-demand and 3D high-definition among streaming options. The Movement was well on its way to ensuring the fullest coverage for the widest possible audience. This trend continued more news representatives, more media outlets and more rights holders joining the Olympic celebration[38].

The innovation and experimentation continued after 2000. In 2002, more than 100 million people received free-to-air TV coverage of the Salt Lake Winter Games. In 2004, the Athens Games were transmitted to the UK and the USA for the first time over the Internet as well as by conventional broadcast. In 2006 at the Torino Games, HDTV and mobile phone coverage was made available and in Beijing news clips were put on YouTube [39].

The Charter however does not refer to these developments. Instead they are covered in other IOC and OCOG publications.

More recent editions of the Charter in 2007 and 2011 reiterated the points presented in 1991 but also gave the Executive Board, through the bye-law, more responsibilities. In 2007 the bye-law made reference to a "Media Guide" as part of the Host City Contract. By 2011 the emphasis had shifted to a "Technical Manual on Media" with a focus on technology rather than ideology:

"2. The IOC Executive Board establishes all technical regulations and requirements regarding media coverage of the Olympic Games in a Technical Manual on Media, which forms an integral part of the Host City Contract. The contents of the Technical Manual on Media, and all other instructions of the IOC Executive Board, are binding for any and all persons involved in media coverage of the Olympic Games." [40]

Conclusion: An evolving relationship

The Olympic Charter is a historical record for those interested in the issues officially addressed by the IOC. An analysis of its evolution helps explain the IOC's current approach to the media and its use for public relations.

The rule has become increasingly specialized and its terms of regulation have been expanding as the IOC expressed its growing power by in tightening controls and more protectionist measures. The paragraphs that follow address each of these three points.

The specialization of the rule can be followed by its title changes, if considering that the title of legal documents provide the essence of the content to follow. The rule addressing the Olympic Movement's relationship with media has changed from the "Taking of photographs and film pictures" in the thirties to "Publicity" in the late fifties, to "Information media" in the mid-seventies and "Mass-Media" by the late seventies. Other titles included "Mass-Media-Publications-Copyrights" in the early eighties to "Mass-Media: graphic impression, sound and/or vision recording and electronic broadcasting" in the mid-eighties to "Media Coverage of the Olympic Games" from 1991 onwards. A shift from a technical approach to a more precise approach in the rule is foreshadowed by the title. But perhaps the IOC's true goal is best reflected in the word "publicity" used from 1958-1974. The IOC craved positive attention and went about seeking it. The current title "Media coverage of the Olympic Games" shifts the accent from the sender of the message to the medium, in this case mass-media.

Another way to highlight the specialization of the rule is to consider the vocabulary it employs. This emphasizes the diversification and expansion of the rule's area of influence. In the thirties radio, film and photography needed to be closer to the sporting arenas to report on the development of the competitions. The Charter reflected and regulated their access more than the printed press. Later on, when television arrived, the Charter was adjusted again, addressing not only the question of access for camera crews in the Olympic Stadia, but also the length of time and subjects on which they could report. Such restrictions remain to this day in one form or another.

Total TV: the permanent presence of television led to a completely new type of presentation of the athletes. The photo shows London 100 m gold and silver medallists Usain Bolt and Yohan Blake from Jamaica as they took their lap of honour, accompanied throughout by television cameras.

Later, with the technology becoming available to non-specialized consumers and the Games television rights revenues increasing, the Charter looked at what the footage would be used for. Would this be for newscasts, for non-commercial use, for "profit" or for personal use? This has also been maintained to this day.

With regard to specialization, the Charter has gone through three major periods of change. The first was of expansion, and lasted until 1975. During this time, each addition was included in the rule itself. Over the next ten years the rule was editedand this coincided with the introduction of bye-laws. The sentences and paragraphs became shorter, and preference given to defining the terms regulated by the rule or the bye-law. Since then, there has been fine-tuning of both rule and bye-law. The bye-law was reintroduced in the 1991 Charter, but by this time designated the media guide as the main source of reference, laying out cases and exceptions subject to regulation. Each new edition of the Charter was more robust and professional that the previous edition, both from a media and legal perspective. The reflected the IOC's focus on its internal communications while also opening up to feedback and dialogue with external parties.

Finally, the IOC's growing control of all aspects of media rights and the image and look of the Games is visible in rule changes. This was first evident in the

The internet opened completely new possibilities. The Olympic Broadcasting Service (OBS) transmitted 5600 hours from London 2012, including on Live-stream, which could be received in 64 regions of the world via internet. By this means even "niche sports" had a chance of being seen.

Photos: Solsensolympiaden Stockholm 1912, p. 50, picture-alliance, Archive Kluge

sixties in discussions over revenue sharing. A professionalized approach to communication followed. The IOC decided to hire and fund a Public Relations office. As a consequence, the regulatory framework expanded from media rights and access to the stadia, to regulating, access to Olympic events, media roles and limitations on what participating athletes were allowed to do. This culminated with very the explicit instructions from the IOC being the "final authority" in Olympic media related matters, its decision being binding.

Can the past predict the future?

None of the changes in the Charter could be said to be unexpected or irrelevant to the mission of Olympism. In fact IOC documents show that rule changes addressed issues whose potential impact on Olympism was felt to be important. The IOC Sessions and Executive Board meetings show a gradually increasing awareness of the media's importance in coverage of the Olympic Games.

There is a constant preoccupation in IOC circles with maintaining a balance between commercialization and the universal values of the Movement. There is an increasing evidence of discussions at Executive Board level and in the Sessions to "protect the brand" whilst at the same time enabling media to perform its tasks unhindered. The struggle of ideas evident is reflected in the rule that acknowledges the IOC's mission to enable the fullest coverage of the Games while also setting-up boundaries, and mutual responsibilities.

The rule alone is however insufficient to reflect the Olympic Movement's fluctuating relationship with media: at times confident, at times wary and most often cautious. The rule is just the tip of the iceberg, a tip that shows only what is "officially" agreed to be important. Further studies of the IOC's changing of media regulations should explore the activities of specialized commissions charged with finding solutions regarding radio, television, new media, technology and emerging technologies, press and public information. Greater analysis of media guides, the work of symposia and seminars which deal with the relationship of the media, sport organisations, and the Olympic Movement in particular, should also be undertaken. A wider definition of media should also be employed and cross-comparisons be run with other Olympic rules addressing advertising, publications and copyright.

While the rule cannot answer for the future considerations of the IOC, it can bear witness to the IOC's attempts to adapt to prevailing conditions, the better to support Olympism.

Just as the Olympic ideal has symbolic significance, so does the Olympic Charter and its rules and by-laws. They are all supported by the partnerships that the IOC and the Olympic Movement in general have initiated: events such as symposia for media practitioners, consultants, academics and members of the Olympic Family. These provide a platform for communicating ideas, shaping policies, offering recommendations and guidelines. Such partnerships and events also provide a better-structured approach to planning the Olympic Games. The on-going feedback with present and past hosts together with a constant exchange of information contributes to a growing body of Olympic knowledge and transferable legacy, which in turn can shape policies and provide guidelines. Also, direct contact with the public at large, as achieved through the "Virtual Congress" component of the 2009 IOC Congress in Copenhagen, Denmark, has the same result.

The rule reflects trends affecting the IOC which influence its regulatory decisions. The need to continually revise and update documents, guidelines and bye-laws associated to the rule that have increased binding "authority", growing technical accuracy and structured steps that are, easy-to-implement and replicate. This trend, as a consequence, shifts responsibility from the IOC and its Executive Board to its specialized commissions and committees enabling it to take more informed decisions. In turn, this has the potential to bring the public, the media and the IOC closer together as they strive more actively for a policy shaping exchange of ideas. ■

1 The Charter is amended after consultation with the Olympic family but the process is lengthy and involves feedback from International Federations, National Olympic Committee, IOC Executive Board and IOC Members. A majority of two thirds of the Members present at an IOC Session is required in order to amend the Charter. Nevertheless, throughout the history of the Modern Olympic Games the Charter has been often amended to reflect the Olympic Movement's response to specific problems and needs. Moreover, since the 1970s the use of bye-laws within the Charter has increased their amendment requiring only a simple majority of the votes during an IOC Session. The bye-laws are sets of rules that contain many of the working elements of the IOC's activities.
2 Access to the primary data was possible thanks to a post-graduate research grant the author has obtained from the Olympic Studies Centre of the IOC in 2008-2009.
3 IOC: "The Olympic Movement in Society", 121st IOC Session and XIII Olympic Congress. Copenhagen, October 2009.
4 Ibid: Olympic Charter. Lausanne 2011. Available from www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf.
5 Ibid: Charter.
6 Ibid: Minutes of the 77th IOC Session, Innsbruck 1977.
7 Ibid: Charte des Jeux Olympiques. Lausanne, 1930, p. 30.
8 Ibid: "Olympic", p. 25.
9 Ibid: The Olympic Games: Charter. Rules and Regulations. General Information,1955.
10 Ibid: Meeting of the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee, held in Stockholm, June 14th, 1956.
11 Ibid: Minutes of the 53rd Session of the International Olympic Committee. Sofia 1957, p. 7.
12 Ibid, p. 17.
13 Ibid: Minutes of the 57th Session of the International Olympic Committee, Rome 1960
14 At the time the IOC was receiving 5% from the total television rights revenues.
15 IOC, "Olympic", p. 4.
16 Ibid, p. 6.
17 Ibid: Minutes of the 64th Session of the International Olympic Committee. Hotel Excelsior, Rome, April 25-28, Rome 1966, p. 3.
18 Ibid: Meeting of the Executive Board of the IOC at Mon Repos, Lausanne, April 11th and 13th, 1965, Lausanne 1965, p. 5.
19 Ibid: Minutes of the 68th Session of the International Olympic Committee, Warsaw 1969.
20 Ibid: Olympic Rules and Regulations. Provisional Edition, Lausanne 1971, annex 6.
21 Ibid: "Rules, Provisional", p. 33.
22 Ibid: Minutes of the 69th Session of the International Olympic Committee, Amsterdam, May 12-16, 1970.
23 By the end of the 1970s, all organisation and hosting costs were incurred by OCOG and all profits had to be given to the IOC.
24 IOC: Olympic Rules and Regulations, Lausanne 1972.
25 Ibid: 75th Session of the International Olympic Committee. Vienna 1974; IOC: Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting,Lausanne 1974; Minutes of the Meeting of the IOC Executive Board, Vienna 1974: Minutes of the IOC Executive Board, Lausanne 1974.
26 Ibid, p. 23.
27 IOC: Olympic Rules, Bye-Laws and Instructions (Provisional Edition). Lausanne 1975, p. 31.
28 Ibid: "Rules (Provisional)", p. 43.
29 Ibid: 78th IOC Session, Montreal 13-17 and 19th July 1976, Montreal 1976, p. 21-22.
30 Ibid: Olympic Charter. Provisional Edition. Lausanne 1978, p. 27.
31 Ibid: "Charter. Provisional", p. 27.
32 Ibid: 89th Session of the International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, 1-2 December 1984, Lausanne 1984.
33 Ibid: Minutes of the 90th IOC Session, Berlin 1985.
34 Ibid.
35 More elaborate information on the accreditation process was given in a separate rule, 59, concerning identity documents.
36 IOC: Olympic Charter, Lausanne 1996, p. 74.
37 Ibid: "Fact File".
38 Ibid.
39 JAY: "Deal"
40 IOC: Olympic Charter. Lausanne 2011. Available from www.olympic.org/documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf

IOC disqualified five Medallists from Athens 2004 and Lance Armstrong

The IOC Executive Board announced that five athletes who won medals at the 2004 Olympics have been disqualified after further analysis of their stored samples resulted in adverse analytical findings.

The athletes are:
Yuriy Bilonog (UKR, gold, men's shot put) oxandrolone metabolite,
Ivan Tsikhan (BLR, silver, men's hammer throw) methandienone metabolite,
Swetlana Krivelyova (RUS, bronze, women's shot put) oxandrolone metabolite,
Iryna Yatchenko (BLR, bronze, women's discus throw) methandienone metabolite,
Oleg Perepetchenov (RUS, bronze, men's weightlifting 77 kg) prohibited substance or its metabolites or markers.

The IOC Executive Board has ordered the relevant National Olympic Committee to return to the IOC, as soon as possible, the medals and diplomas awarded to the athletes.

The International Federations are requested to modify the results of the above-mentioned events accordingly and to consider any further action within its own competence.

After the doping admissions of Lance Armstrong, the IOC also followed the situation up. According to a statement of 17th January 2013 the American was disqualified retrospectively from the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, at which he was third in the individual time trial and thirteenth in the individual road race.

The IOC has asked that the medal and diploma be returned by Armstrong to the United States Olympic Committee, which should forward them to the IOC.

The IOC stores samples for eight years after each edition of the Games so they can be re-tested should more sophisticated detection methods become available or new substances be added to the list of banned substances.

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XIII

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

250. | Mario Luis José NEGRI | Argentine

Born: 14 April 1889, Buenos Aires
Died: 30 March 1977, Buenos Aires

Co-opted: 22 August 1960,
replacing Enrique Alberdi
Resigned: 21 October 1974
Honorary Member from 1974
Attendance at Sessions: Present 9,
Absent 4

A civil and industrial engineer he first showed an interest in Sports administration while still a student. He excelled as a swimming official, serving as President of the Argentine Swimming Federation (1929–1951 and 1956–1961), the South American Swimming Federation (1929–1951), the Amateur Swimming Union of the Americas (1948–1956) and the world governing body FINA (1952–1956). He was also a Vice-President of the International Pelota Federation.

Co-opted onto the IOC at the age of 71, he remained a Member until he was 85 years old.

251. | Reginald "Reggie" Stanley ALEXANDER | Kenya

Born: 14 November 1914, Nairobi
Died: 31 March 1990, Nairobi

Co-opted: 22 August 1960 (till his death)
Attendance at Session: Present 37, Absent 1

Born in Kenya when it was still a British Colony, he went to England as a young man to study accountancy. After serving with the Royal Air Force in World War II he returned to Kenya and spent the rest of his life in the country of his birth.

Equally fluent in English and Swahili he always considered himself an African and served as Mayor of Nairobi from 1954 to 1955 and after Kenya gained independence he was an elected Member of Parliament for four years.

A founder member and the first Chairman of the Kenya Olympic Association in 1955, he also served as Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Association (1954–1968). He was very active in IOC affairs and was an influential member of many Commissions including the Emblems Commission which fashioned the 1982 Nairobi Treaty for the protection of the Olympic rings and the IOC Enquiry Commission which went to South Africa in 1970 before the exclusion of that country from the Olympic Movement.

It was not an assignment that "Reggie" Alexander relished. He was vehemently opposed to political intrusion into sport and, making no secret of his views. He was not in favor of the recommendations of the Enquiry Commission. However, his contribution to sport throughout the region far exceeded that of some of his more politically motivated African colleagues.

A highly successful accountant and businessman he became Chairman of the Kenya Oil Company and his advice on financial matters were often sought by the IOC.

252. | Ahmed Eldemerdash TOUNY | Egypt

Born: 10 August 1907, Mallawi
Died: 10 August 1997, Cairo

Co-opted: 22 August 1960
Retired: 31 December 1992,
replacing Mohammed Taher Pasha
Honorary Member from 1993

A Bachelor of Science from Cairo University, he was a national champion at gymnastics (1927–1936) and diving (1934) and later gave outstanding service to Egyptian sport as an administrator. He was the founder of the Egyptian Gymnastics Federation and later served as Secretary-General and President. He was also Secretary-General of the NOC (1953–1960) and of the National Swimming Federation, Director of the Organising Committee for the 1951 Mediterranean Games and Chef de Mission of the Egyptian team at the Olympic Games of 1948, 1952 and 1960. Additionally, he was Honorary President of the NOC, the Egyptian Swimming Federation and the African Amateur Swimming Confederation and he served as a Member of Parliament (1968–1980). His book *Sport in Ancient Egypt* was published in English, German, Japanese and Arabic. His other appointments included the Vice-Presidency of GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) and he clashed bitterly with Guru Dutt Sondhi of India over the participation of Israel and Taiwan in the 1962 GANEFO Games in Jakarta. Touny was so outspoken in favour of their exclusion that in his report to the Executive Board, IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer referred to Touny as a spy. An important figure in the Arab world, he was the senior IOC negotiator with the terrorists after the massacre of the Israelis at Munich in 1972.

He died on his 90th birthday.

253. | Boris BAKRAĆ | Yugoslavia

Born: 25 March 1912, Pozega
Died: 29 November 1989, Zagreb

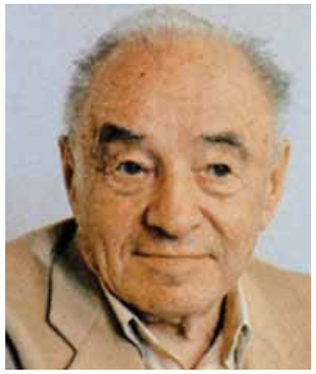
Co-opted: 22 August 1960
Resigned: 12 May 1987,
replacing Stanko Bloudek
Honorary Member from 1987
Attendance at Session: Present 26,
Absent 9

A graduate of Zagreb University he became a public works engineer. An influential political figure, he served as Vice-President of the Croatian Parliament and as Minister of Works for Croatia in addition to being Deputy Mayor of Zagreb (1957–1962). He was President of the Yugoslavian Olympic Committee (1952–1961) and also served as President of the Croatian Sports Union, the Yugoslavian Sports Union and the Croatian Football Union.

254. | Włodzimierz RECZEK | Poland

Born: 24 February 1911, Kraków
Died: 28 March 2004, Katowice

Co-opted: 21 June 1961,
replacing Dr. Jerzy Loth
Retired: 31 December 1996
Honorary Member from 1996
Attendance at Sessions: Present 46,
Absent 3



During his juridical studies at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Reczek became involved in the Socialist Youth Organisation (TUR and ZNMS); later he worked as juridical adviser.

During the Second World War, he was a member of the Polish Resistance Movement. This was followed by a career in the Party: from 1945 to 1948 in the Socialist Party Poland (PPS); and then after the forced unification, with the Labor Party

(PPR) in the Unified Polish Labour Party (PZPR), for which he was a member of the Central Committee from 1948 to 1972.

From 1945 to 1956 he was also a member of the Polish Parliament (Sejm). From 1952 to 1973, he was President of the Supreme Committee for Sport and Tourism and of the Polish Olympic Committee. During his Presidency of the Polish Football Federation (1981–1984) the national Polish team under trainer Antoni Piechniczek reached third place at the 1982 World Cup in Spain.

In 1968, Reczek was promoted. From 1974 to 1980 he was rector of the Academy for Physical Education in Katowice. An author of several works on economics, Olympism and physical culture, he had a particular interest in sport and the arts and in 1969 he became the first Chairman of the IOC Cultural Commission.

After 35 years membership of the IOC he resigned on reaching the age of 85.

255. | Hadj Mohammed Ben Hadj Abdelouahed Ben Hassan BENJELLOUN TUIMY | Morocco

Born: 25 January 1912, Casablanca
Died: 20 September 1997, Casablanca

Co-opted: 21 June 1961 (till his death)
Attendance at Sessions: Present 48, Absent 3

A key figure in the establishment of many Moroccan sporting bodies. In 1937 he founded the famous Wydad, the first multi-sports club in Morocco and after founding the Royal Moroccan Rugby Federation in 1957 he later became a Vice-President of the International Federation. In 1959 he was a founding member of the Moroccan Olympic Committee of which he later served as President (1965–1973) and in 1961 he became the first Moroccan Member of the IOC.

He also served in the International Committee for the Mediterranean Games and was a member of the Organising Committee for the 1983 Mediterranean Games in Casablanca. Educated in Casablanca, Rabat and the Commercial Academy of Paris, he was a successful trader and a Director of the National Tea and Sugar Board. He was also a member of the Moroccan Senate and held a number of Cabinet posts.

256. | "João" Jean-Marie Faustin Godefroid HAVELANGE | Brazil

Born: 8 May 1916, Rio de Janeiro

Co-opted: 16 October 1963,
replacing Arnaldo Guinle
Resigned: 5 December 2011
Attendance at Sessions: Present 45, Absent 3

Both his parents were born in Belgium and settled in Brazil early in the 20th Century. João Havelange was raised in comfortable circumstances and went on to become an outstanding sportsman and a wealthy businessman. He had commercial interests in transport, insurance and the chemical industry. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1968.

An Olympic swimmer in 1936 and water polo player in 1952, he became one of the most powerful men in world sport. He won a bitter FIFA Presidential election in 1974, defeating the incumbent Sir Stanley Rous (GBR), mainly with the help of the African vote to whom Havelange's promise to widen the scope of the World Cup held a particular appeal. He retired as FIFA President in 1998.

As President of FIFA, Havelange honoured his election promise and the number of competing nations in the World Cup rose to 24; but his Presidency was marked by controversy. He never had the unqualified support of the Europeans, who took exception to his autocratic manner, and the world press made much of his actions at the World Cup draw in 1993 when he banned Pelé from the podium allegedly because he had been in a legal dispute with Havelange's son-in-law.
His authority within FIFA was first challenged successfully in 1996 when, contrary to his wishes, it was agreed that the 2002 World Cup would be jointly hosted by Japan and South Korea. Havelange retired as President of FIFA in 1998 and was succeeded by his protégé Sepp Blatter from Switzerland.

When the Doyen of the IOC, together with the Vice-President of the FIFA Issa Hayatou and IAAF President Lamine Diack were accused of corruption during a BBC TV programme, the Ethical Commission of the IOC decided to research these allegations. Only one day before the Ethical Commission were due to present their report to the IOC Executive Board, the 95-year old Brazilian announced his resignation on "personal grounds". With him resigned the last member to be elected for life into the IOC.

257. | Alfredo Oscar IMENARRIETA INCIARTE | Uruguay

Born: 26 January 1900, Montevideo
Died: 29 December 1975, Montevideo

Co-opted: 16 October 1963
Retired: 21 May 1975,
replacing Joaquim Serratosa Cibils
Attendance at Sessions: Present 5, Absent 11

A lawyer and banker, he served as a director of several leading companies. He was Director of the People's Bank of Uruguay for 25 years, President of the Rural Association of Uruguay, Director of the Chamber of Industries and of the Chamber of Commerce of National Products and one of the seven founders of the Inter-American Conference for Trade and Production in 1941.

He was the President of the Uruguayan Rowing Federation, of the National Yachting Club and the Director of the Centro Automobilista del Uruguay. He resigned from the IOC after reaching the age of 75 and died just seven months later.

258. | General Raul Cordiero PEREIRA de CASTRO | Portugal

Born: 11 June 1905, Mafra
Died: 2 January 1991, Lisbon

Co-opted: 16 October 1963
Resigned: 21 May 1975,
replacing Saul Ferreira Pires
Reinstated: 13 July 1976
Resigned: 1 September 1989
Honorary Member from 1989
Attendance at Session: Present 26, Absent 5

A distinguished soldier, he was Director of the Military College, Professor at the Military Academy, Commander of the 4th Military Region and Commander of the National Republican Guard.

The Portuguese fencing champion with foil and sabre, he was Secretary and later President of the Portuguese Fencing Federation for nine years. He was National Commissioner for the Portuguese Youth und President of the Executive Board of Physical Education and Sport of the Armed Forces. From 1949, he was a member of the Portuguese NOC.

In May 1975 he resigned from the IOC as a protest against the Portuguese government but he returned to the IOC a year later.

259. | HM CONSTANTINE II, King of the Hellenes | Greece

Born: 2 June 1940, Psychiko

Co-opted: 16 October 1963,
Replacing Angelos Ch. Bolanaki
Resigned: 21 October 1974
Honorary Member from 1974
Attendance at Sessions: Present 6,
Absent 9

A versatile all-round sportsman, he excelled as a yachtsman and won an Olympic gold medal in the Dragon Class at the 1960 Games. He had shown a keen interest in Olympic affairs at an even earlier age and began his period of office as President of the Hellenic Olympic Committee (1955–1964) as a 15-year-old.

As the Prince Regent and Duke of Sparta he officially opened the 1961 IOC Session in Athens. Two years later, he was co-opted onto the IOC at the age of 23 and as the youngest person ever to become a member. From 1967 to 1973 he was a member of the Commission for the International Olympic Academy.

He acceded to the throne on the death of his father Paul I in 1964 and married Princess Anne-Marie of Denmark that year. In 1967, he mounted a pro-democracy coup against the "Colonels" who had seized power on April and after the coup failed he went into exile with his family. From 1967 to 1973 he lived in Rome.

After the "Colonels" regime collapsed in 1974, the Greeks decided to hold on to the Republic. King Constantine was still not permitted to return to Greece, because he had legalised the recognition of the "Colonels" by signing the charter. Because he could no longer represent Greek sport, he resigned from the IOC in 1974 and settled in London.

In 1994 he was deprived of his Greek citizenship, his remaining properties were nationalized and any hopes of returning to his homeland were further diminished.

260. | Marc HODLER | Switzerland

Born: 26 October 1918, Bern
Died: 18 October 2006, Bern

Co-opted: 16 October 1963, new 2nd seat
(till his death)
IOC Treasurer (1964–1972)
Attendance at Sessions: Present 49,
Absent 0
Executive Board Member No. 55
Elected Member 6 June 1985
Re-elected Member 20 September 1990
Appointed Vice-President
23 September 1993
Appointed 3rd Vice-President
5 September 1994
Appointed 2nd Vice-President
18 June 1995
Appointed 1st Vice-President
17 July 1996 to 5 September 1997
Second term: Elected Member
5 February 1998
Attendance: Present 69, Absent 1

Hodler belonged to the Swiss national ski team in 1937. In 1946, he became Vice-President of the Swiss Ski Federation; in 1948 at the Olympic Winter Games he was responsible for the alpine events. Only 32 years old, he was elected President of the International Skiing Federation in 1951 – a post he held for 47 years.

Head of a Bern law practice, he was also President of the Swiss Bridge Federation and wrote books on the game. He was also an accomplished painter and his great-uncle, Ferdinand Hodler, was the founder of modern Swiss painting.

He served as the IOC Treasurer from 1964 to 1972 and on the establishment of the Legal Commission in 1974, he was appointed the first Chairman. He was one of four candidates for the IOC Presidency in 1980 when Juan Antonio Samaranch won by an overall majority in the first round. In 1989, he became the first Chairman of the Coordination Commission for the Winter Games.

From 1985 to 2002, Hodler was a Member of the IOC Executive Board, with a lapse of only one year. When, in December 1998 in Lausanne in front of the international press, he denounced the practices which Salt Lake City had used to bombard some of the IOC Members, the IOC faced the largest crisis it had ever experienced. This resulted in comprehensive reforms as well as the forced resignation of the corrupt Members.

Hodler's attendance record at IOC meetings was unsurpassed. He attended every one of the IOC Sessions and Executive Board meetings held during his mandate – a total of 108.

261. | Sir Adetokunbo (Adegboyega) ADEMOLA | Nigeria

Born: 1 February 1906, Abeokuta
Died 29 January 1993, Lagos

Co-opted: 16 October 1963
Retired: 6 June 1985
Honorary Member from 1985
Attendance at Sessions: Present 22,
Absent 8
Executive Board Member No. 35
Elected Member
7 September 1969 – 5 October 1973
Attendance at Meetings: Present 11,
Absent 4

He was the son of one of the most important figures in the development of modern Nigeria. His father, Sir Ladapo Ademola, ruled Egbaland, a semi-independent area of the Yoruba region, from 1920 to 1963. He was born in his father's Palace just 13 years after the Egba Chiefs had agreed to abandon their practice of human sacrifice.

Ademola was educated locally before entering Cambridge University in England, after which he embarked on a legal career and rose to become Chief Justice of Nigeria (1958–1972).

During 14 years of ethnic and federal rivalries, he played a brave and dangerous role in trying to maintain the rule of law amid coups, counter-coups and civil war. The task proved impossible and he was deeply saddened by his country's post-colonial record.

He was President of the Nigerian Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association (1958-1966) and was

an influential member of the IOC Commission of Enquiry for South Africa.

262. | Árpád CSÁNADI | Hungary

Born: 23 February 1923, Pestszenterzsebet
Died: 7 March 1983, Budapest

Co-opted: 17 January 1964, 2nd seat
(till his death)
Attendance at Sessions: Present 24,
Absent 0
Executive Board Member No. 43
Elected Member
21 May 1975–5 May 1979
Second term:
Elected Member
27 May 1982–7 March 1983
Died during second term
Attendance at Meetings: Present 15,
Absent 1

After Miklós Horthy was declared demissionaire in 1948, the second Hungarian seat remained empty for 16 years until Árpád Csánadi filled the vacancy.

A graduate of Budapest University Law School and the Hungarian College of Physical Education he was a Doctor of History. He was a member of the national basketball team and played on the Ferencváros football team which won the Hungarian league title in 1949. He later wrote a football encyclopedia which was translated into 14 languages.

Appointed Secretary-General of the NOC in 1958, he was President of the Organising Committee for the World Weightlifting Championships (1962), the European Figure Skating Championships (1963) and the European Athletics Championships (1966).

In 1968 he was appointed the first Chairman of the IOC Programme Commission. He served as Honorary Sports Director of the IOC from 1980 until his death and, shortly after, was posthumously awarded the Olympic Order (Silver).

263. | Giulio ONESTI | Italy

Born: 4 January 1912, Turin
Died: 11 December 1981, Rome

Co-opted: 8 October 1964
(till his death),
replacing Count Paolo Thaon di Revel
Attendance at Sessions: Present 22,
Absent 0

A Bachelor of Arts and Canton Law, he was President of the Italian Olympic Committee for 32 years (1946–1978) and no one worked harder to rebuild Italian sport after the war. An enthusiastic oarsman, fencer and tennis player in his youth, his career as an active sportsman was ended by a shoulder wound sustained when fighting for the Resistance against Mussolini's Fascists.

A successful Turin lawyer, he was President of the Executive Committee for the 1956 Olympic Winter Games at Cortina d'Ampezzo and he headed the Organising Committee for the 1960 Summer Games in Rome. Soon after being co-opted onto the IOC in 1964, he stepped up his campaign to form an Association of National Olympic Committees. This led to frequent and increasingly bitter clashes which IOC President Avery Brundage, whose intransigent attitude on the matter of consulting NOCs had led to the disenchantment of the NOCs in the first place.

Support for Onesti grew rapidly and in 1968 the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs was formed following a meeting in Rome in 1965. This was later renamed the Association of National Olympic Committees (ACNO). Although more than 60 NOC Presidents had initially given their support to Onesti, he also had his detractors. Ivar Vind (Denmark), the spokesman for a Scandinavian bloc, told Brundage that they considered Onesti to be disloyal and motivated by personal interest.

In the circumstances, it was appropriate that Onesti resigned as Chairman of the Commission on IOC/NOC Relationship but he immediately assumed the Presidency of the Cultural Commission. A well-known figure in many fields, his funeral was attended by the President of Italy.

264. | Prince Alexandre de MERODE | Belgium

Born: 24 May 1934, Brussels (Etterbeek)
Died: 19 November 2002, Brussels-Bordet

Co-opted: 8 October 1964 (till his death),
replacing Prince Albert de Liege
Attendance at Sessions: Present 45,
Absent 2

Executive Board Member No. 50
Elected Member 16 July 1980
Re-elected Member 27 May 1982
Elected 3rd Vice President 17 October 1986
Elected 2nd Vice President 11 May 1987
Elected 1st Vice President 15 September
1988 – 20 September 1990

Second term:
Elected Member 5 September 1994
Elected 3rd Vice President 18 June 1995
Elected 2nd Vice President 19 June 1996
Elected 1st Vice-President
5 September 1997 – 5 February 1998
Attendance at meetings:
Present 65, Absent 0

Prince de Merode was born into a family whose line went back to the 13th Century Archbishop of Cologne, and which was prominent in the creation of the Belgian state in the 1830s. A graduate in Classics, Philosophy, Arts and Law, he was elected to the IOC at the age of 30. He has an exemplary attendance record at both the IOC Sessions and the Executive Board meetings. When he died, he was the third longest serving of the 128 Members of the period.

Although the Prince had no medical qualifications, he became Chairman of the IOC Medical Commission when it was founded in 1967, and he became a pioneer in the battle against doping. But, over the years he and the Medical Commission were more and more criticized, in particular in 1984 when, after the Games, he was accused of camouflaging positive doping results. When, after the founding of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999, it was speculated about his creeping disempowerment, he offered IOC President Samaranch his resignation, which was refused. In the same year, 2000, he became member of the IOC Reform Commission.
The Prince was an influential figure in Belgian sports. He began his career as President of the Supreme Council for Physical Education, Sport and Outdoor Life.

Alexandre de Merode then went on to head the Anti-Doping Commission of the Belgian Ministry of Public Health (French community), before becoming an administrator with the Belgian Olympic and Interfederal Committee.

He was the President of the Royal Belgian Rowing League, the Administrator of the Genealogical and Heraldic Office of Belgium and the President of the Royal Association of Historic Residences.

265. | Major Sylvio de Magalhães PADILHA | Brazil

Born: 5 June 1909, Niterói
Died: 28 August 2002, São Paolo

Co-opted: 8 October 1964,
replacing José Ferreira Santos
Retired: 31 December 1995
Honorary Member from 1996
Attendance at Sessions:
Present 44, Absent 2

Executive Board Member No. 37
Elected Member 12 May 1970
Appointed 3rd Vice-President 21 May 1975
Appointed 2nd Vice-President 13 July 1976
Appointed 1st Vice-President
17 May 1978–5 April 1979
Second term:
Elected Member 27 March 1983
Re-elected Member
26 July 1984–15 Septembre 1988
Attendance at Meetings:
Present 57, Absent 3

A physical education graduate of Springfield College (USA) and the Royal Institute of Physical Education (Sweden), he was an Olympic hurdler in 1932, and came fifth 1936 in the 400 m hurdles at the Berlin Games. A fine all-round athlete, he held Brazilian and South American records in a variety of events. From 1931 to 1939, he was five times South American champion in 400 m, 110 m and 400 m hurdles.

A career army officer, he first headed the Brazilian delegation at the 1948 Olympic Games and was subsequently Chef de Mission at many Olympic and Pan-American Games. In 1963, he became President of the Brazilian Olympic Committee and other posts he held include Director General of the Department of Physical Education and Sport and President of the Brazilian Wrestling Federation.

He was the first Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry for Rhodesia (1973–1975).

In the last edition the biography of Eduard Dibós (Peru) was mistakenly illustrated with the photo of his son Iván, who is IOC Member since 1982. Here is the correct one.

Obituaries

"A GENTLE SCHOLAR" John Apostal Lucas

***25 December 1927**
†15 November 2012

By Mike Moran, former Chief Spokesman for the United States Olympic Committee

John A. Lucas (right) was honoured in 2007 with the ISOH Livetime Award.
Left: David C. Young, who received the same distinction.

Photo: Anthony Th. Bijkerk

The death of John Apostal Lucas in Columbia, Missouri stills yet another of the few great voices of the Olympic Family and the worldwide Olympic Movement that had lived to chronicle the stories and the individuals who were giants in the evolution of both the USOC and the IOC.

This gentle scholar attended every Olympics since 1960, and ran on the great stadium tracks in every Summer Games city up to and including Athens in 2004 as part of his ritual, created over five decades of attending the Games. He observed their comings and goings, and wrote scores of books and papers about the history of the world's greatest sporting event.

John Lucas was 84 when he died, but he will be recalled as one of the foremost Olympic historians on the face of the earth, but his writings were not those of an academic, hidden away in some untidy, cramped office on the Penn State campus, where he taught Kinesiology.

Dr. Lucas lived as he wrote, as the track and field coach at Penn State from 1962 to 1968 and at Maryland from 1958 to 1962 as a track assistant.

He was a runner of some ability as a youth, finishing seventh in the 10,000 metres at the 1952 US Olympic Trials, just shy of becoming an Olympian. He attended Boston University as an undergraduate student before earning his Master's Degree from Southern Cal, and later he received his Ph.D. from the University of Maryland prior to coming to Penn State.

Though he taught Kinesiology at Penn State for decades, it was the Olympic Games that he came to love and put his agile mind to in terms of the intrigue of the Modern Games, the giants who presided over the Games, and the athletes who struggled for their dreams and the podium.

I came to know him in the 1980s as a regular participant in the USOC's now extinct Olympic Academy. This was a gathering of scholars, youth and experts who would come together in the summers to study the quadrennial phenomenon, the Games, and the trends and movements of a sporting event that grew in dramatic proportion following the star-crossed 1984 Los Angeles Games, the boycotts and the explosion of corporate involvement, television and ultimately, the entrance of professional athletes into the Games.

He brought me to Penn State in the late 1990s to lecture to his beloved class, "History, Philosophy and Politics of the Modern Olympic Games", along with his colleague, Professor Elizabeth Hanley, one of the pillars of the foundation of the U.S. Olympic Academy. I spoke of the horrendous boycotts of 1980 and 1984 that almost killed the Games, and the damage they had inflicted on the athletes who would never get the chance to compete in the Games, thanks to the blunders of the Carter Administration.

But John Lucas, unlike over 500 American athletes, did indeed get to Moscow in 1980 for those boycott stained Games.

"Mr. Jimmy Carter", he told the class, "did not tell me that I could not go to Moscow. So, I went to Moscow, because Mr. Jimmy Carter could not stop me."

As I write today, I am staring at the last of scores of hand-written letters (typewriters and computers be damned) that he sent me, dated June 12, 2011, scribbled on yellow legal-sized, lined papers in his own, distinctive fashion, exceeding the borders on the sides of each page, without indentation or breaks.

"Dear Mike, we are no longer young men", he wrote. "There are good persons to take our place, but possibly not right away. My wife of 58 years, Joyce, passed away and so I am now living in Brookline, a comfortable retirement home. I want to go to London, but I'm not stubborn. I'll be over 85 when the Games in London begin."

"I think about the IOC, Pierre de Coubertin (the subject of a Lucas book), Avery Brundage, Juan Antonio Samaranch, Peter Ueberroth, et al, constantly."

Lucas included a note he received from IOC President Jacques Rogge some months before, extending his condolences on the loss of his wife and thanking him for his support and efforts on behalf of the Olympic Movement. The envelope also contains a clipping alerting scholars and others to what was to be one of his final lectures, an April 6 session at the Paterno Library titled "Athens 1896 to London 2012, A Perspective on the Olympic Games".

He had delivered over 500 such lectures on three continents and he was also the author of multiple books and essays.

"The Olympic Games of the future can become much better only if the IOC is made up of better men and women", he was inclined to tell me. "And if the National Olympic Committees have international and humane agendas that balance their admirable desire to send honest athletes in search of gold, silver and bronze."

Samaranch bestowed the title of "Official Olympic Lecturer" on Lucas in 1984, and we became accustomed to seeing him at the door of my office at the Games as they opened. He would be clad in shorts, what looked like a cargo vest, rumpled Penn State hat, and running shoes, ready for a day's work at any of a score of venues. I never knew where he went or what he did. He eschewed our invitations to USOC social functions and would never accept a ticket to a major event from me. He knew why he was there and what he wanted to see and do.

This was no ordinary "Olympic Geek", this man whose parents came to America from Albania in 1909. He spent 13 months as a US Army private in Korea during that conflict in bitter cold at a former Japanese air and sea base on the Yellow Sea.

To help finance his studies at Southern Cal, he worked half-days at Metro-Goldwyn Mayer studios as a stunt man and extra. He performed modest roles in four films, "Because You're Mine" with Mario Lanza, "Jim Thorpe-All-American" with Burt Lancaster, "Quo Vadis" with Robert Taylor, and "Pat and Mike" with Spencer Tracy and Kate Hepburn.

In 1996, the IOC honoured him in Atlanta with the Olympic Order, the Golden version in fact, one of the highest ever bestowed on an American. It's doubtful that any of the current USOC leaders or staff ever had the chance to meet John Lucas, and they missed something special.

Now he joins others who the US Olympic Movement has lost, and with him, a treasure of memories, stories and institutional memory beyond value – Bud Greenspan, Dr. LeRoy Walker, Bob Paul, and American Olympic greats like Bob Mathias, Al Oerter and most recently, Jeff Blatnick.

But there was nobody cut from quite the same cloth as Dr. John Lucas.

Latest News:

We received the information only after the deadline of this issue: ISOH Award winner Professor David C. Young (USA) has also passed away.

He died on February 5, 2013, at the age of 75 years. In the next Journal we will publish a detailed obituary.

Vladimir Rodichenko

***5 August 1931**
†2 January 2013

By the Russian ISOH members

A larger than life figure at the heart of Russian sport for well over half a century, ISOH member Vladimir Rodichenko enjoyed an international reputation in the Olympic Movement. A recipient of the Olympic Order in 2000, he was awarded the ISOH Vikelas Plaque only last year.

His sporting career took off in the fifties. He had graduated from the Moscow Power Engineering Institute in 1956 and became an assistant master at an engineering plant and an athletics coach. In 1963 he started working with local governing bodies in physical education and sports. It was an association which would last for the rest of his life.

He was a driving force in the Soviet Sports Committee in the early seventies as Head of Sport and Methodical management. When Moscow was awarded the 1980 Olympic Games he worked in the key role of Head of Sports programmes for six years from 1975. As a Muscovite, it must have been a proud moment to see the Games of the XXII Olympiad open in the Lenin Stadium. On a personal level, the year brought the award of the "Order of Friendship of Peoples".

He would later speak of his disappointment, not just at the boycott of the 1980 Games but the retaliation by the Soviet bloc which followed in 1984.

The year after the Moscow Games he had become an honorary sports judge, achieved his doctorate in pedagogy in 1985, and then became a professor in 1992.

He lived through dramatic change in the era of "Glasnost". He became Head of Human Resource and Educational Institutions on the State Sports Committee in 1987, a role he performed for five years. Appointed Vice-President of the Russian Olympic Committee in 1990, he remained in office until 2005 when he was made Honorary Vice-President for Life.

He also served as an Honorary member of the All-Russian Athletics Federation and was the organisation's Vice-President for 14 years from 1972. He sat on the IAAF

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Thomas Godwin and the six times Olympic champion Chris Hoy span the generation cycling.
Photo: Philip Barker

Technical Committee and also on the development council of the European Athletic Association.

"He played a significant role in the development of Athletics in Russia and the whole of Europe. We will keep the name of Vladimir Rodichenko in great honour", said EAA President Hans-Jörg Wirz.

As an educator, Vladimir Rodichenko worked as the deputy director of the National Research Institute of Physical Culture, and was rector of the Moscow Region State Institute of Physical Culture.

He led the way in Olympic Education in Russia, and pioneered the system of regional Olympic Academies within a vast country. He was honoured domestically for his work in this field and also recognised by the United States Sports Academy and was an ebullient presence at international gatherings. A leading light in the European Fair Play Movement, he chaired the Russian Fair Play Committee.

His journalistic work was prodigious. He was chief editor of "Athletics" magazine and was the author of over 100 books and brochures, and more than 350 scientific, methodological and analytical papers and was the editor of "Your Olympic Text Book" over 24 editions and the ten annual editions of the "Students Olympic Text Book" from 2003. He also found time to write four novels and patented a device for training athletes.

His contribution to Russian sporting life was reflected in the award in 1996 of the Order of Friendship (1996) to which was added a further award "For Merit to the Fatherland" (2002). His lifetime of achievement was reflected in the title of "Honored Worker of Physical Culture of the Russian Federation" bestowed in 2005. He was also honoured with the prestigious "Peter Lesgaft Medal for Merit" in Sports Science and Education.

Thomas Charles Godwin (GBR), *5 November 1920 in Bridgeport, Connecticut, USA; †3 November 2012 in Solihull, West Midlands, England. Godwin won two bronze medals at the 1948 London Olympics and was a cycling enthusiast all his life. He was born in the USA to British parents who returned to England in 1932. As a boy, his first cycle was for making deliveries but, inspired by what he heard about the Berlin Olympic Games, he became a contender for the 1940 Games. His ambitions were frustrated by the outbreak of war, but he continued to develop. He worked for the BSA (Birmingham Small Arms) motorcycle firm as an electrician.

"They never gave me any time off for training because that would have gone against my amateur status, so I worked 47 hours a week. Training was Tuesday and Thursday, that was it. When we raced, we won clocks, watches, canteens of cutlery; all my friends have got a canteen of cutlery now."

At the time of the 1948 Olympics, the cycling team stayed close to the Herne Hill track used for the competition in a house owned by cycling journalist W. J. Mills. "He gave the place over to us for our camp and then we just went round the corner and raced", said Godwin. The team was fortified by meals prepared by his mother.

Godwin was part of the team which showed a 17 second improvement over four rides to take the bronze medal. He also won bronze in the 1 km time trial. Even in those days, the spectre of doping hung over cycling and Godwin was offered stimulants by one of the other coaches. He refused. Two years after the Olympics, Godwin travelled to Auckland for the British Empire Games. There he won a bronze before turning professional.

He also opened a bicycle shop of his own, helped founding the Birmingham Cycling Club and became Britain's first paid national coach and introduced innovations such as coaching schemes and warm weather training. He later became British Cycling Federation President and well into his eighties he was still able to cycle, and brought his old machine onto the Herne Hill track for a television documentary. After London won the right to host the 2012 Games, Godwin was unsurprisingly in demand as a medallist from 1948. He visited the Olympic Stadium for a special TV programme to mark two years to the Games. He was a popular choice to carry the Olympic flame in Solihull near Birmingham. He was also chosen to present the prizes at the 2012 UCI Cycling World Cup, held at the new Olympic Velodrome, so very different from the outdoor Herne Hill track where he had achieved his own Olympic glory.

Othmar Schneider (AUT), *27 August 1928 in Lech am Arlberg, †25 December 2012 in Lech am Arlberg. The man from Vorarlberg won his first victory in 1950 at the FIS-races in Chamonix (slalom) and St. Moritz (downhill). His influence was mainly to be felt in the downhill, which he won in 1951 and 1952 in Wengen. Nevertheless, he only came second in this discipline at the Olympic Winter Games in Oslo in 1952, behind the Italian Zeno Coló; but he won the gold medal in the slalom.

The following year, Schneider broke off from his studies in pharmacy at the University of Innsbruck and went to the USA, where he started a ski school in Boyne, Vermont. In 1954, he returned to Europe, but started in few races. During the Olympic Winter Games in 1956, he was only entered in the slalom, where he finished twelfth.

At the beginning of the 1960s, he twice took part in professional world championships, which caused him great problems in his second career as a shooter. After he had came ninth in the free pistol event at the World Championships in 1974, he hoped to participate in this event in the Olympic Games of 1976 and 1980. But this was ineligible under the rules in force at the time and he had to settle for the role of coach. His pupil Rudolf Dollinger came third and won a bronze in Montréal.

From 1963, Schneider led a ski school in Portillo, Chile and was in charge of the track at the World Championships from 1966. On his return to Austria, he built the Hotel Kristiania in his birthplace. For twenty years from 1976 he was the owner and manager of the Huber company, a manufacturer of skiing apparel and accessories.

Arnaldo Mesa Bonell (CUB), *6 December 1967 in Cayo Mambí, †17 December 2012 in Holguín. The Cuban was only 18 years old when he reached the bantamweight semifinal at the boxing World Championships in 1986. He lost to the South Korean Moon Sung Kil by a controversial 2-3 decision. The following year, he switched to welterweight. In 1988, he had been denied the chance to go for gold when Cuba boycotted the Olympics in Seoul. In 1989 and 1991, Mesa came third in the World Championships again; he also won the Pan-American Games in 1991. He was considered to be one of the favorites in 1992, but was so seriously injured that he did not make the Games in Barcelona. Three years later he celebrated a successful comeback at the Pan-American Games. It was something of a surprise when he finally made the Olympic team as a bantamweight for the 1996 Games in Atlanta. Although he had to lose a great deal of weight, he was strong enough to reach the final, which he lost to the Hungarian István Kovács. In all, Mesa fought 271 times losing only 26. He later became a coach in Venezuela and elsewhere.

Gerhard Hetz (GER/FRG), *13 July 1942 in Hof, †19 May 2012 in Barra de Navidad, Jalisco/Mexico. The learned typesetter from Bavaria counted for many years as one of the most colourful figures in German swimming. After his participation in 1960 in Rome as freestyle swimmer (seventh place with the team); he switched to the individual 400 m medley and broke world records in 1962 and 1963. However, he missed out on a championship title because the (West-) German Swimming Association boycotted the 1962 European Championships in Leipzig after a breakdown in negotiations with the GDR. At the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964, Hetz won a bronze medal at the individual 400 m medley and a silver with the united German team in the 4x200 m freestyle relay.

After his sporting career, he worked in Bonn and Cologne as successful, if controversial, trainer, often causing a stir with his delight in experimentation. In 1972 at the Olympic Games in Munich, there was a sensation when his pupil Werner Lampe appeared at the start with a bald head and won a bronze medal in the 200 m freestyle. In the 1980s, Hetz trained Rainer Henkel, the double world champion in the long distance freestyle event. At the same time, he owned the Hotel Delfin near Acapulco in Mexico, which was run by his Mexican wife.

Émile Allais (FRA), *25 February 1912 in Megève; †17 October 2012 in Sallanches. At the age of 100, the oldest Olympic medal winner (of a bronze medal in the Alpine Combination at the 1936 Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen) has passed away.

The son of a baker, he grew up in the region of the Mont-Blanc. His childhood was overshadowed by the First World War, and the death of his father in 1917. His mother remarried and with her second husband owned a sports hotel, in which her son, at the age of 12, began work after finishing primary school. As a young man, Allais played ice-hockey but when he had inspired by the mountain films of the German producer Arnold Fanck, he was smitten by the sport of skiing.

In 1929 he participated in his first race. In 1932 in Annecy, acting as Mountaineer, he came in contact with the Austrian Ski School. His role model and later trainer became Toni Seelos, who radically changed the slalom by developing the parallel turn instead of the brake-turn which had hitherto been used.

At the World Championships in Mürren in 1935, Allais came second in the downhill and in the combination. His greatest triumph was celebrated in 1937, when at the World Championships in Chamonix, he won gold in all three disciplines (downhill, slalom and combination). In 1938 in Engelberg, he became World champion again in the combination, and second in the slalom and the downhill.

At the beginning of the Second World War, he still served as Mountaineer, but after the capitulation of France he went into the mountains and joined the Resistance.

In 1946, he accepted an invitation from Canada to develop the ski region in Val Cartier near Québec City. In 1948 he trained the Canadian team for the Olympic Winter Games in St. Moritz, as well as the American team for Oslo in 1952. He also worked as ski instructor in Portillo, Chile and in Squaw Valley and Sun Valley, Idaho, where he had film stars like Brigitte Bardot and Cary Grant as his pupils.

In 1954 he returned to France, where he worked as technical director in Courchevel until 1964. Together with the designers from Rossignol, he developed the first metal ski, with which Jean Vuarnet won the Olympic gold medal in the downhill in 1960.

Klaus Köste (GER/GDR), *27 February 1943 in Frankfurt/Oder, †14 December 2012 in Wurzen. Köste's interest in

gymnastics began when he visited a sports gymnasium and met his sporting hero, the seven-times Olympic champion in gymnastics Victor Chukarin (URS). During his debut in the adult class, the 18 year old won the national championships in the vault and rings. At his first international participation at the World Championships in 1962 in Prague, he came 33rd in the individual all-around competition.

Köste won 34 national titles and participated in three Olympic Games between 1964 and 1972, winning a bronze medal with the team each time. His greatest result came when he won the gold medal in the vault 1972 in Munich. However, his favourite apparatus was the horizontal bar, on which he became European champion in 1973.

His career ended in 1974 during the World Championships in Varna, when his Achilles tendon snapped during training. From then on he worked as trainer for women's gymnastics and as teacher at the Sport University in Leipzig. From 1998 to 2002, he worked as advisor for the Member of Parliament (Bundestag) and two-times world champion amateur cyclist Gustav-Adolf Schur. In spite of a tear in his aorta, sustained in 2005, he continued to take part in gymnastics up to his death.

Milton Gray "Milt" Campbell (USA), *9 December 1933 in Plainfield, New Jersey, †2 November 2012 in Gainesville, Georgia. Campbell, who studied at Indiana University, was the first African-American athlete to become an Olympic decathlon champion. He won the gold medal at the 1956 Olympics and set an Olympic record of 7937 points (according to the current count: 7565) – 350 points more than the world record holder, Rafer Johnson. His first decathlon win came in 1952 in the US trials, in the next he finished second behind the double Olympic champion Bob Mathias in the Helsinki Olympics. He also was a very good 110 m hurdler. At the US trials, he came fifth in 1952 and fourth in 1956. After his decathlon career, Campbell returned to hurdling in 1957, setting a world record of 13.4 s for the 120 yards.

After his graduation, Campbell, who stood 1.90 m and weighed 94 kg, spent the 1957 season in the National Football League with the Cleveland Browns. Later he went to Canada, where he played with the Hamilton Tiger Cats, the Montreal Alouettes and the Toronto Argonauts until 1964. From 1967 he lived in New Jersey, where he developed programmes for underprivileged children.

Arkady Nikitich Vorobiev (URS), *3 October 1924 in Morodo, Tambov Oblast, †22 December 2012 in Moscow. The Russian weightlifter took part in the Olympic Games three times and won two golds (in middle-heavyweight in 1956 and 1960) and one bronze (in light-heavyweight in 1952). He was also world champion five times (1953–1955, 1957 and 1958) and European champion (1950, 1953–55 and 1958) and broke the world record 26 times. His dominance was demonstrated by the fact that he won in Melbourne leading with 20 kg and in Rome with 15 kg. During the Second World War, he had served with the Naval Infantry of the Black Sea Fleet. He was awarded the "Medal of Courage". After the liberation of Odessa, he was one of the divers who took part in the clearance of mines from the harbour.

During his sporting career, Vorobiev studied psychology at the Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinenburg) Medical Institute, graduating in 1962 as Candidate of Medical Sciences. In 1970, he successfully completed his dissertation and achieved his doctorate. For some years he was the head coach of the Soviet weightlifting team. From 1977 until his retirement in 1991, Professor Vorobiev was rector of the Moscow Oblast Institute of Physical Culture and Sports.

Konstantin Grigorevich Vyropayev (URS), *2 October 1930 in Irkutsk, †31 October 2012 in Irkutsk. Even though he had not won a national championship in Greco-Roman wrestling, the Siberian was nominated for the Soviet Olympic team twice. In 1956, he won the bantamweight gold medal, and in 1960 won the featherweight bronze medal .

Vyropayev started his career in 1947 and in 1954 he came third in the USSR championships. After three second places (1955–1957) he changed to featherweight, coming second in the 1960 Soviet championships. In 1962 he retired and became a trainer. His best-known pupil was the 1988 European bantamweight champion, Alexander Shestyakov.

Paul Borowski (GDR), *19 March 1937 in Rostock; †22 December 2012 in Rostock. The trained ship fitter was among the best Dragon sailors in the world. In 1968 he steered the "Mutafo" to Olympic bronze and in 1972 to the silver medal. In addition he won the Gold Cup in 1968 and became European champion in 1970 and 1972. After his retirement he worked as a coach and looked after his eldest son Jörn, who won the Olympic silver medal in 1980 in the 470 class. As a senior citizen he sails a two-master and put himself at the disposal of his Rostock Yacht Club as an extert on technique and harbourmaster.

Vladimir Nikolayevitch Yengibaryan (URS), *24 April 1932 Yerevan, Armenia; †1 February 2013 in Los Angeles, California. The Armenian boxer became Olympic champion at light-welterweight at Melbourne in 1956, in Rome in 1960 he lost in the quarter-final to the Pole Marian Kasprzyk. He was Soviet champion three times (1955, 1956 und 1958), and won three European Championships (1953, 1957 und 1959). After finishing his sports studies, he opened a special school for young boxers in Yerevan where he remained as director until 1995. After that he emigrated to the USA where he died of Alzheimer's.

Timir Alekseyevitch Pinegin (URS), *12 June 1927 in Moscow; †31 January 2013 in Moscow. Pinegin was the first Soviet sailor to win an Olympic gold medal. In 1960, together with Fyodor Shutkov, he was victorious in the Star class in the Gulf of Naples. He competed five times in the Olympic Games. In the Star class he was also eighth in 1956, fifth in 1964, 16th in 1968. Thereafter he changed to the Soling class, in which he was seventh in 1972. In addition he was world and European champion. He achieved 16 Soviet national championships. From 1980 to 1988 he was chief coach to the USSR team.

Atje Keulen-Deelstra (NED), *31 December 1938 in Grouw; †22 February 2013 in Leeuwarden. Even at a young age, Atje Deelstra was a talent, competing in what was called short track speed-skating over a straight track of 140 m (for women) in her home province of Friesland, where this type of skating had been common for over a century and which of course is completely different from what we today call short track skating.

Already at the age of 15, she won her first Frisian championship for girls. In 1962, she married farmer Jelle Keulen and became both house-wife and farmer's wife. The couple had three children. However, marriage and having children did not prevent her from continuing her skating and when in 1966 the natural ice-track of Thialf in Heerenveen, which dates back to 1894, was changed into an artificial ice-stadium, she changed over to what we nowadays call long track speed-skating.

In 1969 she participated for the first time in the national all-round championships, and only one year later became the national champion at the age of 31. The Royal Dutch Skating Association however had little confidence in her potential and forbade her to enter the all-round World Championship, but after her clear victory, they could no longer refuse her. In 1970 she won the all-round World Championship and repeated this in 1972, 1973 and 1974.

In 1972, she was part of the Dutch team for the Olympic Winter Games in Sapporo, Japan, and won a silver medal in the 1000 m, and two bronze medals in the 1500 and 3000 m respectively.

The 1974 World Championships were her last races in long track speed-skating, but not on the ice! She continued in another area of the sport: marathon-racing, in which she won no less than 61 races in total, including five national championships; the last one in 1980 at the age of 41. She also took part in the famous eleven-cities race over 200 km three times, in 1985, 1986 and 1997, finishing all three times, which in itself is quite a performance.

Jeffrey Carl "Jeff" Blatnick (USA/above**)**, *26 July 1957 in Schenectady, New York, †24 October 2012 in Schenectady, NY. The Graeco-Roman wrestler came second at the Junior World Championships in Las Vegas behind Anatoli Beloglasov (URS). He qualified for the 1980 Olympics but was not allowed to compete because of the US boycott. His career destined for an early end when he was diagnosed with Hodgkin's Lymphoma, a malignant tumor of the Lymph system, in July 1981. Happily, this cancer was discovered and treated early. After an operation, Blatnick had treatment for two-and-a-half years.

In spite of a warning by his doctor, the super-heavyweighter started training again. During the US trials in 1984, he won against the 175 kg heavy Pete Lee in two fights. However, he was not one of the favourites in Los Angeles. In spite of two defeats to the Greek Panayotis Pikilidis, he reached the final, where he beat the Swede Tomas Johansson on points. Afterwards, he fell to his knees and cried – for the first time and partly as a delayed reaction his brother David's death in a motorcycle accident seven years earlier.

In 1985, Blatnick suffered a relapse of his cancer but overcame it with chemotherapy. A continuation of his career, however, was out of the question. After his retirement from competition, he became a TV wrestling commentator, acted as an ambassador for the USOC and served as USA Wrestling's state chairman for New York.

Leslie Walter Claudius (IND), *25 March 1927 in Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh, †20 December 2012 in Kolkata (Calcutta). Claudius, one of nine children, started his sporting career as a football player, and had the chance of selection for the Bengal Nagpur Railway (BNR) in the Indian championships tournament. The decision however fell to the BNR hockey team, whose captain was the Olympic champion from 1932 Richard "Dickie" Carr.

In 1948, Claudius played for the Port Commissioner's team as center half in the Aga Khan tournament, which was the selection trial for the London Olympics, at which India won the gold medal for the first time as an independent state. He went on to claim a hat-trick of victories with further golds in 1952 and 1956.

In 1959, when the famous Dhyan Chand was the coach, Claudius was made captain of the national team. He led them to Europe, where the squad played 19 matches, winning 15 of them. At the Rome Olympics 1960, he wanted to become the first player to be win four Olympic gold medals in a row with the team, but India lost to Pakistan in the final, which ended that dream.

Claudius, who, with his compatriot Udham Singh, is one of the only two Indian players to win four Olympic hockey medals, ended his

international career after the 1960 Games, but continued to represent Bengal and Calcutta Customs for the next five years. In 1971, he was the sixth player to be was awarded the prestigious Padma Shri Award by the Indian government.

Ronald Charles Stretton (GBR), *13 February 1930 in Epsom, Surrey; †12 November 2012 in Toronto, Ontario. Stretton was an excellent track rider and short distance time trialist. He won a bronze medal in the team pursuit at the 1952 Helsinki Olympics. He was a member of the Norwood Paragon CC, and emigrated to Canada in July 1955. He passed away after a long battle with cancer.

John Curtis Thomas (USA), *3 March 1941 in Boston, Massachusetts; †15 January 2013 in Brockton, Mass. Thomas, a 1.98 m-tall Afro-American, bettered the world record in the high jump five times between April 30 (2.17 m) and July 1 (2.22 m), which made him the firm favourite for the Olympic Games in Rome in 1960. It was one of the biggest sensations when he failed at 2.16 m and lost out to the two Soviet athletes Robert Shavlakadze und Valery Brumel, both of whom cleared 2.16 m.

Then only 17 years old, the Freshman from Boston University was billed as a "wonder child" on 21 February 1959 when, in Madison Square Garden in New York City, he jumped 2.165 m – half a centimeter more than the official open-air world record of Yuri Stepanov, who had set the record in 1957 with the "catapult shoe". Shortly after, Thomas had an accident when his left foot got wedged in a lift, which lost him the rest of the rest of the 1959 open-air season.

Between 1961 and 1963, Brumel bettered the world record six times in a row and achieved a height of 2.28 m during a meeting between the USSR and the USA in Moscow, while Thomas had only meager results (he finished only fourth with a clearance of 2.05 m at the USA v USSR meeting in 1962). However, at the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964, for which Brumel was the main favourite, he showed his best form ever. He cleared 2.18 m but lost on count-back after a failure at an earlier height.

After his career as an athlete, he was a coach at Boston University while working for a telephone company. Later, he worked as athletic director at the Reggie Lewis Track and Athletic Center in Roxbury where he was known as "JT".

André Nelis (BEL), *29 October 1935 in Borgerhout; †8 December 2012 in Antwerp. The all-time best Belgian sailor took part in three Olympics. Sailing in the Finn class, he won the silver medal in 1956 and a bronze in 1960, and finished in 10th place in 1964.

His greatest rival was the four time Olympic champion Paul Elvstrøm. In the 1956 Gold Cup, Nelis won their contest but the Dane was victorious when the pair met at the Olympics later in the year. Nelis also won the Gold Cup in 1961, finished second from 1958 to 1960, and was third in 1957 and 1962.

In later years, he turned to sail making and opened his own factory in Antwerp. A fire ravaged his company in 1984, destroying his two Olympic medals. Twenty-five years later, IOC President Rogge presented him with replacements.

Noé Hernández Valentin (MEX), *15 March 1978 in Chimalhuacán, Mexico City; †16 January 2013 in Chimalhuacán, Mexico City. Race walker Hernández, an Olympic silver medallist in 2000 lost his life in tragic circumstances. He was only 34.

He had lost his left eye when a gunman opened fire in a bar in the Mexico City metropolitan area on 30 December 2012. Two others died in the shooting. He was sent at home on 8 January 2013 and died eight days later when he suffered what was thought to be a heart attack on the way to the hospital. Hernández had served as secretary of sports for the ruling PRI party.

Acer Gary Nethercott (GBR), *28 November 1977 in Newmarket, Suffolk; †27 January 2013 in London. The death of the 2008 Olympic silver medalist at the tragically early age of 35 has shocked the rowing community. It was at Oxford University that Nethercott first made an impact on the sport. He coxed the women's crew in 2000 and then Isis (the second string Oxford boat) in 2002, before guiding the Blue Boat to victory in the 2003 University Boat Race. They were defeated the following year but Nethercott ended his university career with victory over Cambridge in 2005.

By this time he had achieved a doctorate in Philosophy and had studied at the Sorbonne. He had also caught the eye of the international selectors. He coxed the British eight on home water at Eton Dorney in the 2005 FISA World Cup and the 2006 World Championships. Described by British rowing performance director Sir David Tanner as "the top British cox of his time", Nethercott was in the seat when the eight won bronze at the 2007 World Championships.

Later, he cycled from Land's End to John O'Groats for charity, undertook the Ironman Triathlon and also coached youngsters at the Molesey Boat Club in London but had planned to return to a boat for 2012.

Nethercott had been diagnosed with brain cancer and died after a short illness. His name "Acer" came from the Latin and meant fierce, keen and eager.

Philip Barker
Anthony Th. Bijkerk
Volker Kluge

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

Austrian-Czech "flag question": "The trick had been played ..."

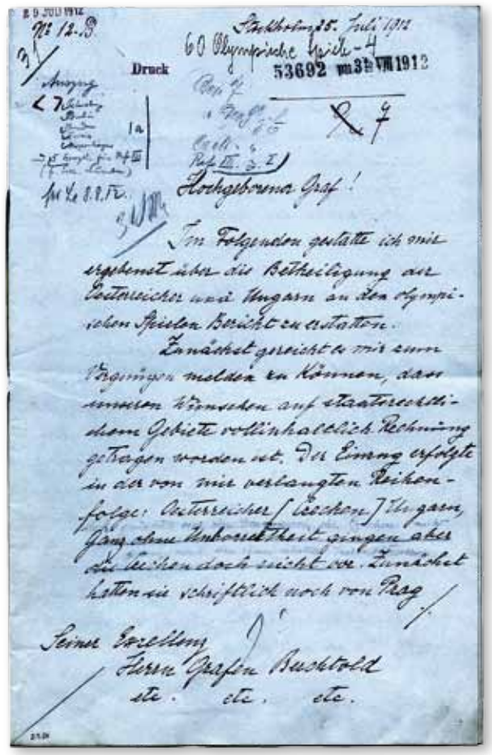
By Volker Kluge

In the last edition (JOH 3/2012, p. 63) František Kolář proved that the Czechs, who were not recognised by the Vienna government as an independent nation but treated as a "sub-group" of the Austrian team, marched in at the opening of the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm behind not only the black and yellow Austrian Imperial flag but also behind the Bohemian flag.

That has now been confirmed via the Austrian State Archives, which contain a series of interesting files about the early history of the Olympic Games between 1906 and 1914 with the signature AT-OeStA/HHStA MdÄ AR F60-208-1. Among these are also documents about the "flag question" which can be downloaded from the internet www.oesta.gv.at.

In a report to the Austrian Foreign Ministry the Stockholm Ambassador Constantin Theodor Dumba (1856-1947) wrote on 3rd August 1912:

"First of all it gives me great pleasure to be able to report our wishes in respect of legal state recognition were fully met. The entry was carried out in the order demanded by me: Austrians, [Czechs], Hungary. However the Czechs did not march in first as that would not have been correct. Initially they had protested in writing from Prague against the messages I had sent to the Swedish Committee because of the appropriate instructions. On the day before the formal procession the secretary of the Czechs first to Count Kolowrat[1], then to me and wanted to receive the authorisation for his group to march in with the Czech flag in front. It then turned out that the Czechs had arrived without a black and yellow flag, so that one had to be bought at the last moment. During the march in my Czech compatriots unfolded an enormous white national flag with the lion, the dimensions of which they had until then carefully kept secret. The black and yellow flag in contrast was smaller and of lesser dimensions than those prescribed by Count Kolowrat. Later on they apologised for this by saying that the Austrian flag could not be found with such large dimensions. But the trick had been played. I did not think it was worth while to take this little bit of mischief-making seriously. Rather I contented myself by explaining the whole procedure to Dr. Guth[2] as stupidity. There were no further complications with the flag since the Czechs did not manage to gain a single victory, and as a result the question of the raising of the national flag under the black and yellow one did not arise."



The first page of the 13 page report on the Olympic Games in Stockholm, sent on August 3rd, 1912 by the Austrian Ambassador Konstantin Theodor Dumba to the k.u.k. Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna.

Below: the Finns, who in the absence of their own national flag (Finland still belonged to Russia) caused a second sensation in 1912 by marching into the stadium behind a banner with the Latin saying "Mens sana in corpere sano" (in Finnish and Russian) and in the colours blue and white. After the Russian protest the flag was confiscated by the Swedish organisers.

Photo: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Nr. 53692, Archive Kluge

1 Embassy Secretary.
2 Dr. Jiří Guth (1861-1943), founding IOC Member from 1894 and President of the Czech Olympic Committee (COT).

Mutual cooperation – A collaborative project within the Olympic Museum Network

By Jurryt van de Vooren and Jens Hünefeld

Test setup for the Olympic flame, next to the Marathon Tower.
Photos: OSA, QOSM

The opening of the "1928 Olympic Games – Collection Connection from Qatar to Amsterdam" exhibition in Amsterdam on 25th November 2012 marked the fruition of a project conceived six years previously and executed jointly by Olympic Museums.

In 2006, The Olympic Museum in Lausanne brought nine international Olympic Museums together and invited them to form the Olympic Museum Network (OMN). The nine organisations agreed to cooperate in the near future with the aim of globally promoting interest in Olympic heritage and exhibiting the various collections of Olympic-related artefacts. Since its inception, the Olympic Museum Network has enjoyed exponential growth and, as a team, has aspired to achieve lofty ambitions.

Premium bond issued by the City of Amsterdam (1925)

The exhibition in Amsterdam is the first exposition developed by two international team members of the Olympic Museum Network. The Qatar Olympic & Sports Museum and the Amsterdam Olympic Stadium have jointly created this presentation focusing on the 1928 Olympic Games. All the exhibits made available on loan through the generosity of the Qatar Olympic & Sports Museum and the Qatar Museums Authority were shipped all the way from Doha to Amsterdam as contributions to the exhibition. Most of the items and memorabilia on display in this exhibition have been assembled by the Dutch Olympic enthusiast and collector Anthony Th. Bijkerk, the General Secretary of the ISOH. The Qatar Olympic & Sports Museum has recently acquired this collection, which will be stored and conserved on site with the intention of exhibiting selected items in future.

The exhibition provided visitors with a surprising insight into the historic Games, displaying exhibits that have never before been shown in public.

Moreover, it offered a wonderful opportunity to highlight the influence that the Olympic Games had on society off the field in the early years of the Modern Olympic Games.

It was only thanks to the great generosity shown by the Dutch nation, that the 1928 Olympic Games could be staged in Amsterdam.

Initially, it seemed as if the Dutch Olympic Committee would have to hand back the organisation of the 1928 Olympic Games to the IOC because the Dutch Parliament refused to sanction the necessary funding. Thanks to massive public support, the entire country united to raise the money needed. "What the state would not give, the Dutch people provided."

Jan Wils was the architect who designed the Olympic Stadium. In 1926 he told a journalist about the Marathon Tower, which was to be built in front of the stadium: "A large bowl will be mounted on the top, from which you will see a plume of smoke rising by day and a pillar of fire at night." In this cauldron, the Olympic flame was to be lit for the first time in history, after which it was to become an integral part of the Olympic tradition.

This new symbol almost caused an aerial disaster during the Games, when a French pilot mistook the fire for the lighthouse at Schiphol airport. The plane crashed in a nearby paddock, however, all five passengers escaped unharmed.

The Dutch also invented the parking sign, which is still used throughout the world to this day. Amsterdam was expecting a large number of foreign visitors, many of whom would be travelling by car. Therefore, the authorities needed an instantly recognisable symbol to show foreign visitors where to find a parking place. They came up with a large circular blue sign with a white letter "P" painted in the centre.

Amsterdam 1928 was destined to be most important for women's sport. For the first time, women were allowed to participate in athletics and gymnastics. The Dutch national team won the gymnastics competition, making them the first Dutch female Olympic champions. "You, Dutch gymnasts, we salute you / You have totally surprised and delighted our country / Against all odds, the Dutch tricolour was raised for you on the champion's pole."

Opening of the exhibition. Dr. Christian Wacker (right) and Hans Lubberding present the brochure of the exhibition.

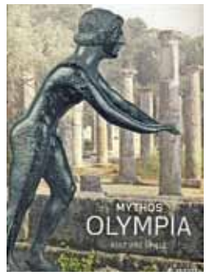
Her Royal Highness Queen Wilhelmina visited the stadium during the competition. However, the week previously, she caused a stir when refusing to attend the Opening Ceremony. Probably, the Queen was displeased that the IOC had chosen the opening day without consulting her.

This great legacy is now summarised in our exposition.

The exhibition brochure can be found at the following link: http://www.qma.org.qa/images/pdf/brochureao.pdf

A first time addition to the programme: the women's 800 m. Lina Radtke-Batschauer of Germany won gold and Kinue Hitomi from Japan took silver.

BOOK REVIEWS



Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Georgia E. Hatzi, Nikolaos Kaltsas, Susanne Bocher (Ed.)
Mythos Olympia – Kult und Spiele
Prestel-Verlag, München 2012
594 p., € 49.95
ISBN 978-3-7913-5212-1

Reviewed by Karl Lennartz

This is much more than a book review, rather it is a tale of Olympic exhibitions in two cities. A year ago, the German press carried the news that the Martin Gropius Bau in Berlin and the Al Riwaq Exhibition Hall in Doha (Qatar) would stage great Olympic exhibitions in association with the National Museum in Athens. These were to be held over a two year period from 2012. Some 800 ancient and 300 modern exhibits from the history of the Olympic Games were to be on display. A two-volume catalogue was planned with editions in German, English, Arabic and Greek.

For the volume on the "Modern Olympics", Christian Wacker, Director of the Olympic Museum in Qatar and Vice-President of ISOH, asked 14 authors to co-operate. Among them were Stephan Wassong, Volker Kluge and Karl Lennartz. The list featured a range of experts with a variety of approaches. On the one side authors who tended to allow the sources to speak for themselves and on the other, sports historians who were more inclined to interpret and draw conclusions and have a critical perspective. Bernd Sösemann, the former president of the Berlin German-Greek Society, and sports philosopher Gunter Gebauer were both asked to write about the modern aspect as part of the contribution made by the Martin Gropius Bau. Neither man had previously published material on Olympic history and ultimately, the pair withdrew their cooperation from the project.

Some were unhappy that problems such as doping, commercialization, corruption, political manipulation and dubious building practices would not be dealt with.

The subtext for their withdrawal soon became apparent, an implicit criticism of State of Qatar. It was said that the Qataris wanted to use their state's oil wealth to become a world power in sport.

Perhaps because of negative media coverage, the agreement between the Martin Gropius Bau and the Qatar Museums Authority remained unsigned.

And so they went their separate ways. In Berlin, an exhibition entitled "Mythos Olympia, Kult und Spiele" was held from 31st August 2012 to 7th January 2013, essentially financed by banks and by other organisations in Berlin and Germany with a catalogue in German. On the 28th March 2013 "Olympics – past and present" an exhibition devoted in equal measure to the ancient and modern Olympic Games, will be opened in Qatar. For this, a catalogue will be available in English.

In November 2012 I was in Berlin and visited their exhibition. This was an impressive collection of artefacts which bore favourable comparison with the collection in the old museum at Olympia. The *Berliner Zeitung* was full of praise: "Truly fabulous: the exhibition 'Mythos Olympia' in the Martin Gropius Bau is a great depiction of religious passion and cultic enthusiasm for competition."

The display had plenty for the historian of antiquity and the archaeologist to appreciate. There were valuable exhibits from Greece. These included items from the Archaeological Museum at Olympia and the Athens National Museum. There were also loans from other museums including the Louvre, the Vatican Museum, the National Museum in Rome and the collection of antiquities of the Berlin State Museums.

Where objects of particular beauty were too valuable to send, reproductions were included to complete an artistic picture of historical Olympia. Above all the exhibition demonstrated how significant the Games had been to the rise of concept of "being Greek". At the time the land was split into city states.

A second part is devoted to the ediscovery of Olympia in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The history of the excavations is also dealt with. German researchers led the way in the rediscovery of Olympia. It is noticeable the extent to which the co-operation between Germany and Greece is emphasised.

The catalogue for the exhibition is a voluminous book of 594 pages which weighs over three kilograms and measures 24.5 x 30.5 x 5 centimetres. At the exhibition it was on sale for only 25 Euros, on the internet it is available for 50 Euros. Even so this represents astonishing value. It is divided into two parts, an illustrated text and a detailed catalogue. There are words of welcome from German Federal President Joachim Gauck and Karolos Papoulias, President of the Hellenic Republic. Papoulias lived in Cologne at the time of "The Colonels" military rule and acquired a doctorate in law.

The text of the book is lavishly illustrated in full colour on high quality paper. In particular Greek and German archaeologists are responsible for this. It is divided into four extensive chapters with numerous sub sections.

1. The sacred place, its environment and its historical significance.
2. Gods and cults in ancient Olympia.
3. The exploration of Olympia.
4. Ancient sport and its social meaning.

The catalogue section runs from pp. 292- 574 and is laid out in the same order as the text. All the exhibits on display are depicted in colour, with a detailed description which includes their origin.

There is much to be commended but the exhibition falls short in some ways. It is first and foremost an archaeological exhibition. This was true for the section *Ancient sport and its social meaning*. Here, there are no contributions from Olympic historians with the exception of Wacker who writes on "The programme of the ancient Olympic Games" .This, even though there were at least a dozen proven researchers specialising in the ancient competitions who might have made a contribution in English or German.

The exhibition's treatment of the history of the discovery of Olympia ignores the contribution of Richard Chandler who played a vital role. This is rectified to some extent in the catalogue by Alain Schnapp's "Forgetting and Rediscovery of Olympia from the beginnings to the Expédition de Morée". Even so the English and German efforts are downplayed with more emphasis given to the French contribution.

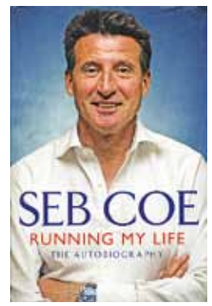
The sections relating to the history of excavation must be criticised. There is a very meagre report on the excavations from 1936 to 1942 (Aliki Moustaka, "The German and Greek excavations"). Then the text has: "In 1952 the dig received a new licence from the Greek state and was continued ... by Emil Kunze. As architect Alfred Mallwitz now joined the team. The main purpose of these digs was to conclude the interrupted explorations in the stadium."

Another man's vital contribution is overlooked by the archaeologists here. Carl Diem had the ideas and also helped indirectly with the financial backing for the project. As early as 1936, he had already managed to persuade Hitler and/or the German Reich to finance the renewed excavations at Olympia. By reason of his role as "Sportreferent" of the Federal Government, Diem was able to obtain financial support for the 1952 excavation. When the digs began, Diem constantly criticised the archaeologists for working in the Altis rather than the stadium. He repeatedly called for the excavation of the stadium. The archaeologists refused and expressed doubts that they would find anything there.

Diem celebrated his 75th birthday on 24th June 1957. DSB President Willi Daume created – more or less as a birthday present – a "Carl-Diem-Spende" (fund) to enable the completion of the stadium excavations. It was some time before the various German sports associations had raised sufficient money to proceed, by 17th February 1958 the excavations were able to begin. The excavated stadium was finally inaugurated on the occasion of the 1961 IOC Session in Athens with festivities on 22nd and 23rd June.

So much material was unearthed that a new museum had to be built to hold it all. In his 1956 diary Diem had written: "One can see the starting blocks of the Olympic stadium in the depths of an excavated trench. Where once the earthen wall of the stand rose up there is an empty field of thistles. The remains of the stand for distinguished guests is half covered by sand, and on the running track itself there rests an untouched weight of 40,000 cubic metres of soil. That ought to be removed and used to heighten again the ancient spectator walls. With this good intention we have come to a halt and so the face of this ancient cultural site is missing. It is a torso with an embarrassing disfigurement. One had to have been in the other sites to recognise was the liberating hollow of the stadium means for the total impression of a sacred place."

Diem did persuade the archaeologists or made it possible for the stadium to be excavated but his name was not subsequently mentioned by the archaeologists.



Sebastian Coe
Running My Life
The Autobiography
Hodder & Stoughton, London 2012
481 p., £ 20.00
ISBN 978-1-444-73252-8

Reviewed by Donald Macgregor

A passage in *A Partisan's Daughter* by Louis de Bernières (2008): "I'm glad I wasn't him (Coe), doing all that running just for the sake of it. How would it feel to be him as an old man, looking back and realising he'd spent his entire youth hurtling round running tracks?"

Sebastian Coe has done a lot more in his life than "hurtling round running tracks", although that is the basis of his fame. If one adjective describes Coe, it is "smooth". But he has also always been persistent. In his drive to secure the 2012 Olympics and in progressing the project, he cultivated anyone who could help, of whatever persuasion.

This book was written on the back of the great success, for which Coe can claim much of the credit, of London 2012. The author gives

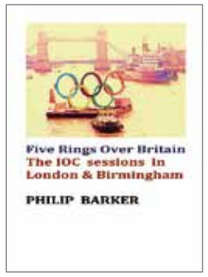
numerous insights into the bidding process and help received from disparate people such as successive UK Prime Ministers, Ministers and London Mayors, as well as Juan Antonio Samaranch.

Coe was one of the great trio of British middle distance runners who dominated the 1980s, along with the rather less polished but equally talented Steve Ovett and the young pretender Steve Cram. The athletics part of the book – the major part – races along at breakneck speed, interrupted by Coe's stint as a Conservative MP (despite having grown up in a Labour area) which was a principal ingredient in the breakdown of his first marriage. Other reasons are barely touched on, but an autobiography need not be a confessional. There is a fair account of his "rivalry" with Ovett, exaggerated by the media.

The book is long and I found the first few sections dealing with his childhood and adolescence the most interesting. Coe is at pains to stress that he was educated in state schools and not, as his title "Lord Coe" suggests, at an expensive private school. His engineer father Peter Coe played a huge part in his success as an athlete, and he paints an admiring picture of Peter, regarded by the athletics establishment as a heretical and difficult man. Seb, too, had several brushes with the sports authorities until recent times, and once he became famous was exposed to more than one made-up story in the tabloids, two of which he successfully sued.

The last chapter is a rapid tour d'horizon of the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics, written, I suspect, in post-Games euphoria, and which in my view could, like the book as a whole, have done with some tighter editing. Nor is the title original.

All in all this book falls short of a classic, but is well worth reading.



Philip Barker
Five Rings Over Britain
The IOC sessions in London & Birmingham
Cotinos Books, 201, 44 p.
ISBN 978-0-9573214-0-3

Reviewed by Bill Mallon

Not really quite a book, this is better termed a monograph, as it checks in at only 44 pages. But British Olympic historian and ISOH Executive Member Philip Barker did some nice work in the years leading up to the London 2012 Olympics, with this book and his other book on the Olympic Torch.

Five Rings Over Britain details the six IOC Sessions that have been held in London (1904, 1908, 1939, 1945, 1948, and 2011), and the one in Birmingham (1991) – of course, that was before the 2012 Session held just prior to the London Olympic Games.

The book is fairly standardized. Each chapter of about 2-4 pages is devoted to a single Session, listing the main occurrences and topics debated by the IOC during that Session.

At the end of each summary is a listing of the IOC Members in attendance, although in the early years, Barker is not certain of exactly who was present. Unfortunately there are no references or footnotes listed, which detracts slightly from the work. The summaries are detailed, but there is no attempt to provide any interpretation, which also always irks the academic historians.

This monograph is a nice supplement to Wolf Lyberg's three-volume work on the history of the IOC Sessions, and goes into a bit more detail than Wolf did in those books. It might be useful if ISOH members carried on Philip Barker's approach and wrote summaries of the IOC Sessions that have been held in their own countries, using contemporary press reports, which would allow us to have fuller knowledge of the Sessions.

Johan Erséus
Solskensolympiaden Stockholm 1912
Bokförlaget Max Ström, Stockholm 2012
247 p., SEK 295.00
ISBN 978-91-7126-183-0

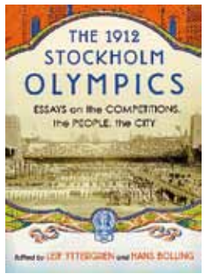
Reviewed by Hans Elbel

The book conveys a real sense of the 1912 Games and what it was like in Sweden and Europe at the time with a very different class system. It is expertly written and contains an impressive number of photographs, many of which have not been seen in published form for many years. These are shown on a sport by sport basis.

The book begins with a section depicting Stockholm at the time of the Games. In the summer of 1912 was Olympic frenzy in Stockholm, which in a short time had transformed from an "out-of-the-way corner" to a decent modern capital and was now in the middle of the biggest construction boom in the city's history.

The Olympic Games in Stockholm 1912 has gone down in history as the "Sunshine Olympics" (Solskensolympiaden in Swedish). It is particularly significant that the weather in the spring had been very poor with snow well into late April but also because of the friendly atmosphere, the thoughtful arrangements and well-organised competitions. A century later, Johan Erséus has captured all of this, plus of course the sporting achievements with portraits of particular interesting Olympians.

With the many photos, the result is a rich and very entertaining book.



Leif Yttergren / Hans Bolling
The 1912 Stockholm Olympics
(Stockholmsolympiaden 1912:
Tävlingarna – Människorna – Staden)
McFarland & Co., Jefferson, NC 2012
(Stockholmia förlag, Stockholm 2012)
286 p, $ 64.12 (SEK 318.00)
ISBN 978-0-7864-7131-7 (paperback)
(ISBN 978-9-1703-1254-0)

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

While Johan Erséus's book dazzles with its large number of attractive and extraordinary illustrations, the emphasis of the work by Leif Yttergren and Hans Bolling is on the representation of the background to the "Sunshine Games" and on the academic analysis of events a hundred years ago. This book represents teamwork by authors of differing specialisms, as is emphasised in the introduction.

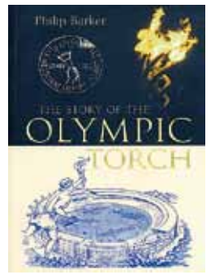
Instead of a comprehensive description of the events the authors devote themselves especially to themes that are often very unjustly neglected in the writing of Olympic history. Besides Olympic and sports historians, experts in other fields have a role to play. Thus the chapter about the marketing of the Stockholm Games is written by an economist and by a marketing expert. An economic historian writes about the organisation of the Games, a member of staff at the Centre for Fashion Studies about the artistic events and an ethnologist about the spectators.

The most important message that I have taken from the book is that the intentions of the "Gamesmakers" of 1912, expressed as "location – competition – patriotism" were not so very different from those that are considered important today. A well prepared advertising and tourism campaign ensured a positive image, to which the good weather richly contributed. And all that concentrated on a city that until then was considered dull.

The primary aim of the men (and some women, as I learned) around the chief organiser Colonel Viktor Balck was a heightened sense of prestige for their country in the world. They sought more "Swedishness", as it is referred to in the chapter by ISOH member Ansgar Molzberger, which describes the "Patriotic Games" as a "breakthrough for the Olympic Movement".

That was in fact the case for the Stockholm Games. They were a big popular festival and a social event of the first rank especially for the upper and middle class. And the Games were better organised than all the previous ones put together. Even if they stretched from May to the end of July, they still appeared compact due to the "stadium week" with the main Olympic sports of athletics and swimming (with women for the first time). There was also an attractive Olympic Stadium, still functional, the predecessor of an Olympic park as well as a series of innovations such as the Modern Pentathlon, the athletic Decathlon, Equestrian sport, and boy scouts as helpers, who would be described today as Volunteers.

That a three-man IOC Commission delivered a negative feedback after the Games, in which criticism was made of numerous incomprehensible decisions by the Swedish officials and referees, was simply laughed off by the sunshine or not discussed at all at the 1913 IOC Session. In spite of some deficiences the impression was very positive, as the 1914 Olympic Congress, at which the Olympic programme was for the first time thoroughly discussed, showed. Since the next Games – planned for Berlin in 1916 – were cancelled because of the First World War, an increase in quality had to be postponed and a phase of new build-up added. The 1912 Games, whose modern chroniclers have at their disposal one of the best Olympic archives of those early years, shone forth all the more brightly, as this highly recommended book proves.



Philip Barker
The Story of the Olympic Torch
Amberley Publishing, Gloucestershire 2012
128 p, £ 16.99
ISBN 978-1-4456-0180-9

Reviewed by Bill Mallon

This is not the first book on the Olympic Torch, having been preceded by Walter Borgers work, *Olympic Torch Relays 1936-1994*, from 1996 and in Spanish, *La Antorcha Olímpica* by Conrado Durántez in 1987. And there have been books produced on isolated torch relays, notably Los Angeles in 1984, Sydney in 2000, and Athens in 2004, but this effort by Philip Barker is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the

torch relays. Philip kindly gave me a copy during London 2012, and I read it daily on my trips back and forth on The Tube going from my hotel to the Olympic Park.

As you might expect, he gives 1948 London special emphasis with a listing of all the British torch bearers who carried the flame during the relay. But for each Games, details of the organisation, the runners, and the torches is filled in with nice anecdotes about problems that arose, or special features relating to the relay or the runners.

Each relay is handled in detail, by chapter, with the book covering 28 chapters. It starts with two introductory chapters giving information about the flame in 1928 and 1932, and then goes Olympiad by Olympiad starting in 1936.

There is one summary chapter at the end on the torch relays of the Olympic Winter Games. Those relays were handled in less detail, as a result, perhaps a flaw, but Borgers also has less emphasis on the winter relays. Perhaps that is a source for another book or area of research – certainly we know that in 1952–60 the Olympic torch was not lit at Olympia for the Winter Games, and although Barker discusses this, it might be an area that could be handled in more detail by historians with an interest in the topic.

The book ends with summary chapters, one giving details of all the torch relays, and one discussing the Olympia lighting ceremony in more detail, which I found fascinating and informative. The final chapter on the various relays is on 2008 and Barker does not skimp on the details of the protests and controversies that accompanied that torch relay. He ends with a preliminary chapter on the London 2012 relay (written before the Games), giving emphasis to the problems they faced and the organisation of the 2012 relay.

The book does not have footnotes, but does have a nice bibliography at the end that makes one realize that Philip did his homework on this book.

In all, a quick read, but a valuable addition to the English literature on the Olympic torch relay. ■

Letters to the Editor

Re: Tsar Nicholas II's Comrade in Arms: IOC Member John Hanbury-Williams, Vol. 20, No. 3/2012, p. 60

As the photo does not show the son of Tsar Nicholas, we print the correct photo today. It shows the eleven or twelve year old Tsarevitch with Hanbury-Williams and other officers of the Allied Commission. Of course author Bob Barney's full first name is not Richard but Robert. Please excuse the mistake.

Re: London Olympics 2012

We have been used for 44 years to see great middle- and long-distance runners from Kenya winning Olympic medals. However, an Irish link with many of them is not so well known. It was brought to the fore again last August at the London Olympics when David Rudisha set a new world record when winning the 800 m. The Irish connection is in the person of Brother Colm O'Connell (from my native country of Cork) who went as a missionary teacher to Kenya in 1976.

Br. O'Connell was (and still is) stationed at St. Patrick's High School at Item, near the Rift Valley, where he was a teacher. Colm O'Connell soon realised the depth of talent among boys there and their strong endurance for pain coming from their upbringing. The altitude of the Item area is 8000 ft. above sea level which also helps.

On the night of the great 800 m win in London (after 10 p.m. Kenyan time), Colm O'Connell (who had taken young Rudisha under his wing, even though he was not a pupil of St. Patrick's) got a phone call while driving from the school to a nearby hotel. The call was from 22 yr. old Daniel, the first man to hold Olympic and world titles and the world record.

A great result for the Irish-trained young man!

Séamus Ware
Baile Átha Cliath, Dublin, Ireland

Re: Obituary Barbara Ann Scott, Vol. 20, No. 3/2012, p. 72

The historian of figure-skating, Benjamin T. Wright, reminds us that the Canadian Olympic champion of 1948, Barbara Ann Scott, won not five but four national senior titles, as the 1943 championship was cancelled. She won her first junior title in 1940, after she had come fifth in 1939.

He goes on to tell us that Barbara Ann Scott was received into various Canadian Halls of Fame and decorated with the Order of Canada and the Order of Ontario.

Re: ISOH members in IOC Commissions

Seven ISOH members were appointed on the IOC Commissions for 2013: Culture and Olympic Education: Conrado Durántez, Jean Durry, Kostas Georgiadis, Karl Lennartz and Norbert Müller; Juridical Commission and Marketing: Richard W. Pound, Press: Alexander Ratner.

The editor reserves the right to abbreviate readers' letters.