The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century

Edited by
James Riordan and Arnd Krüger

London and New York

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Introduction

Modern sport entered the twentieth century largely as the private fiefdom of the new social strata born of industrialization and urbanization. It was a social innovation, confined to national boundaries, that had its roots in the emergence of new forms of sociability. Engendered thus by private initiative, the new sports associations and clubs pursued goals that were essentially commercial and hedonistic. What is more, for the most part they excluded women, labourers and certain ethnic minorities.

What was interesting about these early sports developments is that in all European countries and the USA, the state displayed a total lack of interest in the new movement. Modern sport in its institutionalized and competitive forms (the setting up of national and international federations, the organization of international competition between national teams, the re-invention of the Olympic Games) barely permits one to envisage its immediate utilization for political ends.

The defenders and promoters of sport could hardly have imagined, at the turn of the century, that sports competition would have an impact on public opinion and become an instrument of international policy. Sport, *sportsmen,* sports associations and clubs were never seen as potential actors in social and cultural life, in politics and economics.

That was not the case with gymnastics, physical and military training. Gymnastics societies, for example, were the pedagogical and political instruments for building a national identity. To learn to put one's body at the service of one's country stems from a strategy of acculturation of the common people in the same way as was the learning of language and national culture.

After World War I, however, all this began to change. Particularly in Europe, there was an extraordinary upsurge in the sports phenomenon and, more especially, a constant rise in the number of international tournaments. Universalization of sport is the remarkable feature of the post–1918 world. This was a new situation in its sheer magnitude and in its impact on the public. Sport and sporting spectacle became a near-universal phenomenon to which the press, both general and specialized, contributed powerfully to expand.

What happened next was to change the face of sport: the coming to

power of authoritarian regimes (communism from 1917, fascism from 1922, Nazism from 1933, Francoism from 1936) that put the role of sport near the top of the political agenda; it also put the international sports movement on the horns of a dilemma: to play or not to play with such regimes.

While from the 1920s sport was winning a national and international audience, the relationship between sports and geopolitical events was posing an autonomy problem for the national and international sports movement, for its capacity to override petty prejudices and divergent ideologies.

This growing internationalization and politicization of sport inevitably drew in broader issues, like religion, social class, women and race. Sometimes this engendered a split in the movement, with various groups playing among themselves and developing new sporting values—and sometimes modes of playing suited to themselves (British games exported to the colonies, like cricket in the West Indies; worker non-competitive sports; specifically female sports and competitions).

As the century progressed, there was also a growing tension, especially in Europe, between amateur—élitist sport for rich, privileged males and commercial spectator sport for the mainly middle classes, with the latter finally winning out.

After World War II, sport took an increasingly political stance, not only with the Cold War rivalry between capitalist and communist states, using sporting victories as evidence of political superiority, but also with previously underprivileged and persecuted groups gaining support for attention and even integration—blacks, women, the disabled, the gay community.

This book puts these processes into their historical context, thereby providing an extensive description and analysis of sport in the twentieth century. The contributors are ten sports scholars, four women and six men, from five countries of Europe, the USA and Australia. They each examine an important element of contemporary sport.

Part I deals with global issues, starting with two of the century's major sports institutions: the Olympic Games and the International Football Federation. There follow two more chapters on the impact on sport of totalitarian philosophies which dominated much of the century: communism (1971–91) and fascism (1922–45). The final two chapters of Part I focus mainly on the first part of the century when the role of religion and the worker sports movement had significant effects on sport.

Part II covers more specific issues in regard to sport: the struggle of black athletes for recognition in the USA and the part played by sport in the racist apartheid regime of South Africa; the rise of women's sport against considerable male prejudice and the debate within the women's movement; the fight for rights by the handicapped and gay athletes in sport; and the often little-known relationship between sport and terrorism.

The book aims to provide as full a picture as possible of the major issues and institutions shaping sport in the twentieth century.

Part I

1 The unfinished symphony

A history of the Olympic Games from Coubertin to Samaranch

Arnd Krüger

Introduction

The story begins with Charles Darwin (1809–82) whose *Origin of the Species* led to the idea that a nation's vitality depends on its physical characteristics and that these can be improved through training or breeding, as with horses. After the Franco-German War of 1870–1 in which France had lost its eastern provinces to Germany and which had brought German unification as an empire under a Prussian Kaiser, France fell back on its culture, its technical ingenuity, and—if men like Coubertin had their way—ultimately its physical training.

French culture was blooming. Artists like Auguste Renoir, Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Paul Cézanne, Claude Monet and others were dominating the salons of Paris and attracted devotees from all over the world. French ingenuity was at its best. Architects like Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923) created gigantic monuments such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris. While England still had the red flag law (until 1896) prohibiting a motor car from going any faster than a man could walk ahead with a red flag by day, or a red lantern at night to warn pedestrians and horseback riders, France had the first real automobile race (1894), the largest automobile production and the fastest racing cars anywhere in the world by the turn of the century, and was dreaming of technical domination of the world.

In this spirit of French domination of the technical, artistic and intellectual worlds, while at the same time being humiliated in the physical and sporting world, young Pierre de Coubertin (1860–1937) was sent to England to study English physical education to see what could be transferred to France, so that *la grande nation* could catch up with the British, have a share in the world yet to be conquered, and eventually get Alsace-Lorraine back from Germany. Coubertin returned from England a fan of the British public school and its sports and henceforth started to work to *rebronzer la France*.

The Olympic Games of antiquity (776 BC-AD 393) were a motor for Greek physical education; they strengthened the cultural bond among Greeks and symbolized the unity of the civilized world—in spite of all the

political differences. Ever since the Olympic Games had been outlawed by the Christian Roman Emperor Theodosius because of the underlying pagan cult, there had been over forty known attempts to revive them (Lennartz 1974). Coubertin knew of three and soon would learn of a fourth. The 'Olympick' Games of Robert Dover, a contemporary of William Shakespeare, were well remembered for their strength in combining nobility and ordinary people in open competition in Worcestershire (Ruhl 1975). Penny Brookes in Much Wenlock (Shropshire) had staged Olympic Games on a regional scale since 1866 (Ruhl 1991). In 1891 the Australian John Astley Cooper asked to have sports competitions included in the Empire Exhibitions to demonstrate the unity of the British Empire (Kruger 1986; Moore 1991). The idea was much discussed in the press. The Oxford historian Anthony Froude recommended in a letter to *The Times* that this should not just be a periodic Pan-Britannic Festival, but the Pan-Britannic Olympic Games held every four years. Now the idea took off. There were John Astley Cooper committees in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, all desiring to take part in these games. But Astley Cooper was no sportsman and the sports associations were reluctant to have such an enterprise that left many questions open.

Not so the young enthusiastic Coubertin. As secretary of the French Athletics Federation and manager of a Paris sports club he had realized how difficult it was to compete in England under English rules. He had been to Henley to have his French amateurs compete in the famous regatta and the amateur status of many of his French athletes had been questioned—although they were amateurs under French rules—and they had been sent home. In the case of Olympic Games around Henley, as had been proposed by Astley Cooper, his French athletes could never compete in these games, although the French considered themselves as much heirs to the classical Greek culture as anybody else.

In November 1892, Coubertin therefore started a test to see whether a proposal to have international Olympic Games, instead of just British, would be accepted—and there was much enthusiasm for the idea in general. In June of 1894 he called for an international conference at the Sorbonne in Paris to define internationally the amateur rules and start the Olympic Games. Coubertin had planned to begin with them in the year 1900 in Paris as part of the World Fair—the one for which the Eiffel Tower was built. But the energetic Frenchman learned that there were other Olympic traditions he had ignored. Evangelis Zappas had staged national Olympic Games in Athens since 1859. The Greeks had come to Paris to claim the international Olympic Games as theirs. These international games should come to Athens and stay there. A compromise was reached: the first Olympic Games should be in Athens in 1896 and the second in Paris in 1900, respecting the four year cycle, but giving the Greeks relatively little time to prepare. It was also agreed that the Greek literary historian Vikelas should be the first president of the International Olympic

Committee (IOC) and Coubertin the secretary-general (Krüger 1980). The presidents of the IOC are shown in Table 1.1.

Coubertin and the formative years of the IOC

For Coubertin the Olympic Games were a part of his educational efforts to *rebronzer la France*. He was therefore trying to make the Olympic Games as attractive as possible, so that many young men would be interested in taking part in them. Borrowing heavily from John Ruskin and the British Arts and Crafts movement, Coubertin assumed that the beautification of the games and the attempt to imbue them with the solemn spirit of the ancient Greeks would instill in them a spirit that young people would readily accept. For this he developed flags, hymns and an Olympic oath; he was thinking about fireworks for the opening ceremony to give the games a uniqueness that would set them apart from mere world championships that were being started for several amateur and professional sports at that time (Krüger 1996a). He summarized his idea in the paradigm:

> For one hundred people to take part in physical education there have to be fifty going in for sport, and for fifty to go in for sport, there have to be twenty specializing in sport: in order to have twenty specializing in sport there have to be five who are able to achieve the highest level of performance.
>
> (Coubertin 1935)

Coubertin later used the words over the door of the school of his friend Father Pierre Didon *citius altius fortius* as the Olympic motto, and summarized the sermon preached by the Anglican bishop of Philadelphia, E.Talbot, at the 1912 Olympics as yet another sign of Olympism: it is not important to win, it is important to take part and put up an honourable fight to win (Boulogne 1975).

Table 1 1 Presidents of the IOC

Name	*Country*	*Lifespan*	*In office*
Demetrius Vikelas	Greece	1835–1908	1894–6
Pierre de Coubertin	France	1860–1937	1896–1925
Henri de Baillet-Latour	Belgium	1876–1942	1925–42
Sigfried Edstrom	Sweden	1870–1964	1942*–52
Avery Brundage	US	1887–1975	1952–72
Lord Killanin	Ireland	1914–	1972–80
Juan Antonio de Samaranch	Spain	1920–	1980–

* Acting Vice President from 1942–6

The rise of the Olympic Games is closely connected with the rise of international amateur sports. Very often England (sometimes Great Britain) was the first country to organize a sport, but then international federations were founded. The more that were being formed (Table 1.2), the easier it was to organize international competitions.

As Coubertin invited his friends into his International Olympic Committee (IOC), it stayed aloof at first from the federations. The IOC, which until today has continued to be a self-recruiting body in which not even all participating nations are represented, was the only international organization in which people interested in more than one sport would co-operate on questions of common concern. Coubertin realized this function and therefore organized International Olympic Congresses to make sure that the unity of the sports movement could be achieved (Table 1.3). These congresses at first also served the function of convincing the Greeks that they had given the Olympic Games and the Olympic spirit to the world, but that only international games which move from country to country would have a chance in the twentieth century.

The Olympic Games of 1896 are best remembered for the fact that they took place. Three hundred and eleven athletes (males only) from thirteen nations were present, but very few of them were of any representative calibre. International competitions were already taking place regularly, for example between athletes of American and British colleges, and world championships in figure and speed skating had already combined the best of the world since 1892. The results in Athens were relatively poor by international standards. Some of the installations of the former Zappas Olympic Games could still be used. The new Olympic stadium was fascinating but slow because of its extremely short bends. It was important that the Greek Crown Prince had taken over the patronage of the Olympic Games and thus showed the ennoblement that Coubertin was talking about all the time. For the founder of the Olympic movement it was also important to show that athletes from countries that normally did not

Table 12 Foundation years of international amateur sports federations

Sport	*British Federation*	*Year*	*International Federation*	*Year*
Athletics	AAA	1880	IAAF	1912
Boxing	ABA	1880	IBU (professionals)	1911
			FIBA (amateurs)	1920
Fencing	AFA	1902	FIE	1913
Football	FA	1863	FIFA	1904
Gymnastics	AGA	1890	FIG	1897
Ice skating	NSAGB	1879	ISU	1892
Lawn tennis	LTA	1888	ILTF	1913
Rowing	ARA	1882	FISA	1892
Swimming	ASA	1886	FINA	1908

Table 1 3 Olympic Congresses

Year	*Site*	*Main theme*
1894	Paris	Study and promotion of the principles of amateurism
1897	Le Havre	Hygiene, education, history relating to physical exercise
1905	Brussels	Issues of sport and physical education
1906	Paris	Integration of fine arts in the Olympic Games
1913	Lausanne	Psychology and physiology of sport
1914	Paris	Unification of Olympic sports, conditions of participation
1921	Lausanne	Modification of Olympic sports, conditions of participation
1925	Prague	Pedagogical problems, Olympic regulations and programme
1930	Berlin	Modifications of Olympic rules
1973	Varna	Future of the Olympic movement
1981	Baden-Baden	International co-operation and future of the Olympic Games
1994	Paris	Olympic movement's contribution to modern society

compete much against each other could meet on friendly terms on the field of sport.

In Paris, Coubertin had his way and combined the games of 1900 with the World Fair. As much as he thought that this would work, sport had started to gain such importance that the athletes did not really like games that were spread out over a five-month period and were more like a series of separate meets than a unified Olympic Games—1,319 male participants (plus 11 females) from 22 countries. It showed that Coubertin had relatively little experience of the organization of the new big-time sports and that he resented bringing in too many federation people. But the Paris games demonstrated the viability of the Olympics, respect for the four-year cycle and the steady growth of the Olympic idea.

Coubertin did not even attend the Olympic Games in 1904. What had happened? The IOC had given the Olympic Games to Chicago. As the big Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis was postponed from 1903 for one year, Chicago transferred the games unilaterally to St. Louis without even asking the IOC. This reduced the function of the IOC and Coubertin took measures to avoid such setbacks in the future. The games were again stretched out, this time over 146 days, involving 617 male participants (plus 8 women) from 12 countries. The local organizer was the St. Louis Turnverein, a German club that provided good facilities for the athletes that had come, but only 92 were not Americans (Table 1.4).

In the world show anything was being compared. No wonder that the organizer also staged Anthropological Days in which natives of various African and North and South American tribes showed their skills. In the

Table 1.4 Participants in the Olympic Summer Games

Year	*City*	*Countries*	*Female participants*	*Male participants*
1896	Athens	13	—	311
1900	Paris	22	11	1319
1904	St Louis	12	8	617
1906	Athens	20	7	877
1908	London	22	36	1,999
1912	Stockholm	28	57	2,490
1920	Antwerp	29	64	2,543
1924	Paris	44	136	2,956
1928	Amsterdam	46	290	2,724
1932	Los Angeles	37	127	1,281
1936	Berlin	49	328	3,738
1948	London	59	385	3,714
1952	Helsinki	69	518	4,407
1956	Melbourne/	67	371	2,813
	Stockholm	29	13	145
1960	Rome	83	610	4,738
1964	Tokyo	93	683	4,457
1968	Mexico City	112	781	4,750
1972	Munich	122	1,299	5,848
1976	Montreal	94	1,247	4,781
1980	Moscow	81	1,125	4,092
1984	Los Angeles	141	1,567	6,797
1988	Seoul	159	2,476	7,105
1992	Barcelona	169	2,708	6,659
1996	Atlanta	197	3,779	6,582

true Olympic spirit these young men also had to try their luck at western sports and did, of course, do relatively poorly, thus underlining the theory of white superiority: the best breed the human species can produce (Goksoyr 1991).

Athens staged an Intermediate Olympics as an Olympic ten-year revival show in 1906. This meet was quite important for the development of the IOC. After a decline in interest because of the connection with the World Fairs, these games can be considered the first major media event. This was a time when sport was becoming more and more important. Special sports newspapers were formed and started to create an excitement for sport. They started to organize sports meets like the Tour de France and the Giro d'Italia to fill the pages over the summer with exclusive information, and jumped on the bandwagon of the Olympic Games. Ordinary newspapers started to carry more sports pages and even sent special correspondents to Athens.

Athens also saw a development that would later become far more prominent in the Olympic Games: the first public demonstration. From the beginning Coubertin had cherished his own 'Olympic geography', granting

an independent team to whomever he pleased. Bohemia, although part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had as much a separate team as Hungary. Finland, a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, had its own team. When a Finnish team won, the Russian and the Finnish flag were hoisted jointly. Peter O'Connor of Ireland placed second in the long jump in Athens for Great Britain. As a proud Irishman he asked that the Irish flag be raised for him, but the anglophile Coubertin refused. A team-mate climbed the flag pole at the victory stand and put up the Irish flag. Later Coubertin also rejected separate teams from Catalonia and the Pays Basques, in spite of their autonomous status within Spain (Varela 1992, 135ff.).

The first modern Olympics in our sense of the word are the ones of 1908 in London. The English Amateur Athletics Association stood behind them and showed what a sports meeting could be like when it was organized by experienced people in the true amateur spirit. The sports press of many countries was full of reports of the games and the quarrels surrounding them, particularly between the British and the Americans because both assumed that their rules should be the right ones. Eventually even the American President Theodore Roosevelt stepped in as he thought that his American 'boys' were being cheated (Lucas 1982/3).

National fervour was even greater four years later in Stockholm. Coubertin had been reluctant to give the games to the Swedish capital as for him Swedish Gymnastics stood for health and the equilibrium of strength and not for the joyous, boundless overflow of manly vigour. Because of this defiance against exercise and the medically oriented Swedish Gymnastics which Coubertin struggled for a lifetime against, he had replaced the *mens sana in corpore sano* spirit of the medical profession by his own *mens fervida in corpore lacertoso* (an oveflowing mind in a muscular body). In view of the difficulties in London and the peculiar Swedish rules, the programme for the Olympic competitions and their rules were no longer left to the organizer, but the IOC and the sports federations stepped in and assured a unification of standards, rules and by-laws. They could not stop the Swedes, however, from prohibiting the Olympic boxing tournament, as this sport had been outlawed in Sweden for health reasons (Krüger 1979). In many cases one agreed simply that the rules of the London games should also apply. This is, for instance, why the marathon race today is 42.195 km long. In 1896 the race was on the original road a little over 36 km, in Paris it was exactly 25 miles (=40.260 km). In St. Louis it was 40 km and in London the little distance was added so that the start could be just in front of the centre balcony of Windsor Castle, to assure the best seats for the royal household. In London a tradition was invented and in Paris 1924 finally codified and treated as if it were the proper distance that had been run in antiquity

The Swedes were desperate to win in 1912 not just because their king was in the stadium all the time, or because they wanted to demonstrate the

superiority of their scientific system, but also because they had received money from a special lottery to build the stadium and to prepare the athletes (Lindroth 1974). The Swedes can be considered the ones who invented the state amateurs. By definition, you were not a professional while you were serving in the armed forces, so the Swedes called up their best athletes for national service to prepare for the games—and won ahead of the United States and Great Britain.

This was considered such a humiliation in England that serious steps were undertaken to do much better in 1916—in Berlin of all places. It should not be overlooked that this was the period of the highest nationalistic fervour, which led to many international crises and eventually to the outbreak of the Great War (1914–18). *The Times* published leading articles to collect money for the preparation of a strong Olympic force—Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the author of the Sherlock Holmes stories, became the head of a finance committee that attempted to collect £100,000 to bring glory to Britain. Their effort was supported by the king himself and *The Times* printed the list of all the donations (Kruger 1995).

The discussion was taken up in all major countries, building up their athletic prowess for 1916. Every country reacted somewhat differently according to its own national character: in Britain it was thought that 'buying victories is positively degrading'. The Amateur Rowing Association decided that any athlete that was thus sponsored would lose his amateur status. But the Amateur Athletics Association (AAA) decided that it was time to hire the first full time professional coach for the benefit of athletes—a Canadian was chosen who had experience with the American system that had been so successful previously and could still be considered British. Walter R.Knox received a three-year contract in 1914. As the next British national coaches in athletics were hired almost fifty years later, this fact has been more or less forgotten.

In Sweden the national lottery for the stadium of 1912 simply continued and the athletes had enough money to train well. The Swedes also hired a professional former American college coach. In Germany where everything was organized by the government, the national parliament discussed the feasibility of financing Olympic sports, not just for staging the games, but to pay for selecting and coaching the athletes. While in England this was discussed from the viewpoint of the amateur rules, in Germany it was discussed as a matter of state rights, as sport from the German viewpoint was considered part of culture. This was a field where central government had no say; the matter that was left to the 35 separate states that formed the German Empire. Eventually 200,000 marks were paid by the Reich and another 100,000 marks by Prussia, the largest of the German states. The money had been directly earmarked by the German Kaiser himself. The children of the imperial household were ardent sprinters and the emperor came to watch many sports meets Germany organized a fact-finding tour to the United States and came back with a

full-time American national coach—and also hired the first professional administrator for athletics. In France it was industrial sponsorship that benefited the athletes: Pommery, the largest champagne manufacturer, sponsored a Collège des Athlètes, a place where athletes could stay in Reims free of charge and be coached by experts (from France). Full-time American coaches were also hired in most other European countries and even in Australia and New Zealand (Kruger 1994a).

As everything centred on the Darwinistic definition of the vitality of a nation—or its degeneration—the medal tables that were to point to who was number one were officially discussed at IOC meetings In June 1914, just ten weeks before the outbreak of the war, the IOC decided at its annual session in Paris the question whether a woman's medal should have the same weight as a man's or whether women's medals should simply not be counted, inasmuch as the Olympic Games in the tradition of antiquity (and from the Darwinist breeding perspective) were men's events. Coubertin fought against women's equal rights and lost—only the United States, Turkey and Japan voted with France against equality for women. The compromise was, however, that there should not be too many women's events.

In 1914 yet another ancient Olympic tradition was broken and a new one invented: in 1916 the first winter Olympics were to take place in the Black Forest in Germany (Kruger 1996b). As the games of 1916 were cancelled because of the war, it took until 1924 before the first winter Olympics were staged, but the roots were there already prior to the Great War. If the Olympic Games showed in a social Darwinist way which was the strongest nation that had least to worry about in the struggle of the fittest, the Great War soon took over and replaced mere games by deadly reality.

During the war, Coubertin moved his domicile from Paris to Lausanne in neutral Switzerland to assure that the Olympics would not be drawn into the struggle of the warring parties. It should not be overlooked that from the very beginning people from the international peace movement had been actively involved with the Olympic movement and that Coubertin—although not a pacifist—thought that sport would make a good ersatz war, this not requiring the real one any more (Quanz 1993).

It was difficult to stage the Olympic Games of 1920 as the situation in most countries had been quite desperate. If there had not been successful Inter Allied Games in Paris in 1919 under the American General Pershing, the IOC would not have dared stage the Olympic Games so shortly after the war. But the IOC went to Antwerp, where the American team could stay on its ship and could also assure the food supply of some of the other teams. The games produced good results and showed the vitality of the Olympic movement Although Germany, Austria and its allies were excluded from the games, since the wounds of the destruction of nearby

Flanders had been too deep to warrant a sporting competition with the former enemy, the games were a complete success. The main organizer of the games, Henri de Baillet-Latour, also made such an impression that Coubertin started to build him up as his successor (Boulogne 1994).

Coubertin had planned his retirement from the Olympic movement ever since the Russian October 1917 Revolution. He had invested heavily in tsarist Bonds that paid the highest interest—and lost. After the Revolution they had no value at all. As Coubertin had paid most of the expenses for the IOC Bureau and his travel from his own pocket, he simply could not afford to be the president of the IOC any more.

His IOC paid him their respects by granting the Olympic Games of 1924 a final time to Paris, but the French had been somewhat out of step with the development of sport world-wide. The games were dominated by the American team. Only the Germans were still excluded, while the other warring parties of the Great War took part. Soon afterwards Coubertin retired and Baillet-Latour was elected his successor. Coubertin had sent him on a goodwill tour through South America where Baillet-Latour helped to form national Olympic Committees and received the right to select one future IOC member from each.

The Baillet-Latour years

The IOC had traditionally two blocks, the anglophone and the francophone. Baillet-Latour was the last of the francophone presidents before Samaranch. In 1926 the IOC also readmitted Germany, which had been very active in the workers' sports movement where it was not banned (Kruger and Riordan 1996). While Coubertin had been an autocratic visionary who tried to mould the IOC according to his will and formed the Olympic movement according to his vision, Baillet-Latour was a committee man. Just as he had run the Antwerp Games by leaving enough space for experts to do what they could do best, he transformed the IOC into a three-layer organization, introducing an executive committee as the main decision-making body. His own management style could best be described as management by moderation. While for Coubertin the functionaries from the sports federations had been the 'leprosy of sport' whom he resented and he tried to make the IOC something better, Baillet-Latour accepted that without these functionaries there would not be any decent sport. Baillet-Latour had to deal with the rise of fascism in Europe. By avoiding too many strong decisions himself, he succeeded in keeping the IOC together (Lennartz 1994). The rise of fascism in sport will be dealt with elsewhere in this book.

In the Amsterdam Olympics Germany was back for the first time and placed a surprising second behind the United States. Amsterdam saw a first in games marketing: not only were the photo rights for the games sold exclusively, but the games organizers also made some money by selling the

concessions. Among others Coca-Cola started to be present and be a sponsor at the Olympic Games as of 1928 (Kruger, 1996c). The Amsterdam Olympics are best known for the inclusion of women's events in such sports as track and field athletics. As of 1921 an International Women's Sports Federation (FSFI) had staged world championships. They had become very popular and thus threatened the universality of the Olympics. Baillet-Latour made sure that they were included into the Olympic movement (Quercetani 1990).

With the worker sports movement he was not as successful. The first International Workers' Olympics were staged in Frankfurt, Germany, and were a tremendous success with 60,000 participants (there had been some mass demonstration events) from ten nations. Coubertin had already approached the workers, but the sports federations which now started to dominate the IOC refused to follow this idea up. For them the monopolistic principle of mutual help was self-evident: just one federation per country or per sport could be members of the IOC. The social-democratic-oriented workers staged their alternative Olympics in Vienna (1931) and Antwerp (1937).

Coubertin's desire, 'all games—all nations', became a reality under Baillet-Latour. By trying to include everyone, he accepted any political creed that a particular country might cherish, whether democracy, military dictatorships, just as long as they would underwrite the notion that sport and politics were separate and that they would not try to force their beliefs on any of the other members. The number of events also increased under him, and finally he ensured that the winter Olympics continued to be staged, even if there were difficulties concerning the amateur rules between the Scandinavian and the central European ski federations.

Life for Baillet-Latour was not all that easy as IOC president, as Coubertin was still around throughout most of his presidency and the old man grumbled that a lot of things in the IOC did not go his way. Baillet-Latour stayed in Belgium most of the time, and let the Lausanne headquarters be run by friends of Coubertin. The annual subscription of IOC members was barely sufficient to pay for a part-time secretary to do the correspondence. An honorary secretary ran the office for the honour and the fun of it. For Baillet-Latour's notion of the limited function of the IOC this was enough. Coubertin, however, had set up yet another international organization, his thirty-fifth, the International Bureau of Sport Pedagogy as he did not just want a machine to run a big international sports meet, but wanted athletic education to prepare for a better human race. The Olympic Games for Coubertin were like an unfinished symphony as they lacked educational input (Coubertin 1936).

The 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles came in the midst of the Depression. The foreign teams that travelled to America were few and small, as they could not afford it. Financially the Olympic Games were, however, a gigantic success. As all the facilities were already there, the

athletes could stay in university dormitories and come at their own expense, the games produced a net gain of over $1,000,000. Avery Brundage, then president of the American Olympic Committee (AOC), started to negotiate on whether either the AOC or the IOC could get some of the financial gain. IOC member William M.Garland (1866–1948), the president of the Organizing Committee (OC) for the games, refused. It was he who had had the idea that brought, for the first time in Olympic history more than one million spectators into the stadium: as everybody was poor at the time of the Depression, he simply cut the planned ticket price by half—and had a full stadium throughout all of the games. The AOC eventually sued the OC and lost. A Los Angeles court ruled that the organization that had carried all the risks should also get all the profits. Neither the AOC, nor the IOC had yet secured property rights on the Olympic trademarks (Guttmann 1984).

The Los Angeles Olympics were already broadcast live by radio and the American radio stations even paid for the exclusive rights. Brundage had sold the exclusive radio rights for the American track and field championships, and the courts had upheld such exclusive property rights on sports spectacles if these rights were printed on the tickets.

The Olympic Games of 1936 outdid many of the previous games and were the first games on yet another stage of hyper-reality. The struggle and the arguments to have a boycott or not, to avoid bending Olympic rules to go along with the Nazis will be dealt with elsewhere. Here we will just look at what the IOC got for its willingness to provide the Nazis with a stage that permitted them to break the cultural isolation of the Reich after the Nazis started to boycott, beat, disinherit and eventually kill its Jewish fellow citizens.

The OC for the 1936 Olympics could enlist the most efficient propaganda machine in the world for its services. Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, which was brainwashing the Germans, had the chance to test its skills on the Olympic Games. But as of October 1933, the balance of power shifted: Theodor Lewald, president of the German OC, had to sign a declaration that henceforth he would only appear to be independent—in accordance with international rules—but in reality as a subsidiary of the German Olympic Committee, he would do as he was told (Kruger 1975a). Many of the inventions that came out of the joint committee of the Ministry and the OC have become Olympic standards. The lighting of the torch and the torch relay from Olympia to the site of the games was invented by one of Goebbels' men. The purpose of Herr Haeggart's invention was to heighten last-minute interest in the games and set the stage for them. It also helped to put the Nazis in line with the Greeks, seeing themselves as the legitimate heirs of Sparta (Kruger and Ramba 1991). The security measures in the stadium were unrivalled; the corporate identity of the games was brought to such a point that only selected photos received clearance and were permitted to

be published about the games The legal basis for this—which was challenged immediately by international press agencies—had been laid down in Amsterdam 1928: as the exclusive photo rights had been sold there, the use of exclusive rights by the Reich's minister of propaganda could not be stopped (Alkemeyer 1996; Rürup 1996).

Germany had also had its National Olympia (Kruger 1994b), and so Olympic winners did not only get the obligatory Olympic gold medal, but also a little potted oak tree, an ancient Germanic tradition that was not followed by any of the other games. Baillet-Latour and the IOC made sure that their strong bargaining position with the Germans was used to have as normal Olympic Games as possible. They were gigantic. The opening ceremony of the winter Olympics in Garmisch-Partenkirchen alone had more spectators than all of the events in Lake Placid in 1932 combined. New spectator records were set with more than one million in winter and more than three million in summer. Germany won the summer games ahead of the United States.

The Nazi Olympics are best remembered for their hero Jesse Owens who won four Olympic gold medals and for Hitler not shaking his hand. Hitler was an ardent sports fan who spent all day in the stadium rooting for his German team. He was quite upset when he had to witness the German football team losing to Norway. He would have preferred to see a German team win. On the first day in the Olympic stadium he invited all the medal winners up to his special box to congratulate them in public, which was against all Olympic protocol. The last event of the first day had been the men's high jump in which two Afro-Americans placed one and two. Hitler, who had already stayed longer in the stadium than the original time schedule of the event, left immediately after the final jumps and did not congratulate the high jumpers. Baillet-Latour complained to Hitler the next day and told him that he should congratulate in public all or none, to avoid discrimination. So from then onward Hitler welcomed only the German medal winners in the VIP room underneath the grandstand of the stadium. That way the two persons these games are best known for, Jesse Owens and Adolf Hitler, did not meet.

The 1936 Olympics were termed a gigantic Nazi propaganda show. Coubertin, who had given a radio message for the games exactly one year before (Coubertin 1935), was enthusiastic about them, but did not go to Berlin, just as he had refrained from attending any of the previous games after his retirement from the presidency. But in an interview with Jack Lang, which was published in much of the French press after the games, he was asked what he thought about them. The father of the Olympic movement was quite candid. He had always wanted a nation to be fully committed to the Olympic effort, and that was the case with Germany. And, Coubertin concluded, what is the difference whether you use the games to advertise southern Californian weather for the sake of tourism, or a political regime? The most important thing is that the games are

celebrated in a decent manner. Coubertin died in 1937 and was buried in Lausanne, but his heart was later buried at Olympia.

Baillet-Latour's aim to bring the games to all corners of the world can best be seen by the Olympics of 1940. The winter games were to be held in Sapporo and the summer games in Tokyo. Baillet-Latour visited the sites to make sure they were satisfactory. Japan had participated in the Olympic Games since 1912 and had often sent as many experts to accompany the team as athletes to make sure that the educational impetus, the training and the running of a big international meet could be copied. Because of the Sino-Japanese War Japan returned the games to the IOC in 1938. At the IOC meeting in Cairo the same year the games were moved to Helsinki, which had applied for them at short notice. But Baillet-Latour, the committee man, also had his committee take another decision: the role of the IOC in the event of war had to be defined.

It had never been a problem for the IOC for any of its participating nations to be at war at the time the games were staged. Great Britain did not stop the Boer War for the 1900 Paris Olympics. The Olympic Truce of antiquity had been nothing but a memory. But so far the Olympic Games had not been staged in a country at war. In 1938, however, the IOC decided that the organizer could be involved in a war, as long as the games themselves would not be in a war zone and athletes would not be in danger on their way to the games, at the games, or on their way back. This decision soon became of importance, as the winter Olympics of 1940 did not find as easy a home as had the summer Olympics. Oslo and St. Moritz were both trying to persuade the IOC with their controversial amateur definitions. In June 1939, Germany was granted the games in appreciation of the fine games of 1936. Garmisch-Partenkirchen still had all the facilities and offered to step in at short notice. For the IOC it did not matter that Hitler had already broken the Munich Accord of 1938 and occupied all of Czechoslovakia, marching directly into the Second World War. What mattered to Baillet-Latour, just as it had been crucial to Coubertin, was that the games could be celebrated.

As the war lasted longer than anticipated by Hitler or the IOC, Germany gave them back in early 1940. In so far as Germany was victorious in the first part of the war on most fronts, there were soon more international sporting competitions in Europe than before. In 1941 and 1942 Baillet-Latour, who lived reasonably well in German occupied Belgium, had to deal with German plans to organize European sports federations for all Olympic sports and, since these federations ranked below the international ones, thereby gain access to the running of international sport. As most of central Europe was either pro-fascist or occupied by Germany, and the neutral powers enjoyed good terms with Germany, this looked quite a prospect. These federations staged European Boxing Championships in 1942 (Teichler 1991). Baillet-Latour resented, however, having anything changed in the statutes of the IOC. He had to