

Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

It is four years since we decided to produce the *Journal of Olympic History* in colour. Today it is scarcely possible to imagine it otherwise. The pleasing development of ISOH is reflected in the *Journal* which is now sent to 206 countries.

That is especially thanks to our authors and the small team which takes pains to ensure that this publication can appear. As editor I would like to give heartfelt thanks to all involved.

It is obvious that the new edition is heavily influenced by the Olympic Games in Rio. Anyone who previously believed that Brazilian sports history can be reduced to football will have to think again. The Olympic line of ancestry begins as early as 1905, when the IOC presented the flight pioneer Alberto Santos-Dumont with one of the first four Olympic Diplomas. Professor Lamartine DaCosta and Ana Miragaya have written the history of their compatriot.

Our *RIO SPECIAL* offers even more. Ana Miragaya has written about the Brazilian Olympic idol Maria Lenk. Marcia Neto-Wacker and Christian Wacker have researched the reasons for the failure of the Olympic bid by Rio planned for 1936.

Janice Zarpellon Mazo and Alice Beatriz Assmann show by the example of the athlete Willy Seewald how it was necessary to improvise to be able to represent Brazil.

That changed however with the start of the 1950s and the emergence of Adhemar da Silva, whereby the

triple jump became the "Brazilian" discipline. History and actuality at the same time: Toby Rider has written about the first, though unsuccessful, attempt to create an Olympic team of refugees, and Erik Eggers, who accompanied Brazil's women's handball team, dares to look ahead.

Two years ago Myles Garcia researched the fate of the Winter Olympic cauldrons. In this edition he turns his attention to the Summer Games. Others have also contributed to this piece.

Again there are some anniversaries. Eighty years ago the Games of the XI Olympiad took place in Berlin, to which the Dutch water polo player Hans Maier looks back with mixed feelings. The centenarian is one of the few surviving participants.

The German Hans Günter Winkler, the most successful showjumper in the world, celebrates his 90th birthday. The first two of his five gold medals he won 60 years ago at the Olympic Equestrian Games in Stockholm, which are also remembered by an article by Franz Josef Bomert.

In addition this edition contains Part 21 of the IOC Members series, obituaries for famous Olympians – among them Muhammad Ali – as well as reviews of recently published books.

To this edition we join the wish to tune in to Rio 2016 and to convey background knowledge about the first Olympic Games in South America. We hope they will be peaceful and fair. ■

ISOH Executive Committee | 2012–2016

President	David Wallechinsky (USA)
Vice-President	Dr. Christian Wacker (GER)
Secretary-General	Anthony Th. Bijkerk (NED)
Treasurer	John Grasso (USA)
Members	Philip Barker (GBR) Dr. Kostas Georgiadis (GRE) Volker Kluge (GER) Leif Yttergren (SWE)
on behalf of the IOC ex-officio	Richard W. Pound (CAN) Dr. Bill Mallon (USA)



Secretary-General
Anthony Th. Bijkerk
Vogelrijd 16
8428 HJ Fochteloo
The Netherlands
Phone: +31-516-588520
Fax: +31-516-588260
E-mail: tony.bijkerk@planet.nl

Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

In recent months, the Olympic Movement has been rocked by major doping scandals and by serious allegations of bribery related to the voting for host cities. What is most disheartening about these troubles is that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has actually stepped up its battles against doping and corruption, and yet the revelations on both fronts are at least as bad as those during previous eras in Olympic history.

Between 1965 and 1989, a government-sponsored doping programme in East Germany fed prohibited steroids to thousands of athletes. It was hoped that the exposure of the East German programme would put an end to governments trying to win Olympic medals by cheating the system. But just 25 years later, it would appear that in Russia, government-backed sports officials, acting with a sense of impunity, went to extraordinary lengths to break the rules in order to win as many medals as possible. Of course it is troublesome that a large number of athletes in a variety of other countries have also been engaged in drug cheating, but the coordinated violations in Russia are particularly disturbing.

As for bribery, after the 1998–1999 purge of IOC Members who were found to have sold their votes in the election of the host city for the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, the IOC initiated a series of reforms that were intended to eliminate vote-selling. Yet only 17 years later, large payments to “consultants” are being investigated regarding the selection of Tokyo to host the 2020 Summer Games.

With all of this negative coverage, it is frustrating for those of us who find enduring positive values in the study of Olympic history. Those values are clear: the striving for excellence, the coming together of athletes and others from around the world, athletes viewing their opponents as adversaries rather than enemies and much more. As the *Olympic Charter* emphasizes, “Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.”

One of this year’s positive changes is the inclusion at the Rio de Janeiro Olympics of a 10-member team of stateless refugees. The IOC has come a long way in

dealing with athletes who are not represented by a national team. After First World War, the leadership of the IOC – over the objection of Baron Pierre de Coubertin – barred athletes from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey from competing at the 1920 Antwerp Games. The same prohibition was applied in 1948 to athletes from Germany and Japan following the conclusion of Second World War.

The IOC responded to the racist policies of the white minority government of South Africa by banning its athletes from Olympic participation from 1964 through 1988. Meanwhile, in 1976, a number of African nations staged a last-minute boycott of the Montreal Games because New Zealand’s rugby team had played several matches in South Africa. There was also one non-African government that supported the boycott: Guyana. One of the athletes from Guyana, sprinter James Gilkes, asked to be allowed to compete as an independent participant. The IOC rejected his request.

In 1992, the IOC faced a new situation: the United Nations (UN) had imposed sanctions against the government of Yugoslavia and the IOC wanted to support the UN. But by this time, members of the IOC leadership were beginning to question whether it was really in keeping with the Olympic spirit to punish athletes for the policies taken by their governments. So a compromise was reached that banned Yugoslavia from taking part in team sports, but allowed individual Yugoslavian athletes to compete under the banner of the Olympic flag.

Now, 24 years later, the IOC has evolved in favour of inclusion. In one case, the National Olympic Committee of Kuwait has been suspended because of undue government interference, but Kuwaiti athletes were eligible to compete in the Rio Games ... under the Olympic flag. In addition, the IOC sought to address the fact that more than 10 million people, displaced by war and poverty, are stateless. It created a Refugee Olympic Team, consisting of six men and four women. Five of the athletes fled South Sudan, two Syria, two the Democratic Republic of Congo and one Ethiopia. It would be nice to think that the need to have a Refugee Olympic Team is a one-time event, but, unfortunately, given the situation in these four countries and many more, it is more realistic to expect to see such teams in many Olympics to come. ■

Message from the Secretary-General



Anthony Th. Bijkerk
ISOH SECRETARY-GENERAL

This is my last Message as Secretary-General to all ISOH members. Once again, unfortunately, I have to start this Message with sad news: ISOH again lost two members over the last couple of months. They are our Finnish member Markku Siukonen and our Dutch member Jaco A. Treurniet. Vesa Tikander from the Olympic Library in Helsinki wrote a short biography about Markku Siukonen and I did the same for Jaco Treurniet.

After twenty years, I have decided to step down as Secretary-General, as it is time to hand the work over to a younger person. I had the honour to serve with four ISOH Presidents: Ian Buchanan (1991-2000); Bill Mallon (2000-2004); Karl Lennartz (2004-2012) and David Wallechinsky (2012-2016).

During those twenty years I have had the opportunity to meet many ISOH members face to face; since owing to the idea of awarding ISOH members for their special efforts, it was always my duty to attend the ceremonies and take care of the awards.

In the first six years (1997-2002), I had to combine the function with the editorial duties of the *Journal*. Thanks to the assistance of associate editors, like the late Harry Gordon, Stephen Harris, Anthony Edgar and the late Karl Lennartz, we were able to slowly enhance the quality of our magazine. One of the first things we did was to change the name of our publication from *Citius, Altius, Fortius* to *Journal of Olympic History*.

However, owing to personal circumstances, I had to stop my editorial duties and hand them over to Stephan Wassong at the end of 2002. There was a brief interval when Stephen Harris took the reins.

During the last twenty years the ISOH membership has more than doubled! From about 190 in 1996 to the current 450 plus members in 54 countries, and as you will see at the end of this *Journal*, International Society of Olympic Historians is still growing.

However, one thing has always bothered me: why people "forget" to pay for their membership! Again, the Executive Committee this year had to delete a few members, who had not paid their dues for more than three years. This is unfortunate and is always a topic on the agenda of the Executive Committee. Each year we have to discuss the deletion of those who have not paid their subscription for three years. They are mentioned in the members' information of this issue.

I do not want to reminisce about all my experiences in those twenty years, but I want to pay my gratitude to all the people I have worked with in that period, and especially to Bill Mallon and David Wallechinsky, with whom I have worked during all those twenty years!

I express the hope that the future of our organisation may continue to be bright, informative, innovative and, above all, be grow everywhere into a fully respected body of historians! ■



The ISOH Executive Committee at its most recent meeting in the French village of Maussane-les-Alpilles on 30th May. General Secretary Anthony Th. Bijkerk and Treasurer John Grasso bade farewell as neither stood for the new Executive Committee.

Report on the ISOH Executive Committee Meeting

By David Wallechinsky

Here is a brief summary of the most important decisions made by the ISOH Executive Committee at its annual meeting held on 30th May 2016 in Maussane-les-Alpilles, France.

Election Results for Executive Committee 2016–2020

The following results were announced:

For President:

David Wallechinsky 129 votes

For Vice-President:

Christian Wacker 127 votes

For Secretary General:

Markus Osterwalder 72 votes (elected)

Kitty Carruthers 67 votes

For Treasurer:

Laura Zeisler Grasso 127 votes

As Members:

Volker Kluge 99 votes (elected)

Philip Barker 83 votes (elected)

Kostas Georgiadis 67 votes (elected)

Leif Yttergren 58 votes (elected)

Åge Dalby 56 votes

Jeffrey Segrave 56 votes

Anthony Edgar 51 votes

Colm Murphy 36 votes

Ray Mason 20 votes

ISOH Awards

The following awards were approved:

Lifetime Achievement: Lamartine DaCosta (Brazil)

Vikelas Plaque: Stephen Harris (USA); Gennadi Maritchev (Latvia); Ruud Paauw (Netherlands)

Best Book or Monograph: *Britain and the Olympic Games 1908–1920* by Luke Harris

Best Article in the *Journal of Olympic History* 2014: "Homosexuality and the Olympic Movement" by Matthew Baniak and Ian Jobling

Best Article in the *Journal of Olympic History* 2015: "Morality of the 1912 Olympics: American and British Perspectives on Decadence" by Laurie Keskinen

Future Elections

There was an extended discussion regarding whether it would be better to replace the current system of electing all Executive Committee members at the same time with a new system in which two non-Executive Board members would be elected on a staggered basis every two years. It was decided that Vice-President Christian Wacker would lead a working group to create a formal proposal for a change to the ISOH Constitution regarding this subject.

Editor of the *Journal of Olympic History*

The current editor of the *Journal of Olympic History*, Volker Kluge, is also a member of the Executive Committee. However, in the future these two roles might fall to two different people. Because the editor of the *Journal of Olympic History* plays such an important role in ISOH, it was decided that he or she should be present at all meetings of the Executive Committee.

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of ISOH

It was decided to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of ISOH in London on or about 5th December 2016 with invited speakers and to allow ISOH members to give short speeches. It was suggested that this celebration might be an unnecessary expense since the Quadrennial Meeting of ISOH will take place in Rio de Janeiro on 4th August. The Executive Committee remains open to comments from the membership on this subject.

Future Book and Article Awards

Leif Yttergren agreed to lead a working group to create a proposal to engage non-Committee members in proposing candidates for the ISOH Awards for Best Book and Best Articles.

ISOH.org Web Site

Although the redesigned ISOH web site is well-established and ISOH member Mark Maestrone is serving as webmaster, no single person is in charge of content. No Executive Committee member volunteered for this task and the Committee remains open to suggestions.

ISOH Public Relations and Community Outreach

ISOH member Nicholas Wolaver had volunteered to help publicize the activities of the organisation using social media and traditional news outlets on a pro-bono basis. His proposal was accepted and Wolaver's work has already begun.

Torch Relay inspires Brazil to 'Live the Dream' of Rio 2016

By Philip Barker

Rio's flame began its journey with a ceremony of traditional dance and music in Ancient Olympia. It also marked 80 years since an Olympic torch relay had been introduced for the 1936 Games in Berlin.

Watched by Hellenic Republic President Prokopis Pavlopoulos and IOC President Thomas Bach, Rio's flame was received from high priestess Katerina Lehou by Greece's 2015 world champion gymnast Eleftherios Petrounias.

"The torch relay will spread the message of our shared humanity to all people of the beautiful country of Brazil", said Bach who was also presented with a stone from Ancient Olympia to be used as the "Olympic Laurel", a distinction which will be inaugurated this summer.

After a traditional visit to the monument to Coubertin, Petrounias passed the flame to the first Brazilian runner, double Olympic volleyball champion Giovane Gavio. The flame spent a week in Greece and made stops on Zakynthos and Corfu. After the ceremonial handover to Rio 2016 President Carlos Nuzman in Athens, the flame was taken to United Nations headquarters in Geneva and then to the Olympic City of Lausanne for a brief stopover before the 95-day journey across Brazil.

First and last torchbearer 1936-2016

1936	Konstantinos Kondylis	Fritz Schilgen (ATH)
1948	Konstantinos Dimitrelis	John Mark (ATH)
1952	Christos Panagopoulos	Paavo Nurmi (ATH)
1956	Dimitris Konstantinidis (ATH)	Hans Wikne (EQU)
	Dionyssios Papathanassopoulos	Ronald Clarke (ATH)
1960	Takis Epitropoulos (ATH)	Giancarlo Peris (ATH)
1964	George Marsellos (ATH)	Yoshinori Sakai (ATH)
1968	Haris Aivaliotis (ATH)	Norma E. Basilio Sotela (ATH)
1972	Yiannis Kirkilessis	Günther Zahn (ATH)
1976	Tassos Psillidis (ATH)	Sandra Henderson Stéphane Préfontaine
1980	Thanasis Kosmopoulos	Sergey Belov (BAS)
1984	*	Rafer Johnson (ATH)
1988	Thanassis Kalogiannis (ATH)	Kim Won Tak (ATH) Chong Son Man Son Mi Jong
1992	Savvas Saritzoglou (ATH)	Juan A. San Epifanio (BAS) Antonio Rebollo (ARC)
1996	Kostas Koukodimos (ATH)	Muhammad Ali (BOX)
2000	Lambros Papakostas (ATH)	Cathy Freeman (ATH)
2004	Kostas Gatsioudis (ATH)	Nikos Kaklamanakis (SAI)
2008	Alexandros Nikolaidis (TAE)	Li Ning (GYM)
2012	Spyros Gianniotis (SWI)	Carlum Airlie (SAI) Jordan Duckitt Desirée Henry (ATH) Katie Kirk (ATH) Cameron MacRitchie (ROW) Aidan Reynolds (ATH) Adelle Tracey (ATH)
2016	Eleftherios Petrounias (GYM)	N.N.

* No torch relay in Greece



Katerina Lehou lit the Olympic Flame (top left) on 21st April 2016. Below: the first torchbearer was gymnast Eleftherios Petrounias. ISOH member Kostas Georgiadis also carried the flame in Ancient Olympia. Below: Dance of the priestesses in the Panathenian Stadium. When the flame reached Brazilian soil, the torch was also carried by double Olympic volleyball champion Fabiana Claudino.

Photos: picture-alliance (3), Philip Barker (2)

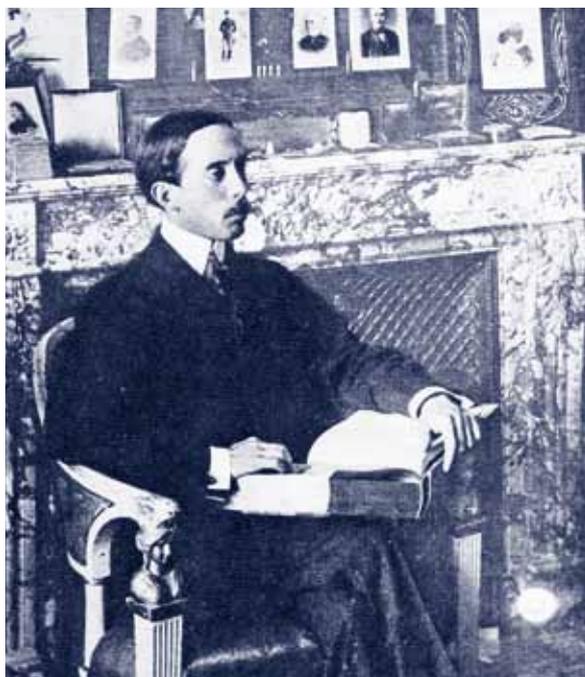
Alberto Santos-Dumont, Sport Aviator and Olympic Hero*

By Lamartine DaCosta and Ana Miragaya

Brazilian Alberto Santos-Dumont (1873-1932) is regarded as one of the pioneers of motorised flight. In 1906 the Brazilian succeeded in making the first public flight in the world. The airport in Rio was named in his honour.

Below: postcard with a caricature of Santos-Dumont. The text on the card reads: "My homeland is the air ... on the ground I am in exile!"

Photos: Marcia Neto-Wacker/
Christian Wacker, O BRASIL
TORNA-SE OLÍMPICO



In 1905, the first ceremony to award Olympic Diplomas to relevant personalities linked to sports at the time took place at the Olympic Congress in Brussels. Theodore Roosevelt, later President of the United States; Alberto Santos-Dumont, Brazilian joint inventor of the airplane and sporting aviator; Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian explorer of the North Pole; and William H. Grenfell, well-known educator in the United Kingdom and later Lord Desborough would receive the very first awards.

At that time, Pierre de Coubertin, President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) founded in 1894, described the purpose of Olympic Diploma thus:

*dont la rareté dit le prix et qui, ne visant point récompenser telle victoire sportive, tel record battu, telle performance accomplie pût être attribué à un homme pour l'ensemble de qualités athlétiques et surtout pour l'emploi qu'il en aurait pu faire*¹.

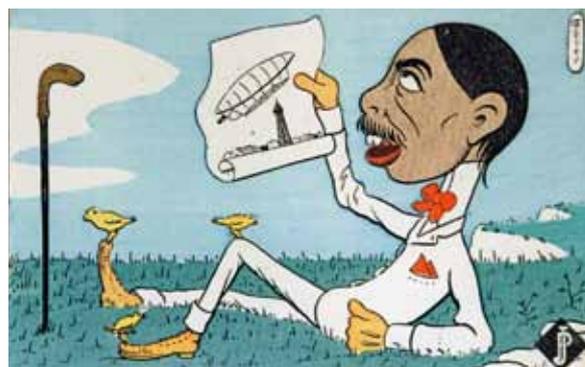
[a rare prize, given to reward not this sporting victory or that record broken, but in recognition of a man who, above all, has used all his athletic talents to the utmost of his ability.]

By 1909, Olympic Diplomas had already been awarded to ten international recipients, all of whom were

respected personalities in their own societies and renowned sportsmen internationally². In the case of Santos-Dumont, the honour seemed relevant because he was famous not only in France but also all over Europe as a sportsman, and typical of the pioneer aviators of the *Belle Époque*³. As one of the inventors of the airplane, this Brazilian sportsman was a hero in his own country during the period he was most active with his inventions (1890-1910), which coincided with Coubertin's creation of the Olympic Diploma (1901) and the first nominees in 1905⁴.

Santos-Dumont and Coubertin were contemporaries, the Brazilian, born in 1873, being ten years younger than Coubertin. His family had French and Portuguese ancestry. As a child, Santos-Dumont was influenced by his father, an engineer of French descent, and fascinated by machinery. While still a young child, he learned to drive the steam tractors and the locomotive used on his family's farm. He also participated in excursions by bicycle and, later on, in automobiles and hot air balloons, the latter two constructed by Santos-Dumont himself. His favourite sport was tennis, which he played right up until his death in 1932. He also played golf and skied when he lived in Europe⁵.

With such devotion to sport, it was not surprising that the World Air Sports Federation (Fédération Aéronautique Internationale – FAI), founded in 1905, had Santos-Dumont as one of its inspirational symbols⁶, and their records provide a source of reference for his life. The purpose of this research was to set out a historiography beginning at the end of the 19th century, period which coincides with the reinvention of the Olympic Games, and reached its climax during the first decade of the 20th



century, and finally extended until the 1930s, following the expansion of sports worldwide.

Again, it is relevant that the origins of aviation as a sport had several pioneers, including the American brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright, whose motivation was more commercial and pragmatic than that of Santos-Dumont. In fact Santos-Dumont, who came from a wealthy family, did not want to register any patent for his inventions. Furthermore, during his adult life he showed himself to be the epitome of a sportsman – daring and romantic, becoming great personality in Paris – which had become the world's center for the arts, creation of fashion and flamboyant lifestyle during the *Belle Époque*⁷ – thus confirming Coubertin's decision that he should be awarded the Olympic Diploma.

While the Wright brothers constructed their machines in secret, Santos-Dumont saw aviation as an amateur sport, always searching for and counting on public audiences and striving for measurable results to verify and legitimize the records of his performances (DaCosta, 1996; Hoffman, 2003)⁸. Moreover, he instigated fashion for clothes, hats and accessories for aviation as a sport. These included the wristwatch, originally commissioned by him from Maison Cartier de Paris, whose design "Santos Dumont" as a brand name became a commercial success that has survived for more than a century (Lins de Barros, 2006)⁹.

Although Santos-Dumont enjoyed enormous popularity in a dynamic and sportive Paris, so open to the modern world he consciously wanted to represent, he preferred to send a representative to the award ceremony of the first Olympic Diplomas in Brussels in 1905, a procedure also preferred by Roosevelt, Nansen and Grenfell. It may well be that the reason for this decision by the four celebrities was that they had a higher public profile than the IOC itself at the time. However, when historians Neto-Wacker and Wacker (2010)¹⁰ reported the ceremony and the absence of the nominees, they also highlighted that Santos-Dumont had become "a reluctant Olympic hero who, together with important personalities of the day, was awarded the first Olympic Diploma, in which, however, he showed little personal interest".

This interpretation is confirmed by other sources that reveal him to have been a personality who ignored homage and tribute according to his mood or his health. A similar thing happened when Santos-Dumont declined to answer Charles Lindbergh's invitation for dinner in 1929 to celebrate the first transatlantic flight. Santos-Dumont also refused to receive the Brazilian President in his home in 1930, according to his American biographer, Paul Hoffman¹¹.

As a result of the distance Santos-Dumont took from the IOC tribute, his Olympic identity was not cemented



either in his home country or abroad, in spite of the fact that he declared his identification with sports in general and with sport aviation in particular in his memoirs. For example, the "father of flight" wrote in his 1918 autobiography (...):

Eu, para quem já passou o tempo de voar, quisera, entretanto, que a aviação fosse para os meus jovens patrícios um verdadeiro esporte ["I, for whom the time to fly has passed, wanted, however, aviation to be a true sport for my young countrymen"]¹².

Santos-Dumont may have been to some extent forgotten, which undermines the narration of his accomplishments as a sport aviator pioneer, besides his negligence in relation to the Olympic ceremony to award Olympic Diplomas, finally reducing the meaning of aviation itself as a sport. Within this context, Santos-Dumont can be understood as a case of sportsman-symbol whose influence became merely potential, once his legacy was mostly fixed on the images of an inventor, an enthusiast of technology and of adventurous life molded by his Parisian public.

Recognition Santos-Dumont's aeronautical feats in Brazil only happened in the 1940s, almost a decade after his death, according to Lins de Barros (2003), the aviator's

The Olympic Diploma presented to Alberto Santos-Dumont. He was one of the first recipients of this award. It was designed by André Slom (1844-1909), known in Polish as Slomszyski. From 1871 he divided his time between Switzerland and Paris. The Diploma was endowed by the Greek Mercati Committee. Pierre de Coubertin proposed its introduction, a decision approved at IOC Session in 1901. The Diploma for Santos-Dumont unfortunately is lost!

Photo: Olympic Museum, Lausanne



Lamartine DaCosta | *1935, holds a Ph.D in Philosophy (1988) and Sport Management (1989). He started his research in Olympic Studies focusing on the 1968 Olympics and has prominent academic production in sport history devoted today to research of Olympic values. As a sports volunteer, he is currently curator of Maria Lenk's memory, Brazil's first Olympic heroine.



An Aeronautic event in Paris organised by the Brazilian aviator Santos-Dumont in 1900. He had a similar philosophy to Coubertin, although they were not personally related. Both frequently referred to the idea of Utopia. For Santos-Dumont it was the world of Jules Verne. Coubertin's was that created by Thomas Hughes (*Tom Brown's School Days*).

Photo: CEME, São Paulo

most famous biographer. Nevertheless, the rescue of Santos-Dumont as an Olympic hero only started 46 years later with Lamartine DaCosta's research (1996), published only in Portuguese. The research was subsequently reinterpreted by the same author in the book *Atlas of Sports in Brazil* (2005) and also by Marcia Neto-Wacker and Christian Wacker (2010).¹³

This present reconstruction of Santos-Dumont's historiography as a sportsman draws on original sources – in Portuguese, French and English – and follows research by the authors of this essay in recent years and focuses on an Olympic Santos-Dumont, taking the sporting environment as the basis for his inventions in the field of modern aeronautics.

The vision of Santos-Dumont as a sportsman was first revived through research done at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland, by Ana Miragaya, co-author of this study. She located two illustrated magazines with sporting themes published in Paris in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: *La Vie au Grand Air* and *Le Sport Universel Illustré*. These publications detailed the conquests of Santos-Dumont, always in the context of the sporting world in Paris and throughout France. His triumphs and disasters are put into context by information, also related to sport, found in contemporary literature about the heroic aviation pioneer.

Both *La Vie au Grand Air* and *Le Sport Universel Illustré* focused on competition events, descriptions of airships, performances, competition sequencing and the public's reaction. It was a different way of reporting, untypical of the newspapers of that time, which were more oriented not only to the daily life of France but also to the novelties represented by the aeronautic experiments conducted by the flamboyant personality of Santos-

Dumont. The newspapers focused on sensationalism, fads and gossip, as can be seen from the analyses of Paris press by Paul Hoffman a century later¹⁴. Another characteristic of the two magazines is that the articles were written by specialist commentators, providing technical observations, which made them different from the reports of the daily newspapers habitually written without attribution and usually subject to editorial influence.

Sport-aviation role model

A first indication of the distance between Brazilian and international historians on the subject of Santos-Dumont as a sportsman is found in the collection of documents about the pioneer aviator's life, published in 1940 by Godin da Fonseca¹⁵. In this publication is an 18-page list of people of different nationalities who were connected to the feats of the first 'aeronaut'. This list did not include Pierre de Coubertin nor any others of the small group that made up the IOC at the dawn of the 20th century.

However, the texts recovered by Norbert Müller and Otto Schantz, historians of IOC President Pierre de Coubertin, describe the Olympic Diploma¹⁶. These records show evidence of the reasons Santos-Dumont was chosen by Pierre de Coubertin as a model of Olympic values. Coubertin considered aviation to be a sport at that time. Indeed, Müller & Schantz highlighted the *Revue Olympique* (IOC's official magazine), July 1907 edition, in which Coubertin penned an article with the title "Les Frontières Sportives de l'Aviation" (The Sporting Borders of Aviation)¹⁷. But even before that publication, Coubertin had already written a note emphasising balloon racing as a sport¹⁸.

Away from Coubertin's influence, based on documents in collected writings celebrating Santos-Dumont's accomplishments, it is possible to confirm that sport aviation had reached its climax at the beginning of the 20th century. The first FAI *Bulletins* – especially the 12th November 1906 edition – features Santos-Dumont as a "sportsman"¹⁹ and related to the word "record" and to other sports rituals, such as referees, stopwatches, programmed competitions, etc.²⁰ According to Cabrero dos Reis (1974), Santos-Dumont established the first certified records of aviation in the world, controlling time and distances²¹. Also, he was the very first man to be called "aeronaut"²².

Lavener Wanderley (1974), who collected news about Santos-Dumont's performances in the international press of that time, transcribes a note that appeared in the newspaper *Paris Sport* on 15th July 1901, which defines the pioneer of the "heavier-than-air flight" as "a true sportsman, in every sense of the word"²³. This very source also registers Santos-Dumont's visit to the

United States in 1902 to participate in a balloon race at the Saint Louis Exposition, the venue for the third edition of the Olympic Games in 1904.

At that time, President Theodore Roosevelt invited Santos-Dumont for dinner in Washington, which reveals the guest's relevance²⁴. This fact was also confirmed by Paul Hoffman²⁵. Hoffman reports Santos-Dumont's visit to the United States as traumatic after his balloon was found irreparably and deliberately damaged by the New York customs. As a result, Santos-Dumont was unable to compete in Saint Louis. To this biographer, this malicious action reveals the aggressiveness of the so-called "patent war" between the first airship manufacturers in North America²⁶.

In the USA, Santos-Dumont also met Thomas Edison, at the time a renowned inventor of international standing. Edison, on that occasion, declared to the press his admiration and respect for Santos-Dumont's technological solutions as well as for his ethical stance in public, highlighting Santos-Dumont's gentlemanly attributes²⁷. A view endorsed three years later with Coubertin's nomination of Santos-Dumont for the Olympic Diploma.

The leading promoter of sport aviation

Santos-Dumont's attitudes towards sport from a historical perspective can be better understood when looking at aviation as a sport, before airships became means of transportation and tools of war. Considering only Paris and France – world centers of aeronautical innovation during Coubertin's and Santos-Dumont's lifetime – the environment conducive to sporting contest was linked not only to a privileged lifestyle in the great outdoors but also to people's mobility – something always associated with freedom of choice. As a corollary, it is possible to see that such options stimulated the use of bicycles, automobiles, balloons and airships in a sporting context, as Santos-Dumont himself experimented and, very likely, influenced Pierre de Coubertin in his writings about ballooning and aviation.

These new social practices supported by technology were the subject of individual articles in the French publications mentioned above: *La Vie au Grand Air* and *Le Sport Universel Illustré*. A typical writer was *La Vie au Grand Air's* columnist Emmanuel Aimè, who frequently wrote about sport aviation and about Santos-Dumont.²⁸

Aimè discourses on a demonstration of ballooning promoted by the Aéro-Club de France, which took place in the streets and central parks of Paris – Bois de Boulogne, in particular – under the leadership of Santos-Dumont. The text examines discussions of possible balloon competitions to be held in the city with a high circulation of people and vehicles,

discussing the possibilities of creating a more efficient and manoeuvrable balloons. To the journalist, Santos-Dumont's solutions for the dirigibility of airships (wires and petrol engines) demonstrated increasing progress. In addition, Aimè included personalities of great social and political representation in Paris, who would guarantee the continuity of the Aéro-Club de France's project.

This text marked the start of the exposure of Santos-Dumont's successful flights in the French press, especially with its provocative title: "Le Pari de M. Santos Dumont" ("Santos-Dumont's Bet"). Likewise, in the edition of December of 1899 (pp. 178–180), Emmanuel Aimè discourses about the theme "L'Aeroestation" ("The Aeroestation") as a new sporting discipline, basically focusing on the role played by aero clubs in the organisation and rules of competitions between airships. He mentions various examples of French balloonists who classify the "dirigeables" by type of equipment, location of practice and chances in forthcoming competitions with money prizes. At the end of the article, Aimè goes back to Santos-Dumont, describing him as the greatest promise for the development of "Aeroestation" as an emerging sport, as Santos-Dumont had until then experimented two types of dirigibles and put into practice his balloon No. 3, with 500 cubic metres (20 metres in length and 7.5 metres in diameter). To sum up, both 1899 selected texts allow us to understand the initial inventions of Santos-Dumont in the sports world as well as his own means to support his next undertakings in airships, going from "lighter-than-air" to "heavier-than-air" with diversified repercussions not only in France, but also in other European countries, the United States and Brazil.

Next, Santos-Dumont's photograph appeared on the cover of *La Vie au Grand Air* of 30th September 1900. The magazine broke the news of dirigible No. 3's good performance, emphasising its manageability and engine. The headline names the Brazilian inventor "gentleman-aeronautique" praising once more his ingenuity and tenacity, welcoming the arrival of a phase of progress for the foundation of "Aeroestation" as a sport.²⁹

Another relevant event is shown in the edition of 26th October 1901, in which Frantz Reichel announces, with several photographs, the conquest of the Deutsch de la Meurthe prize of 100 thousand francs by Santos-Dumont, when he rounded the Eiffel Tower in his dirigible No. 5 on a marked trajectory and taking the maximum time of 30 minutes (pp. 692–694). In this edition, the title "Aerostation" is used, with the noteworthy subtitle: "Santos Dumont Triomphe" ("Santos-Dumont Succeeds"). This article also shares the information that the victor would share part of the prize with the poor of Paris.

Santos-Dumont became a popular figure in Paris because of his efforts to promote aviation as a sport. The cartoon above was drawn by the famous artist Georges Goursat, called SEM, who captured the important personalities of the Parisian Belle Époque of the 1900s.

Photo: CEME, São Paulo

Returning to *Le Sport Universel Illustré*, it is important to point out that the 17th July 1906 edition announced the "Grand Prix Aéro-Club de France", featuring more than a dozen dirigibles, including Santos-Dumont's. However, the most relevant news of the year was found in the 17th November edition, when with great prominence and illustrated by photographs, the magazine proclaimed the historic flight of the aircraft 14 Bis, created and piloted by Santos-Dumont. According to *Le Sport Universel Illustré*, it was the first public and successful exhibition of a heavier-than-air aircraft. Before the edition of 23rd September of the same year, the airship 14 Bis had been introduced with all its technical details (pp. 560-561). This fact suggests that Santos-Dumont had chosen this magazine as the instrument to create a public forum to gain support for his greatest invention.

This thesis becomes more sound with the examination of four editions of *Le Sport Universel Illustré*, which analysed the state of the art of the "Sport Aéronautique", published during the second half of 1906. In the very first edition, on 3rd October 1906, G. Lemeunier comments in his article on the recent developments of the "Aerostation" from the Great Prize of the Aéro-Club de France, with its first dirigibles contest in 1903, by its fourth edition in 1906, seven countries had participated. To Lemeunier,

il semble qu'une heureuse rivalité se soit élevée entre les nations pour la conquête de l'air. L'Allemagne, l'Espagne, l'Angleterre, l'Amerique se préoccupent fiévreusement de la question. Toutes ces nations ont leurs aéronautes et leurs aérostats, toutes également ont étudié différents modèles de dirigeables.

[It appears that a happy rivalry has arisen between nations for the conquest of the air. Germany, Spain, England, the United States are feverishly worried about the question. All these nations have their aeronauts and their aerostats, all have equally studied different models of dirigibles".] (p. 638)

In the same sequence, the 11st November 1906 edition of *Le Sport Universel Illustré*, also under G. Lemeunier's name, there is an analysis of the arrival of relevant institutional and financial support to aviation as a sport.

The third article, which appears in the 23rd November 1906 edition, follows in theme and title the new development of aviation as a sport after the impact caused by 14 Bis and by Santos-Dumont's declarations regarding replacing dirigibles with airplanes (p. 702). Lemeunier, in this case, writes about his interviews with various French sport aviators, concluding that the general atmosphere was one of creativity and adherence to innovations (p. 703). This optimism explains the continuation of the theme, which



concludes with an article by Lemeunier entitled "Dirigibles and Airplanes", published on 30th December 1906 in *Le Sport Universel Illustré*. Several experiments with aeroplanes in various locations around France are introduced, anticipating a greater contest in technology, suggesting that the field of Bagatelle in Paris, occupied first by Santos-Dumont's dirigibles, would become an aerodrome. Lemeunier declares:

Si l'aerostation ne chôme pas, l'aviation est loin d'être inactive.

[If the aerostation is not active, aviation is far from being inactive.] (p. 799)

Santos-Dumont, in this context, stayed faithful to his principles, gradually abandoning the industrial competition, but concentrating on the concept of an airplane model for sport competitions.

In brief, from what has been reviewed here, the specialist magazines writing about the role played by Santos-Dumont in terms of aviation as a sport, can finally be encapsulated by citing another French publication, the newspaper *Le Miroir des Sports*, founded in 1920. This newspaper led the sports press in France until 1944, following standards of journalism closer to reality and the present time. The chosen excerpt is a reproduction of the edition of 19th November, 1924 (p. 370), which featured the article "Il y a Dix-huit Ans l'Audacieux Aviateur Santos-Dumont, à Bagatelle, Volait sur une Distance de 220 Mètres et Tenait l'Air 21 Seconds" ("Eighteen years ago, at Bagatelle, the daring

aviator Santos–Dumont flew a distance of 220 metres in the air for 21 seconds”).

It thus sums up career of the Brazilian aeronaut and inventor in France, two decades apart from his most relevant achievement:

Santos–Dumont, qui est un précurseur et qui doit aux romans de Jules Verne sa carrière de conquérant de l'air, n'est pas, on le voit, un visionnaire indifférent aux jeux athlétiques de notre époque. Il vit avec son temps, mais il dédaigne les honneurs et la tribune officielle; il goûte le sport pour le sport.

[Santos–Dumont, who is a pioneer and owes to Jules Verne's novels his career of conquest of the air is not, as we see him, a visionary indifferent to the athletic games of our times. He moves with the times, but he looks down on honours and official recognition; he enjoys the sport for the sport.]

Santos–Dumont: the Olympic hero of sport aviation

Certainly, the “enjoyment of the sport for the sport” today appears to be a synthesis of Santos–Dumont's reconstructed memory. On the other hand, Santos–Dumont himself admitted the influence of Jules Verne in his 1918 autobiography, when he declared that he had read the adventures with flying machines narrated by the famous French writer, whose collection of novels he had already read before he was 10 years old³⁰. Later on, when he was 18, Santos–Dumont, in his first trip to Europe in the 1890s, competed in bicycle, automobile and hot air balloon races, and climbed Mont Blanc. These achievements were forever imprinted in Santos–Dumont's memory (Wykeham, 1962)³¹.

Significantly, during adulthood, Santos–Dumont was recognised more clearly as a sportsman, as can be observed from the documents collected by Aluizio Napoleao in 1988. For example, the 11 November 1901 edition of the *Times* of London, reports a banquet offered by the Aero Club of England in honour of the Brazilian inventor, the practitioner of the “sport of ballooning”³². Years later, in November 1915, the magazine *Flying* (published in the United States) reports the achievements of the pioneer of aviation, introducing him as “Alberto Santos Dumont, the Brazilian Sportsman ... who took up cycling, automobiling and aeronautics when they were in their embryonic state”³³.

In turn, the relationship between cycling, motor racing, and aeronautics in Santos–Dumont's sporting career, was interpreted by Godin da Fonseca. Crossing sources, this author concluded that Santos–Dumont found inspiration for the construction of his first hot air balloon in 1897 while following the Paris–Amsterdam car race on the tricycle he rode in his everyday outings and also on long routes³⁴.

However, Godin explains, “To be a sportsman at that time did not mean to do gymnastics or play this or that sport: it meant to be chic, to be a member of a club ...” (19), and he adds the following, based on interviews of Santos–Dumont to the French press: “He did not consider himself as a technician of aerostation, but as a sportsman of aerostation”³⁵. The expression “sportsman”, taking into consideration the Olympic ideal, was the attitude of fair play in competitions, according to the English tradition that was extended to the European continent. For this reason, Coubertin added to the expression a sense of spirit, of ethics and of example within the Olympic model³⁶. Therefore, the award of the Olympic Diploma to Santos–Dumont by the IOC was more in recognition than reward.

Reinforcing the amateur cult of sports and the spirit of fair play of the Brazilian inventor, we can cite instances of his value–led actions. In this, it is relevant to mention Santos–Dumont's declarations to the press in the United States soon after his meeting with Thomas Edison when they discussed the problem of patents impeding the development of aviation in that country: “I have never tried to patent my airships and I do not intend to do so. I will allot the money I get from the prizes I get to future experiments in aeronautics” (Hoffman, p. 174).

At this historic meeting, Edison asked Santos–Dumont to create the first aeronautics club in the United States. He declared himself in favour of community participation in the way suggested by the Brazilian pioneer in Paris (Hoffman, p. 177). On the same occasion, Santos–Dumont declared, “I am an amateur”, to explain his refusal to give commercial demonstrations at the Saint Louis Exposition, adding that “to do exhibitions according to the proposed conditions would demand professionalism” (Hoffman, p. 178).

This “Olympic” spirit of sportsman Santos–Dumont was meaningfully evidenced when he relinquished the rights of the sports competition aircraft “Demoiselle”,

“Demoiselle” was the name given to the invention by Santos–Dumont which had the greatest impact: the world's first aircraft specialized in aeronautic competitions. The first “Demoiselle” was built in 1909.

Photo: CEME, São Paulo



starting in 1909 as reported earlier in this essay. The international success of this pioneer airplane was due not only to the merits of innovation but also to the delivery of the drawings and rights to pilots and sports clubs at no cost whatsoever and under cooperation. This procedure gave initial support to aviation as a sport, turning “Demoiselle” into a symbol of historical value (Hoffman, p. 249 and p. 314 upon citation from Lins de Barros).

Alberto Santos-Dumont in front of his memorial in Saint Cloud, France. Post-card with a dedication in his own hand from 1922.

Photo: CEME, São Paulo



In short, the “Olympic” Santos–Dumont as a public figure actually existed, a man who espoused fair play, gentlemanly behaviour, and had a straightforward and continuous association with sports clubs and a devotion to the practice of sports. These manifestations continued even after he returned to Brazil before First World War, where, until his death in 1932, he devoted himself to various sports clubs, especially Fluminense Football Club in Rio de Janeiro and the Tennis Club of Petropolis (today, Petropolitano Foot–Ball Club), his last residence in his home country.

In 1920, Santos–Dumont made his most ethical stance yet, when he started an international campaign against the use of aircraft in wars, according with the Olympic value of Peace as propounded by Pierre de Coubertin in

his personal and professional guise. On this occasion, Santos–Dumont discovered the limitations of his sports philanthropy and of his popularity when found no echo for his ideals (Hoffman p. 274). He may have been portrayed by his supporters on a wall of the restaurant Maxim’s of Paris, but it was not enough to overcome the warlike realpolitik of international relations in Europe, already fragmented by First World War (Hoffman, pp. 64–65 with reference to Maxim’s).

Santos–Dumont’s ambitions were frustrated and his reputation declined with the suggestion that as an inventor or as a sportsman he was a myth. This interpretation is shared by the French historian Pierre Paquier who, in 1952, had labeled Santos–Dumont’s accomplishments as no more than an adoring public’s imagination. A piece of evidence then consisted in the observation of the first generation of aviation pioneers who had remained active until the 1930s. “Victoire égale volonté” (“the victory comes from the will”) says this author as he describes the evolution of aeronautic competitions of the first decades of the 20th century³⁷.

In addition, Paquier emphasises the shift in perception of the aviation pioneers in Europe and in the United States: while the former aimed at creation–competition, the latter focused on invention–performance.³⁸ That is why, in 1914, the American magazine *Flying* also characterised the evolution of aviation, placing the sports sense in first place and the transportation objective secondary: “Aviation as a sport then transportation”³⁹. Although pragmatic, this very source recognised the mythic posture of Santos–Dumont, placing him within the tradition of “Verne’s heroes”.⁴⁰

Nevertheless in Brazil, the tradition of the sporting–legend–folk–hero was already in existence in 1903, when the “father of flight” visited Rio de Janeiro for the first time after winning the Deutsch de la Meurthe prize. In order to welcome the emergent Brazilian hero, a group of mountain climbers ascended the Sugar Loaf, a monumental rock located at the entrance of Guanabara Bay and a symbol of the city and at the time, capital of the country, fixing on the side facing the sea an enormous banner saluting Santos–Dumont on his return from Europe⁴¹. Significantly, in 1973, in the centennial of his birth, the Santos–Dumont myth survived internationally when a lunar crater was named in his honour by the International Astronomical Union⁴².

But the myth persisted in Brazil in 1936 in a very special manner, when four years after the Brazilian aeronautical engineer’s death, the Vargas administration passed Law No. 218 of 4th July 1936, creating the “Aviator Day”:

para que esta comemoração tenha sempre condigna celebração cívica, esportiva e cultural, esta especialmente escolar, e acentuando-se a iniciativa do notável brasileiro Santos–Dumont.

[so that this special date always should be a civic, sporting and cultural celebration, especially in schools, to recognise the initiative of this remarkable Brazilian, Santos-Dumont.]⁴³

Conclusions

This memento of the aviator folk hero for his celebration in the sports world has been neglected not only by the Brazilian sports institutions but also by today's sports historians, as it has happened with other relevant facts related to the Olympic Movement in Brazil⁴⁴. This "oblivion" from Olympic history viewpoint and from broader perspectives would also include the meanings of the Olympic Diploma, a theme which has been little studied, but which also reveals Pierre de Coubertin's perception in relation to the sportsman's ideal profile during the phase of restoration of the Olympic Games, "not only for his athletic qualities but for his attitudes in sports competitions and his life in society", as it has been here previously quoted from the Olympic Games reinventor.

Pierre de Coubertin and Alberto Santos-Dumont had a lot in common⁴⁵, which addresses the typical competitiveness of in the *Belle Époque* of sport. This period between the late 19th to the early 20th century represented the climax of innovation by both Pierre de Coubertin and Santos-Dumont. The Olympic Diploma thus takes on a new meaning in the deep bond between them in modern sport's journeys, despite their different roles in Olympic history, as usually depicted today. ■

- 1 Coubertin, P. Une Campagne de Vingt-et-un Ans (1887 – 1908), Paris 1909, pp. 162 – 171. In Müller, N. et Schantz, O., Pierre de Coubertin-Texts Choisis, Weidmann, Zurich, 1986, tome II, p. 209–210. See also Revue Olympique, février, 1906, no. 2, pp. 19–20.
- 2 IOC. The International Olympic Committee and the Modern Olympic Games. Imprimerie de la Plaine du Rhone 8. a., Aigle, 1950, p.15.
- 3 DaCosta, L. Atlas of Sport in Brazil, Shape, Rio de Janeiro, 2005, p. 868. For further information on Brazilian aviators during the Belle Époque see Sevchenko, N., Orfeu Extático na Metrópole, Companhia das Letras, Sao Paulo, 1992, pp. 23–88.
- 4 Ibidem, p. 869. See also Sarment, T. *Histoire de Paris: Politique, urbanisme, civilisation*. Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, Paris, 2012.
- 5 Noel, F. L. & Lima, P.S. *Uma Casa Muito Encantada – A Invencao Arquitectonica de Santos-Dumont*, Escrita Fina, Petrópolis, 2010, p. 79–89; for the participation of Santos-Dumont in the UK National Championship of Golf 1915, see Anderson, J.G. *Many Eminent Men Players of Golf*. Sporting Life, London, Nov. 13, 1915.
- 6 <http://www.fai.org/about-fai/history>
- 7 <http://historiahoje.com/santos-dumont-moda-e-aviao>. For background acknowledgement in this issue see Visconti, R.M., Os Baloes de Santos-Dumont. Capivara Editora, Sao Paulo, 2010, pp. 13–83.
- 8 DaCosta, L. Santos-Dumont: O Primeiro Herói Olímpico do Esporte Brasileiro. IV Encontro Nacional de História do Esporte, Lazer e Educaçao Física, UFMG, 22–26 outubro de 1996. Coletânea, Belo Horizonte, 1996, p. 229–233; Hoffman, P. Wings of Madness – Alberto Santos-Dumont and the Invention of Flight. Hyperion, New York, 2002, pp. 97–138 (pages for the Brazilian edition of the book, Editora Objetiva, Rio de Janeiro, 2003).

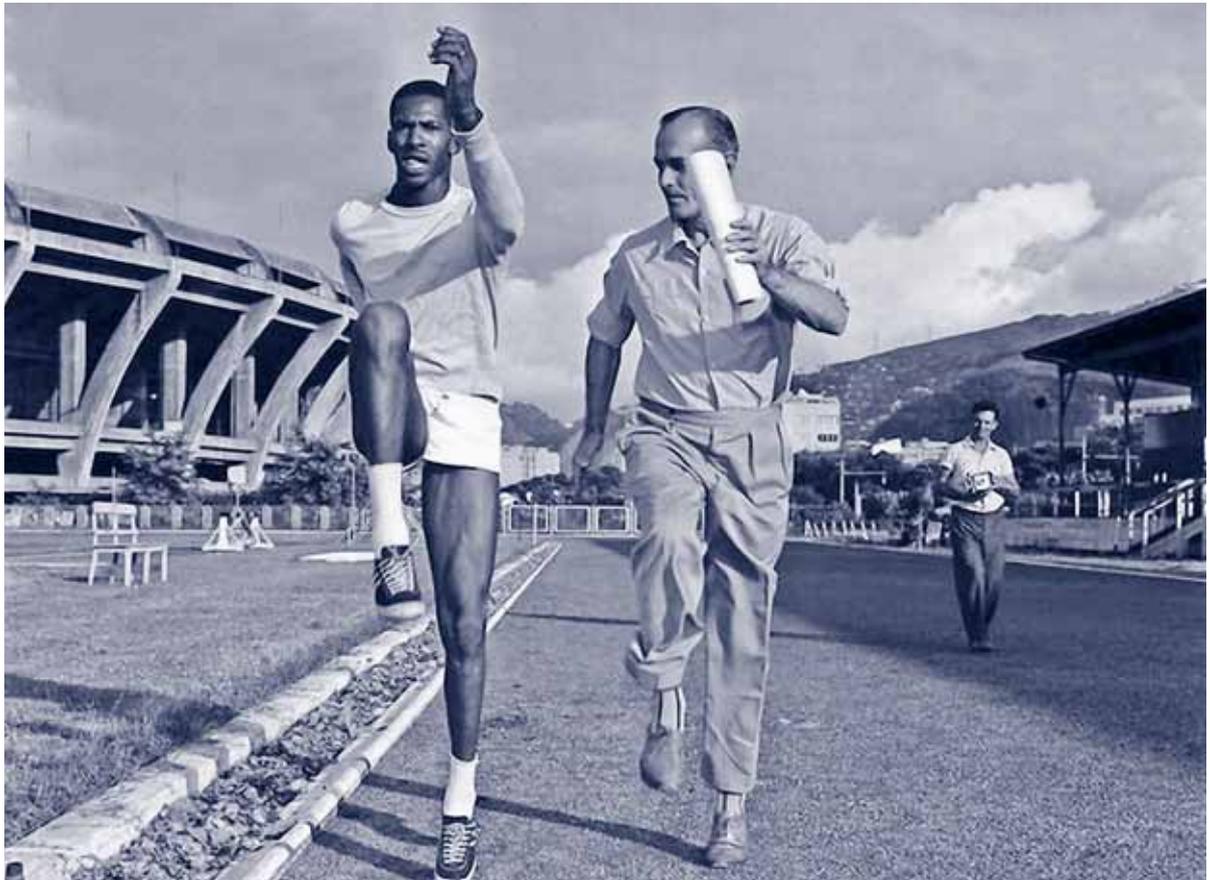
- 9 Lins de Barros, H.; *Santos-Dumont and the Invention of Airplane*, Ministério da Ciencia e Tecnologia, Brasília, 2006. For Cartier wrist-watch see <http://www.chrono24.com/en/cartier/santos-dumont>.
- 10 Neto-Wacker, M. & Wacker, C. Brazil Goes Olympic. Agon Sportverlag, Kassel, 2010, p. 81.
- 11 Hoffman, p. 274.
- 12 See Napoleao, A.; *Santos-Dumont e a Conquista do Ar*. Instituto Histórico e Cultural da Aeronáutica – Editora Itatiaia, Rio de Janeiro, 1988, p. 174; page 98 in the 1918 autobiography "O que Eu Vi, o que nos Veremos".
- 13 Op. Cit. DaCosta, 1996; DaCosta, 2005 and Neto-Wacker&Wacker, 2010.
- 14 Hoffman, pp. 229–252.
- 15 Fonseca, G.; *Santos-Dumont*. Editora Vecchi, Rio de Janeiro, 1940. p. 306–324.
- 16 Op. Cit. Muller & Schantz, 1986.
- 17 Ibidem, p. 318–321, tome III; pages of original source: pp. 293–298.
- 18 Ibidem, p. 325–327, tome III; original source: Revue Olympic, Octobre, 1906, pp. 151–154.
- 19 See data set by Alexandre Brigole, *Santos-Dumont – The Air Pioneer*, Aero Clube do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1943, pp. 86–87.
- 20 Ibidem, pp. 88–89.
- 21 Cabrero dos Reis, A.; Santos-Dumont – Os seus Avioes e a Primazia do Voo do Mais Pesados que o Ar. in: *Revista do Instituto de Geografia e História Militar do Brasil*, Vol. LIV, 1974, pp. 71–90.
- 22 Ibidem, p. 88.
- 23 Lavenere Wanderley, N.F.; Santos-Dumont e a sua Glória, in: *Revista do Instituto de Geografia e História Militar do Brasil*, vol. LIV, 1974, pp. 125–166.
- 24 Ibidem, p. 159.
- 25 Hoffman, pp. 174–176.
- 26 Ibidem, pp. 139–187.
- 27 Ibidem, pp. 171–187.
- 28 In the edition of May 28, 1899, pp. 439–440.
- 29 Similar approaches are found in the magazine *Le Sport Universel Illustré* of 27 July, 1901, in an article by the aeronautic sports news analyst Frantz Reichel, wherein he describes the performances of dirigible No. 5, constructed in Santos-Dumont's hangar. In this case, the praise is more emphatic, considering that the Brazilian was searching for perfection, but justifiable (p. 483). At the end of the article, Reichel declares: "Pour les débuts, le XIX^e siècle sera um siècle heureux. Il aura donné à l'homme la direction des ballons; Jules Verne et Robida auront été de bons prophètes" (p. 485). ("From the start, the 20th century will be a happy century. It has given mankind the direction of balloons; Jules Verne and Robida have been good prophets").
- 30 *Santos-Dumont's autobiography*, Op. Cit. p. 4.
- 31 Wykeham, P.: *Santos-Dumont – o Retrato de uma Obsessao*. Civilizacao Brasileira Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1962, p. 9.
- 32 Napoleao, A. Op.cit., p. 491.
- 33 Ibidem, p. 731.
- 34 Fonseca, G. Op cit. p. 50.
- 35 Ibidem, p. 70.
- 36 Pierre de Coubertin. *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Editions Internationales Olympiques, Lausanne, 1970.
- 37 See comparative data elaborated by Hoffman, p. 326 and interpretations from Santos-Dumont in his autobiography about the design of "Demoiselle" as an airplane "for amateurs", Cf. "O Que Eu Vi, o Que Nos Veremos", (1918 edition). Universidade do Amazonas – DEAD, 2015, pp. 15–19.
- 38 Paquier, P.; *Santos-Dumont Maître d'Action*. Editions Conquistador, Paris, 1952, p. 72s.
- 39 Ibidem, p. 734.
- 40 Ibidem, pp. 732–734.
- 41 See Lavanere Wanderley, Op. Cit. p. 160.
- 42 <http://www.vaztolentino.com.br/conteudo/533-Cratera-brasileira-SANTOS-DUMONT>
- 43 The full text of Law 218 is found in Napoleao, A., Op. cit. pp. 264–265.
- 44 For comparisons see the overview of the Brazilian Olympic History that has been elaborated by Neto-Wacker, M.F. & Wacker, C. Rio de Janeiro Goes Olympic, in: *Journal of Olympic History* vol. 17, Dec. 2009, pp. 6–20.
- 45 The relationship chart was constructed by means of consult to the previous sources referred in this essay in addition to MacAloon, J. J. *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981.

Adhemar da Silva and the “little uncle”

By Volker Kluge

Teacher and pupil:
Dietrich Gerner and
Adhemar Ferreira da
Silva, who called his
coach “little uncle”.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



Brazilians have won 23 gold, 30 silver and 55 bronze medals in the Olympic Games before Rio. The first under their national flag was achieved by pistol shooter Guilherme Paraense at the 1920 Antwerp Games, but they had to wait 32 years until the next, won by 24-year-old triple jumper Adhemar Ferreira da Silva. After his success in Helsinki, his second gold medal followed in Melbourne. More than half a century later, only sailors Torben Grael and Roberto Scheidt had emulated this achievement.

Da Silva embodied Olympic sport in Brazil like no other. In 1982 I met him in Athens, as the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) celebrated its 70th anniversary on the fringes of the European Championships. Da Silva had been invited along with eleven other celebrities and greeted me in German: “Guten Tag, wie geht es Ihnen?” And thus we were on the subject.

It was no chance matter that da Silva could express himself very well in German for he spoke seven languages. It was in May 1946 when this young black man, then 18, appeared with a friend at the evening training session of the athletes of FC São Paulo. He explained to coach Dietrich Gerner, a German, that he played football for a club on the outskirts edge of town, but both his parents, father a railway worker, his mother an assistant housekeeper, had demanded that he should look for a “better sport”.

Gerner liked the look of this slight young man, although he could not recognise any particular sporting abilities in him. He was poor at the 100 metres, and had no talent for middle or long distances. In the high jump he had trouble clearing 1.50 metres, and showed no interest in long jump, in which he reached 5.20 metres.

The young Adhemar came into contact with the triple jump or Hop, Step and Jump quite by chance in 1947.

He liked the technique. In his first competition, which took him in 1947 straight away to Mexico City, he jumped 13.05 m. In the second – on 1st June – he got to 13.56 m – a Brazilian record for beginners. That was the start of a great career. It also began a friendship with a coach who became a second father to him. From then on Adhemar called Gerner “titio” – “little uncle”.

Colonists and the great coffee crisis

Dietrich Gerner had been born in 1902, grew up in Pomerania, and was once one of Germany’s best athletes. In 1923 he took a course as a sports teacher at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen in Berlin. From 1926 he studied at the Higher Trade School in Stettin (today the Polish Szczecin) with the aim of becoming a merchant.

In Stettin he joined the well-known Preussen sports club, whose most prominent member was world record holder Dr. Otto Peltzer. On 27th July 1927, Gerner was runner-up to Pelzer over 400 m hurdles in the German Championships. His time of 55.1 seconds, put him ninth in the the world rankings .

In particular he was encouraged by Sepp Christmann, the founder of modern hammer-throwing. Gerner was a good enough standard to take part in the Olympic Games. But he finished fourth in the 1928 German Championships and so narrowly missed Olympic qualification.

By this time, he had resolved to emigrate to Brazil. He had been persuaded to do so by Max Engelhardt, the President of “Germania” the German sports club in São Paulo. During the Second World War the club changed its name to EC Pinheiros in deference to the allies.

In February 1929 Gerner arrived in São Paulo, to embark on a career in the export timber trade. However at that time the Brazilian economy was flatlining. The dramatic fall in coffee prices had led to a state crisis, which had an effect on the Olympic Games. In 1928 there had been no Brazilian team in Amsterdam.

And so new colonists were welcome to get the economy moving again. As far as sport was concerned, Gerner was not the only German immigrant. In autumn 1930 he was followed by the long jumper Rudolf Dobermann. He had been English champion in 1927 and had set a new European record with 7.645 m the following year. While Dobermann started a job as coach with the Brazilian Athletics Confederation, Gerner continued his career as an active athlete. At the end of October 1931 he set a South American decathlon record points total of 7309.370 at a meeting in São Paulo, but he was now offered the chance of a job as a sports teacher. So he said farewell to amateur sport and thus abandoned hopes of competing in the Games in Los Angeles.

Football star Leônidas cleared the way

In 1941, after a year’s study, Gerner passed his diploma as a teacher in athletics and tennis. He began his coaching career with the exclusive Club Atletico Paulistano in close proximity to the Jardim América. But in 1944 he switched to the rich São Paulo Futebol Clube (SPFC). Two years earlier they were able to sign football star Leônidas da Silva on an eight year deal from Flamengo in Rio de Janeiro. It had been the biggest transfer deal to date.

Nicknamed “Diamante negro” Leônidas had scored no fewer than seven goals at the 1938 World Cup in France, occasionally playing barefoot. He injured himself in the replay against Czechoslovakia, so that he missed the semi-final against World Cup holders Italy. Brazil lost 1-2. He was not available until the game for third place against Sweden, in which Brazil won a 4-2 success.

The 1938 World Cup matches were transmitted over loudspeakers in cities such as São Paulo. Football had finally become the sport of the masses in Brazil. But it also represented a social force. For players like Leônidas it was a counter to often deep-seated racial prejudices which argued that black athletes were less able to perform. Boxer Joe Louis and runner Jesse Owens had a similar impact in the USA. This prepared the ground on which talents like Adhemar da Silva could flourish.

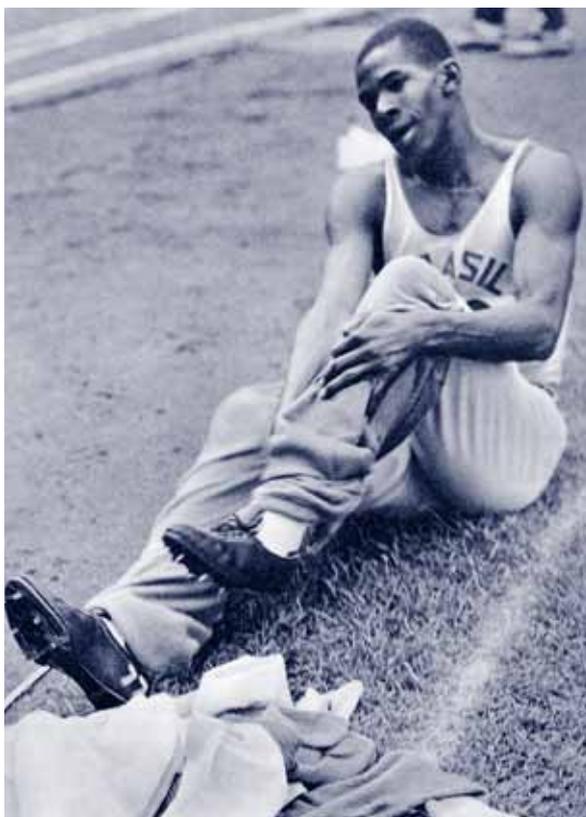
In the shadow of the SPFC, whose supporters were called “São Paulinos”, athletics started to flourish. The club, in which Gerner initially looked after the runners, had produced since 1945 numerous Brazilian champions, among them Sebastião Alves Monteiro who won the prestigious Saint Silvester Road Race in São Paulo in 1945 and 1946.



The SC Preussen Stettin relay squad which set a new German 3 x 1000 metres record in 1927: (from left) Dr. Otto Peltzer, Willi Boltze and Dietrich Gerner.

Darling of the public at the 1952 Olympic Games: Adhemar da Silva. The Brazilian improved his own triple jump world record to 16.12 m and then again to 16.22 m. to make sure of victory.

Photo: Official Report Helsinki 1952



Triple jump – a “Brazilian” event

Before the Second World War, Brazil had no world class athletes except Sylvio Padilha, who had been fifth in 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin over 400 m hurdles and who was a member of the IOC from 1964 to 1995. The beginning of a tradition was hinted at, when in 1937 João Redher Neto – actually a decathlete – became South American champion in triple jump and was followed four years later by Carlos Pinto, who also set a South American record with 15.10 m.

Triple jump from then on became a Brazilian domain. After Pinto came Geraldo de Oliveira, who won the next two South American titles – in 1945 and 1947. The Brazilian Olympic Committee (COB) decided now to send three triple jumpers to the 1948 Olympic Games: besides de Oliveira, who it was hoped would win a medal in London, but he only placed fifth. Two athletes with similar names were also sent causing confusion which continues to this day. Twenty year old Adhemar da Silva finished eighth, and Hélio Coutinho da Silva, 25, was eleventh. At the South American Championships in 1949 in Lima the Brazilian trio occupied the entire podium.

Tough domestic competition inspired Adhemar da Silva, who made his definitive breakthrough on 3rd December 1950. With exactly 16.00 m in São Paulo he equalled the world record set by the Japanese Naoto Tajima when won Olympic gold in Berlin in 1936.

The following year da Silva improved his mark by a centimetre, but his namesake stayed on his heels.

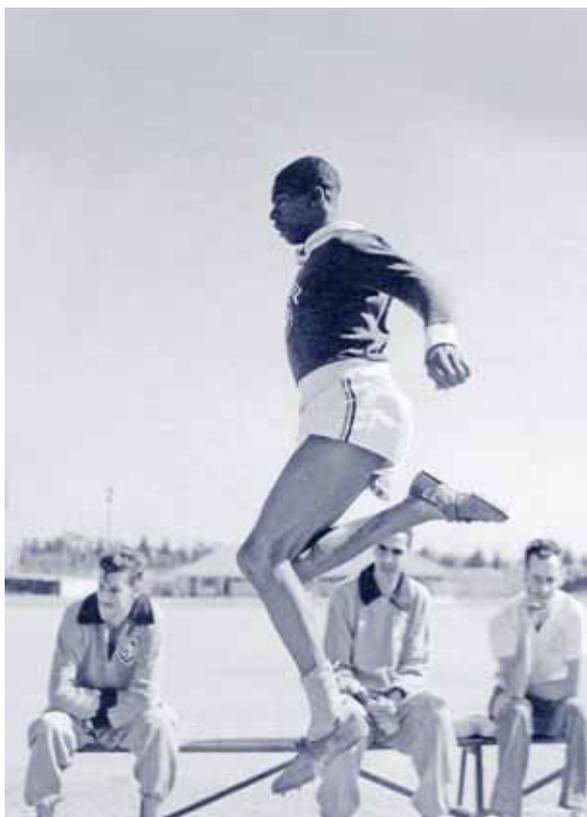
Hélio, who had been second at the first Pan-American Games behind Adhemar, leapt 15.99 m the third best performance of all time. Thus the world ranking list for 1951 was led by two Brazilians. Regrettably Hélio was injured during that competition and was forced to abandon the triple jump.

The charismatic Olympic champion of Helsinki

As the 1952 Helsinki Olympics approached, there no shortage of competition for the gold medal. The new rivals whom da Silva now had to face came from the Soviet Union, who entered the Olympic arena for the first time. The most likely prospect was Leonid Shcherbakov, the same age as da Silva, who in 1950 had set a European record and in the same year won the European Championship in Brussels.

Helsinki provided da Silva with a moment of glory. In the second round he improved his own world record with 16.12 m, and in the final to 16.22 m. Four of his attempts lay over 16 m, which Shcherbakov – an outright strength jumper – only narrowly failed to reach. Despite a European record of 15.98 m he had to be satisfied with silver. In third place was a further South American: Arnaldo Devonish from Venezuela. Like da Silva he had come from football to athletics, where he had adopted Gerner's training methods.

But it was not merely for his performances that da Silva was one of the most admired and popular athletes in Helsinki, which had a previous history. When in 1949



As a reward for his Olympic victory, Gerner went on a tour with his protégé in 1953. In Japan alone da Silva competed seven times, winning each time. Below: During this trip he met his predecessor Naoto Tajima, Japan's Olympic champion from 1936. The coach facilitated the conversation.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

the 10,000 m world record holder Viljo Heino came to São Paulo to take part in the Saint Silvester Race, the Finn was accompanied everywhere by two interpreters. Da Silva did not move from their side.

As a consequence, he soon picked up a little Finnish and made good use of this in 1952. At the arrivals hall of Helsinki Airport he greeted the Finns with "Terve!" – "Hello!" and he asked in Finnish "What is the weather like?" The fans loved his charisma, especially as he showed great patience and a willingness to sign autographs.

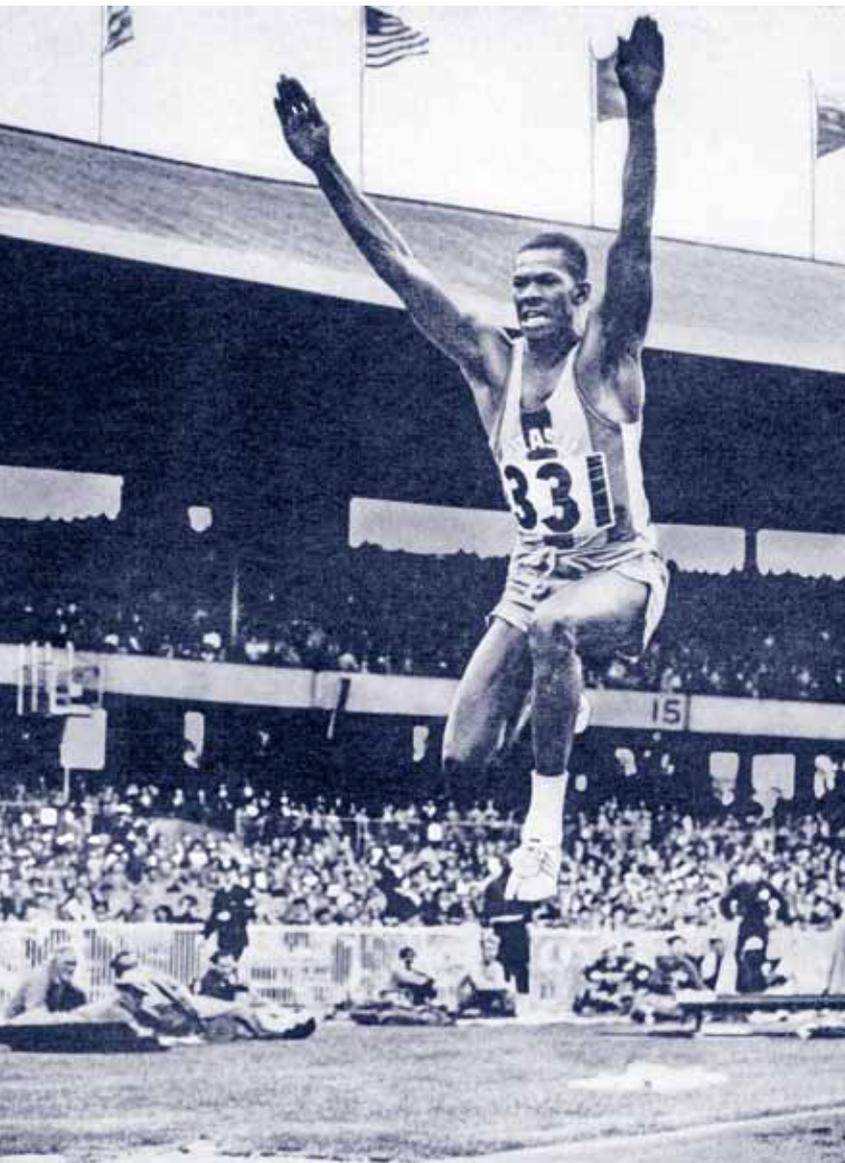
In 1953 on his European tour he returned to Helsinki, where he was rapturously received. As a reward for his Olympic victory, Gerner also undertook with him a journey to Japan, during which da Silva competed seven times and also met Naoto Tajima, the athlete who had preceded him as world record holder.

In August 1953, still a sports student took part in the international Student Sports Week held in Dortmund (This was a predecessor of the Universiade). He won easily with 15.92 m. Six days later, on 19th August 1953, the news came from Moscow that Shcherbakov had taken his world record albeit only by a centimetre. For Gerner, who thought long term, it was a signal that his protégé, who after Helsinki had celebrated a lot and trained little, would have to improve his technique to keep his position at the top of his event. He had long recognised the necessity, as da Silva's weak point was the "step" and that that was Shcherbakov's strong point.

What emerged was a tailor-made result: In 1954 da Silva leapt 16.22 m, exactly the distance he had achieved in Helsinki. The following year he competed in the Pan-American Games. The date was 16th March 1955 eight years almost to the day after his modest debut. He recorded 16.56 m on his final jump, improving Shcherbakov's world record by 33 centimetres.

As luck would have it, this performance was his 100th competition. Then he embarked on a 45 day tour competing in North America. On his return he found a congratulatory telegram from Moscow in São Paulo.





In Melbourne Adhemar da Silva won his second Olympic gold and improved the Olympic record to 16.35.

Below: the 1956 medallists (from left) Vitold Kreer (URS), da Silva and the Icelander Vilhjálmur Einarsson.

Photos: Official Report 1956

Despite all successes, coach and athlete still lived a very modest way. In 1954, Gerner, had received a fixed monthly payment of 8000 cruzeiros, but lost this the following year and was dependent on bonuses. He moved with da Silva to CR Vasco de Gama, a club that specialized in rowing.

Da Silva proved that he was still the “big boss” in 1956 at the Olympic Games in Melbourne, where despite a tooth infection which flared up three days before the start of his competition, he retained his Olympic title. His big rival proved not to be Shcherbatov, but an outsider: Vilhjálmur Einarsson of Iceland who had trained as a student at Dartmouth College in America. He now won his country’s first Olympic medal.

With 16.26 m he pushed another Russian, Vitold Kreer, into third place. Shcherbakov was only sixth. This order was repeated on 4th August 1957 at the III International Games in Moscow: 1. da Silva 15.92 m, 2. Einarsson 15.90 m, 3. Shcherbakov 15.70 m. Now the Brazilian had been unbeaten for seven years.

The campaign: “A house for Adhemar”

After his second Olympic victory a nation lay at his feet, as da Silva experienced the adulation hitherto the preserve of footballers in Brazil. The newspaper *Gazeta Esportivo* used that for a campaign with the title “A house for Adhemar”.

The Brazilians were urged to present da Silva with a house. It would be a campaign which rebounded on him. The strict rules on amateurism prevented the receipt of valuable gifts. In order to avoid disqualification as a professional, da Silva was forced to reject this tempting offer.

It was a different matter when French director Marcel Camus offered him a film role, for which da Silva was not appearing as an athlete. *Black Orpheus (Orfeu Negro)* was Camus’s second film. In it he transposed the ancient legend of Orpheus and Eurydice to the carnival time of modern Rio de Janeiro.

With the exception of the American Marpessa Dawn, who had the female lead and for whom the film represented a major career boost, Camus worked principally with amateur actors. For the role of Orpheus he had considered the attractive footballer Breno Mello, who came from a impoverished background and whom he had noticed in the streets of Rio.

In deciding in favour of da Silva, Camus certainly was influenced by the athlete’s popularity. This would also guarantee more publicity for the film. The role had something extra, for da Silva played a man costumed as “Death”, who follows Eurydice around. As in antiquity the story ended as a tragedy. This did not apply to the reception for the film. On the contrary: in 1959 it was awarded a “Palme d’Or” in Cannes. In 1960 it received the “Oscar” for best foreign film and a “Golden Globe”. The Bossa-Nova music with classics like *A Felicidade* the samba began their victorious procession.

A lawyer for the poorest

Adhemar da Silva was now over 30 and the father of two children. In the triple jump he was still capable of 16 metres, but the world record in 1960 was already more than a metre further. Shortly before the Olympic Games, Poland’s Józef Schmidt reached 17.03 m. As expected





In *Black Orpheus (Orfeu Negro)* da Silva played a man dressed as “Death” who pursues Eurydice. The film was awarded the “Palm d’Or” in Cannes in 1959. In 1960 it received the “Oscar” for the best foreign film and a “Golden Globe”.

he then secured the gold medal, while da Silva in his fourth Olympic Games was only fourteenth. It was not the sporting farewell he had envisaged.

After that he immersed himself in studies in four different directions: law, journalism, sports teaching and publicity work. He began his post athletic career of all as a coach, among other places in Nigeria, where he worked from 1964 to 1966. But after he had passed his examination as a lawyer in 1968, he opened his own practice “because I had grasped that Brazil is in more need of lawyers than coaches”.

Children and teenagers grew up in miserable conditions and for that reason, many often became criminals. This had a profound effect on him. At that 1982 meeting in Athens he reflected “I have a huge amount of work”.

As a role model for Brazil’s triple jumpers, his inspirational effect was clear. In 1968 in Mexico City Nelson Prudencio won Olympic silver, to be followed onto the podium by João Carlos de Oliveira who won bronze medals in 1976 and 1980.

Twenty years on from da Silva’s triumph, de Oliveira had brought the world record back to Brazil. Once again this was achieved in in Mexico, this time with a leap of 17.89 m. De Oliveira’s story had a tragic conclusion. At the end of 1981 he was the innocent victim of a car accident, as a result of which his right leg had to be amputated. He

died in 1999 of a double lung inflammation. In fact, da Silva survived him by two years. The Estádio do Morumbi, owned by the São Paulo Football Club is his memorial. The foundation stone was laid in the year when Adhemar da Silva won his first Olympic title. ■



In Rome in 1960 da Silva took part in his fourth Olympic Games. He carried the Brazilian flag at the opening ceremony, just as he had done four years before in Melbourne. In the 1990s a memorial to him was erected in the Estádio do Morumbi in São Paulo.

Photos: 100 Years Brazil Olympic Committee 1914–2014, Volker Kluge Archive; Gazetapress



Maria Lenk – the Profile of an Olympic Idol in Brazil*

By Ana Miragaya



In 1932, swimmer Maria Lenk (1915–2007) became the first South American female competitor to take part in the Olympics.

Photo: 100 Years Brazil Olympic Committee 1914–2014

Maria Emma Hulga Lenk, a Brazilian swimmer of German ancestry, born in São Paulo, has been considered one of the greatest Brazilian female athletes of all times. At the age of 17, she was the very first Brazilian and South American woman to ever participate in the Olympic Games: 1932 in Los Angeles (Miragaya & DaCosta, 2000).

Although very tired from her long trip aboard a very uncomfortable freighter, she managed to make the semifinals in the 200 metres breaststroke and also participated in the 100 metres freestyle and the

100 metres backstroke, remarkably at a time when there were no women in Brazil competing in swimming (Miragaya & DaCosta, 2002).

Maria Lenk became a role model and encouraged Brazilian women not only to start competing in sports and physical activities, but also to participate in competitions, especially in swimming contests (Miragaya & DaCosta, 1998; Miragaya & DaCosta, 2007). As a result, Maria Lenk became a source of inspiration for many girls who wanted to do sports at a time when women were still fighting for their inclusion (Miragaya, 2002).

Continuing with her hard training, Maria Lenk also participated in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, when she reached the semifinal of the 200 m breaststroke. Still in this edition of the Olympics, Maria Lenk, as a pioneer, became the first woman in the world to swim the butterfly stroke in an official competition. At that time, the butterfly stroke was only another style of the breaststroke and had not yet been recognised as an individual swimming stroke (Lenk, 1986).

As a result of her intensive training and development as an Olympic athlete, Maria Lenk was the first South American woman to set world records in the 200 metres and 400 metres breaststroke in 1939. She also broke records in South American Swimming Championships: 1935 gold (100 metres backstroke, 200 metres breaststroke) and one relay; nine American records: (200 yards, 220 yards, 440 yards, 500 yards, 200 metres, 400 metres and 500 metres breast) (Lenk, 1986).

Due to Second World War, Maria Lenk's aim to win an Olympic medal was not reached as both the 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games were cancelled during the time which would have corresponded to her peak in competitive swimming.

However, she never gave up swimming. After 1942, she decided to continue her training and compete in Masters events. Lenk had always been very active, participated in many international competitions and tournaments. Even into her 1990s, she still swam 1.5 km every day.

At the time of her death, she held five Master world records in breaststroke, age group 90–94: in long course: 50 m, 100 m, and 200 m; in short course 200 m and one world record category 85–89 breaststroke short course (US Masters Swimming, 2000).

Internationally recognised as a very active swimmer, in 1988, Maria Lenk was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame as an Honour Swimmer and also received the "Top Ten" award given to the best masters swimmers worldwide. Nationally, Maria Lenk received several honours. In 2004, she received the Adhemar Ferreira da Silva Trophy for lifetime achievement from the Brazilian Olympic Committee at the Prêmio Brasil Olímpico, an annual award given to the best athletes in each Olympic sport.

Today, the main Brazilian swimming tournament contested by teams in long courses, is the "Maria Lenk Trophy" (Troféu Maria Lenk), and the Rio 2016 "Maria Lenk Swimming Park" (Parque Aquático Maria Lenk), located in the City of Sports Complex, which will host the swimming events for the 2016 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games. These tributes give Maria Lenk a unique position as sports idol from the creation of a public image of a true sports and Olympic heroine of Brazil.

She died at 92 while she was training for another competition in a swimming pool of Clube de Regatas do Flamengo (Flamengo Racing Club), an institution she represented during great part of her athletic life.

Parallel to her life as an athlete, Maria Lenk graduated in physical education in the Universidade de Sao Paulo (Sao Paulo University - USP) in 1936 (Lenk, 1986). A few years later, she started teaching at the School of Physical Education of the Federal University in Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), which she helped found in 1939, after she gave up her career as a professional swimmer. She retired from UFRJ in the early 2000s.

With her long and successful career as an athlete, Maria Lenk published two very important books for Brazilian sport: *Braçadas e Abraços (Strokes and Embraces, 1982)* and *Longevidade e Esporte (Longevity and Sports, 2003)*, which report her history, her development, her strategies for an active and productive life as an Olympic athlete, as an educator and as a woman athlete pioneer.

Maria Lenk in her own words at IOA

As a former Olympic athlete and as a physical education teacher, Maria Lenk actively promoted Olympic values. As a result, she was invited to participate in the 1980 Session of the International Olympic Academy (IOA) in Olympia, Greece, when she interpreted some of her athletic achievements, describing Olympic values developed and followed at that time. Her short speech had a personal touch presenting a title which is all-encompassing of the profile of an idol: "What I felt participating in the Olympic Games". In that occasion, her words were the following (Lenk, 1981):

"It is a great honour for me to speak to such a selected audience. Among you are the greatest experts on the subject Olympism. Even knowing, all I am expected to say is about what I felt in participating in the Olympic Games.

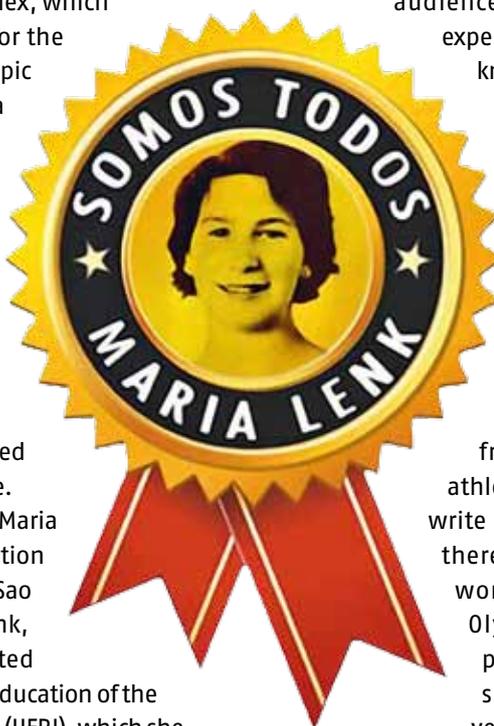
"It has been many years and only the very special occurrences were impressed into my mind to come back as memories now.

"It was 1932 - the Xth Olympic Games of Los Angeles. We arrived on a Brazilian freighter carrying 'coffee and athletes', as the newspapers would write about. Between those athletes there was the first South American woman ever to take part in the Olympic Games, and that was precisely the person who is speaking to you now, so many years later. It was then that the Olympic Flame was lit in my heart.

"These were the Games where you could have seen Johnny Weissmuller, Buster Crabbe (both famous later on for their movies as Tarzans). There was the mighty American swimming team with Helen Madison, Eleanor Holm, Georgia Colman, Dorothy Poynton - and there was the all-around champ Babe Didrikson. All of them became friends of that lonely young swimmer almost lost in the immensity of these strange surroundings. This is my first practical lesson of Olympism. There were other occurrences which proved that not only the athletes were possessed of that spirit but more than all the wonderful public, then mostly American. They knew by heart, through their ancestors and by tradition what it meant: fair-play, respect of the opposition and hospitality. And they had an opportunity to show it when their greatest hope for a gold medal in 5000 metres. Hill was blocked from passing his opponent, losing his chance.

"We are all Maria Lenk" says the message of a campaign to preserve the memory of Brazil's model athlete. She left an archive of 10,000 documents detailing her achievements in sport and promotion of Olympic values.

Illustration: Campanha#seguimosmarialenk



Ana Miragaya | *1954. She holds a Master's Degree in linguistics, and a Master's and Ph.D. in Physical Education. She does research on Olympic Studies and women athletes. As a recipient of an IOC Ph.D. grant research in Lausanne, she had the opportunity to consult invaluable sources. Currently she works at Universidade Estácio de Sá Petrópolis as a professor of the School of Physical Education.

During the 1932 Olympic Games, Los Angeles newspapers nicknamed Maria Lenk "the lone girl" as she was the only woman among the 66 athletes of the Brazilian team.

Photo: e-Museu Maria Lenk

"80.000 persons started to 'boo' but it needed nothing but the speaker to say: 'Ladies and gentlemen please remember that those people are our guests' for a complete acceptance of the fact and even applause when the winner Lehtinen offered Hill to step on the victory pedestal with him. This very same public applauded the Brazilian runner Cardoso, who at the 10,000 m, still had one lap to run after all the opponents had finished, doing so despite his wounded feet (he ran barefoot) on the rough coal ash track.

"In 1936, the XIth Olympic Games in Berlin again patriotism and Olympism were combined in a noble way – at least it seemed so to me. I do not want to finish this, little talk to you without presenting a thought which came up while looking at the problems of Olympism or Olympic Games as presented here. Then I look back to what was one of the worries presented by Coubertin. At the opening ceremony as the French team entered the stadium, saluting with the elevated arms, there was also the dramatic drop of the baton by the last



Swimmer, Water Polo player, Football patriarch



The venue for the Olympic athletics competitions of Rio de Janeiro, which begin on 12th August 2016, is the Estádio Olímpico, which bears the name of João Havelange. He became known worldwide as President of the International Association Football Federation (FIFA), which he led from 1974 until 1998. Under his presidency and in association with Adidas boss Horst Dassler, he began the big-style marketing of football.

In 1963 Havelange became a member of the IOC. He remained a full member and eventually doyen until he resigned in 2011. In doing so he pre-empted investigation of the Ethics

Commission which was to scrutinise the financial machinations of FIFA's Executive. There were no songs of praise sung in the media for Havelange's 100th birthday, which he celebrated on 8th May.

He began his sporting career as a football player in his native city of Rio de Janeiro, which was obvious.

His father, Faustin Havelange (1880–1934), had been one of the founders of the F.C. Standard in Liège, Belgium, where he was born and where he had been trained as a mining engineer at the local university.

As his second son became tall and athletic, he recommended swimming to him. Aged 20, João competed in 1936 at the Olympic Games in Berlin, where he was last in his heats over 400 m and 1500 m. (Photo top: in the Olympic Village)

Sixteen years later and now qualified as a lawyer, he took part in the 1952 Olympic Games in Brazil's water polo team. In 1951, they had won silver at the inaugural Pan-American Games in Buenos Aires but were eliminated in the first round at the Olympics.

Havelange was more successful as a sports official. After he had become President of the water polo section of the Clube de Regatas Botafoga in 1937, he led the Federação Metropolitana de Natação from 1952. In 1955 he became Vice-President of the Confederação Brasileira de Desportos (CBD). At the 1956 Games in Melbourne he led the Brazilian team.

Volker Kluge



German girl in the 400 m relay. All her opponents went to console her as if it happened to themselves.

"Another occurrence happened to Nida Senff, the Dutch backstroke world record holder. In the finals she failed to touch the wall; her reaction of fair-play was to return to the wall, attend the rules and only then go on. She did it with so much vigor that it resulted not only in her victory but in a new Olympic record, which earned her the applause of everybody.

"This Olympic Games gave all of the participants an opportunity to meet each other, not only at the Olympic Village but at the special reserved sections.

"Another event (regardless in which sport they would compete) and where one could get to know the other in great emotional moments as their compatriots where down at the arena, doing their best. All I can confirm about those remote Olympic Games: there was fair-play, mutual understanding, mutual respect, comradeship, friendship besides peaceful patriotism – in short, THERE WAS OLYMPISM."

Maria Lenk according to her followers

The result of Maria Lenk's so many national and international values-led achievements produced a campaign with the participation of many volunteers to preserve her memory once she still lives in the Brazilian culture by her Olympic participation and promotion of Olympic values. The objective of this call was to preserve more than 10 thousand documents from Maria Lenk's remains and collections. These pieces of memory have been kept by past associates and followers after she passed away and are now being adequately treated under professional guidance.

The preservation of Maria Lenk's memory has received full adherence from the part of the public in Brazil. This might be simply explained by the fact that she is the very first Brazilian Olympic heroine. The meaning of this effort is directly related to the consolidation of the values that she had always followed and treasured as depicted by her talk at the International Olympic Academy at the beginning of the 1980s.

Again the demonstration of this public appeal seems to lie on the simplicity of the heroine's rationale. This presupposition becomes clear in the letter she wrote to the Olympic historian John Lucas in 1990: "I swam well in the 1932 Olympics, but failed to win a medal. For nearly 60 years I've been uplifted and strengthened by that peak experience". (Lucas, 1992) ■

References

Lenk, Maria. *What I felt in participating in the Olympic Games*. Report of the Twentieth Session of the International Olympic Academy at Olympia. Athens: Hellenic Olympic Committee, 1981 pp. 186-187.
Lenk, Maria. *Braçadas e Abraços*. Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Bradesco, 1986.



Lenk, Maria. *Longevidade e Esporte*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Didática e Científica, 2003.

Lucas, John. *Future of the Olympic Games*. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1992.

Miragaya, A. *The female Olympian: tradition versus innovation in the quest for inclusion*. In: Lamartine DaCosta. (Org.). *Olympic Studies: Current Intellectual Crossroads*. Rio de Janeiro: Gama Filho, 2002, pp. 307-338.

Miragaya, A.; DaCosta, L. *A inclusão da mulher brasileira no esporte através da natação na perspectiva histórica de 1930 a 1933*. In: VI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação Física, Esporte, Lazer e Dança, 1998, Rio de Janeiro. *Anais do VI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação Física, Esporte, Lazer e Dança*. Rio de Janeiro: Gama Filho, 1998.

Miragaya, A.; DaCosta, L. *Considerações históricas sobre métodos e técnicas de treinamento da natação no Brasil (1909-1938)*. In: VII Congresso Brasileiro de História do Esporte, Lazer e Educação Física, 2000, Gramado, RS. *Anais do VII Congresso Brasileiro de História do Esporte, Lazer e Educação Física*. Porto Alegre: CV Artes Gráficas, 2000.

Miragaya, A.; DaCosta, L. *Maria Lenk: as revoluções política e emancipadora da década de 1930 no Brasil que levaram a nadadora da Atléctica às Olimpíadas de Los Angeles*. In: VIII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação Física, Esporte, Lazer e Dança, 2002, Ponta Grossa, PR. *Anais do VIII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação Física, Esporte, Lazer e Dança*. Ponta Grossa: Monferrer Produções, 2002.

Miragaya, A. *Maria Lenk: a primeira heroína olímpica brasileira*. In: 6º Fórum da Academia Olímpica Brasileira, 2007, Rio de Janeiro. *Anais do 6º Fórum da Academia Olímpica Brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: COB, 2007.

U.S. Masters Swimming. *Maria Lenk, 1988 ISHOF Honor Swimmer*. Available at <http://www.usms.org/articles/articledisplay.php?aid=1415>

A few weeks before her death Maria Lenk visited the sports complex, then still under construction, which now bears her name: Parque Aquático Maria Lenk.

Photo: Satiro Sodré / Divulgação

Brazil, Berlin and Bavaria – back in 1936*

By Marcia De Franceschi Neto-Wacker and Christian Wacker

The logo of the 1936 Chess Olympia in Munich. 21 national teams with 208 players took part in the tournament, which took place from 17th August to 1st September. It was not recognised by FIDA. The winners were Hungary ahead of Poland, who included Jewish players in their team. Germany was third.

Photos: Marcia Neto-Wacker/
Christian Wacker Archive



Since Rio de Janeiro has been chosen as host for the 2016 Olympic Games, interest in historical research about Brazil in the Olympic Movement has grown significantly. While collecting documents and information we discovered new and forgotten material and in some cases primary sources had been listed under unexpected keywords. This was the case with a 15-page summary of the achievements of Raul do Rio Branco, member of the IOC from 1913 until 1938.¹

Various colleagues started to write about topics simply forgotten over decades. New information was created, new questions arose. Now on the eve of the opening of the Olympic Games in Rio, two main sport historical questions about Brazil and the early Olympic Movement still lack an answer: Had Rio de Janeiro really been candidate for the 1936 Olympic Games? Why did Brazil participate at the 1936 Chess Olympia in Munich?

Brazil as candidate to host the Olympic Games 1936

One of the topics discussed over the last years has been the possibility of a candidature of Brazil for the 1936 Olympic Games.² In the official minutes of the IOC Session organised in Monaco from 21st to 27th April 1927, Brazil was registered as one of the candidate countries.³ In the minutes of the IOC Session in Berlin, having taken place from 22nd to 24th May 1930, Brazil was no longer mentioned as a candidate.

Now the candidates were cities and not countries. Those were Alexandria, Barcelona, Berlin, Budapest, Buenos Aires, Cologne, Dublin, Frankfurt, Helsinki, Nuremberg, Rome and Lausanne.⁴ In the minutes of the 1927 Session, eight countries were listed with dedicated cities: Switzerland (Lausanne), Italy (Rome or Milan), Germany (Berlin), Spain (Barcelona), Finland (Helsinki), Hungary (Budapest), Egypt (Alexandria) and Brazil (Rio de Janeiro). The text also emphasises that the candidates had been presented by their respective governments. Despite the context of the minutes, no other document

could be secured that mention the candidature of Brazil for 1936.⁵

Even though Argentina had not been mentioned in the minutes of 1927, Buenos Aires appears in the minutes of 1930. An important letter in the IOC Archives might shed light concerning that contradiction.⁶ In that letter, dated 10th August 1928, IOC President Count Henry de Baillet-Latour wrote to Argentinean IOC Member Riccardo Aldao that the candidature of Buenos Aires had been accepted and the city will be added to the list of candidates.

This letter is of additional interest taking into account that Brazilian IOC Member Raul do Rio Branco, who participated at the IOC Session in Monaco, positioned himself at several occasions against a candidature of Brazil to be a host for the Olympic Games. In his opinion Brazil was not prepared to organise the Olympic Games because of a lack of a sports culture in his country.

In a letter Raul do Rio Branco wrote to his colleagues at the IOC on the occasion of the recognition of the foundation of the Brazilian Olympic Committee 1935.⁷ His letter included a summary about his 22 years' service as a member of the IOC.⁸ An important paragraph deals with a critical approach about Brazil in the Olympic Movement and does not mention a Brazilian candidature at all.

On the contrary, Raul do Rio Branco seriously doubted the capacity of Brazil to host an Olympic Games. Related to that, he recorded a conversation he had with the two Brazilian officials: Ferreira dos Santos and Roberto Trompovsky, Jr. during the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp. The possibility of Brazil hosting the Olympic Games had been discussed and Raul do Rio Branco called it an illusion that died in December 1922 with the death of Roberto Trompovsky Jr.

Brazil's ambition to host an Olympic Games goes back to the second decade of the 20th Century. In a small article published in the paper *Estado de São Paulo* on 2nd July 1919,⁹ criticism had been raised about the possible candidature of France for the 1920 Olympic Games in the light of promised Olympic Games to Rio de Janeiro in 1922.¹⁰ It should not be forgotten, that Brazil did not participate in any Olympic Games back in 1919!¹¹

It should be allowed to summarize two hypotheses connected to the candidature for the Olympic Games 1936.

Hypothesis 1: It would have been possible for the Brazilian government to present the candidature without the accord of Raul do Rio Branco. Because of political and economical crises at the time, Brazil did not follow up the process. Between 1927 and 1931 Brazil faced an extremely difficult situation with social and political movements leading to a *coup d'état* in 1930, when the military powers replaced their President Getúlio Vargas. The economy of Brazil was based before on coffee production but changed to an industrialized one with a strong bourgeoisie and a powerful middle class.

Those new powers entered politics, reformed public institutions, influenced the industries and most importantly changed the Brazilian election system. At the same time first workers' movements started to fight for a reduction of working hours and poor payments in coffee production. The so-called "tenentismo" and the "coluna Prestes" are the most famous examples of those movements. Brazil had been mainly an agrarian country with dependency from exterior powers. The crisis of 1929 demonstrated the power of the coffee oligarchs in Brazil. The oligarchs from Minas Gerais and São Paulo managed an agreement called "café com leite" (coffee with milk) to nominate one candidate for the federal government to maintain their political power in their country.

Finally, the candidate from São Paulo, Júlio Prestes, won the election, but could not take over because of the *coup d'état* in 1930. The country had been close to civil war, but the threat ended by the strong hand of President Getúlio Vargas, who had gained power by force and had been elected only several years later. He ruled the country until 1945 and then committed suicide 1954.



Hypotheses 2: It might be possible that the records to the minutes of the 1927 IOC Session in Monaco were wrong. Brazil was not meant to be the candidate, but Argentine. The mistake might have had happened during the process of transcription and Brazil got confused with Argentina, which happened quite often in those times.

Brazilian participation at 1936 Chess Olympia

After the Olympic Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and the Summer Games in Berlin, the 1936 Chess Olympia in Munich should have defined a third Olympic mega-event in Germany.¹² The political dimension of the event got additionally underlined by its location in Munich, which had been regarded as "Hauptstadt der Bewegung" (Capital of Movement) by the National Socialists and the centennial celebration of the Chess Club Munich.¹³ The German Reich had two main reasons to organise the Chess Olympia despite a lack of membership at the World Chess Federation (FIDE) and therefore the unofficial status of the event.¹⁴

The event was part of the German Reich propaganda promoting chess as an able-bodied game to ideologically educate the German "soldier". And the Olympic year of 1936 could be consummated with a third mega-event following the organisation of the Winter and Summer Olympics.¹⁵

Huge banners in Munich promoted the event; at one of the central squares – the Karlstor – luminous writings announced the event, including the Olympic rings. The chess players even had been called "Olympioniken des Geistes" (Olympians of the spirit).¹⁶

The organiser of the third olympic mega-event

In 1933, the German Reich forced all chess federations in Germany to connect to the "Großdeutscher Schachbund GSB" (Greater German Chess Association), including the powerful German Chess Federation and the Workers Chess Clubs. This political move enabled the German Reich to exclude communists and, ideologically more important, Jews, since chess sports had been dominated by Jewish players worldwide and therefore also in Germany. With the officially proclaimed goal of aryanization the GSB even excluded so-called Quarter-Jews from their association, even surpassing the laws of the German Reich.

The level of solidarity to the German Reich also got its expression in the design of the logo for GSB with the usage of the swastika inside a chess field. Even the NSDAP could not accept such a symbol as the GSB had not been part of the party! The GSB wanted to be recognised as a loyal and politically opportunistic institution inside the machinery of the German Reich.



Tomás Pompeu Acioly Borges, Brazilian National Chess Champion in 1935.

The Chess Olympia took place in a hall at the Munich Exhibition Park on the "Theresienhöhe".

Already in the dusk of the 1936 Chess Olympia, the German Reich promoted chess as a sport to mentally prepare German soldiers for war. It even had been called "Wehrschach" (able-bodied chess) and was to be absorbed by everybody. Chess Olympia 1936 in Munich was designed and organised as tool of maximum propaganda, starting the day after the 1936 Olympic Games.¹⁷

Brazil's Olympic team of 1936 during their march into the Olympic Village. Second from left: The deputy commandant of the Olympic Village, Wolfgang Fürstner took his life by suicide three days after the end of the Games. Second from right: IOC Member Raul do Rio Branco.



During the time of the Chess Olympia a huge chess event had been organised in Nottingham with the attendance of some elite players. For England this had been reason enough not to send a team to Munich, the same had been done by the US. The strongest nation in Latin America, Argentina, did not send a team either, even though the organisers in Munich would have paid the travel costs. The Netherlands did send a B-team on purpose and refused to report the Munich event in its official chess press.

Even if it is not possible to state an official boycott for the 1936 Chess Olympia, indirect boycotts were obvious and, in reverse, participating nations could not be regarded as to be sympathetic to the German Reich.¹⁸ The only team participating from outside of Europe had been Brazil!

The organisation of the 1936 Chess Olympia

Munich was not only the location for the biggest Chess Olympia ever organised since then, even it had not been officially accredited by the World Chess Federation and therefore remained an unofficial chess Olympia. It also had seen the most expensive and representative promotional features, with banners from participating nations and oversized knightheads in front of the trade hall at "Theresienhöhe", where the games took place.¹⁹

The event took place inside the trade hall. It had been extremely hot in mid-August 1936 and around 3000 spectators had been arrived from all over Germany to watch the event. As part of the opening ceremony a life-size chess game had been performed, banners of all participating nations had been carried along toward a swastika flag, that finally surrounded by them. Such

symbolic propaganda approaches had not been seen even in Berlin, according to the Official Report!²⁰

Chess had fit perfectly into the ideology of the National Socialists and had been promoted as "Volksspiel" (game for the people). Already back in 1933, the educational purpose of chess had been emphasized in setting the "Wehrschach" (able-bodied chess) in close relation to able-bodied sport.²¹ The able-bodied chess should be absorbed by everybody and the 1936 Chess Olympia started right after the opening day of the 1936 Olympic Games.²²

The Brazilian participation

A quick view to the list of participating nations is astonishing. Twenty-one, mostly European nations, took part with 208 players competing. Each team could nominate maximum 10 players. Brazil had been the only team outside of Europe to send chess players. As mentioned earlier, big chess nations like the USA, Argentina and England did not come to Munich and preferred to participate at the chess event organised at the same time in Nottingham. They did not officially boycott the Chess Olympia, but probably regarded their absence as convenient. Brazil, on the contrary, did not participate in any international FIDE chess events before Munich and for many years after. The USA, Argentina and England never missed any.

One might ask here, why did Brazil make so many efforts to take part. Could it be because of the strong political relations between the Getúlio Vargas regime and the German Reich? It should not be forgotten that the Vargas regime demonstrated open solidarity to NSDAP, especially during the Olympic year of 1936. Lucrative business relations bound the two regimes, vast groups of German expatriates in Brazil officially confessed to the ideology of the German Reich and strong relations between the secret services existed.²³

Brazil did not only send a team with appropriate chess players to the 1936 Chess Olympia, it also took care to exclude those not sympathetic to the Vargas regime. In order to understand the situation of chess in Brazil and the organisations behind, it will be necessary to share a glimpse of Brazilian chess history.

The first internationally recognised and highly respected Brazilian chess player had been João Caldas Viana Neto, who, in 1905, was able to reach a draw against the famous German player, Richard Teichmann in Rio de Janeiro. Almost two decades later, in 1927, the first national chess competition had been organised in Rio de Janeiro with the winner João Souza Mendes Júnior from the organising city of Rio. He had been born on the Azores Islands, but became a nationalized Brazilian and one of the dominant chess players during the early decades of chess in Brazil.

Another important personality in Brazilian chess was Walter Oswaldo Cruz, the son of the internationally famous and influential medical scientist, Dr. Oswaldo Cruz. The 1932 national championship had been badly organised due to political changes – Getúlio Vargas pushed himself to power after a bloodless coup d'état in October 1930 and chess doyen João Caldas Viana Neto passed away one year later.

The small and fragile Brazilian chess community found itself paralyzed and only had been able to organise the championship with two inscribed participants. The young Orlando Roças Júnior managed the win. The final of the 7th Brazilian Chess Championship started in September 1935 with the two finalists Tomás Pompeu Acioly Borges and Orlando Roças Júnior. The later had been part of the *carioca bourgeoisie*, like most Brazilian chess players of that time. They cooperated or at least tolerated the nationalist regime of Getúlio Vargas, himself a Brazilian bourgeois empowered by members of this type of society. Tomás Pompeu Acioly Borges on the contrary derived from a family from Fortaleza in Northern Brazil and had been an active supporter of the anti-fascist "Aliança Nacional Libertadora" (National Liberation Alliance).

The games of the two adversaries ended in chaos with Orlando Roças Júnior not respecting the decisions of referees and even provoking arguments with the result of a change of the President of the "Federação Brasileira de Xadrez" (Brazilian Chess Federation). Nevertheless, Tomás Pompeu Acioly Borges had been declared winner.²⁴

But the best Brazilian chess player at the eve of the 1936 Chess Olympia had not been nominated for this international event.²⁵ On the contrary, Tomás Pompeu Acioly Borges was imprisoned from March 1936 to June 1937 and later immigrated to Argentina. The rules for the Brazilian Chess Championship were changed and Borges never again participated at those championships. ■

Literature

- Costa, Waldemar (without year): *Epopeia do Campeonato Brasileiro de Xadrez*. www.wsc.jor.br/xadrez/epopeia.htm, 15th April 2016.
- De Francesco Wacker-Neto, Marcia – Wacker Christian 2011, *Brazil goes Olympic*, (2nd edition).
- Gillam, Anthony J. 2000: *Munich Chess Olympiad 1936*, Chess Players.
- Grosse, Frank 2008: *Die Geschichte der Schacholympiade*, Vol. 3: Vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg (1931–1939). <http://de.chessbase.com/post/geschichte-der-schacholympiaden-dritter-teil742>
- Negele, Michael 2008: *Propaganda auf 64 Feldern. Das Schach-Olympia München 1936*. In: Karl, 3, 2008, pp. 20–26.
- Richter, Kurt (Ed.) 1937: *Schach-Olympia München 1936*. 2 Vols., Berlin – Leipzig.
- Tal, Mario 2008: *Bruderküsse und Freudentränen. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Schach-Olympiaden*, pp. 91–117.
- Winter, Edward 2006: *The 1936 Munich Chess Olympiad*. www.chesshistory.com/winter/extra/municholympiad.html, 23rd April 2016

- 1 When the first edition of the book De Francesco Wacker-Neto – Wacker Christian 2010 with the title *Brazil goes Olympic* had been published back in 2010, the topic Brazil and the Olympic Movement did not yet find the interest of historians and journalists. The Olympic Games in London had been on the agenda. With the beginning of the Olympic period towards Rio de Janeiro many new documents had been discovered. The authors discovered the document of Raul do Rio Branco recently in the archives of IOC in Lausanne.
- 2 This topic already had been mentioned at De Franceschi Wacker-Neto – Wacker 2010, p. 165 without further remarks due to a lack of primary sources.
- 3 Despite the usual process to nominate cities, the IOC registered only candidate countries during its IOC Session from 21st to 27th April 1927 in Monaco.
- 4 The same minutes mentioned by mistake, that the Olympic Games of 1936 will be the 50th anniversary of the beginning of Modern Olympic Games. In fact the Games commemorated 40 years since the first Olympics in 1896.
- 5 The last research at the archives of IOC took place by the authors at 10th May 2016.
- 6 This letter is stored together with all further communication regarding the other candidate cities mentioned in the minutes 1930 in one and the same folder at IOC Archives.
- 7 Regarding the two foundations of the Brazilian Olympic Committee see also De Francesco Wacker-Neto – Wacker 2010, pp. 85–104.
- 8 When we carried out our research for the book De Francesco Wacker-Neto – Wacker 2010 this letter did not exist yet in the IOC archives (folder Brazil). Probably it had been relocated later.
- 9 Lamartine Da Costa had been so kind to forward this article to us.
- 10 It had been agreed with the IOC to call the Regional Games in Rio de Janeiro 1922 Regional Olympic Games. See also De Francesco Wacker-Neto – Wacker 2010, pp. 152–160.
- 11 The only exception might have been Adolpho Christiano Klingelhofner, a Brazilian national, who participated at the Olympic Games 1900 in Paris and had been wrongly considered French. The first official participation of a Brazilian team took place in 1920.
- 12 *Schach-Echo*, Vol 5, Nr. 9,7, Sept. 1936, p. 212: „... dritte Großveranstaltung des olympischen Jahres...“.
- 13 Tal 2008, p. 99.
- 14 Due to the new ideological positioning of the "Großdeutscher Schachbund GSB" (Greater German Chess Association) the association decided already 1933 to step out of FIDE because of its national socialist ideology and its racist regulations especially against Jews. FIDE would never have had accepted these restrictions and the GSB simply acted before getting excluded by the World Chess Federation. Therefore the Chess Olympia 1936 was organised without FIDE, even though FIDE did not boycott the event and left the decisions for participation to the member countries. See also Negele 2008, p. 22.
- 15 Tal 2008, p. 115.
- 16 Richter, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 29, 117.
- 17 Negele 2008, p. 21. Tal 2008, pp. 92–95.
- 18 Tal 2008, p. 103.
- 19 Tal 2008, pp. 100–102, 115. Hungary won most medals and supported the GSB to return to FIDE in 1939.
- 20 Richter, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 68–69. Munich as cultural centre of the German Reich had been the worthy location for an intellectual fight and an event to serve the peace, following the opening speech of the mayor of Munich, Karl Tempel. See also Richter, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 30–31.
- 21 Post, Erhardt 1933: *Erster Kongreß des Großdeutschen Schachbundes in Pyrmont*, p. 9: „Neben dem Wehrsport, der der körperlichen Ertüchtigung dient, wollen wir zur geistigen Schulung und Erziehung das den ehrlichen Kampf darstellende Wehrspiel treten lassen, das uralte Schach.“
- 22 Negele 2008, p. 21. Tal 2008, p. 95.
- 23 De Francesco Wacker-Neto – Wacker Christian 2011, *Brazil goes Olympic*, (2nd edition) pp. 134–144. Tal 2008, p. 105. Wacker Christian 2007, „Brasilien und Berlin. Die brasilianische Beteiligung an den Olympischen Sommerspielen in Berlin 1936“, in: *ISHPES-Studies* 13, 2, pp. 228–233.
- 24 Costa.
- 25 Nine Brazilian chess players participated at Chess Olympia 1936 in Munich: João Souza Mendes Júnior, Walter Oswaldo Cruz, Oswaldo Cruz Filho, Raul Herman Charlier, Ademar da Silva Rocha, Otávio Figueira Trompowsky, Cauby Pulcherio and Heitor Alberto Carlos. The ninth player is called J. Cruz in the Official Report, See Richter. Vol. 1 1936, p. 33 and cannot be identified with certainty.



Olympic stamps of 1936 with the special stamp of the Munich "Chess Olympia".

Photo: Dieter Germann Collection

Willy Seewald and the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris*

By Janice Zarpellon Mazo and Alice Beatriz Assmann

The Brazilian Track and Field team which attended the 1924 Olympic Games, in Paris. From left: Alfredo Gomes, Narciso Valadares, Hogarty (US coach under contract), Willy Seewald, Álvaro de Oliveira Ribeiro, Alberto Jackson Byington Jr., Eurico Teixeira de Freitas, Octávio Zani and José Galimbert.

Photo: CEME collection.



Willy Richard Franz Seewald could be described as a typical example of a Brazilian Olympic athlete. He improvised and innovated to improve his performance even though resources were scarce. Willy was descended from German immigrants, who occupied land and created small industries in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. His father Karl Robert Seewald¹ had arrived in Brazil in June 1896 and settled near the city of São Leopoldo with his wife Augusta Feistauer Seewald² (Müller, 1986). Willy was born in 1900, in Taquara, in the south of Brazil and had a sister and four brothers. Since childhood Willy and his brothers had taken part in sport. The Seewald family's property in São Leopoldo was close to the Sinos River, which made it easy for them to swim and row.

Willy did well in regional and state track and field competitions especially in the javelin. His performances brought him to the notice of national selectors and he was selected for the Brazilian team at the 1924 Olympics in Paris. It should be noted that he was the only athlete from Rio Grande do Sul to take part in the Games, the others came from the states of São Paulo or Rio de

Janeiro. Willy stood out by reflecting in his athletic career, the values inherent in his socio-cultural group trying to survive an adopted country.

Surviving family members have offered a valuable insight into his Olympic career and this has been supplemented by documentary sources. We therefore interviewed brother Erich Seewald and his daughter Simone Seewald Albrecht, Willy's niece, who remembered her uncle's memories her mother and father passed on about the "Olympic Hero"³.

A Brazilian team first took part in the 1920 Olympic Games, in Antwerp, Belgium. This should not be



Janice Zarpellon Mazo
Alice Assmann

They are researchers from the Sports and Physical Education History Group in the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, who are dedicated to reconstructing the historical and

socio-cultural scenario of sports in Brazil and Rio Grande do Sul, including memories of athletes who participated in past Olympic Games.

forgotten because for the team. They got there by individual efforts and family support. In the case of pioneering athletes such as Willy Seewald, the obstacles they faced were very difficult to overcome, for in the early decades of the twentieth century, sport did not have the necessary financial support and management assistance from local or national governments in Brazil. Those who took part were symbolically important. Willy Seewald did not win but he did receive a participation medal in the 1924 Olympic Games and this was accepted by the family as reward for his dedication and persistence.

Willy Seewald's initiation in sport

Willy Seewald, followed in the footsteps of his brother Erich. At the age of eight, he began to attend the Clube Esportivo Nacional de São Leopoldo⁴ (National Sports Club of São Leopoldo) and, later, to attend nightly sessions at the Leopoldenser Turnverein (Leopoldenser Gymnastic Society). From the age of 16, Erich used to play football at the same club and practice German gymnastics, referred by him in an interview as "gymnastics apparatus" (rings, bar, pommel horse, parallel and soil).

The physical training and sports activities at Leopoldenser Turnverein were provided by the German-Brazilian instructors. Nestor Bir, Ervino Felipe Mohr and Raul Scherer all did their coaching in Germany said Erich Seewald (Seewald, 2001, p. 2).

It was at the São Leopoldo Gymnastics Society⁵ that Willy got to know about track-and-field events. As an 18 year old in 1918 he took up pole vault, high jump, shot put, discus and javelin. However, he continued to play football. This lasted four years when he eventually gave up playing and devoted himself to athletics. This contributed to his results in local and regional competitions.

The Leopoldenser Turnverein was one of the key centres of athletics in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, however the pioneers clubs were Turnerbund⁶ (Gymnastic Society), the YMCA (ACM)⁷ and Grêmio Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense club (GFPA); which were all in Porto Alegre⁸. According to the journalist Tulio De Rose (Amaro Junior, 1949, p. 137), athletics "was born in our state in the years 1912 or 1913". Some three years later, on 2nd April 1916, the first official athletics competition took place in Porto Alegre. Competitors included those from Uruguay. At that time, athletics was barely recognizable as the sport today and many people associated it with German gymnastics, and, for this reason. As a result the competition was described as a "Gymnastics Festival". Apart from athletics, football, tennis and volleyball was also included on the programme.

Athletics clubs were on the increase in February 1919, it was possible to hold an inter club athletics

championship for the first time. This took place on 24th February 1919 (Silva, 1997) was held at the Turnerbund. Later that year, teachers Georg Black⁹ and Ernest Graeff organised the Turnerbund Athletics Department of and started to provide training sessions for athletes. During the following year, in 1920, an athletic track was built there. This really helped the growth of the sport. Known today as the Estádio José Carlos Daudt, it has one of the four athletic tracks approved by the International Athletics Federation in Brazil (CBAT, 2009).



The Brazilian team marched into the 1924 Olympic Stadium in Colombes.

Photo: Official Report of 1924

Willy's first experiences with the javelin of sorts had been in his childhood, when he improvised with bamboo sticks in the vast lands surrounding his family residence. It is worth noting that, at that time, there was a shortage of sports equipment and the facilities of Leopoldenser Turnverein were also limited.

The wooden javelins were made in the family's furniture factory. Willy learned the trade of carpentry from his father and worked with him and his brothers in the production of wooden sculptures for churches, homes and other buildings. Some of these sculptures can still be seen in the Visconde de São Leopoldo Museum.

When he tried the wooden javelin he realized it performed better than the bamboo staff, which vibrated during its flight through the air. From then on, he started producing javelins by glueing two pieces of wood together to make a perfect unit. His brother Erich recalled that Willy had chosen wood found in the region where he lived. This he cut into three parts glued together in order to reduce vibration. Apart from this "other secrets to the javelin that he did not tell" (Seewald, 2001, p. 7).

Willy Seewald practising javelin throwing at the National Sports Club field in São Leopoldo 1921.

Photo: Collection Simone Seewald Albrecht.



Willy's handmade javelins were tested on the football field of the National Sports Club in São Leopoldo. Over time, he improved the equipment, "making javelins with three laths with perfect finishing" (Seewald, 2001, p. 7). The manufactured javelins were tested by him in competitions. In time, he started accepting orders to produce the equipment for sports associations and even military units.

The reinvention of the javelin throw

The local newspapers described Willy Seewald as the "remarkable thrower" (Iuguenfritz, 1929, p. 1). This was because his technical performance and the distances he achieved in competitions in the early twenties. At the 1921 Brazilian Track and Field Championship, Willy "shattered the national record by more than three metres with a throw of 44.5 m" (*Contra Relógio*, 1997, p. 27).

In September the following year, Willy Seewald was selected for an eight-man state team which took part in the sports event staged to help commemorate the Centenary of Brazilian Independence. This took place in Rio de Janeiro, which was then capital city of Brazil. In addition to sporting and cultural activities in the federal capital, there were sporting events in other Brazilian cities, as in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre (Vicari; Mazo, 2011; Vicari; Silva, 2014).

Willy Richard Seewald, the "remarkable thrower" and "Olympic Hero" according to his home town's newspapers.

Photo: Collection Simone Seewald Albrecht

At the so-called Latin American Olympics (Jogos Sudamericanos) in Rio 1922, Willy Seewald threw 54.515 metres, surpassing the Chilean Arturo Medina, who until then had held the South American record with 50.3 m (*O Imparcial supplement sports*, 16th September 1922; *Contra Relógio*, 1997, p. 27).

To get to this point, Willy Seewald had travelled through a difficult path in overcoming financial difficulties. When traveling to competitions he used to stay in family homes, because "accommodation didn't exist, that sort of thing; sometimes we camped in a lounge of the club and we all slept on the floor" (Seewald, 2000, p. 3). His brother insisted that athletes never received any financial allowances when competing. "No, no money, money was never involved, in any way." (Seewald, 2000, p. 5)

At the time Brazilian sport was strictly amateur, so athletes had never entertained the possibility of getting money, especially those from the gymnastic societies, which strongly defended the concept of amateurism. A newspaper in his home town described Willy Seewald as a sportsman, i.e. a "physical giant, by his steel muscles, a moral giant, by his education as a correct and loyal opponent" (Iuguenfritz, 1929, p. 1). This tribute refers not only to his sporting performance, but because he had the attitudes expected from an Olympic athlete. It suggests the local newspaper had a notion of sporting behaviour and the moral code which went with it.

In these circumstances it should be noted that Willy Seewald had surpassed the symbolic boundaries that separated the "simple man" from the gentleman. To be recognised as a sportsman in his times, he had to follow a certain ethos, that of sportsmanship.

Willy Seewald also faced other problems because of his ethnic identity. As a result of the First World War, German-Brazilians were harassed in several cities of Rio Grande do Sul (Gertz, 2005). Many had encountered hostility in schools, churches, gymnastic societies, sports clubs, among other places. During this period, many gymnastic societies and clubs gave way to the pressure of the Brazilian government and unleashed a



nationalisation process, also called “Brazilianization” of sports. This involved changing the original name and adopting Portuguese as the official language used in club regulations and administration (Mazo, 2003; 2007; Kilpp, Assmann, Mazo, 2012).

In addition to the conflicts of identity, it is surprising how the athlete in question was able to get that far considering the financial difficulties, training conditions and the incipient organisation of athletic competitions in the 1920s in Brazil. With his javelins, Willy began to break regional, national and South Americans records, but the greatest surprise was the call for the Brazilian team at the 1924. Only eleven men travelled to Paris and he was among athletes from the major Brazilian cities, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

The cabinetmaker, the wood artisan, who lived in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, was therefore the only athlete from the South of Brazil to win a seat to participate at Games which had then been dominated by Europeans. They too regarded themselves as reinforcing their social position through pure sport with a strong amateur ethic.

Willy Seewald at the 1924 Olympics

Seewald was invited by the Athletics Federation of São Paulo, to participate in the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris. His brother Erich, believes the influence of São Paulo businessman and sportsman Alberto Jackson Byngton also played an important role. A friend of the Seewald family, Byngton was also of immigrant stock (Nicolini, 2016, Seewald, 2001, p. 12). Erich even confirmed that his brother’s participation was only achieved due to the financial help of the Byngton family as his father did not have enough funds to pay for the trip (Seewald, 2001, p. 12.). Nicolini (2016) has uncovered evidence of a public fund-raising campaign to supplement the contribution by Byngton.

At first the Brazilian government had planned to make 350 million Reis available for preparation and travel (Rubio, 2006, p. 105). However, the funds were withdrawn and the registration of the Brazilian delegation was official removed as a result of problems at the Brazilian Sports Confederation (CBD). The directors of the CBD, based in Rio de Janeiro, had no interest in taking part in the Games (Nicolini, 2016). It should be noted that, at that time, athletes were already facing problems as a result of internal conflicts among the Brazilian sports governing bodies.

With the situation as it was, the “Athletics Federation of São Paulo conducted a campaign to raise money (sponsored by the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*) to cover expenses of travel and accommodation” (Rubio, 2006, p. 105). The Brazilian Olympic team was made up of Willy Seewald from the south, two rowers from Rio

de Janeiro¹⁰ and athletes from São Paulo. The team numbered eleven, headed by the journalist Americo Neto, who had coordinated the financial fundraising campaign. On 28th May 1924, Willy Seewald joined his team mates on the Dutch steamship “Orania” to travel to participate in the Olympic Games. Expectations were high.

After all at the previous Games in 1920 Brazil’s shooters had enjoyed unexpected success. Guilherme Paraense won the first gold 30 metres pistol. Afrânio Costa from Rio Grande de Sul took silver in 50 metres pistol and there was also a team bronze.

The success of 1920 was not repeated at the 1924 Games, in which Brazil did not win any medals. Willy finished 18th place with a throw of 49.39 metres. The winner Jonni Myyrä (FIN) recorded a distance of 62.96 m. Silver went to Gunnar Lindström (SWE) 60.92 m and Eugene Oberst (USA) made sure of bronze with 58.35 m.

After the 1924 Games, Willy Seewald traveled to the city of Cologne, Germany in order to visit relatives. During his stay in the city he was invited to take part in an athletics meeting at what he called “the most Modern European Stadium for sports practices, with the possibility to host many different modalities, and a capacity for 80,000 people”. He threw over 56 metres.

The report also reveals that Willy was the Brazilian and South American javelin champion. This information appeared in a newspaper clipping of the city of Cologne, which was translated from German to Portuguese by Erich Seewald. The newspaper belonged to Willy’s cousin, resident in Germany, according to testimony

Training during the crossing to France on the “Orania” in the “three-legged race” – a non-Olympic athletics discipline of the early years. Brazil’s team of 1924 consisted of only eleven participants: eight athletes, two oarsmen and one marksman. The oarsmen, the brothers Edmundo and Carlos Castello Branco, travelled alone. Their fourth place in the double sculls was the best Brazilian result.

Photo: 100 Years Brazil Olympic Committee 1914–2014



The Brazilian team took part in the Olympics for the first time at Antwerp in 1920. The crossing was made on a coffee freighter. It was a mode of transport which also had resonance in 1932. To finance the journey to Los Angeles, the "Itaquicê" had to berth in Trinidad and Panama and sell coffee. When the Brazilians arrived at San Pedro's Port in California, they were unable to pay one dollar per head tax. Only Maria Lenk was allowed to disembark. The men were forced to go on to San Francisco and sell more coffee.

Photo: 100 Years Brazil Olympic Committee 1914-2014

of Erich Seewald (Seewald, 2001, p. 15). In fact, some German-Brazilians kept in touch with relatives in Germany through letters, as was the case of the Seewald family. When he returned to Brazil, after the short period in Germany, Willy was welcomed in São Leopoldo as an "Olympic Hero". According to his aunt Martha, he caught the eye of the city girls, trying to imitate his style for throwing the javelin. But others also wanted to get to know the athlete, who became famous for participating in the Olympics.

Willy continued his training and in the following year he won the javelin in the 'First Brazilian Track and Field Championship' in São Paulo, with a throw of 54.11 m. It should be observed, that it was a better distance he achieved at the Olympics, but still not far enough to have earned him a medal. Even so it was the first ratified Brazilian mark for the javelin (CBAT, 2010). In the two years that followed he was consecrated champion, always "maintaining the same technical level" (De Rose, 1949, p. 138). In 1926 he won the Brazilian championship again improving to 56.17 m. In 1927, he won a third national title in the IIIrd Brazilian Athletics Championships, with the mark of 54.90 m (*Contra Relógio*, 1997, p. 27).

With that distance, he would not have been far short of the 1924 bronze medallist. His performance in the national and South American competitions would probably have earned him selection for the 1928 Olympic Games. In fact an economic crisis made it impossible for a Brazilian team to send a team to Amsterdam for the Games.

In 1928, the IVth Brazilian Athletics Championships took place in Rio de Janeiro but Willy did not take part. It is possible that he was suffering from illness but he was unaware of this. By February 1929, he was dead at the age of only 28 (Brendemeir, 2009; CECL, 15th May 2009).

His passing was marked at sporting events held in 1929. There were tributes at the opening ceremony of the VIIth Athletics Tournament, promoted by the Liga das Sociedades de Ginástica do Rio Grande do Sul (League of Gymnastic Societies of Rio Grande do Sul), at the stadium of Turnerbund, and also during the opening ceremony of the 5th State Athletics Championship, promoted by the Liga Atlético Rio-Grandense (LARG) (Athletic League Rio-Grandense).

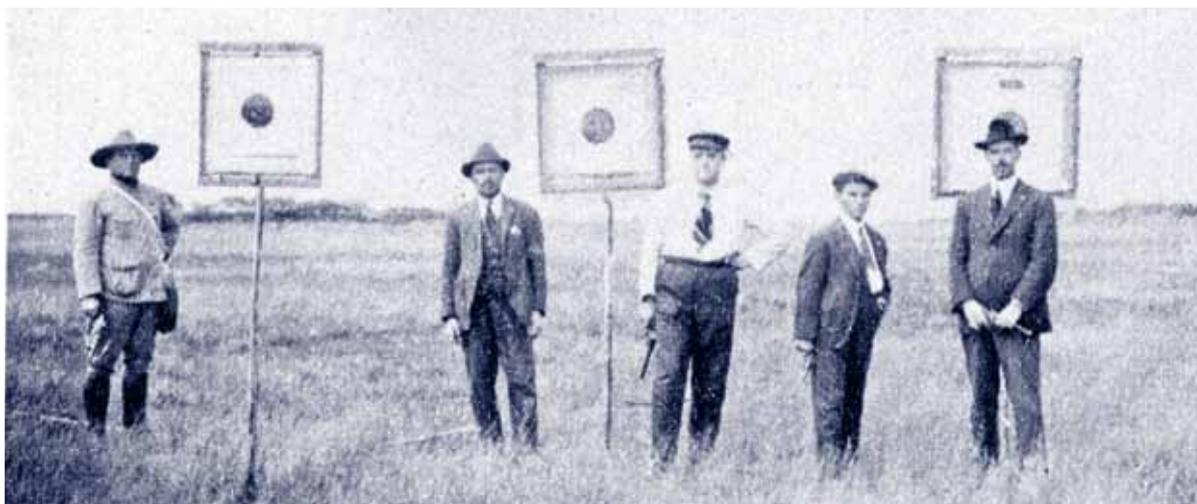
The late athlete was also honored at the 5th Brazilian Athletics Championship, held between late August and early September 1929 in Rio de Janeiro. At the event's opening ceremony at the stadium of the Vasco da Gama Regattas Club, those present were to be asked to observe "a moment of remembrance for Willy Seewald" (newspaper clipping of Rio de Janeiro not identified, 12th September 1929). In the same vein, the sports pages of *O Imparcial* newspaper, reproduced in São Leopoldo, Seewald's hometown: "Today, where the eyes of all sporting Brazil are turned to our city because it will be the theater of the greatest event of the year, which is the Track and Field Championships of Brazil, we cannot forget the name of Willy Seewald, the great athlete that on 2nd February this year was snatched by death" (Iuguenfritz, 1929, p. 1). It was to be another 20 years before Willy's record was finally surpassed. It was beaten by Nicanor Missaglia, from the Grêmio Foot Ball club Porto Alegrense, who recorded a distance of 58.02 m in 1949.

Seewald was an Olympic athlete from the provinces at a time when most top sportsmen came either from Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo. His struggles are indicative of the many obstacles faced by the first Brazilian amateur sportsmen. His path from São Leopoldo to Paris is significant in the historical-cultural context of the 1920s. He was an athlete who represented Brazil at the Olympic Games at a time when there was a lack of Brazilian sports policies. He ascended quickly in athletics, and in less than 10 years he held regional, national and South American records, demonstrating a significant sporting performance.

Willy Seewald did not win a medal in Paris but he did become an Olympian. In his home region he came to symbolize the values of dedication and excellence embodied by Olympic athletes. In addition, Willy contributed to the spreading of athletics in Rio Grande do Sul, his home state. The story of his exploits appeared in the local press, arousing the admiration of his compatriots. At the same time, it contributed to the recognition of the state as a pillar of national athletics. The initiative of private clubs, as well as the actions of some lovers of the sport, enabled those who took part in athletics to progress from the grass roots to international competition.

Seewald's journey also reflected prominence of the German immigrants and their descendants in state





Brazil's first Olympic champion was the pistol marksman Guilherme Paraense (second from left). In the free pistol the team, which included Sebastião (Sebastian) Wolf, a German immigrant, won bronze.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

and national sport. In particular, sources showed the gymnastics societies acting decisively in the introduction and spread of various sports across Rio Grande do Sul and Brazil. Not only the training of athletes, but also promoting sports as one of the pillars for physical and moral education of citizens. Moreover, the case of Willy Seewald reveals that being a sportsman was part of the identity of Germans making their way in Brazil. ■

References

- Bacellar, C., Fontes documentais: uso e mau uso dos arquivos. In: C. Pinski (Org.), *Fontes históricas*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2 ed., 2010, p. 23–80.
- Brendemeir, Friedrich Willy, interview 18th June 2009, São Leopoldo, RS.
- Burke, P., *O que é história cultural?*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar (Ed.), 2008.
- de Rose, Túlio, *Campeonato de Atletismo*, in: J. Amaro Jr., *Almanaque Esportivo do Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Tipografia Esperança, 80 ano, 1949.
- Gertz, René, *O perigo alemão*, Porto Alegre, Editora da UFRGS, 1991.
- Guttman, Allen, *From Ritual to Record – the nature of modern sports*, Columbia University Press, New York 1978.
- História do Atletismo Gaúcho. <http://www.atletismors.hpg.com.br>, access 15th January 2009.
- IECLB, Comunidade Evangélica de Confissão Luterana em São Leopoldo. Declaração de falecimento de Willy Richard Franz Seewald. Livro de Registro de Óbitos, Vol. III, 1863–1941, p. 63 sob o nº 05. São Leopoldo, 15th May 2009.
- Iuguenfritz, Álvaro, Um minuto de lembrança para Willy Sewald, in: *Jornal União Orgam Republicano*, São Leopoldo, n. 279, segunda-feira, 21st October 1929 and 11th February 1929.
- Kilpp, Cecília; Assmann, Alice; Mazo, Janice; Turnverein Estrela: ginástica e esportes (1907–1930), in: *Revista Contemporânea – dossiê história e esporte*, ano 4, n.º 4, v. 2, pp. 1–18, 2014.
- Ibid, “abrasileiramento” das associações esportivas de Teutônia/Estrela no Rio Grande do Sul, in: *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física e Esporte*, v. 26, n.1, pp.77–85, 2012.
- Levien, A.L.A., *Histórias do Turnen na Leopoldenser Turnverein (Sociedade de Ginástica de São Leopoldo)*, Dissertação Mestrado em Educação Física, Universidade Federal de Pelotas, Pelotas, 2011.
- Mazo, Janice; Maduro, Paula; A trajetória de um atleta olímpico gaúcho: Willy Seewald, o admirável lançador, In: Alberto Reppold Filho; Leila Pinto; Rejane Rodrigues; Selda Engelman (orgs.), *Olimpismo e educação Olímpica no Brasil*, Editora da UFRGS, Porto Alegre 2009.
- Mazo, Janice; Lyra, Vanessa; Nos rastros da memória de um “Mestre de Ginástica”, Motriz, Rio Claro, v. 16, n. 4, pp. 967–976, out./dez. 2010.
- Mazo, Janice; Maduro, Paula; Pereira, Ester; *A prática do atletismo nas associações desportivas da cidade de Porto Alegre/Rio Grande do Sul nas primeiras décadas do século XX*, *Primeiros Indícios*, in: *Revista Arquivos em Movimentos*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 2, p. 42–56, 2010.
- Mazo, Janice; Frosi, Tiago; Maduro, Paula; O Atleta Olímpico Brasileiro Willy Seewald: memórias do primeiro recordista nacional do lançamento de dardo, in: *Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte*, Florianópolis, v. 34, n. 3, p. 537–555, jul./set. 2012.
- Mazo, Janice & colaboradores, *Associações Esportivas no Rio Grande do Sul: lugares e memórias*, Livro Digital, Novo Hamburgo, RS: Editora Feevale, 2012.
- Mazo, Janice; Olimpíadas, *História e Memória: esportistas sul-rio-grandenses nos Jogos Olímpicos (1920 a 1960)*, CHELEF, Londrina/Paraná, 2014.
- Migotto, Boca; *Documentário O admirável lançador de dardos*, 20th March 2012.
- Müller, Telmo; *Sociedade Ginástica cem anos de história*, São Leopoldo, RS: Rotermond, 1986.
- Nicolini, Henrique; *Jogos Olímpicos de Paris – 1924*. Blog Gazeta Esportiva: alem dos fatos. 04/09/2015.
- O Imparcial*, Suplemento Semanal Ilustrado, Rio de Janeiro, 16th September 1922.
- Ibid, Anno 3, Num 116, Rio de Janeiro, 8th September 1928.
- Ramos, Eloísa; *O teatro da sociabilidade: os clubes sociais como espaço de representação das elites urbanas alemãs e teuto-brasileiras – São Leopoldo 1858–1930*, Tese (Doutorado em História). Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Porto Alegre, 2000.
- Revista do Globo, n. 17, 1929, p. 37. In: Mazo, Janice. *Catálogo do Esporte e da Educação Física na Revista do Globo*, Porto Alegre, PUCRS, 2004.
- Revista Contra Relógio, n. 47, agosto 1997, p. 26–27.
- Ribeiro, J.R.; Guilherme Paraense: O herói esquecido, In: *Revista Magnum*, São Leopoldo, ano II, n. 39, jun/jul. 1994.
- Seewald Albrecht, Simone, interview 15th May 2009, São Leopoldo, RS.
- Seewald, Erich Luis; interviews, 2000, São Leopoldo, RS, 2000.
- Seewald, Ligia; interviews, 25th October 2000, São Leopoldo, RS.
- Seyferth, G.; Etnicidade e cultura: a constituição da identidade teuto-brasileira. In: G.C.L. Zarrur (org.). *Etnia y Nación en América Latina*, INTERAMER, n.45, vol.II, 1992.
- Seyferth, G.; A identidade teuto-brasileira numa perspectiva histórica. In: C. Mauch; N. Vasconcellos, *Os Alemães no sul do Brasil: cultura, etnicidade, história*, Canoas, Ulbra, 1994.
- Teixeira, Maurício; Manarin, Roger; *História do atletismo gaúcho*, Portal Atletismo RS. 2003. <http://www.atletismors.hpg.com.br>, access 15th January 2009.
- Torres, Cesar; The Latin American “Olympic Explosion” of the 1920s: Causes and Consequences, In: *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 23, n. 7, 2006.
- Vicari, Paulo Renato; Mazo, Janice; Comemorações do Centenário da Independência do Brasil (1922): *Jogos Latino-Americanos no Rio de Janeiro e Jogos Olímpicos no Rio Grande do Sul*, Anais do XVII Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências do Esporte, 2011.
- Vicari, Paulo Renato; Silva, Carolina Fernandes; Mazo, Janice Zarpellon; Manifestações esportivas nas comemorações do centenário da independência do Brasil (1822–1922) no Rio Grande do Sul, In: *Pensar a Prática*, v. 17, n. 2, 2014, pp. 485–502.

1 Karl Robert Seewald was born on 27th December 1874 in Sprottau, Germany. He died in São Leopoldo, Brazil on 8th December 1948.



Willy Seewald m. 48 m 50. 85.921.

Communal training at the Leopoldenser Turnverein in 1921 organised by German-Brazilian instructors with the participation of Willy Seewald.

Photo: Collection Simone Seewald Albrecht

- 2 Augusta Feistauer Seewald, born on 4th December 1876 in Montenegro/RS and died on 27th January 1931 in São Leopoldo. Her parents migrated from Bohemia to Brazil in the second half of the 19th century.
- 3 The participants signed a written informed consent form authorizing the publication of their names and declarations.
- 4 The football club was founded in 1915 by a group of members of the Orpheus Society (Sociedade de Canto São Leopoldo). When they were not playing football, club members took part in athletics. This continued until the end of the 1920s. Then the club came to an end and the football field was replaced by a residential area of the Independência Street in São Leopoldo.
- 5 São Leopoldo is considered the cradle of German settlement in the state. The first German arrived in Rio Grande do Sul were sent to the region in 1824 (Seyferth, 1994). In this locality the second gymnastic association was created in the state: the Leopoldenser Turnverein (São Leopoldo Gymnastic Society), founded by immigrants and descendants of Germans on 1st September 1885, after an unsuccessful attempt in 1880 (Ramos, 2002). This association aimed not only to offer sports practice but to bring together the local community.
- 6 The Turnerbund, current "Sociedade de Ginástica Porto Alegre 1867," known as SOGIPA, was founded in 1867 by an initiative of German immigrants in Porto Alegre. This society was the first in Brazil and the second in Latin America, followed by the Society of Joinville. After the founding of the Turnerbund other gymnastic societies were set up in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in cities where there was a sizeable German immigrant community (Mazo, 2003, Silva, 1997; Tesche, 1996).
- 7 YMCA Porto Alegre was founded in 1901. The club encouraged the development of athletics in the city of Porto Alegre (Buono, 2001).
- 8 At the turn of the century, running, jumping and throwing events were considered part of the gymnastic family and were reported as such by newspapers. All these events are now described under the umbrella of athletics or track and field (Mazo; Maduro; Pereira, 2010).
- 9 Georg Black, a German immigrant and instructor of German gymnastics, practiced, taught and propagated the ideals of the Turnen (gimnastic) movement in clubs of Porto Alegre and Rio Grande do Sul. He was also an important figure in the spreading of new sports such as the football and cycling. Black helped to spread gymnastics and other sports in schools, public squares and parks (Lyra; Mazo, 2010).
- 10 Brothers Edmund and Carlos Castello Branco, finished fourth in double sculls in a time of 6 minutes 38 seconds. They paid their own way to the Games.

News



The Olympic medals for Rio 2016 have been made from extra special materials. Produced by the Brazilian Mint, the 5130 medals for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games will be symbols of sustainability and accessibility as well as sporting excellence. The coveted prizes, which weigh 500 g each, comprise 30 per cent recycled silver and bronze while the ribbons are made from 50 per cent recycled PET. Meanwhile, the gold medals are completely free of mercury. They are purer than ever, meeting

sustainability criteria from extraction to refining, as well as meeting strict environmental and labour laws. The recycled raw silver is 92.5 per cent pure and comes from discarded mirrors unwanted solder and X ray plates. 40 per cent of the copper used in the bronze medals came from waste at the Mint itself. The substance was melted and decontaminated to provide material for the medals.

(IOC/JOH)

Gold is not the only Prize. Greek President Prokopis Pavlopoulos has presented a stone from Ancient Olympia to IOC President Thomas Bach. This will be used in the new Olympic Laurel award which will be inaugurated this summer in Rio de Janeiro. "The stone from Ancient Olympia will be a strong symbolic link for the Olympic laurel award connecting it forever with the birthplace of the Games." The award will 'honour outstanding individuals in education culture and peace through sport'.

(PB)

The IOC Executive Board will propose to the 129th IOC Session (2nd to 4th August, 21st August) in Rio de Janeiro to accept five new sports into the programme of the 2020 Olympic Games in Tokyo. These are karate, skateboarding, sports climbing, surfing and baseball/softball. Discussions on the event programme in the existing 28 Olympic sports are ongoing and will be finalised by the IOC Executive Board in mid-2017.

(IOC/JOH)

The vest of the New Zealander Peter Snell, which he wore for his Olympic victories over over 800 m and 1500 m in Tokyo, was auctioned in Auckland for 122,500 NZD (ca. 86,000 USD). It was acquired by the National Museum "Te Papa Tongarewa" in Wellington. Snell – now 77 – has lived since 1971 in the USA, where he studied exercise physiology and took his doctorate. For a long time he was director of the Human Performance Center in Dallas, Texas.

(JOH)

The Miracle of Wienerwald

By Erik Eggers

Whoever thinks only of Brazil in terms of football has been asleep. In Olympic terms, beach volleyball and sailing have been the most successful sports, followed by martial arts, swimming, volleyball, basketball, athletics, equestrianism and gymnastics. Perhaps handball can be added to that list in 2016.

The first winter was hard says Alexandra do Nascimento. In any case it was an almighty leap from São Paulo, the pulsating million-strong metropolis, to Maria Enzersdorf, the picturesque market town (8000 inhabitants), on the edge of the Wienerwald. Especially the Viennese dialect (Schmäh)! "The language! That was very bad", she recalls. "I wept almost every day because I understood nothing and also spoke no English." But the Brazilian handball player stayed on. She was determined to practise her sport at a high level.

That was in 2003. Ten years later, in December 2013, do Nascimento won the XXI World Championship with Brazil. The Brazilians won by 22–20 goals against Serbia in front of 20,000 fanatical fans in the Belgrade Arena. It was an historic triumph, the first title for a Pan-American team at a world tournament. "My God, Brazil are world handball champions", groaned the Danish team coach, Morten Soubak. "That is hard to credit."

The cradle of this sporting miracle can be found in Maria Enzersdorf. In 2013, when do Nascimento wore the vest of the highly successful local club Hypo Niederösterreich, she was joined by another seven Brazilians among them goalkeeper Barbara Arenhart.

The basis for this Brazilian 'colony' was an agreement between eight times Champions League winners Hypo and the Confederação Brasileira de Handebol (CBH). Launched in 2011, its goal was the handball tournament at Rio 2016. "We are proud that Brazil has selected us and that we share our know-how with the country", said Hypo club manager Dieter Heger at that time.

Since 2011 in any case half the Brazilian national team had trained together in the club under professional conditions. "In Brazil I only trained once a day, in Vienna twice. After the third day I was almost dead. I thought I could never do it", reports do Nascimento on the increased training intensity. The South Americans acquired the necessary competitive toughness in the



Champions League (not in the Austrian league – it has been dominated since 1977 by serial champions Hypo.)

Brazil's fifth place at the 2012 Games in London had made people sit up. In the summer of 2013 the last piece of the puzzle was added, when national coach Morten Soubak, who has been working in Brazil since 2005, also took over as club coach at Hypo.

Hypo collaborated certainly in 2014 and could no longer finance the Brazilians. But most players found new employers after that in Europe.

Two of them, goalkeeper Mayssa Pessoa and Ana Paula Rodrigues Belo, won the Champions League in May 2016 with CKM Bucharest. "I hope we win a medal. These will probably be my last Games for the national team: says do Nascimento, who in 2012 was chosen as the world's best handball player (her compatriot Eduarda Amorim followed her in 2014).

Together with the coach of the men's national team, the Spaniard Jordi Ribeira, and with the CBH, Soubak is planning the future of Brazilian handball beyond Rio 2016. A large modern training centre is to be built in São Bernardo in the federal state of São Paulo. It will be in the spirit of Maria Enzersdorf. ■

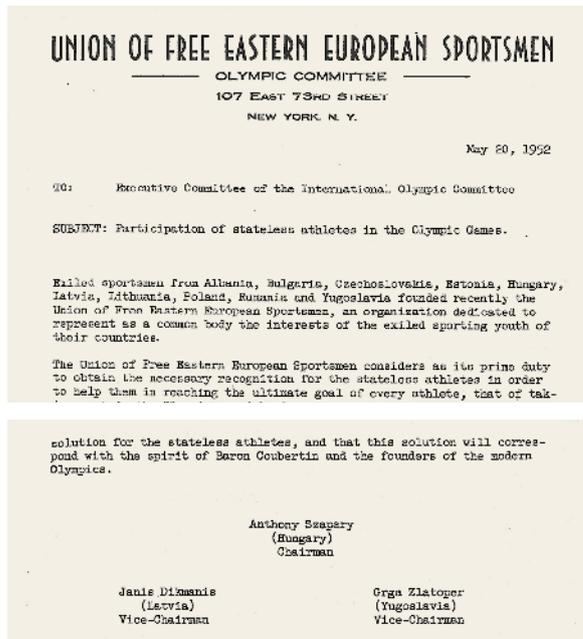
A boost for the Brazil women's handball team: Alexandra do Nascimento, was selected in for the Allstar team at the 2012 Games in London.

Photo: Erik Eggers Archive

The CIA, the IOC, and Efforts to Establish a Refugee Olympic Team*

By Toby C. Rider

The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen (UFEES), which had its headquarters in New York, demanded in a letter of 20th May 1952 the "participation of stateless athletes" in the Olympic Games in Helsinki. The initiator – with the support of the CIA – was the Hungarian Count Anthony (Antal) Szápáry (1905-1973), who in 1949 had married the great-granddaughter of railroad magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt.



In an address delivered to the United Nations General Assembly on 26th October 2015, the President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Thomas Bach, explained that athletes of the highest calibre were among the millions of refugees swept up in the unfolding humanitarian disaster across Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. "At present, none of these athletes would have the chance to participate in the Olympic Games even if qualified," he said, "with their refugee status, they are left without a home country and National Olympic Committee to represent."

In response to this tragic set of circumstances, Bach announced that the IOC planned to allow a small number of these men and women to participate at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. "[H]aving no national team to belong to, having no flag to march behind, having no national anthem to be played, these refugee athletes will be welcomed to the Olympic Games with the Olympic flag and the Olympic anthem," he told the assembly. "This will be a symbol of hope for all the refugees in our world, and will make the world better aware of the magnitude of this crisis."¹ In March the following year, the IOC Executive Board established and recognised a Refugee Olympic Team (ROT) for the first time in the history of the modern Games.²

As far back as 1952, however, a different refugee team was not given the same vote of approval. The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen (UFEES), a consortium of stateless athletes that had fled from behind the 'Iron Curtain' and sought to compete at the Helsinki Summer Games, roundly failed in its bid to receive official Olympic recognition. In many ways, the decision was fully justified. Recent research has revealed that the UFEES was connected to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the clearing house for the US government's early Cold War covert operations.³ These secret links, forged as part of America's strategy to defeat the Soviet Union, gave the IOC's Members a simple reason to deny the Union's application.

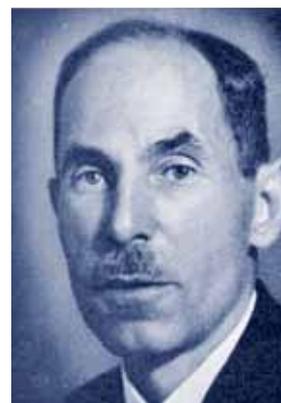
After all, the IOC is an organisation that opposes the political interference of governments with the Olympics. Yet the available sources do not suggest that Olympic authorities had any inkling of the involvement of America's intelligence community in the activities of the Union. They made a decision, and a decisive one at that, based upon the merits of the case. Exploring the IOC's approach to the Union therefore reveals the organisation's change of policy with respect to the participation of stateless athletes in the twenty first century.

The Secret Behind the UFEES

There existed, quite clearly, a fundamental difference between the Union and the newly coined Refugee Olympic Team. One was organised by the IOC, the other by a clandestine organ of state. Indeed, tracing the origins of the Union reveals the evolution of America's covert Cold War apparatus. The formation of the Union was, in essence, inspired by the US government's strategy of "political warfare" to counter the threat of communist expansion in the early Cold War years. US officials argued that only through political warfare, the "employment of all means at a nation's command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives," could America effectively respond to the apparent success of Soviet propaganda following the defeat of Hitler.⁴ In 1948, this realisation was quickly made policy when the government created the machinery for secret operations and placed it under the umbrella of the Central Intelligence Agency.⁵

Armed with a massive budget and a cast of Second World War intelligence veterans, the US soon embarked upon a wide scope of covert operations in a global assault on communism. Moreover, this worldwide crusade was further driven and galvanized by the co-optation of private actors to the cause. US policymakers determined that foreign audiences would be far more responsive to the message of American propaganda if it appeared that the message had not come from official government sources. As a result, they launched an unprecedented peace time commitment to support US foreign policy objectives by working with and through private groups or, in more extreme examples, creating "private" organisations from scratch.⁶

The National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) fit into the latter category of this "state-private network." This émigré group provided a voice for Eastern European refugees who had fled either the Nazi invasion or the subsequent Soviet presence in their respective countries. Covert operators in Washington recognised that the exiles possessed the necessary lines of contact to breach Stalin's 'Iron Curtain', and spread propaganda that might disrupt and encourage revolt against Soviet communist ideology. More still, the State Department reasoned that if they controlled the refugees in an unofficial capacity, the US government could not be held accountable. And so in response to Soviet foreign policy and in light



Latvian Jānis Dikmanis (1882–1969) was the Vice-Chairman of the UFEES and an IOC member from 1926 to 1947. In the wake of the Red Army invasion of 1944 he fled to Germany and from there to England and to the USA. Far left: the committee was also supported by the Briton Tufton Beamish (1917–1989), from 1945 to 1974 conservative member of Parliament and thereafter Baron Chelwood of Lewes in East Sussex.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

of the potential of the exiled community, the National Committee for a Free Europe was formed by the American intelligence community in 1949. The organisation's first press release stated that it would aid the exiles in their "stand against communism" and, of course, made no mention of where its funding came from. To anyone in the public that might be interested, the committee simply appeared to be a private philanthropic group led by prominent American citizens. In reality, however, it received millions of CIA dollars to fund Soviet bloc émigrés in an astounding breadth of activities. The most famous branch of the organisation's propaganda machine, *Radio Free Europe*, started to broadcast in 1950, but the committee also poured money into research centers, publications, "freedom" rallies, a Free Europe University in Exile, and a plethora of other exiled groups and individuals living in the West.⁷

One such benefactor, crucial to the story of the Union, was the Hungarian National Sports Federation (HNSF). Formed in December 1949, the Federation sought to "deal the greatest possible blows whenever and wherever possible to the communists in the field of sports."⁸ Led by a Hungarian exile named Count Anthony Szápáry, the group endeavored to help athletes to defect from Eastern Europe and aided those that had defected to start a new life on "free soil." As many of these refugees desired to continue competing in sporting competitions, the HNSF expelled a considerable amount of energy attempting to persuade international sports bodies such as the IOC to allow stateless athletes to enter their events. One of the HNSF's first major attempts to press this agenda resulted in the creation of the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen.⁹

The scheme developed throughout the middle portion of 1951. Realizing that many athletes from Soviet bloc countries were among the people in flight from the 'Iron Curtain', the HNSF and NCFE concocted a plan to create a refugee Olympic team for the 1952 Summer Games in Helsinki.¹⁰ It coincided, rather aptly, with another significant event. While the creators of the UFEES plotted about how to get Olympic recognition, the Soviet Union got it. At Helsinki, the Soviet Union's athletes competed



Toby C. Rider *1978. Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Department of Kinesiology at the California State University, Fullerton. His work includes *Cold War Games: Propaganda, the Olympics, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 2016; "Political Warfare in Helsinki: American Covert Strategy and the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen", in: *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 30, No.13 (2013), pp. 1493–1507.

Count Szápáry spoke in particular Hungarian athletes living in exile. In 1949 Kornél Pajor, became the only Hungarian to win a World Championship in speed-skating. He settled in Sweden after the 1951 World Championships. Adjacent: the fencer Imre Rajczy, who had won Olympic gold in 1936 with the Hungarian sabre team and had emigrated to Argentina after the Second World War.



for the first time in Olympic history, further drawing the Movement into the global ideological struggle for the "hearts and minds" of the world.¹¹ For this reason, too, the timing of the Union's operation was perfect. Stalin may have had expectations that Soviet athletes would promote communism on an international platform by dominating in Finland, but a group of exiles competing in defiance of communist control in Eastern Europe was sure to raise a few eyebrows in the Kremlin. Officials in the NCFE certainly believed that "tremendous propaganda" could be "derived" from getting a refugee team on the programme for Helsinki.¹²

In May 1952, the Union applied to the IOC for official recognition. A list of potential athletes for the team, compiled by the UFEES, included rowers, gymnasts, swimmers, boxers, wrestlers, over forty soccer players and a further twenty five basketballers. Notable stars on the list included the world champion speed-skater, Kornél Pajor, Olympic gold medallist fencer, Imre Rajczy, and the entire silver medal winning water polo team from the 1948 Games.¹³ Although the final number of athletes that would comprise the team was never fully established – ROT, incidentally, would have ten – one newspaper reported that it could contain, "16 Olympic, 20 world and 35 former intercollegiate champions."¹⁴ There is no doubt, however, about the Union's political objectives. Szápáry, who served as the chairman for the group, declared that it represented refugee athletes from "ten nations enslaved by the Kremlin."¹⁵

An Appeal to Olympic Principles

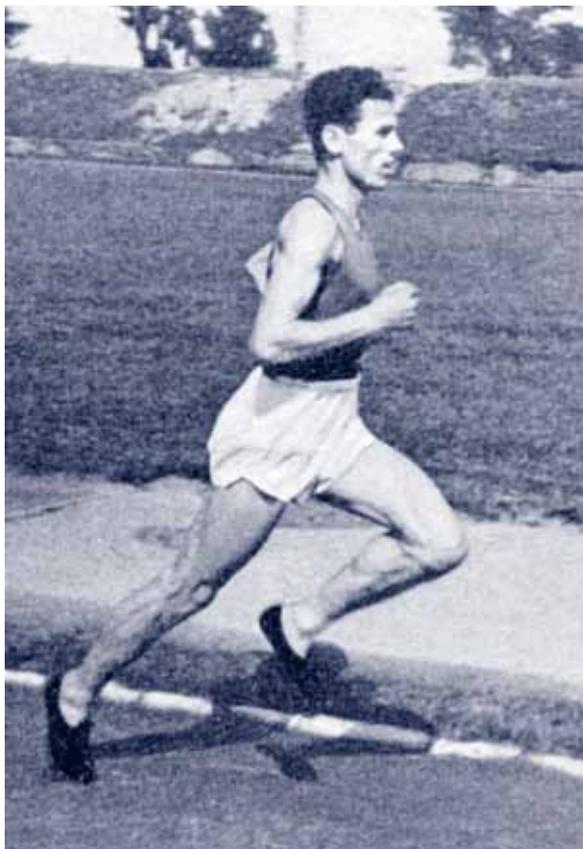
In 2016, the IOC reacted to a human crisis of immense proportions. For this reason, no doubt, the creation of the Refugee Olympic Team has been warmly greeted by the public and media. Yet the refugee situation in the post-World War Two years was also catastrophic. The bloody course of the confrontation shook and uprooted communities around the world. The European theater of battle alone, the main focus of Hitler's attention, led to the displacement of millions. Once the war was over, an already dire refugee situation was further complicated by the exodus of people from the newly established communist regimes in Eastern Europe.¹⁶

This turn events, coupled with the hardening anti-communist sentiments of many in the West after 1945, certainly made the case for refugee sportsmen all the more compelling to those who were aware of it. "There must be athletes of considerable ability among well over a million refugees from the Russian-dominated countries, and perhaps even among exiles from the Soviet Union itself," wrote the British politician, Major Tufton Beamish, in a plea to his fellow countrymen and IOC Member, Lord David Burghley. "I am myself very much in favour of trying to enable these people and their offspring to compete in the Olympic Games. It would be a small gesture that could have considerable effect on the morale of the people in the occupied countries."¹⁷

Representatives of the UFEES harnessed these attitudes and this political atmosphere to spark their campaign into life. In letters to members of the IOC, and in trenchant statements to the media, they charged that refugee athletes were victims of ruthless communist forces in Eastern Europe. "In these countries," Szápáry wrote in a missive to the IOC, athletes "are selected on a political basis, those with different political opinions are considered unreliable and therefore cannot practice sports and are prosecuted or imprisoned." Having been essentially forced to leave their homelands, Szápáry added, these athletes were then "barred from the most noble festival" of "youth" in the world. "The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen, considers as its prime duty to obtain the necessary recognition for the stateless athletes in order to help them in reaching the ultimate goal of every athlete, that of taking part in the Olympics," he explained.¹⁸

The primary obstacle for supporters of refugee athletes in general, and the UFEES in particular, was the IOC's rules on national representation. As Lord Burghley succinctly put it, "we deal essentially with National Olympic Committees, and not with individuals, and we can only have one national team from each country."¹⁹ Thus, without a national committee to compete for, an individual refugee could not compete at the Olympics, and a team of refugees clearly could not represent any one country. Moreover, if a refugee had already participated for their nation of birth at the Olympics, as many had done before defecting, the IOC's rules prevented the individual from wearing the colours of a second country at the Games. Refugee athletes, then, simply did not fit anywhere within the organisational framework of the Olympic system.²⁰

To overcome the incompatibility of the Union with the IOC's edicts, the case Szápáry and others made, in public announcements and private correspondence, mainly tackled the issue from two perspectives. First, advocates of the Union combatted the IOC's rules by pointing to another, the first to be found in the *Olympic Charter*: "The Olympic Games are held every four years and assemble amateurs of all nations in fair and equal competition under conditions which are to be as perfect as possible. No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of colour, religion or politics."²¹ This famous rule, so often recited by both friends and enemies of the Games to attack or defend them, encapsulated the inclusive philosophy that underpinned the Movement. In appealing to this regulation, the UFEES argued that many athletes had no choice but to flee from Eastern Europe; their way of life had been attacked and their freedom compromised.²² Szápáry reasoned, therefore, that "the non-admittance of stateless athletes to the Games is in every sense a political discrimination."²³



After the Hungarian uprising of 1956 the subject of refugees became a hot topic. Among those athletes who did not return to their country was László Tábori, who had been fourth in the 1500 m in Melbourne and sixth over 5000 m. Together with coach Mihály Igloi (1908-1998) he emigrated to the USA. As a "stateless athlete" he had no chance of taking part in the 1960 Games in Rome.

In a second argument, one that apparently transcended the first, supporters of the UFEES invoked the virtuous ideals of Olympism. As such, they asked that the IOC make a decision based upon the lofty "principles" of fair play and good sportsmanship, important features of the festival's peaceful aims. Though not denying the centrality of regulations to the functioning of the Games, Szápáry called upon the IOC to follow the "spirit" if not the "strict wording" of its rules.²⁴ To press this point, and to lure their audience into feelings of guilt no doubt, multiple times officials from the Union paid homage to the historical origins of the Games and the musings of Baron Pierre de Coubertin. "After all," noted Peter Zerkowitz, the Union's secretary, the Baron "meant to assist mutual understanding among the youth of the world, without regard to politics. The rules were made to further international sportsmanship, but the refugee problem didn't exist then. Now those same rules are working against those very same aims of sportsmanship."²⁵

Throughout months of lobbying, the Union's main arguments were made and remade on numerous occasions. Yet the leaders of the group do not appear to have harbored any misplaced confidence. They accepted that their cause might be doomed to fail. They remained optimistic. In a letter to American Olympic officials, the President of the NCFE, Charles Douglas Jackson, noted that while the "consideration" of a refugee team would "raise some questions" for

The 1952 Olympics in Helsinki saw the entry of the Soviet Union as a new global player. Their team and those from other 'Iron curtain' stayed in a second Olympic Village in Otaniemi. They were kept apart from competitors from Western nations. A picture of Stalin was intended to "beautify" the accommodation.



the IOC, he believed that such questions "may not be found insoluble."²⁶ In reality, though, Jackson and his colleagues hoped rather than expected for good news.

Judging the Case

The creation of ROT, of course, required no such labors. The IOC's Members merely had to convince themselves that such a team could be admitted into the Games. They evidently decided that it could. But how did the IOC react to the Union's campaign? The IOC first discussed the subject at length during its February Session in 1952. In a record of the debate, held in Oslo before the same city hosted the Winter Games, the minutes of the meeting note that several members expressed their opinion on stateless athletes. Yet the same minutes only provide greater detail on the viewpoints of two participants. Both were negative.

The British delegate, Lord Aberdare, called the idea of a refugee team "purely fanciful" and demanded that it be rebuffed, "without delay," in a statement to the media. Erik von Frenckell, the Finnish delegate, offered a different reason to deny the proposal. He stated that the request from the refugees had come far too late for Helsinki, and added that in the long-term, the athletes would be too old to compete at the 1956 Games in Melbourne. Von Frenckell reasoned that the problem was short term, and convinced many that it would disappear with time.²⁷ His comments appear to have made an impression on others in the room. Sigfrid Edström, the IOC President, wrote a month later that the "fugitive question" was "a passing problem that we must not pay too much attention to."²⁸

The discussion offered little promise for the Union. Yet the matter was certainly not dismissed by everyone in the IOC. Some clearly sympathized with the situation faced by refugee athletes. The evidence suggests, for instance, that the Vice-President of the IOC, Avery Brundage, was sensitive to the cause. "They have a very impressive list of ex-national, international and Olympic champions," he told a colleague. "As a matter of fact, since the Olympic Games are supposed to assemble the youth of the world, perhaps there really should be some way of allowing them to compete."²⁹

It was this collective sympathy that probably led to the Union receiving space on the IOC's agenda at its next Session in Helsinki. The NCFE, in one final push, paid for a Hungarian exile living in England named Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano to travel to Finland and speak on the issue.³⁰ He made the usual appeals based upon the interpretation of Olympic rules and Olympic principles.

These contentions were, by this point, synonymous with the case. But he also added a few more. To prevent the "plight" of stateless athletes, Márffy suggested that the IOC could instruct the International Sports Federations to recognise the refugee athletes, an act that might clear the path to full Olympic recognition. He proposed, as an alternative, that refugees could compete under the flag of the International Red Cross, or the Olympic rings, or as part of teams from countries such as Switzerland or Greece. He asked, as well, that the "question be studied with leniency." It changed not a thing. Once the Hungarian had finished his oration, the IOC voted to deny the proposal for a refugee Olympic team.³¹

If some of the IOC delegates clearly sympathized with the refugees, what stopped them from making the alternative choice? The Union's connection to the CIA might have offered a plausible explanation, but the available sources simply do not support this claim. Interestingly, too, the IOC was not evidently bothered about the political aims of the UFEES. It was unequivocally clear that a key component of the

Union's mission was based around the propaganda that Eastern European exiles competing at the Games might generate. The Union made no secret whatsoever of its anti-communist agenda. This goal, however, was not a factor, or at least does not appear to have been, in the IOC's decision to block the group's proposal.

In a published statement condemning the ruling, Szápáry accused the communist IOC Members of sabotaging the entire request for recognition.³² This appears to be a reasonable assumption. Escapees from the Soviet bloc were a considerable problem for the communist regimes, hidden if at all possible or empathically criticized if necessary. "These men are deserters, traitors," the Soviet IOC Member, Alexey Romanov, told Brundage.³³ For the Soviet bloc representatives in the room, listening to Márffy's oration must have been awkward. They would surely have been given orders by communist authorities about how to act if the Union's proposal gained traction. But it did not. Once again, moreover, the sources remain silent. And even if the communist delegates were against the refugees from Eastern Europe, which is highly likely, the effort to squash the proposal was also backed by the IOC membership, and this included the anti-communist Brundage and Edström.³⁴

One more explanation is left: the rules apparently presented the IOC with an insurmountable wall. There seemed to be a general, albeit weak, desire in the IOC to work out a solution but none of the suggestions put forward by exiles or interested parties were deemed acceptable when weighed against the structure and spirit of the organisation's rules. The IOC was dedicated to promoting peace through sporting competition between national teams. A refugee team, the IOC replied, was impractical for an Olympic system based on national sports federations and National Olympic Committees. In fairness, this was not a justification wheeled out at the last moment by the IOC; its members consistently told emigres throughout 1951 and 1952 that a refugee Olympic team would probably fail. Rightly or wrongly, the IOC acted in precisely the same manner as it said it would. The IOC's Members understood that there should be no "discrimination" at the Games, but, as Edström explained, it was "fundamental" that the athletes "belong to a nation."³⁵

Concluding Remarks: The Path to ROT

After its request for recognition had been refused, the Union gradually stopped sending letters to the IOC. Within a few years, the group appears to have disappeared. Yet the problem of refugee athletes did not "pass" as the leaders of the Movement thought that it would. The IOC remained the target of public criticism, some of quite vehement, for its approach to

the issue.³⁶ Slowly, though, the IOC began to rewrite its rules and to display a modicum of flexibility. In 1956, it voted to allow women the opportunity to compete for a second country of citizenship, that being the country of the man that they married.³⁷ Nearly a decade later, in 1964, the IOC ruled that it would allow any athlete, man or woman, to enter under the colours of a second country of citizenship after the individual had been a naturalized citizen of that country for three years.³⁸ These alterations to the *Charter* allowed for many refugee athletes to secure Olympic eligibility, yet the changes still only worked around the Movement's structure of National Olympic Committees. A refugee remained in a state of limbo until citizenship was secured, a process that could take years.

In an effort to accommodate the unfortunate people that remained in transition between countries, the IOC began to allow some athletes to enter the Games as independent participants under the Olympic flag. In 1992, for instance, the IOC handled the breakup of Yugoslavia in just this way. While the war torn Yugoslavian nation splintered into separate states, it was hit with United Nations Security Council sanctions that included a ban on participation in sports events. The IOC carefully listened to international calls for intervention and invited Yugoslavian athletes to enter the Barcelona Games as individuals. William Hybl, the President of the United States Olympic Committee, called the arrangement "the Olympic ideal at its best."³⁹ More recently, too, the IOC granted four athletes from East Timor (2000), three athletes of the dissolved NOC of the Netherlands Antilles and one athlete from South Sudan (2012) permission to compete under the Olympic flag as each country awaited official recognition in the Movement.⁴⁰



For cox Róbert Zimonyi (1918–2004) there was a sixteen year gap between 1948 bronze medal for the Hungarian coxed pairs and a gold medal with the American eight in 1964 in Tokyo.

Behind the Olympic flag and the designation "Independent Olympic Athletes", three participants of the dissolved NOC of the Netherlands Antilles, as well as a sportsman from South Sudan, marched in 2012 in London. There was a similar solution in 1992 for the sportsmen and -women from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia as well as in 2000 for four athletes from Timor Leste.

At the 2014 Winter Games three Indians initially had this status. But during the Games, as the Indian NOC, which had been suspended, was again recognised, they could in the end take part under their own flag.

Photo: picture-alliance



With far greater financial resources and global influence than in the early Cold War, the IOC has also become far more engaged with the broader refugee problem. Since 2004, for example, the IOC has worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to provide thousands of refugees with sports equipment and clothing. In 2015, the IOC went a step further and announced that it would create a two million dollar refugee fund for National Olympic Committees to distribute to selected projects and programmes.⁴¹ On the back of this initiative came the formation of the Refugee Olympic Team. "Through the [ROT], we can demonstrate that sport has values, which these days are sometimes put in doubt for various reasons," said IOC official, Pere Meró. "By bringing these athletes back to the Games, back to sport, back to life, and by bringing sport to the refugee camps to improve the quality of everyday life, we believe we are going back to our roots and really demonstrating that sport can serve society."⁴² In comparison to 1952, then, the IOC of 2016 has adopted an entirely different approach to refugee athletes. It elected to privilege the principles of Olympism over the rules as written in the *Olympic Charter*. ■

1 UN General Assembly Approves Olympic Truce For Olympic Games Rio De Janeiro 2016, 26 October 2015, <https://www.olympic.org/news/un-general-assembly-approves-olympic-truce-for-olympic-games-rio-de-janeiro-2016>.

2 Team of Refugee Olympic Athletes (ROA) created by the IOC, 2 March 2016, <http://www.olympic.org/news/team-of-refugee-olympic-athletes-roa-created-by-the-ioc/248766>.

3 Toby C. Rider, *Cold War Games: Propaganda, the Olympics, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2016), pp. 67–82.

4 The inauguration of organized political warfare, Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, 4 May 1948, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945–1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1996), 668–72.

5 Sarah-Jane Corke, "George Kennan and the Inauguration of Political

Warfare," *Journal of Conflict Studies* 26, no. 1 (2006): 101–120; Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947–1950* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 199–203.

6 For superb work on government fronts and state-private operations see Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999); and Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008).

7 New Group Formed To Assist Refugees, *New York Times*, 2 June 1949, quote on 29; Katalin Kádár-Lynn, At War While at Peace: United States Cold War Policy and the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., in: *The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare: Cold War Organizations Sponsored by the National Committee for a Free Europe/Free Europe Committee*, ed. Katalin Kádár-Lynn (California: Helena History Press, 2013), pp. 7–70; A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010); Larry D. Collins, *The Free Europe Committee: An American Weapon Of The Cold War* (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1973).

8 Count Anthony Szápáry to C.D. Jackson, 2 February 1962, C.D. Jackson Papers, 1931–67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933–64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933–64, Box 53, "Free Europe Committee, 1962," Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas.

9 Toby C. Rider, The Cold War Activities of the Hungarian National Sports Federation, in: *The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare: Cold War Organizations Sponsored by the National Committee for a Free Europe/Free Europe Committee*, ed. Katalin Kádár Lynn (Saint Helena, CA: Helena History Press, 2013), pp. 515–46.

10 Rider, *Cold War Games*, pp. 73–77.

11 For more on the Soviet entrance into the Olympics see Jenifer Parks, Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union's Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946–1952, in: Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews, eds., *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 27–44.

12 A. Gellért to Robert Cutler, April 1951, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 245, (4) Olympic Games General, 1951–1959, Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California.

13 List attached to note from Peter Zerkowitz to Wright, 23 May 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) Olympic Games General, 1951–1959, HA.

14 Self-Exiled European Athletes Seek To Compete As A Unit In Olympics, *The Portsmouth Times*, 20 June 1952, p. 24.

15 Szápáry to Avery Brundage, 14 May 1952, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908–75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 116, Reel 63, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

16 Malcolm J. Proudfoot, *European Refugees: 1939–52: A Study in Forced Population Movement* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1956), 21, 32–54; Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press,

- 1985), pp. 348–54. See also Mark Wyman, *DP: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (London: Associated University Press, 1989).
- 17 Major Tufton Beamish to Lord David Burghley, 13 May 1952, BOA/IOC/ADM/10–11, British Olympic Association Archives (hereafter referred to as BOA Archives), University of East London Archives, London, England.
- 18 Szápáry to Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, 20 May 1952, BOA/IOC/ADM/10–11, BOA Archives.
- 19 Lord David Burghley to Sigfrid Edström, 27 March 1952, BOA/IOC/ADM/10–11, BOA Archives.
- 20 For more on the historical development of these rules see Toby C. Rider, Eastern Europe's Unwanted: Exiled Athletes and the Olympic Games, 1948–1964, in: *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 3 (2013): pp. 435–453.
- 21 International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Rules* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1949), p. 5.
- 22 See for example Gerhard Wettig, *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East–West Conflict, 1939–1953* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008), 148–49; Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944–1956* (New York: Doubleday, 2012), pp. 88–115.
- 23 Szápáry to Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, 20 May 1952, BOA/IOC/ADM/10–11, BOA Archives.
- 24 Szápáry to Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, 20 May 1952, BOA/IOC/ADM/10–11, BOA Archives.
- 25 Exiled Athletes Seek To Enter Olympic Play, in: *The Charleston Gazette*, 29 April 1952, 9.
- 26 Jackson to Brundage, 30 January 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA.
- 27 Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 46th Session, Oslo, 12–13 February 1952, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland.
- 28 Edström to Members of the IOC Executive Committee, 18 March 1952, ABC, Box 43, Reel 25, ICOSA.
- 29 Brundage to John T. McGovern, 15 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA.
- 30 Wright to Miller, 3 July 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) *Olympic Games General, 1951–1959*, HA; Zerkowitz to Miller, 10 July 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) "Olympic Games General, 1951–1959," HA.
- 31 "Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 47th Session," Helsinki, 16 July 1952, IOC Archives.
- 32 "Olympic Ban Queried," *New York Times*, 20 July 1952, sec. E, p. 8.
- 33 "I Must Admit – Russian Athletes Are Great!" *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 April 1955, p. 29.
- 34 For an example of Edström's anti-Communist beliefs see Edström to Friends and Family, 8 August 1950, Biography, Press Cuttings, Circulars, and Speeches of Sigfrid Edström, Box 4, IOC Archives. For more on Brundage's personal politics see Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).
- 35 Edström to Otto Mayer, 29 May 1952, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, April 1952–1953, Box 3, IOC Archives.
- 36 See for instance "No Discrimination," *Times*, 21 July 1960, p. 13.
- 37 Extract of the Minutes of the 51st Session of the International Olympic Committee, Cortina d'Ampezzo, 24–25 January 1956, *Olympic Review* 54 (May, 1956), p. 47.
- 38 IOC Executive Board Meeting, Lausanne, 26–27 June 1964, IOC Archives; Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 62nd Session, Annex 10, Tokyo, 6–8 October 1964, IOC Archives.
- 39 Decisions of the 99th Session, *Olympic Review* 299 (September, 1992), 416; "Yugoslavia Agrees to Terms of restricted Entry in Games," *New York Times*, 23 July 1992, sec. B, 11; "Bosnian Delegation Certified," *New York Times*, 24 July 1992, sec. B, 13; "Yugoslavs Will Go To Games," *New York Times*, 11 July 1992, quote on p. 29.
- 40 Philip Hersh, "Four Participants in Sydney Wear 'Individual Olympic Athletes' Badges," 9 September 2000, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2000-09-09/sports/0009090087_1_frank-fowlie-aguida-amaral-east-timorese; "London 2012 Olympics: South Sudan's GuorMarial allowed to compete under Olympic flag in London," 21 July 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/athletics/9417428/London-2012-Olympics-South-Sudans-Guor-Marial-allowed-to-compete-under-Olympic-flag-in-London.html>
- 41 "IOC announces emergency two million dollar fund to help refugees," 4 September 2015, www.olympic.org/news/ioc-announces-emergency-two-million-dollar-fund-to-help-refugees
- 42 "The inspirational Olympic Journey of refugee swimmer Yusra Mardini," 18 March 2016, <https://www.olympic.org/news/the-inspirational-olympic-journey-of-refugee-swimmer-yusra-mardini>

2016 Refugee Olympic Team

Ten athletes will compete for the Refugee Olympic Team (ROT) and march with the Olympic flag immediately before host nation Brazil at the opening ceremony. The athletes were named by the IOC Executive Board. Olympian and former marathon world record-holder Tegla Loroupe (Kenya) was named the team's Chef de Mission. The athletes are:

Rami Anis: Country of origin – Syria; host NOC – Belgium; swimming



Syrian swimmer Yusra Mardini trained in Berlin to prepare for Rio.

Below: The Rio 2016 flame was carried by Syrian refugee swimmer Ibrahim Al Hussein at the Eleonas Reception Centre in Athens as part of a joint initiative between the IOC, HOC and UNHCR. Ibrahim Al Hussein, 27, had lost part of a leg as a result of a bomb in 2012 and had sought asylum in Greece two years ago.

Yiech Pur Biel: South Sudan; host NOC – Kenya; athletics, 800 m

Paulo Amotun Lokoro: South Sudan; host NOC – Kenya; athletics, 1500 m

James Nyang Chiengjiek: South Sudan; host NOC – Kenya; athletics, 400 m

Yolande Bukasa Mabika: Democratic Republic of the Congo; host NOC – Brazil; judo, –70 kg

Yonas Kinde: Ethiopia; host NOC – Luxembourg; athletics, marathon

Yusra Mardini: Syria; host NOC – Germany; swimming

Anjelina Nada Lohalith: South Sudan; host NOC – Kenya; athletics, 1500 m

Rose Nathike Lokonyen: South Sudan; host NOC – Kenya; athletics, 800 m

Popole Misenga: Democratic Republic of the Congo; host NOC – Brazil; judo, –90 kg



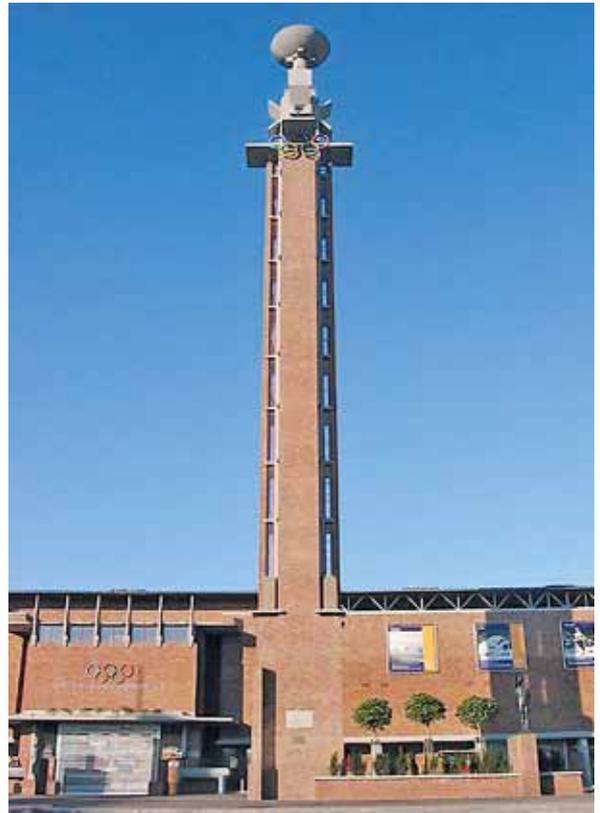
Photos: picture-alliance

Where Have All the Summer Olympic Cauldrons Gone?

By Myles A. Garcia

For the first time the IOC appeared in public at the opening of the Olympic Games in 1912 in Stockholm. Whether a flame also burned on the two stadium towers can only be guessed at. When else, if not on this occasion? Far right: the Marathon Tower in the Amsterdam Olympic Stadium.

Photos: Myles Garcia Archive, Volker Kluge Archive



After his investigation into what became of the cauldrons at Winter Olympic Games (JOH, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 16–19), Myles Garcia now turns the spotlight on the Summer Games.

Stockholm 1912. Stadium architect Torben Grut had fire baskets installed. According to the researches of ISOH member Ansgar Molzberger, these still exist today. However no photographic evidence has yet emerged to prove once and for all that an “Olympic Fire” burned during the 1912 Games. The cauldrons may well have done so. Molzberger believes he can detect a “weak column of smoke” (JOH, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 44–45), in a photo in the 1912 Official Report (p. 817). This photo was taken during the presentations by the boy scouts. In addition, he draws attention to the “Great Festival” on 14th July 1912, when a firework was set alight on the towers. On the diploma designer Olle Hjortzberg also depicted the towers with a burning fire.

Amsterdam 1928. The first authentic cauldron of the modern games. It sits atop the Marathon Tower which, together with the Olympic Stadium and the Olympic park, were all designed by architect Jan Wils. ISOH General Secretary Anthony Th. Bijkerk has discovered that originally Wils planned to use a searchlight for his “fire”. Wils was also a freemason and later opted to replace the searchlight with a burning flame.

The cauldron was designed to show a flame during daylight, but the flame was extinguished over night. On one occasion, they did leave it burning after dark, in order to take a photograph. The panels sticking out are sound baffles for the loudspeakers installed at the top of the tower.

Employees of the Amsterdam Utility Company lit the first Olympic Flame in the morning by climbing the stairs to the top of the Marathon Tower. They had to climb them again after the sun had gone down to extinguish the flame. Today the cauldron remains in its original location at the renovated Amsterdam Stadium.

Los Angeles 1932 and 1984. The cauldron is still in place at its original site. It formed part of the overall design of the Coliseum designed by John and Donald Parkinson, a father and son architectural team originally from Lancashire in the North of England. The stadium was in turn inspired by that in Stockholm. The 'cauldron' stood 45.72 metres high. It is unusual in that it did not feature a bowl or dish. In 1932 the flame was lit by an unknown stagehand. In 1984 by contrast, the great decathlon champion Rafer Johnson lit a fire in the Olympic rings through which the flames passed to ignite the cauldron. It might yet burn once again if Los Angeles is successful in winning the bid for 2024.



Berlin 1936. As Volker Kluge writes in his book *Berlin's Olympic Stadium* (Das Neue Berlin, 2009), Organising Committee General Secretary, Carl Diem, intended initially to erect a tower at the Western end of the German Sports Forum. This would have followed the example of Amsterdam 1928. It was from this tower that the fire was to burn during the Games.

After Hitler's coming to power or "Machtergreifung", he ordered the building of a new stadium for 100,000 spectators. To this a "Temple" in honour of the German

fallen was to be added. Architect Werner March devised a bell tower 76 metres in height.

As a result, another place had to be found for the Olympic Fire. March finally located his cauldron above the centre of the Marathon Gate. His concept was based on the altars of antiquity: According to legend, a tripod which stood in the temple of Apollo in Delphi was the seat of the soothsaying priestess Pythia.

In 1936 an Olympic Flame was brought to the host city by relay from Ancient Olympia for the first time.

The tripod stands 2.2 m high and bears the cauldron, made of sheet iron and designed with fireclay grit. The flame burnt to a height of some three metres. It was fed with propane gas. This was supplied in steel cylinders which were placed in a small storage area under the tripod. Some 90 of these were needed. They contained approximately 22 kilo of propane which was needed every day to keep the flame burning.

The cauldron survived the Second World War undamaged. The Olympic Fire burned most recently on the occasion on 31st July 2004, when the stadium was re-opened after modernization in preparation for the 2006 World Cup.

It is not widely known that there were two further torch relays in 1936. On the 7th August the fire was carried by a relay to the rowing and canoeing venue at Grünau, 37 kilometres away from Berlin. No fewer than 573 young men took part. They ran in threes and were changed every 200 metres. The "qualification" for the runners was to have blonde hair and blue eyes.

Officially the cauldron there was lit by the National Socialist local mayor Karl Matzow, but a film clip shows a young man as the last runner.

The third torch relay on 2nd and 3rd August 1936 took the flame to Kiel. This relay ended in curious fashion. The last runner was sailor Peter Hansohm who lit the fire in the crows nest of a replica cog, a traditional boat used in the time of the Hanseatic League. A storm blew up during the night and the cog capsized. The fire went out and was discreetly relit the following day, after the ship had been righted. Neither the Kiel cauldron nor that of Grünau survived.



A young oarsman lit the Olympic Fire in 1936 at the regatta course of Berlin-Grünau. Adjacent: the tripod in the 1936 Olympic Stadium, whose flame is still fed today with propane gas from a room under the cauldron. Photos: Peter Frenkel, Volker Kluge Archive

London 1948. According to Philip Barker this was originally located at the tunnel end of the old stadium. It was installed barely ten days before the 1948 Games at the same time the cinder track was being laid.

The choice of the final runner fell on John Mark, a Cambridge University athlete. He took part in rehearsals alongside reserve runner Angus Scott. Officials cabled an update to flame relay organiser Bill Collins who had just arrived in Greece to witness the lighting of the flame.

"We had a run at Wembley with the final runner. It is essential that the gas is not turned on too early because in windy conditions like yesterday, the gas get blown about and the runner may get burnt."

The cauldron was later relocated on an open terrace under the twin towers. When the old stadium was demolished in 2002, it was stored until the new building was completed in 2007. Since then the cauldron has greeted visitors in the hallway.

In 1948, separate relay began from Wembley and took a flame to Torbay for the sailing competitions where a cauldron was lit. Archivists at Torquay library have confirmed that remains at Torre Abbey to this day.

of the tower. A Finnish film cameraman recorded the moment.

The fire lit by Nurmi on the infield was extinguished after the opening ceremony, whereas up in the tower the flame burned all through the Olympic Games. The cauldron on the infield was lit again on the closing day (presumably from the fire in the tower) and then extinguished during the ceremony.

So Hannes Kolehmainen was the last person to handle the fire on the opening day and the one who lit the

The 1952 Helsinki cauldron disappeared, but a replica has been in place on the roof of the Sports Museum of Finland since 1994. Far right : the fire on the stadium tower was lit by the 1912 Olympic champion, Hannes Kolehmainen.



After Wembley was completely rebuilt, the 1948 cauldron was re-positioned in the entrance hall.

Photos: Philip Barker, Sports Museum of Finland

flame where it burned throughout the Games. Yet the abiding image is of Paavo Nurmi who played the main ceremonial role by lighting the fire before the eyes of the world. As 'Nurmi's cauldron' was used again for the extinguishing ceremony it could be argued that his cauldron was the principal one and Kolehmainen's cauldron only a temporary repository of the Olympic fire."

Vesa Tikander has informed us that the 1952 cauldron no longer exists. The structure was probably dismantled immediately after the Games. "In 1994 the Helsinki Olympic Stadium Foundation tried to locate the original cauldron when Lillehammer's torch relay visited Helsinki, but no trace of it was found. Instead, a replica of the cauldron was made and placed for a while on the roof of the Sports Museum of Finland (adjacent to the Olympic Stadium). The replica might still be found but the original, of course, is sadly lost."

Helsinki 1952. The question of the last torchbearer of the 1952 Olympic Games is an interesting one and open to interpretation according to Vesa Tikander of the Sports Museum of Finland. "Paavo Nurmi lit the flame in the cauldron on the infield of the stadium in front of the crowd and the cameras of the world. He then carried the torch inside the stadium and handed it to the first of four young athletes who brought it in relay up the stairs to the top of the tower, where 62 year old Hannes Kolehmainen was waiting. No longer, the slim athletic figure of his youth, Kolehmainen had ascended by elevator. He used a long stick to light the flame on top

Stockholm 1956. The Stockholm stadium was the first in which two Olympic Games took place. In 1956, the riding events were held there when quarantine regulations made it impossible for horse to travel to Melbourne.

There was also an Olympic Torch Relay,



which began on 2nd June 1956 in Olympia. Eight days later, on 10th June, the relay reached Stockholm, where the Swedish dressage rider Hans Wikne (1914–1996) lit the cauldron on horseback

That was not the end of the ceremony. Wikne passed on the flame to 1952 Olympic gymnastics champion, Karin Lindberg, from whose torch the gold medallist in the 1948 1500 m, Henry Eriksson, lit a third torch. Next both of the climbed the stadium towers, where they raised their torches to show the crowd (see p. 46).

Enquiries by ISOH member Ove Karlsson revealed that the 1956 cauldron has disappeared. He believes it may well be in a storeroom at stadium and has alerted the manager of the Swedish Sports Museum to this possibility. The hope remains that this cauldron might one day be found and returned to public display



The Swedish Cavalry Captain Hans Wikne lit the bowl at the Equestrian Games of Stockholm in 1956. Left: gymnastic Olympic champion Karin Lindberg awaiting the flame, which then burned on both stadium towers.

Melbourne 1956. The cauldron was built by colleagues and students in the sheet-metal shop of the Brunswick Technical School and dismantled after the Olympic Games. It disappeared for many years into a storeroom at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG). It was erected again put up in its original form after the demolition of the athletic facilities. Further modernisation of the stadium was carried out before the 2006 Commonwealth Games. Today the cauldron is in the National Sports Museum at the MCG.



year, the old area was torn down to make way for a new National Stadium on the same site.

In 1964, the cauldron had been lit by Yoshinori Sakai a "boy from Hiroshima". He had been chosen because he was born on 6th August 1945 on the day of the dropping of the atom bomb.

The cauldron stood 2.1 m high and weighed 2.6 tonnes. It had been built in 1958 by Mannosuke Suzuki, and his son Bunge who maintained it each year.

In 2014, the 50th anniversary of the 1964 Olympic Games had been celebrated in the same stadium. Sadly Yoshinori Sakai, who had lit the Olympic Fire on 10th October 1964, did not live to see those festivities. He died in September 2014.

After the festivities the cauldron was dismantled. On the final occasion 2004 Olympic hammer champion Kōji Murofushi, helped him with the cleaning.

Rome 1960. The cauldron in which 18 year old Giancarlo Peris from Civitavecchia lit the fire on 25th August 1960, stood above the far straight in the Stadio Olimpico. This was also where the flags of the medallists were raised. During the reconstruction of the stadium before the 1990 World Cup the cauldron was dismantled. All enquiries as to its whereabouts have so far been unsuccessful. A cauldron also burned on the jetty at the rowing regatta.



The 1964 cauldron went on its travels two years ago to promote the 2020 Tokyo Games. Adjacent: the 1960 cauldron was disassembled during the reconstruction of the Rome Olympic Stadium. Nothing is known of its whereabouts.

Tokyo 1964. On 8th September 2013, this cauldron burned for one final time to celebrate the announcement that Tokyo had been awarded the 2020 Games. The following

In 2013 the Japanese sports ministry had decided that the cauldron would be used for promotional purposes so the giant was sent on its travels to publicise the 2020 Games. The first stop was the City of Ishinomaki in Miyagi Prefecture, an area that was severely affected by the tsunami in March 2011. In three years the 1964 cauldron is set to return to the new National Stadium

Photos: Official Report Stockholm 1956, courtesy of the Melbourne Cricket Club, Volker Kluge Archive

which will be built according to plans made by the late Zaha Hadid. It is not yet known where the cauldron will be positioned.

Mexico City 1968. The first to be lit by a female athlete: Norma Enriqueta Basilio. She also carried the torch when the Olympic Flame passed through the Mexican capital in 2004.



The 1968 cauldron stands in its old place above the main entrance at the eastern side of the Estadio Olímpico Universitario, which had been opened in November 1952 as the University Stadium.

Below the cauldron can be seen a relief by Diego Rivera, executed in natural coloured stones. It depicts a "Mexican family", represented by a father and mother, passing their son a dove of peace.

Rivera had intended to decorate all the external walls of the stadium with reliefs and thus present the history of Mexican sport. But unfortunately only the central piece of the front side was finished, because the project failed through lack of finance. Rivera himself died in 1957 and never did see the conclusion of his work.

Munich 1972. At the Games, the Munich cauldron was lit by 18 year old Günther Zahn.

Twenty years later it was moved to a hillside west of the stadium. The arena was the home ground for FC Bayern until 2005 but is now used for concerts and other cultural and social events.

As the cauldron is no longer intact in its original form, a temporary site was built to welcome the flame en route to the 2004 Athens Games. Günther Zahn lit the cauldron just as he had done for the 1972 Games.



Montreal 1976. In 1976, the cauldron was lit by Sandra Henderson and Stéphane Préfontaine, chosen to reflect the English and Francophone speaking communities in Canada. The cauldron had been placed in the centre of the stadium on a temporary scaffolding platform. After the opening ceremony it was repositioned before the athletics competitions began. The flame was also famously extinguished by a freak shower and hastily re-lit by a workman's lighter.

The cauldron can now be seen outside the Montreal Stadium with the finally completed tower in the background. This was to have held the cables for a retractable canvas roof but this was not completed in time for the Games in 1976.



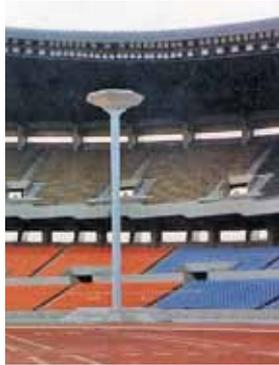
Moscow 1980. The cauldron sits today in the Olympic Park close to what is now known as the Luzhniki Stadium. Alongside it, as if for company, it has a statue of the popular 1980 mascot Misha the Bear (even though Misha memorably "flew" away at the 1980 closing ceremony into the great beyond).

At the 1980 opening ceremony there had been no obvious route for the final runner, basketball player Sergey Belov to reach the cauldron. As he reached the perimeter of the track, soldiers in the crowd created a pathway above their heads.

There was a second cauldron at Tallinn, Estonia, venue for the Sailing events (photo). It is still the only secondary venue to have its own mascot, Vigri, a harbour seal. The sailing gold medallists' names are emblazoned on a central plaque.



Seoul 1988. The cauldron was manufactured at a small factory by the Samsung Industrial Company at Kochok-Dong, a suburb of Seoul. For start of the opening ceremony, the Organising Committee disguised the cauldron tower with balloons.



The Korean Olympic Committee has confirmed that it remains in the stadium. Perhaps it will play a part in the torch relay for PyeongChang in 2018.

Barcelona 1992. Still at Montjuïc Stadium, by the Marathon Gate. Its design is in the exaggerated style of a ship's rudder.



Only a few metres from the stadium is the Olympic and Sports Museum Joan Antoni Samaranch, managed by the Barcelona Olympic Foundation (FBO), which also has its headquarters there.

Among the pieces exhibited in the museum are the bow and arrow with which Paralympic archer Antoni Rebollo lit the Olympic Fire on 28th July 1992 with a shot from the interior of the stadium.

Atlanta 1996. The Centennial cauldron (designed by Siad Armajani), now detached from the stadium sits presently in a corner of the Turner Field parking lot.



Turner Field is set to be demolished in a year or two, and the future location of the cauldron has not yet been decided. Perhaps an appropriate location would be at Centennial Olympic Park. As seen today outside the ANZ Stadium.

Sydney 2000. As the first Olympic cauldron of the new Millennium, Sydney's cauldron was also the first one infused with water; and the first hidden completely from the sight of spectators entering the Olympic Stadium. Previously, spectators entering the Olympic Stadium would look around and spot the cauldron that would be lit at the end of the ceremony. However, for

Sydney, a cauldron, or something resembling it, was nowhere to be seen. That was because it was hidden under a platform and would be revealed only when the final lighter, Cathy Freeman, lit the emerging cauldron from the waters.

The cauldron was lit up again on 16th September 2010 for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Sydney Games.

The idea of a cascade/waterfall starting from the cauldron area had first been considered for Los Angeles 1984. A 1933 rendering by San Francisco architect Bernard Maybeck of a monument and illuminated water effects/cascade for Twin Peaks in San Francisco may well have provided inspiration for Ric Birch when he settled on this method for the lighting of the cauldron at Sydney



Water games in the Sydney Olympic Park.

Photo: courtesy of the Sydney Olympic Park Authority

2000? While the idea of a cascade down a mountain/hillside is nothing new, this would seem to be the first known rendering that shows a fully illuminated cascade (from under the water).

Athens 2004. Although the many of the facilities at the Athens 2004 complex have fallen into disrepair the cauldron is still there. Oddly, with the return of the modern Olympics to Greece, Athens 2004 is the first known instance in Games' history where the ceremonial pyro components of the Games were created by parties outside the host country.

The cauldron was designed by Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava while the 2004 torches, designed by Greek industrial designer Andreas Varotsos, were manufactured in Australia.



Beijing 2008. For the first time both the cauldron and torch were coordinated from the same design concept. This was a traditional Chinese scroll based on the 'Lucky Clouds'. This scroll motif was a major component of the opening ceremony. But today, the remains of the massive cauldron, now removed from the Bird's Nest roof seems a little out of context. Will this be used again for the Beijing 2022 Winter Games?



London 2012. Certainly the most original, innovative and exclusive cauldron ever created for an Olympic Games. It was the third time that London had hosted the Games. They chose to go with an ephemeral cauldron – one that was not intended to remain in one piece after the Games. Instead all that remain are the petals (or "cauldronettes" as I called them). The petals were slightly larger for the Olympic cauldron. Each of the 204 Olympic-petals were given to a participating National Olympic Committee. The same gesture was made for the Paralympic cauldron formed of 164 smaller petals.

The trend of disguising the location of the cauldron from Sydney has been followed by Vancouver and London. These appeared as complete surprises when the moment came for the lighting of the cauldron. In London the cauldron was lit by young athletes each nominated by a British Olympic champion. The cauldron was positioned centre field for the opening ceremony. It was moved to the end of the finishing straight before the athletics competitions began.

So extreme were the measures taken to ensure the London cauldron's secrecy that R&D and testing stages were contracted to the FCT Flames Company halfway

around the world in Adelaide, Australia – the farthest geographic distance the development of an Olympic cauldron has been assigned. But that still didn't insulate it from a lawsuit and charges of plagiarism – a first for an Olympic cauldron.

In 2013 the New York-based design firm Atopia international, claimed that LOCOG and designer Thomas Heatherwick had not only plagiarised the cauldron design but all the pre- and post-lighting protocol surrounding the 2012 cauldron as well

They had an office in London and claimed to have submitted plans in 2007. Eventually in 2014, LOCOG made an out of court settlement with Atopia. Heatherwick's prototype was later put on display at the Museum of London.

Summary

Of the 21 cauldrons which have burned since 1912 in main stadia of the Olympic Games, only 18 are present in their original form. The Helsinki – exists as a copy. Those for Stockholm 1956 and Rome 1960 have not been located.

What can be expected of Rio de Janeiro in 2016? The Organising Committee has until now remained silent as to the design.

The opening and closing ceremonies are planned for the Maracanã Stadium. This will not then see action until the eleventh day when men's and women's football semi-finals are held there.

In the meantime the athletics, the centre piece of the Olympic Games take place in the Estádio Olímpico João Havelange. It seems inconceivable that these events will take place without an Olympic Flame as the backdrop.

Organisers have suggested that the cauldron may be sited 'downtown' but have not yet revealed the location. Might there also be a flame that moves around? Whatever happens, the world looks forward eagerly to the magic moment when the cauldron is lit. ■

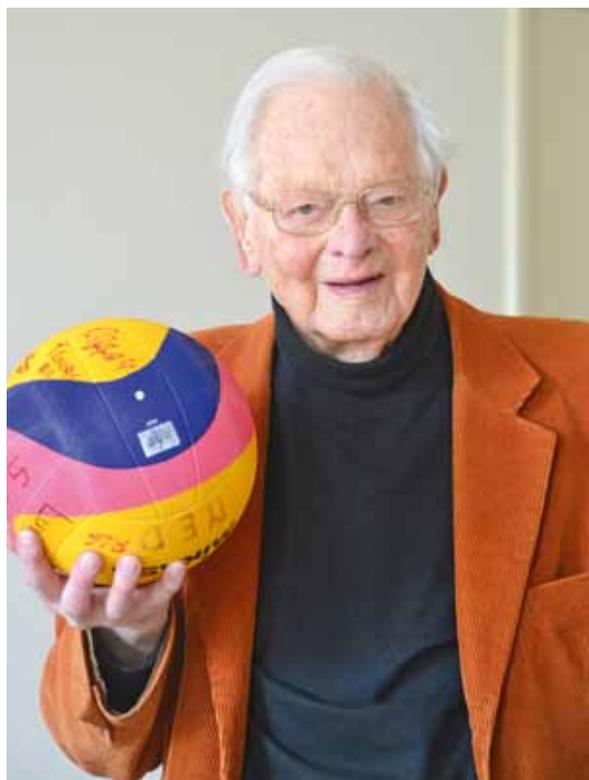
The Olympic cauldron as it was during London 2012. Adjacent: The petal on display at the British Olympic Association in London.

Photos: Philip Barker



The infamous 1936 Games in Berlin

By Richard Schoonderwoert (NOC*NSF)



His father reached the age of 99 and his sister is still alive. And she is two years older! Hans Maier was born in July 1916 in Madioen, a city on the island of Java, in what was then called the Dutch East Indies, the country nowadays known as Indonesia. His father was an officer in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger, KNIL). Maier Senior was one of the founders of swimming club Malangse Zwemclub in Malang in 1924. Of course the young Hans also joined the club. "We had a 25 metres pool where we played our games."

Maier, who revisited the place eight years ago at the age of 91, still remembers it very well. "Our rivals came from Surabaya. One swimming club was only for men and was called "De Krokodillen" (the Crocodiles, RS). The club for women was called "De Waterjuffers" (the Dragonflies, RS). Surabaya was a two hours ride from Malang. That's why we sometimes met halfway, in the city of Trètès. There was a small swimming pool, called Het Nimfenbad (the Nymph pool, RS). The water in the pool streamed directly from the mountains, so it was quite cold."

Water polo player Hans Maier, who turned 100 on 11th July, is the last surviving Dutch Olympic participant from 1936.

Photo: NOC*NSF

A leather football

This August it will be 80 years since the Olympic Games were held in Berlin. They turned out to be infamous Games, because Chancellor Hitler used the event for propaganda purposes, to glorify his ideals of racial supremacy. Hans Maier played seven matches for the Dutch water polo team at the Olympics in 1936. He is the only Dutch competitor who is still alive.

Despite celebrating his hundredth birthday this month, Hans Maier still lives independently in an apartment in The Hague. His body has some limitations – he uses a walker and his hearing is not what it used to be – but mentally he is still in good condition. Maier is even involved with a website, www.humandutiesnetwork.com, where people can debate the unique and essential role of man in conserving our planet. The secret of his age? "Stay interested", he answers. This becomes apparent during the interview. Regularly Maier is the one who asks the questions. "How do the Dutch water polo women play these days? What kind of material are these new balls made of?" And he admits: "His genes were to his advantage as well."

Water polo in the past was not the same as the game we know nowadays. "It looks quite easy this days", Maier states. "In our time we had to swim back to the baseline after every score. It was not permitted to move during dead game moments. We wore caps without earmuffs."

1936 Olympic participants who are still alive

Years	Name	Sports	Birthdate
104	Schaller, Simone (USA)	ATH	22 AUG 1912
102	Lysak, John (USA)	CAN	16 AUG 1914
101	Romsersa, Jos (LUX)	GYM	1 NOV 1915
100	Olszewski, Alfons (POL)	SAI	5 APR 1916
	Havelange, João (BRA)	SWI	8 MAY 1916
	Maier, Hans (NED)	WAT	11 JUL 1916
98	Kiefer, Adolph (USA)	SWI	27 JUN 1918
97	Tunçalp, Talat (TUR)	CYC	1 AUG 1919
96	v. Hartungen (Heinze), Susanne (GER)	DIV	25 MAY 1920
	Cummings, Iris (USA)	SWI	21 DEC 1920
	Cividino, Elda (ITA)	GYM	13 DEC 1921
94	Langdon, Joan (CAN)	SWI	2 DEC 1922
93	Vandernotte, Noël (FRA)	ROW	25 DEC 1923

According to information from Paul Tchir, OlyMADMen

You could turn them around and then they had a different colour. And the ball was completely different. We simply played with a leather football. During the match it became heavier and heavier, because of the water. These modern balls seem very light."

Later Maier moved to Bandung, where he played for "Neptunus". "Our swimming pool was called Tjihampelas. In 2008 I went back there again. It had hardly changed. We played against clubs from Batavia, the city we now know as Jakarta."

There were about five more places on Java like this where people played water polo at a reasonable level. This turned out to be the foundation for a strong group of swimmers, which turned out to be fortuitous for the Dutch. From the ten Dutch water polo players at the 1936 Olympic Games, five were raised in the East Indies. "We were good swimmers", Maier remembers with a smile. "In 1936 a swimming event was held in The Hague: Holland against the Indies. Well, the Indies won that event."

The Dutch water polo team in Amsterdam before their departure in 1936.

Photo: Anthony Th. Bijkerk Archive



At that time Maier already lived in the Netherlands. Two years earlier he moved to Amsterdam to study at the Higher Civic School. Via Piet Metman, a friend he knew from the East-Indies, Maier joined the club "Het Y". The trainer was Fritz Grossmann, a German. Maier: "Grossmann was Jewish and had fled from Hitler. But at that time we weren't aware of that at all."

Central training

"Do you know what pleased me a lot? The achievements of the water polo players, who have performed honorably with their fifth place." Karel Lotsy Chef de Mission of the Dutch team at the 1936 Games in Berlin was very positive in his reaction to the performance of the Dutch seven when he spoke to the *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*.

How different the situation was two years earlier, at the European Water Polo Championship in Magdeburg. The

Netherlands competed for the first time at a European Championship, but the performance was far from successful. The squad ended up last in the group stage and finished level with Italy in ninth place overall. The failure of the water polo team was in stark contrast to the successes of the Dutch female swimmers, who collected numerous international titles in those days. The Dutch Swimming Association KNZB saw the appointment of trainer Ma Braun, who coached her daughter Marie in 1928 to the Olympic title in the 100 m backstroke, as the key to the success.

The KNZB felt that the water polo squad should have a permanent trainer as well. Coach Frans Kuyper was appointed to lead the Dutch men on their way to the top. Hans Maier was selected for the central training, twice a week in the Sportfondsenbad in Amsterdam, the same place he studied. "It was tough", he tells. "I remember that between colleges we went by bike to the swimming pool, to swim for half an hour. On Fridays we slept on camp beds and in the weekends we trained very hard."

Discrimination

The squad was training for their next big event – the Olympic Games in Berlin. Soon after the first reports about the prosecution and discrimination of Jews, political opponents and others appeared in the media. Discussions were held about moving the Games away from Germany, but it didn't get any further than discussions.

Some individual athletes decided not to participate. Among them were some well-known Dutch sportsmen and –women, like boxing champion Ben Brill and athletes Tollien Schuurman and Wim Peters. Water polo goalie Hans Paerl – from Jewish origin – withdrew for the same reason. He was replaced by Joop van Woerkom. It didn't cause any concerns for the other players. Maier: "It wasn't an issue. At that time I didn't even know that Hans Paerl didn't want to go because of the anti-Semitic attitude of the German government. We were simply informed: Hans cannot go."

Three swimming suits

The Dutch water polo squad for the Olympic Games consisted of Kees van Aelst (center forward, player of HZ & PC), Lex Franken (left forward, Zwemlust), Ru de Hamer (defender, HZ & PC), Jan van Heteren (defender, HZ & PC), Hans Maier (right forward, 't IJ), Soesoe van OostromSoede (defender, 't IJ), Gerard Regter (defender, RZC), Hans Stam (defender, HZ & PC), Herman Veenstra (goalie, Het Y) and Joop van Woerkom (goalie, ZIAN).

The team traveled to Berlin in an optimistic mood. A clear victory in Amsterdam over Belgium, one month before the tournament, contributed to this state of mind.

“Before we speak about the value of this triumph, let us acknowledge that this fine result is a well-deserved reward for our players and trainer. Thanks to the drastic and significant change in training from Frans Kuyper, our national team made great progress. It was question of time before we would reap the rewards ... Well, here they are: a 5-1 victory over the strong Belgians!”

This is how the magazine *Sport in Beeld/De Revue der Sporten* commented in the edition of 6th July 1936. “Belgium always had a better team than we had”, Maier remembers. “And now we beat them with 5-1. That was quite extraordinary!” And with a smile he adds: “By the way: that match costed me three swimming suits ... We didn’t have swimming trunks at that time.”

In Berlin the Belgian team was again one of the opponents of the Dutch. The clash ended in 1-1. The matches against Uruguay and Great Britain ended in a draw as well. The Dutch beat Team USA, Austria and Sweden and lost to Hungary, a few days later the winner of the gold medal. The Netherlands ended at the fifth place.

Search lights

During the Games Maier hardly noticed that the event took place in a country with a dictatorial regime. “For us it was just a great sports celebration. It was very well organised; you can leave that to the Germans. The total focus was on sports. The Nazi’s took advantage of this. They promoted their country as a strong and modern nation. We didn’t know that this was their underlying objective.”

Maier remembers how they distorted the facts. “Since ancient Greece there has been an Olympic salute. It is done with your arms sideways stretched to the public. The Nazi salute is with your arms stretched forward. At the opening ceremony of the Games the French team did the Olympic salute, but the Nazi’s called it ‘a Germanic salute’. The Americans held their hats in front of their hearts when they entered the stadium. That wasn’t appreciated.”

The Dutch water polo team did not attend the opening ceremony. The swimming events were in the second week of the Games. The athletes were housed at the Olympic Village, which they had to pay for. The Dutch found it too expensive to keep the swimmers for a week in the village without competition, so they decided to arrive later.

Maier does remember the closing ceremony. “That was very impressive. It started with the Awards Ceremony, the Germans called it ‘die Siegerehrung’. Then followed a speech of IOC President de Baillet-Latour. At the end an enormous bronze bell that hung at the stadium was tolled. Enormous speakers sounded the announcement: ‘Ich rufe die Jugend der Welt nach



Tokio!’ (I call the youth of the world to Tokyo, RS). That is where in 1940 the next Olympic Games should have been held. But because of the war they were of course cancelled.”

“The show was beautifully directed by the Germans. Big search lights had been positioned around the stadium, with the lamps focused like bars in the air. Slowly the beams moved towards each other, that gave the impression that you were standing in a huge dome of light. But actually it was military equipment, later used by the Wehrmacht to track English bombers in the air.”

Great success

After the Games, as the train with the Dutch team returned to the Netherlands, an enthusiastic crowd welcomed the athletes. The magazine *Sport in Beeld/De Revue der Sporten* looked back on the Olympic Games in the edition of 17th August 1936. The magazine praised the organisation of the event: “Apart from sympathies and antipathies, the organisational and sportive success of the Germans must be avowedly recognised. This great organisation, this huge harvest of prizes unmistakably show the strength and tremendous energy of our youth. Germany has to take care for the Olympic hangover, but at this moment the honest and objective reviewer should acknowledge the great success of the Germans.”

Critical questions about their participation at the Olympic Games in Berlin came later. Maier: “Afterwards people spoke about the ‘Hitler Games’. But before ... ? People should be aware that Mussolini had by this time been dictator of Italy for ten years longer than Hitler. Hungary was governed by Admiral Horthy and the Soviet Union by Stalin. So we were familiar with an autocratic form of government. The strange thing is that at that time we didn’t see the true face of the German regime. Off course we only had radio and newspapers to inform us. And further to the East, was the dark power of the Soviet Union. Hitler was against communism. I will not say that because of that he had our sympathy in the Netherlands, but the people were more afraid of communism. We never foresaw that we would become victim of the Nazi’s ourselves as well.” ■

In Amsterdam a strong campaign group against the Berlin Games was formed under the name “De Schijnwerper” (headlights). This was a front for the refugee assistance group “Rode Hulp” (Red Help).

It sent postcards to Dutch Olympic participants. These contained the names of German working class sportsman who had been sentenced to long prison sentences by the Nazis. This wording on this card, sent to Martinus Osendarp, said “Do you still believe that the Olympic Games in Berlin can be a free and democratic coming together of all sportsmen?” But only in a few cases did the postcards reach their intended targets. Many were intercepted by the Gestapo.

Illustration: German Bundesarchiv R 58/2320

The Centaur from Warendorf

By Volker Kluge



Half man – half horse: the centaur (represented here in the Metopen relief at the Parthenon in Athens). This people was considered a savage race, but among them there were also wise and kind centaurs such as Zeus's son Chiron.

Right: Hans Günter Winkler and "Halla".

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive, Wikipedia

Warendorf in Westphalia is Germany's number one horse town. One of its main streets is named in honour of Dr. Gustav Rau, the well-known hippologist. In 1912 he called into life the German Olympic Committee for Horseriding (DOKR) in preparation for the 1916 Games to be held in Berlin. Since 1950 the federation has had its headquarters in Warendorf.

The town has produced many well-known riders, but none quite as revered as Hans Günter Winkler. With five gold medals and one silver and one bronze, he is still the most successful showjumper in the world fully 60 years after his first triumph. This idol of German sport is often spoken in the same breath as "Halla", the brown mare with whom Winkler won gold at the 1956 Olympic Equestrian Games in Stockholm. He had previously become world champion twice on her back.

In fact both names could be spoken in a single breath. *Der Spiegel* once used the concept "centaur". This was the name in Greek mythology for the extraordinary creatures who were half man and half horse.¹ The magazine referred to the Tattersall theory of the poet prince Goethe. In 1801 he visited a hippodrome in Göttingen and observed: "human beings and animals merge here to such an extent into one that it is impossible to say who in fact is training whom."²

A guest in the "Birkenhof"

As befits his status, Winkler lives opposite the Olympic Committee in Dr. Rau Allee (Avenue). His extensive property "Birkenhof" lies hidden behind walls and tall trees. There is no nameplate. He was once highly tuned to the needs of public relations but no longer values inquisitive gawkers.

The books that have appeared about him and his horses could fill a small bookcase. Winkler himself has written extensively on his career. And yet "HGW", as he is also known, is willing to receive visitors.

His appearance on this particular morning was delayed so there was an opportunity to admire the well-tended garden with a pond in which 24 colourful kois splash about. Each of these are estimated at 70,000 EUR. Birds of prey, we learn, are held off by an electronic barrier.

Now the horseman himself is approaching – with short steps and bent with age, but nonetheless friendly and



with a lively gaze. His employers had revealed earlier that he was in good form. Herr Winkler – how else could he be addressed? – will be 90 years on 24th July. He is last of a line whose names echo like thunder: d'Inzeo, Jonquères d'Oriola, Goyoaga, Thiedemann ...

A decade ago Winkler was described as "unbelievably fit".³ But for some time his health has not been of the best. He speaks softly, but in clear sentences. To enquiries about his health he tells of a visit to the circus, where he sat in the front row. There was an act with an elephant, which let its leg hover over his head, without touching him. Good training, he thought, reliant on the fact that tamer and animal like each other. And so to his training and career.

All his dreams were destroyed

Winkler was born into an age when horses, not petrol vehicles dominated in the streets whether in front carriages or with a rider on their back. Apart from professional horse-racing, most riding was done by the army, provided one was an officer. The ordinary soldiers

came from the mounted artillery. This had been forced to disband as one of the conditions imposed on Germany by the victorious powers after the First World War. This was time of great crisis for Warmblood breeding. Dr. Rau did his best to solve this by introducing new incentives for breeders in 1919.

In civilian life, the horse was first and foremost a working animal without any higher calling. It had to earn its fodder by its own efforts. The farmhands rode

especially fond of Brinckmann of whom it was said that he had always sat best on his horse. The Second World War deprived Brinckmann of possible Olympic successes, but later on, he made his name as a showjumping course builder and trainer to the German team.

In 1939, Winkler moved to Frankfurt on Main, where his father managed a private competition stable in the hippodrome. From then on, he dreamed of becoming



The "treasure house" in the "Birkenhof": in a riding career of 38 years, Hans Günter Winkler won over 1000 prizes.

Photo: Peter Frenkel

mostly for pleasure at the most at country fairs. The nobility and the super-rich preferred English or Irish horses. They could afford to ride for sport.

Winkler did not belong in either category. And yet fate treated him well. When he was six years old, he moved with his parents to Dortmund, where he lived on a farm estate. His father, Paul Winkler did not inherit a farm in his East German homeland because it was always the eldest son of the family who inherited. Instead he found a job as a riding instructor, and thus free training was guaranteed for his only child.

"Hansi", as he was called by his parents, grew up amongst rich people. He was a well brought-up boy who could hold his own in polite society. This brought him his first contact with horse-riding. It came at the Westfalenhalle in Dortmund, where the celebrities of the Hanover Cavalry School appeared. Under Hitler, they had risen in prestige.

One of the "fill-in acts" was the young Winkler, who was allowed to ride in on his pony. After that he called the animal "Micky". This name the cavalry officers had given Hans-Heinrich Brinckmann. Winkler was

on of these proud cavalry officers. But instead he was called up and trained as an anti-aircraft auxiliary.

He saw out the war in Thuringia. His squad was just undergoing instruction on the subject "behaviour towards superiors", when American tank grenades landed in close proximity. Two days later he became a prisoner of war, but managed to escape. Dishevelled and suffering from serious jaundice, he made his way to Frankfurt, where he found his mother and a bombed-out apartment. His father had been killed on the Western front in the last weeks of the war.

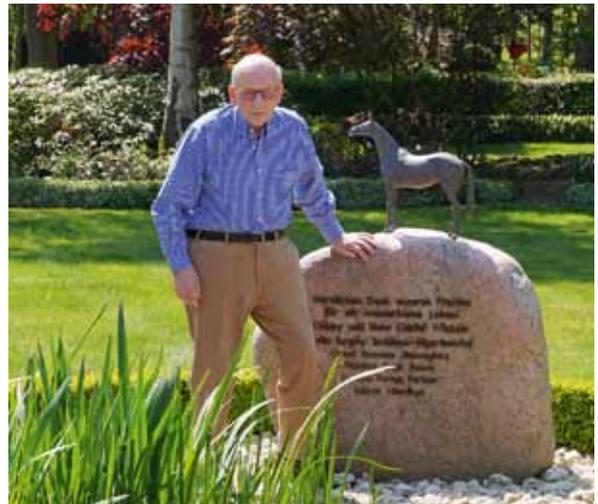
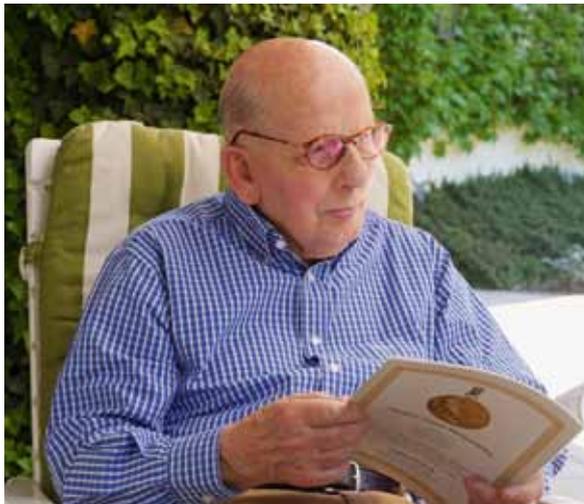
Until then Winkler had enjoyed a wonderful childhood and adolescence. There was Hitler, but the dictator had appeared to him like a Fata Morgana. Now all his dreams were destroyed – he was 19 and unemployed. "I should have known all that", he says, looking back.

Stableboy for the Americans

Yet someone like him, well built and in love with life, was not to be subdued. Ambition always remained his strongest motivating force. His first post-war location

Hans Günter Winkler, who turned 90 on 24th July, in the garden of the "Birkenhof", where there is also a memorial to "Halla".

Photos: Peter Frenkel



was the destroyed racetrack in Frankfurt-Niederrad. Restored by August 1948, the American military government permitted galloping and trotting races. Otto Wehe, a well-known trainer, employed Winkler a starving returnee from the war as a groom and occasional jockey.

The horses belonged either to American officers or black marketeers, sometimes these were one and the same. The new currency of the time was Chesterfield cigarettes. But Winkler still had the image of the smart cavalry officers in his head and imagined greater things. He wanted to ride for the country that lay in ruins – for Germany.

To begin with it was about survival. Rescue came nearer with the silhouette of the upmarket climatic spa of Kronberg in the Taunus mountains, where a widow's seat had once been built for the German empress Victoria – Schloss Friedrichshof. After the end of the war the Americans had taken over this distinguished residence and installed a officers' casino there. It was also used on occasions as the residence of the Supreme Commander in Europe. A large number of German staff were needed to help run the place.

But mowing lawns was not to the taste of the outspoken young man. A position of stableboy however would be better. Chance helped Winkler, for the royal stables were managed by an acquaintance of his father. Herr Eckhardt, former head groom of the Countess of Hessen, had kept together a large proportion of the equine stock and handed it over to the Americans.

With this job Winkler not only earned his grocery ration card, but also received his baptism in the world of equestrianism. He cleaned out the stables, fed, saddled and generally looked after the animals – an autodidactic practice, which was cultivated by him more and more. Almost without guidance – purely through observation of other riders – he taught himself the most important dressage lessons. He was always the first into the stable and the last to leave.

As the horses were supposed to move about, he received permission to ride them out. These included the two horses which stood ready at 9 o'clock every morning for the Military Governor Dwight D. Eisenhower. To be sure Winkler still had no reputation, but always well-polished shoes and a decent haircut. After four weeks he was therefore allowed to accompany the general when he rode out into the country without an escort. From then on he was no longer called "Hey you!" but "Herr Winkler".

Seven years later, in October 1954 he was received in the Oval Office for Eisenhower had now become President of the United States. "That was a wonderful time", recalled the President. But when he offered Winkler adoption, he refused with thanks, thinking of his mother.

To ensure his daily bread on a permanent basis, in 1948 Winkler completed his training as a merchant in a textile wholesale firm in Frankfurt. He bought a chestnut gelding called "Falkner" for 500 Reichsmarks with the company owner's daughter. The two of them rode out each evening. At the weekends they travelled from arena to arena with the horse. At last on 10th October 1948 Winkler 'harvested' his first success.

In his last book he listed "Some of my most important horses" – the list contains no fewer than 37 names. Among others the gelding "Lausbus", which he acquired from an American. Others were entrusted to him, including the Holstein gelding "Orient" in 1948. This soon became a top class mount, on which Winkler won the "Grand Prix of Aachen" in 1954.

Plebeian but temperamental

Although he won medals on seven different horses at six Olympic Games, two World and five European Championships, even now everyone speaks only about "Halla", even though this horse died 37 years ago.

In Warendorf a way was named after her, and a lifesize statue created by the Berlin animal sculptor Hans

Joachim Ihle stands in front of the Olympic Committee offices. The model, whose height is given as 1.71 metres (17.5 hands), survived the inauguration.

The statue in bronze depicts the wonder mare in elegant pose, head erect and ears attentively pricked as was her wont when she approached a fence with Winkler. The Hessian mare conveys the impression of sovereign elegance, on the other hand she stands pleasantly unpretentiously and modestly. This is well known as the sign of true greatness.

History knows monuments to many horses, which were mostly ridden by kings and emperors. In the Berlin boulevard Unter den Linden it is still possible to encounter the favourite horse of Frederick the Great, which answered to the name "Condé". It was cast in bronze by Christian Daniel Rauch in 1851. The original mare, a fleabitten grey gelding, which died in 1804 at the age of 38 (and survived "Old Fritz" by 18 years) was then stuffed. The cadaver was destroyed by fire during the Second World War. Only the bones now remain.

By contrast "Halla" is of plebeian origin. Of her mother "Helene" it is only known that she was a "booty horse", ridden in the war by a German officer. Why he let allowed her to remain in the stable of Darmstadt farmer Gustav Vierling is unknown.

Vierling gave the horse to his son. At country tournaments the son demonstrated that the lady, although getting on in years, could still jump respectably. As Vierling thought it a shame to harness her to the plough, he wished for a foal from her, a duty entrusted to the trotting stallion "Oberst". After eleven months, on 16th May 1945, a 'peace baby' came into the world, entered in the studbook under the name "Halla".

The temperamental little horse began her career on the trotting track at Frankfurt-Niederrad, where she performed creditably. But it soon became clear that the mare, despite her speed, could not keep up with thoroughbreds. At the Helsinki Olympics of 1952, the Germans were readmitted to the Olympic fold. As the Games approached, a call for fresh equine material rang out, Vierling offered the Olympic Committee the chance to take over "Halla".

Meantime Dr. Rau, the Oberland head groom, had asked Winkler if he would like to come to Warendorf, with the prospect of a job. Thereupon Winkler made a quick decision and transported his three tournament horses and his small amount of luggage to Warendorf. When he arrived, he discovered he was not welcome. The job had been given to a former officer.

Before he travelled back to Frankfurt in disappointment, he was generously permitted to accommodate his horses in the former German Army stables, where there was not a single piece of wood left. Friends helped him out of the fix.

"Do you want the mare?"

In those days, anyone who wanted to achieve anything in equestrianism had to be versatile. People like Winkler were referred to disparagingly as "bush riders" or "all over the place riders". In reality they already incorporated the attributes of the modern sports rider. While others regarded themselves as legitimate only through their aristocratic origins, for people like him striving after records was a thoroughly honourable target.

Winkler contested races, and he was just as much at home in the military as in showjumping. He travelled the country with a chestnut gelding called "Rebell" and collected awards but these were not recognised in Warendorf.

Even if he was a nobody there, people remembered that he had been on his first meeting with "Halla" he had got along with her, the only one to do so. Three months later, on 13th July 1950, Winkler received a telegram, in which Dr. Rau asked if he could ride "Halla" at a three-day-event. Winkler was willing, but afterwards he had to return the horse back to the Military rider Otto Rothe, who had been selected for Helsinki.

But Winkler remained on the list. In 1951 he was called to a four week long Olympic course where which he received instruction for the first and only time. His trainer was Marten von Barnekow who had been the instructor at the main SS riding school in Munich-Riem.

A memorial to the "wonder mare" stands in front of the German Olympic Committee for Horseriding's building in Warendorf.

Photo: Peter Frenkel



The colourful opening of the Equestrian Games on 10th June 1956 in the Stockholm Olympic Stadium.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



In 1936 von Barkenow was a member of the gold medal winning German squad in the Olympic Team Grand Prix.

Once Winkler had found a job in the joinery, he was allowed to back to the 'riders' town'. In time, Dr. Rau became accustomed to his presence. Yet for the gentlemen rider he remained an intruder. For all his competitive successes, second and third finishes had had qualified him for Helsinki – what he lacked was the real smell of the stable.

It was only a question of time until he was reported to the Olympic Committee, although he himself had previously informed them that in Kronberg he had been active for the Americans as "assistant riding instructor".

Without being interviewed he had to give up his international riding permit. Suddenly he was classed as a "professional", ineligible for the Olympic Games. To be sure the officers rode there, but they were "amateurs".

"Halla's" career seemed to be ended prematurely in a similarly ignominious fashion. On 16th October 1951 she was ridden by an unfamiliar rider with the intention of competing in the Military competition. But the result was devastating. In dressage she showed herself to be a total disaster. In jumping she lacked feeling for the obstacles and then she bolted with her rider. It was a bitter blow for farmer Vierling when Dr. Rau telephoned to ask him to collect his animal, because nothing sensible could be done with her.

Some time later Vierling came to Warendorf to take part in a breeders' conference. He met Winkler in the

street, where he spoke a few words, but they were to prove decisive ones for man and animal: "Herr Winkler, you were the only one who came to terms with the horse. Do you want the mare?"

Winkler was rather short of money that is certain, but he remained determined to finally own a horse that he would not have to give back on the next occasion to someone else. The deal was sealed with a handshake.

Winkler worked with "Halla" for a year and a half. By this time she understood what he wanted from her. He watched her for hours and came to the verdict that she was a mixture of "crazy goat" and "genius". *Der Spiegel* concluded: "She is a real child of the post-war period".⁴

But then everything came good. At a country tournament Winkler had got to know Inge Fellgiebel, who was ten months older than him. She was the daughter of Bad Harzburg-Bündheim's regional head groom, Hans Fellgiebel. His elder brother General Erwin Fellgiebel, chief of the Wehrmacht's Communications Troops, had been hanged by the Nazis as a co-conspirator in Stauffenberg's plot to assassinate Hitler on 20th July 1944. As a family member the brother was imprisoned as a "Sippenhaft".

Hans Günter Winkler and Inge were not yet a couple, but they agreed that they would found a "private stables" to make themselves independent from the Olympic Committee. Inge moved with her horses to Warendorf, and everything became easier. She took over the administration and conducted the correspondence, which later took on unexpected dimensions.

Good news came from Helsinki as well. Fritz Thiedemann, a down-to-earth farmer from Holstein who had emerged from the tournament stable of the Supreme SA Leadership (OSAF) in Potsdam-Krampnitz had surprisingly won Olympic bronze on "Meteor". "Fatty", as "Fritze" called the brown gelding, was later also cast in bronze.⁵

For Winkler, the most important target was a place at the next Olympic Games. To achieve that goal, he had first to regain his amateur status. The President of the German Sports Federation (DSB), Willi Daume, had put in a good word for him. The pair knew one another from their days in Dortmund when Daume had been a handball goalkeeper.

After that, Winkler's first foreign competition led him to Bilbao in Spain, and it ended in fiasco when he fell head over heels from his horse. And yet the year ended well. With 18 victories he topped the rankings and was regarded as "German champion".

Winkler's main horse at that time was "Rebell", with whom he rode the first international prize. Soon after that the horse was sold by its owner. "Halla", now seven years old, was still considered a newcomer. She was also regarded as "difficult". And yet it was clear: her future lay in jumping.

“Halla” was the diva

When it comes to the question of animal intelligence, there are usually more questions than answers. Generally the chimpanzee is thought to be our cleverest relative.

Although horses are not ranked in the top ten, Winkler remains convinced that “Halla” was very intelligent. As a foal, she was often alone on the farm. A wire fence 1.30 metres high separated the land from a railway embankment. Twice a day, the express thundered by. “Halla” was unmoved. The train raced, she grazed.

In Warendorf there arose then a sporting partnership, in which “Halla” was the diva, who knew what she could do. Like an actress she wanted to be left in peace an hour before performing. Then she approached her task professionally. And yet, like a real star, she remained unpredictable. If previously she was calm and concentrated, she could also freak out, for instance when the victory wreath was to be hung round her neck.

Winkler accepted this character and developed his own style. It was barely visible to any one watching but when he rode her, he used only his thighs and his knees and spread his bodyweight forwards, which became known as the “Winkler style”. Otherwise “Halla” knew neither whip nor spurs nor loud commands. On the course, looking at the last obstacle, the rider spoke to her: “Watch out!”, “Make an effort!”, “Don’t let me down!”. They merged like a mythical centaur.

Lifelong friendship with Raimondo d’Inzeo

Slowly the German riding world realised what had they had been missing by expelling Winkler. In Rome in 1953 came his first international victory on “Halla” after an intense contest. He later said that no other victory had given him as much pleasure.

Highlight followed upon highlight, especially at the World Championships. These had only been introduced by the International Equestrian Federation (FEI) in 1953. For that they had announced the rule that only four riders – one per country – could reach the final, which had as a consequence that the second best was excluded, even if he was superior to the representatives of other teams. Criticism was also levelled at the method of arranging the competition, that not only had the rider to ride his own horse, but the finalist had also to get on terms with being in the saddles of his opponents.

The ruling had shadowy sides. At the 2nd World Championship, which was held on 9th June 1954 in Madrid, Winkler’s heart bled at having to watch as his sensitive “Halla” was ridden by the Spaniard Jaime Garcia Cruz. After a failed test jump over the barrier, he held her so firmly that she took off much too early and landed in the middle of the barrier. Fortunately the

mishap had no lasting effect apart from a bruise on the front leg.

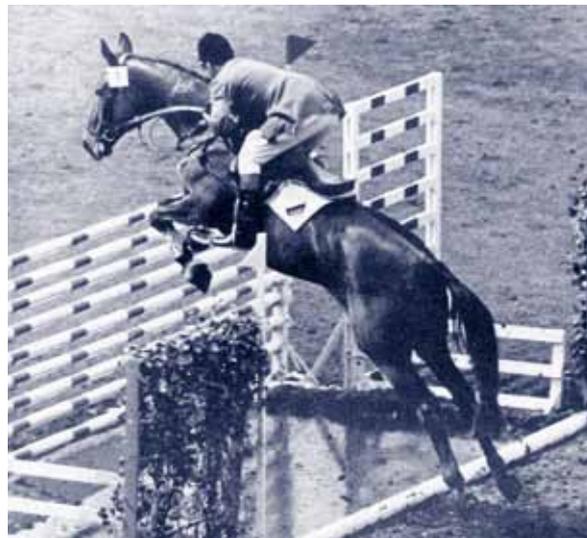
Before the decisive fourth round Winkler and 1952 Olympic champion d’Oriola were in front. The four faults each of them had were due to “Pagoro”, the gelding of the Italian Salvatore Oppes. While Winkler succeeded in manoeuvring the Spanish “Quoniam” over the course without fault, the Frenchman had to ride “Halla”, and was obviously trying to copy the German.

Jonquères d’Oriola led the horse slowly up to the obstacles, but in the triple combination his temperament let him down. In the third last jump he estimated the distance wrongly, so that “Halla” had the bar down and Winkler gained his first title. People were inclined to believe it was a conspiracy.

Anyone who still doubted Winkler’s ability had to be disabused of that a year later, on 7th July 1955, in Aachen. Again he reached the final, in which he again met d’Oriola as well as the Italian Raimondo d’Inzeo and the Briton Ronnie Dalles.

As Winkler still had the shock of Madrid in his bones, this time he left “Halla” in the stable. Instead he saddled up “Orient”. His competitors supposed that he wanted to make things especially hard for them, for the gelding was considered to be even more “complicated”.

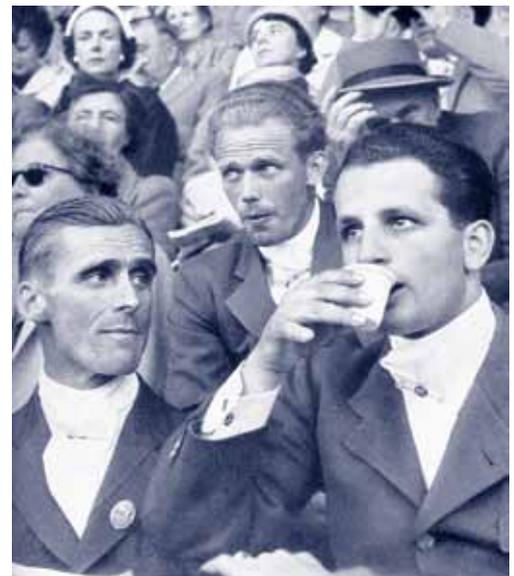
Before the last round d’Inzeo led with four faults. To finish with he had to “Voulette”, the Frenchman’s horse and added a further four faults. After that d’Inzeo’s “Merano”, with which he had gone clear was waiting for Winkler who had eight faults at this stage.



Stockholm 1956:
“Halla” at the sixth
barrier – a water
jump with stationary
objects: height 1.50 m,
width 2.15 m

The competition went to a jump off between d’Inzeo and Winkler. As required by the rules, it was the turn of the second string horses. D’Inzeo rode well on “Nadir”, but at the double rick a bar fell off – four faults and a time of 76.6 seconds. Next came Winkler on “Halla” who had been short of exercise. He also had four faults, but a faster time 66.5 s.

Half dazed, Winkler lost control for a moment in the first round, whereupon "Halla" knocked down the last obstacle – four faults, and yet still in first place. Adjacent: lots of coffee was needed to revive the injured rider, Fritz Thiedemann (left) and Alfons Lütke Westhues (behind) were still worried about the team gold medal.



Photos: Official Report Stockholm 1956, Volker Kluge Archive

Another change of horses. Winkler had good control of "Nadir" a clear round in 72.7 s. Now d'Inzeo had to stake everything on one card. So as not to lose by having a slower time, he started so fast that he could no longer brake. Finally "Halla" even jumped into the wall, at which none of the horses had failed. Despite the defeat d'Inzeo fell into Winkler's arms, beaming with joy.

On that 7th July 1955 a friendship was sealed. It was to last all their lives. In November 2013 the telephone rang in Winkler's house, from which he heard of the death of the Italian. D'Inzeo had not wanted him receive the news through the media.

"Interlude Games" with royal ambience

A North American tour in autumn 1954, when the horses travelled by plane, brought with it many imponderables. These would have been even greater when it came to transporting them two years later to the Games in Melbourne.

At the 1953 IOC Session in Mexico, Australian organisers made it clear that foreign horse would be subject to a six month quarantine period. The IOC now had to decide whether to withdraw the Games from Melbourne or cancel the equestrian events. An alternative would be to seek a different location.

In the end the IOC Executive Committee resolved to invite bids to stage Equestrian Games separate from the rest of the Games held in Melbourne.⁶ This decision was reached in Athens in 1954. The result read: Stockholm 25 votes, Paris 10, Rio de Janeiro 8, Berlin and Los Angeles 2 each. Although London and Dublin had also expressed interest, they withdrew before the final vote.⁷

And so for the first and only time Olympic "Interlude Games" took place in Stockholm. They were held between the 10th and 17th June 1956. They took place between the Winter Games, which ended in Cortina on 5th February and the Summer Games which began on 22nd November.

What looked initially like a faux pas of the Olympic programme proved to be a fortunate stroke of fate. Held at the Stockholm Olympic Stadium, which looked more like a castle than a sports arena, the competitions had a beautiful atmosphere, which was enhanced by a splendid opening ceremony. After King Gustav VI Adolf had driven in with the young British Queen in a four-hand coach, a parade of noble steeds began, whose riders wore black or red coats or uniforms, as tradition demanded.

The showjumpers, whose individual results were also

The showjumping medallists ride through the Marathon Gate: from left: Raimondo d'Inzeo (silver), Hans Günter Winkler (gold), Piero d'Inzeo (bronze).

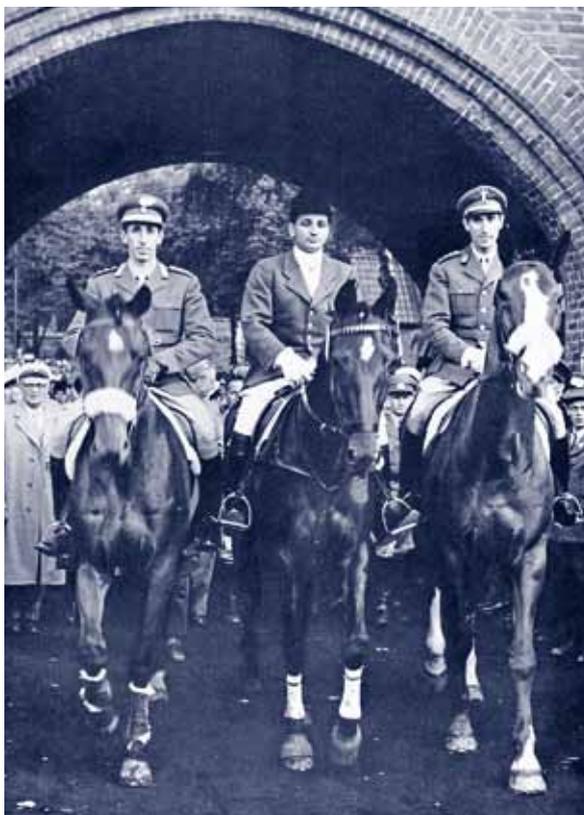


Photo: Official Report Stockholm 1956

taken into consideration for the Team Grand Prix (the division took place in Rome in 1960), had to be patient to the last. A course 775 m in length awaited them. It had 14 barriers and 17 jumps and contained many concealed difficulties. When after the first round 18 of the 66 participants were already eliminated, voices were raised describing the course as too difficult. In fact cavalry captain Greger Lewenhaupt had made a superb job of its construction, but not a few riders had underestimated its demands. In addition – unlike other competitions – there was no opportunity of getting used to it. After the days of waiting immediate performance was required.

Winkler entered the competition on “Halla” as favourite. He possessed that cool concentration to track down the ideal line envisaged by the course designer. His ride seemed the summit of perfection, when “Halla” at the 13th barrier, a 1.60 m high garden fence, gave a jerk during the jump, to avoid making mistakes. “In order not to be thrown out of the saddle, I pressed my knees together as quick as lightning, and at that moment I felt a stabbing pain in the lumbar region, as if someone had stabbed a dagger into my body”, Winkler recalled.⁸

Half numbed, he lost control for a moment and “Halla” knocked down the last obstacle, a 1.60 m high and 80 cm wide park wall. Four faults, and yet but he still led from d’Oriola who had seven faults. Thiedemann, the d’Inzeo brothers and the Britons Patricia Smythe and Wilfrid White, each with eight. In the team competition Germany (28) led from Great Britain (32) and Italy (39).

“Halla” – a myth is born

Winkler’s injury was worse than it had seemed. It turned out to be a serious groin strain, so there were worries Winkler would not be able to start in the second round, fixed for 4 p.m. The injury also put the chances of German victory in the team competition in jeopardy. The German camp was despondent. Winkler was handed a suppository by team veterinarian Dr. Willi Büsing himself an eventing bronze medallist in 1952. This brought short term relief.

After the jury had rejected the application to allow Winkler to start later in the competition, there began a race against time. Every delay was invoked in the hope that the medicines would finally work in Winkler’s body. The Swedish organisers had also understood. They slowed their tempo. Cavalry captain Dag Nätterqvist, responsible for obstacle 5 a/b, which was hit most frequently, applied the measuring stick again and again when rebuilding the obstacle, in order to gain time for the world champion, for whom he had a high regard.

Winkler had to be lifted into the saddle for a practice jump in the paddock but this showed however that “Halla” would not be able to obey him consistently.

A second suppository did reduce the pain, but left the rider so dazed that he could hardly recognise the obstacles. They poured strong coffee down him to reduce the pain-numbing effects. There seemed no possibility of a victory in the individual contest.

However as the British and Italians had made more mistakes than expected points and the two other Germans, Thiedemann and Lütke Westhues, had done a good job, the chances for the team suddenly increased. The Italians had been well placed but were now 26 points back, so that “Halla” could even have afforded to miss out on six obstacles.

In his own words, Winkler “hobbled in”, through the Marathon Gate and saluted in front of the Royal box, he looked remarkably different. The bell sounded the starting signal, whereupon “Halla” began to gallop – more cautiously and slower than usual, but thoroughly experienced. The rider only showed her the direction. He could be heard occasionally crying out – cries of pain, which spurred “Halla” on to jump even higher.

Because this time the usual assistance was missing, she sought out her line alone. The fears that she might stop at the triple combination proved unfounded. She measured it exactly and carried her injured rider safely across. This time it was not Winkler riding “Halla”, but the mare riding him. Weeping with joy, Inge Fellgiebel hugged the horse’s neck beyond finishing line.

The result was sensational. Despite his own personal torment Winkler had managed a tournament round. That meant gold in the individual and in the team



For the rider there was a gold medal, for the horse a winner’s ribbon.

Photo: Official Report Stockholm 1956



The medal case in the "Birkenhof": with five golds, a silver and bronze Hans Günter Winkler is the most successful Olympic showjumper.

Photo: Peter Frenkel

championship. Even the time – 97.4 s – was worthy of note. Silver medallist Raimondo d’Inzeo, had also gone clear but the eight penalties from his first round had cost him dear. Bronze went to his brother Piero.

At the end of that 17th June 1956 all were agreed: such a great event can never be repeated. Voices were raised demanding that independent Olympic Equestrian Games be staged in future. These calls were rejected by IOC President Avery Brundage. The showjumping Grand Prix was to remain as the grand final of the Olympic Games until 1980.

With the help of the mass media, a myth was born in Stockholm. On German radio Hans-Heinrich Isenbart gave an impressive report, in which he lent human qualities to the animal: "And Halla laughs, as if she knew what it's about."⁹ TV reporter Hans Steiner dared to go a step further: "Halla speaks to Winkler and laughs as she does so: leave me in peace. I can do it."¹⁰ This more informal reporting had consequences: Winkler received fanmail by the sackful and thousands of requests for autographs. Many letters were also addressed to "Halla". She received parcels with fodder and a large amount of cube sugar.

The pair remained faithful to each other for another four years. At the 1960 Games in Rome both received their third gold medal in the Team Grand Prix. On 25th October 1960 came "Halla"'s farewell after 128 victories. After that she brought eight foals into the world. She spent her declining years on the "Lindenhof" stud near Warendorf, where Winkler regularly visited her. When the mare died on 19th May 1979 at the age of 34, it worth a mention on the television news programme.

"HGW" – the maximalist

Winkler as a competitive rider had a long career. He did not take his leave until July 1986 at the World Championships in Aachen. In this time he had won more than a thousand prizes. For Germany he rode

105 Grand Prix competitions, of which he won 41, came second 28 times, and third 21 times.

Professionally Winkler had provided for himself early on: From the mid 1950s he was employed in the advertising department of a pharmaceutical company. He wrote books, delivered horse-riding sports reports and edited a magazine. He was team leader of the German showjumpers and advertised for an American mail-order firm. In 1991 he founded a sports and event marketing firm under the abbreviation "HGW". His motto is: "Anyone who has starved in their life knows how to value prosperity."

Yet he allows others to share in his prosperity. Winkler has a special affection for up and coming riders, whom he promotes as best he can. The town of Warendorf is also grateful to its honorary citizen. When the time comes it will inherit all his trophies.

Winkler loved variety in his private life. In 1957 married Inge Fellgiebel, the union lasted only until 1960. The following year she wed the dressage rider George Theodorescu, who had fled from Romania. Their daughter Monica became Olympic dressage team champion three times – from 1988 to 1996.

Winkler is the father of two children, bestowed on him by the Danish Countess Marianne von Moltke, with whom he lived from 1962 to 1970. His son Jørn lives in Denmark, his daughter Jytte in Belgium. This marriage was followed by one with a millionaire's daughter from Venezuela. As a result Winkler acquired an IOC Member as mother-in-law, Flor Isava Fonseca.

In 1994 he married for the fourth time. American Debby Malloy was 33 years his junior. Her death in a riding accident in 2011 was a terrible blow for him. His love for her has endured. In the house her beautiful portrait can be seen; the grave is in the garden.

The centaur of Warendorf is unmistakably aging – he has no connection to that, as he says. With his companies he has just concluded an agreement for the next five years. Even in his optimism for life "HGW" does allow himself to be surpassed by anybody. ■

- 1 Winkler. "Der Kentaur", in: *Der Spiegel*, No. 34, 17th August 1955, pp. 20–27.
- 2 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Tag- und Jahreshefte 1749–1806, in: *Goethe's Werke*, Vol. 31, Cotta, Stuttgart und Tübingen 1930, p. 98.
- 3 Karl Morgenstern, "Keine Langeweile mit 80", in: Hans Günter Winkler, *Halla, meine Pferde und ich*, FNVerlag, Warendorf 2007, p 11.
- 4 *Der Spiegel*, No. 34, 1955.
- 5 The statue, created in 1959 by sculptor Hans Kock (1920–2007), still stands in front of the regional chancellery in Kiel.
- 6 Minutes, IOC EC-Meeting, Lausanne, 17th January 1954, OSC
- 7 Minutes, IOC Session, Athens 1954, p. 21, OSC
- 8 Winkler, *Halla, meine Pferde und ich*, p. 112
- 9 Hans-Heinrich Isenbart, Reportage, Olympische Reiterspiele, 17th June 1956, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (DRA)
- 10 Hans Steiner, Reportage, Olympische Reiterspiele, 18th June 1956, DOK 2734/3, WDR Archives

A Ploughhorse becomes an Olympic champion

By Franz Josef Bomert

When the talk is of losses in war, the animals killed are rarely mentioned. Yet in the Second World War, 2.8 million horses "served" on the German side alone, 1.6 million of which died between 22nd June 1941 – the attack on the Soviet Union – and the end of 1944.

What the war had started, the motorisation of agriculture completed. In Germany, the number of tractors rose from 75,000 (1949) to 350,000 (1954), while the number of horses was reduced from 3.8 million (1936) to around 1.2 million. The development in other countries was similar.

With the beginning of the 1950s, however, young farmers turned their love for the horse into an instrument of sport. During the week, the animals pulled carts or ploughs, and on Sunday they took part in the numerous countryside competitions.

Among these working animals was the chestnut mare "Aula", which belonged to the farmer Josef Holtermann from Waltrop in Westphalia. At one of the fairs he entrusted her to the rider Theo Wulhorst, who recognised her astonishing talent as a jumper. On 16th January 1954, he competed with her in a moderately difficult showjumping contest in Münster, where she finished in fifth place ahead of "Halla", on whom Hans Günter Winkler was to become world champion that year.

A short time later, representatives of the German Olympic Committee for Horseriding (DOKR) appeared at the owner's house to buy the horse from him, but he had already agreed a contract for 2,500 DM to sell the horse to Wulhorst and two other riders. When the Olympic officials offered twice the price, he succeeded in cancelling the sale. In compensation, an invitation was extended to Wulhorst to come to Warendorf to develop the horse further. But that was forbidden to him by his father, who managed the family's farm.

The mare, who from then on was called "Ala" (her real name having been discovered in the studbook), was handed over to 24-year-old Alfons Lütke Westhues, who had been brought to Warendorf in 1953 to train him, like his older brother August, as a Military rider.

But the horse was unsuited to the military. She belonged, rather, to that phlegmatic half-breed type whose best representative had been "Tora", on whom Lieutenant Kurt Hasse had become Olympic champion in 1936 in Berlin. The Holstein mare, whose sire had been

a trotting stallion, received her last food and lodging in Warendorf, where she had to be put to sleep in 1953 at the age of 29.

Although "Ala's" father had been called "Allerletzter" (Last of All), this name did not prove to be a bad omen. Clearing 1.90 m, she was first in a record jumping competition. However, like her rider, she lacked the talent of the duo Winkler/Halla, which even Fritz Thiedemann (who could claim to notable successes



of his own) recognised without envy. He claimed for himself the role of an artisan, while he regarded Winkler as an artist.

Despite that, "Ala" performed outstandingly with Lütke Westhues in the saddle. In 1955, the pair contested no fewer than 36 tournaments. Their moment of glory, however, came in 1956 at the Olympic Equestrian Games in Stockholm with team gold and the very respectable 11th place in the individual rankings. With brother August having won two silver medals in the Military, the family's happiness was complete.

As second son, Lütke Westhues (born Alfons Hohenbrink, but in 1947 the family took the name of the mother) could not inherit the parental farm in Westbevern, so he dedicated himself completely after the Olympic Games to showjumping. In 1957, he competed 66 times with "Ala", 22 of those abroad, which produced a profit of over 20,000 DM. A high point followed in 1958 with a North American competition and the winning of three international Grand Prix, as well as a victory in showjumping in New York's Madison Square Garden.

Although only 30 years old, Lütke Westhues retired in 1960 from competitive sport. On his departure he was given "Ala", whom he installed with his brother, who had now taken over the farm. The hope of breeding from her was, however, unsuccessful. She had only one foal, which died at birth. The mare lived only two more years and in 1963 died of a twisted bowel.

Lütke Westhues remained in Warendorf and built up an insurance agency. In 1977, he returned to equestrian sport and became manager of the Federal Performance Centre and a highly regarded course constructor. ■

"Aula" pulled the plough and cart for Westphalian farmer Holtermann from the "town of the ship canal lifts". With Alfons Lütke Westhues in the saddle "Ala" managed an Olympic victory in Stockholm.

Photos: Franz Josef Bomert Collection, Official Report Stockholm 1956

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXI

By Ian Buchanan (+), Wolf Lyberg (+) and Volker Kluge



375. | Fernando Ferreira Lima Bello | Portugal

Born: 27 November
1931, Santos-o-
Velho, Lisbon

Co-opted:
1 September 1989
Resigned:
31 December 2009
Honorary Member
from 2010
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0



A civil engineering graduate from Lisbon University, he worked mainly in the public sector of the construction industry. He was Director of a road construction company, member of the Registration Committee for Public Works Contractors and Constructors, Director of the Regional Association of Contractors and Constructors and formerly Director of the Construction Department of the Ministry of Employment.

As a yachtsman, he competed in the Olympic Games of 1968 (17th place) and 1972 (21st) in the Dragon Class, was world champion in the Snipe Class in 1953 and was runner-up at the European Championships in Star Class.

He held high office with a variety of sailing organisations and, after joining the Portuguese Olympic Committee in 1975, he served on the Executive Committee (1977–1980) and then as Chairman from 1981 to 1989. He was Chef de Mission of the Portuguese Olympic team in Moscow 1980.

Lima Bello was an IOC Member until 2009 and served on the Cultural Commission, the Commission for the International Olympic Academy and Olympic Education, and on the Eligibility Commission.

377. | Philippe Chatrier | France

Born: 2 February 1928,
Créteil
Died: 23 June 2000,
Dinard

Co-opted:
1 September 1989,
replacing Count de
Beaumont
Resigned: 19 July 1996
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 8,
Absent 1



Chatrier was President of the French Tennis Federation from 1972 to 1993 and the International Tennis Federation from 1977 to 1991. He also served as Chairman of the Men's International Professional Tennis Council from 1979 to 1985.

Under his direction, tennis was reintroduced to the Olympic programme in 1981, firstly as a demonstration sport at the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles and then from 1988 as a full medal sport in Seoul.

As a player, he was the French junior champion in 1945 and a member of the Davis Cup team (1948–1950) after which he became non-playing captain of the team (1969–1972). He was the proprietor of the publication *Tennis de France*, which he founded in 1953.

He was married to the British tennis player Sue Partridge, winner of the 1951 British Covered Court Championships and the 1952 Italian championship. After their divorce, he married the French golfer Claudine Cros.

Chatrier was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1992. A year after his death, the Centre Court of the French Open – until then called 'Roland Garros' – was named after him.

376. | Walther Tröger | Germany

Walther Tröger's youth was no bed of roses. His father was killed in the last days of the Second World War, and, when his mother died four years later, as the eldest he had to look after his three brothers. And yet he successfully completed his law studies at the University of Erlangen. From 1951 to 1953 he was active as a court assistant.

As a middle-distance runner, handball and basketball player, he came in contact with student sport, where his career as an official also began. From 1954 to 1961 he served as General Secretary of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Hochschulsport-Verband (ADH).

His path then led him to the headquarters of German sport in Frankfurt, where, in 1961, he began in the international department, staying on until 1970. At the same time as General Secretary from then on he led the business of the NOC for Germany for 31 years until 1992.

Tröger quickly acquired a reputation as an expert. He was Chef de Mission of German teams at eight Olympic Winter Games (1976–2002). At the request of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, in January 1983 he took on the role of IOC Sports Director – initially standing in for the Hungarian Árpád Csánadi and, after the latter's death on 9th March 1983, for the next seven years.

He was not spared the blows of fate. In 1972, as Mayor of the Olympic Village in Munich, he had to accept his greatest defeat when he was unable to protect the Israeli men's team from the assassination attempt of a Palestinian terror commando. He was one of the four people who led the ultimately unsuccessful negotiations with the hostage-takers.

After the Barcelona Games, Tröger succeeded Willi Daume as NOC President. Daume had, in fact, favoured the Opel manager Hans-Wilhelm Gäb, who dropped out through illness. In the following year Tröger was confirmed in post. He was unanimously re-elected in 1997, but in 2002 experienced a second great disappointment when he lost the NOC Presidential election to the Olympic swimming medallist Dr. Klaus Steinbach. Steinbach's candidature had been backed by supporters of a fusion of NOC and Deutscher Sportbund (DSB), which was not promoted by him. Walther Tröger, who has been Honorary Professor of the University of Potsdam since 1994, became Honorary President, until 2006, when the office ceased with foundation of the German Olympic Sports Confederation (DOSB).

Nor were his ambitions to become a member of the IOC Executive fulfilled. Having lost the election in 1992, in 1996 he thought he would have a fresh opportunity. But he gave up in favour of Thomas Bach, with whom he enjoyed a subtle rivalry. Despite this Tröger, was highly regarded in the IOC because of his great knowledge. Until his departure, he acted as Chairman of the Sport for All Commission from 1990, and as IOC delegate for handicapped sport from 1985.



Born: 4 February 1929, Wunsiedel

Co-opted: 1 September 1989, replacing Berthold Beitz

Resigned: 31 December 2009
Honorary Member from 2010

Attendance at Sessions: Present 27, Absent 0

Eight candidates have been proposed for election to the IOC by the Member Election Commission chaired by HRH the Princess Royal at the 129th Session in Rio de Janeiro. The nominations were: Sari Essayah (FIN), racewalker, Chair of the Finnish Christian Democratic Party; Ivo

Ferriani (ITA), bobsleighter, President of the International Bobsleigh and Skeleton Federation, representing an IF; Luis Moreno (COL), President of the Inter-American Development Bank; Auvita Rapilla (PNG), General Secretary of the Papua New Guinea OC; Anant Singh (RSA), film producer;

Karl Stoss (AUT), Chairman of the Managing Board of Casinos Austria AG, President of the Austrian OC; Nita Ambani (IND), Founder and Chair of the Reliance Foundation. The addition of eight new Members would bring the total number to 99.

(IOC/JOH)

378. | Carol Anne Letheren | Canada

Born: 27 July 1942,
Owen Sound, Ontario
Died: 2 February 2001,
Toronto

Co-opted:
20 September 1990
(until her death),
replacing
James Worrall
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 15,
Absent 0



Carol Anne Letheren was born to an unwed mother and was adopted by the Wood Family. She studied for a BA in Physical Education at the University of Toronto, where she played volleyball. She graduated in 1963 and taught at the university until 1970, when she accepted a teaching job at York University. In 1977, she earned a Master of Business Administration. Later, she became a senior partner of a marketing and consulting company in Toronto.

She had a wide range of sporting interests include archery, badminton and volleyball. But her major ambition was gymnastics and she served as a judge at the Olympic Games from 1976 to 1984, five World Championships, two Commonwealth Games and three Pan-American Games. She was Vice-President of the Canadian Gymnastics Federation (1970–1977) and a member of the Women's Technical Committee of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG) from 1976 to 1990.

In the early 1980s she became a member of the Canadian Olympic Association (COA). She was Canada's first female Chef de Mission, at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, when the 100-metres winner Ben Johnson failed the drug test. Her deft handling of this scandal paved the way to her selection as President of the COA in 1990. Later in the year she became a member of the IOC.

Carol Anne Letheren collapsed while speaking to the business school alumni of York University and died two days later of a brain aneurysm. She was a member of the Board of Directors for Toronto's bid for the 2008 Olympics, until her untimely death in 2001.

379. | Shun-Ichiro Okano | Japan

Born: 28 August 1931,
Tokyo

Co-opted:
20 September 1990,
replacing Masaji
Kiyokawa
Resigned:
31 December 2011
Honorary Member
from 2012
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0



A graduate of Tokyo University, Okano twice played international football for Japan in 1955. He was co-trainer of Ken Nagamura, who, in 1964 in Tokyo and 1968 in Mexico City, looked after the Japanese Olympic selection. In Mexico, the team won a bronze medal. From 1970 to 1971 Okano was the successor of Nagamura.

He was President of Okano Eisen Co. Ltd, part-time lecturer at Tsukuba University (1975–1976) and Director of the Japan Amateur Sports Association (1975–1991). From 1977 to 1991 he served as General Secretary of the Japanese Olympic Committee, then as member of the Executive Board.

An active educationalist on sports-related matters, he was Director of the Drug Abuse Prevention Centre since 1987, member of the National Council of Educational Reform (1984–1987), member of the 14th Central Council for Education (1989–1991) and of the National Taxation Council (1993–2004).

The many sporting administrative posts he held included President of the Japanese Football Association (1998–2002), then Honorary President (2002–2008), Supreme Advisor (from 2008) and President of the East Asian Football Federation (2002–2004). He was also a Council Member of the Association of National Olympic Committees (1979–2007) and Vice-President of the General Association of Asian Sports Federations (1985–1990).

380. | Richard L. Carrión | Puerto Rico

Richard L. Carrión, is a scion of a financial dynasty and, like all citizens of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, has American citizenship. The dynasty's patriarch was his grandfather, Rafael Carrión Pacheco (1891–1964), who was able to attend the American public school system. After the death of his half-brother, who had successfully represented the Baldwin Locomotive Company in San Juan, he took charge of the business.

After Carrión Sr. had invested in sugar, real estate and other industries, he had dealings with the American Colonial Bank in Puerto Rico, which led to a desire to purchase a local bank. In 1893, the island was still a Spanish colony, but in 1923 he and his elder brother founded the Banco Popular de Puerto Rico (BPPR), which developed into the biggest and most popular bank of the free state. He presided and led it until 1956.

The grandson was educated in the United States. He received his BA from the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania in 1974 and his MA in Management Information Systems from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1976. He then joined Banco Popular and, after his father's death, he became the leader of that banking corporation.

Since 1989 Carrión has been Chief Executive Officer and since 1993 Chairman of Popular Inc. and Banco Popular de Puerto Rico. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of Verizon, Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and Chairman of the Board of Banco Popular Foundation. Since 1992, he has been involved in producing music videos.

Under his leadership, the Banco Popular grew to become to the largest Hispanic-owned bank in North America and one of the 30 most important financial institutions in the Americas. Among other activities, he oversaw the implementation of the ATM system throughout the branch network in Puerto Rico and many other Latin American countries. He also spearheaded the migration from paper to electronic transactions.

After his acceptance into the IOC, in 1991 he became a member of the Finance Commission, in 1999 Vice-Chair and two years later its Chairman, a position he held until 2014. From 2002 to 2014 he was a member of the TV Rights and New Media Commission. From 2006 to 2014 he led its Audit Committee. Since 1997 he has been a member of the Marketing Commission. He was President of the Puerto Rican Bidding Commission for the Olympic Games in San Juan in 2004.

When Carrión stood for the IOC Presidency in 2013, he claimed in a press statement that through his negotiations with the TV companies in North and South America, Asia, Africa and Australia he had brought in to the IOC a total of more than eight billion dollars with sale of television rights. In his application, he emphasised the financial stability of the IOC, whose reserves since the start of Jacques Rogge's period in office had risen from 86.5 to 460 million Euros. As expected, in the election on 10th September 2013 in Buenos Aires, Carrión reached the final round, but lost by 29–49 votes to Thomas Bach.



Born: 26 November 1952, San Juan

Co-opted:
20 September 1990,
replacing German Rieckehoff
Attendance at Sessions: Present 33,
Absent 0

Executive Board Member No. 79
Elected Member 11 August 2004–
7 August 2008
Second term: 7 August 2008–
26 July 2012



381. | Nat Indrapana | Thailand

Born: 6 March 1938,
Bangkok

Co-opted:
20 September 1990,
replacing Dawee
Chullasapya
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 33,
Absent 0



Trained as a physical educationalist in Australia, Canada and the USA, he was Dean of the Faculty of Physical Education at Srinakharinwirot University (1975–1977) before becoming Vice-Governor of the Sports Authority of Thailand from 1989 to 1996. He was a member of Mahidol University Council (1990–1994), a member of the Thammasat University Council (1995–1997), Vice-President of Singha Corporation (1996–2007) and Vice-Minister of Tourism and Sports (2007–2008). Since 2007 he has also been a member of Srinakharinwirot University.

Dr. Indrapana began his career in sports administration in various organisations of university sport, and, since 1978, has been a Council member of the Asian Games Federation and of the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA). He was Chairman of the Technical Committee of the Organising Committee of the VIII Asian Games in Bangkok in 1978. In 1984, he became Deputy General Secretary of the NOC of Thailand.

When he was elected to the Council of the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) in 1996, he began to take a more serious interest in this sport. From 1999 to 2009 he was Vice-President, and from 2004 Chairman, of the Reform Committee. His other passion is trap and skeet shooting. He is President of the National Association and since 2006 President of the Asian Trap and Skeet Shooting Federation.

382. | Charles Nderitu Mukora | Kenya

Born: 18 October 1934,
Nyeri,
Central Province

Co-opted:
20 September 1990,
replacing Reginald
Alexander
Expelled:
27 January 1999
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 11,
Absent 0



A qualified physical education teacher from Loughborough College in England, he coached the highly successful Kenyan athletics teams at the 1968 and 1972 Olympics. Initially a teacher and headmaster, he then went into Government service before becoming Director of External Affairs for Coca-Cola in Africa. From 1992, he was a Member of Parliament.

A member of the Council of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) since 1976, he was Chairman of the Kenya National Sports Council from 1979 to 1989. After that he was elected President of the Kenya Olympic Association. In addition, he was 1st Vice-Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Federation.

Mukora's career ended abruptly in early 1999, when it became known that he had received nearly \$70,000 in bribes: \$35,000 from Sydney for his vote in the choice of the host city for the Games of 2000, as well as \$34,650 from Salt Lake City, which had been a candidate for the Winter Games of 1998 and 2002. Mukora stated in justification that would not have accepted any money for himself, but that rather it would have been used for 'sports development in Kenya' and 'world youth sports activities'.

Before investigations could be started against him, he followed the advice of IOC President Samaranch and resigned as a member, so that his case no longer required to be dealt with at the 108th Session on 17th and 18th March 1999. After that Mukora was involved in the Non-Olympic Committee (INOC), whose Vice-President for Africa he became in 2003.



383. | Colonel Antonio Rodriguez | Argentina

An Army colonel, he was a national fencing champion in the team épée in 1952 and 1957 and was the South American individual champion in 1957. He was also the Army pistol shooting champion in 1963 and, not surprisingly, he was an outstanding modern pentathlete. A reserve on the 1948 Olympic team, he won a bronze medal in the team event at the 1951 Pan-American Games in Buenos Aires.

Rodriguez moved into sports administration via the Argentinean Fencing Federation, becoming President in 1970. He played a major role in promoting the sports throughout his career as President of the Comité Olímpico Argentino (COA) from 1977 to 2005 and as founder of his country's Olympic Academy in 1982.

He also served as President of the Organising Committee for the first Pan-American Winter Games in La Lena in 1990, as General Secretary and then first Vice-President of the Pan-American Sports Organization (PASO) and as President of the South American Sports Organization (ODESUR).



Born: 17 March 1926,
Rosario
Died: 14 May 2007,
Buenos Aires
Co-opted:
20 September 1990,
replacing
Roberto Peper
Resigned:
31 December 2006
Honorary Member
from 2006
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 22,
Absent 0

384. | Denis Oswald | Switzerland

A law graduate of the Universities of Neuchâtel, Zürich and Cambridge, he was the winner of five national rowing titles in the single sculls and eight titles in other events. He represented Switzerland in three successive Olympic Games (1968–1976). In Mexico City, he won a bronze medal in the coxed fours. In Munich, he was eighth in coxed fours as in the quadruple sculls at the Games in Montreal.

In the meantime, he had qualified as a lawyer in 1973. He worked at a leading law firm in Neuchâtel as a partner, and some years later opened his own practice. In 1977, he received his doctorate from the University of Neuchâtel.

Oswald served as General Secretary of the International Rowing Federation (FISA) from 1978 to 1989 and Deputy Secretary-General of the Swiss Olympic Association (1985–1996). In 1989, he succeeded his compatriot Thomas Keller (1924–1989), who had led FISA since 1958.

From 1990 to 1993 he was President of the Bar in the Canton of Neuchâtel. As a former athlete, he was particularly interested in sports law. He published numerous articles about it and gave lectures at the Universities of Neuchâtel and Lausanne. He became a judge at the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS), Legal Consultant and 2000 Director of the International Centre for Sports Studies (CIES) in Neuchâtel.

As President of the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF), Oswald joined the IOC Executive Committee in 2000, to which he belonged until 2012. He was Chairman of the Coordination Commission for the Games of 2004 and 2012, Vice-Chair of the Eligibility Commission (1992–1998) as well as a member of further IOC Commissions.

In a bid to become President of the IOC, Oswald, then aged 66, agreed to stand down as FISA President shortly before the election in Buenos Aires, but his hopes were dashed. After receiving seven votes in the first round, he lost in the final round with only five votes.



Born: 9 May 1947,
Neuchâtel

Co-opted: 16 June
1991, replacing
Raymond Gafner
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 32,
Absent 0

Executive Board
Member No. 70
Elected Member:
13 September 2000–
11 August 2004
Second term:
11 August 2004–
7 August 2008
Third term: 7 August
2008–26 July 2012

Muhammad Ali

* 17th January 1942 in Louisville, Kentucky
 † 3rd June 2016 in Scottsdale, Arizona

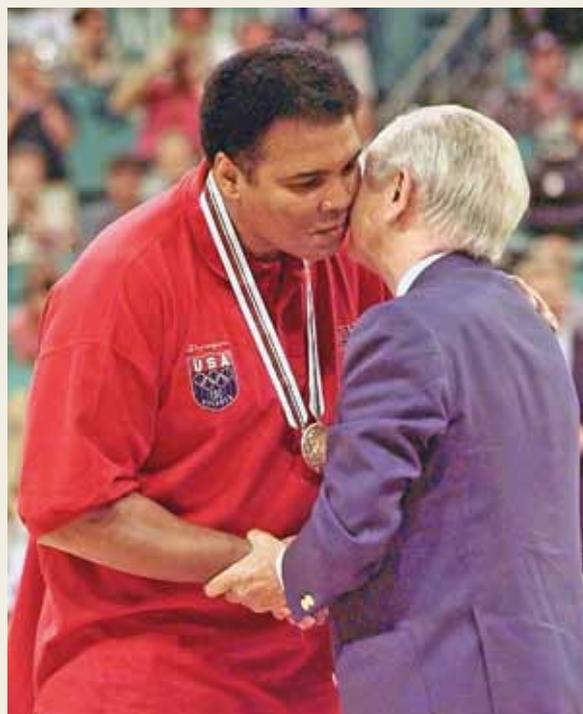
The story goes that Muhammad Ali, at that time still known as Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., ran through the Olympic Village at the 1960 Games in Rome and proclaimed "I am the Greatest". Although some felt he was a braggart, he lived up to the claim for as a boxer he was indeed "The Greatest".

He achieved his first successes in 1959 and 1960 at the "Golden Gloves" and then won at the 1960 AAU Championships. Aged only 18, he boxed at the Rome Olympics as a light heavyweight. He beat Yvon Becaus (BEL) by technical knockout, Gennady Shatkov (URS) and Tony Madigan (AUS) both on points (5-0). In the final he defeated Poland's European champion Zbigniew Pietrzykowski again clearly on points (5-0).

Back home Clay and a friend were thrown out of a "whites-only" restaurant. He told of throwing his Olympic gold medal into the Ohio river in dismay. Other sources say that he had lost it a year after Rome. Whatever the truth, IOC President Samaranch (photo right) presented him with a replacement at the Centennial Games in 1996. Ali had lit the Olympic Fire at those Games.

Clay had turned professional in October 1960. He fought 61 bouts, of which he won 56 (37 by KO). On 25th February 1964 he became world heavyweight champion against Sonny Liston. Then he converted to Islam and adopted the name "Muhammad Ali".

After nine successful defences, he was stripped of his title in 1967 by the New York Boxing Commission because he refused to do military service during the Vietnam War. On 25th June 1967 Ali was sentenced to five years imprisonment, but remained free on bail.



In 1970 the courts reversed his conviction and he was able to continue his career. On 8th March 1971 at Madison Square Garden, he faced the 1964 heavyweight Olympic champion Joe Frazier but lost for the first time in his career. Ali did beat Frazier in 1974 and then regained the world title later that year. On 30th October he beat 1968 Olympic gold medallist George Foreman in what became known as the 'Rumble in the Jungle'.

In a defence of his title he beat Frazier again in 1975 in another epic encounter the 'Thrilla in Manila'. After a shock reverse against another Olympic champion, 1976 light heavyweight gold medallist Leon Spinks, he regained the title a third time in 1978. Ali lost his last fight on 11th December 1981 against the Canadian Trevor Berbick, but many felt his previous defeat by Larry Holmes had been even more damaging.

In 1984 it became known that Ali was suffering from Parkinson's disease. He struggled against the disease for the rest of his life. He was 74 when he died. (VK/PB)

As Cassius Clay, he became Olympic champion in 1960. In 1996 Ali lit the Olympic Fire. Far right: In Louisville 100,000 people formed a guard of honour for the funeral procession of 30 km. The Olympic flag was raised. Then with his immediate family close by, Muhammad Ali was laid to rest in Cave Hill Cemetery.



Photos: picture-alliance, Official Report 1960 and 1996, Volker Kluge Archive

Obituaries



Iolanda Balaş, married Söter (ROU), *12 December 1936 in Timișoara, †11 March 2016 in Bucharest. The two-time Olympic champion in high jump of 1960 and 1964, whose father was Romanian, her mother Hungarian and a grandmother German, began with athletics in Timișoara and moved to Bucharest in 1951. There, the equally active high jumper Ion Söter (1927–1987) became her coach – to start with unofficially and from 1957 on a more formal basis. As a 17 year old, Balaş was runner-up in the European Championships behind Thelma Hopkins (GBR).

Extraordinarily slim and 1.85 m tall, she set the first of her 14 world records on 14th July 1956 with an old-fashioned-looking scissors technique and cleared 1.75 m in Bucharest. Her last and best performance (1.91 m in 1961) was not improved on until 1971 when the Austrian Ilona Gusenbauer bettered it by one centimetre.

Although she spent a good five weeks in Australia before the start of the 1956 Games, Balaş had to accept unexpected defeat and came only fifth. The absence of Ion Söter contributed to this. In 1952, he was sixth in the Helsinki Games, and despite setting a national record (2.055 m) in 1956, he was not

nominated for the Romanian team for political reasons.

In 1957, soon after Balaş had equalled the world record of the American Olympic champion Mildred McDaniel (1.76 m), she lost it to the Chinese Chen Feng-jung (1.77 m), whose performance she out-jumped the following year by a centimetre. From then on, she was regarded as unbeatable. During the next eight years, she won 140 competitions consecutively, as well as triumphing at the Olympic Games in Rome and Tokyo and the European Championships of 1958 and 1962.

Surprisingly, she was missing in 1966 at the European Championships in Budapest, having just become the Romanian champion with 1.84 m. The official reason given was a problem with her Achilles tendon. But as the IAAF introduced feminity checks at the same time, this gave rise to speculation, as in Budapest the coach and not Balaş had appeared before the medical commission, only to inform them that she would not compete. She competed for the last time on 10th June 1967 at the International Romanian Championships (1.68 m, second place).

Balaş, who had married Ion Söter in 1958, worked for a while as lecturer at Bucharest University. After that she was a sports teacher at a children's and youth sports school and from 1973 was a trainer with Steaua Bucharest. In 1970, her son Doru-Franky (in the photograph with his parents) was born. From 1988 to 2005 Iolanda Söter-Balaş was President of the Romanian Athletics Federation. (VK)

Klaus Siebert (GDR), *29 April 1955 in Schlettau; †24 April 2016 in Altenberg/Erzgebirge. "Sieb", as he was called, grew up in the Erzgebirge, where he was accepted into the biathlon training centre of the East German police. His first big year was 1975, when he came third in the World Championships over 10 km

and at the Olympic trial races in Seefeld where he defeated the entire world top class.

Siebert's time did not, however, come until the introduction of the small calibre rifle: in 1978 world champion in the relay, in 1978/79 winner in the composite world cup, in 1979 world champion over 20 km and in the relay. At the Olympic Winter Games in 1980 in Lake Placid, he achieved silver in the relay and was fourth over 10 km.

A mechanical engineer and later police officer, Siebert worked with young athletes from 1984. Among his protégés was Ricco Gross, winner of four Olympic gold, three silver and two bronze medals from 1992 to 2006.

From 1994 to 1998 he was trainer at the Federal Performance Centre of Altenberg and co-trainer of the men's national team from 1998 to 2002. Between 2002 and 2005, he was responsible for the shooting training of the Austrian biathletes.

After a period as chief coach in the People's Republic of China, he went to Belarus, where he coached Darya Domracheva, the triple Olympic champion of Sochi 2014. Shortly before his 61st birthday he succumbed to cancer. (VK)

Sarah Tait, née Outhwaite (AUS), *23 January 1983 in Perth, Western Australia (AUS), †3 March 2016 in Melbourne. She began rowing when only nine years old. She studied environmental science and agriculture at school, but continued to row, making her first international appearance at the 2000 World Juniors, where she won a silver in the junior women's coxless four.

She competed at three Olympics (2004–12), the first as Sarah Outhwaite, then as Sarah Tait, finally winning an Olympic medal at London with a silver in the coxless pairs. At the senior international level, her greatest victory came in winning a gold medal in the eights at the 2005 World Championships. She

added a silver medal in the coxless pairs at that event and returned to add a bronze in coxless pairs at the 2011 Worlds. During her second pregnancy she was diagnosed with cervical (uterine) cancer. Sandra Tait retired from rowing in February 2014 to concentrate on fighting the disease, but it took her life when she was only 33 years old. *(BM)*



Sándor Tarics (HUN), *23 September 1913 in Budapest; †21 May 2016 in Belvedere, California. Sándor, also called Alex Tarics, competed for Hungary in water polo at the 1936 Olympics, helping his team to a gold medal. He played on the national team through 1939, once scoring seven goals to help Hungary defeat Germany at the (unofficial) World Student Games in Vienna, which made him a national hero.

In 1948 he moved to the USA to teach engineering, moving to the Bay Area of California. There, he became a professor of architectural engineering. He was also an earthquake specialist, helping develop a revolutionary method of implementing seismic “base isolation” shock absorbers under large buildings, which was used on the city halls of both San Francisco and Oakland. He was the oldest living Olympic champion until his death at the age of 102 years. See also JOH, Vol. 20, No. 1/2013, pp. 70–72. *(PT)*

Vladimir Yumin (URS), *18 December 1951 in Omsk; †4 March 2016 in Kaspiysk, Dagestan/RUS. The wrestler was considered one of the world’s best bantamweight, and later featherweight, freestylers in the 1970s. As a bantamweight he won Olympic gold in 1976, was world champion in 1974 and European champion in 1975–76. He also won silver at the 1975 World Championships and bronze at the 1973 Worlds. After the 1976 Olympics, Yumin switched to featherweight and was world champion from 1977–79 and European champion in 1977.

Yumin also tried to qualify for the 1980 Soviet Olympic team, but finished only third at the 1980 Soviet Championships. After finishing his sporting career, he worked as a trainer, coaching the Turkish national team. He was inducted into the FILA International Wrestling Hall of Fame in 2009. *(TK)*

Clyde Lovellette (USA), *7 September 1929 in Petersburg, Indiana; †9 March 2016 in North Manchester, Indiana. Lovellette won championship basketball titles at every major level of competition – NCAA, Olympic and NBA. During 2016, he was the only college player to lead the nation in scoring while leading his team to the NCAA title.

After his Olympic success in 1952, he was drafted by the Minneapolis Lakers in 1953 and he had four good years for them. He subsequently played for both Cincinnati and St. Louis, playing in three NBA All-Star games and making second team All-NBA one year. He finished his career with the Boston Celtics, as a reserve center to Bill Russell, and it was with them, in 1963 and 1964, that he played on NBA championship teams.

Lovellette was a burly fellow on the court and was known as a bit of an enforcer. He apparently took the reputation with him after his playing days – he served several years as sheriff of his hometown. *(BM/WR)*

Paul Lange (FRG), *6 February 1931 in Oberhausen; †15 March 2016 in Oberhausen. Lange was a bricklayer by profession. In 1960 in Rome, he won Olympic gold in the K-1 4x500 m relay (held for the only time at these Olympics) with Dieter Krause and Günter Perleberg, who both came from East Germany, and the West German Friedhelm Wentzke. This was the only gold medal won by a truly unified Olympic team of the then separate two German states.

Even before the Olympics, Lange was K-1 4x500 m relay world champion and third in the K-2 500 m

(with Miltenberger) at the 1958 championships. In the 4x500 m relay, Lange also won European titles in 1959 and 1961 and a silver at the 1957. He ended his active career in 1963 and died after a long and serious illness. *(RR)*

Zoltán Szarka (HUN), *12 August 1942 in Csorna; †18 April 2016 in Szombathely. Goalie Szarka played most of his career from 1960–89 with one club, Szombathelyi Haladás, except for the last seasons of his career, when he played with Sabaria SE from 1983–85 and with SC Nikitsch in Austria in 1988–89. With Szombathelyi, Szarka won a runners-up medal in the 1975 Hungarian Cup.

He never earned a full international cap but was selected for the Olympic squad as a reserve to first choice keeper Károly Fatér. At the Olympics, Szarka played only 13 minutes, when he was subbed in during the semi-final match against Japan, which Hungary won 5–0. His team also won the final. After finishing his sporting career, Szarka worked as the long-time goalkeeping coach with Szombathelyi Haladás. *(TK)*

Andries Cornelis Dirk “André” Boestra (NED), *11 December 1924 in Bandoeng, Dutch East Indies; †17 March 2016 in The Hague. Boestra was a member of the four-times national championship team H.H.Y.C, which later became Klein Zwitserland in Wassenaar/The Hague. He qualified as an engineer and worked first for the Royal Dutch Shell Company, then for the Lucas Bols Company.

Boestra played as inside right wing in the national team at the 1948 Games, where he won a bronze medal. The Dutch team beat Belgium (4–1), Denmark (4–1) and France (2–0). The last group game was lost to Pakistan (1–6). Nevertheless, the team made it to the semi-final against India but again lost, this time 1–2. For the the

bronze medal, the team had to play their former opponent, Pakistan. This match took place in the Empire Stadium, Wembley, and the Dutch team now knew their adversaries well and the final result was 1–1. This meant a replay was required, which took place at Lyons' Ground and the Dutch team emerged the winners with a score of 4–1. Boerstra scored one of the goals.

He was again part of the Dutch team at the 1952 Games. However, the International Federation had decided to change the competition schedule. The k.o. system meant the losing team was immediately eliminated (with exception of the bronze medal play-off, of course).

The Dutch team beat Germany (1–0) and won the semi-final against Pakistan (1–0). The final was won by India with 6–1; which brought the Netherlands a silver medal. (AB)

Tapio Mäkelä (FIN), *12 October 1926 in Nastola; †12 May 2016 in Jämsä. Mäkelä made his international début at the 1950 World Championships, where he was 12th in the 18 km. At the 1952 Winter Olympics, he won gold with the Finnish relay team, but lost to Norwegian Hallgeir Brenden by 35 s in the 18 km and had to settle for a silver. At the 1954 World Championships, he again won a gold in the relay and was fifth at 15 km. Mäkelä was an office worker and was the President of the sports club Kaipolan Vire from 1965–70. (WR)

Luděk Macela (TCH), *3 October 1950 in Černolice/CZE; †16 June 2016 in Prague. Macela started his football career in his youth for SK Černolice and Tatran Všenory. At the age of 16, he moved to Dukla Prague, winning the national title in 1977, 1979, and 1982. In 1982, he moved to SV Darmstadt 98 to play in the German Bundesliga for three seasons, and then retired. He returned to Czechoslovakia and became a youth coach at SK Černolice. Internationally, he earned 17 caps

and scored one goal. At the 1980 Olympics he won the gold medal with Czechoslovakia.

Between 1997 and 2001 he was General Secretary of the Czech Football Association, and headed the Referee Commission. He was relieved from his duties in 2001 and took over the training center for Sparta Prague. (WR)

Müzahir Sille (TUR), *21 September 1931 in Istanbul; †17 May 2016 in Istanbul. Sille was a three-time Olympian Greco-Roman featherweight wrestler, placing fourth in 1956, winning the gold medal in 1960, he also took part in 1964 but did not reach the third round. He also won silver at the 1955 and 1958 World Championships, and won a bronze at the 1959 Balkan Championships. In 1961, he moved to later German Bundesliga club KSV Witten 07.

After his wrestling career ended, he returned to Istanbul to start several non-profit organisations mainly targeted towards helping the homeless. (WR)

Anatoly Grishin (URS), *8 July 1939 † 14 June 2016 in Moscow. Anatoly Grishin was a sprint canoeist, winning the gold medal with the Soviet K-4 in 1964. Two years later, he also became world champion with the K-4, and in 1963 he won a bronze with the K-2 over 1000 m. In 1967 he was European champion with the K-4, and also won a silver medal in 1961 and 1967, and a bronze in 1963, all with the K-4. He also earned 15 national titles. After his active career he became a canoeing, rowing and sailing coach, as well as an international referee. (WR)

Oh Se-jong (KOR), *9 October 1982 in Seoul; †27 June 2016 in Seoul. In 2006 this South Korean short track speed skater won Olympic gold in the 5000 m relay. He had also twice been world champion (in 2003 and 2006). He lost his life in a motorcycle accident.

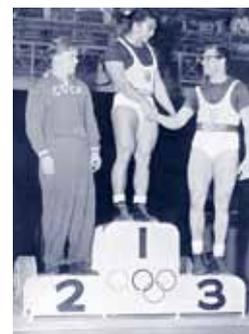
Tommy Kono (USA), *27 June 1930 in Sacramento, California; †24 April 2016 in Honolulu, Hawaii. Pound for pound, Kono (shown at the 1956 Games in the photo) is probably the greatest lifter produced by the USA. Between 1953 and 1959 he was undefeated in world and Olympic competition, adding six straight world titles to his two Olympic gold medals. He also won three consecutive gold medals at the Pan-American Games, in 1955, 1959, and 1963.

Kono was capable of lifting at almost any bodyweight, witnessed by his Olympic medals in three different classes. He is the only man to ever set world records in four different classes and won 11 AAU Championships – in three different weight classes. During his career he set 27 world records. Kono was a very rare weightlifter who also competed successfully as a body builder, winning the AAU Mr. Universe title in 1954, 1955, and 1957.

He later coached the national teams of Mexico and West Germany and was the USA weightlifting coach in the 1970s and at the 1976 Olympics. Kono was inducted into the Weightlifting Hall of Fame in 1993 and is a member of the US Olympic Hall of Fame and the Association of Oldtime Barbell and Strongmen Hall of Fame. (BM)

Markku Siukonen (FIN), *2 February 1948 in Helsinki; †14 May 2016 in Muurame. A long time member of ISOH, he was author or editor of more than 140 books on sports in a career spanning five decades, including the essential reference works on Finnish Olympic history. He was known as the Grand Old Man of Finnish Olympic literature.

Markku Siukonen graduated in sports sciences at the University of Jyväskylä in 1970. In 1971 he became an editor of *Urheilumekasvot (Faces of Our Sport)*, a compilation of biographical facts on Finnish sportspeople that grew into a series of 14 volumes. Before long Siukonen put his diligence and thorough



attention to detail to the service of Olympic history. The first two volumes of *Suuri Olympiateos (Great Olympic Book)* were published in 1978 and followed by a new volume after each Olympic Games until 2000. The 13th and last part of the series was published in 2012, bringing the story up to date up to and including the London Games. Editor-in-chief and later sole author of the monumental work, Siukonen became the leading interpreter of all things Olympic for generations of Finnish sports enthusiasts.

Writing on sports was not only Siukonen's passion but also his livelihood. He became a full-time author of sports books, the only one of his kind in Finland. In addition to *Suuri Olympiateos*, the cornerstone of his work was *Urheilunvuosikirja*, yearbook of Finnish sports inaugurated in 1979. He authored 35 editions of the yearbook before retiring from active duty in 2014.

Markku Siukonen was an active member and recognised Finnish correspondent of the international network of Olympic historians ever since his early correspondence with Erich Kamper in the 1970's. He became a member of ISOH in 1996. He received an Olympic Movement Unity award from the IOC in 1995.

Siukonen spent his retirement years at his home on the shore of Lake Päijänne in Central Finland, attending to music, nature, photography and to his family of five children and ten grandchildren. (VT)

Jacobus Adrianus "Jaco" Treurniet (NED), *8 Dec. 1933 in Rotterdam; †17 May 2016 in Ermelo. After his basic and further education, he joined the SHELL Company and worked his whole life for this company. He became famous for his collection of memorabilia from the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam.

He originally started with collecting books on sport, but later sold most of them. He then changed over to

collecting anything available about the Amsterdam 1928 Olympic Games. Visited flea markets, auctions and digital websites and bought anything available that fitted in his collection.

After his pension, he moved to a new house in Harderwijk, where he could show his collection in a special room; his private museum. A couple of years ago, Parkinson's disease was discovered, which made him think about what to do with his collection. From 2008 onwards, he tried to sell it to several Dutch organisations, including the Netherlands Olympic Committee, but not one of them was interested.

Last year, 2015, he finally decided to auction the collection by MPO Auctions in Nieuwegein. Many collectors attended the auction and most of the important items were

sold. Several Dutch organisations like the Olympic Stadium in Amsterdam, the City of Amsterdam, the Amsterdam Museum and NOC*NSF, combined to make a joined effort in securing important items, which indeed succeeded in attaining some of the most important items. Unfortunately, Jaco Treurniet himself did not have the benefit from this sale for long. We will remember him as a friend. (AB)

(AB = Anthony Th. Bijkerk, BM = Bill Mallon, PB = Philip Barker, PT = Paul Tchir, RR = Ralf Regnitter, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, VT = Vesa Tikander, WR = Wolf Reinhardt)

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

Letters to the Editor

Re: Journal of Olympic History, Vol. 24, No. 1/2016

The last edition was one of the best you made so far. I really enjoyed the Herr Meyer-case. It was interesting as well as funny. It was a kind of cabaret! What a difficulty one had to overcome to make just a picture in those days. Compare that to what we can do today!

The story of Kahanamoku reminds us once again that there always was trouble with the amateur rules. I did not know that Duke almost missed the freestyle final in the 1920 Olympics. Life was simple then: he got a second chance in the semifinal. In the same circumstances the American sprinters Hart and Robinson were not so lucky in 1972! (Is this perhaps a story for one of the next volumes?)

It is amazing that so much could be found of the not very impressive 1900 Olympic football tournament. I noticed from Berlin ice with Black Forest Snow that perhaps we could have had Winter Games earlier than 1924 if the 1916 Berlin Games had not been cancelled because of the war. Xaxa' lost gold medal (never heard of him) and the Lost Artwork were also very interesting. The hypocrisy of politics appeared clearly from the Saarland Olympic team in 1952. The West Germans would not recognise the GDR but did not protest at all that Saarland under its own name participated in the Helsinki Games. All in all it was great reading.

As to the biographies of the IOC Members: About Jean Claude Ganga, Wallwork and some others it is mentioned that they were expelled. Geesink was not expelled but as far as I know got a warning for accepting 5000 dollars for his so-called Olympic Academy. But I did not find trace of it in his biography. He was a great athlete, one of the greatest we had in the Netherlands, but as an administrator he was a disaster. He had a row with everybody of the NOC and that went on for years.

Ruud Paauw, Leiden, Netherlands

The Editor reserves the right to abbreviate reader's letters.

BOOK REVIEWS



Luke Harris

BRITAIN AND THE OLYMPIC GAMES 1908-1920
Perspectives on Participation and Identity

Palgrave Macmillan London 2015
pp. 289, 63.00 £, ISBN 978-1-137-49861-8

Reviewed by Philip Barker

The anniversary of the first London Olympics in 1908 a few years back saw a number of books appear on the subject but most concentrated on the organisation of those Games alone. This is an in depth analysis of the experiences of the Great Britain in the Olympic arena in a decade that saw the world plunged into war.

Although this is a study of one nation it is also very useful examination of Olympic history in a critical period for the movement as a whole.

Although British competitors had taken part in all previous modern Olympics Harris asserts that 1908 represented Great Britain's "first serious entry into the festival". In medal winning terms, it was statistically their most successful, although it should be remembered that in many sports, the entrants were predominantly or even exclusively British.

The makeup of the British Isles means that even the question of national identity is not straightforward. For example, separate home nation teams participated in the hockey tournament. Harris examines Scottish, Welsh and particularly the

Irish participants at a time when Home rule for Ireland was a burning political issue.

Much of the text and statistical support concentrates on Britain's achievements or otherwise on the track.

Harris also contrasts the relatively poor crowds with the great interest shown in the print media. There are also some fascinating glimpses of contemporary attitudes, not least from the great CB Fry, an outstanding sportsman in his time.

Although Great Britain won ten gold medals in Stockholm at the 1912 this was a disappointing return in comparison with London. There were calls for British Empire team to be formed. Others wanted Britain to cease participation in the Games altogether.

There's a fascinating look at British preparations for the 1916 Games in Berlin. This includes details of a 'talent identification' scheme, long before this concept became fashionable.

The study concludes with an assessment of Britain's attitude to the return of the Games after the First World War.

The book ends with 1920. There might just be a fascinating sequel to be done on British attitudes to amateurism, in particular to the question of 'Broken Time' or compensation for time lost from work. A full index makes themes easy to navigate and there are some well chosen cartoon illustrations which capture the mood of the period.

Harris quotes extensively from other sources, although it is not always immediately clear which are modern scholastic interpretations and which the much more valuable primary source material. Even so this is a worthy winner of the ISOH Prize for book of 2015.

The only sadness is that the relatively high cost of the volume will put it beyond the range of all but libraries.



Ilija Trojanow

My Olympiad

One Amateur, four Years, 80 Disciplines

S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2016
pp. 335, 22.00 EUR, ISBN: 978-3-10-080007-7
in German

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

In May 2013 I received an email from "a German speaking Bulgarian writer, who was embarking on a project called 'My Olympiad', an attempt to get to know all individual disciplines between two Olympic Summer Games and as far as possible to train and take part". His name was: Ilija Trojanow. Unfortunately it was not possible to meet him at the time and by the time I sought to arrange a date, the globetrotter had already moved on.

What I took to be a crazy idea from a 48 year old author with too high an opinion of himself, who described himself as a lifelong sports fan has now become a printed report. To preempt the verdict: I have rarely read such an amusing and honest sports book, that perhaps touches a raw nerve in everyone. For, as Trojanow writes in his introduction: "The truth is that one is often weaker than one thinks, and that one fails again and again at the hurdles which fate or one's own cockiness places in one's path."

Even at the start of his Olympic experiment on himself, Trojanow had to realise that he would be unable to train for all individual disciplines in four years. He learned

of the existence of many of them only during the TV broadcasts from London, during the course of which his frustration grew, because sport was presented to him only as a smooth, unblemished product.

To free himself from his disappointment, Trojanow saw only one reaction: "I had to abandon the passive role of watching and revive the sportsman in myself. From voyeur to actor!" Like every convert he engrossed himself in firstly in the "holy scriptures" of training science, the abundance of which confused more than instructed him.

Trojanow only found out what was hidden behind the perfect performance which he had enjoyed on television when he put on the sports gear himself and even then only as snippets, since he only had enough time to undertake quick courses. He therefore restricted himself to 80 disciplines from 23 sports, spread over three years.

Concerned about efficiency, he set up groups for his training, which are read as chapter headings: "In the water (pool)", "On the water", "Small ball, big ball", "Quiet shooting, noisy shooting", "Hacking and stabbing", "In the saddle", "On my knees", "Air jumping", and finally "Athletics" in all its variations.

To give himself a tangible objective, Trojanow set himself the target of reaching half the level of performance that had been needed for Olympic victory in 2012. In others however impossible, for instance in diving. He experienced a large number of demoralising defeats, but also moments of happiness. In gratitude he thought back to his numerous trainers. Many of whom had initially regarded the project suspiciously, of whom not a few soon caught fire, ultimately in order to develop the clueless amateur into something approaching an elite sportsman.

With the exception of Australia, Trojanow spared none of the inhabited continents from his per-

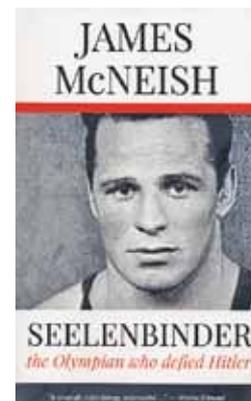
formance. He contested a triathlon in Cape Town, in which as last man home he received as much applause than the winner. He played tennis in Nairobi and Mumbai, and in Tehran stepped onto the wrestling mat. In Tokyo it was Judo and in Zürich taekwondo. He played beach volleyball in Rio, boxed in Brooklyn, fenced and shot in his adopted home town of Vienna. In London he took part in a cycle race, sailed and swam in Sri Lanka, rowed on the Danube, did gymnastics in Stuttgart, and in Berlin he took part in diving. He learned the basics of riding in a village, but did not get what he described as an "active impression", so that his participation in modern pentathlon failed.

Finally Trojanow dared to join the "Kings of the Athletes", the decathletes. He took part in the annual open competition in Vienna. He describes the extensive preparations in great detail and the diverse considerations, which stood in crass contradiction to the performances he achieved. For the 100 m he needed a time of 16.22 s, the shot almost fell on his foot, and he felt ashamed of his high jump clearance of 1.16 metres. He did not detail his other performances. In the 110 m hurdles he felt he was in a "comedy of errors", joking against himself. Even if the final result of 1214 points came out on the thin side – in the meantime he had lowered his expectations –, he kept going and in the two days enjoyed the comradeship of his fellow-competitors.

The book has a classical end. Trojanow had never run more than ten kilometres, dared for the first time in his life, along with 15,000 others to take on the marathon distance over the authentic course. En route he several times thought of giving up, he admits, yet all the pains in his knees and joints were forgotten when after 38 kilometres he reached the centre of Athens. After he crossed the line

in the 1896 Olympic Stadium in 5:50:30. Of this Trojanow writes: "I had expected deeper feelings. The city, the stadium, the many helpers, the other runners do not show themselves impressed by my performance. That waters down the euphoria."

Over the four years when he trained daily or competed, he learned a great deal about himself. He writes about his senses and longings, about his ambitions and illusions, about the relationship of body and mind and about growing older. What he is left with is rather more than cupboard full of sports equipment. An intelligent, splendidly written book.



James McNeish

SEELNBINDER

the Olympian who defied Hitler

Steele Roberts Aotearoa, Wellington 2016

pp. 242, \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-947493-01-1

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

New Zealander Sir James McNeish must have a well developed sense of irony. He chose Hitler's birthday on 20th April to launch his novella dedicated to the only German Olympian who took an active part in the resistance to Hitler. The event was held at the German Goethe-Institut in Wellington. The day that was once "The Führer's birthday" is still considered a very sensitive date in Germany. In 1994 a football international against England

scheduled for the day was cancelled although 50,000 tickets had already been sold.

Sir James chose the day deliberately to highlight the story Werner Seelenbinder, a wrestler who finished fourth in 1936 and became a member of the resistance. On 24th October 1944 he was executed.

McNeish, a highly acclaimed author, had already dared to enter Olympic territory once before. In 1986 he wrote *LOVELOCK*, in which he tells the life story of his fellow-countryman. The work was republished in 2009. Lovelock set a new world record to win 1500 m Olympic gold at the 1936 Games but was tragically killed thirteen years later when he fell in front of a New York underground train.

For his research, McNeish visited Berlin in 1983. Then it was still a city which was split in two. There was not just a wall dividing the city into East and West, but also different ideas on how to commemorate Germans who had fought against Hitler. These appeared alien to him.

McNeish began to take an interest in Seelenbinder, whose grave lay in the western sector and who was fanatically worshipped in the East. At this point a journalist friend advised him against it. Seelenbinder, said the friend, was "on the wrong side". Was there a right and a wrong side in the resistance to Hitler?

For a long time that was the case. In the East, books were published about Seelenbinder's life, and a wrestling competition was named in his honour. His name also adorned sports stadia and halls, schools, kindergartens, work collectives and even a ship. A film told his life story and countless streets bore his name. Yet at the same time in the West he was considered an "un-person" not worthy of honour.

What Germans hardly understood must have been extremely confusing for a foreigner. After the Cold War was over, McNeish decided to write a book about this man, who in death

divided an entire country. To do that, in 2010 he returned to spend several months in the now reunited Berlin to fathom the mystery.

Now McNeish has presented his novel, in which he took the literary liberty of reconstructing the action as fiction. Yet a glance at the acknowledgements, in which he names no fewer than 50 individuals with whom he spoke or corresponded, shows how intensively and thoroughly he applied himself to the subject.

Even some names in the book are unfamiliar, the book is accurate in historical detail. The use of original documents add authenticity. Some are published in full and he quotes from others. Among these are the arrest warrant signed Reinhard Heydrich the leading architect of the Holocaust. There are letters which Seelenbinder wrote to his family and his girlfriend from behind bars, and the records of execution itself which the hangman – scrupulously noted – required eight seconds.

The book is a compelling read because McNeish, has chosen to tell the story in the first person, which gives it a much more a personal tone. He takes the reader by the hand and leads him down the paths that Seelenbinder had gone. As a result, he tells the story of a young worker who through his successes in wrestling became an idol of the Berlin proletariat and thus politicised himself. We read of the political split in working class sport at the time. It was divided along social democratic and communistic lines. They were forcibly reunited in 1933 – in Hitler's jails. Seelenbinder, who had joined the Communist Party in 1928, was interred for a short time in one of SA's prisons, where torture was commonplace.

How did Seelenbinder come out the other side to reach the supposedly safe bank? This remains a question for historians today – did he achieve this through compromise or camouflage or both? What is

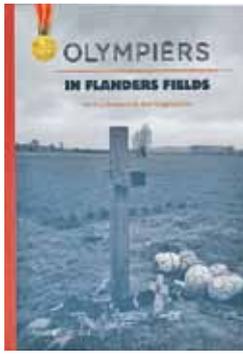
undisputed that the wrestler, who until then had been ostracised by bourgeois sport, was welcomed by the Nazi regime as a medal candidate for the Olympics and had supporters in brown uniforms.

Here the questions begin. McNeish did not want to give definitive answers, indeed could not, because the conspiracies took place in secret, a secrecy not even the Gestapo could penetrate. They could only prove that Seelenbinder had provided a communist courier with a hiding place and food. Nonetheless that was enough to condemn him to death after 33 months of imprisonment.

But did Seelenbinder really have the suicidal plan, after narrowly missing out on an Olympic medal, to expose the true character of the Hitler dictatorship in the usual radio interview? Did he use his numerous competitions abroad to smuggle out secret news items and illegal writings? What role did he play in the resistance during the war? And how does that fit with the story that a stubborn hero like him should plead to Hitler for mercy after his sentence, a plea which some of his proofreaders would like to hold against him from the security of their present day existence?

McNeish refrains from any heroisation. His report, which also led him to the execution room in Brandenburg prison, is objective and in parts even sober. He describes the actors very vividly. And with each chapter it is possible to sense the author's growing sympathy for a significant athlete and extraordinary human – a man for whom even the city of Berlin could finally no longer refuse recognition.

Finally in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birth in 2004, a stadium in Berlin-Neukölln was once again named in his honour, just as it had been, from 1945 to 1949. Four years later Werner Seelenbinder was also inducted into the Hall of Fame of German Sport.



Herwig Reynaert / Bart Vangrype

Olympiërs in Flanders Fields

(Olympians in Flanders Fields)

Vanden Broele, Brugge 2014, in Dutch

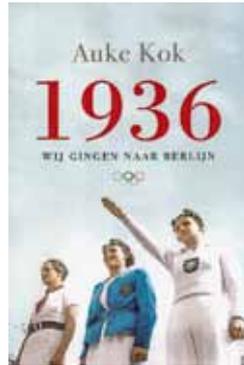
pp. 127, 29.00 EUR, ISBN 978-9049611163

Reviewed by Roland Renson

Reynaert and Vangrype have focused their research on Olympic athletes from the 1908 London Olympics and 1912 Stockholm Games who were killed and buried in one of the war cemeteries 'In Flanders Fields' (Near Ypres in Belgium). They have identified sixteen Olympians. Among these were twelve Britons. These included 400 m runner Noel Chavasse who was awarded the highest British award for gallantry the Victoria Cross to which he added a bar, Ronald Harcourt Sanderson a member of the eight who won gold in 1908 and the crew's coxswain Gilchrist Stanley Maclagan. There is also Duncan Mackinnon a member of the gold medal winning coxless four in 1908, hurdler Gerard 'Laurie' Anderson, Kenneth Powell who competed in both tennis and on the track, Edward Radcliffe Nash from equestrian sport, fencer Ralph Chalmers, Harcourt Ommundson won back to back silver medals in the military rifle team event, rugby silver medallist Arthur James Wilson, and two further athletes sprinter George Hawkins and miler George Butterfield. The three Canadians were: marathon runner James Duffy, Alexander Wuttunee Decoteau, a Cree Indian who competed in the 5000 m in 1912 and rower Geoffrey Barron Taylor. One German Olympic

athlete, Hanns Braun, a 1908 bronze medallist over 800 m who also won silver over 400 metres in 1912. He became a pilot and lost his life in an air collision. He is buried at the German war cemetery in Vladslo.

The book contains 82 pictures, among them some of present day Belgian Olympic athletes, who comment on the bravery of their ancestors of a century ago.



Auke Kok

1936 – WIJ GINGEN NAAR BERLIJN

Thomas Rap, Amsterdam 2016

pp. 288, 19.99 EUR, ISBN 978-94-004-0452-6

Reviewed by Anthony Th. Bijkerk

This book is a "human interest" story based on the lives of three participants in the 1936 Olympics.

The three are Hendrika Wilhelmina "Rie" Mastenbroek (1919-2003) in Rotterdam, dubbed "Empress of Berlin" by Willi Daume at the memorial meeting in Munich in 1972; Martinus Bernardus "Tinus" Osendarp (1916-2002); the fastest white man in Berlin; and Hans Maier (born 1916); water polo-player and currently the last surviving Dutch participant from those Games. The life story of all three is told in detail.

Otto Mastenbroek, the youngest son of Rie spoke of his memories of his mother, and how he scattered some of her ashes at the ancient arena in Olympia, Greece. A few biographies were written about Rie Mastenbroek, but only a few received her approval. When I

wrote her obituary for the *Journal of Olympic History* it was based on the biography written with her personal authorization.

At 99 years, Hans Maier's memory is still fantastic and he was able to tell most of his own story, starting with his life in the former Dutch East Indies and his move to the Netherlands to pursue a career.

Finally there is the more controversial story of "Tinus" Osendarp. As most older people in the Netherlands will remember, Osendarp was considered a traitor, who collaborated with the German occupation of the low countries during Second World War.

The author, however, has succeeded in showing that Osendarp could be regarded as a victim of that time. He was more a "follower" than one taking the initiative. In any case, he was punished after the war ended, and later expressed his regret about what happened in this time.

This is a good and readable book, which brings to light what our subjects went through in one of the most hectic times in their lives!



Conrado Durántez

Olympism

Sclay Print, Madrid 2015, in English, pp. 309

Reviewed by Pablo Galán

The prolific Olympic author Conrado Durántez's latest work is entitled simply "Olympism". It is now available in Spanish and English. It is aimed at Olympic Studies Centres and Academic Chairs and members

of the Pan-Iberian Association of Olympic Academies.

The objective of this publication is to provide a handbook for understanding the fascinating world of the Olympic Movement. Through its pages we learn about the origin of Olympism, its philosophy and symbols, as well the history of the Ancient and Modern Games.

A special section is dedicated to the character of Pierre de Coubertin, "the most famous unknown in history", according to the author.

In addition, the book presents a succinct exploration of the three components which make up the basic structure of the Olympic Movement (IOC, NOCs and IFs) and offers a brief look at the *Olympic Charter*. As a longstanding President of the Spanish Olympic Academy, Durantez is particularly well placed to examine the Olympic Academy as a school of Olympism.

The author provides some very interesting thoughts about the future of Olympism and the dangers it faces. Amongst these are excessive commercialisation, gigantism, jingoistic nationalism, and doping. These must be fought relentlessly in order allow the Games to continue to be the most magnificent event, where every four years the youth of the world gather without any kind of social, linguistic, politic, cultural or racial discrimination.

The book is completed by interesting bibliographic and onomastic indexes, as well as a glossary of terms related to olympism. Dr. Durántez

has written 28 books on Olympic themes and many magazines besides. This latest work is a pleasing and entertaining reading, which will delight all those interested in the Olympic world.



Roger Vanmeerbeek

**Van het sportveld naar het slagveld:
Belgische sportmannen in de Grote Oorlog**

(From the sports ground to the battleground:
Belgian sportsmen in the Great War)
s.l.: Fonds Baillet Latour, 2016, in Dutch
pp. 149, available via Sportimonium, Hofstade;
shipping costs 25.00 EUR (Europe),
40.00 EUR (overseas); ISBN: 978-9082531602

Reviewed by **Roland Renson**

In this remarkable contribution, Vanmeerbeek has identified no fewer than 43 Belgian Olympic medal winners, who served in the Great War. Some became war heroes, such as volunteer pilot Victor Boin, who won water polo silver in 1908 and bronze in 1912 and later a fencing silver medal in 1920 and Herman Donners who played in the same water polo teams was mortally

wounded at the front in 1915. Furthermore, 42 Belgian military men, who participated in Olympic Games either before or after the war, are also noted. A remarkable fact is that fifteen of them competed in equestrian events, nine as army officers and six as team members in the 'voltige' event in 1920, which allowed regular soldiers to perform spectacular vaults over horses.

92 elite sportsmen from eleven different disciplines fought in the war. The footballers were the largest contingent numbering 30. Among the 23 airplane 'daredevils', ten volunteered as war pilots, five even had their own planes. Sixteen cyclists were identified.

Football teams were created in the various regiments and matches were organised behind the front lines, with the patronage of Belgian King Albert I. The 'Front Wanderers' were the Belgian national army football team. They played matches against Italy and France and became very popular during their tour of England in November 1917.

The major part of this outstanding piece of research is a section comprising more than 150 biographies. These range from a single line to several pages with the service records of these soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers, who fought 'In Flanders Fields ...' Many died others were wounded and some remained handicapped for life. The publication is richly illustrated with 129 photographs.

Carlo Pedersoli (alias: Bud Spencer) (ITA), *31 October 1929 in Naples; †27 June 2016 in Rome. With his family Pedersoli went to South America after the Second World War, where among other things he worked as an assembly line worker in Rio de Janeiro. In 1948 he returned to Italy to study law. On 19th September 1950 he was the first Italian to swim the 100 m free in under a minute. After he had won a silver at the Mediterranean Games in 1951, he



took part in the Olympics in 1952 and 1956. Through his marriage to the daughter of a well-known Italian film producer, Pedersoli came into contact with showbusiness. After the death of

his father-in-law he founded his own production company. In 1967 he received an offer to act in a "spaghetti western". That was the birth of "Bud Spencer" (named after his favourite actor Spencer Tracy), a hardhitting, stubborn but good-hearted roughneck. Together with "Terence Hill" (also an Italian swimmer called Mario Girotti) he made up a congenial duo in 16 film comedies which celebrated triumphs. (VK)

The Museum on a Hill

Lillehammer's Olympic heritage will be splendidly cared for in the new Olympic Museum which forms part of a Norwegian history centre at Maihaugen above the town centre.

It was opened with no little humour by HM Queen Sonja on the eve of the Youth Olympic Winter Games in February. She recalled her early Olympic experiences with her husband King Harald. "I spent my honeymoon at the Mexico Games. He was in the Olympic Village, I was in a hotel with his family" she said with mock indignation.

The galleries tell the story of the Olympic Movement from ancient times with clever animated displays and imaginative presentation. The Nordic Games which preceded the Olympic Winter Games are also reflected.

The designers have clearly invested a lot of time and thought and it shows in a very well appointed museum. The explanatory text is in Norwegian and English and does not shy away from controversy.

The 1952 and 1994 Games form the centerpiece of the display with a video wall offering the highlights of those latter Games as part of a major exhibit.

Visitors would be well advised to come by vehicle as the museum is on a steep hill. Philip Barker



OLYMPIC MEMORABILIA



**AUCTIONS
WANT LISTS
BUY and SELL**



ULF STRÖM
Drottninggatan 90 A
111 36 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel: +46 8 600 34 52
E-mail: ulf.strom@mbox302.swipnet.se