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# *The Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda and the Nazi Olympics of 1936*

Arnd Krüger

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany

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Just like all previous Olympic Games, those of Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen of 1936 published a lengthy report, praising, among other endeavours, its work in propaganda and advertising the Olympic Idea and the Games.<sup>1</sup> This is, however, less than half of the picture, as in the field of presentation and propaganda the Organising Committee (OC) had abdicated its sovereignty and was simply following the orders of the newly appointed Reichssportführer, who, at the same time, was a government civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior. Although at first the OC tried to maintain its independence, it soon became obvious who called the shots. The question which caused a dispute between the OC and the Reichssportführer involved a case where a decision about visual presentation of the Berlin Games had to be taken.<sup>2</sup>

Theodor Lewald, who had risked his political career over the question of art in conjunction with the World Exhibition of 1904 in St. Louis against his then boss, the German Emperor Wilhelm II<sup>3</sup> was convinced by the legal argument from the Ministry of the Interior that the OC should follow orders and do as it was commanded as it was just a subsidiary of the National Olympic Committee under the Presidency of the Reichssportführer. Nevertheless, Dr. Theodor Lewald as President and Carl Diem as Secretary General of the OC insisted publicly that they were following the Olympic rules of political independence of the OC from political influence. This, of course, was a lie. On October 15, 1934 the OC signed a declaration giving up their independence from government control. No one objected when the Nazis assumed full financial responsibility for the Games; thus formal independence of the OC was but a facade<sup>4</sup>. To avoid criticism from the regime's many enemies abroad, Lewald was to continue to represent the OC "but inside Germany he had the national, moral, and legal obligation to follow the Reichssportführer."<sup>5</sup> Although they knew better, Lewald and Diem told their friends abroad that they were still acting according to their own free will. If the propaganda committee of the OC was but a sham institution, it is all the more feasible then, to examine what the actual Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda did with the Games.

The Minister never published a report of his own, at least none has survived. He did, however, order a press report on the foreign impact of its efforts from the German embassies abroad. The foreign department of the Nazi Party published a report on the foreign reaction on the winter games;<sup>6</sup> and it ordered a doctoral dissertation to be written on the overall internal success especially referring to the local and regional press.<sup>7</sup> On the whole it can be said that the Propaganda Min-

istry had more to say in the staging and advertising of the Games than any government agency up to that time in Olympic history.

### Germany and the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games of 1936 are best known as the Nazi Olympics, suggesting a strong state process that meddled in Olympic matters that on other Olympic occasions were perfectly private. Yet many of the features in sports that have distinguished these Games from previous ones were well established at that time and would become even more familiar in the future. Long before the Nazis came to power in Germany in January 1933, Germans had been used to their government involving itself in areas that in other countries were the province of the private sphere. This *Sonderweg*, the way in which Germany took a radically different course from other European countries, could be seen in the German interpretation of Social Darwinism: while countries like Great Britain and the United States saw this as survival of the fittest individual,\* in Germany it was interpreted as the survival of the fittest race.

Germany had taken part in each Olympics since 1896, and when Berlin was awarded the 1916 Games the national government undertook not only the financial guarantees to underwrite the cost of the event, but went even further and guaranteed funding for the selection and preparation of the athletes, a path the US would not take until 1978 with the Amateur Sports Act.<sup>9</sup>

The intervention of the State was wholeheartedly approved by two individuals who became prominent as organisers of the 1936 Olympics: Theodor Lewald and Carl Diem. Lewald, the government official responsible to the Minister of Interior, persuaded the Reich's Parliament to take an active interest in the preparations for the Berlin Games of 1916, urging that in spite of its intruding on state rights, the greater interest of the nation as a whole to be properly represented internationally was at stake. He showed that the Olympic Games and international sport ought to be treated like a World Trade Exhibition and thus be heavily subsidised by the Reich. As a result, national coaches were hired, including a prominent Track and Field coach from the US; selection trials were held and intensive training camps were organised, all to prepare the best athletes under the best coaches to present the best possible image of the regime. The young Carl Diem was the press secretary of the National Olympic Committee at the time. A high school drop-out, but trained in commerce, he became the full time administrator in charge of the preparation of the athletes and later of the Olympic Games of 1916.<sup>10</sup> Twenty years later his was the leading role in Berlin.

World War I put an end to the preparation of the athletes in 1916, but the ground rules were in place for a government-sponsored elite sport system. The Swedes invented the *State amateur*, when they called their able bodied athletes into national service, thus staying within the rules and giving their athletes a chance to prepare full-time for the Games. Germany followed that example.”

All of this was done for the benefit of national propaganda. It was to show that the German man (and to a lesser extent woman) was physically best prepared. Just as in the World Exhibitions where the best was presented in terms of what industry could supply, so, too, in the field of sport could physical superiority be shown off.

The Olympic Games are a war, a real war. You can be sure that many participants are willing to offer - without hesitation - several years of their life for a victory of the fatherland... The Olympic idea of the modern era has given us a symbol of world war, which does not show its military character very openly, but - for those who can read sports statistics - it gives enough insight into world ranking.<sup>12</sup>

### Setting the Stage

Germany was awarded the Olympic Games of 1936 in a show-down vote against Barcelona in 1931. At that time the German Olympic movement was firmly in the hands of representatives of the bourgeois sports movement, most notably Lewald and Diem. Lewald - under - secretary of state when he retired from government service in 1923 - became the President of the German Sports Federation, the National Olympic Committee and from 1926 onwards, a member of the IOC.<sup>13</sup> Carl Diem was the full time administrator and pro-rector of the German Academy of Physical Education (with an honorary doctorate in medicine). Others, like Karl Ritter von Halt, member of the IOC and President of the German Track & Field Federation, a former Olympian (1912) and a banker by profession, were also prominent in the German Sports Federations. There was no separate and distinct Nazi sport organization.

Although the Nazis used sport for paramilitary storm troopers to get them fit<sup>14</sup>, no Nazi had materialized as a “natural” Nazi choice to be a national sports leader. There were, however, separate Catholic, Jewish (three), Protestant, Social-Democratic, and Communist sport movements.<sup>15</sup> Because the Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, published

the sport news of the *Deutscher Turnerbund*, an anti-Semitic Turner organisation that had left the mainstream Turner movement, the impression was created that the Nazis championed that organisation, one which was firmly opposed to competitive sport and resented athletic meets with non-Aryans. During the 1932 Olympics, the IOC executive board asked Ritter von Halt to inquire from Hitler whether the Olympic Games could properly take place should the Nazis be in power by 1936. Von Halt, who was close to some of Hitler's best friends, and later became a high ranking Nazi himself,<sup>16</sup> talked to the Nazi leader and got Hitler's approval that - if he was in power by then - he would not interfere with the Olympic Games or take action against African-American or Jewish competitors on other teams.

This was a hypothetical question in the summer of 1932, as Hitler seemed unlikely to gain power, but it changed dramatically by the end of the year and on 30 January 1933, Hitler became chancellor of a Nazi/conservative coalition government. Lewald, a Protestant of Jewish decent on his father's side, was worried, however, that the Nazis might soon win complete power. Fearing such a situation, Lewald formed an Organising Committee (OC) for the 1936 Olympics as a separate non-profit society. Lewald did this three days before the elections. Lewald created this independent entity with trusted associates, so that he and Diem could not easily be dismissed from the hierarchy of German sport if the Nazis won the elections. He registered the new society immediately in the belief that any new government would respect the German legal system - as had happened in the German Revolution of 1918.<sup>17</sup> Lewald did not anticipate that Hitler would eventually take full control of the National Olympic Committee through his Reichssportführer and thus force him to follow orders. It was ironic that it was Ritter von Lex, a lawyer Lewald had personally selected and trained, who contrived, the legal argument to reduce him and his long time associate Diem to mere marionettes of an evil regime.

In 1933 no one really knew the Nazi position in sports. Thus, the first half of 1933 was replete with action by traditional leaders of the bourgeois sports movement to jockey for a good position under the new circumstances. Carl Diem even applied for the job of the Reichssportführer,<sup>18</sup> supported by me military, i.e. his old friend and training pal Walter von Reichenau, who later became an IOC-member and was known as the butcher of Polish civilians.<sup>19</sup> Despite such "jockeying," Nazis chose Hans von Tschammer und Osten to be responsible for all sports in the newly created office of *Reichssportführer*. Tschammer und Osten was a brutal regional Storm Trooper (SA) leader and elected member of parliament for the central German district of Anhalt. His storm troopers had killed several workers, sportsmen, and children. At the same time Tschammer und Osten was made a government official in the Ministry of the Interior - where elite sport was bureaucratically arranged in Germany. He eventually rose as high as under-secretary of state.<sup>20</sup>

One of the first acts of the Nazis was to install for the first time a Minister for *Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda).<sup>21</sup> Joseph Goebbels, a PhD in German studies, had scarcely been minister of the *Propaganda Ministry* for five days when he received Theodor Lewald, who explained to him the propaganda potential of the Olympic Games. The 73 year old Lewald, a longtime lawyer, had influential friends in many German ministries as he had been responsible for the selection and training of most of the young lawyers in government service for a ten year period. Goebbels admitted Lewald to the new Ministry - although Goebbels seemed to have more pressing things to do than to look after a sport meet.<sup>22</sup> Eventually, however, Lewald convinced Goebbels that the Olympic Games should have first priority in his young and growing Nazi Ministry.<sup>23</sup> This was surprising as neither Goebbels nor Hitler were known to be interested in sports, quite in contrast to Mussolini, their idol, who was a true all-round athlete.

But Goebbels understood well that having power was only half of the problem: you also had to win the heart of the people. Sport was one way to achieve this. Eventually his Ministry encompassed eleven sections dealing with sport.<sup>24</sup> In assuring Nazi hegemony, a culture of consent<sup>25</sup> was reached to offset the more brutal, coercive elements of the regime: a growing movie industry,<sup>26</sup> cheap holidays,<sup>27</sup> successful sports for national pride, and other forms of popular entertainment. But the Nazis also manipulated language to conceal harsh realities. The law to expel all Jews (and those who were married to Jews and refused to get a divorce) from government service was called the Law to Re-establish Professionalism in the Civil Service. In the context of the Olympic Games, too, it was obvious that the Olympic Village for men consisted partially of existing army barracks and partially of new ones: these became the "Northern section of the Olympic Village."<sup>28</sup> Goebbels set about controlling the thinking of the people, insisting on mass participation in actions that underscored the power of the new system.<sup>29</sup> Sport, then, came to play a key role in his attempt to secure hegemony: it provided a sense of self-sacrifice, of courage, while displaying the elitism of a natural order according to physical traits. Sport in this way was a secular cult of physical strength and endurance.<sup>30</sup> For the French sociologist Jean-Marie Brohm, the Olympic elite sport system is seen to contain so many proto-fascist elements that the Olympic Games of 1936 were not perverted by the Nazis - they merely built on their inherent elements.<sup>31</sup>

From the start the Nazis developed two main strategies: (1) to assure propaganda within Germany, and (2) to break the cultural isolation of the Reich's government by propaganda abroad. To achieve these functions a Propaganda Committee was formed under the chairmanship of a *Propaganda Ministry* official called Haegert. He had easy access to

Goebbels and kept his boss informed of all matters related to the Olympic Games.<sup>32</sup> This Committee functioned as part of the Olympic Games Organising Committee (OC) chaired by Lewald and for which Diem, as Secretary General, took central responsibility. Represented on the OC, were the city of Berlin, the German Railway Office (as official German travel agency abroad), and all other official German institutions that might be affected by the Olympics. The Propaganda Committee of the OC, chaired by Haegert, became most influential in the struggle for the soul of the German people at home and the image of Nazism abroad. It was this concerted propaganda effort that made the Olympic Games of Berlin the first truly modern Games.

The Games also broke all spectator records. While the Olympic Game of Los Angeles (1932) were the first to have more than one million spectators, Berlin attracted over three million. The Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1936 had more spectators than those attending the entire Winter Games at Lake Placid in 1932.<sup>33</sup>

The Propaganda *Ministry* was not against Nazi terror, but had to make it palatable at home and abroad. The Nazi government wasted no time in showing that its hatred of Jews was not merely an abstract theory. Some brutal outrages occurred, prompting concern by the IOC for holding the Games in Germany. As a result this became a matter of extreme importance at the annual meeting of the IOC in Vienna in May 1933. Choosing the site of the Winter Games was normally a formality for the host nation. The IOC, however, could theoretically veto this, and in so doing, could have indicated its dislike of Nazi racial theories - and apparent practices. But Germany was represented by Lewald, von Halt, and von Mecklemburg as IOC members, as well as Carl Diem, secretary of the OC. It was relatively easy for them to convince the IOC that everything in Germany was normal. Although they had given up their offices in the sport federations - with the exception of von Halt who was now openly a Nazi and president, now Führer, of the Track and Field Federation - they were still the core of the OC. They readily reached a deal with the IOC that was in their mutual interest. The IOC demanded that its German members maintain responsibility for the Olympics and that the Olympic rules be upheld. This included the acceptance of Jews and Negroes in foreign teams. In exchange the IOC guaranteed that the Olympics would not be moved from Germany, and that the Winter Games would be staged in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

With this threat to the staging of the Games in Germany removed, the plans for the Games progressed according to schedule. Hitler investigated the development of the building sites and on 5 October 1933, personally changed the entire arrangement. As expense revenues would come mainly from ticket sales, Diem and Lewald had presented a balanced budget that they asked to have pre-financed by the government. They anticipated using existing facilities and enlarging the spectator space with some provisional stands, to make sure that the Olympic Games would not cause a financial burden on the weak German economy. To their surprise, Hitler placed the full resources of the State behind the Olympic preparations, the first head of State to do so.<sup>34</sup> In this action however, he was no different from the German parliament that decided in 1914 that the State would fund the staging of the Olympic Games of 1916 and pay for the preparation of the athletes.

Hitler's reasoning was quite simple: If you have the whole world as your guests, you should present yourself at your best in order to impress world public opinion. If you convert the stadium, you should do so permanently with natural rock in the grandiose style of the new system. Goebbels, as party leader in Berlin, also agreed, influenced by the fact that as yet there was no suitable space in the city for true mass demonstrations. The Olympic Stadium would fill that function. It was an expensive decision. They assumed that most of the workers would be low skilled and could be employed under the new scheme to get the unskilled unemployed back into the work force. The new stadium, however, the most modern in the world at the time, required a large number of highly skilled workers to meet the deadline. Thus, the Olympic stadium complex turned out to be far more expensive than anticipated. But despite the exorbitant costs, more than thirty times the original estimate, Hitler never backed down.<sup>35</sup>

The sports organisers wasted no time in taking advantage of the situation. Carl Diem, as Secretary General of the OC, tripled his own salary for the four years in charge of the Games. Thus recompensed, the OC went on to stage the Olympic spectacles in Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen, despite boycott threats from abroad.<sup>36</sup> As von Halt's secretary intimated, from the time Hitler took charge in October 1933, money did not matter any more.<sup>37</sup>

The Nazis strengthened the sport system by introducing daily physical education in the schools, thus laying a good basis for the sports clubs. The worker's sports federations, which contained about 20% of the athletes in Germany, were closed down, although their members were allowed to join the normal bourgeois clubs provided they dispersed sufficiently and provided two sworn statements that they were not active Marxists.<sup>38</sup> The clubs with a religious orientation had to give that up but could otherwise maintain their identity.<sup>39</sup> Jews were excluded from all sports clubs and this at first strengthened the Jewish sport federations. But with the increasing incidence of pogroms and political pressure, the emigration figures rose, thus weakening the Jewish organisations, including those of Turnen and sport.<sup>40</sup> While the dissolu-

tion of worker sports did not cause much reaction internationally, the pogroms against the Jews and the destruction of the Christian sport clubs did.

### Propaganda Within Germany

As the German news media were fully controlled by the Nazis, propaganda within Germany was dominated by the *Propaganda Ministry*.<sup>41</sup> At national press conferences, through the national news service, and in special pieces of “advice,” the German newspapers were instructed on how and what to report. Very seldom did they receive orders to use a specific wording of news. This assured that in the Nazi sense of the situation, there still existed *freedom of the press*.<sup>42</sup> The national daily press conference was the main instrument to co-ordinate the German Press. If a news editor did not go along with the orders, he lost his job, and could not get another in the information business. One must be a registered “journalist” or “writer” to write for print media.<sup>43</sup>

The *Propaganda Ministry* was faced by the problem of the contradictory nature of the Nazi regime vs. Olympic ideals. The Nazis stood for German racial supremacy and militant nationalism, while the Olympics stood for international friendship and the brotherhood of nations.<sup>44</sup> Jews in Germany were told they were undesirables, while Jews from abroad were to be welcomed as guests. The press was ordered not to mention the Jewish origins of competing athletes.<sup>45</sup> African-Americans were little more than animals to the Nazis, who thought that they gave the American team an unfair advantage; but again, as with the Jews, they had to be welcomed as guests.<sup>46</sup> The only way the Germans could criticise the racial background of the US visitors was to quote directly from American newspapers, and there were enough of them, especially in the South, who were as racist as the Nazis.<sup>47</sup>

The first problems for the propagandists were met at the Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in Bavaria in February 1936. Racist slurs greeting visitors were soon acted on. The Reich’s Minister of the Interior issued orders to the Bavarian Minister responsible for the police:

It is the explicit desire of the Führer that all signs, banners and similar placards relating to the Jewish question are to disappear along the railway line and the road from Munich to Garmisch-Partenkirchen because of the upcoming Olympic Winter Games. This order relates also to the exhibits of *Der Stürmer* (SS newspaper). You are requested to complete this action by January 1, 1936.<sup>48</sup>

Ironically, it was the SS itself that had to make sure that these orders were respected, including the temporary and locally restricted suppression of its own newspaper.

The open intimidation of Jews in Germany was temporarily suspended. The order for the national press was very explicit:

With respect to the upcoming Olympic Winter Games and until further notice, it is strictly prohibited to report disputes with foreigners in Germany or actual controversies with Jews. Even in local reporting such incidents are not to be mentioned under any circumstances, to avoid giving foreigners propaganda to use against Germany.<sup>49</sup>

The “pause” on Jew-baiting in the press remained through to the Summer Games, thus forcing an absence of coverage on the rigorous application of the Nuremberg Laws, a subject previously, and most assiduously, dwelt on. During the Summer Games, and in accordance with the laws, a Jew was executed for alleged kidnapping. The press could do no more than publish the story in small print and without comment.<sup>50</sup> The “pause” also applied to African-Americans, and as late as 1937 Jesse Owens was still accorded the race-free adulation he had won in August 1936. When the leading Nazi paper *Der Angriff* went against the orders and called Owens and the other black athletes “black American auxiliaries,” a phrase that was repeated in the US press, it was immediately reprimanded.<sup>51</sup>

Other newspapers that did not follow official instructions were promptly punished. A special Olympic issue of *Die Sonne* was reprimanded for quoting a lengthy section from L. Tirala’s racist book on sport: it had been intended that the publication of extracts from Tirala’s *Sport und Rasse* be delayed until the foreign visitors had returned home. Newspapers were not allowed to mention the anti-Nazi exhibition being held in Amsterdam on *The Olympic Games under Dictatorship*. Newspapers that performed the way the *Propaganda Ministry* wanted were selected for praise and shown as an

example of the way events should be reported.<sup>52</sup> A prize was even offered for the best reporting of the Games,<sup>53</sup> that is to say, according to the *Propaganda Ministry* guidelines.

The orders given at the national press conference, or wired to German newspapers, were very precise. For instance, the press conference of 19 February 1936 decreed:

Helene Mayer, the well known German fencer, has arrived today in Germany from the US. The press is asked not to report her arrival. The only exceptions are permissible in the newspapers of Hamburg, Bremen, and Offenbach which may carry the news because of special local interest. Commentaries about her non-Aryan descent and her chances for an Olympic gold medal are undesirable.<sup>54</sup>

It is apparent from the orders of this body that the officials adopted a cautionary approach on possible German cultural isolation. For this reason the option of converting the Games into an all-German competition was kept open until the last moment, at the very least until it was certain that the US team would participate.<sup>55</sup>

Similar anxieties can be seen in the way the foreign press was carefully monitored. Favourable reports were selected for publication in the German press; references to boycott movements were suppressed. Reports of the Games appearing in foreign countries were carefully scrutinised and pressure brought to bear on ambassadors to take action against “negative” journalists in their country. Most important, the errors made at the Winter Games were carefully recorded, so that they would be avoided in the Summer Games. The propaganda within Germany and abroad has to be seen in hindsight as a feedback system.<sup>56</sup>

When the Berlin Games got under way and the success of the organisation surrounding the Games and the athletes on the field became obvious, the German press was actually ordered to play down German success to avoid offending the foreign guests. In the beginning the Games’ medal totals were published in a manner that showed German superiority. But when the IOC protested such conduct, the Nazis gave a full demonstration of their un-free press by immediately prohibiting the publication of medal totals. Nothing could conceal, however, the fact that Germany had done better than ever before and won the unofficial medal count against the United States. Germany had teams and athletes in all sports, while the Americans were represented in far less, dominating only track and field and swimming. When the Games were over, medal totals were permitted again, and the way medals ought to be counted was explained to the editors.<sup>57</sup>

The German press followed a rigid public relations pattern that left little space for improvisation. Only German photographers were permitted inside the sports arenas. This in itself was not new. The budget for the Olympic Games of 1916 had included rights fees for photographers.<sup>58</sup> At the Olympic Games of Amsterdam the rights for photography were rigorously controlled. Thus the Nazis could rely on a precedent.

Photos were rigorously selected before the national and international press were given selection opportunities. At the competitions in the swim stadium, for example, Hitler had been approached by a female American fan and was kissed by her. The German press was not sufficiently flexible to use this for public relations purposes.<sup>59</sup> Tight security abounded as plain clothes policemen were everywhere. Foreign athletes and officials in the Olympic Village were subject to mail censorship. Daily police conferences were held to assure a close co-operation between the OC and the secret police.<sup>60</sup>

The German press went to great lengths to show Germans how much foreign visitors were impressed with the new Germany. Negative expressions by foreigners were suppressed almost entirely.<sup>61</sup> The biggest trouble came internally from over-enthusiastic Sudeten Germans, whose calls for absorption into the Reich would have to wait for a couple of years.<sup>62</sup> Their crude protests were ignored. Nevertheless, the press took every opportunity to show how many of the foreign athletes were of German descent, insisting that on all occasions they be referred to by their German name. The Italian from the German-speaking Southern Tyrol, Giorgio Oberweger, for instance, who came third in the discus, had to be called Georg. Editors were solemnly warned about the crime of “Entdeutschungen”, the creation of un-German words.<sup>63</sup>

The Games were also used as a test for the implementation of a full range of audio-visual propaganda: The first live television coverage of any sports meet was in Berlin at the time of the Olympics. More important, since television then was little more than a novelty, was the use of new short-wave radio transmitters. Specially established so that the German speakers in South America could tune into the Games,<sup>64</sup> they could later be used for specifically political propaganda. Film was, with radio, the most immediately accessible of the mass media, and while Leni Riefenstahl’s classic, *Olympia*,<sup>65</sup> would take two years to reach the general public, previews were readily available in newsreel and other short film applications.

Inside Germany, the Olympic Games of 1936 can be considered one of the emotional highlights of the Nazi period. At this time, more than any other, the Nazi slogan “Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Em Führer,” was a living reality. There was almost complete approval. Germans loved their Olympic Games. This was the way Germans liked to see themselves: open to the world, tolerant, splendid hosts, perfect organisers.<sup>66</sup> The interior propaganda was so successful that until the early 1970s very little criticism was voiced against the Games inside Germany. On the 60th anniversary of the Winter Olympics, the Mayor of Garmisch - Partenkirchen applauded them as nothing but a sporting triumph.<sup>67</sup>

In their glorification of the host nation, and in many other respects, the Nazis were merely continuing an established tradition at the Olympic Games. The French press in particular had blasted the 1932 Games in Los Angeles as a sustained advertisement for California, and cynically looked to 1940 as a glorification of Nippon enterprise. Coubertin himself welcomed the Nazi Olympics as fulfilling his ideals and was delighted that Tokyo was to host the 1940 Games. It all revolved around one's opinion of the host nation, and Coubertin was either unaware or unconcerned about what the Nazis were doing in Germany.<sup>68</sup>

Coubertin's views were enforced by contemporary journalists like the American John Kieran,<sup>69</sup> and historians like Otto Meyer, as well as the IOC itself.<sup>70</sup> Others have been less impressed. The German historians Hajo Bernett,<sup>71</sup> Hans Joachim Teichler<sup>72</sup> and Klaus Ullrich,<sup>73</sup> believe that anything an evil government does is evil in itself. Nevertheless, several aspects of the 1936 Olympics have become essential parts of future Games, such as the torch relay, the Olympic Bell with the swastika alongside the Olympic rings - a harbinger of corporate sponsorship<sup>74</sup> - and Hitler's invitation to “the youth of the world.”

Unlike the democracies or the capitalist countries,<sup>75</sup> the Nazis barely distinguished between advertising, persuasion, and propaganda. Where the athletes were concerned the German press did little to overemphasise their importance initially, since they were expected to finish behind the United States; but this changed as Germany placed seventh behind Norway in the Winter Games, eight places better than the Lake Placid Games, and then went on to “win” the Summer Games, having placed seventh in Los Angeles.<sup>76</sup>

The main propaganda struggle took place in the United States. As the American team had been by far the strongest in all previous Olympic Games and was neutral towards Germany, German IOC members directed most of their declarations to the American press. The propaganda workers closely watched the American press and reacted with great speed. Eventually, this turned out to be quite embarrassing to Avery Brundage who struggled hard on behalf of the Nazis to assure American participation in the Games. Brundage then asked his friend, the Chicago journalist, Clarence A. Bush, who was the AOC secretary and had served as Brundage's ghost writer on his *Fair Play* pamphlet, to write to Carl Diem about the situation:

It seems that each time Mr. Brundage has made a bold stroke for participation, this has evoked a story from Germany capitalising on it for the benefit of Nazi propaganda. This has given the Anti-Nazi forces in this country the chance to say “I told you so” which has been embarrassing for Mr. Brundage and our entire campaign .... Cannot some care be used to prevent relating Nazi propaganda to our participation battle, either by coincidence of timing, or by similarity of subject matter?<sup>78</sup>

Although the U.S. government was well aware of the situation in Germany and the importance of the Olympic Games, it neither interfered nor passed its knowledge along.<sup>79</sup> The warning that Lewald was “no longer a free agent” and did not resign but instead preferred to hoodwink his foreign friends, went unnoticed

The situation of the Jews in Germany was a major stumbling block. Despite the protestations of Diem and Lewald to the contrary, it was obvious that the Jews were not competing on a level playing field. Two “alibi” Jews were allowed to take part: the ice hockey player Rudi Ball at the Winter Games and the fencer Helene Mayer at the Summer Games. As they were by the Nazi definition 50% Jewish, they were still permitted to represent Germany at that time - just like Theodor Lewald himself. By Jewish definition, however, neither of them was Jewish, as only the children of Jewish women are considered Jewish.

The real test case was Gretel Bergmann, a Stuttgart high jumper. Fully Jewish, and a member of a Jewish sports club, she was nevertheless permitted to receive expert coaching at all of the training camps of the German Track and Field Federation. She had gone to school in England and won several competitions there, and most likely benefited from the pressure on the Germans to include Jewish athletes in the German team. In 1936 she won the regional championships in Württemberg with 1.60m (5ft 3”), a height that would have given her a medal six weeks later in the Games had she been allowed to compete. She was not permitted to take part in the German Championships, because the Jewish Club to which she belonged - like all Jewish clubs - could not be part of the German Track and Field Federation. All the way to the final

selection she was led to believe that she would be part of the team.<sup>80</sup> Von Tschammer knew better, however, and made Helene Mayer part of the team and Gretel Bergmann not. The third slot on the German team in women's high jump was kept vacant instead. As compensation Bergmann received a formal but friendly letter telling her that she had not qualified due to lack of form and was offered free tickets (standing room only) for the Games. The letter was sent to her only after the American team had already left New York for Berlin, in case there were any adverse reactions. Her coach and club officials were locked away for the duration of the Games to avoid negative press. Later, Bergmann emigrated to the United States, probably saving herself from concentration camp incarceration.

### The Official Olympic Propaganda

The propaganda for the Games started in late 1933 with the publication of the *Olympic Bulletins* in five languages. The first edition was the only production of that publication that was not fully controlled by the *Propaganda Ministry* as it came out three weeks before the propaganda committee was officially founded. From then on, the *Propaganda Ministry* was fully in control. The Ministry created, among other initiatives, an international press service to reach as many newspapers and press agencies around the world as possible (in German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian). It began with 3,400 addresses mainly supplied by the OC of the 1932 Los Angeles Games, but soon reached an ever-increasing number of outlets on a monthly basis. By October 1934 it was providing 24,000 copies world-wide to 2030 German and 5120 foreign addresses. This included 615 German and 3075 foreign newspapers and journals<sup>81</sup> In February 1935 the travel offices of the German Railways abroad started to advertise the Olympic Games as the best place for a holiday in 1936. In April 1935, the press service was enlarged and its service was translated and printed in 14 languages (the original 5 plus Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Polish, Hungarian, Czech, and Portuguese). In total, 33 of these press service bulletins were printed.<sup>82</sup>

From June 1935 Olympic placards were distributed complete with logo in 19 languages and a total press run of 156,000 copies. The Olympic rings and the Olympic bell with Hitler's appeal to the youth of the world established the sponsor's name. In September 1935, leaflets were distributed in 14 languages and a press run of 2.4 million. Photographs of superb quality were sent out world-wide, and the ten days of the torch run from Olympia to Berlin<sup>83</sup> received the full attention of the German media. As well as spreading the good word, the committee countered the bad.<sup>84</sup> Press conferences stressed the peace message of the Games to which the host nation fully adhered.

Each team received carefully selected bi-lingual student helpers who had the task of giving full reports on the attitude of the foreign teams. Spying on the teams was not difficult as the young Germans soon gained the confidence of the officials of the foreign teams.<sup>85</sup> At Garmisch-Partenkirchen there was no Olympic village. The athletes and officials were all privately housed. In this situation it would have been quite difficult to supervise the foreigners had it not been for the helpers. They had to report back immediately and write a lengthy report afterwards which went together with a systematic press review done by the foreign section of the Party.

One of the major results of this analysis was to avoid the use of uniforms. Westbrook Pegler in the *Washington Post* was only one prominent writer who complained about the military character of the Games; the presence of so many people in uniforms worried athletes, officials, and press alike.<sup>86</sup> Because of unpredictable snow conditions, the German OC for the Winter Games had brought together 6,000 men from the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, voluntary uniformed workers who had joined a para-military work service, often with little choice. For the un-informed these were all soldiers. Ritter von Halt needed them, as during the Games there was at first not enough snow and later there was too much. Most of the officials showed up in uniform so that when Hitler opened the Games he was one of the few in civilian clothes. This was completely changed for Berlin. While the friendly applause the French team had received in Garmisch-Partenkirchen served Hitler in the Reichstag to explain his peaceful intentions - he was soon to occupy the demilitarized Rhineland - the friendliness and non-military mindedness had to become visible for the foreign guest. So everybody was ordered to leave their uniforms at home. There were more helpers from the various military or para-military groups attending the Games than in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, yet the *Propaganda Ministry* was far more efficient in controlling the public image of the Games.

Only German photographers were permitted at the Winter Games.<sup>87</sup> Forty six were accredited, while 49 radio reporters worked from Garmisch-Partenkirchen, along with 403 journalists. On the whole these 498 accredited journalists represented 29 different countries.<sup>88</sup> These were the first Winter Olympic Games with live international radio transmission. Relatively little was done to influence the journalists, but they were quite impressed by the large numbers of enthusiastic spectators, and the technical possibilities at their disposal.<sup>89</sup> In Berlin there were even more journalists covering the event. Not even the OC knew the exact number of journalists. The Summer Games issued passes to 593 foreign publishers and had personal data on more than 700 foreign journalists. It was estimated that the 225 German publishers



present embraced close to 1000 journalists. Fifteen wire services were present with 150 journalists. Fifty-five German-speaking journalists came from abroad: within a couple of years many of them would no longer be “foreigners.” And finally, there were 30 freelance writers covering the Games.<sup>90</sup> Victor Boin, the Belgian president of the international sports writers organization, estimated that there were 1,200 foreign journalists in Berlin and that radio coverage from Berlin reached 300 million listeners, making it by far the largest media event of the world to that time.<sup>91</sup> These were the Olympic Games with the first live global radio coverage. Forty-one radio corporations from 41 different countries broadcast in fifty languages and dialects on medium and short wave in over 3,000 different transmissions. More than one hundred stations in the United States alone covered the Summer Games regularly on the CBS and NBC networks.<sup>92</sup> Four hundred and fifty radio technicians from all of Germany were brought together in Berlin to help their foreign colleagues and so give positive impression about German technical skill and perfection.<sup>93</sup>

Again, only German photographers were permitted inside the Stadium. Of the 15,950 photos they delivered, only those that coincided with what they considered the spirit and the image of the Games were distributed. Such was the profusion of pictures available that journalists could, if they wished, find evidence of Nazi symbols - but overall it was the non-political atmosphere that was overwhelmingly presented.

Despite their constant protestations of peaceful intentions, the Nazis used the cover of the Olympic excitement to carry out the more normal and questionable affairs of the State. The breach of the Versailles Treaty with the remilitarization of the Rhineland on 7 March 1936 came fast on the heels of the Winter Olympics,<sup>94</sup> and while an obviously enthusiastic Hitler could be seen every day watching the events of the Summer Olympics, behind the scenes he was conducting the negotiations that would help ensure the victory of the rebel Franco in the Spanish Civil War.<sup>95</sup> The Games were hardly concluded when Hitler doubled the time for compulsory military service which he had reintroduced in March of the previous year in defiance of the Versailles Treaty. The Nuremberg Rally of September 1936 brought the Germans back more closely to the real nature of the regime.

## Conclusion

The American ambassador in Vienna, later to become Assistant Secretary of State, George Messersmith, reported from Austria prior to the Berlin Olympics:

There are many wise and well informed observers in Europe who believe that the holding or non-holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin will play an important part in determining political developments in Europe. I believe that this view of the importance of the Olympic Games being held in Berlin 1936 is not exaggerated.<sup>96</sup>

Messersmith was certainly right. Above all, the 1936 Olympics consolidated Hitler’s popularity at home and with German-speaking people abroad. The absence of any serious boycott and a virtually incident-free running of the Games led Germans to believe that their new regime was universally admired: and as the party that accompanied the Olympic pause continued, so more quietly were the concentration camps filled. Before the Games the Saar had already become part of the new Germany, the Rhineland was re-militarized between the Winter and Summer Games; Austria and the German speaking parts of Czechoslovakia would soon become part of the Greater German Reich. The Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda certainly did a good job within Germany.<sup>97</sup> The success of the Games on foreign opinion is more doubtful: the foreign press admired the organisation, but opinions before the Games tended to be confirmed one way or the other.<sup>98</sup> Above all, the IOC showed itself an admirer of the regime. In 1939, even after the invasion of the Sudenland the previous year, it awarded the 1940 Winter Games to Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Admittedly Sapporo, Oslo, and St. Moritz, for varying reasons, had refused the offer, but the invitation to a country, then so obviously bent on aggressive war, was made without a single objection. This would prove to be a valuable bargaining tool for German officials after the War when they tried to regain their reputations as “decent sportsmen.”<sup>99</sup>

Nowhere is the image of the Nazi Olympics better encapsulated than in the classic film of the event by Leni Reifenthal. Here we can see the most perfect sport in a most perfect setting, sport in the tradition of the ancient Greeks. But this was no longer the Greece of Athens, the cradle of democracy; it was the Greece of Sparta, driven by the most barbarous of ideologies and armed with the might of modern technology.<sup>100</sup>

## Endnotes

- 1 For the work of the propaganda committee of the OC see Organisationskomitee für die XI. Olympischen Sommerspiele (ed), *Amtlicher Bericht*. (Berlin: Limpert, 1937), 2 vols.
- 2 For the importance of the uniformity of monumental art for the corporate identity of Nazism see, O. Thomae, *Die Propaganda - Maschinerie. Bildende Kunst öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1978).
- 3 A. Kruger and R. Pfeiffer: "Theodor Lewald: Eine Karriere im Dienste des Vaterlands oder die vergebliche Suche nach der jüdischen Identität eines 'Halbjuden'", in: *Menora. Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 1995 (München: Piper 1995), pp. 233 - 65; see also Holstein an Ida von Stülpnagel, 20 April 1903, in: Friedrich von Holstein, *Lebensbekenntnis in Briefen an eine Frau* (Berlin 1932), p.221f.
- 4 Federal Archives, Koblenz, Aktenvermerk (von Lex) betr. Verhältnis OK, DOA, RMI, Oct 15, 1934. BAR 18 Rep.320 Nr.611.
- 5 Olympiarchiv, quoted by A.Krüger, *Dr. Theodor Lewald, Sportführer ins Dritte Reich*, (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1975), p. 45 see also A. Kruger, "The Olympic Games Berlin" in H. Ueberhorst and P. Graham (eds), *The Modern Olympics* (Cornwall, N.Y: Leisure Press, 1976), 168-81, (2 ed. 1979, 172-86).
- 6 The first one was reprinted by J Bellers (ed), *Die Olympiade Berlin 1936 im Spiegel der ausländischen Presse* (Münster : Lit, 1986); *Aussenpolitische Rundschau* (1936), No.13. (journal of the Aussenpolitisches Amt of the NSDAP).
- 7 G. Stabenow, *Die Olympiaberichterstattung in der deutschen Presse unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinzpresse und die Entwicklung der Sportberichterstattung in der Provinzpresse 1936 - 1940*. Diss Leipzig 1941.
- 8 R. Hofstadter, "Darwinism and Western Thought" in H.L.Plaine (ed), *Darwin, Marx and Wagner* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State U Press, 1962), 53-5; for the same in a cultural context Cf. A. Kruger, "Zwischen Sex and Zuchtwahl. Nudismus and Naturismus in Deutschland und Amerika", N. Finzsch and H. Wellenreuther, (eds), *Liberalitas. Festschrift für Erich Angermann* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 342-65.
- 9 A. Kruger, "'Der olympische Gedanke in der modernen Welt hat uns zu einem Symbol des Weltkrieges verholphen'. Die internationale Pressekampgne zur Vorbereitung auf die Olympischen Spiele 1916", in: N. Gissel (ed), *Proceedings. DVS-Sektion Sportgeschichte 1998* (in press).
- 10 H.Bernett, "Carl Diem und sein Werk als Gegenstand der sportgeschichtlichen Forschung" in *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports*, 1 (1987), 7-41.
- 11 A.Krüger, "'The Olympic Spirit of the Modern World has given us a Symbol of World War.' Sport and the National Representation at the Eve of World War 1" in l' Arnaud and A. Wahl (eds), *Sport et relations internationales* (Centre de Recherche Histoire et Civilisation de l' Université de Metz, vol 19) (Metz: Université, 1994), 47-64.
- 12 M. Berner, "Der olympische Gedanke in der Welt", in: *Fussball und Leichtathletik*, 14 (1913), 495 - 6.
- 13 A.Krtiger, *Dr. Theodor Lewald, Sportführer ins Dritte Reich*, (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1975).
- 14 According to H.Bernett, "Wehrsport- ein Pseudosport" in *Sportwissenschaft* 11 (1981), 1, 295- 308 it is, however, questionable whether their activities should actually be called "sport"; for the connections between the paramilitary activities and the mainstream sport see A. Kruger and F. v. Lojewski, "Ausgewählte Aspekte des Wehrsports in Niedersachsen in der Weimarer Zeit", in: H. Langenfeld and S. Nielsen (eds.), *Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Niedersachsens. Teil 2: Weimarer Republik* (Hoya: NISH 1998), 124 - 48.
- 15 A. Kruger, *Sport und Politik. Vom Turnvater Jahn zum Staatsamateur* (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1975).

- 16 W. Joch, "Kontinuität und Wandel, Elend und Würde. Karl Ritter von Halt (1891 bis 1964)" in A. Luh and E. Beckers (eds), *Umbruch und Kontinuität im Sport - Reflexionen im Umfeld der Sportgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Ueberhorst* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1991), 442-56.
- 17 A. Kruger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 und die Weltmeinung* (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1972), 29ff.
- 18 A. Kruger, "'Heute gehört uns Deutschland und morgen...'? Das Ringen um den Sinn der Gleichschaltung im Sport in der ersten Jahreshälfte 1933, in: W. Buss and A. Kruger (eds.), *Sportgeschichte - Traditionspflege und Wertewandel* (Duderstadt: mecke 1985), pp. 175 - 96.
- 19 R. S. Wistrich (ed.), *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (London: Routledge 1995), p. 197f.; for the sporting side see. K. A. Scherer, *Der Männerorden* (Frankfurt/M: Limpert 1974), pp. 74 - 7.
- 20 K. Pätzold and K. Weissbecker, *Hakenkreuz und Totenkopf. Die Partei des Verbrechens* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1982), 210f.
- 21 For its structure see G.M. Müller, *Das Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Berlin: Junker &
- 22 See A. Grosser, *La presse et la naissance d'une dictature* (Paris: Colon, 1972).
- 23 For the theoretical discussion about what actually constitutes propaganda in a discursive context cf. T. Smith, III. (ed), *Propaganda : A Pluralistic Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1989); A. Pratkanis and E. Aronson, *Age of Propaganda. The Use and Abuse of Persuasion* (New York: Freeman, 1991); G.S. Jowett and V. O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London: Sage, 1992) ; D. Welch, *The Third Reich. Politics and Propaganda* (London: Routledge, 1993); for a broader theoretical background cf. N. Stevenson, *Culture, Understanding Media* (London: Sage, 1995).
- 24 H.J Teichler, "Berlin 1936 - Ein Sieg der NS Propaganda?" in *Stadion 2* (1976), 265-306.
- 25 For the Italian model see V. de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent. Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1981).
- 26 E. Leiser, "*Deutschland Erwache!*" *Propaganda im Film des Dritten Reiches* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1968).
- 27 H. Bernett, "Nationalsozialistischer Volkssport bei 'Kraft durch Freude'" in *Stadion 5* (1979), 1,98-146.
- 28 H. Bohrmann (ed), *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit* (München: Saur, 1993) vol. 4, 782 (July 22, 1936).
- 29 J.Martin-Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony* (London: Sage, 1993); T.J.Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities" in *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), 3, 567-93; for a debate of the usefulness of this concept: *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), 1, 115-57; L. Haywood, "Hegemony- Another Blind Alley for the Study of Sport?" in Mangan and Small, *Sport, Culture, Society*, 234-9.
- 30 For the connection between Sport and Religion see O. Korsgaard, "Sport as a Practice of Religion: The Record as Ritual" in J.M Carter and A. Kruger (eds), *Ritual and Record* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1990), 135-52; C.S. Prebish (ed), *Religion and Sport. The Meeting of Sacred and Profane* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1993).
- 31 J. M. Brohm, "Zum Verhältnis von Olympismus und Nationalsozialismus" in G. Gebauer (ed), *Olympia-Berlin. Gewalt und Mythos in den Olympischen Spielen von Berlin 1936* (Berlin: FUB, 1986), 190-205; influenced by Brohm but less precise in his analysis: T.Alkemeyer, *Vom Wettstreit der Nationen zum Kampf der Völker: Aneignung und Umdeutung der 'Olympischen Idee' im deutschen Faschismus ; der Olympismus Pierre de Coubertins und die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Berlin*. Diss. FU Berlin (Microfiche) 1994.

- 32 Goebbels kept himself well informed about the discussions at the AAU conference to debate US participation in the Olympic Games, E Fröhlich, *Die Tagebücher des Joseph Goebbels. Fragmente* (München: Saur, 1987), part 1, vol. 2, 594.
- 33 A. Kruger, "Deutschland und die Olympische Bewegung (1918-1945)" in H. Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, vol. 3/2, (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz), 1982, 1026-47.
- 34 It could be argued that the Swedish government was the first in 1912, but it organised a national lottery to pay for the building of the new Olympic Stadium, and did not pay for it directly out of taxes, see J. Lindroth, *Idrottens väg till folkrörelse. Studier i svensk idrottsrörelse till 1915* ( Uppsala: Acta Universitatis, 1974).
- 35 A. Kruger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, 216ff.
- 36 1500 RM instead of 500, see BA, R18 Rep 320 Nr. 608, Haushaltsplan.
- 37 Personal Interview in February 1996 during celebrations for 60 years of Olympics in Garmisch- Partenkirchen.
- 38 A. Krüger, "The German way of worker sports" in A. Krüger and J. Riordan (eds), *The Story of Workers Sport* (Campaign, III.: Human Kinetics, 1996), 1-27.
- 39 H.E. Rösch, *Sport um der Menschen willen. 75 Jahre DJK- Sportverband, Deutsche Jugendkraft. 1920-1995* (Aachen: Meyer & Meyer, 1995), 29ff.
- 40 A. Kruger, "'Wenn die Olympiade vorbei, schlagen wir die Juden zu Brei.' Das Verhältnis der Juden zu den Olympischen Spielen von 1936 " in *Menora 5. Jahrbuch für deutsch- jüdische Geschichte* 1994 (München: Piper, 1994), 331-48.
- 41 R. Rohrbach (ed), "...bis zum letzten Atemzuge..." *Propaganda in der NS-Zeit* (Göttingen: Goltze, 1995).
- 42 H. Bohrmann (ed), *NS-Presseanweisungen* in a major research effort these press orders are now being reconstructed in their results. Some 80,000 orders are still available in all fields put together, but, of course, only a small number of these relate to sport or the Olympic Games. The project started in 1984 and is still not finished. Most of the material is from the Federal Archives in Koblenz and from the German Newspaper Archive in Dortmund.
- 43 G. Toepser Ziegert, "NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit" in *Ibid.*, vol.1, 17-60.
- 44 I. Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London: Arnold, 1993); J. Noakes and G.Pridham (eds), *Nazism. A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts. 1919-1945* (New York: Schocken, 1984), 2 vols.
- 45 Bohrmann, *Presseanweisungen*, vol.3, 865f. (Dec. 13, 1935).
- 46 M. Dodd, *Through Embassy Eyes* (New York Hartcourt, Brace &Co, 1939). Although Goebbels personally resented the success of the African-Americans, his propaganda scheme overrode his personal interests, see Fröhlich, *Goebbels*, 655 (August 5,1936): "We Germans won one gold medal the Americans three, two by negroes. What a shame. The white part of the American team ought to be embarrassed. But what does this matter in this country without any decent civilization (Kultur)."
- 47 Bohrmann, *NS-Presseanweisungen*, vol IV, part 2, 853 (August 6, 1936).
- 48 Federal Archives, Koblenz, NS 19/1641 of 3/12/1935.
- 49 Bohrmann, *NS - Presseanweisungen*, vol .IV, part 1,85 (January 27,1936).

- 50 L. Gruchmann, “‘Blutschutzgesetz’” und Justiz. Zur Entstehung und Auswirkung des Nürnberger Gesetzes vom 15. September 1935” in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 31 (1983), 418 - 42.
- 51 Bohrmann, *NS-Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2, 875 (August 12, 1936).
- 52 Before the Games even started the Chinese had already complained twice and the press was warned to handle foreign customs with more care, see Bohrmann, *NS-Presseanweisungen*, *ibid*, 795 (22 July 1936).
- 53 *Ibid*, 732 (July 9, 1936).
- 54 Bohrmann, *NS - Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 1, 189 (February 19, 1936).
- 55 A. Kruger, “Dann veranstalten wir eben deutsche Olympische Spiele.’ Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 als deutsches Nationalfest” in H. Breuer and R. Naul (eds), *Schwimmsport und Sportgeschichte. Zwischen Politik und Wissenschaft* (St. Augustin : Academia, 1994), 127-49.
- 56 H. Bernett, “Sportpublizistik im totalitären Staat. 1933- 1945” in *Stadion*, 11 (1985), 263 - 95; J Bellers (ed), *Die Olympiade Berlin; Aussenpolitische Rundschau* (1936), No.13.
- 57 Bohrmann, *NS - Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2, 887 (August 13, 1936).
- 58 13,000 Mark (= 4,250 US \$), see K. Lennartz (ed), *Die VI. Olympischen Spiele Berlin 1916* (Köln: Barz & Beienburg 1978) p. 77.
- 59 *Promi* in letter to OC, Aug. 19, 1936, BA R43 II/731. It was a Californian from Artesia, cf. *Pathfinder* 29 Aug. 1936, 6.
- 60 A. Kruger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, 194. Here the organisers had learned from the Winter Games when Henlein the Sudeten Führer, who was at the same time president of the Sudeten Turner Organization had been given too much attention and criticized by the international press, *Ibid.*, 171.
- 61 See for instance the meeting of the Swedes in Bohrmann, *NS-Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2, 847, (August 5, 1936).
- 62 *Ibid*, 878 (August 12, 1936) on the Sudetendeutsche with the explicit order that news of the VDA (the Nazi propaganda organisation directed towards the people of German origin) should not be printed until further notice.
- 63 *Ibid*, (August 7, 1936). *The Amtlicher Bericht*, II, 676 called him however, by his Italian first name. Similar advice had already been given in the case of the Winter Games, Bohrmann, *NS- Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 1, 131 (February 6, 1936).
- 64 Kruger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, 201.
- 65 C.C. Graham, *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1986); T. Wiener, “Good Sports” in *American Films* 9 (1984), 9 66 -9; for her connections to the regime see H. Bernett, “Leni Riefenstahls Dokumentarfilm von den Olympischen Spielen in Berlin 1936” in *idem, Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte des Sports* (Schorndorf: Hoffmann, 1973), 115-40; the most skillful analysis is by R.D Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); on the special charms of fascist sport movies see H. Hoffmann, *Mythos Olympia. Autonomie und Unterwerfung von Sport und Kultur* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1993); Leiser, “Deutschland Erwache!”.
- 66 The German press was told to publicise the ready availability of housing in Berlin, also for short stay and at inexpensive rates, Bohrmann, *NS-Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2. 830 (August 3, 1936). They were also told to de-emphasize track and field in their reporting as Germans would be successful in other sports as well, *ibid.*, 836 (August 3 1936). The Olympic stadium was sold out while there were still seats available at some of the other sports.

- 67 Garmisch - Partenkirchen celebrated the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their Games in exactly the same spirit, see. “Das andere Gesicht der Winterspiele `36” in *Garmisch Partenkirchener Tageblatt*, January 27, 1996. For the Nazi atrocities in Garmisch-Partenkirchen see A. Schwarzmüller, “‘Juden sind hier nicht erwünscht.’ Aus der Geschichte der jüdischen Bürger in Garmisch- Partenkirchen von 1933 - 1945” in *Mohr - Löwe - Raute. Beiträge aus der Geschichte des Landkreises Garmisch Partenkirchen*, 1995, 184-232.
- 68 Bill Murray, “France, de Coubertin and the Berlin Olympics: the Response” in *Olympika*, (1992), 46-69. See also chapter by Murray on France in this book.
- 69 J. Kieran and A. Daley, *The Story of the Olympic Games* (Philadelphia: Lippinkot, 1965). 153- 81.
- 70 O.Meyer, *A travers les anneaux olympiques* (Geneva: Caillet, 1960)
- 71 H. Bernett, *Sportpolitik im 3. Reich* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1971).
- 72 H.J. Teichler, “Coubertin und das Dritte Reich” in *Sportwissenschaft* 12 (1982), 1, 18-55; idem, *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1991).
- 73 K. Ullrich, *Olympia - geliebt und gehasst* (Berlin: Sportverlag, 1987).
- 74 For the early connections between the IOC and the sales value of the Games, see A. Kruger, “‘The Masses are much more sensitive to the perfection of the whole than to any separate details.’ The Influence of John Ruskin’s Political Economy on Pierre de Coubertin” in *Olympika* 5 (1996) 25-44. All Games since have not just used the five rings, but a special logo created for the particular Olympic Games.
- 75 In this context I do not want to go into the problems of totalitarianism and start comparing the 1936 and the 1980 Olympics.
- 76 This changed after the Berlin Games, when Germany staged seminars for international athletes and coaches to learn about the German way of training.
- 77 A. Kruger, “‘Fair Play for American Athletes’.
- 78 Bush to Diem, December 26, 1935. Brundage Collection, Box 155 (Individuals: Clarence Bush).
- 79 A. Kruger, “Fair Play for American Athletes”; S.R. Wenn, “A suitable Policy of Neutrality? FDR and the question of American Participation in the 1936 Olympics” in *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 8 (1991), 319-35.
- 80 Bohrmann, *NS Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2, 735 (July 16, 1936)
- 81 *Amtlicher Bericht*, vol. 1. 92.
- 82 *Ibid.*, I, 304.
- 83 All data are from the *Amtlicher Bericht*, I, 40ff.
- 84 On the whole Germans knew beforehand what was to be in the papers as it provided the “Mercedes Schreibdienst”, a speedy typewriter service, “You dictate - we typewrite, without expenses”, see Organisationskomitee für die IV. Olympischen Winterspiele (ed), *Amtlicher Bericht* (Berlin: Limpert, 1936), 164.
- 85 Report of the *Deutsches Studentenwerk* (NS national student organisation, Munich Division) to le Fort (Secretary General Olympic Winter Games) April 16, 1936 and from him passed on to Berlin, Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele* 1936,175f.

- 86 *Washington Post*, February 14, 1936,7:1, 18, 1936,9:1;20, 1936,9:1.
- 87 The first to claim exclusive photo rights to an Olympic Games were the Dutch in 1928.
- 88 V. Kluge, *Winter-Olympia Kompakt* (Berlin: Sportverlag, 1992), 68.
- 89 250 German radio transmissions from Garmisch-Partenkirchen (= 604 hours on the air) plus 201 foreign radio transmissions of an unknown duration, *Amtlicher Bericht Winterspiele*, 176.
- 90 *Amtlicher Bericht*, I, 311.
- 91 Bohrmann, *NS- Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, part 2, 854 (August 6, 1936)
- 92 *Newsweek* (July 18, 1936) , 31; *Literary Digest* (June 6, 1936), 47; *ibid.* (July 4, 1936), 33. The Los Angeles Organisers had not made any efforts in 1932 to provide a world wide coverage, see A. Rhodes, *Propaganda. The Art of Persuasion. World War II* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1976), 30.
- 93 *New York Times* May 21, 1936,28:5 for the media theory of the time see S.A Lowery and M.L. Defleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research. Media Effects* (New York: Longman, 1988).
- 94 Adolf Hitler, *Des Führers Kampf um den Weltfrieden. Reichstagsrede vom 7. März 1936* (München: Eher, 1936), 21.
- 95 Bohrmann, *Presseanweisungen*, vol. IV, 937 ff. Goebbels called this in his Diaries “the perfect timing of the Führer” (vol. II, 666, August 25, 1936)
- 96 Messersmith’s letter to Hull, Nov. 15, 1935, National Archives, RG 59 Gen. Records Dept. of State, 862.4063 Olympic Games, No. 57.
- 97 Teichler, “Berlin 1936 - Ein Sieg der NS Propaganda?”
- 98 Great Britain was shocked about the poor showing of British athletes in Berlin placing only seventh internationally, the poorest result until then. It was therefore recommended that they follow German physical -training schemes for the benefit of the Army and elite sports, see M. Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in inter-war Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 168f.; *The Times*, August 17, 1939; *Hunsard*, July 14, 1936, 314, 1910-11.
- 99 Krüger, *Deutschland und die Olympische Bewegung (1918-1945)*, 104ff.
- 100 A.Krüger and D. Ramba, “Sparta or Athens? The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Nazi Germany” in R. Renson, et al (eds), *The Olympic Games Through the Ages: Greek Antiquity and its Impact on Modern Sport*. (Athens: Hellenic Sports Research Institute 1991), 345-56.

