

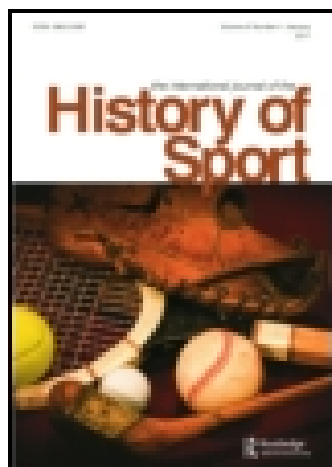
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Bill Murray ^a

^a La Trobe University

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Berlin in 1936: Old and New Work on the Nazi Olympics

BILL MURRAY

No sooner had the Seoul Olympics drawn to their successful conclusion than Barcelona, the Catalonian capital, began preparations to host the Twenty-fourth Games in 1992. The Seoul Olympics were the least beset by political problems in recent times, although the extent to which this was achieved by police surveillance and sympathetic TV producers we can only guess. Like previous games they were a triumph for commercialism and nationalism, but since these have been a normal part of the Olympics for so long now it was the drug issue that rivalled brilliant sporting performances for the headlines.

Inevitably the Barcelona Games will bring back memories of the 1936 Berlin Games, when commercialism was banished from sight and nationalism, compared with the excesses of participants, spectators and above all media commentators in recent times, was refined and restrained. Barcelona, capital of Catalonian cultural and separatist aspirations, was the rival to Berlin for the 1936 Games, and if the activists who wanted to deprive the Nazis of the propaganda platform given to their Weimar predecessors as a conciliatory offer had had their way, the 1936 Games would have been transferred there. As it was, the *Olimpiada Popular*, hastily organized at the last minute by the Spanish Popular Front government and supported by those of radical and left-wing political sympathies, ended on the day they were due to begin, with the arrival in Barcelona on 19 July of the Spanish Civil War.¹

The Berlin Games went ahead with scarcely a whiff of protest, to be completed in an atmosphere of sporting rivalry and fierce but honest competition. Since the sole sponsors of the 1936 Games were the Nazis, there was negligible intrusion of commercialism, but with nations and their political systems competing as vigorously as ever, and despite the strict admonitions to German athletes and spectators to be on their best behaviour, it was impossible to hide the intense national pride that swelled up with each German victory to merge into adulation for the leader who had made it all possible. This militaristic chauvinism was not directed against the visiting spectators, but some of them could not help returning to their own countries with feelings of foreboding.

Television was there, but a curiosity and not the focus of world attention,

and thus not a channel for the expression of political feeling, which could only be transferred to the world through radio broadcasting, the press and movie newsreel. As such it could easily be edited out. If Kee Chung Sohn, for instance, running under the hated colours of a colonial oppressor and with a Japanese name (Kitei Son), had stopped short of the tape at the end of his magnificent marathon run and gestured his feelings, the cover-up would have been too easy. As it was, his few protests were ignored, such as when he insisted in interviews that he was a Korean and refused to sign his name in Japanese script, using Korean instead, complete with a map of his occupied country.² Even more easily could protests from the winners' podium have been suppressed. Just as in Mexico in 1968 it suited the organizers for winners to express their love of nation but not their protests from the podium, so it suited the Nazis for Helene Mayer to pose proudly with her arm extended in the Nazi salute after her silver medal for fencing. The German wrestler, Seelenbinder, was expected to win a medal (in wrestling), and as a member of the clandestine Communist Party had agreed with his comrades to do his best and then give a vulgar salute when he received his medal. Understandably, given that he was committing virtual suicide, nerves got the better of him and he came fourth.³ As for the American blacks, treated as *Untermenschen* in their own country, there was never any fear of any of them making a statement on behalf of their race.⁴

Such protests, too, would have been seen as a gross insult to a nation which had excelled itself in the provision of facilities and the welcome it had extended to all athletes and visitors. The American blacks in particular were fêted, Jews were kept out of sight, Czechs were ignored and political dissidents were in gaol or under strict surveillance. The Berlin Games were a triumph for the Nazi regime, not the triumph of crass jingoism or the subdued menace of the Nuremberg rallies, but of a nation confident in its direction, of a leader adored by his people, and a people friendly and outgoing towards foreigners, regardless of race.

For those foreigners eager to believe that the New Germany was the real Germany, leading politicians and media magnates were happy to maintain the illusion, masking the more brutal realities of a regime for which the 'Olympic pause' was just that and not a new direction. Most foreigners who were less willing to be deluded stayed away, as did the few athletes who were outraged either in their sporting ideals or their political beliefs at the Nazi treatment of fellow humans whom they refused to treat as such.⁵

Much of this has become commonplace since the appearance of Richard Mandell's landmark book, *The Nazi Olympics*, on the eve of the ill-fated Munich Games. It has recently been reissued in paperback with a new

foreword.⁶ Since *The Nazi Olympics* first came out others have toiled in the field Mandell so fruitfully worked, and while those inspired by his work, directly or indirectly, have rendered parts of his book redundant, there was no need for any revision to the original text when the reissue came out in 1987: his book still stands as the best account of the 1936 Olympics in a single volume. Mandell did take the chance in the reissue to note in a Preface some of the errors, few of them serious, that had come to light. He also took the chance to tell how the book came to be written and of some of the reactions it provoked, as well as to direct a more fulsome criticism at Diem and Riefenstahl than his evidence had allowed him to make in 1971. Like all good sports historians Mandell had trodden on sensibilities more usually nurtured on uncritical grovelling. Sports stars and sports administrators, it is to be hoped, might one day learn that praise without criticism is no praise at all.

The Nazi Olympics has all that a good sports history should have: the Games in their historical context, the Nazi atmosphere, the boycott attempts, the personalities, the splendour of the festival and the excitement of the competition. It is written in a lively style, combining scholarship and opinion with a refreshing absence of heavy theorizing. When Mandell began his work he had the field to himself, which meant that his work had to be based essentially on newspapers and contemporary books, mainly German and American. Indeed the major criticism of the book is that it is too heavily centred on Germany and the United States, so that while these two countries certainly dominated the Games the role of other countries is neglected. Now there are many works on the subject, particularly by German scholars, many of which, unfortunately, are not available in English. These scholars have been able to work in the archives, giving further angles on Mandell's work and expanding on themes he was only able to touch on. Sports history was a fledgling sub-discipline in 1971; today it strikes out boldly in many directions, and recent works relating to the 1936 Olympics have added further to its reputation.

The Nazi Olympics was followed a year later by Arnd Krüger's *Die Olympischen Spiele, 1936 und die Weltmeinung*,⁷ a study of the world-wide (but particularly American) reaction to the Games and the first of that foremost German scholar's major contributions to sports history.⁸ Judith Holmes wrote *Olympiad, 1936. Blaze of Glory for Hitler's Reich*⁹ in 1971, but although it is widely quoted it gives a fairly superficial coverage. Three years after the Moscow Olympics, Jean-Marie Brohm, well known for his Trotskyite tirades against organized sport, be it capitalist or Soviet communist, wrote his 1936. *Jeux olympiques à Berlin*, a pungent and as always provocative analysis in which he seeks to show that the peoples of the world were betrayed in Moscow as they had been in Berlin,

by the solace they gave to inhuman regimes.¹⁰ There have been many articles of varying quality on the 1936 Olympics,¹¹ but since *The Nazi Olympics* Hart-Davis's *Hitler's Games*¹² is the only book in English to study the 1936 Games as an athletic festival located firmly in its social and political context.¹³ It is testimony to the richness of the subject matter that these two books are as different in their approach as they are in their handling of the issues.

Hart-Davis's argument is not new: how the Nazis were able to 'get away with a monumental feat of deception' that portrayed an inhuman regime as being 'a perfectly normal place', but he does bring to light hitherto unknown examples of the way in which the Nazis manipulated the Games. He makes good use of the Foreign Office papers, particularly the comments of Phipps and Vansittart, two thorns in Hitler's side, and in the memoirs of other intimates in Nazi circles who were more favourably disposed to the Nazi regime. Above all, however, he gives a British viewpoint of the Games. His account of the international confidence trick is not supported by the traditional academic apparatus, but this does not detract from its general credibility.

More than any previous account, other than Brohm's, this one dwells on the background rather than the sport, with Hitler's 'games' subverting the Games the IOC thought they were running. Before a single drop of sweat has appeared on any athlete's brow, Hart-Davis makes it clear that all who went to Germany in 1936 did so in full awareness of the nature of the regime they were visiting.¹⁴ This was particularly so in the ranks of government and the press, and, of course, the members of the IOC. Apart from the stories that kept coming in of further brutalities, the Nuremberg Laws stood in clear testimony to what the regime stood for, and Baillet-Latour, generally praised for getting Hitler to have the insulting signs against Jews removed, should have seen in this that the Games were being hosted by a country that played by rules totally different from those of the Olympic movement.

In view of the deliberate myopia at the official level, the lack of concern at the more popular level is easier to understand. The public was by and large uninterested, the athletes were more concerned about athletics and their own chances of winning a medal. Hart-Davis outlines the opposition to the Games in the USA and the defeat of the boycott movement, and devotes a chapter to the situation in Britain, the only other country whose opposition to the Games might seriously have upset Nazi hopes. Britain, with its negligible black population and comparatively uninfluential Jewish population, was less troubled than the USA by organized groups and a guilty conscience. But it was the birthplace of Tom Brown and organized sport, as well as the amateurism that had so inspired Baron de Coubertin.

In the 1930s Britain was probably the most amateur country in the world. Unlike the gifted American athlete, the British athlete had no recourse to assistance at college or university, and in contrast to the athletes from the dictatorships, where sport was seen as a means of enhancing national glory,¹⁵ the government left them strictly on their own. The four football associations absorbed the bulk of the average Briton's sporting interest, and they were professional. Perhaps Britain took its amateurism too seriously: the British footballers who took part in the Games were genuine amateurs, almost picked by lot and thrown together a few days before their first official match. In athletics the attitude was equally amateur. Games were either a profession, as they were in football, or they were fun, and as such they had nothing to do with politics. All of which might have soothed their amateur soul, but few Americans with memories of 1908 and thereafter could look with equanimity on the official body's sense of 'fair play'. The biggest furore in Britain was roused by the England v. Germany football match played at White Hart Lane in December 1935,¹⁶ but it was never seriously threatened. The Anglo-German Fellowship was founded as soon as the match finished and arch Germanophiles like its founder, Lord Mount Temple, found that critics like Phipps, Vansittart and Citrine (General Secretary of the Trades Union Council) were very much a minority. The hopelessness of their position was perhaps best illustrated by the support for the Games that came from the British gold medallist in the 1924 100 metres sprint, Harold Abrahams, a high-profile Jew who went to the Games as a broadcaster – and made a complete hash of it, according to Hart-Davis.

Hart-Davis does not omit the sporting spectacle, but even in his chapter 'Black Magic' he fills in the background to the triumphs of Owens, Metcalfe and company, with the furtive figures who peered over shoulders in the press box, and cuts to scenes that were daily being enacted, like the Jew ('plainly terrorised') who burst into the Embassy office to plead with Lord Vansittart on behalf of his co-religionists. The Olympic pause might have removed the signs telling Jews how vile and unwanted they were, but for them the fortnight of the Games was still a 'horrible time'. Again, in describing the lavish social occasions which the Nazi leaders turned on for their guests, Hart-Davis passes to the Orienberg camp, just a few miles from where the Games were being staged, to describe some of the bestial punishments being inflicted on men who had been convicted of no crime. For them the scourge of the swastika was never lifted, not even for the Olympic pause.

Amidst it all, of course, was the athletic festival, and in the stories of Jeffers and Whitlock, Hart-Davis reminds us of what the Games were supposed to be about: these athletes had to train in their spare time and

find their own money to get to the Games. He also records not only the occasions of bad sportsmanship by the crowds, as well as the intense nationalism that worried some of those who witnessed it, but also the healthy cynicism of some of the British youth who had been specially invited, but found the regimentation uncongenial and Hitler rather 'ludicrous' (an error of judgement unfortunately shared by more mature and experienced observers).

The courage of Oberleutnant Freiherr von Wangenheim in the equestrian triathlon is recorded, but so too the cheating in which the German team for the three-day equestrian event had been practising full-time for 18 months on a track which was a replica of the actual cross-country course. Hart-Davis he also reveals the story of the wooing and winning of the South African boxer, Robie Leibbrandt, who fought for the Nazis in the war and whose sentence of death for fighting against his own country was commuted by Smuts.

The racism of the South Africans, of course, was not an issue in 1936. That fell on the Nazis and the USA; but Hart-Davis reminds us that these countries had no monopoly on racial bigotry with the story of the Canadian Olympic team being barred from their London hotel when it was discovered that two of their number (one of whom was Dr Edwards, the captain) were blacks. But as Hart-Davis points out, the difference between the Germans and the others was that the Nazis were trying to incite racial hatred, whereas in other countries they were trying to damp it down (pp.229–330). He might have added, too, that racist America was not trying to get rid of its blacks, and even allowed them to compete in the national teams. Hypocrisy perhaps, but it was an opening, however much light it let in, and for the American blacks the Games coincided with and gave impetus to a major step forward in their fight for more equal treatment: the success of the black athletes was also a source of pride to America's blacks, solace to some Jews, and perhaps won some grudging admiration from otherwise racist whites.

Three of the major figures discussed in Mandell's *The Nazi Olympics* have since been the subject of major biographies: Owens¹⁷; Riefenstahl's *Olympia*¹⁸; two of the best things to come out of the Games, and Avery Brundage,¹⁹ one of the worst. Carl Diem, on the other hand, despite what must be one of the most inviting topics for any sports historian who can read German, has still to find a serious biographer.²⁰ Some might argue that biography is not really history, and certainly in the wrong hands it can be little more than an inflated anecdote. Sport, and as a consequence sports history, has particularly suffered from a plethora of biographies of sports stars that are concerned with little more than detailing their sporting triumphs with a few bedroom romps thrown in to help further

sales. In such works analysis seldom gets beyond discussion of a disputed decision or a bust-up with the coach or the management. That sports biography need not be so shamefully trivialized has been shown by several sports biographies in recent years, although as recently as January 1984, Mandell, in the Preface to his *Sport. A Cultural History*, claimed that the world 'still awaits a book living up to the title *Joe Louis (or Max Schmeling or Sonja Henie) and His (or Her) Times*'.²¹

Bill Baker's biography of Jesse Owens is that book. Jesse Owens was the undoubted hero of Berlin, with his four gold medals and two world records, achieved with a grace of style and self-effacing modesty that won him the adulation of the Berlin crowds. In *The Nazi Olympics* Mandell suggested that Owens away from the athletic field was not the hero who inspired millions on it, and repeated this in the foreword to the re-issue. Both sides of the black athlete's life are fully explored in Bill Baker's *Jesse Owens. An American Life*.

This is a model biography. Baker takes the reader through the absorbing life of the first black athletic hero with the same grace and elegance of style as Owens displayed flying over the athletic track, incorporating an intriguing life into his troubled time, and highlighting the high points of the hero with the lower points of the fallible human. It is a cradle-to-grave biography, free from psychological agonizing but studded with shrewd insights into American life and the nature of celebrity. Baker has consulted the relevant contemporary sources and tracked down all the surviving actors in the drama, to reconstruct an American life that was a parable of its times. In the course of doing so he debunks many of the myths that a complaisant Owens and the self-interested media were happy to propagate.

The lavish promises that came in the wake of the Berlin Olympics never materialized, but Owens made enough money to let him enjoy a comfortable and at times extravagant life-style. Even before 1936 Owens's athletic talent had secured him some financial ease and educational opportunity, but there were limits beyond which the dishonesty inherent in amateurism could not be stretched. When he went to Berlin Owens was determined to convert his Olympic gold into something more solid, and with the cheers of the delirious Berliners still ringing in his ears he declared: 'It doesn't make any difference to me what I do as long as I can make a lot of money' (p. 123). In fact he was to be reduced to some demeaning activities, but although many of his business ventures did not succeed, he made a very comfortable living in the years after Berlin. Owens was no babe in the commercial wood: he might have got lost a few times, but he was happy to be there, and he never deviated from his commitment to commercial success and conservative politics.

During the war Owens worked for the Ford Company, whose management was notoriously anti-semitic and violently anti- (mostly black) labour. In 1950 he was called into the fight against communism, rescued from the obscurity of the black press by the white media that needed to show the world through its athletic hero that all was far from bad in the American way of life. This role Owens was happy to take on, and in the early 1960s his devoted patriotism was rewarded by a judge who let him off lightly for neglecting his duties to the Inland Revenue Service (it is also testimony to the insanity of the Cold War and McCarthyism that Owens was actually under investigation as a communist dupe). In 1968, his fame re-ignited by television and replays of his 1936 triumphs, Owens spoke out against the black athletes in revolt, with a generation gap (and the resentment of his young family) to add to his ingrained conservatism. Throughout his life Owens was the white man's ideal black, one who was a credit to his race, who kept his mouth shut and his girl-friends black (p. 169).

If Owens devoted his Berlin triumphs to his own personal fortune, and was the hero of many blacks, he never used his new-found prominence on behalf of his race. Unlike the medal-winning high jumper, David Albritton, Owens preferred to smile and put up with the indignities that were the daily lot of his fellow blacks. He went to Ohio State University, despite its poor record on race, and was happy enough to share his seat with Jack Dempsey in the victory parade through New York, earning a cool reception as the cavalcade went through Harlem, where the former world champion boxer's boast that he would never fight a nigger was too well remembered.

Despite all this, and despite a private life (fully detailed by Baker) that caused his devoted wife great heartbreak and near-divorce, Owens emerges from Baker's biography with his reputation intact, if tarnished. Like President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Owens was honoured on his death. Baker also compares him with Joe Louis, another black who knew his place, and President Reagan, another master in the art of homespun conservatism, who shared his belief in motherhood and apple pie. These men were all 'heroes' in their own particular way, a status to which a mere athletic genius like Carl Lewis can never aspire. If Reagan was not exactly log-cabin-to-White-House, Owens was certainly cotton-picker-to-world-champion, and in any sport and in most societies that is the stuff that dreams are made of. What you think should happen after that depends on your political preferences and social ideals.

Avery Brundage had none of the charm of Owens, but for him, too, the Berlin Olympics were to open the door to a life-time ambition. Unlike Owens he was a white self-made millionaire on the road to which he had to overcome hardship as a child, whose single-minded devotion to making real the American dream of material success was matched by his

equally fanatical commitment to amateur athletics. In 1912 Brundage sacrificed his job to represent the United States at the Stockholm Olympics, and was bitterly disappointed at the cruelty of the war in Europe in 1916 that deprived him of the chance of an Olympic medal in Berlin: he had to make do with the consolation of being the champion American 'all-round' athlete three times (1914, 1916 and 1918). It was as an administrator, however, that he was to make his mark, entering the international Olympic scene as Owens left it. As the one individual more than any other who defeated the boycott movement in the States, Brundage played his part in getting Owens to Berlin; as president of the American Olympic Committee that committed the amateur athletes to a punishing programme after the Games without consulting them, he helped ensure his expulsion from amateur sport. Ahead for Brundage lay membership of the International Olympic Committee (1936), the vice-presidency (1945) and presidency (1952–72).

Brundage has been the subject of many occasional pieces, from hagiographical sketches on the one hand to vitriolic press attacks on the other. He also had in his possession a mountain of records relating to his administration of the Olympic movement which he bequeathed to the University of Illinois and which now make up the Avery Brundage collection. All of this has been distilled into Allen Guttman's biography of Brundage that does more than justice to this complex individual: *The Games Must Go On. Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*.

Guttman had to face a different challenge from Baker writing on Owens. Baker had to paint in the reverse side of a popular success; Guttman, on the other hand, had to find the more human face of a man who was earnestly and justifiably hated by many in his lifetime. If Guttman shares some of these feelings he hides them admirably in this thoroughly researched, though rather unevenly balanced, work.²² This is not a biography so much as an account of Brundage's association with the Olympic movement, but since this occupied virtually the whole of Brundage's life there is not a great deal of difference (except perhaps the astonishing private life led by Brundage, in which two illegitimate children by his Norwegian mistress were concealed from public view for an incredibly long time – a major part of the television adaptation of his life that was prepared for release just before the Seoul Olympics).

Brundage was an admirer of Mussolini and even of Hitler, and he was a friend of anti-semites even after the truth of the Holocaust was revealed to the world, and right up to the beginning of the Cold War he was a crude right-winger. Guttman claims, however, that his anti-semitism was a result of the anti-Olympic boycott campaign; moreover, in the early 1950s he overcame his anti-communism to bring the Soviet Union into the Games and, authoritarian that he was, found much to admire in

a system that produced so many great athletes. And he loved oriental art.

In fact Olympism was his religion, and he came to see himself as sole interpreter of its Holy Writ. Despite his professed adulation for Coubertin, Brundage could countenance no other god but Brundage.²⁴ All who agreed to abide by his interpretation of the faith were welcomed; those who refused were denied entry. Dissidents were treated as schismatics and those who fell to the devil of filthy lucre as apostates. His was a vision of a world free from money-grubbing and back-stabbing, ruled by selflessness and fair play. Brundage's vision was as unrealistic as his definition of what constituted amateurism. Much of what he fought for was worth fighting for, but he was a fanatic, and like most fanatics he made a mockery of a good cause. While the IOC was ruled by a cosy coven of conservatives and aristocrats it managed to conceal the faction-fighting and back-stabbing in which Brundage played a major role. But it could not prevent the waves of the outside world from continuing to lap around it, and after Brundage's departure it was swamped by the deluge.

Owens and Brundage were two aspects of the American dream. Both had talents which they exploited vigorously in their own interests, and having achieved success believed that the way to the top was available to anyone who wanted to make it. Brundage, unlike Owens, was intellectually bright and flew through his engineering degree. Owens had none of Brundage's fanaticism, and whereas in Baker's book we find Owens half-heartedly flicking through college books and winning races without seeming to do any training, Brundage sweats and puffs his way through several pages of Guttmann's biography. Unlike Owens, Brundage had no racial barrier to breach, but after Berlin it was Owens who merely fitted in, never taking on a really serious challenge after 1936; after Berlin Brundage took on the second major challenge in his life and fought for his ideals to the end. Brundage never cheated on the amateur code, and he never accepted bribes in the pursuit of his fortune, but this merely reinforced his fanaticism and estrangement from reality. He had a naïve belief in the moral power of sport as a character-builder and as an agent for world peace. In the latter he was merely ridiculous, in the former he was hardly a good advertisement, for Brundage was a dirty fighter and a cheat, whether it was in his misrepresentation of his opponent's case in the 1934–36 boycott campaign, or the means by which he defeated his rivals in the Olympic movement. In his private life he cheated on his wife and the mother of his two illegitimate sons.

Cooper C. Graham's *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia* is not so much a biography of Riefenstahl as an account of the film that was to warrant her claim to the title of genius and the notoriety that attached to a film intimately linked to Hitler and the Nazi regime. Unlike Owens and Brundage,

who were comparatively unknown before the Berlin Olympics, Riefenstahl was already a famous actress and director. Her film of the 1934 Nuremberg Nazi Party rally was not her first commission for the new regime in Germany, but it was her success in this that led to her being asked to film the Olympic Games, to capture on film and further capitalize on their propaganda success. It is this charge of collaboration with Nazi propaganda that has dogged Riefenstahl from even before the film's appearance in 1938, charges that she has litigiously and lachrymously tried to refute ever since.

Mandell's *The Nazi Olympics* tentatively cast aspersions on Riefenstahl in regard to her Nazi associations, but declared her film to be politically neutral. In his 1987 preface, however, Mandell cast off his hesitation regarding Riefenstahl's associations with the Nazis and declared that the film was not as innocent of political propaganda as he had at first said.²⁵ In February 1975 Susan Sontag attacked Riefenstahl in a famous article in *The New York Review of Books* (6 February 1975) entitled 'Fascinating Fascism'. Now Cooper Graham delivers the *coup de grâce* in this engrossing and scrupulously researched history of the making of *Olympia*, a film biography that is as skilfully integrated into the context of its times as the human biographies of Owens and Brundage discussed above. It is also, despite what might at first appear to be a technical work on film-making, very much a film about sport and society, not just in Graham's argument that *Olympia* is a political work on a political event, but in his descriptions of camera operators who had to have a sound knowledge of the events they were filming in order to capture the right angle, and who to do so had to emulate some of the feats of the athletes.

Graham's book is based on thorough archival research and interviews with surviving members of the team that made *Olympia*. Riefenstahl herself refused to co-operate when she realized that Graham was consulting possibly incriminating archives and warned him that she would be looking for an excuse to sue him if he did not say the right things. Undeterred, Graham tells it as he found it, conclusively refuting Riefenstahl's claims to have made the film independently of the Nazi regime. Not only did the regime fund the film, but it put the vast resources of the military and civil government at her disposal, whether it was the navy at Kiel, ambassadors in foreign courts in the course of the torch run, or officials in Germany who made life easy for the camera teams. She had a running battle with Goebbels, who wanted to replace her with someone more amenable to himself, but with a close personal friend in Adolf Hitler she did not have too much to worry about in this regard. Indeed the only serious hindrances she faced in the making of the film – other than natural ones like weather and fading light, which even the Nazis could not control – were the Olympic officials who were mainly concerned that the athletes should be

left unimpeded and undistracted by those filming their efforts. She also incurred the wrath of the American film-makers who later made her promotional trip to the States in 1938–39 (subsidized by the regime) a misery. Despite this there can be no denying the energy and talent she poured into the making of the film, and the acclaim that the film (if not Riefenstahl herself) received on its belated appearance was richly deserved.

There can be no denying either that this film is a brilliant work of propaganda,²⁶ even if Riefenstahl herself was no Nazi and as the film and her later work show, was no racist (unless a fascination for exotic bodies and noble savages can be seen this way). Its brilliance as propaganda is in the very absence of crude glorification of the regime. Owens is the star of the film, as he was of the Games, and the film dwells lovingly and agonizingly on the trials of Kitei Son in the marathon; although the German athletes topped the medal score, they do not unduly dominate the screen (unlike most national TV coverage today). There are a few swastikas (most of them eliminated from the 1958 version of the film), but they are not out of place, and in 1936 they did not have the sinister significance they would later take on; Hitler makes a few appearances in the film, but no more than one would expect from the leader of the host nation.

The whole film is a glorification of the Games, and incidentally of the nation that ran them so smoothly, and there is nothing wrong with that. It is what is missing that leaves it unbalanced. Owens is praised, but had he been a Jew he would not have had the same coverage, four medals or not. Blacks were certainly *Untermenschen*, but they did not evoke the same pathological hysteria in Germany as Jews. Naturally the film makes no reference to the Jews who did not make it to Berlin, whether from their own choice or because of Nazi duplicity: nor, any more than in the press of the time, was it pointed out that the Korean Kitei Son was running under protest in Japanese colours. In April 1936 Japan had signed a pact with the Axis powers and the government of that nation was about to be taken over by the militarists. In any case none of the democracies wanted to upset the Nazis.

Graham shows that the German performances, despite his initial impression, were given special treatment and points out that Czechoslovakia is never mentioned in the film. The few appearances by Hitler in the film are one of its great triumphs, for whereas he was cast as the Hero in *Triumph of the Will* here he appears as the warm Human Being.

Riefenstahl was doubtless more intent on making a great film than on making propaganda, but only someone who was in basic sympathy with the regime could have combined the two. The fascist worship of the body and the Nazi genius for organization left her free to develop themes that had appeared in earlier films, and whether or not she used her body for

favours, she felt no discomfort in the company of leading Nazis whose assistance made the life of the ambitious film producer easy. Whether out of gratitude or because she believed it, in 1938, shortly after the *Anschluss* with Austria, she campaigned for a Yes vote in the referendum, waxing lyrical on the new horizons that Greater Germany opened up for artists.

But just as the Games were essentially about sport, so Graham's book is essentially about the making of a great film. In this regard he takes us back to the preparations and the planning, the visit to Greece and the filming of the torch procession (with Riefenstahl treated as representative of the Reich everywhere she went), the use of towers and pits to get the best camera angles, as well as dirigibles and static balloons, and then gives us a day-by-day run-down on the Games as they affected filming. Throughout it all Riefenstahl was in total command, and the camera crews often had reason to fear the wrath of their all-seeing director. Occasionally, too, they had to face the anger of some of the spectators who, unlike the long-suffering spectators today who are used to their enjoyment being overlooked in the interest of good TV, threw bottles at cameramen who interfered with their view.

The crew had more serious problems to face. Forbidden to interfere in any way with the performance of the athletes, they had to think of means by which they could still capture the strain of individual effort and the thrill of the competition. In this they deserved a gold medal for ingenuity (and Albert Hoch a special medal for the way in which he captured the 5000 metres), but Riefenstahl was not beyond a certain deception in having some of the athletes restage their events for her cameramen (in the course of which Owens is said to have broken his own world record for the long jump).

Once the filming was done Riefenstahl had the big job ahead of her: how to construct her masterpiece from the 1,300,000 feet of usable film and match it to the appropriate sound-track. It was many hundreds of long hours into the evening, continuing squabbles with Goebbels and hassles over accounts later before the film was ready for the public. It had its premiere in Berlin, on the 49th birthday of Adolf Hitler, before the admiring Führer himself and a star-studded entourage of top Nazis. From there the film was promoted in various capitals and throughout Germany, but by then political tensions and the awful nature of the regime that was indirectly being glorified deprived *Olympia* of much of its sparkle. In the States, despite the unqualified admiration of Brundage and words of praise from Walt Disney, the film industry and those who had crossed Riefenstahl's path in 1936 effected a virtual boycott. It was never shown in Britain publicly before the outbreak of the war. After the war the film and Riefenstahl suffered the fate of many former Nazis and their accomplices: trial, oblivion, semi-respectability and acceptance.

John Hoberman, in his excellent study, *Sport and Political Ideology*, points out that sport is politically neutral, but that it is subject to the ideological content of any regime that wants to use it.²⁷ Even in the democracies politics can intrude, for example in such commonplace matters as whether to provide sports facilities at public expense or in accordance with the principle of 'user pays'. The encouragement of professional sport can legitimately be seen as supporting the competitive ethos and hence capitalism, while the raucous nationalism that televised sport has encouraged is scarcely designed to bring about feelings of international solidarity.²⁸ The besetting sin of the democracies has always been their hypocrisy; however, they do not despise 'fair play', and no matter how far short of playing the game they fall, they have usually, unlike the fascists, been in some way inspired by such notions.

It is only in the totalitarian regimes that sport has been used blatantly in the service of an ideology. By 1936 Stalin had long discovered the use of sport in the service of the Soviet Union²⁹ but unlike the fascists, with their adolescent cult of violence and *machismo*, sport was not so much a central element in Soviet society as a colourful side-show. Hoberman argues that differing attitudes to the body and the nature of leadership, which give rise to different conceptions of race and state, throw up sharply divided contrasts in Fascism and Marxism, the former constantly using the sporting metaphor, and incorporating it into their state systems, the latter stressing a more cerebral approach, harking back to the ideas of Marx and Lenin rather than to the beauty of a well-muscled body.³⁰

Jean-Marie Brohm sees the Olympic Games as essentially fascist,³¹ but this is to put too much into their elitist origins and nationalistic outcomes. It is nevertheless ironic that the socialists in their sporting ideals were closer to the ideals of the Games than Coubertin, whose sympathies were close to the fascists. The socialists constantly hailed the virtues of amateurism and internationalism, encouraged the participation of women (unlike Coubertin) and believed in the spirit of honest effort above winning at all costs. Unfortunately the spirit of socialism that the world was to see in practice was that of Stalin, whose ethics were a disgrace in everything he touched. The Soviets and their acolytes, when they joined the Olympic competition in 1952, were to be no more an ornament to the elusive goal of fair play and fraternity in sport than they had been in promoting socialism as a more humane way of ordering human society.

Much as the 1936 Olympics have been studied in detail it is still a far from exhausted field. In particular the attitudes of the various countries taking part in it have still to be explored in full: the role of Nazi Germany's allies, Italy and Japan, in the Games, has only been touched on,³² while Hart-Davis and Jean-Marie Brohm for Britain and France respectively

have only opened discussion on the subject. Czechoslovakia had one of the most highly developed sporting traditions of any country, and its fate in regard to Nazi Germany gives a study of its role in 1936 a particularly poignant edge. The Scandinavians, in particular their opposition to the Games,³³ have to be set alongside the whole-hearted involvement of the Finns. Much remains to be written on the other participating countries, not just European, but throughout the world. The 1936 Olympics, after all, were a vital prelude to the world event that would begin three years later with deadlier weapons than the starter's pistol. The Olympic Games helped to consolidate Hitler's power within Germany, reinforced his contempt for the democracies, and convinced him of their unwillingness or inability to protect the rights of minorities. For such reasons the Olympic Games in their global setting still have a great deal to tell us about the world on the eve of the greatest cataclysm in its history.

La Trobe University

NOTES

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1. There has been no systematic treatment of this event, or rather non-event. Nevertheless, the organization of these games and the hopes that went with them are worthy of a serious study, particularly from someone who can work from the Spanish sources. In the meantime Bruce Kidd has devoted articles to Canadian opinion in 'Canadian participation in the People's Olympics of 1936' in the Proceedings of the North American Society for Sport History, Annual Convention, Windsor, Ontario, 1977, and 'Canadian opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany', *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (December 1978), 20-40. He has also touched on French participation in his excellent article, 'The Popular Front and the 1936 Olympics', *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1980), 1-18; see also W. J. Murray, 'The French Workers' Sports Federations and the Victory of the Popular Front in 1936', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Sept. 1987), 203-30. The 'counter-olympics' are referred to briefly in Robert F. Wheeler, 'Organized Sport and Organized Leisure: the Workers' Sports Movement', in the special issue of *The Journal of Contemporary History* devoted entirely to 'Workers' Culture', Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 1978), 202, and the strained relations between the international working-class sports bodies and their attitude to workers' Olympics is outlined in: David A. Steinberg, 'Workers' Sport and United Front, 1934-1936', *Arena Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (February 1980), 1-6.

The 'people's games' were staged in Antwerp, Belgium the following year, cf. Franz Nitsch, 'Die Arbeiter-Olympiade 1937 in Antwerpen', *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1988), 10-27. For a good, broad coverage of the problems of workers' sport, particularly the dispute between social democratic and communist factions, see Arnd Krüger and James Riordan (eds), *Der internationale Arbeitersport, Der Schlüssel zum Arbeitersport in 10 Ländern* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1985). At the 1987 HISPA Conference held in Gubbio, Italy, Jan Tolleneer/Eric Box presented a paper on 'An alternative sport festival: the third Workers' Olympics, Antwerp, 1937',

based on Box's postgraduate dissertation, 'De Derde Arbeidersolympiade in 1937 te Antwerpen' (Leuven, 1987). See M. Lämmer, R. Renson, J. Riorden (eds), *Proceedings of the XII HISPA Congress* (Sankt Augustin: Academia-Verlag Richarz, 1989).

2. Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 217.
3. William J. Baker, 'New Light on the Nazi Olympics', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (Summer 1981), 118–20. This is also discussed in the remarkable film by Walter Krieg for German Television, Sender Freies Berlin, 1986, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1936 Games: *Fünf Ringe unterm Hakenkreuz: die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Berlin*.
4. David K. Wiggins, 'The 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin: the Response of America's Black Press', *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (1983), 279–82. There is an attempt to depict black successes at the games as a triumph for race relations in a rather slight article by D. A. Kass, 'The Issue of Racism at the 1936 Olympics', in *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter 1976), 223–35. James P. Barry, *The Berlin Olympics, 1936. Black American Athletes Counter Nazi Propaganda* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1975), is a short book aimed at a younger readership.
5. Of the athletes who stayed away the most famous was Judith Deutsch, the Austrian swimmer, who later emigrated to Israel; Philippe de Rothschild and Jean Rheims, French bobsleigh champions, and fencer Albert Wolff, all Jews, also chose not to go. Alex Natan, former world-class sprinter (and later scholar) was the most famous of the German athletes who chose to leave Germany before 1936. Other athletes, formerly national or merely local champions who chose to emigrate or retire included: Dr Erwin Fränkel, Köhn (long-distance champion), Lilly Henoch and Martel Jacob; among the tennis players the most notable was Dr Prenn; others included Ilse Friedleben, Paula Stück, Fräulein Ullstein, Nelly Neppach (who committed suicide in 1933 to save embarrassment for her Aryan husband); boxers Erich Seelig, Herbert Fuchs and Stadtländer; fencers Eugen Meyer and Fritz Stark; ju jitsu stars Rosenthal and Unger; the footballer, Vollweiler; the table-tennis player, Heinz Nicklesberg, and the wrestler, Leucht. Most of these were out of Olympic reckoning, but they represent the vital contribution that Jews made to the German sporting scene. The most celebrated case of a Jew deprived of an Olympic medal was that of the high-jumper Gretel Bergmann, who was dropped from the team two weeks before the Games opened – despite excellent heights in her preliminaries. This list is compiled from a book surprisingly overlooked by most works on the 1936 Games. Entitled *The Yellow Spot: The Extermination of the Jews in Germany*, it was brought out partly in response to the Nürnberg decrees and partly as a weapon in the boycott campaign, just after the Winter Games. It is a documentary survey with a chapter devoted to the attacks on Jewish athletes and their sports clubs, and has an introduction by the bishop of Durham. It was one of the first of the anti-fascist Left Book Club publications of Victor Gollancz.

For Jewish opinion on sport in general and the 1936 Games in particular see *Physical Education and Sports in Jewish History and Culture, Proceedings of an International Seminar at Wingate Institute, July 1973* (Wingate Institute of Physical Education and Sports, 1973). Uriel Simri, 'The Place of Jewish Athletes in the Modern Olympic Games' (pp. 81–7), highlights the success of Jewish athletes, while Hajo Bernett, 'The Role of Jewish Sportsmen during the Olympic Games in 1936' (pp. 88–113), discusses the role of the 21 Jewish sportsmen and women who were given hollow invitations to train for the Games and the 'alibi' Jews who were included by an unwilling German organization in favour of the greater good of propaganda success. Bernett is the author of several works on sport in Germany and in particular on the Third Reich, for example: *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung* (Stuttgart: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1966); *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1971); *Der Weg des Sports in die nationalsozialistische Diktatur* (Stuttgart: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1983); and has written a book specifically on the problem of Jewish sports people under the Nazis: *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, 1933–1938* (Stuttgart: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1978). See also Moshe Gottlieb for a well-documented and remarkably neutral account

- of reactions in America: 'The American Controversy over the Olympic Games', in *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 61 (March 1972), 181–213.
6. In the University of Illinois series 'Sport and Society'. It was first published by Macmillan in 1971. Mandell deliberately chose the word 'Nazi' in the title. As is the way in historical revisionism, as in life, some Germans are trying to soften the memory of the Nazi past, so that on the fiftieth anniversary of the Games Willi Knecht, a leading German authority on modern sport, and former executive of the CIA-financed RIAS radio station in Berlin, claimed that historians were 'simply ignorant to term the 1936 Olympics the "Nazi Games"'. He was speaking on behalf of a growing conservative opinion: (Arnd Krüger, '*Sieg Heil* to the Most Glorious Era of German Sport: Continuity and Change in the Modern German Sports Movement', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (May 1987), 5 and footnotes.)
 7. Subtitled *Ihre ausserpolitische Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der USA* (Berlin, 1972). This book also has a superb bibliography for works published up until 1972.
 8. With particular reference to the 1936 Olympics see his biography of one of the tragic figures of Nazi duplicity, tragic as much as anything in Lewald's futile efforts to serve the Nazi cause through sport: *Theodor Lewald, Sportführer im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Bartels and Wernitz, 1975). It is a pity that more of the work of this scholar, and that of his German colleagues Bernett, Horst Ueberhorst and H. J. Teichler are not available in English. It is some consolation, however, that as a result of their participation in conferences in Anglo-Saxon countries many of their insights are available in articles in English.
 9. Ballantyne Books (New York, 1971).
 10. Editions Complexe, Brussels, 1983, in the series 'La mémoire du siècle'. The main thrust of the book, however, is its attack on the International Olympic Committee for refusing to act on the manifold abuses of the proclaimed ideals of the Olympics. Although polemical in tone, this book is scrupulously documented and has an excellent bibliography.
 11. Of the innumerable books that deal with the Olympics in general see especially: John Lucas, *The Modern Olympic Games* (New York: A.A. Barnes, 1980); P. J. Graham and H. Ueberhorst (eds), *The Modern Olympics* (New York: Leisure Press, West Point, 1976); John Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis: Sport, Politics and the Moral Order* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986), a book, however, subjected to rather severe criticism in a review by Hugh Murray: *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1989), 104–8.

On opposition to the 1936 Games there are several accounts: for France see Brohm, Kidd and Murray referred to in note 1; for the United States see in particular Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele ...*, Mandell, Gottlieb and Wiggins, as well as Guttmann and Baker, discussed in this article; for Great Britain see Hart-Davis discussed in this article; for Canada, see Bruce Kidd, 'Canadian opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany'; for Australia, see Ian Jobling, 'Australia at the 1936 Olympics: issues and attitudes', in *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (May 1982), 18–27. Also W. Beier, 'The Struggle of the Anti-fascists against the Misuse of the 1936 Olympic Games', in *History of Physical Education, Research and Studies* (UNESCO), Vol. II (Tokyo, 1974), pp. 125–34.

It would be most useful if the resistance of various other countries could be brought together in a single volume, translated into English, or failing that with abstracts in English. In German there is Karl Heinz Jahnke, *Gegen den Missbrauch der olympischen Idee 1936: Sportler im antifaschistischen Widerstand* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Roderberg-Verlag, 1972); Karl Heinz Jahnke, 'Der Kampf gegen den Missbrauch der Olympischen Spiele 1936', in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, No. 8 (1972), 987–1010. (A selection of documents preceded by a short introduction); Françoise Hache, 'Der Arbeitersport in Frankreich. Zwei Wendepunkte 1936 und 1981', in Krüger and Riordan (eds), pp. 64–84. In Swedish, Per Olof Holmäng, *Idrott och Utrikspolitik* (Göteborg: Heddelande fran Historiska Institutionen, No. 37, 1988), pp. 136ff.

Sport in the Third Reich has been studied extensively by German scholars, most of it not translated; for the English reader who cannot read German, however, this can be

sampled in the German-language journal *Stadion*, where all the articles have an abstract in English. There is nothing in English to compare with the massive History of Sport project undertaken by Bartels and Wernitz, under the editorship of Horst Ueberhorst, six volumes of which have appeared to date: *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*. On the 1936 Olympics in particular see also Manfred Blöders (ed.), *Sport und Olympische Spiele* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 1984), especially the article by H. J. Teichler '1936 – ein olympisches Trauma. Als die Spiele ihre Unschuld verloren', pp. 47–76. For fuller comments on the work of German scholars see the bibliographical notes in Richard D. Mandell, *Sport, A Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). Some years ago Allen Guttman wrote an excellent article on works in European sports history, also praising the work of German scholars: 'Recent work in European Sports History', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1983), 35–52. An update on this article would be most welcome. See also the footnotes to Arnd Krüger, 'Sieg Heil to the Most Glorious Era of German Sport...' for an indication of the range of recent works in German. In English G. A. Carr has added to our knowledge of the subject, thus far mainly in articles: 'Sport and Party Ideology in the Third Reich', in *The Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*; 'The Synchronization of Sport and Physical Education under National Socialism', in *ibid.*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (December 1979), 13–35. The *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1990), edited by John Hoberman and Arnd Krüger, is devoted entirely to German historiography. See in particular the article by Arnd Krüger, 261–77. See also Josef Schmidt, 'Événement fasciste et spectacle moderne: Les Jeux Olympiques de Berlin en 1936' in Régine Robin (ed.), *Masses et Culture de Masse dans les Années Trente* (Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières, 1983), pp. 163–79. Finally, see my article 'France, Coubertin and the Nazi Olympics: the response' in *Olympika* (February 1992).

12. W. Hart-Davis, *The Berlin Games* (London: Hutchinson, 1986).
13. Brohm ignores the sporting aspects of the 1936 Olympics. A work which appears to be a historical account, but which is a reprint of a contemporary account with a new preface by a German journalist is: Gerhard Zwerenz, *Die Nazi-Olympiade. Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Berlin und Garmisch-Partenkirchen* (Frankfurt-am-Main: März-Verlag, 1972). This is a reprint of the semi-official report published at the time by a cigarette company. The text had blank spaces onto which the appropriate pictures could be pasted. The result was a splendidly illustrated album in two volumes: Walter Richter (ed.), *id.*, 2 vols. (Altona-Bahrenfeld: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst, 1936/7).
14. Hart-Davis gives many examples from official British communications; for American intelligence on the matter see George Eisen, 'The Voices of Sanity: American Diplomatic Reports from the 1936 Berlin Olympiad', in *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Winter 1984), 56–78. Eisen shows how Roosevelt and Cordell Hull were 'thriving on accurate inside information originating from within the Third Reich' (p. 75) but did nothing about it. A recent article by a young American scholar, while criticizing some of Eisen's detail, has given further weight to his argument at the same time as he shows the role of Sherrill in defeating the boycott movement: Stephen R. Wenn, 'A Tale of Two Diplomats: George S. Messersmith and Charles H. Sherrill on Proposed American Participation in the 1936 Olympics', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1989), 27–43. For public knowledge in Britain in 1936 of what was happening in Germany on the eve of the Olympics see the clear and graphic exposition of Nazi indecencies against Jews in *The Yellow Spot*; see also Hajo Bernett, 'National Socialist Physical Education as reflected in British Appeasement', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Sept. 1988), 161–84.
15. This was the subject of an article, John R. Tunis, 'The Dictators discover sport', in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 14 (July 1936), pp. 606–17. The dictators discussed are Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler. They were not the only dictators to encourage sport for reasons of state: when British wrestler Leslie Jeffers arrived in Berlin he discovered that his Turkish rivals had been in a special training camp at government expense for six months before the event. (Hart-Davis, p. 182)
16. Brian Stoddart, 'Sport, Cultural Politics and International Relations: England v. Germany,

1935', in Norbert Müller and Joachim Rühl (eds), *Sport History – An Official Report of the Olympic Scientific Congress, Oregon, 1984* (Schors: Niederhausen, 1985).

17. William J. Baker, *Jesse Owens. An American Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).
18. Cooper C. Graham, *Leni Riefenstahl and 'Olympia'* (Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1986).
19. Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On. Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).
20. Lewald, von Tschammer und Osten, Guido von Mengden, Edmund Neuendorff, and Carl Krümmel were the subject of short biographies in the series put out by Bartels & Wernitz, Berlin: Krüger, *Lewald*; D. Steinhöfer, *Hans von Tschammer und Osten. Reichssportführer im Dritten Reich* (1973); Hajo Bernett, *Guido von Mengden. Generalstabschef des deutschen Sports* (1976); Horst Ueberhorst, *Edmund Neuendorff. Turnführer im Dritten Reich* (1970); Horst Ueberhorst, *Carl Krümmel und die nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung* (1976). Unrestricted access to the Diem diaries has deterred historians from embarking on a full-scale biography of Diem. These diaries, in the care of his wife, Liselotte, are being edited by the Carl-Diem-Institut. Several volumes have appeared, with many more to come.

Allen Guttman has pointed to the contrast between the United States and Germany where the former has inundated the market with cheap biographies of players while the latter has produced good-quality biographies of administrators ('Recent Work in European Sport History', p. 44).

21. Mandell, *Sport. A Cultural History*, p. xix.
22. Guttman's style lacks the subtle irony and pointed remarks that make so much of his work a pleasure to read. Moreover the chapters vary a great deal in length and some subjects seem to be given undue prominence, such as the inordinate amount of space given to the ice-hockey dispute of the 1940s (pp. 103–7), not helped by an eye-dazzling profusion of (no doubt necessary) acronyms: in comparison the treatment of the American opposition to the Nazi Olympics is scant. Guttman is also unconvincing on Brundage's speech that gives the book its title. One more quibble: throughout the book Guttman refers to 'England's' participation in the Games when that country has never competed, being part of the Great Britain team.
23. Guttman's view of Brundage's anti-semitism is disputed, as he acknowledges, in Arnd Krüger, '“Fair Play for American Athletes”. A Study in Anti-semitism', in *The Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (May 1978), pp. 43–57. He is similarly rather dismissive of what was most likely anti-semitism in the dropping of Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller from the American 400-metre relay team: See Guttman (p. 81) and Baker (pp. 102–5) for different views.
24. Coubertin was in fact less hidebound than Brundage, particularly in regard to amateurism. Guttman shows, however, that he was not as hidebound as some of his critics have said, particularly in regard to the participation of women in the Games.
25. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, pp. xvi–xvii.
26. Hart-Davis considered it not so much a 'triumph of propaganda' as the 'record [of] a triumph of propaganda' (p. 242), while Guttman praised Riefenstahl's 'bravery' in refusing to cut the scenes involving Owens, and points out that the most liberal of the Southern newspapers, the *Atlanta Constitution*, ignored all the black successes at the Games (p. 80). Hans-Joachim Teichler, 'Berlin 1936. Ein Sieg der NS-Propaganda?', *Stadion*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1976), 265–306 discusses the effectiveness of propaganda within Germany. Teichler considers success outside Germany qualified by the publicity given to the boycott campaigns. The best account of this topic is Krüger, *Olympische Spiele 1936*. The official 'success story' is recounted by the propaganda minister J. Bellers (ed.), *Die Olympiade Berlin 1936 im Spiegel der ausländischen Presse* (Münster: Lit, 1986). The official DDR position, overemphasizing the role of 'workers' sport in boycotting the Games, is given in Friedrich Bohlen, *Die XI Olympischen Spiele Berlin 1936: Instrument der innen- und aussenpolitischen Propaganda und Systemsicherung des faschistischen*

- Regimes* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979). See Bill Mallon, *The Olympics. A Bibliography* (New York and London: Garland, 1984), p. 162.
27. John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 1, although much of the book is an expansion of this point. Hoberman presents a masterly analysis of sport in its social and ideological dimensions, ranging back in time and across conflicting world views with equal ease.
 28. For a critique of 'bourgeois' sport from a socialist perspective, see the examples in W. J. Murray, 'Sport and Politics in France in the 1930s: The Workers' Sports Federation on the Eve of the Popular Front', in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Sport: Nationalism and Internationalism* (Australian Society for Sports History, Studies in Sport, No. 2), pp. 32–90. Most critiques of bourgeois sport came from the socialist or communist sporting bodies. Stephen Jones contributed numerous first-class articles and books on the workers' sports movement in Britain before his untimely death: for a coverage of workers' sport across ten countries, see Krüger and Riordan (eds), *Der internationale Arbeitersport*. See also the special issue of *The Journal of Contemporary History* devoted to 'Workers' Culture' (1978).
 29. The unchallenged authority in English on Soviet sport is Jim Riordan. Most of his work has been on the post-war period, but there are passages on the inter-war period in: *Sport in Soviet Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); in his chapter in J. Riordan (ed.), *Sport under Communism* (London: C. Hurst, 1978); and Krüger and Riordan (eds), pp. 35–63.
 30. Hoberman, pp. 53–121.
 31. In *Le Mythe olympique* (Paris: Christian Bourgeois, 1981), he claims that Coubertin, far from being a great humanist, was clearly a reactionary, and that among his 'titles to glory' were his 'elitism, sexism, "enlightened" racism, "moderate" fascism, the sacrosanct trinity of the cult of order, discipline and hierarchy, apologia for force, colonialism in the good old French tradition, repressive puritanism, conservative paternalism in regard to the workers, ferocious conservatism in regard to any revolutionary perspective ... friendship with Lyautey and Carl Diem, organizer of the Nazi Games of 1936, admiration for M. Hitler ...' (p. 324). In a collection of articles from his review, *Quel corps?* (Paris: Maspéro, 1978), Bernard Yanez was more specific when he directly compared Coubertin with Hitler as 'Two faces of fascism', pp. 153–70. For a more balanced criticism of Coubertin and the Third Reich see: Hans-Joachim Teichler, 'Coubertin und das Dritte Reich', in *Sportwissenschaft*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1982), 18–55, which shows from archival sources the extent to which Coubertin co-operated with the Nazis and received his due financial reward. Also the Maxwell Howell Honorary address given by Arnd Krüger at the NASSH Conference, Banff, 27 May 1990: 'On sport: Pierre de Coubertin and German officials'.
 32. For sport under Mussolini there are two books more readable than analytical which touch on the 1936 Olympics: Felice Fabrizio, *Sport e Fascismo. La politica sportiva del regime, 1924–1936* (Florence: Guaraldi, 1976); Renato Bianda et al., *Atleti in camicia nera. La sport nell'Italia di Mussolini* (Rome: Giovanni Volpe, 1983). Vittoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent. Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), is an excellent study, but sport and the Olympic Games are only a small part of it. Arnd Krüger shows how much Hitler owed to Mussolini in his article, 'The Influence of the State Sport of Fascist Italy on Nazi Germany, 1928–1936', in J. A. Mangan and R. B. Small (eds), *Sport, Culture and Society. International historical and sociological perspectives. Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation and Health* (London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon Ltd, 1986), pp. 145–65. See also A. Krüger, 'Sport im Faschistischen Italien', in G. Spitzer and D. Schmidt (eds), *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit und Fremdbestimmung* (Bonn: Peter Wegener, 1986), pp. 213–26.

The first book to study Japanese fascism and physical education is Katsume Irie, *Physical Education and Japanese Fascism* (Tokyo: Fumaido, 1986). There is a brief summary of this book, by Ikuro Abe, in *The International Journal of the History of*

- Sport*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (May 1988), 131–2. Hideaki Kinoshita has written several books on sport in modern Japan, but none of them has been translated. A brief outline of his concerns can be found in his paper presented to the 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress and included in Volume 7 of the Proceedings: 'Historical Relations between Modern Olympic Games and Japanese Political Situations', in Gerald Redmond (ed.), *Sport and Politics* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1984), pp. 173–8.
33. There is a short outline of the state of sport history in Scandinavia in Hans Bonde, 'Sport and History in Scandinavia', in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (May 1987), 108–10.