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The 1936 Nazi Olympic Games; The First Truly Modern Olympiad

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Claremont McKenna College

The 1936 Nazi Olympic Games; The First Truly Modern Olympiad

submitted to
Professor Petropoulos

By
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Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	2
Chapter 1: The Politicization of the Selection Process	16
Selection Process.....	19
Boycott Movement.....	29
Chapter 2: The Rise of Government Interest in Olympic Outcomes	43
“Aryanization” of Sport Within Germany.....	48
The Games as Propaganda.....	60
Chapter 3: Technology and Media	75
Technology.....	76
Sports Photography and Video.....	82
Media and Advertising.....	86
The Advantageous Positions of the Nazis.....	90
Conclusion	95
Bibliography	98

Abstract

Revived in 1896 by the Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin, the Olympic Games have come to represent the ultimate international celebration of sport, culture, and the human spirit. The grandiose festival of the current day evolved into its mature form throughout the course of the twentieth century. However, no Olympiad altered the Olympic Movement as radically as the Berlin Olympics of 1936. Through the examination of key secondary sources and primary sources like, International Olympic Committee (IOC) records, personal testimonies, and newspaper articles, this thesis examines how and why the 1936 Nazi Olympics fundamentally altered the Olympic Movement and forced the Olympic Games to confront and adapt to a rapidly changing world. While the 1936 Berlin Games set many new precedents in the Olympic Games, three in particular stand out: the politicization of the host city selection process; the rise of government investment in Olympic outcomes; and the use of new technology and media.

Introduction

On April 21, 2016 the Greek gymnast Eleftherios “Lefteris” Petroinias embarked on the first leg of the Rio 2016 Torch Relay.¹ Starting in Olympia, Greece in recognition of the birthplace of the ancient Olympic tradition, Petroinias was the first of 24,450 torchbearers who were given the honor of carrying the Olympic flame towards Rio.² The journey in total traversed three countries and 38,235km before entering the Maracanã Stadium in Rio de Janeiro on August 5, 2016.³ Finally, at the end of the three-month odyssey, Brazilian long distance runner Vanderlei Cordeiro de Lima ran the last leg into the stadium, climbed the stage, and lit the grand Olympic cauldron.⁴ In front of a packed stadium and the acting President of Brazil, Michel Temer, Cordeiro de Lima must have felt a similar rush of emotions as Fritz Schilgen, the very first final torchbearer. Although Schilgen’s audience in 1936 would have been limited to those in attendance at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, no doubt the German distance runner was filled with the same excitement as his 2016 counterpart when he ran into the crowded stadium, past his Führer, Adolf Hitler, and lit the inaugural Olympic Flame.

The Olympic Torch Relay, now an inextricable part of the modern Olympic Games, was a Nazi influenced creation of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Olympic Games in the midst of the Third Reich were the first truly modern Olympics comparable to the

¹ “Rio 2016 Torch Relay,” International Olympic Committee, accessed March 7, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-torch-relay>.

² “Rio 2016 Torch Relay.”

³ “Olympic Torch Relay Reaches the Finishing Line,” International Olympic Committee, last modified August 7, 2016,

<https://www.olympic.org/news/manual%20news/2016/08/06/olympic%20torch%20relay%20reaches%20the%20finishing%20line>.

⁴ “Olympic Torch Relay Reaches the Finishing Line.”

spectacle now associated with the event. The Berlin Games can be classified as truly modern for a number of reasons, but three stand out: first, the politicization of the selection process; the rise of government investment in Olympic outcomes; and the use of technology and media. The Nazis unique placement in history and their particular ideology made the achievements of the 1936 Games possible. Hitler and the Nazis came to power at a time when the technologies most associated with the Olympics, television and radio, emerged. The available technology, in conjunction with the Nazi facility for propaganda and their unrelenting political agenda, propelled the Berlin Olympics into the modern age.

The man responsible for the revival of the Olympic Games was Pierre de Coubertin. The Frenchman, born in 1863 to an aristocratic family in Paris, grew up amidst the embarrassing French defeat at the hands of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. Coubertin interpreted the cause of French defeat as the lack of physical strength of French youth in the army.⁵ The war impressed on Coubertin the value of physical wellness for a nation's vitality. In his twenties Coubertin had the chance to travel to England, and the trip proved to be very influential to the young man. While in England he was impressed by the integration of sport into education and the positive impact exercise had on student performance and happiness. Strongly shaped by his travels, Coubertin came to view "athletics and games as key educational activities, able to produce all-round men and to free French youth from moral and physical inertia."⁶

⁵ Allen Guttman, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 8.

⁶ Eugen Weber, *France Fin de Siecle* (Cambridge: Bellknap Press, 1988), 224.

Coubertin's philosophy, now often referred to as "Olympism," recognized sport's unique ability to bring balance and harmony to a person's mind, body, and soul.⁷ In June 1894 Coubertin organized the International Athletic Congress with leaders from international sports clubs from all over the world. At the congress Coubertin pitched his ambitious idea for an international sporting contest that would unite different countries and cultures around the virtuous pursuit of athletic excellence. At the end of the Paris Congress Coubertin realized his dream. After a vote of the congress, the congress established the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Athens was picked as the first location for the modern Olympic Games.⁸

In 1896 sports were just beginning to gain significant cultural prominence in many European and American nations. England had integrated sport into schools, collegiate athletics started to develop in the United States, and the Germans were famous for *Turnen*, "an extremely nationalistic form of gymnastics."⁹ Sports increasingly gained popularity around the world, especially in Europe. However, no international sporting contests of note existed prior to 1895, when American and English track teams met in New York for a bi-national meet.¹⁰ The 1896 Athens Games were the first major international sporting event, and country participation reflected the infancy of the Olympic Movement. Only fourteen countries attended with a total of 241 athletes and

⁷ Pierre de Coubertin, *Olympism: Selected Writings*, ed. Norbert Müller (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000), 534.

⁸ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2016), 10.

⁹ Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*, 8.

¹⁰ Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 19-20.

most of the spectators were Greek.¹¹ To compare, the 2016 Rio Olympics attracted 207 countries and 11,237 athletes.¹² International enthusiasm for the Athens Games was underwhelming to say the least. The Athens 1896 Games would be almost unrecognizable to a modern audience. Besides the absence of technology, many of the honored traditions associated with the Olympic Games were not yet established. For example, a silver medal and a diploma were awarded to the first place winner instead of the now customary gold medal. Also, the athletic capabilities of the competitors would not conjure awe among viewers like the athletes of the following centuries. The intense years of training and preparation expected from the Olympic athletes of today lay far away from the reality of the 1896 athletes.

During the early years, the organizers of the Olympic Games struggled to gain a meaningful place in the world's cultural consciousness as Coubertin envisioned. In 1900 the Games traveled to Coubertin's beloved Paris, but the French, and more generally, the international audience, evinced little interest in the revived Olympic Games. The lack of respect for the games was made apparent by the decision to make the Olympics merely a supplementary *Exposition Universalle Internationale's* programming. The problems with the 1900 Olympics were numerous. The organizers of the *Exposition* felt that "sports were for morons," an attitude resulting in minimal attention given to the Olympic competitions.¹³ Attendance at events was low and the facilities were abysmal. The

¹¹ "Athens 1896," International Olympic Committee, accessed March 8, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/athens-1896>.

¹² "Rio 2016," International Olympic Committee, accessed March 8, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016>.

¹³ David Clay Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2007), 22-3.

organizers held the track events in a public park with the ever impending danger of a discus or javelin hitting passing civilians. Meanwhile the swimmers competed in the polluted Seine River and had to deal with dangerous waters, much like the rowers, open-water swimmers, and sailors competing in the 2016 Rio Olympics.¹⁴ The organizers also stretched the Games out for an unreasonable five and a half months diminishing the ability of the Games to create any sort of dramatic buildup of excitement. The one bright spot in the 1900 Games was increased participation. Twenty-four countries accepted the invitation to Paris, a marked improvement from the fourteen in Athens.¹⁵ Yet the *Exposition's* treatment of the Olympics as a mildly interesting sideshow once again made the Games an underwhelming affair, much to Coubertin's chagrin.

Leading up to World War I the Olympic Games gradually improved in organization, participation, and cultural influence. With the exception of St. Louis in 1904, the Games continued to grow after the turn of the century. The 1904 Games in St. Louis repeated many of the mistakes of Paris. Organizers once again spread the programming of the Games out over the course of a few months to coincide with the 1904 World's Fair. St. Louis' geographical location also deterred many countries from even sending a team due to the high travel costs and the inconvenience of the trans-Atlantic journey. Coubertin himself, the founder of the revived Olympics, refused to make the journey. For the 1904 Games only a total of twelve countries sent teams to

¹⁴ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 23.

¹⁵ "Paris 1900," International Olympic Committee, accessed March 8, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/paris-1900>.

Missouri.¹⁶ Even though St. Louis failed to advance the Olympic Movement, the relative success of next two Olympiads in London and then Stockholm exhibited the growing popularity of the event. London in 1908 drew more spectators and athletes than the three preceding Games, as well as a crowd of international journalists.¹⁷ London was also the first instance in Olympic history where the host city constructed a stadium to specifically accommodate the Olympic Games. The structure built for 1908 boasted space for 70,000 viewers and created the sense of spectacle associated with the modern Games.¹⁸ The following Olympics hosted by Stockholm in 1912 were distinguished as the “proper athletic festival” Coubertin imagined.¹⁹ The Swedish organizers planned and executed the Games impeccably, unlike their preceding hosts. The Swedish organizers facilitated events efficiently with the help of new timekeeping technology and an independent international group of judges. Stockholm also attracted more countries than ever, including the Eastern country of Japan. Another indication the Olympics successfully gained prestige on the world stage by 1912 was the involvement of many powerful international leaders. King Leopold II of Belgium was appointed the honorary president of the Stockholm Games, and other European royalty even granted Coubertin permission to use their names on official letterheads and promotional material.²⁰ By 1912 the revived Olympic Games had become a respected international event drawing participation from all over the globe.

¹⁶ “St. Louis 1904,” International Olympic Committee, accessed March 9, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/st-louis-1904>.

¹⁷ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 31.

¹⁸ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 23.

¹⁹ Mandell, *Nazi Olympics*, 31.

²⁰ Mandell, *Nazi Olympics*, 33.

The outbreak of World War I shortly after the successful Stockholm Games threatened to make the Olympic Games one of its casualties and squelch the momentum the Games collected during the beginning of the century. In 1912 at the annual IOC meeting, the committee selected Berlin as the host of the 1916 Games. By 1915 with no end to conflict in sight Coubertin acquiesced to an increasingly agitated international community at war and canceled the 1916 Berlin Games. Instead of choosing another host city at the last minute Coubertin and the IOC decided to cancel the games completely. Despite the cancellation, the Games had taken a step toward politicization, which the Nazis would seize upon later in the 1930s.

When the Olympic Games resumed in 1920 in Antwerp the world deeply felt the effects of war. The host country, Belgium was one of the most severely ravaged nations during World War I. The daunting tasks of rebuilding after war and readying Antwerp for the next Olympic Games were compounded by giving a short one-year period of preparation time to ready the afflicted nation for visitors.²¹ The result was an underfunded and under attended event with poor facilities and accommodations. Notably the Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Hungarians were not invited to participate in the Olympics. Their aggression during the war was deemed inconsistent with the peaceful nature of the Games and until 1936 in Amsterdam they were not invited back again.²² The newly formed USSR opted out of participating by its own choice. Despite difficulties faced in the execution of the 1920 Antwerp Games, it was a significant year for the establishment of Olympic tradition. For the first time the iconic five ring Olympic flag

²¹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 40.

²² Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 39-40.

was raised above the Olympic stadium and the athletes recited the Olympic oath. Still, the 1920 Antwerp Games were compromised by the continued impact of the Great War.

The remaining Games in the 1920s eventually recovered and surpassed the scope and importance of the pre-war era Games. The 1924 Olympics found their way back to Paris. Unlike the first Olympiad Paris hosted in 1900, the 1924 Olympic Games did not have to share the limelight with another event. As if to make up for the lack of attention paid to the international sporting festival in 1900, the French made certain to fill their second time hosting with as much celebration as possible. On the first day of Olympic competition a total of zero events were held. The competitions had to wait until the second day of the Games because the French organizers packed so much content and fanfare into the programming of the opening ceremonies there simply was no time for anything else on the opening day.²³ The French showmanship in Paris 1924 raised expectations for the Olympics that followed. 1924 also brought with it the inaugural Winter Olympiad in Chamonix, France. Coubertin and the IOC regarded the idea of the Winter Games warily, suggesting that winter sports did not fit into the ancient Greek tradition of sport. The IOC also objected to the inequalities inherent in winter sports as certain climates and terrains not present in all nations were required for success.²⁴ In fact, the IOC did not recognize the 1924 as an official Olympic Competition until two years after the events took place. At the 22nd session in Lisbon the IOC reclassified the week-long series of events in France as the first Winter Olympiad.²⁵ The winter experiment in

²³ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 37.

²⁴ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 44.

²⁵ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 522.

Chamonix proved to be a great success and the Winter Olympics were born. From 1924 to 1986 the Summer and Winter Games were held in the same year until the IOC decided to place the Games on varying schedules.

In 1928 the Olympic Games moved on to Amsterdam. Finally, after missing two Olympic Games and the inaugural Winter Games, Germany and the rest of the banished nations received invitations to the 1928 Olympics. The intensity of the athletic competitions heightened in 1928 as well. In the early years of the Olympics the Americans usually dominated the competitions. However, in 1928 improvements in athletic quality around the world were apparent. The winners standing on the podiums were increasingly international. Victors hailed from a myriad of countries in 1928 including Canada, many Scandinavian countries, Japan, Algeria, and Chile.²⁶ Germany, despite not participating in an Olympiad since 1912, also had strong performances in rowing and gymnastics.²⁷

The last Games before the infamous 1936 Olympics were awarded to the city of Los Angeles. For the second time the Olympics traveled the long distance from the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland to America. When Los Angeles won the honor of hosting in 1923 the Los Angeles organizers could not have predicted the struggle they were about to face. The stock market crash of 1929 and the resulting Great Depression presented a staggering financial problem. However, even though the world experienced widespread financial strife, Los Angeles turned out to be the grandest Olympic Games yet. In addition to the construction of a massive stadium with a capacity of over 100,000

²⁶ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 38.

²⁷ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 38.

people, Los Angeles constructed a new auditorium for boxing and wrestling, new swimming facilities, a shooting range, and stands for 17,000 spectators to watch the rowing competitions.²⁸ Los Angeles also set itself apart from previous Olympics with the unique creation of the Olympic Village. In response to athlete complaints about poor accommodations in years past, the Olympic Village was intended to further Coubertin's vision of the Olympics as a uniting force of goodwill. The small city was constructed on a sprawling hill overlooking the stadium in the hills surrounding Los Angeles.²⁹ The Olympic Village, although it was a very nice accommodation, only housed the male athletes. Female athletes lodged at the Chapman Park Hotel.³⁰ The Games of 1932 were a grand event. Throughout the course of the Games, eventual German Organizers carefully watched the Americans, took notes, and then patiently waited for their turn to get a crack at hosting the Olympic Games.

Even before the 1936 Berlin Olympics opened on August 1, 1936 the XIth Olympiad already created new precedents in the Olympic Movement. The 1936 Olympic Games politicized the Olympic selection process. Before 1936 the host selection was a fairly straightforward process. When the IOC did not simply pick a city of one of the committee members, cities presented the IOC with feasibility studies showing the logistical and financial capabilities of a city to host. The IOC then voted at the annual IOC session and a new host city was selected. The 1936 Berlin Olympics turned the

²⁸ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 39.

²⁹ Wilson, Gwynn, and F.G. Browne. *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Co., 1933), 292.

³⁰ Gwynn et al., *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official*, 335

bidding process into an extension of international politics. The political stakes in the selection process heightened when backlash from an American led threat of a boycott almost ended Berlin's Olympic Games before they even started. The presence of the boycott based on German racial policy also politicized the choice to participate in the Olympic Games. Accepting an invitation represented a political act in support of the policies of the host nation.

The Berlin Games ushered in a new era of government involvement in Olympic outcomes. Prior to Berlin, the Games always minimally interacted with national governing bodies, but 1936 was different. The Nazi government's involvement with the planning, formation of the German Olympic Team, and the financing of the Games was more intimate than any previous host government. For the Nazi regime the Olympic Games were a chance to prove its legitimacy and competency to the rest of the world. The desire for success in the Olympic Games and the calculated messages the Nazis wanted to convey to the international community resulted in Nazi control of sport within Germany, and elaborate propaganda efforts. The Nazis' involvement in the Olympic team created a shift in Olympic ideology which led to widespread government involvement in the Olympic Movement. Later in the century and into the new millennium the increased prestige of the Games and corresponding increased government intercessions manifested in doping scandals, infiltration of the Olympic planning process, and financial support.

The modern Olympic Games of the current day are unrecognizable without the technology and media coverage that transports the Olympic Games all the way across the world, and into audiences' living rooms. The 1936 Berlin Olympics were the first Olympic Games that fully utilized the technology of the day for commercial purposes to

promote and facilitate the Games. The German Olympic Committee's (GOC) press efforts to spread news of the Games worldwide reached more people than ever before. The Berlin Games were also set apart by the use of technological innovations. The radio broadcasting operation set up by the German Organizing Committee was unrivalled in its time and the 1936 Berlin Olympics broadcasted the first televised sporting event in history. The support of the Nazis also financed the groundbreaking film *Olympia*, by Leni Riefenstahl. The cinematic achievement featured brand new techniques and equipment to the field of sports photography that fundamentally changed how the art developed. The scale of the media efforts and the technological innovations set the 1936 Olympics apart from its predecessors, and provided the first instance of a technologically modern Olympics.

The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games have been extensively written about given the controversial nature of Nazi regime that organized them. However, scholarship and investigation into the 1936 Olympics began to emerge in conjunction with the rise of sports as a historical field of study. One of the two secondary sources this paper relies on most heavily is the book *The Nazi Olympics*, written by the historian Richard Mandell. Mandell wrote and published *The Nazi Olympics* in 1971 at a time when scholarship about the modern Olympic Games was almost nonexistent, especially in America. *The Nazi Olympics*, the first of its kind, applied scholarly study to the 1936 Olympics. His work helped lead scholarship towards more comprehensive studies of the modern Olympics. The other secondary source this paper draws from is the book, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, by David Clay Large. Large's book relied on many sources of primary evidence which were unavailable to the author of this paper, like archive records

of correspondence between key Nazi leaders, the correspondence between Olympic officials, and IOC session minutes. The sources used by Large aided the research of this paper as they provided access to information otherwise unattainable.

In the secondary sources the sub theme of the modernity of the 1936 Olympics existed, but was not explicitly explored as an argument itself. From the underlying argument in the works of Mandell, Large, and others this paper focused on investigating why the 1936 Olympic Games warrant the classification as the first truly modern Olympic Games. Mandell focuses on placing a historical lens on the 1936 Olympics to examine the political and cultural significance of the Nazi Olympics as well as the modern Olympic Movement more generally. Large, writing in 2007, differed from Mandell's work in that he had the advantage of time passed. With more scholarship to draw from Large attempts to "clear the air". Given the vast amount of available literature on the 1936 Olympics in 2007, Large's goal was to examine Berlin in 1936 and provide a comprehensive account to dispel some of the popular mythology surrounding the Nazi Games.

To supplement the secondary sources in this paper various primary sources were used to deepen analysis of the claims and evidence presented in works like Mandell and Large's. The International Olympic Committee Official Reports from every Olympiad provided a wealth of information. From describing the financing and planning process of the Olympic Games to listing the winners, the Official Reports proved a useful source to help illuminate and support the claims of the secondary sources. Newspaper articles were another primary source that proved helpful. Specifically, American newspapers illuminated attitudes of the international community towards the Nazi regime and

provided a record of how much of the Nazi activity was known to the world and when. To gain insight into more personal experiences relating to the 1936 Olympic Games the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation collection of oral histories contributed fascinating personal testimonials. The video interviews recorded the stories and experiences of Jews in relation to the Berlin Olympics. With the combination of primary and secondary source this paper analyzed a new line of argument in relation to the 1936 Olympic Games.

Chapter 1: The Politicization of the Selection Process

Before the Olympic competition actually commences, potential host cities scrap and scrape their way to obtain the now coveted opportunity to host the Olympic Games. The IOC bid process more than likely is not what is conjured in the imagination of people across the world when they think about the Olympic Games. However, the selection process has become as much of a game as the sporting competitions themselves. Throughout the course of the Olympic Games the selection process became highly regulated by the IOC and quite extensive. The 1936 selection process aided the evolution of the because it politicized the proceedings and opened the procedure up to abuses.

The selection of Athens as the host city for the inaugural 1896 Games was rather informal compared to the three yearlong application process of current Olympiads. The first Olympic Congress, organized by the efforts of Pierre de Coubertin, united leaders of sport clubs and organizations from around the world at Paris-Sorbonne University to discuss the revival of the Olympic Games. In June 1894 over 2000 people attended Coubertin's congress.³¹ During the final meeting of the congress on June 23 all of Coubertin's efforts were rewarded when the congress unanimously voted to revive the Ancient Olympic Games.³² The congress also established the initial fourteen member International Olympic Committee (IOC) as the first official governing body of the revived Olympic Movement.³³ Finally, as the last order of business the congress decided

³¹ Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philemon, N. G. Politis, and Charalambos Anninos, *Second Part: The Olympic Games in 1896* (Athens: Charles Beck, 1897), 8.

³² "I Olympic Congress –Paris 1894," International Olympic Committee, accessed March 9, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/paris-1894-olympic-congress>.

³³ Coubertin et al., *The Olympic Games in 1896*, 8.

to hold the first Olympic Games in the year 1896. At the suggestion of the Greek man Demetrius Vikelas, the eventual first president of the IOC, the congress selected Athens as the first locale.³⁴ Given the historic connection of Athens to the Olympic Games the congress and newly created IOC easily selected the first host city. The matter of the location of the second Olympiad was also settled at the first Olympic Congress. Paris, France received the distinction of hosting the second Olympiad in 1900 to coincide with the World's Fair.³⁵

After the irregular selection process for the first two Olympiads the host city selection process did not immediately become the well laid out process known today. The selection process for the 1904 Games started to set important precedence for following Games despite its unusual circumstance. Initially, at the 1901 session, the IOC chose Chicago as the host of the 1904 Olympics. However, conflict arose when the World's Fair in St. Louis was pushed back from 1903 to 1904 and the Missouri city presented itself as another option.³⁶ After a vote of the IOC in 1902 St. Louis officially secured the 1904 Olympic Games. Even though Chicago lost the 1904 Games, the city of Chicago went about securing the Olympic Games with elements of what are now requirements in the selection process. First, a committee of interested Chicagoans formed with the purpose of seeing to the planning and support of the potential Olympic Games. The group, named the Chicago Committee, "included the heads of three major banks in

³⁴ Coubertin et al., *The Olympic Games in 1896*, 8.

³⁵ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List", Historical Archives: Olympic Studies Centre, last modified April 15, 2011, <https://library.olympic.org/Default/archives-historiques.aspx>, 2.

³⁶ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 6.

Chicago, the president of the Art Institute, the president of the University, a qualified representative of the press, and five or six 'prominent' citizens."³⁷ The Chicago Committee reflects the selection process standard of establishing an organizing committee before making a bid. The aforementioned committee also submitted a comprehensive file to the IOC. The file contained a variety of documents and studies relating to the feasibility of the city's ability to host the Games. Documents like a signed statement from the University of Chicago's president promising the use of the university's playing fields for free, a rough financial plan to finance the affair with 200,000 francs already secured, and a rough outline of a schedule of all the sports competitions and cultural events.³⁸ The Chicago Committee finally also established the convention of hiring advocates to convincingly persuade the IOC. Mr. Henry Bréal, an attorney, successfully swayed IOC support and elicited enthusiasm from the prestigious Olympic committee.³⁹ Although the 1904 Olympic selection was unusual, the preparation and care shown by the Chicago Committee to convincingly prove to the IOC that the city of Chicago could logistically support the Olympic Games became the minimal standard in the selection process prior to 1936.

In the early years of the Olympic Games the selection process was very unregulated. Interested host cities provided feasibility studies and documents to the IOC and then the IOC voted for the most attractive option, or went with the choice of an IOC member (most likely Coubertin).⁴⁰ The process was not yet meticulously laid out and

³⁷ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 399-400.

³⁸ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 400.

³⁹ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 400.

⁴⁰ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 20.

technically no requirements existed in the IOC's Olympic Charter. The selection process was governed by precedence and the judgement of the IOC. The minimum standards in the selection process from the early twentieth century up to 1936 were simply a financial and logistic report demonstrating the capability of the potential host city to handle demands of the Games. The only major change to the selection process leading up to the selection of Berlin in 1936 was the inclusion of the Winter Games. After the first Winter Games in 1924 the IOC allowed the host city selected for the Summer Olympics the first shot at hosting the Winter Olympics. Following 1924 if a city wanted to host both they would have to prove the feasibility for both Games. An "official selection procedure" was not installed until 1947 for the selection of the 1952 Olympics.⁴¹ The new procedure only required candidate cities to give a 30-minute presentation in front of the IOC.⁴² The extensive two to three-year process of today resulted from an evolution of the IOC charter to curb abuses and corruption within the Olympic Movement originating in 1936. Berlin marked the first instance of under the table tactics and leveraging political influence to succeed in the selection process.

Selecting Berlin

Germany started down the long road to the 1936 Berlin Olympics long before 1931 when the IOC selected Berlin as the host for the Eleventh Olympiad. Back in 1912 the IOC selected Berlin to host the 1916 Olympic Games. Berlin won the bid in 1912 because of a generous donation secured by the city of Berlin from The Union Racing

⁴¹ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 37.

⁴² "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 37.

Club allowing for the construction of an Olympic stadium.⁴³ Like today, in 1916 the IOC would shy away from a bid without secure funds to support the expensive endeavor. Theodor Lewald's role in the organization of the 1916 Games in Berlin laid some of the groundwork necessary to secure the bid almost twenty years later. Lewald's efforts most impacted the procurement of funds. As a high-level government official, Lewald played a substantial role in securing financing for the 1916 Games from the reluctant Reichstag. After the efforts expended in 1916 Lewald and the German sports world were prepped with the necessary experience to see the 1936 Olympics through to fruition.

While Berlin's selection for 1936 was not the first time the city had been successful obtaining the honor of hosting, the efforts the second time around held more weight for national pride. Hosting offered Germany a chance to redeem itself and reenter the international community after World War I, and the efforts of the organizers were reinvigorated after Germany's strong performance at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics. The process began at the annual meeting of the IOC on April 27, 1927 in the city of Monaco when the German member of the IOC, Theodor Lewald presented Berlin's bid to host.⁴⁴ However, despite Lewald's early bid, the final votes were not cast until 1931. The beginning of Lewald's unprecedented bid campaign started in 1930. Lewald convinced the IOC to hold the Ninth Olympic Congress in the city of Berlin. Hosting the Congress provided an opportunity for Lewald and other Berlin boosters to showcase the competency of Berlin and the city government. President Hindenburg even opened the Congress held at Berlin University and announced to the members of the IOC that should

⁴³ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 32.

⁴⁴ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 49.

they select Berlin, the Reich Government fully supported the Olympic Games.⁴⁵

Although now the presence of important politicians and celebrities is commonplace in cities' quests to host, in 1930 Lewald introduced the Olympic world to the art of schmoozing.

Also being considered for the 1936 Games at the time of the Congress in 1930 were Rome and Barcelona. Rome, under the control of a fascist government led by Benito Mussolini presented less of a threat to Lewald and Berlin. The members of the IOC shied away from Rome because of "the fascist government's domination of Italian sport."⁴⁶ Irony abounds given the installation of the Nazi Regime and the "Aryanization" of sport within Nazi Germany a mere three years later. To undermine both Rome and Barcelona, Lewald employed the Prussian Meteorological Institute to conduct a study predicting unfavorable weather conditions during August in the two cities.⁴⁷ Carl Diem then disseminated the study through a Dutch newspaper. Lewald's efforts to convince his fellow IOC members resembled a political campaign. The German representative peppered his colleagues incessantly with letters urging them to vote for Berlin and express their support to the IOC president Baillet-Latour with letters of their own.⁴⁸ Lewald also used the weight of political officers to sway foreign IOC delegates. For example, Lewald asked the two German ambassadors to Japan to personally visit the Japanese IOC officers to convince them to vote for Berlin. The personal house call worked, both Japanese representatives voted for Berlin. Although, in exchange for

⁴⁵ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 50.

⁴⁶ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 51.

⁴⁷ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 51.

⁴⁸ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 51.

Japanese votes Lewald agreed to support Tokyo for the 1940 Olympic Games.⁴⁹ Another factor working in favor of Berlin was the political turmoil within Spain during 1931 when the IOC scheduled its annual meeting in Barcelona. Most IOC delegates sent in their ballots remotely because of the political instability from the recent installation of the Second Spanish Republic not too long before the IOC meeting.

The use of political relationships in the selection process for the 1936 Olympic Games led to the politicization of the host city choice. Not only did Lewald utilize the Weimar Republic President Paul von Hindenburg to advocate for Berlin, but he also took advantage of the political influence of the German ambassadors to Japan to secure votes. Other IOC members and Olympic bid committee members carried on and intensified Lewald's tactics. The very next bid process for the 1940 Olympic Games exhibited the same type of diplomatic maneuvering as Lewald in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The serious contenders in the running for the 1940 Olympic Bid were Tokyo, Rome, and Helsinki.⁵⁰ The Tokyo organizers, eager to win the bid and bring the Olympics to the East for the first time, decided to campaign using diplomacy. Prior to the 35th Congress of the IOC in 1935, Japanese IOC officials paid a visit to Benito Mussolini, the Prime Minister of Italy.⁵¹ Following Mussolini's visit with the Japanese officials Italy's premier gave a "sensational show of support for the Tokyo bid" and Rome withdrew its bid for the 1940 Games.⁵² The next year in the 36th session of the IOC Tokyo beat out Helsinki and

⁴⁹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 52.

⁵⁰ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 32.

⁵¹ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 32.

⁵² Sandra Collins, *1940 Tokyo Games: The Missing Olympics: Japan, the Asian Olympics and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2007), Chapter 2.

secured the bid for 1940. Although Japan would be later stripped of the ability to host because of the Japanese government's refusal to disengage from the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the state-to-state campaign tactic once again prevailed in the Olympic selection process.⁵³

Lewald's new diplomatic route to hosting using the influence of political figures and national governments gained more prominence during the Cold War era. The efforts expended by the Richard Nixon administration to keep the Soviet Union from obtaining the bid for the 1976 Summer Olympics exemplified how political influence was used to aid the selection process after 1936. Initially, the Nixon administration showed little interest in giving more support than a generic three sentence statement of encouragement to the Los Angeles 1976 Olympic Committee that read, "I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you and the Los Angeles 1976 Olympic Committee for obtaining the privilege of bidding for the 1976 [Olympic Games]...My best wishes to you and to the Committee."⁵⁴ The president of the Los Angeles Committee, John Kilroy continually requested aid from the Nixon administration, but all of Kilroy's pleas, including a grant for \$250,000, were rejected.⁵⁵ Even a request to simply give a presentation to President Nixon was turned down. Met with nothing but disappointment, the Los Angeles Committee decided to change their strategy. With the help of an old business relationship between Rodney Rood, a member of the Committee, and H.R. Haldeman, the White

⁵³ "Olympic Summer Games: Fonds List," 32.

⁵⁴ Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, "Moscow versus Los Angeles: The Nixon White House Wages Cold War in the Olympic Selection Process," *Cold War History* 9:1, 139, accessed April 15, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14682740802573508>.

⁵⁵ Sarantakes, "Moscow versus Los Angeles," 139.

House chief of staff, the Committee framed the need for government assistance in the language of Cold War conflict. In a letter to Haldeman. After pointing out the Soviet's ambition to obtain the 1976 Olympics, Rood wrote, "We are now in direct confrontation with the Soviet Union on the level of international politics – a confrontation to determine international public appeal under the guise of non-politics – the award of the Summer Olympic Games of 1976."⁵⁶ The Los Angeles Committee had good reason to desperately seek aid from the US government, given the Soviet government vehemently supported the Moscow bid. The appeal to American political interests proved extremely effective. Not only did the Nixon administration honor almost all of the requests of the Los Angeles Committee, but Nixon exerted his international influence as the President of the United States to influence the 1976 selection process. Nixon personally wrote to members of the IOC praising the city of Los Angeles and its bid, he instructed US ambassadors in countries with IOC members to put pressure on foreign administrations to encourage the IOC representatives to vote for Los Angeles, and Charles Stuart a representative of the Nixon administration attempted attain votes by bribing Latin American IOC members.⁵⁷ Similarly, the Moscow organizing team utilized the Soviet Union's political position to obtain votes for Moscow. In the final vote, Moscow received twenty-eight votes from the twenty-eight communist nations represented in the IOC.⁵⁸ Although the efforts of the Los Angeles Committee coupled with the Nixon administration, ultimately failed as Montréal received the 1976 bid, the Los Angeles Committee and the Moscow organizers both

⁵⁶ Sarantakes, "Moscow versus Los Angeles," 139.

⁵⁷ Sarantakes, "Moscow versus Los Angeles," 141-5.

⁵⁸ Sarantakes, "Moscow versus Los Angeles," 145.

utilized the diplomatic resources available to them and the prevailing political climate of the time.

In the current selection process, similar to 1936 and the Cold War era, leveraging the support of diplomatic leaders has become paramount during the Olympic bidding process. One of the most common tactics used by bid committees is to bring prominent world leaders to their presentation to the IOC to illustrate governmental support and use their influence to potentially sway IOC members. For example, Barack and Michelle Obama travelled to Copenhagen during his presidency to present in front of the IOC on behalf of the Chicago bid for the 2016 Olympic Games.⁵⁹ Besides Chicago's failure to obtain the bid for 2016, power politics in the selection process have proven to be an effective tactic in the new millennium, unlike the mixed success it received during the Cold War. In the case of the 2012 London Summer Olympics and the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics, the leveraging of national leadership helped secure both bids. The British Prime Minister Tony Blair actively campaigned at the deciding IOC session and made an effort to meet individually with various IOC members, thus propelling the London bid to victory despite its underdog status.⁶⁰ Vladimir Putin, in the bid process for the 2014 Winter Olympics, was an active member of the bid process. During the Sochi presentation Putin sat with the Russian delegation at the IOC session in Guatemala, and vehemently supported the Sochi Committee's efforts.⁶¹ Without the support of Putin the

⁵⁹ Kristi Keck, "Obama, Chicago comes up short in Olympics bid," *CNN Politics*, October 2, 2009, <http://www.cnn.com/2009/POLITICS/10/02/denmark.olympics.obama/>.

⁶⁰ Karolos Grohmann, "Politics takes centre stage in Olympic bid process," *Reuters*, July 5, 2007, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-olympics-politics-idUKL0586925520070705>.

⁶¹ Grohmann. "Politics takes centre stage in Olympic bid process."

first time Sochi bid could not have overcome the strong competition coming from traditionally successful winter venues like, Salzburg, Austria.⁶² The politicization of the selection process originated with Lewald and his savvy use of political figures like, the German President Paul von Hindenburg and German ambassadors. In the years following 1936, the bid process remained very political with bid committees attempting to utilize prominent international figures and political attitudes like the Los Angeles Committee for the 1976 Olympics. As time progressed into the new millennium, the force of power politics came to the forefront of candidate strategies with the success of London 2012 and Sochi 2014.

Lewald's unofficial campaigning efforts during the selection process also opened the door for corruption within the Olympic selection process which has significantly shaped the formation of the process as it is known today. The largest and most public corruption scandal from the post 1936 era of the Olympics occurred over the IOC's host selection of the 2002 Olympic Winter Games held in Salt Lake City. Previously, many instances of corruption passed by without much public knowledge, like the bribery during the Nixon administration. In contrast the Salt Lake City scandal erupted very publicly on November 24, 1998 when a Salt Lake City television station broke the news that the Salt Lake Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC) continuously payed for Sonia Essomba's tuition, rent, and expenses at the American University, a bill that totaled approximately \$108,350.⁶³ Sonia Essomba was the daughter of René Essomba, an IOC member from

⁶² Grohmann, "Politics takes centre stage in Olympic bid process."

⁶³ Bill Mallon, "The Olympic Bribery Scandal," *Journal of Olympic History* 8, no. 2 (2000): 14.

Cameroon. After news of the bribery of Essomba, further investigation into the SLOOC revealed numerous additional instances of bribery far exceeding the gifts limits set by the IOC. In 1991 the SLOOC and the Salt Lake Bid Committee (SLBC) developed a “scholarship assistance” effort which provided \$400,000 worth of aid to thirteen students, six of which were closely related to IOC members.⁶⁴ The SLOOC’s financial aid program only began to reveal the extent of the gifts and services doled out by SLOOC representatives to secure IOC votes. In total the IOC expelled six members, and four more resigned of their own volition, for accepting gifts and other financial benefits from the SLOOC exceeding the \$200 limit.⁶⁵ The worst offender was the IOC member from the Republic of the Congo, Jean-Claude Ganga. In addition to a \$60,000 profit made off of a sale of land orchestrated by a SLOOC and \$70,010 of direct payments, Ganga visited Salt Lake City six separate times incurring over \$115,000 worth of travel expenses paid for by the SLOOC.⁶⁶ During Ganga’s visits himself and members of his family received medical treatments worth \$28,000 for free.⁶⁷ Although Ganga capitalized on the generosity of the SLOOC and SLBC the other members expelled from the IOC received similar types of compensation for their votes in favor of Salt Lake City.

The actions of the SLOOC were not an isolated incident. The practice of bribing IOC members was established years prior. After the Salt Lake City debacle, the IOC investigated the Olympic Games of years past and uncovered uncouth behavior from a

⁶⁴ Mallon, “The Olympic Bribery Scandal,” 11.

⁶⁵ Stephen Wenn, Robert Barney, and Scott Martyn, *Tarnished Rings: The International Committee and the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal* (2014: Syracuse University Press), 16, 20.

⁶⁶ Mallon, “The Olympic Bribery Scandal,” 14-15.

⁶⁷ Mallon, “The Olympic Bribery Scandal,” 11.

whole host of IOC members. Lewald's friendly persuasion of his fellow IOC members did not reach the level of bribery, but his persuasive innovations led to corruption within the IOC. The bribery of IOC officials originated from intense competitive culture of the selection process, created by Theodor Lewald in the 1930s in combination with the commercialization of the Olympic Games in the 1980s. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games were the first to turn a profit with no government debt, and the profitability of the IOC and the host cities increased temptations to engage in corrupt behavior. Through the investigation prompted by the Salt Lake City scandal the scrutiny uncovered actions like Amsterdam's guilt in supplying IOC members with gifts like prostitutes, jewelry, and VCRs in hopes of obtaining the 1992 Olympics bid.⁶⁸ Other cities' indiscretions came to light as well. Nagano, Japan hosted various members of the IOC sixty-two times and spent an average of Can\$33,000 per visit to secure votes for the 1998 Winter Olympics. Atlanta, the 1996 host, also admitted to gifting IOC members sets of \$475 golf clubs, providing free trips to Disney World, and paying for extra first-class airline tickets.⁶⁹ In response to intense international criticism, disappointment, and anger over corruption the IOC overhauled the bidding process. To begin the IOC established an independent Ethics Commission in 1999 to create a code of ethics and oversee the bid process.⁷⁰ The IOC then created a second group named the IOC 2000 Commission, which was tasked with researching avenues for reform and providing recommendations of how the Olympic

⁶⁸ Wenn et al., *Tarnished Rings: The International Committee and the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal*, 16.

⁶⁹ Wenn et al., *Tarnished Rings: The International Committee and the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal*, 16.

⁷⁰ Mallon, "The Olympic Bribery Scandal," 18.

Movement should be structured going into the new millennium.⁷¹ After a vote of the IOC, fifty recommendations submitted by the IOC 2000 Commission were adopted. The most important changes to the selection process included, the prohibition of IOC members from traveling to the bid cities, the creation of an impartial Evaluation Commission responsible for visiting bid cities, and the admission of press and media into IOC sessions in order to increase transparency.⁷²

The current bid process adopted in 2014 revised the selection process even more for the purpose of providing more aid and dialogue between the IOC and candidate cities. The process, now very regimented at every step includes an informal Invitation Phase followed by a three-part Candidature Process aimed at looking into the specialized needs and challenges of each host candidate.⁷³ The mature selection process of the current Olympic Games resulted from a progression of campaigning tactics employed by Theodor Lewald for the first time in 1936, which politicized the selection process and eventually became rife with corruption. Although the IOC attempted to limit corruption within the process, the presence of politics within the bid became a naturalized aspect of the long journey to hosting.

The Boycott Movement

The 1936 Berlin Olympics experienced threats of boycott from Western democracies adding to the significance of the 1936 Olympics in the development of the

⁷¹ Mallon, "The Olympic Bribery Scandal," 18.

⁷² Mallon, "The Olympic Bribery Scandal," 24.

⁷³ "Olympic Games Candidature Process," International Olympic Committee, accessed April 13, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/all-about-the-candidature-process>.

modern Olympic Games. As David Clay Large observes in his book *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, “In 1936, for the first time in modern Olympic history, a protest movement of international scope was mounted against a designated host city, Berlin.”⁷⁴ The 1936 Olympics were a vessel through which the international community sought political change, a trend which became a prevalent aspect of subsequent Games.

The Berlin Games were not boycotted from the outset of their selection. After the cancellation of the 1916 Berlin Games after World War I, Theodor Lewald, a German member of the IOC, tirelessly campaigned to bring the Olympic Games to Berlin. The efforts of Lewald came to fruition on May 13, 1931 when IOC president Henri de Baillet-Latour revealed that Berlin received more votes than its competitor Barcelona to become the host of the 1936 Olympics.⁷⁵ At the moment of Berlin’s selection the Weimar Republic, a parliamentary Republic, governed the post-war German state.⁷⁶ Unbeknownst to the world and the IOC during the selection process in 1931, in January of 1933 President Paul von Hindenburg would appoint Adolf Hitler to the chancellorship and effectively hold open the door for Hitler to usher in the Third Reich.⁷⁷ During the rise of the National Socialist German Worker’s Party, the members of the international community turned their eyes warily towards the new regime to see what was to happen when, as the American journalist George Gerhard from the *North American Review* phrased it, “Herr Hitler comes to bat.”⁷⁸ When Hitler and the Nazi Party gained complete

⁷⁴ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 69.

⁷⁵ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 86.

⁷⁶ Ruth B. Henig, *The Weimar Republic 1919-1933*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 5.

⁷⁷ Henig, *The Weimar Republic 1919-1933*, 75-6.

⁷⁸ George Gerhard, “Herr Hitler Comes to Bat,” *North American Review*, August 1, 1932.

control of the German government much of the world already knew about their racially exclusionary policies. The Nazis' published political platform of twenty-five points offered a transparent look into the party's intentions from as early as 1920. One of the most concerning Nazi political promises in the eyes of the international community was the fourth point in Hitler's program. It read, "Only a national comrade can be a citizen. Only someone of German blood, regardless of faith, can be a citizen. Therefore, no Jew can be a citizen."⁷⁹ From 1933-35 the discrimination against Jews and other minorities escalated under the influence of Nazi politics and drew great concern from the IOC and many individual countries about sending teams to Berlin in 1936. The spirit of conscientious objection in relation to the Third Reich's policies manifested through the threat to boycott the Berlin Games. While sentiments leaning towards boycotts existed in multiple countries, including England and France, the boycott effort in the United States proved the most threatening.⁸⁰

Soon after Hitler's ascent to power in January of 1933 the anxieties of the IOC regarding the Nazis' treatment of German Jews proved to be substantiated. In June 1933 Jewish athletes were prohibited from joining sports organizations and were banned from many sports facilities. The exclusion of Jews from sports violated the laws of the Olympic Games stating there should be no discrimination in the Games on the basis of

⁷⁹ "Nazi Party Platform," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed March 16, 2017, <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/before-1933/nazi-party-platform>.

⁸⁰ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 69.

race or religion.⁸¹ In addition, Theodor Lewald lost his position as President of the German Olympic Committee (GOC) because of a Jewish relative and was replaced by the Nazi Party member Hans von Tschammer und Osten.⁸² In response, at the next annual IOC meeting in Vienna on June 7, 1933 the American IOC officials Charles Sherrill and William May Garland grilled the German IOC officials, Lewald and Karl Ritter von Halt about Jewish discrimination in German sport. By the end of the session Lewald and von Halt obtained a written statement from the Reich Interior Ministry stating, “All the laws regulating the Olympic Games shall be observed. As a principle German Jews will not be excluded from German Teams at the Games of the XIth Olympiad.”⁸³ Lewald was also reinstated to a lower position on the GOC. Satisfied with the written guarantee and ceremonial appointment of Lewald, Sherrill and Garland returned to the United States quite pleased with themselves and the word of the Reich Interior Ministry.

Despite Sherrill’s satisfaction with the 1933 IOC session in Vienna, American organizations like the American Jewish Congress (AJC), the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), and the American Olympic Association (AOA, and sometimes referred to as the American Olympic Committee) doubted the sincerity of the assurances given in Vienna. The boycott in the United States was largely initiated by the AAU. The organization pressed the AOA to withdraw American participation from the 1936 Games if Hitler did

⁸¹ Stephen R. Wenn, “A Tale of Two Diplomats: George S Messersmith and Charles H Sherill on Proposed American Participation in the 1938 Olympics,” *Journal of Sports History* 16, no. 1 (1989): 31.

⁸² Wenn, “A Tale of Two Diplomats,” 31.

⁸³ Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 66.

not reverse his discriminatory policies towards Jews.⁸⁴ In November of 1933 Gustavus Town Kirby presented a resolution to the AAU, which was then adopted, unambiguously threatening to withdraw American participation from the Games should discriminatory policies remain unchanged. Kirby also presented his resolution to Sherill and the AOA, but encountered resistance from Sherill who found Lewald's promises of change sufficient.⁸⁵ In a compromise, the AOA passed a resolution with the same intent as the AAU resolution, but "the threat was toned down."⁸⁶

The American boycott movement may very well have been successful if it had not been for one man, Avery Brundage, the president of the AOA. Brundage's efforts in 1934 and 1935 swayed the AOA to vote in favor of American participation in the 1936 Olympics. Initially, Brundage vehemently expressed his distaste for discrimination in the Olympics during an interview with the *Baltimore Jewish Times* in April of 1933, where he stated, "the Games will not be held in any country where there will be interference with the fundamental Olympic theory of equality of all races."⁸⁷ By 1934 the leadership of the AOA remained uncertain Hitler and the Nazi government would honor their commitment made in Vienna the year before. In June of 1934 the AOA voted to postpone accepting the German invitation to Berlin until Avery Brundage conducted an official investigation into the treatment of German Jewish athletes. Brundage agreed to the

⁸⁴ Jules Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, (London: Verso, 2016), 68.

⁸⁵ Arthur J. Daley, "Threat is Avoided by Olympic Group," *New York Times*, November 23, 1933.

⁸⁶ Arthur J. Daley, "Threat is Avoided by Olympic Group," *New York Times*, November 23, 1933.

⁸⁷ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 70.

investigation and within the month he and his wife set sail for Europe. Brundage carried out his investigation with as much conviction as a Division I Southeastern Conference football coach looking into allegations of misconduct against their star player. Brundage never thoroughly investigated the treatment of Jewish athletes without Reich influence. For example, while conducting the inquiry an appointed translator accompanied him at all times and he was unable to interview representatives from Jewish sports club without supervision.⁸⁸ In addition, Brundage's friendships with Theodor Lewald, Carl Diem, and Karl Ritter von Halt made him sympathetic towards the organizers and more inclined to take their assurances on faith.⁸⁹ While in Germany Brundage also met with the Reichssportfuhrer Hans von Tschammer und Osten who once again assured Brundage that Jewish athletes would be allowed to compete on the German Olympic team. Brundage returned to the United States and presented the AOA a glowing report of the Nazi commitment to repeal discriminatory practices. At the meeting of the AOA in September 1934 the association unanimously voted to accept the German invitation to the 1936 Games.⁹⁰ Kirby, initially a strong opponent to participation, addressed the committee, including President Brundage, and said, "Mr. President, we have every right to believe from your report that Germany will not dare recede from the position she has taken."⁹¹

⁸⁸ Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 70.

⁸⁹ Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 67.

⁹⁰ Arthur J. Daley, "US Will Compete in 1936 Olympics," *New York Times*, September 27, 1934.

⁹¹ Arthur J. Daley, "US Will Compete in 1936 Olympics," *New York Times*, September 27, 1934.

The AOA may have been convinced by Brundage and his questionable investigation, but the matter of American participation was not completely settled until the AAU voted in favor of participation in December of 1935. The AAU in the first half of the twentieth century heavily involved itself with the AOA and certified all track and field athletes for the United States' Olympic Team.⁹² Thus AAU acceptance of participation became a necessary component to send a large and skilled USA team to the Olympics. On December 9, 1935, only eight months away from the Summer competitions and only two months away from the Winter Games, the AAU voted against a boycott in a very close decision with only a margin of about three votes.⁹³ The reasoning behind participation was based on trusting assurances from German officials that German Jewish athletes would not be discriminated against in the Olympic Games. The American boycott nearly succeeded, but once the AAU decided against boycotting the Games, the oppositional sentiment around the world ceased as well.

Abuses against German Jews in general within Germany were seen by Brundage and other members of the important Olympic governing bodies as private political matters of Germany not to be intervened in by Olympic Committees.⁹⁴ However, despite Brundage's reluctance to interfere in German politics one must wonder how he, and others who voted to send Americans to Berlin, believed the promises by German officials like Lewald, Ritter, and von Tschammer. Brundage and other politically up to date Americans would have been aware of the abuses against German Jews. Only about a year

⁹² Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 71.

⁹³ *New York Times*, "A.A.U Backs Team in Berlin Olympic; Rejects Boycott," December 9, 1935.

⁹⁴ Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 71.

after Brundage's visit, on September 15, 1935 Hitler passed the Nuremberg Laws. The legislation made interracial relationships between Jews and "Aryans" illegal, stripped Jews of their citizenship, and defined a Jew as any person with three or four Jewish grandparents.⁹⁵ American newspapers, like the *New York Times* followed the developing situation in Germany and reported on the escalation of German policy. Men like Brundage would have been aware of what was happening in Germany as headlines such as, "Anti-Jewish Laws Passed" and "Non-Aryans Deprived of Citizenship and Right to Intermarry" peppered the front pages of newspapers across the country.⁹⁶ Given the Olympic officials' knowledge of the escalation of racially discriminatory laws it is illuminating that Brundage and other AAU members communicated confidence about the assurances they received. Brundage and others' choice to ignore the news of escalating racial discrimination coming out of Germany displays the intense desire of the Olympic administrators to hold on to the apolitical and peacekeeping façade of the Olympic Games.

Despite Brundage and the decision of the AOA's and AAU to send an American team to Berlin, there were many individual athletes from around the world who chose to sit out of the Berlin Games. However, it should be noted that the personal boycotters did not represent a large number of athletes. Never before had the Olympic Games seen such a large number of individual athletes abstain from Olympic competition out of protest. One athlete who stayed home in 1936 was the Jewish Romanian fencer Endre Altman.

⁹⁵ "Nuremberg Laws," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed April 3, 2017, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007902>.

⁹⁶ Otto D. Tolischus, "Reich Adopts Swastika as Nation's Official Flag; Hitler's Reply to 'Insult'," *New York Times*, September 16, 1935.

He explained his decision saying, “I refused to go Berlin...it was a stand of solidarity with what was happening to them, German Jews... The Olympics didn’t lose much by me not participating, but it is my satisfaction.”⁹⁷ Altman’s reasons reflected the sentiment of a number of other athletes who chose not to go to Berlin. The personal boycotters were primarily Jewish athletes. Other notable boycotters included three American track runners, Canada’s number one light weight boxer Yisrael (“Sammy”) Luftspring, a French bobsledder, and three of Austria’s top ranked swimmers.⁹⁸ The personal boycotts by Jewish athletes signified a new era of the Olympic Games. Conscientious objection by Jewish athletes regarding the discrimination of German Jews turned the Olympic Games into a political stage. By staging this boycott, the athletes set a moral precedent asserting that participating in the Games represented a tacit endorsement of the host nation.

The boycott movement of the Olympic Games has become a staple of the modern Olympic Games after its first use in 1936. Although zero nations went through with a boycott of the German Games, the 1936 the boycott movement established a powerful option nations used in later years. Olympic participation became a way to voice concerns about international politics and came to be understood as the acceptance of the domestic and foreign policies of host nations, and even other participating nations. Throughout the rest of the century the concept of boycotting persisted and evolved. The significant years that experienced boycotting included 1956, 1964, 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988. Boycotts were held for a variety of reasons, including the protest of apartheid era South Africa,

⁹⁷ Endre Altman, interview by the USC Shoah Foundation, *USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, online video, <https://sfi.usc.edu/playlist/1936-berlin-olympics>.

⁹⁸ Large *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 107-8.

Chinese-Taiwan relations, and Cold War era fear. However, the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, because of the Cold War and the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, best illustrates the politicizing impact of the near boycotts in 1936 on Olympic ideology. In Jimmy Carter's address to representatives of the United States' Olympic team set to go to Moscow, he touched on the legitimizing action of participating in the Olympic Games:

The Olympics are important to the Soviet Union. They [Soviet Union] have made massive investments in buildings, equipment, propaganda. As has probably already been pointed out to you, they have passed hundreds of thousands of copies of an official Soviet document saying that the decision of the world community to hold the Olympics in Moscow is an acknowledgement of approval of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and proof to the world that the Soviet's policy results in international peace.⁹⁹

Carter's observations of the value of the Olympic Games to the Soviet Union's political ambitions highlights assumptions about Olympic participation that stem from Berlin in 1936. Just like many of the unsuccessful American boycotters in 1936 Carter saw the participation of the United States as an action enabling a government to continue human rights abuses. The feeling of a moral responsibility to object to abusive host governments was also heightened by hindsight and the knowledge of the atrocities that followed the Berlin Games. The political implications of the decision to participate in the Olympics are also illustrated by the deciding body in the 1980 case. In 1936 the AAU and AOA made the decision to participate in Berlin, and the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, stayed completely out of the controversy.¹⁰⁰ However, in 1980 the

⁹⁹ Jimmy Carter, "Remarks to representatives of U.S. Teams to the 1980 Summer Olympics," March 21, 1980, Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=33171>.

¹⁰⁰ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 94.

President made the decision as an act of United States foreign policy, indicating the politicized nature of the decision. The assumptions present in Carter's address were not just indicative of the United States' perception of the Olympic Games. Seventy-nine other nations boycotted the Games along with the Americans. Although around forty-five to fifty most likely followed the lead of the United States in boycotting the Soviets.¹⁰¹ After the Cold War instances of successful boycotts reduced partially due to the lack of efficacy of the boycotts to create change.

Even though after the Cold War the boycotts subsided, the political implications of what it meant to accept an invitation to the Olympics persisted. The most notable example in the twentieth century was the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympiad. Although all nations invited accepted their invitation, the thought of boycott hung in the air leading up to the Games. Part of China's platform during the bidding process, and one of the reasons they secured the bid, was a promise to address human rights concerns within the country.¹⁰² Among other reasons, the international community was alarmed by China's involvement in the Darfur and Myanmar conflicts as well as China's position on Tibet. As the 2008 Olympic Games quickly approached many international organizations found Chinese attempts at compliance with their promises made during the bid process less than convincing. The American non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch reported, "thus far, Beijing's compliance with its own promises and international

¹⁰¹ "Moscow 1980," International Olympic Committee, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/moscow-1980>.

¹⁰² Aaron Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 196.

expectations has been abysmal.”¹⁰³ Given China’s relative non-compliance with its human rights promises the question of a boycott came to the forefront of international thought. Protests broke out across London, Paris, and the United States with prominent political figures like the French Presidential candidate Segolene Royal advocating for boycotts.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵ By the start of the Games on 2008 all invited nations sent teams to Beijing as many nations saw a boycott as an ineffective way to address concerns with the Chinese government. Also, the potential economic profit many international businesses stood to gain from the Olympics tempered the possibility of a boycott as well.¹⁰⁶ Although no nation abstained from participation, various world leaders such as German President Angela Merkel and the French President Nicolas Sarkozy personally boycotted the Games in support of Tibet.¹⁰⁷ Not every year following the 1936 Games saw a boycott, but the ideological legacy left by the boycott effort in the early 1930s nonetheless persisted and has become an inseparable aspect of the Olympic Games.

The concern about human rights violations and Hitler’s worrying policies within the Third Reich stirred up anti-Nazi sentiment and raised questions about the need for international intervention in the Third Reich. Despite the apolitical rhetoric surrounding the Olympic movement pushed by some of its most influential leaders like, Henry

¹⁰³ Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*, 196.

¹⁰⁴ Steven Erlanger, “For the West, Many Tough Calls on China,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*, 197.

¹⁰⁶ Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*, 197.

¹⁰⁷ Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*, 201.

Baillet-Latour and Avery Brundage, participation in the 1936 Berlin Olympics was a political act. In the AAU session in December 1935 that decided the issue of American participation in Berlin the resolution on the table stated, “participation must not be taken to imply endorsement of the principles or practices of the Nazi government.”¹⁰⁸ However, by attending the Games, the United States and the rest of Europe tacitly supported the legitimacy of the Nazi regime. Although one can only speculate on what would have happened had multiple countries boycotted the 1936 Games, it seems reasonable to categorize the 1936 Berlin Olympics as another instance of appeasement in the notorious decade of the 1930s. The complicity of the international community in the 1936 Berlin Olympics left a lasting feeling of political responsibility for the actions of the Third Reich after 1936 that presented itself in efforts to boycott human rights abuses in subsequent Olympiads. After the 1936 Olympics, accepting an invitation to the Olympic Games became a symbol of acquiescence to the international and domestic policies of the host nation. The political weight inherent in the acceptance of an Olympic invitation is a modern phenomenon of the modern Olympic Games that began with the 1936 Olympics.

Theodor Lewald and the journey to Berlin in 1936 set new precedents with great implications to the Olympic movement. Lewald’s strategy to win the Olympic bid employed methods of persuasion never before used by host cities and inspired Olympic bid advocates following him. The German IOC member’s use politics and persuasion of IOC members for votes heightened the competitive nature of the selection process. The intensified process of 1936 established the norm of using national political positions to

¹⁰⁸ *New York Times*, “AAU Blocks Vote on Olympics Ban,” December 8, 1935.

ensnare IOC votes. Then, when the Olympics became profitable in the 1980s, the diplomatic persuasion turned into corruption. The boycott efforts in the 1930s from around the world, especially the United States, altered the Olympic selection process irrevocably. Not only did host cities have to make it past the selection process of the IOC, but beginning in 1936 host cities and the national governments associated with them had to endure an informal vetting process conducted by the international court of public opinion. The unofficial application to the international community's acceptance is an inextricable facet of the modern Olympic Games. The politicized selection process and the international boycott in the 1930s were factors that made the 1936 Olympics truly modern.

Chapter 2: The Rise of Government Interest in Olympic Outcomes

The revived Olympic Games were never completely separated from government political interests. In theory the Olympics were created as an apolitical celebration of the triumph of the human spirit and a showcase for athletic achievement. Olympism, a term coined by Pierre de Coubertin, is defined as:

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting, and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.¹⁰⁹

Olympism and the Olympic Movement believe in the power of sport to bring nations, races, and religions together to compete without thought of their differences. However, Coubertin's Games were easily influenced by the whims of nationalistic governments and political conditions of the day from the start. In the years leading up to the grand political spectacle of the 1936 Berlin Olympics the international sporting festival was colored by international politics. The 1896 Athens Olympics experienced the sensitivity of international relations when the Germans almost decided to reject their invitation to participate after what they believed to be a slight from Coubertin and the IOC. The Germans were miffed because they were not invited to the Sorbonne Congress in 1894 when the IOC was created and the Congress decided to revive the Olympic Games.¹¹⁰ Representatives from every other notable European power attended the Congress in Paris. The Germans, despite the slight, still sent a small team to Athens.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 11.

¹¹⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 24.

¹¹¹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 24.

The 1900 Paris Olympics were markedly lacking any political conflict or slights. The absence of any international controversy was most likely a product of the unenthusiastic organization of the Games by the World's Fair organizers. The *Exposition* greatly overshadowed the Olympic competition and some athletes did not even know they had competed in an Olympiad until they looked at the Olympic inscription on their medals.¹¹² The Olympics by 1900 did not possess much international clout. Similar to 1896 in Athens, the 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis also experienced the slight touch of the hand of international politics. Coubertin, despite his great investment in the Olympic Movement, decided to remain in France during the Games. The Frenchman refused to travel to the third Olympiad because the World's Fair in St. Louis celebrated the Louisiana Purchase from the French.¹¹³ To Coubertin the Louisiana Purchase symbolized French weakness, and the American celebration was insulting to the Frenchman. At the 1908 London Games nationalism was a naturalized part of the Olympic Games. The perfect example of the government involvement in the early Olympic Games was the marathon in 1908. Originally only 26 miles long, the distance of the marathon was changed to the current standard of 26.2 miles for the London Games. The change was compelled by the wishes of the British monarchy. King Edward and Queen Alexandria requested the marathon start on their property, Windsor Castle, and finish at the Royal Box in the Stadium which added an extra 385 yards to the race.¹¹⁴ Aside from the active presence of the British monarchy the 1908 Olympic Games were

¹¹² Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 30.

¹¹³ Large, *Nazi Game: The Olympics of 1936*, 25.

¹¹⁴ Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, 41.

also filled with political sensitivity, mostly from the Americans. After arriving in London the American team, unsatisfied with the lodgings provided to them, viewed the sub-par accommodations as an intended offense.¹¹⁵ The opening ceremonies proved to be politically charged by competing nationalistic slights. The British chose not to fly the American flag in the stadium. In response the American flag bearer did not lower the flag in the presence of the British monarchs present at the ceremony as was the custom.¹¹⁶

Stockholm in 1912 also felt the weight of international politics. Nationalist enthusiasm over the Games permeated the Olympic atmosphere as the press obsessively tallied medal counts of the participating nations to declare a winner.¹¹⁷ Besides the characteristic nationalism engrained in the Olympic Games global politics also intruded on the 1912 Games. Tensions between Finland and Russia flared in Stockholm. In 1912 Finland was forced to compete under the Russian flag, and much to the annoyance of the Russians, marched in the opening ceremonies with their own flag.¹¹⁸ In the closing ceremonies of the Stockholm Games, although Berlin's bid for the 1916 Olympics was not yet official, the Olympic torch passed from Sweden to Germany.¹¹⁹ Prior to the 1936 Olympics, the 1916 Berlin Games were the most impacted by world politics. Due to the outbreak of World War I the IOC cancelled the Games in 1915 and decided not to transfer the Games to another city. Despite the cancellation of the 1916 Games the

¹¹⁵ Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, 42.

¹¹⁶ Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, 42.

¹¹⁷ Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, 44.

¹¹⁸ Boykoff, *Power Games: A Political History of the Olympics*, 44.

¹¹⁹ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 448.

Olympiad still counted as the VI Olympiad because according to Coubertin, “An Olympiad may fail to be celebrated; its number remains. This is the ancient tradition.”¹²⁰

After World War I, much like the rest of the world, the Olympic Games did not escape the political consequences of the largest military conflict the world had ever seen. The first Olympics after the war were held in Antwerp during 1920. The Antwerp Games and the following Paris Games in 1924 did not experience political tension during the Games. The most notable aspect of the 1920 and 1924 Olympics were the noticeable absences of Germany, Hungary, Turkey, Austria, and Bulgaria. The nations that composed the Central Powers in World War I did not receive an invitation to Antwerp or Paris because of their role in World War I.¹²¹ The punitive decision to exclude nations from the Olympic Games based on the disapproval of the international community indicated a new political ideal attached to the Olympics in the aftermath of World War I. The same trend would be followed after World War II by forbidding the participation of the former Axis Powers in the 1948 London Olympics.¹²² The Olympic Games became an indicator of the governmental legitimacy of participating nations.¹²³ The ideal of the Olympics as a legitimizing force greatly influenced the recently appointed Nazi leaders over ten years later when they received their chance to host the Olympics. The 1920 Games also marked the first year the newly formed USSR decided to abstain from the

¹²⁰ Coubertin, *Olympism*, 464.

¹²¹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 39-40.

¹²² Kevin Young and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games* (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd., 2005), 62.

¹²³ Beacom, *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*, 115.

Games because of the new government's disinterest in the international sporting festival.¹²⁴ The USSR abstained from Olympic competition until 1952.

The 1928 Games in Amsterdam experienced minimal international tension, but gained significance because the former Central Powers were invited to the Olympic Games for the first time since the war.¹²⁵ Finally, the 1932 Games in Los Angeles also possessed an air of political congeniality like the Olympic Games of the 1920s. The crash of the United States stock market and the subsequent world depression implanted itself at the front of the international focus in 1932, consequently pushing out political conflict.¹²⁶

The Olympic Games were never the apolitical international event of Coubertin's dreams. Rather from their start they reflected the political climate of the time they occupied. If the Olympics prior to the 1936 Games were influenced by politics and nationalism, then what made the 1936 Berlin Olympics different? The 1936 Berlin Olympics are set apart from its predecessors because the Games were actively used as a tool of political manipulation by national governments whereas previous Games were simply reflective of political climates and governmental attitudes. 1936 was a watershed moment for the Olympic Games because it revealed the potential for the Games to enact political change, for better or worse. Throughout the course of Olympic preparation and the Games themselves the Nazis successfully pushed their own political narrative of "Aryan" superiority. By the end of the 1936 Olympics the Germans walked away with the most Olympic medals. With eighty-nine medals in total the Germans beat the rest of

¹²⁴ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 40.

¹²⁵ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* 38.

¹²⁶ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* 38.

the world, including the Americans who came in second with fifty-six.¹²⁷ Not only did the Germans win total medal count but the German Olympic team came away with the most gold medals as well. In 1936 Germany won thirty-three gold medals with the Americans coming in second with a total of twenty-four.¹²⁸ Hitler's efforts to demonstrate the strength of the 'Aryan' German people through control of the Olympics succeeded and set a precedent for government meddling in sport, specifically the Olympics. The Nazis' triumph in 1936 brought about the politicization of sport within nations and demonstrated the possibility of transforming Olympic Games into a fanfare of propaganda.

“Aryanization” of Sport Within Germany

Another area of the Olympic Games the Nazis politicized was sport within German borders. Hitler and the Nazi regime injected the government's “Aryan” ideal into every level of sport in Germany. Historically, sport in the German lands was closely associated with nationalism. The militarized gymnastic style, known as *Turnen*, developed in the early nineteenth century in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars. The creator Ludwig Jahn viewed the new form of physical exercise as a way to “unify the divided German *Volk* and to drive the hated Napoleonic invaders from sacred German soil”.¹²⁹ *Turnen*'s main goal was “national education and military readiness.”¹³⁰ By the

¹²⁷ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 290.

¹²⁸ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 290.

¹²⁹ Guttmann, *The Olympics; The History of the Modern Games*, 8.

¹³⁰ Arnd Krüger and James Riordan, *European Studies: European Cultures in Sport: Examining the Nations and Regions* (Bristol: Intellect, 2001), 69.

start of World War I, *Turnen* was the main form of physical activity taught in schools and boasted the largest number of sports organizations in Germany.¹³¹ However given *Turnen's* military purpose, the German defeat in World War I led to a decrease in the prominence of the exercise form and a rise in the popularity of the British conception of sport.¹³² Throughout the 1920s Weimar era sport increased in popularity and by 1928 when the Germans were invited back to the Olympics the Weimar government propelled German sport forward by investing in proper facilities.¹³³

By the 1930s German sport established itself as one of the elite athletic powers of the world. In the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics the Germans came in second behind the Americans.¹³⁴ The rise of the Nazis, called into question the future of German participation in international sports. Hitler's interest in sport prior to hosting the Olympics stemmed from racialized ideals of a German state. In *Mein Kampf*, he writes, "The State that is grounded on the racial principle and is alive to the significance of this truth will first of all have to base its educational work not on the mere imparting of knowledge but rather on physical training and development of healthy bodies."¹³⁵ Hitler believed the value of sport stemmed from its ability to create a physically strong "Aryan" German state. Hitler disliked the idea of pure "Aryans" competing with lesser races, and

¹³¹ Krüger et al., *European Studies*, 70.

¹³² Krüger et al., *European Studies*, 70.

¹³³ Krüger et al., *European Studies*, 71.

¹³⁴ Krüger et al., *European Studies*, 71.

¹³⁵ Hitler Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy (New York: Hurst and Blackett LTD., 1939), 337.

especially disliked the Olympics which he characterized as “a plot by freemasons and Jews.”¹³⁶

Once Hitler and the Nazis came to power in 1933 Theodor Lewald managed to obtain Hitler’s approval to move forward with the Olympic Games and Goebbels’ pledge to handle publicity for the Games personally.¹³⁷ The 1936 Berlin Olympics presented a unique propaganda opportunity for the Third Reich and the Nazis seized on it immediately. The Nazis started by inserting themselves into the planning process. Host governments of previous Olympics often cooperated with organizing committees, but the Nazis in 1936 surpassed cooperation and delved into the realm of cooptation. The Nazis assumed complete control of the planning operations. After news of Theodor Lewald’s Jewish ancestry came out the Nazis demoted him from his position on the Organizing Committee. However, after the protestations of the IOC, Lewald received a mostly ceremonial reinstatement. As a condition of continued participation “He [Lewald] signed a secret Interior Ministry document stating that while the GOC retained the authority to deal directly with the IOC, Germany’s Olympic organizers must defer to Reich officials ‘in all essential matters of policy’. The GOC’s ‘independence’ therefore, was purely for show.”¹³⁸ The Nazis successfully infiltrated the GOC and set Lewald up as a puppet to carry out the wishes of the Third Reich.

Despite the secrecy of the statement Lewald signed, the makeup of the GOC was a very visible indicator of the heavy involvement of the Nazis in the planning of the

¹³⁶ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 59.

¹³⁷ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 65.

¹³⁸ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 66.

Olympic Games. Of the 47 members of the Organizing Committee forty members came from a variety of governmental departments.¹³⁹ Six represented the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, five came from the Reich War Ministry (not including the many decorated members of the German military on the committee), four were from the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior, and the rest represented a variety of ministries from finance to transportation.¹⁴⁰ To compare, the Los Angeles Summer Olympics in 1932 boasted only 29 members on the Organizing Committee with zero members holding any sort of position within the federal government.¹⁴¹ The Organizing Committee for the 1932 Games consisted mostly of Los Angeles business leaders and attorneys motivated by a desire to develop the Los Angeles area. The most politically connected of the members previously held elected offices in the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.¹⁴² The Nazi government's insertion of government officials into the Organizing Committee gave the Nazis complete control over the planning process, an abnormality in the history of the Olympics prior to 1936.

Aside from creating a Nazi controlled Olympic organizing committee, Hitler "Aryanized" sport throughout Germany as well. Starting in 1933 sports clubs in Germany

¹³⁹ Anton Rippon, *Hitler's Olympics: The Story of the 1936 Nazi Games* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2006), 38.

¹⁴⁰ Carl Diem, Friedrich Richter, Fredy Budzinski, Frieder Körner, Wilhelm Reetz, and Fritz Wasner, *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report* (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1936), Vol. I, 34.

¹⁴¹ Gwynn Wilson and F.G. Browne, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Co., 1933), 27-28.

¹⁴² *Los Angeles Times*, "State Chamber Stresses Unity." September 10, 1932, <http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/163031000?accountid=10141>.

adopted the “Aryan paragraph,” a policy banning the membership of Jews.¹⁴³ The German Olympic team, like the private sports clubs, was no different. Hitler’s 1936 Games were meant to showcase the success and dominance of the “Aryan” race. Jews on the Olympic team ran counter to this goal. Despite giving assurances to the international community that German Jews would not be discriminated against in the formation of the Olympic team, only two Jews were accepted on the German Olympic team as a way to appease the international community. In an interview conducted by the USC Shoah Foundation, the Jewish high jumper Gretel Bergmann (now Margaret Lambert) recalls her experience on the German Olympic team. In the interview Bergman says that even though she was on the Olympic team she was barred from all the training facilities except for when the time came for Olympic trials.¹⁴⁴ The only other Jewish athlete on the Olympic team in the summer of 1936, and the only Jew allowed to compete in the Summer Games, was a fencer named Helene Mayer. The process of “Aryanization” in German sport is not in itself indicative of the Olympic movement in the postwar years. Rather, the success of the 1936 Olympic Games set a precedent of government involvement in Olympiads.

The 1936 Berlin Olympics created a trend of increased government intervention in the administration of sport and Olympic teams in the years that followed. While the infiltration of the Olympics by a government did not reach the level of extremity of the Nazis’ 1936 Games in each Olympiad, the same type of government involvement in the

¹⁴³ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 65.

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Lambert, interview by the USC Shoah Foundation, *USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, online video, <https://sfi.usc.edu/playlist/1936-berlin-olympics>.

success of a nation's Olympic athletes certainly became a common sight. The Nazis exercised the power of the government to control which athletes made the German Olympic team and push their racialized agenda through sport. A similar example of attempts by national governments to control sport within its borders and push a nationalistic agenda is the prevalence of state sponsored doping. National governments providing performance enhancing drugs to athletes, reflects the same effort to push a national agenda through government control of sport as the Nazis' "Aryanization" efforts in the 1930s. Spurred by the heightened feelings of nationalism following World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, the Olympics became another outlet for nations to assert their dominance on the world stage much like the proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam. One of the most extensive state doping efforts in Olympic history was the German Democratic Republic. Beginning around 1975 the German Democratic Republic systematically drugged an estimated 10,000 athletes over a number of years.¹⁴⁵ Many athletes did not know they were being given performance enhancing drugs, while others were forced into consuming the drugs.¹⁴⁶ Aside from the 1970s German Democratic Republic Olympic team, the Soviet Union and more generally, the whole Soviet-bloc, "actively promoted the use of performance enhancement" during the Cold War.¹⁴⁷

The presence of state sponsored doping was not simply isolated to the Cold War years. Most recently, a 2016 investigation into the Russian Olympic team revealed one of

¹⁴⁵ Thomas M. Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 39.

¹⁴⁶ Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008*, 39.

¹⁴⁷ Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008*, 39.

the most prolific doping cover up operations in Olympic History. The McLaren Report, the document reporting the findings of the official investigation found, “There was a program of doping and doping cover up in Russia, which may have been engaged in to enhance the image of Russia through sport. That doping manipulation and cover up of doping control processes was institutionalized through government officials... as well as sport official and coaches.”¹⁴⁸ Once again the desire to achieve nationalistic aims through domination in sport and the Olympic Games prompted government involvement in the development of Olympic teams. The propensity for extreme government control exerted over the development of a nation’s Olympic program originated in 1936 Berlin.

Another example of government manipulation of sport within its borders was the scandal surrounding the Chinese gymnastics team. Similar to the “Aryanization” and doping scandals, the Chinese government falsified the ages of gymnastic participants with the hope of gaining a leg up on the international competition. In the 2000 Sydney Olympics, the Chinese gymnast and bronze medalist, Yang Yun, provided documentation to Olympic Officials stating she was sixteen, the minimum age for gymnastic competition. Following the Games, Yun stated in an interview that she was only fourteen during the Sydney Games, and received instructions to lie about her age.¹⁴⁹ Records from before the 2000 Olympics supported Yun’s assertion. The Chinese gymnastics team age

¹⁴⁸ Richard H. McLaren, *The Independent Person 2nd Report*, (Montréal: World Anti-Doping Agency, 2016), Accessed April 13, 2017, https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/mclaren_report_part_ii_2.pdf.

¹⁴⁹ David Flumenbaum, “Scandal of the Ages: Documents Reveal Underage Chinese Gymnast,” *The Huffington Post*, September 14, 2008, accessed April 19, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-flumenbaum/scandal-of-the-ages-docum_b_118842.html.

suspicious surfaced again at the 2008 Beijing Olympics. In 2008 Olympic gymnastics officials raised questions about not just one Chinese participant, but three. Once again, the gymnasts' passports maintained they were sixteen, but given the falsification of Yun's records in 2000 many like, the lead women's gymnastics authority, Bela Karolyi, remained unconvinced.¹⁵⁰ The underage Chinese gymnastics team reflects the common desperate measures taken by a government to ensure success and nationalistic glory in the Olympic Games.

Government supervision and control of the Olympic planning process was another legacy of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Since 1936 many Olympic Games since have been coopted by governments eager to seize the unique propaganda opportunity the Olympic Games provide. An excellent case study of the trend can be seen from some of the Games of the new millennium. The 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics, despite the supposed independence of National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and Organizing Committees, turned into the passion project of Russia's authoritarian ruler, Vladimir Putin. From start to finish Putin and the Russian government played a large part in the entire Olympic process. The Russian President involved himself in every aspect from the selection of the desired host city, which typically was the responsibility of the NOC, to the construction of facilities.¹⁵¹ During the entire seven year process Putin did everything from advocate for Sochi with the IOC in the bid process to plan the construction of the Olympic venues.

¹⁵⁰ Flumenbaum, "Scandal of the Ages: Documents Reveal Underage Chinese Gymnast."

¹⁵¹ Neil Tweedie, "The Dark Side of Vladimir Putin's Winter Olympic Games," *The Telegraph*, February 1, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/winter-olympics/10610000/The-dark-side-of-Vladimir-Putins-Winter-Olympic-Games.html>.

Putin's involvement in the Olympic planning process stemmed from a desire for a "public relations triumph" to uplift Russia in the eyes of the international community. The Russian President's spare no expense attitude towards the Winter Games, along with allegations of the government skimming off the top of the Olympic funds, produced the most expensive Olympics ever.¹⁵² The supposed final tab came in at an estimated \$51 billion, with most of the expenses falling on the shoulders of Russian taxpayers.¹⁵³ The transformation of the 2014 Winter Games into Vladimir Putin's pet project presents an extremely blatant case of government involvement in the planning process of the Games.

Although not every national government went to such lengths as state sponsored doping or the coopting of the planning of the Games like in Sochi, government involvement could not be removed from the financing of the Olympic Games after 1936. Given the Olympic Games' increasing popularity following the 1936 Olympics, government involvement in the execution of the international event became an inextricable aspect of the Olympic Games. The climbing size and expenditures for the Olympic Games beginning in 1936 Nazis dramatically made the price of hosting the Olympic Games skyrocket after World War II. The increase in the cost of hosting made the monetary support of the national and city government crucial to financing the Olympic Games. From the period between 1956 and 1980 the national government provided significant funds to the Organizing Committees and increasingly took on more and more financial responsibility. In 1956 Melbourne hosted the XVIth Olympiad. The

¹⁵² Tweedie, "The Dark Side of Vladimir Putin's Winter Olympic Games."

¹⁵³ Jason Gaines, "Putin's \$51 Billion Sochi Plan Blew up in his Face," *Business Insider*, February 5, 2015, <http://www.businessinsider.com/putin-51-billion-dollar-sochi-olympics-2015-2>.

Organizing Committee secured a promise from the government of the Commonwealth and the State of Victoria to provide £200,000 for the Organizing Committee to use in case of a deficit. The amount the governments actually ended up contributing totaled £300,000.¹⁵⁴ The 1964 Tokyo Olympics secured funds from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government totaling approximately \$4,308,333 with some help from the National Treasury.¹⁵⁵ The cost of the Olympic Games continued to climb with national governments taking on a larger role in the financing of the Games. In the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games the Mexican government provided \$56,816,000 in subsidies to help finance the Olympics.¹⁵⁶ The 1976 Summer Olympics in Montréal were the height of government financial aid to the Olympic Games. Despite the Organizing Committee's promises to make the Montréal Games self-financing without dependence on the Canadian government to cover a deficit, the cost totaled \$1,596,000,000 and was the most expensive Olympiad up to 1976.¹⁵⁷ However, the revenue generated from the Games came in significantly under the about 1.5 billion dollar mark. After subtracting the revenue made from the Games the deficit totaled about 1 billion dollars.¹⁵⁸ The Canadian government ended up contributing \$142 million, not including the contributions from

¹⁵⁴ Edward A. Doyle, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVI Olympiad: Melbourne 1956* (Melbourne: W.M. Houston, 1956), 35.

¹⁵⁵ Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVIII Olympiad, *The Games of the XVIII Olympiad Tokyo 1964* (Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVIII Olympiad, 1964), Vol. I, part I, 46.

¹⁵⁶ José Rogelio Alvarez, *The Official Report 1968* (Mexico: The Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad), Vol. II pt. I, 24.

¹⁵⁷ Organizing Committee, *Montréal 1976 Official Report: Games of the XXI Olympiad Montréal 1976* (Ottawa: COJO 76, 1978), Vol. I, pt. I, 58.

¹⁵⁸ Organizing Committee, *Montréal 1976 Official Report: Games of the XXI Olympiad Montréal 1976*, Vol. I, pt. I, 58.

lower levels of government like, Québec and the City of Montréal, to the Olympic cause.¹⁵⁹ The total debt of the 1976 Games took thirty years to pay off completely.¹⁶⁰ The 1976 Montréal Olympic Games were the culmination of the worries about the unsustainability of the financial cost of the Olympic Games. Montréal caused the international community to question whether or not the rising costs of the Olympics could be sustained.

After Montréal, a new era of Olympic financing blossomed. The Olympics were given new life through commercialization. After 1976 the Games reached an impasse. Either the Organizing Committees found more ways to create revenue to finance the Olympic Games, or the costs of hosting would rise too dramatically thus decreasing the financial feasibility of any city hosting the Games. The Organizing Committee of the 1980 Moscow Games successfully budgeted and financed the Olympic Games with the Soviet government only financing infrastructure which was incorporated into the State Plan for the Development of the USSR National Economy.¹⁶¹ Although, it should be noted the cost of the desired infrastructure still incurred a high cost. While the 1980 Olympics reduced need for contributions from the government, the turning point in the financial history of the Olympic Games was the 1984 Olympiad in Los Angeles. Prior to securing the Olympic bid, the state government of California made clear it had no intention to cover any deficits created by the Olympic Games. In 1984 the Los Angeles

¹⁵⁹ Organizing Committee, *Montréal 1976 Official Report: Games of the XXI Olympiad Montréal 1976*, Vol. I, pt. I, 58.

¹⁶⁰ Boykoff location 2167.

¹⁶¹ Organizing Committee, *Games of the XXII Olympiad: Official Report of the Organising Committee of the Games of the XXII Olympiad Moscow* (Progress Publishers, 1981) Vol. II, pt. II, 492.

Olympic Committee managed to “hold an Olympic Games free of government financial involvement.”¹⁶² The costs of services provided by the state, local, or federal governments were all reimbursed by the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee resulting in zero costs absorbed by the government.¹⁶³ However, despite the lessening of financial burden placed on the national government of the host nation, logistical operations depended on government fronting labor. Also, various Olympic revenue sources still relied on government organizations to front the initial costs of revenue generating programs such as commemorative stamps, the minting of souvenir coins, and Olympic Lotteries.

Over the course of the Olympic history following the 1936 Olympics, government involvement in the Olympic Games took different forms such as controlling Olympic Team performance, planning and organizing the Olympic Games, and financing the growing international spectacle. The Nazis’ efforts to “Aryanize” German sport intensified the nationalistic spirit of the Olympic Games and increased the level of government investment in Olympic success. The measures taken by subsequent regimes like the German Democratic Republic, the USSR, China, Russia demonstrate the continuation of the ideology set forth with the “Aryanization” of German sport in the 1930s.

¹⁶² Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee(LAOOC), *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIInd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984* (Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, 1985), Vol. I pt. II, 313.

¹⁶³ LAOOC, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIInd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*, Vol. I, pt. II, 313.

The Games as Propaganda

Part of what separated the 1936 Olympics from its predecessors and connected 1936 with the rest of the century's Olympic Games was the Nazis' use of the Olympic Games as a giant propaganda opportunity. The Nazis' rise to power followed the selection of Berlin as the Olympic host. With the uncertainty displayed by the international community about the intentions and politics of the new regime in Germany, the 1936 Olympic Games provided the perfect opportunity to put international objections to rest. Hitler and the Nazis manipulated every aspect and every moment of the 1936 Games simultaneously to hide the rampant racial discrimination and to praise the strength of the "Aryan" Germans. The Nazis recognized the power of the Olympics as a legitimizing force within the international community. By successfully hosting and letting the world in to the German State the Nazis temporarily put to rest certain international concerns and gained political clout on the international stage. Throughout the Berlin Games the Nazis walked a very fine line between pushing a racial agenda and pretending one did not exist.

One of the Nazis' most striking uses of the public relations potential in the Olympics was to hide the reality of Jewish discrimination within the Nazi regime. From 1933, as evidenced by boycott efforts, the international community took great issue with the mistreatment of German Jews and other non- "Aryan" minorities. In response to the boycotts the Nazis continually reassured protesting nations, and eventually began the elaborate process of hiding signs of discrimination against German Jews from visiting foreigners in 1936.

One of the first propaganda efforts was the selection of “token Jews” to the German Olympic team to satisfy the IOC and the countries threatening boycott. The Nazis selected three Jewish athletes in an attempt to show the IOC the Nazis were addressing concerns of the international community and adhering to Olympic ideals. Rudi Ball, Helene Mayer, and Gretel Bergmann were the three Jewish athletes allowed on the Olympic team. Ball, a half-Jewish hockey player, competed in the Winter Games at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. In the case of Ball, the Nazis begrudgingly allowed him to participate because without him the German hockey team’s chance of medaling seriously declined.¹⁶⁴ Helene Mayer was a half-Jewish fencer who won a gold medal as a member of the German team in the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam.¹⁶⁵ Mayer’s mother was “Aryan” which meant she technically could still be considered a German citizen according to the Nuremberg Laws. The sports club she belonged to nonetheless expelled her for her Jewish ancestry.¹⁶⁶ The fencer physically looked like a model “Aryan” with her fair skin and blonde hair.¹⁶⁷ Mayer’s presence on the Olympic team was palatable enough to the Nazis to allow her to compete in the summer of 1936. The same was not true for Gretel Bergmann, a fully Jewish track runner living in exile in England. The Nazis selected Bergmann, the only fully Jewish athlete on the German Olympic Team, to respond to the external pressures from the IOC and appease boycotters in the United States, France, and Britain.¹⁶⁸ Bergmann’s opportunity to compete in the Olympics

¹⁶⁴ Large, *Nazi Games*, 87.

¹⁶⁵ Large, *Nazi Games*, 86.

¹⁶⁶ Large, *Nazi Games*, 86.

¹⁶⁷ Duff Hart-Davis, *Hitler’s Games*, (London: Century Hudson Ltd.,1986), 80.

¹⁶⁸ Margaret Lambert interview, USC Shoah Foundation.

however turned out to be nothing but a propaganda move to ensure participation from nations threatening to boycott. Even Bergmann's time spent on the Olympic team was marked with discrimination, breaking the promises of Lewald and Tschammer that Jewish athletes would receive equal opportunities. The Nazis even took away Bergmann's choice to participate. Bergmann had been "invited" to try out for the German Olympic Team in 1935 under threat of harm to her family in Germany if she chose not to participate.¹⁶⁹ The insincerity and propaganda driven inclusion of Jews in the Olympic Games was made apparent by Bergmann's performance at the Games. In the summer of 1936 Bergmann never made it on to the playing field. Bergmann was denied participation in German Olympic qualifying meets thus preventing her from making the Olympic team.¹⁷⁰ However, Bergmann did not know she had not qualified until the American Olympic Team began its journey to Berlin and Karl Ritter von Halt informed Bergmann. Halt cited "inadequate qualifying performance" as the reason for her inability to compete despite her first place finishes in practice trials.¹⁷¹ The Nazis used "token Jews" as propaganda tools to convince the international community that they had upheld their promises and to hide the reality of Jewish discrimination on the German Olympic Team.

The truly masterful propaganda feat executed by Hitler and the Nazis was the successful hiding of the commonplace anti-Semitic sentiments and visible signs of discrimination from international visitors in Berlin. The Nazis' test run for their propaganda efforts were the Winter Games at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. The Winter

¹⁶⁹ Margaret Lambert Interview, USC Shoah Foundation

¹⁷⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 77.

¹⁷¹ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 86.

Games commenced February 6, 1936 only about two months after the AAU settled the American participation question in an extremely close vote. Although the invitations had already been accepted to the Summer Games the success of the Garmisch-Partenkirchen Games was an opportunity for the Nazis to show the international community German Jews were not being persecuted, showcase the competency of the Nazi Regime, and create international confidence about the execution of the Summer Games. As one Bavarian official put it, “The whole world will assess the prospects for a successful Olympic year according to our preparations for the winter event.”¹⁷² Garmisch-Partenkirchen, a small town at the base of the Zugspitze mountain in Bavaria, did not escape the reach of the Nazis and was considered to be an especially anti-Semitic location. The town’s elected officials were enthusiastic members of the NSDAP and right before the Games the town of Garmisch-Partenkirchen passed a Jewish expulsion bill.¹⁷³ Aside from the Nazi party town officials the anti-Semitic publication *Der Stürmer* sat readily available in vending cases on public street corners and signs forbidding Jews from public spaces were displayed prominently throughout the town.¹⁷⁴ For example, one poster that hung in front of a Garmisch-Partenkirchen ski club read, “Admission of Jews is Forbidden.”¹⁷⁵ To prepare for the international visitors all signs like the one above were removed from buildings, businesses, and the newly built road from Munich to the mountain town.¹⁷⁶ Along with the signs the copies of *Der Stürmer* were removed from

¹⁷² Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympic Games of 1936*, 113.

¹⁷³ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 117.

¹⁷⁴ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 117.

¹⁷⁵ Rippon, *Hitler’s Olympics*, 72.

¹⁷⁶ Rippon, *Hitler’s Olympics*, 72.

the street and citizens and business owners were instructed to be cordial with all foreign guests, including Jewish foreigners. However, it should be noted that Hitler did not throw the weight of his authority into suppressing anti-Semitic feeling in Garmisch-Partenkirchen until the IOC president, Baillet-Latour pressured him to conform with Olympic principles.¹⁷⁷ Eventually, in order to appease tensions abroad Hitler stripped the town of Garmisch-Partenkirchen of any physical signs of anti-Semitism.

During the period of competition at Garmisch-Partenkirchen Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda controlled the German press. Not wanting any news getting out to the foreign press that would taint the perception of the Games, members of the German press were instructed to write of nothing but the athletic competitions.¹⁷⁸ Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda further regulated the media by approving which images taken by German photographers could be distributed to the international press.¹⁷⁹ To ensure the foreign press gathered no stories of Nazi anti-Semitism, all Nazi officials were on their best behavior. The good behavior originated from the top of the Third Reich. In the opening ceremony of the Winter Games, Hitler showed surprising self-restraint and limited his opening speech to the single customary line, "I hereby declare these Fourth Winter Games, held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, open."¹⁸⁰ Hitler, other high ranking Nazis, and SS troops stationed around Garmisch-Partenkirchen avoided any overtly political or inflammatory actions so the foreign press, especially the Americans, did not have anything to write home about. For the most part, most international members of the

¹⁷⁷ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 120.

¹⁷⁸ Rippon, *Hitler's Olympics*, 76.

¹⁷⁹ Rippon, *Hitler's Olympics*, 76.

¹⁸⁰ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 126.

press reported nothing but wonderful feelings about what the Nazis put together in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Frank Birchall, a reporter for the *New York Times* wrote, “There is probably no tourist here who will not go home averring that unmilitaristic, hospitable and tolerant country in Europe and that all the foreign correspondents stationed here are liars.”¹⁸¹ The VIP treatment shown to the foreign press, complete with wining and dining, must have also helped give international reporters a positive experience.¹⁸² Not all reporters were quite as taken with Nazi Germany as Birchall. Specifically the Austrian press held a much more critical view of the Games with one reporter asserting, “In many respects the organization here has failed entirely.”¹⁸³ Although there were critical accounts of the Fourth Winter Olympiad from the likes of the American journalist and Nazi critic Will Shirer, the overall feeling after the Garmisch-Partenkirchen Games was one of success. Despite the warnings that the Nazis simply covered up their abuses temporarily from Shirer and others, headlines praising the Garmisch-Partenkirchen Games like, “Olympics a Gay Show; The Tall Bavarian Mountains are an Ideal Setting for the Winter Games,” pervaded the international press.¹⁸⁴ Going into the Summer Olympics in Berlin the Third Reich felt confident about their propaganda efforts in February, the international acceptance of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, and the Nazi regime.

¹⁸¹ Frederick Birchall, “Crowded Program at the Games Keeps Garmisch Visitors on Jump,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1936.
<http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/101880851?accountid=10141>

¹⁸² Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 142.

¹⁸³ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 142.

¹⁸⁴ Albion Ross, “Olympics a Gay Show,” *New York Times*, Feb 09, 1936,
<http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/101703071?accountid=10141>.

Hitler displayed just how assured he felt by the international community when he blatantly breached the Treaty of Versailles and remilitarized the Rhineland in March of 1936.

When the time came for the 1936 Berlin Olympics the Nazis were experienced in hiding Jewish persecution from international visitors. Very similar to the Fourth Winter Olympiad in Garmisch-Partenkirchen all visible indicators of discrimination were removed from public spaces where an international audience could potentially see. Once again Hitler ordered all the anti-Semitic signs on the streets to be taken down.¹⁸⁵ He ordered the German press to cease printing any anti-Semitic content for the duration of the Games. *Der Stürmer* once again was removed from newsstands and the Nazi regime gave the German press a directive ordering “The racial point of view should not be used in any way in reporting sports results; above all Negroes should not be insensitively reported.”¹⁸⁶

When the Third Reich was not trying to downplay or erase anti-Semitism it was trying to promote the vitality and success of the Nazis and the “Aryan race”. The 1936 Berlin Olympics exalted the Nazi regime. From start to finish the Olympic Games explicitly tried to link the “Aryan” Germans to the ancient Greeks in physique, culture, and success. The Olympic torch relay was one tool used to not so subtly equate the glory of the ancient Greeks to the “Aryan” race. Created by Carl Diem, the Olympic Torch

¹⁸⁵ Ellen Brandt, interview with the USC Shoah Foundation, *USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, online video, <https://sfi.usc.edu/playlist/1936-berlin-olympics>.

¹⁸⁶ Susan D. Bachrach, Edward J. Phillips, Steven Luckert, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.), 84.

relay began on the site of the ancient festival in Olympia, Greece and ended in the Reich Sport Field in Berlin. Symbolically the relay represented the passing of the torch of high civilization from the ancient Greeks to “Aryan” Germans. The event provided another way for the Nazis to display their superiority through propaganda.

The Opening Ceremonies of the 1936 Olympics, previously an international celebration of the collection of nations, turned into a ritualistic display honoring Hitler and the Nazi party. As one newspaper headline noted the, “Fuehrer Key Man in Olympic Show.”¹⁸⁷ Before Hitler’s arrival into the stadium broadcasters updated the masses gathered for miles outside the stadium with news like, “We await the Fuehrer every moment. Never would this great field have been erected except for the Fuehrer. It was created by his will.”¹⁸⁸ Hitler continued receiving godlike treatment throughout the rest of the ceremony from the excited spectators. As Hitler entered the stadium the chorus of “heils” drowned out the sound of the broadcasters.¹⁸⁹ When the “new Caesar of this era” entered the stadium spectators leapt to their feet “with their arms outstretched and voices raised in frantic greeting.”¹⁹⁰ Finally, when the time came for the customary Parade of Nations, once again the focus was diverted from the Olympic teams to the Führer. As the Olympic teams marched through the stadium carrying the flags of their respective nations

¹⁸⁷ *New York Times*, “Fuehrer Key Man in Olympics,” August 2, 1936, <http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/101788727?accountid=10141>.

¹⁸⁸ *New York Times*, “Fuehrer Key Man in Olympics.”

¹⁸⁹ *New York Times*, “Fuehrer Key Man in Olympics.”

¹⁹⁰ Frederick Birchall, “100,000 Hail Hitler; U.S. Athletes Avoid Nazi Salute to Him,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1936, <http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/101787503?accountid=10141>.

confusion ensued as athletes gave the “Olympic salute,” which looked very similar to the *Hitler-Gruss*. Despite the intention of the athletes, some of which may actually have been saluting Hitler, the mostly German crowd interpreted the gestures as an homage to Hitler and Germany.¹⁹¹ In response to each saluting nation the crowd roared and cheered in approval of the international salutatory recognition.¹⁹² In the official report of the Berlin Olympic Games images reveal the crowds enthusiastic reaction in response to the Parade of Nations. One image captures a sea of people in the stadium raising their right hands out in front of their bodies in an enthusiastic salute with the caption, “The flag of every nation was greeted in this manner.”¹⁹³ As a result of the crowd’s enthusiasm and the purposeful programming of the event, the Opening Ceremony transformed into a nationalistic fanfare in celebration of the Third Reich supported by the enthusiasm of most of the visiting nations.

Aside from the bombastic and nationalistic reactions of the crowd of over 100,000 people gathered in the Reich Sport Field, the German Organizing Committee, controlled by the Nazi party, meticulously planned the programming of the ceremony to control the narrative surrounding the Third Reich.¹⁹⁴ For example, the first ever torch lighting at the end of the torch relay was perfectly timed to coincide with the end of the performance of the *Olympic Hymn*. Just as the original composition by one of Germany’s greatest living composers, Richard Strauss, produced its final notes, Fritz Schilgen entered the

¹⁹¹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 148.

¹⁹² Birchall, “100,000 Hail Hitler.”

¹⁹³ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, Vol. I, 561.

¹⁹⁴ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, Vol. I, 547.

stadium.¹⁹⁵ Schilgen, a tall, lanky, blond-hair, and blue-eyed runner ran across the stadium, climbed the stage, and set ablaze the tripod built to hold the Olympic flame the next sixteen days.¹⁹⁶ The tripod, fashioned after the common ancient Greek piece of furniture often used for sacrificial purposes, hearkened back the ancient origins of the revived Games.¹⁹⁷ Schilgen's final run was a physical representation of the "Aryan" race as the torchbearers of civilization in the modern world, much like the Greeks in the ancient world. Another example of purposeful propaganda messages in the opening ceremonies was the GOC's decision to assign the task of organizing the Parade of Nations to a Wehrmacht major practiced in choreographing military reviews in Berlin.¹⁹⁸ The selection of an experienced military organizer ensured the ceremony was executed impeccably to further the perception of national socialism as a superior form of government able to compete with Western democracy and mobilize the masses. This narrative would later be played out during Olympic competition. The opening ceremonies were even used to soften Hitler's image. Upon entering the stadium, a small blond child approached the Führer and presented him with a bouquet of flowers, which he eagerly accepted.¹⁹⁹ Even the seemingly spontaneous and precious moment was orchestrated by the organizers. The five year old child was none other than the daughter of the GOC general secretary Carl Diem.²⁰⁰ For the Nazis, every second of the opening ceremonies

¹⁹⁵ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 198.

¹⁹⁶ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 136.

¹⁹⁷ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, Vol. I, 120.

¹⁹⁸ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 194.

¹⁹⁹ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, Vol. I, 547.

²⁰⁰ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympic Games of 1936*, 194.

presented an opportunity to show the world a purposefully edited version of the Third Reich.

Olympic competition itself became a battlefield of ideologies. The participation of non-“Aryans” in the Olympic Games presented an opportunity for the international community to challenge the Nazi assertion of “Aryan” superiority. The most popular figure often used to point to the defeat of Nazi ideology in the Olympic Games is Jesse Owens. The African-American track runner won four gold medals at the 1936 Berlin Games.²⁰¹ Along with Owens, seventeen other African Americans competed in 1936 with many medaling in their events.²⁰² The other demographic that challenged Hitler’s master race ideology was Jewish athletes. Nine Jewish athletes in total received Olympic medals in 1936, including Helene Mayer, the only German-Jew to compete on the German Olympic team in the Summer Games.²⁰³ While the non-“Aryan” competitors performed well in the 1936 Summer Games and presented a challenge to Nazi racial ideology, many have gone too far by saying the success of Jesse Owens and other minority athletes completely invalidated the Nazis’ racial claims. In the end, despite the strong performances from minorities, Germany walked away from Berlin with the highest total medal count and gold medal count.²⁰⁴ The success of the German Olympic team in

²⁰¹ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, Vol. I, 622.

²⁰² “African American Athletes,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed April 20, 2017, https://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/olympics/?content=aa_athletes&lang=en.

²⁰³ “The Nazi Olympics Berlin 1936,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed April 18, 2017,

<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005680>.

²⁰⁴ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, 290.

athletic competition, despite the success of minorities, acted as another form of propaganda asserting “Aryan” superiority.

Finally, perhaps the piece of propaganda from the 1936 Olympic Games that truly stood the test of time was the state sponsored film, *Olympia*, created by the famed director, Leni Riefenstahl. The two part, almost four-hour long documentary captured all the exciting moments of the Berlin Games, but also perpetuated the same tropes promoted by the Nazis throughout the Games. The opening scene lasted approximately fifteen minutes long and exalted the cultural and athletic accomplishments of the ancient Greeks. The sweeping panoramic shots moving through the ruins of Olympia and the insertion of famous Greek sculptures throughout gave an air of admiration and nostalgia for the glory of the ancient Greek civilization. The scene continued with the transformation of the famous Discobolus statue from marble into a live male athlete which highlighted the beauty of the superior physicality of the ancient Greek Olympians.²⁰⁵ Riefenstahl then transitioned from the celebration of the human form to the lighting of the Olympic torch in the ruins of Olympia. From Olympia, Riefenstahl followed the Olympic torch relay on its journey through Europe, all the way into the Reich Sport Field where the Olympic Flame was ignited. The whole elaborate display emphasized what was already noted about the torch relay. Riefenstahl during the opening scene created a direct comparison between the ancient Greeks and Nazi Germany as the culturally, physically, and politically superior civilization of their respective times. The rest of the documentary showed footage from the opening ceremonies, the athletic

²⁰⁵ Leni Riefenstahl, *Olympia*, Video, directed by Leni Riefenstahl (1938; Germany: Tobis Müller, 1938.), YouTube.

competition, and the closing ceremonies. While the rest of the content of *Olympia* was not nearly as symbolic as the opening scene, the film showed a well-executed, successful, and joyful Olympic Games put on by the Nazis. The film *Olympia*, paid for by the Nazis, was created as a way of immortalizing the glory and success of Nazi Germany in the 1936 Berlin Olympics for years to come.

All the effort the Nazis exerted towards presenting Germany under the Third Reich as a thriving, successful, and peaceful state ultimately succeeded. The prevailing attitude of foreign visitors leaving Berlin was overwhelmingly positive. Members of the IOC walked away from Berlin praising Hitler's Germany as great agent of Olympism, and Avery Brundage even hailed the Berlin Games as the "best ever."²⁰⁶ Average spectators also returned back to their home countries with similar sentiments. In some cases, international visitors seemed quite smitten with the act the German state presented to them in Berlin. One journalist working for the *Los Angeles Times* enthusiastically reported, "From the sun-bronzed blond frauleins of the suburbs to the highest government officials including Der Fuehrer Adolph Hitler himself, all the ladies and gentlemen of the German capital have put a new meaning into the word hospitality and set up a new Olympic record for official and unofficial parties."²⁰⁷ Hitler and the Nazis' achieved their lofty goals for the Summer Olympiad. Not only were visitors impressed with the "social achievement of the German nation" in the three short years since the Nazis came to

²⁰⁶ Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1939*, 317.

²⁰⁷ Sylva S. Weaver, "Brilliant Parade of Parties Delight Angelenos with Olympic Hospitality," *Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 1936, <http://ccl.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/164677819?accountid=10141>.

power, but many left Berlin believing the truth about the Nazis could not be as bad as the rumors asserted.²⁰⁸ The success of the Nazi propaganda efforts uncovered the potential power within the Olympic Games themselves to be a tool for propaganda.

Similar to the 1936 Berlin Games, the Olympiads following frequently used the Olympic Games very intentionally to convey a specific narrative. The Games continually were used to make a statement to the international community, or a nation's own people, but the most elaborate of the propaganda campaigns in the wake of 1936 were the 2008 Beijing Games. The heavily involved Chinese government used hosting the Olympics as an opportunity to show the Western world the validity of their ideology and way of life. Similar to the Germans in 1936, the Chinese government spared no expense for the execution of the largest international festival to ever be held on Chinese soil.²⁰⁹ The \$40 billion bill reveals just how invested the Chinese government was in the success of the Olympic Games. One consistent criticism Beijing continually faced during the bid process was the issue of air-pollution. In a response to the international community's worries, the Chinese government spent approximately \$20.5 billion to clear out the air pollution in the city.²¹⁰ The massive reallocation of resources to deal with the long standing pollution problem right before the Olympic Games was all a part of the Chinese government's efforts to sell a narrative of China as a developed nation on par with Western metropolises, clean-air and all. Finally, in an ultimate exertion of government

²⁰⁸ Hart-Davis, *Hitler's Games*, 228.

²⁰⁹ Tom Ecker, "Olympic Pride: Nationalism at the Berlin and Beijing Games," *Harvard International Review*, November 10, 2014, <http://hir.harvard.edu/olympic-pride-nationalism-at-the-berlin-and-beijing-games/>.

²¹⁰ Ecker, "Olympic Pride: Nationalism at the Berlin and Beijing Games."

control of the Games, in an attempt to make the Beijing Games as pleasant as possible, the Chinese government used the weather as a tool of propaganda. To avoid the forecast of rain at the Opening Ceremonies, the Chinese government used its Weather Modification Program to disperse rain clouds before they had a chance to quite literally, rain on China's parade.²¹¹ China's meticulous attention to every detail, down to every last rain drop, was meant to show the world the glory of the great nation of China, one of the world's leading economic powers, but also a nation of great culture and national pride. The great fanfare and extravagance of the whole Olympic Games in Beijing exalted Chinese nationalism and the narrative of China as a harmonious "green" nation distracted from human rights violations. The Summer Olympics in Beijing served a similar purpose as the 1936 Olympics. The Games provided the Chinese government an opportunity to "come out" to the world and sculpt the narrative surrounding China through the Olympics, much like the new Nazi regime accomplished in the 1936 Berlin Olympics.

With the heightened sense of nationalism established in 1936 followed by the Cold War era, governments became more invested in the performance of national Olympic teams. Through various methods of controlling Olympic outcomes and perpetuating selected messages through the propaganda potential of the Games, national governments developed a new arena through which to exert national dominance.

²¹¹ Ecker, "Olympic Pride: Nationalism at the Berlin and Beijing Games."

Chapter 3: Technology and Media

The 1936 Berlin Olympics were the first truly modern Olympics because the organizers made use of the emerging technological advancements and media of the day as no one had before, completely changing the precedent for how successful Olympics operated. In preparation for the 1936 Games the German Olympic Committee (GOC) members focused on engineering new technologies to facilitate the events. The Nazis also contributed to technological innovations through the backing of Leni Riefenstahl's film, *Olympia*, which pioneered advancements in sports photography that subsequently shaped how sporting events were captured on film and in photographs. In conjunction with new technologies created for the Games, the Nazis used existing technologies to launch an Olympic media and advertising effort of unparalleled scale, which has since grown. The attitude of the Nazi regime towards the Olympic Games, and the position of the Games in an age of unprecedented technological growth placed the German state in a particularly favorable position to use the momentum of the time and place to accelerate the Olympics toward a new, modern, technological standard.

To understand the Nazis' advancement of the Olympic Games into the modern era one must understand the context within which the Berlin Olympics fell. The late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century technological innovations changed the way the world functioned. Coming off the Second Industrial Revolution and World War I, Europeans had changed at a rate more rapid than any other previous time period. In the fifty or so years leading up to the Games at Berlin new technologies irrevocably altered human perceptions of time and space and how humans interact with others. For example, with the invention of the telephone human perception of time and space shrunk, as

physical distance and time were no longer barriers to communication. However, in 1936 the new possibilities resulting from the technological advancement had not yet been fully realized outside the context of war. The advent of World War I in Europe pushed technology further than ever before as national leaders invested resources into research and development so as not to be put at a disadvantage on the battlefield. The 1936 Olympic Games combined the technological innovations of the previous fifty years and an international event to create the first instance of a mass global spectacle. The Nazis with their expert organization and propensity for propaganda were given an opportunity at a very favorable moment in time. Their advantageous position allowed them to bring together the technological advancement of the age and their propaganda machine to create the first truly modern event of the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Technology

The technological equipment the Germans utilized and created specifically for the 1936 Games marked the beginning of the modern reliance on technology to facilitate the Olympics. In preparation for the Games the GOC, under the supervision of the Nazi government, endeavored to update previous technology to accommodate an event the size of the Olympics.²¹² The organizers first tackled improving upon technological equipment already in existence in order to enhance the experience of the over 100,000 spectators the newly constructed Olympic Stadium could accommodate.²¹³ Specifically, with such a large venue, the need arose to develop loud speakers that “would not produce interior

²¹² Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 87-8.

²¹³ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 141.

echoes” in the stadium.²¹⁴ The solution originated in the research and development departments of the German electrical industry, which revamped the loudspeakers created for the Nuremberg rallies to service an even larger crowd.²¹⁵ The German state also spearheaded innovations with the purpose of improving the facilitation of the athletic competitions. In previous Olympics the scoring and timekeeping relied solely on human objectivity and competency. In order to decrease the possibility of errors in the often contentious and highly emotional Olympic events, the government entity, *Physikalisch Technische Bundesanstalt*, developed multiple new technological devices for use in the 1936 Games. One such innovation was a camera sophisticated enough to reliably capture what would now be aptly named “photo finishes” in track and swimming events.²¹⁶ Another was a very early computerized scoreboard used in diving events that displayed the final marks of the judges.²¹⁷ Finally, the GOC commissioned the creation of an electric hit registering apparatus for fencing. The new pressure sensitive electrical system more accurately recorded the hits a human judge may have missed during the fast paced series of lunges and parries characteristic of fencing.²¹⁸ The equipment produced for the 1936 Games reflected the type of technology the Olympic Games have depended on since 1936.

One aspect of the Nazis’ 1936 Olympics that distinguishes the Berlin Games as a distinctly modern spectacle was the use of radio broadcasting. By 1936 the Nazi regime

²¹⁴ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 87.

²¹⁵ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 87-8.

²¹⁶ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 88.

²¹⁷ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 88.

²¹⁸ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 141.

was well acquainted with the medium of radio. Hitler and Joseph Goebbels in the Ministry of Propaganda quickly realized the power of radio broadcasting, and from the very start of the Nazi regime in 1933 the government used the effective tool to disseminate party propaganda. For example, Goebbels commissioned and distributed the *Volksempfänger* (people's receiver), an inexpensive radio set; so all German people could afford to access governmental broadcasts.²¹⁹ While some may argue the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles was a modern sized event that preceded the Berlin Games, the argument is difficult to support as the Los Angeles Games ignored broadcasting technologies like radio.²²⁰ The organizers of the Berlin Olympics were the first to use radio expertly to promote the competition in the years before the Olympic Games as well as to keep the world enthralled in each moment of the Games as they progressed. Before the games even started radio broadcasts aired throughout the world. The German Broadcasting Company created a radio program entitled *Olympia*, designed to educate the listener about the history of the modern Olympic Games, different types of Olympic sports, and provide helpful tips for those interested in visiting Berlin.²²¹ The media coverage during the Games was even more extensive than the broadcasting leading up to the two weeks of competition. Not only was live radio broadcasting a new form of media at the Olympics, but the scale of the operation reached an unparalleled number of people throughout the world. Over the duration of the Games, over 3,000 transmissions were made during the

²¹⁹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 248.

²²⁰ David Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2016), 154.

²²¹ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 338.

Games to forty different countries.²²² The estimated number of listeners reached over 300 million people.²²³ The number of people around the world engaged in the real time updates of the Games in 1936 was on a scale now commonplace to Games in the latter half of the century. Rather than only those fortunate enough to travel to the Olympic venues being able to follow the Olympics in real time, after 1936 millions of people accessed real time updates. While the Berlin Olympics were no 2016 Rio Olympics which boasted reports of half of the world's population tuning into Olympic coverage, the radio technology implemented by GOC with the help of the German Broadcasting Company, was the first significant step towards the type of visibility achieved by the Rio Games.²²⁴

The logistical challenge of creating the infrastructure to accommodate the volume of radio broadcasting during the Games presented another technological hurdle the Nazis had to overcome. The Nazis were well acquainted with domestic radio broadcasting, but the Olympics forced the Nazis to figure out how to organize and technologically support the large number of international broadcasters they expected to host at the Olympics. Preparations to equip the Olympic facilities began months in advance of the Summer Games. The GOC only chose the best radio broadcasters in Germany due to the complications incurred by the packed programming of the Games. In order to successfully broadcast all the events, a lot of which occurred simultaneously, the

²²² Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 154.

²²³ Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 146.

²²⁴ "How do we Know that Rio 2016 was a Success," International Olympic Committee, last modified December 6, 2016, <https://www.olympic.org/news/how-do-we-know-that-rio-2016-was-a-success>.

announcers underwent several months of training “in transmitting national and international sporting events.”²²⁵ During the Games at any given time during the radio broadcasts around 15 to 20 announcers of the German Radio sat poised at their microphones waiting for their cue to begin.²²⁶ In order to accommodate the large numbers of foreign broadcasters flocking to Berlin, 68 transmission facilities were built at various locations around the city.²²⁷ The central convergence point of the 68 remote stations, nicknamed the “40-Countries Exchange, was built in the Olympic Stadium under the “Führer’s loge [sic].”²²⁸ From the inside of the 40-Countries Exchange hundreds of employees worked constantly sending transmissions received from the remote stations to forty-one different broadcasting companies, which served forty different countries in 50 different languages.²²⁹ To accommodate the large number of transmissions the German Broadcasting Company developed a switch board twenty-one meters long with 10,000 contacts, designed to receive every transmission from the 1936 Games.²³⁰ The massive logistics operation needed to reach the 300 million listeners emphasizes the sophistication of the operation and illustrates that the radio technology used and improved by the Nazis turned the Games into a truly modern global spectacle.

Finally, one of the most significant, but least successful technological advances of the Berlin Games was live television broadcasting. The 1936 Berlin Olympics were the

²²⁵ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 335.

²²⁶ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 335.

²²⁷ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 336.

²²⁸ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 336.

²²⁹ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 336.

²³⁰ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 336.

first live televised sporting events.²³¹ Yet the broadcasts in 1936 were minimal as personal television sets were not available to the average consumer around the world. Still, the events were broadcast to twenty-five different locations around the city of Berlin including the Olympic Village where the athletes could watch the events through their remote television set.²³² Even though the Nazis were at the forefront of television technology their equipment was still very primitive and the quality of the broadcasts left much to be desired. In order to broadcast live events fifteen kilometers of television cables had to be installed in the Reich Sport Field and only four sites were equipped with the television cameras used to broadcast.²³³ Although the Nazis did not create a very sophisticated television broadcast operation they were successful in exposing the potential of the new platform. Despite the poor optics, the television rooms throughout the city were packed with viewers anxious to watch the broadcasts. Obtaining a seat in the television rooms was almost as competitive as securing a seat in the Olympic stadium.²³⁴ The Reichspost, which oversaw the initiative, estimated after the end of the Games that approximately 162,228 people had watched the Olympic telecasts.²³⁵ After 1936 television became an inseparable part of the Olympic Games. In the very next Olympiad, in London 1948, the British earned the distinction of broadcasting to the first home television.²³⁶ Since 1948 television became one of the leading ways people around

²³¹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 138.

²³² Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 251.

²³³ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 342.

²³⁴ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 252.

²³⁵ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 252.

²³⁶ "London 1948," International Olympic Committee, accessed April 20, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/london-1948>.

the world consume the Olympic Games. Despite the limitations of the 1936 Berlin Games' television broadcasts, the Nazis and the GOC demonstrated the possibilities of the new platform and introduced the revolutionary technology to the Olympic Games and the modern era.

Sports Photography and Video

Sports photography and the dynamic recording of sports in film, today an integral part of all sporting events, was a unique development in 1936 propelled forward by Nazi propensity for spectacle and the innovations of Leni Riefenstahl in her documentary *Olympia* (1938). The work done by Riefenstahl produced new methods for capturing sports in photographs and motion pictures that provided the foundation for modern sports photography. Historian Richard Mandell characterizes the advancements pioneered by Riefenstahl when he writes, "To say that sports cinematography was in its infancy before 1936 is metaphorically as well as factually inaccurate, since self-conscious sports cinematography was introduced to the world by Leni Riefenstahl."²³⁷ Previous undertakings to film sport had been well received and piqued an interest in using motion picture cameras to capture athletic contests. The first instance of sports recorded on film came from the 1908 London Games where a newsreel company captured the dramatic finish of the marathon runner Dorando Pietri.²³⁸ In the short film of the controversial finish, the exhausted Pietri crosses the finish line while being physically supported by Olympic officials before he completely collapses. The footage reproduced the drama and

²³⁷ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 258.

²³⁸ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympic*, 154.

excitement of athletic competition and showed that sports and cinematography could produce a good pairing. Prior to Riefenstahl, the Americans in 1932 made an attempt to produce a film about the Los Angeles Games, but the project never materialized.²³⁹ Despite previous attempts, Riefenstahl was at the forefront of the budding film industry. Only about seven years prior to the making of *Olympia* did “talking pictures,” or films with sound, come into existence.²⁴⁰ While Mandell discredits all work before Riefenstahl’s, Mandell certainly is correct in the spirit of his words, as Leni Riefenstahl’s documentary was a defining work of sports cinematography that pioneered new methods to capture the fast paced nature of sports like never before, updated variations of which are still used today.

Riefenstahl’s innovative techniques, quality of image, volume of footage, and meticulous editing put her work in a completely different category and class than any previous sports cinematography endeavor. After her documentary about the 1934 Nuremberg rally, titled *Triumph of Will*, the Nazi government, Riefenstahl received a lot of attention from the Nazis, especially the Führer himself. Deeply impressed by her work, Hitler asked her to direct another documentary chronicling the 1936 Olympics. The idealized purpose of the documentary, as Riefenstahl recounts in her memoirs, was for the film to communicate the great ancient ideals of the Olympic Games.²⁴¹ On December 1, 1935, Leni Riefenstahl signed a contract with the Ministry of Propaganda committing herself to the ambitious task of creating a documentary of the Eleventh Olympic

²³⁹ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 155.

²⁴⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 258.

²⁴¹ Riefenstahl, *The Sieve of Time; The Memoirs of Leni Riefenstahl* (London: Quartet Books Limited, 1992), 168.

Games.²⁴² In her contract Riefenstahl acquired what no other press photographer or reporter had ever possessed. On top of very generous government financing of her project, she was given close to unlimited access to all of the Olympic venues.²⁴³ The “up close and personal” access allowed Riefenstahl to capture athletic competition in more detail than anyone previously, but it also presented unique challenges to the young director. Riefenstahl devised new methods to shoot the fast-paced sports competition with early film equipment that was usually anything but portable. Once given the contract, Riefenstahl set to work building a skilled crew of eighty cameramen and assistants and started strategizing the logistics to tackle the enormous undertaking.²⁴⁴ In the year leading up to the Olympics Riefenstahl and her crew tested and devised new equipment, and trained for months to successfully shoot with it. Just to learn how to capture the diving sequences alone her crew had to train for six months with specialty lenses.²⁴⁵

Although some of her innovations were not allowed on the day of the actual Games out of concern for the well-being of the athletes, the final product was groundbreaking in sports photography. One example of such innovations were the camera dugouts Riefenstahl shoveled out next to the jumping pits and the sprinting tracks. The gutters were used to procure low angle action shots of the track and field athletes. However, after Jesse Owens almost fell into one of the pits, most of them had to be filled.²⁴⁶ Other innovations created for *Olympia* were more successful, like the camera

²⁴² Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 298.

²⁴³ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 298.

²⁴⁴ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 259.

²⁴⁵ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 259.

²⁴⁶ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 300.

one of Riefenstahl's crew created to capture underwater shots in swimming and dive events.²⁴⁷ Riefenstahl also expertly devised new methods for shooting track events that eliminated a cameraman and allowed the camera to move alongside the athletes. Also for the track and field events, she created a rail system that made it possible for a camera without an operator to move alongside a sprinter and capture the race to the finish.²⁴⁸ Similarly, at the rowing events, she ordered a one hundred meter platform constructed adjacent to the rowing course near the finish line on which she placed a car that towed an automatic camera to capture the final exciting legs of the races.²⁴⁹ The various apparatuses, angle, and lenses created by Leni Riefenstahl guided the development of sports photography at the Olympics, and in all of sport.

The access granted to Riefenstahl and her crew at the 1936 Olympics put the sports photographer closer than ever before. Instead of providing a snap shot of the audience's view, Riefenstahl and her resulting *Olympia* produced a perspective that no spectator could have obtained while at the Games. The advancement of sports photography from a spectator snapshot to images and videos that provides an otherwise unattainable vantage point is a defining quality of modern sports photography. Mandell eloquently describes the difference between the modern sports photography Riefenstahl helped pioneer and the era before, when he describes previous attempts at sports cinematography, "One saw athletic events as though he were an astigmatic, myopic, palsied spectator in the stands."²⁵⁰ The new artistic and stylized portrayal of sport and

²⁴⁷ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 299.

²⁴⁸ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 300.

²⁴⁹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 300.

²⁵⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 258.

athletics created by Riefenstahl fit beautifully in the Nazi's world of the aestheticization of politics and all other aspects of "Aryan" German life.

Media and Advertising:

Prior to the 1936 Olympic Games media and advertising played a trivial part in the planning and execution of the international spectacle. In most of the previous Olympics the main venue used to advertise the Games and cover them as they unfolded were newspapers and magazine spots. Preceding Games had been successful in attracting hundreds and eventually thousands of journalists, including a large number of international reporters accredited all over the world. As early as the 1912 Stockholm Olympics 445 reporters were present at the Games and over fifty percent of them hailed from outside of Sweden.²⁵¹ The numbers of journalists present at the international Games only grew and by 1928, Amsterdam hosted around one thousand journalists, including many from non-European nations. At the 1932 Games in Los Angeles the Americans ramped up the media effort surrounding the Olympics surpassing any of the previous Games. Organizers of the Los Angeles Games succeeded in drawing the largest crowd in the short Olympic history. The first matter the organizers saw to was the creation of a press department solely for the purpose of promoting the 1932 Games, which assembled a list of approximately 6,000 foreign periodicals with which the Committee sent out bi-weekly bulletins of the Organizers' progress.²⁵² In addition to frequent bulletin's the Organizing created an official publication titled, "Olympic," some editions of which were

²⁵¹ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 152.

²⁵² Gwynn et al., *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official Report*, 210.

published in four languages.²⁵³ Aside from various publications the Organizing Committee produced, Los Angeles also made efforts to entice journalists to make the trek to Southern California. During the years of preparation for the 1932 Games, several hundred journalists visited the LA Press Department.²⁵⁴ Los Angeles was also the first Olympic event to really embrace communication technology by outfitting Olympic facilities with telephones and telegraphs for reporters' use, thus making international coverage of the Games an easier task for traveling newspaper reporters.²⁵⁵ Finally, the creation of an organized ticket selling operation provided more people than ever the opportunity to take part in the Olympic Games. The Los Angeles Organizers lowered the price of tickets and created a sales office equipped with phone in order to make the Olympics accessible to a broader range of people. The strategies of the Los Angeles Organizers successfully created excitement for the Olympiad and enticed more people than ever to the Games.

While the 1932 Games had impressive media coverage and advertising efforts on a larger scale than any Olympics before, the Germans made Los Angeles Organizers' efforts look minimal in comparison. At the Berlin Games the German's use of media and advertising far exceeded any previous undertakings in scale and international reach. Fueled by the need to bring a large number of people to the 1936 Games to offset the incredible cost of hosting and show the superior prowess of German people to the rest of the world, the Germans mobilized an unprecedented media effort. The first step in the

²⁵³ Gwynn et al., *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official Report*, 210.

²⁵⁴ Gwynn et al., *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932 Official Report*, 213.

²⁵⁵ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 153.

publicity effort was to establish the Publicity Commission. Josef Goebbels and the Reich Ministry of Propaganda took it upon itself to appoint the members of the newly formed commission. In conjunction with the German Railway Publicity Bureau, the Publicity Commission set up forty-four individual foreign offices in forty different countries.²⁵⁶ Once the public relations infrastructure was set up around the world, the real foreign publicity effort began.

In the years leading up to the Games Carl Diem and the Ministry of Propaganda were hard at work trying to get both international and domestic audiences to Berlin. The international effort succeeded in reaching more people than ever before. The scope of advertising ploys covered everything from plastering posters throughout the Buenos Aires metro system to deploying an airplane bearing Berlin Olympics decorations to do stunts above the city of Chicago.²⁵⁷ The German Railway Publicity Bureau sent out over four million pamphlets to dozens of countries.²⁵⁸ The German Railway Bureau also agreed to give all foreigners traveling to Berlin for the Olympics a 60% discount to incentivize international patronage of the Games.²⁵⁹ However, the amount of written information churned out and distributed by the German public relations effort was incredible. As early as 1933 Carl Diem created an *Olympics News Service*.²⁶⁰ Diem's publication was a monthly newspaper sent to all Olympics-connected offices in the world and the international press detailing the progress of the impending 1936 Games. At its

²⁵⁶ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 353.

²⁵⁷ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 153-4.

²⁵⁸ Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 146.

²⁵⁹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 87.

²⁶⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 86.

height the *Olympic News Service* published 25,000 copies per issue and printed it in fourteen different languages.²⁶¹ The Publicity Commission also created a monthly magazine titled, “Olympic Games 1936.”²⁶² The magazine’s first publication was thirty-two pages long, printed in four different languages and 60,000 copies were produced.²⁶³ At its height, the magazine was 86 pages long and 75,000 copies of the issue were produced.²⁶⁴ The magazine even secured international advertisements from the likes of the American multinational company Coca-Cola to place in its magazines.²⁶⁵ Besides the periodicals the scale of simple advertisements such as posters, stamps, and pamphlets reflected the scope of the mass marketing of the era it ushered in. Two hundred thousand posters were sent to thirty-five countries.²⁶⁶ Thirty-five thousand pamphlets detailing information about Berlin were sent out for free, along with thousands of postcards in multiple languages.²⁶⁷ The full reach of the media efforts remains unknown as often the promotional material such as posters, pamphlets, postcards, and photographs were reprinted and distributed upon reaching their destination. Truly, the Nazi media effort covered the globe with news of its Olympic endeavor. Ultimately the media efforts successfully drew people to Berlin, especially foreign press. The Organizing Committee enticed approximately 3,000 reporters to travel to the 1936 Games, “more than the three previous Games combined.”²⁶⁸ The German Olympic Committee and the Reich Ministry

²⁶¹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 86-7.

²⁶² Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 359.

²⁶³ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 359.

²⁶⁴ Diem et al., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*, 359.

²⁶⁵ Hart-Davis, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 56.

²⁶⁶ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 153.

²⁶⁷ Hart-Davis, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 56.

²⁶⁸ Goldblatt, *The Games; A Global History of the Olympics*, 154.

of Propaganda succeeded in mobilizing and informing people through the use of media, and the Berlin Olympics produced a new model for future spectacles. The Nazi media provided an example of how to effectively harness the power of the platforms available in the still young twentieth century.

The Olympics of twenty first century are often defined by the use of innovative technology, including sport photography and filming, and media. Although the current Olympic Games increased the scale and sophistication of technology and media from the 1936 Olympics. Berlin was the first instance of the effective incorporation the aforementioned staples of the modern Olympic Games into the international festival. The presence of technology and media on a mass scale for the first time in Berlin allows one to classify 1936 as the first truly modern Olympic Games.

The Advantageous Position of the Nazis

The timing and nature of the Nazi political machine situated the 1936 Berlin Olympics in a perfect position to take advantage of the technology and media opportunities previously unutilized in the organization of Olympic Games. The coalescence of these various forces resulted in a fundamental change in the way the Olympics and large spectacles were organized. The Nazi system allowed the 1936 Olympics to thrive and grow because the Nazis already possessed experience in the areas of propaganda and spectacle. Although from the very inception of the modern Olympic Games the ideal behind the Olympics inherently contradicted the reality of the Games. The Nazis magnified this contradiction more than anyone before them. The supposed ideal of Baron Pierre de Coubertin when he created the modern Olympics was to

celebrate the athletic ability of individuals and decrease international tensions.²⁶⁹ In reality, from the very first Olympics, the event was used as a nationalistic measuring stick by which nations could compare their success and vitality to others. While previous Olympics garnered support from the leaders of the host nation to execute the Games, no other national government before the Nazis had been so intimately involved in every aspect of Olympic planning. The unprecedented level of involvement, and specifically monetary investment from the government, pushed the Berlin Games forward to establish a new precedent for Olympic Games in technology and media.

Prior to 1936 the Nazis already built a solid foundation to logistically accommodate large spectacles like the Olympic Games. The Nuremberg rallies from 1928 to 1938 required expert planning to successfully execute the weeklong festivities and organize the hundreds of thousands of people in attendance. The Nuremberg party rally in 1934 best exemplified the exceptional competence the Nazis possessed for organizing events on the scale of the Olympics prior to 1936. The sheer number of individuals in attendance in 1934, while not quite on the same scale as the Olympics in 1936, proved staggering. Approximately 519,000 Party affiliated individuals traveled to Nuremberg for the festivities.²⁷⁰ On the proclaimed “Army Day” 300,000 spectators looked on to a military parade in an ecstatic frenzy.²⁷¹ It was from these events that Germany had a jump on the technology and processes needed to make an event of such magnitude function. The Nuremberg rallies also demonstrated the regime’s particularly

²⁶⁹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 17.

²⁷⁰ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 52.

²⁷¹ Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 53.

excellent command of the press and propaganda. The rallies themselves were a practice in manipulation of public perception. Special care was taken to “pamper” reporters and provide them with a positive experience of the rallies.²⁷² The consideration shown towards domestic reporters during the Nuremberg rallies increased, especially for international reporters, in 1936. For example, the 105 international radio reporters received complimentary housing in the city of Berlin along with translators, guides, and all the press credentials needed to properly report on the Games.²⁷³ Along with generous accommodations, all radio broadcasters had access to top of the line facilities at the Reich Sport Field where they could work in soundproof transmitting cabins and use long-distance phone lines.²⁷⁴ The Nazis’ unique experience with party rallies provided them with the proper infrastructure and planning process to make the Eleventh Olympic Games the grandest the world had yet seen.

The Nazis were also in a particularly good position to modernize the technology and media of the Olympics. The Nazi government’s desire to control the domestic opinion of the Party prior to the 1936 Games made for an easy transition to control the international perception of the German nation through influence of Olympic propaganda. The 1936 Olympics provided an unparalleled opportunity for a positive international show of the German nation during a time when many in the international community were wary of Hitler and the Nazi government. The Ministry of Propaganda led by Joseph Goebbels had plenty of experience with new forms of media prior to the 1936 Games.

²⁷² Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, 52.

²⁷³ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 249.

²⁷⁴ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 249.

Specifically, the Nazis' experience with radio and experimentation with television in domestic matters prior to the 1936 Games allowed them to implement technology and media effectively on a global scale for the Games. As noted previously, since the Nazi rise to power, radio had been a medium used domestically for the dissemination of party messages through the distribution of the *Volksempfänger*. With such domestic success in radio, the Nazi party leaders saw similar potential for the medium of television. Prior to the Nazi-era, the Weimar Republic had experimented with television, but Nazi investment in the technology made it a reality. In 1935 a public venue for live television broadcast viewing was opened in the Reichspost Museum.²⁷⁵ The Nazis' propaganda machine placed Germany in an advantageous position to organize a mass media effort and put on the first technologically modern Olympic Games.

The Third Reich' need for control translated into the need to oversee every aspect of the Olympics like no other government, especially with financial support. Even though the Nazi leaders attempted to hide their level of involvement in the Olympic Organizing Committee, the Nazis were not shy about financing Olympics. In previous Olympics it was not uncommon for the government of the host nation to allocate some funds to aid the Olympic organizers with the cost of putting on such an event, but the amount of money provided by the German government far exceeded anything previously. For example, in the 1932 Los Angeles Games the money for the development of a new stadium came from a combination of boosters' efforts and two million dollar bond appropriation measures passed in 1928 and 1931 by the voters of California.²⁷⁶ To

²⁷⁵ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 250.

²⁷⁶ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 53-5.

compare, in 1934 the projected cost of all Olympic construction was 20 million Reichsmarks, of which the government agreed to pay 14.5 million RM.²⁷⁷ The Nazi government willingly paid Olympic expenses when the Berlin government could not.²⁷⁸ This included the development of technological innovations like the first mobile television transmitting unit installed on the Reich Sport Field with a price tag of 250,000 Reichsmarks.²⁷⁹ Spending was not simply limited to Olympic facilities and technology. In true Nazi fashion, expenditures on propaganda were immense as well. Specifically, the creation of the film *Olympia* was completely funded by the Ministry of Propaganda. The contract Leni Riefenstahl signed with the Ministry of Propaganda allotted her a budget of 1.5 million RM for the production of the film and a personal compensation of 250,000 RM.²⁸⁰ To compare, the average German worker earned 2,500RM per year.²⁸¹ The almost indiscriminate spending on the part of the Nazi government allowed for the 1936 Berlin Olympics to move the Games towards the modern era in scale, technological innovations, and successful implementation of mass media and advertising.

²⁷⁷ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 155.

²⁷⁸ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 156.

²⁷⁹ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 250.

²⁸⁰ Large, *Nazi Games; The Olympics of 1936*, 298.

²⁸¹ Jonathan Petropoulos, written note to the author, April 17, 2017.

Conclusion

As the Olympic tradition marches on into the future, the Olympic Movement cannot separate itself from its past. The Nazis, situated in a unique spot in history and fueled by their own particular set of ambitions, created the first truly modern Olympic Games and irrevocably changed the Olympic Movement. No matter the current feelings towards Hitler and the Third Reich, the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games played a significant role in the formulation of the Olympic Games as they are known today.

A short examination of the IOC today reveals the lasting impact of the Nazi Games. The IOC's continued changes to the selection process attempt to correct the same concerns addressed in 1936 and reflect the politicization of the selection process brought on by the international response to the Nazi regime. In a recent press release from February 27, 2017, the IOC announced the implementation of Olympic Agenda 2020, which "strengthens its [IOC's] stance in favour of human rights and against corruption in new host city contract."²⁸² The IOC's continued crackdown on human rights violations stems from the conception of the Olympic participation as an inherently political act. After Berlin, international concerns saddled political responsibility on the Olympic Movement. Also, despite recent reforms to the selection process bribery continues to present a challenge to the bid procedures. After the selection of Tokyo for the 2020 Olympic Games allegations surfaced accusing one IOC member of accepting bribes from

²⁸² "IOC Strengthens its Stance in Favour of Human Rights and Against Corruption in New Host City Contract," International Olympic Committee, February 28, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-strengthens-its-stance-in-favour-of-human-rights-and-against-corruption-in-new-host-city-contract>.

the Tokyo Olympic Bid Committee to the tune of \$1.5 million.²⁸³ The prevalence of back door deals and political maneuvering, started by Theodor Lewald, to obtain an Olympic bid is now an inseparable aspect of the Olympic Games.

Government investment in Olympic outcomes continues to be a characteristic aspect of the Olympic Games. With the findings of the McLaren report, the nationalistic tendencies usually associated with the Nazi Olympics and the Cold War era persist to the current day. The prevalence of propaganda related efforts also persists the prospect of the 2022 Beijing Olympic Games one cannot help but remember the \$40 billion nationalistic fanfare orchestrated in 2008 and wonder what the People's Republic of China has in store for the 2022 Games.

The lasting impact of the Nazis' use of technology perhaps is one of the easiest legacies to visually see. The Nazis were the first to use television broadcasting for the commercial purpose of sport, and since then, television has become one of the primary ways audiences across the world view the Olympic Games. The evidence of the impact of media and television on the Olympic Movement can be seen in an assessment of the Rio 2016 Games. According to IOC reports, the half the world's population watched Olympic coverage and official content on social media platforms received over seven billion views.²⁸⁴ The Rio Olympic Games is considered the most visible Games in Olympic history.²⁸⁵ The use of platforms such as radio and television in a commercial context

²⁸³ Sean Ingle, "Tokyo Olympic Games Corruption Claims Bring Scandal Back to the IOC," *The Guardian*, May 11, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/may/11/tokyo-olympic-games-2020-ioc-international-olympic-committee-corruption-bid-scandal>.

²⁸⁴ "How do we Know that Rio 2016 was a Success?"

²⁸⁵ "How do we Know that Rio 2016 was a Success?"

during the 1936 Games to reach a mass audience persists through today, but with even more platforms for audiences to find Olympic related content.

While the 1936 Berlin Olympics may be one of the most controversial Olympiads in Olympic history, the 1936 Games is also one of the most influential games in the development of the modern Olympic Movement. The Nazi Olympics altered the nature of the selection process, changed the way national governments interact with the Olympic Movement, and laid the technological groundwork subsequent Games used as a springboard to push the Olympic Games to a scale never even dreamed of by the IOC in 1896. The defining characteristics of the Olympic Games in the modern era began with the 1936 Berlin Olympics; the first truly modern Olympiad.

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