The Olympic Games and the Secret Cold War: The U.S. Government and the Propaganda Campaign Against Communist Sport, 1950-1960  
  
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Toby Charles Rider   
  
  
  
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**THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO**

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**Abstract and Keywords**

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Soviet Union and its East European satellites used international sport as a diplomatic tool to convince the world that communism was a vibrant and superior political ideology. This study explores the U.S. government’s effort to counter the communist “sports offensive.” In particular, it is demonstrated that the U.S. government harnessed the Olympic Games as a platform to wage a propaganda campaign against communist sport during the early years of the Cold War. Based on declassified documents and a range of previously unexamined archival material, this dissertation argues that the United States responded to the expansive post-war challenge of Soviet sport earlier, and far more aggressively, than previously acknowledged by scholarly examination. The response was not a replication of the state-directed Soviet sports system, but instigated through covert psychological warfare operations and overt propaganda distributed to the “free world.”

From 1950 to 1960, the U.S. government took an unprecedented interest in international sport and the Olympic Games. In the lead up to, and during each Olympic festival, the U.S. information program sent waves of propaganda material across the globe to promote the American way of life and, by the same token, to denounce communism. It used the Olympic host cities as venues for a range of propaganda drives to advertise the American economic and political system; it also attempted to manipulate the International Olympic Committee in clandestine ways. The most prevalent aspect of many of these initiatives was the government’s cooperation with private groups, some of which were secretly funded émigré organizations bent on “liberating” the regimes of Eastern Europe from communism. While all of these efforts to utilize sport may have been less extensive than those pursued by the Soviet Union, they do provide further insights into how the U.S. government mobilized culture to conduct the Cold War.

Keywords: Olympic Games, propaganda, psychological warfare, exiled athletes, state-private network, Cold War.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Certificate of Examination  Acknowledgments  Abstract and Keywords  Table of Contents  List of Figures  Abbreviations  Chapter 1 - Introduction  Statement of Purpose  Literature Review  Contribution to the Body of Knowledge  Method and Sources Limitations of StudyDelimitations of StudyOutline of Chapters Chapter 2 – The Cold War, Psychological Warfare, and the State-Private Network  The Origins of the Cold War  The American Experience with Propaganda and Psychological Warfare to 1945  Remobilizing Propaganda for the Cold War  The State-Private Network  Chapter 3 – An Iron Curtain in the Olympic Movement: Sport, Politics, and Propaganda  Sport, Politics, and Propaganda  The Olympic Games and its Politics  The American Olympic Experience  The Soviet Olympic Experience  The Cold War and the Olympic Games  Chapter 4 – “Outside Their Orbit:” Exploiting the Olympic Games and Countering Soviet Peace Propaganda The Soviet “Peace Offensive” Reaching a Consensus on Communist Sport Plans for Exploiting the Olympics Oslo HelsinkiSummary Chapter 5 – A Sporting Front: The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen  The NCFE, Sport, and the Hungarian National Sports Federation  The Idea for an Exiled Olympic Team  “A Passing Problem”  The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen is Formed  Summary  Chapter 6 – Creating a “favorable climate of opinion:” the United States Information Agency and the 1956 Olympic Games Sport and the Soviet “Cultural Offensive” A Faltering Response A New Olympic Challenge Getting Inside the IOC  The USIA and the OCB Working Group on the 1956 Olympic Games  Summary  Chapter 7 – “Down a Road Called Liberty:” *Sports Illustrated* and the Melbourne Defection  Liberation?  The Melbourne Olympic Games and the World Situation  The Defection  Summary  Chapter 8 – Symbols of Freedom: Resettling the Hungarian National Olympic Team  The Freedom Tour  Resettlement: Operation Eagle  The “Iglói-Tábori Mission” and the Santa Clara Valley Youth Village  The International Olympic Committee Stands Firm  Summary  Chapter 9 – Operation Rome: East-West Contacts, the Free Europe Committee, and the 1960 Summer Olympic Games  East-West Contacts and the Cultural Agreement  More Olympic Controversy  Making Plans, Making Contact  Telegdy on Tour  Operation Rome  Summary  Chapter 10 – Conclusion: Over the Dam?  Bibliography  Curriculum Vitae | ii  iii  vi  viii  x  xi  1  1  8  26  28  31  32  33  36  36  46  51  68  80  80  84  91  100  105  124  126  130  136  149  155  166  171  174  186  193  198  208  213  215  220  234  238  245  258  262  265  273  279  295  298  300  310  318  327  333  336  337  349  354  361  366  375  378  389  410 |

**LIST OF FIGURES**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Figure 1.  Figure 2.  Figure 3.  Figure 4.  Figure 5.  Figure 6.  Figure 7.  Figure 8.  Figure 9.  Figure 10.  Figure 11. | C.D. Jackson (left) is sworn in by Dwight D. Eisenhower (right) as the President's Special Assistant on Cold War Planning. Eisenhower Presidential Library.  Avery Brundage (left), President of the International Olympic Committee, at the opening ceremony of the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. To his right is the Duke of Edinburgh. International Olympic Committee Archives.  Count Anthony Szápáry, President of the Hungarian National Sports Federation. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.  A United States Information Agency cartoon of the boxer, Floyd Patterson. National Archives.  A United States Information Agency cartoon of the Gymnast, Judy Howe. National Archives.  A United States Information Agency cartoon of the basketball player, Bill Russell. National Archives.  The Officials of the Hungarian National Sports Federation. From left to right, George Telegdy (Secretary-General), Count Anthony Szápáry (President), and Frank Chase (Vice President). Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.  The Hungarian National Olympic Team stands in front of the United Airways plane that flew them to New York. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry  A United States Information Agency photograph shows American and exiled Hungarian swimmers enjoying each other’s company during the Freedom Tour. The Hungarian’s were part of an exhibition at the University of Maryland. From left to right they are Dick Amen, Ferenc Siak, Stapler Shields, and József Gerlach. National Archives.  Pictured from left to right: László Tábori, Mihály Iglói, and George Telegdy. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.  Father Walter E. Schmidt pictured with young members of the Santa Clara Valley Youth Village. Department of Archives and Special Collections, Santa Clara University. | 64  97  183  232  256  257  285  301  308  319  321 |

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AAU Amateur Athletic Union of the United States

ACEN Assembly of Captive European Nations

CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CIAA Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

CPI Committee on Public Information

IAAF International Amateur Athletic Federation

IIA International Information Administration

IOC International Olympic Committee

IRI Office of Research and Intelligence

FEC Free Europe Committee (formerly NCFE)

HNC Hungarian National Council

HNSF Hungarian National Sports Federation

IOD International Organizations Division

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NCFE National Committee for a Free Europe

NOC National Olympic Committee

NSC National Security Council

OCB Operations Coordinating Board

OPC Office of Policy Coordination

OSS Office of Strategic Services

OWI Office of War Information

PPS Policy Planning Staff

PSB Psychological Strategy Board

PWB Psychological Warfare Branch

RFE Radio Free Europe

SCVYV Santa Clara Valley Youth Village

*SI Sports Illustrated*

VOA Voice of America

UFEES Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen

UFHS Union of Free Hungarian Students

UN United Nations

USIA United States Information Agency

USIE International Information and Educational Exchange Program

USIS United States Information Service

USOC United States Olympic Committee

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

**Chapter 1 - Introduction**

# Statement of Purpose

On the evening of 9 June 1955, Republican Senator John Marshall Butler addressed an audience at the Friendship International Airport in Baltimore. The topic of his speech, he claimed, reached everyone in “contemporary life.” He spoke of sports and the Olympic Games:

Are we in the United States – where our record of excellence in the field of amateur sportsmanship is a by-product of our unique system of government – allowing the Soviet Union to pollute the Olympic Games; to use, with diabolic deceit, the spirit of sportsmanship itself as a velvet gloved iron fist to ruthlessly hammer out their Godless propaganda?[[1]](#footnote-1)

Butler called upon the media, government, educational leaders, and the general public to “expose” the threat of Soviet sport, for, he thought, it portrayed Soviet political and ideological strength at a time when such things were of singular importance. The Senator did not hold this sincere concern alone. The U.S. press had for several years been filled with columns saying much the same thing.[[2]](#footnote-2)

The nature of Soviet sport only became such a matter of pointed interest to so many because of the irreconcilable state of international politics that followed the events of World War II. The United States and the Soviet Union fought together to defeat Germany, but it was an alliance formed only to deal with the immediate danger that Hitler posed to the world balance of power. Long before World War II ended, the relationship between the two already showed signs of suspicion rather than trust. When, in fact, the Red Army pushed the German military out of Soviet borders and back to Berlin, Stalin’s sole intention was to remain dominant in the region his troops occupied. The expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence directly challenged the American preference for democratic elections and a free market economy in Europe. A shared victory turned into a shared impasse. The two world superpowers turned from fighting a common foe, and faced each other.[[3]](#footnote-3) The Soviet Union desired a world order where Marxism-Leninism was the dominant ideology, and the U.S. wanted a world inspired by “freedom” and “democracy.” Thus began the Cold War, an ideological conflict for the “hearts and minds” of civilization.

Scholars have long recognized that the Soviet Union used sport as a means to promote communism to the world at large, and that after 1945, the effort became more deliberate beyond its borders, and more comprehensive in scale.[[4]](#footnote-4) It has also been well documented that once the Soviet Union entered the Olympic Movement in 1951, Soviet sports officials prepared athletes for specific events on the Olympic program, as they believed that victory at the festival served as powerful propaganda. When Senator Butler voiced his assessment of Soviet sport, he was not altogether wrong. But unbeknownst to the Senator, and all those who reached the same conclusion, a secret war was being fought that contradicted much of what they said. The leaders of the Soviet Union and its European satellites may have been using the Olympic Games as an ideological tool and as a conduit for propaganda, but in essence, the U.S. government did precisely the same thing.

By the early 1950s, many in the U.S. government perceived that Soviet sports represented an ideological threat to American interests abroad. Numerous meetings between government officials and widely distributed reports reveal the extent and nature of those fears. Psychological warfare experts were convinced that Soviet dominance of international sport created the impression that “communists are young, vigorous, full of promise for the future while democrats or Americans are effete, decadent, dissipated, and destined for early extinction.”[[5]](#footnote-5) A meeting held late in 1954 at the Pentagon left representatives of the State Department, Department of Defense, and United States Information Agency convinced that events like the Olympic Games were “being treated as propaganda by the Russian Communists and their satellites to increase the prestige of the Communist World and add to their propaganda theme of the invincibility of Communists and Communism.”[[6]](#footnote-6) The American response to this quandary, however, was somewhat restrained. Tradition held that sport in the United States was an entity removed from federal government interference, and guided by the principles of amateurism. Several legislative bills proposing to inject government funding into the preparation of the U.S. Olympic team were placed before Congress during the early 1950s. None of the bills passed.[[7]](#footnote-7) Thus, if the government wanted to discredit or challenge Soviet sport, it had to be done in other ways.

This study explores how the U.S. government used the Olympic Games as a platform to wage a propaganda campaign against communism during the early years of the Cold War. Based on declassified documents and a range of archival material, it is argued that the United States responded to the post-war challenge of Soviet sport earlier, and far more aggressively, than previously acknowledged. The response was not a replication of the state-directed Soviet sports system, but often instigated through covert psychological warfare operations and overt propaganda distributed to the “free world.” Long before Senator Butler gave his solemn speech, the U.S. government had already been “exposing” the direction of Soviet sport, and often prompted and encouraged private groups to join it in meeting the challenge.

Indeed, the cultivation of links between the U.S. government and the private sphere is a central aspect of this study. This follows the persuasive research of scholars, such as Scott Lucas, who acknowledge the challenges faced by those in control of U.S. psychological warfare policy, and the methods used to overcome them. Lucas, for instance, argues that just like the Soviet Union, the United States embraced an ideology. It may not have been as clearly defined as Marxism-Leninism, but it existed nonetheless. While the Cold War penetrated nearly all aspects of American life, it was also a cultural conflict, where the U.S. tried to convince the “free world” and all else beyond, that it had a better “way of life.” The rallying call of this position and the ideological component that buttressed it was the “U.S. guardianship of ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy.’” The fight was led by both public and private sectors of American society. Lucas asserts that the Cold War was not solely waged by high level diplomats and army generals, but also by “covert operators,” and with the cooperation of private groups. This last point is crucial. The establishment of a “state-private network” provided the necessary façade to prove that “freedom” was not just an empty claim, and that the U.S. public thought and acted independently in its mutual disdain for communism. Though the state-private network was funded primarily through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), it gave the impression of independence, a matter consistently compared to the “restrictive” and “undemocratic” society of the Soviet Union.[[8]](#footnote-8)

The problem of *attribution* is a prominent feature in many sport-related government initiatives undertaken throughout the 1950s. Even if a plan or course of action stemmed from official sources, it was distributed through unofficial means or cloaked by the state-private network. Some of the most aggressive and strident attacks on communist sport were delivered covertly, to disassociate the impression of government involvement. Psychological warfare experts formed working relationships with the most powerful sports organizations in America. Both the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU) intentionally and unwittingly cooperated in anti-communist propaganda campaigns. State-private groups like the European Movement, the Hungarian National Council, and the Santa Clara Youth Village all veiled government involvement in anti-communist sport propaganda. Even big business, such as *Sports Illustrated*, either supported, funded, or assisted in numerous ways to attack communist sport.

The CIA funded all manner of “private” organizations to wage the Cold War at home and abroad. One in particular received enormous sums of money to instigate vigorous propaganda and psychological warfare throughout Eastern Europe. The National Committee for a Free Europe Inc. (NCFE) was created in 1949 to harness the disruptive potential of émigrés from the communist countries of Eastern Europe. Among its range of initiatives, the NCFE funded radio broadcasts that reached behind the Iron Curtain, produced anti-communist literature, supported further exiled groups, and formed a Free Europe University in Exile.

The work of the NCFE in the field of sport propaganda is demonstrated throughout this study. It manifests itself in several respects. First and foremost, the NCFE aided and funded a group called the Hungarian National Sports Federation (HNSF). The HNSF consisted of Hungarian sports officials, sports enthusiasts, and world-class athletes, all of whom defected from Hungary and used sport as an instrument to attack the communist regime that engulfed the government of their homeland. Led by a determined Count named Anthony Szápáry, the HNSF’s political agitation reached its high water mark during the Melbourne Olympics of 1956, when it contributed to the mass defection of over thirty members of the Hungarian Olympic team.

Finally, this study aims to discuss the themes of official U.S. government propaganda surrounding the Olympic Games. News stories, cartoons, and radio commentaries distributed and broadcast throughout the world were used to present American sport in a very particular light. In general, these themes countered accusations leveled by the Soviet propaganda machinery, and were designed to appeal to Western sporting ideals. But while the “amateur” status of American athletes was often compared to the state “professionals” of the Soviet bloc, this was not the sole focus. The question of American amateurism versus Soviet professionalism was actually a matter cautiously avoided in many instances. The dubious status of college and military athletes left the U.S. open to a legitimate accusation of hypocrisy. As such, U.S. propaganda sought to present an image of American participation at each Olympic festival, which promoted the role of black and female athletes in the U.S. Olympic team. Likewise, it was the “freedom” of American athletes that became prevalent in propaganda. They were depicted as paragons of the American “way of life,” thriving on the benefits and opportunities afforded by a “democratic” society. On the other hand, anti-communist sport propaganda constantly squeezed certain ideological pressure points. It charged that Soviet sport was not about fun and it was not about free choice. Communist sportsmen were political agents, as opposed to western athletes who partook in the Olympic Games with the correct spirit of competition. United States propaganda experts forever accused the Soviets of making sport an ideological issue when, of course, they were doing precisely the same thing.

**Literature Review**

The historiography of the Cold War, like the conflict itself, has passed through several phases. At first, the “orthodox” perspective held by western scholars blamed the Soviet Union. This view was eroded in the 1960s by the “revisionists” who, girded by revelations in the media about covert CIA operations, found fault with the expansionist policy of the United States government. The scales were then supposedly balanced by the “post-revisionists,” who blamed no-one in particular and passed “a cold, critical eye over the ‘sins’ of all participants.” Since the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the release of new sources from both sides of the Iron Curtain, a fresh wave of scholarship has sought to understand the complexities of the Cold War from different perspectives.[[9]](#footnote-9) For instance, the pervasive influence of psychological warfare and propaganda in U.S. Cold War policy has been increasingly revealed.[[10]](#footnote-10) This has challenged long held conclusions about whether the U.S. was seeking to “contain” communism, or, in fact, to obliterate it.[[11]](#footnote-11) The role of American culture in the process, through overt and covert channels, is becoming more evident.

Diplomatic historians studying the Cold War have often pushed culture to one side, and placed a premium on national security, militarization, or economic imperatives. Walter Hixson wrote over a decade ago that “Specialists in the history of the Cold War, like American policymakers themselves, have kept cultural matters on the periphery of their work.”[[12]](#footnote-12) This trend has steadily been amended. For example, Hixson answered his own call, and produced an extremely influential book in 1997, on the official use of culture and propaganda by the U.S. government during the Truman and Eisenhower years. Hixson concluded that American culture offered a potent means to break through the Iron Curtain when traditional diplomatic channels stalled. As a long term strategy, “Modern communications, including radio, television, and film, as well as direct contacts through exhibitions, tourism, and exchange programs, were agents of Western political infiltration.”[[13]](#footnote-13)

While Hixson expands on the themes of America’s first peacetime propaganda offensive, Laura Belmonte examines this issue in even greater depth, highlighting how U.S. propaganda campaigns presented visions of “family and gender,” “work and worship,” “freedom and free enterprise,” and the contentious subject of race. By looking at the “creation and international dissemination of American political culture,” Belmonte attempts to add precision to our understanding of how “cultural diplomacy” was utilized to shape the opinions of foreign audiences about the United States.[[14]](#footnote-14)

By pushing American culture into the countries of the communist bloc, the U.S. government thought that, given the choice, the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would choose the American “way of life.” The world “climate of opinion” was just as important. The “free world” could not be neglected. From the moment that the Cold War became enshrined in 1947, the prospect of a Third World War did not appeal to either superpower. Nuclear weapons made such an event unthinkable. To win the Cold War, the U.S. had to prove that beyond all else, it was the leader of the free world. Kenneth Osgood has looked at how the Eisenhower administration’s psychological warfare programs sought to “mobilize” people at home and in the “free world” for Cold War advantage. Both Hixson and Belmonte acknowledge the links between the state and private groups to spread American culture, but this theme abounds in Osgood’s portrayal of America’s “Total” Cold War: “Virtually every aspect of the American way of life – from political organizations and philosophical ideas, to cultural products and scientific achievements, to economic practices and social relationships – was exposed to scrutiny in this total contest for the hearts and minds of the world’s peoples.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

Other scholars have made the “state-private network” the centrepiece of their work. As already stated, Scott Lucas argues that in order to protect and promote the American ideology of “freedom” and “democracy,” the U.S. government formed unprecedented links with the private sphere. To win the Cold War, “every aspect of American life from religion to sport to the wonders of consumerism had to become a beacon to the world while Soviet counterparts were exposed as the perversions of a system which impoverished and enslaved its citizens.”[[16]](#footnote-16) In her path-breaking study, Francis Stoner Saunders explored how the CIA managed to wrap its almost never ending tentacles around various forms of culture in a secret program directed at the intelligentsia of Western Europe. “A central feature of this programme,” writes Stoner Saunders, “was to advance the claim that it did not exist.” In an effort to promote American ideals and to denigrate those of Soviet style communism, few stones were left unturned. The CIA secretly funded the publication of hundreds of books, and tours of musicians, orchestras, ballet troupes and poets; organized cultural congresses and symposia across the world; invested millions in American artists and abstract expressionism; covertly created and funded intellectual journals across the globe, and worked closely with Hollywood to make films that projected a ghastly vision of communism. In particular, Stoner Saunders examines how the CIA funded a “front” organization called the Congress for Cultural Freedom, from 1950 to 1967. Such activities directly call into question the extent to which the U.S. would go to win the Cold War, even impeding on the turf of “organic intellectual growth.”[[17]](#footnote-17)

In a comprehensive study of CIA front groups during the Cold War, Hugh Wilford analyzes how the Agency drew upon and harnessed the American public’s identification with anti-communism. He disagrees, however, with the conclusions of scholars that suggest the CIA was always the “dominant partner” in these covert relationships. Wilford asserts that many groups acted independently, and sometimes spent the Agency’s money how they wished. “The CIA might have tried to call the tune,” he reasons, “but the piper did not always play it, nor the audience dance to it.”[[18]](#footnote-18)

Further examples of the “state-private network” will emerge throughout the narrative of this study, but it is important to note that the work of these scholars has pushed the boundaries of our understanding of the Cold War far beyond traditional diplomacy to all forms of cultural representatives working in concert with the U.S. government. It is surprising, then, that while many historians have looked to engage in a cultural approach to understanding the Cold War, very few of them have managed to explore one of the most ubiquitous cultural forms of all: sport. Apart from the rarest of exceptions, sport is only mentioned fleetingly in studies on culture and the Cold War compared to music, dance, literature, academia, and art.[[19]](#footnote-19) There are no reasonable grounds for this neglect. While scholars have sought to move beyond the top-down preoccupation of much diplomatic history, in contrast, sport historians have for decades been studying how the Cold War pervaded sports on many different levels. In its broadest guise, this scholarship has tended to take one of two paths. For the most part, it has either looked at how sport has been presented in media discourse, or how it has provided a space where international “tensions” have been reproduced.

The place of sport as an arena for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to demonstrate their ideological superiority is a standard observation for the majority of contributions to the literature on sport and the Cold War. For example, in their introduction to the edited collection of essays, *East Plays West*, Stephen Wagg and David Andrews recognize that “in the absence of more conventional forms and frequencies of military engagement,” culture became a significant means for each superpower to demonstrate its strength. Sport, the authors insist, provided another stage for this duel. Global sporting events like the Olympic Games served as grand public spectacles for Soviet and American athletes to compete against one another in “symbolic combat.”[[20]](#footnote-20) In much the same vein, Peter Beck has commented that during the Cold War, sport provided a “high-profile battlefield” whereupon “superiority was not an abstraction, but a reality to be demonstrated repeatedly and conspicuously.”[[21]](#footnote-21)

International sport, when it saw sportsmen from the East competing against sportsmen from the West, had an added political flavour after 1945. As Ronnie Kowalski, Dilwyn Porter,[[22]](#footnote-22) and Peter Beck[[23]](#footnote-23) have demonstrated, soccer interactions during the early years of the Cold War between British and communist nations represented more than just efforts at “peaceful coexistence.” They were a chance to prove national vitality. Equally, Joseph Turrini has chronicled the Dual Track Meet series between athletes from the U.S. and Soviet Union from 1958 to 1985. The track and field contests, he affirms, attracted a significant amount of media and public attention, while simultaneously functioning “as propaganda and foreign diplomacy tools.”[[24]](#footnote-24)

Not just the events themselves, but how they were packaged by media outlets, have formed a large portion of the academic research on sport and the Cold War. Probably due to the problem of language, this research has generally been directed at the Western media. For example, Stephen Wagg has analysed the changing perceptions of female athletes in British newspapers vis-à-vis the women of the communist bloc.[[25]](#footnote-25) Mary McDonald pursues the subject of masculinity in American Cold War discourse while John Bale has studied the “fractured” and “oscillating” reporting in British sporting publications.[[26]](#footnote-26)

The patriotic writing in the U.S. media is hard to avoid for anyone who cares to examine articles on sport in the early years of the Cold War. Anthony Moretti sifted through the *New York Times* press coverage of the lead-up to and events of the 1952 Helsinki Olympics. Moretti concluded that the *Times* was deliberately negative in its portrayal of Soviet sport, following the anti-communist agenda of the newspaper’s editor, Arthur Sulzberger.[[27]](#footnote-27) On a similar note, John Massaro’s research into the reporting of *Sports Illustrated* in 1956, concludes that there was a “Cold War bias” “favoring the values of the United States and Capitalism.”[[28]](#footnote-28)

Elsewhere, Jeffrey Montez de Oca has looked at growing fears in the U.S. government that the fitness of America’s youth paled in comparison to that of the Soviet Union’s in the 1950s, and the resulting discourse that emanated from the White House. He suggests that the Eisenhower administration used physical education to reinforce notions that only strong, white, and masculine male bodies could adequately repel the communist threat.[[29]](#footnote-29)

When ideology is mentioned in the literature it is generally with reference to Soviet, not American, sport.[[30]](#footnote-30) John Hoberman claims that American sport “carries a very substantial ideological load” but sport and ideology, or just ideology itself, is a negative concept in the U.S., and often associated with “fanaticism.” All the same, Hoberman outlines three American sport ideologies: “a centrist neo-Hellenism, similar to the Olympic ideology which incorporates standard nationalist and internationalist themes; a conservatism which includes both critical and vitalistic elements; and a leftist critique which includes liberal antiauthoritarian and neo-Marxist positions.”[[31]](#footnote-31)

As a more specific area of sport and Cold War studies, the politics of the Olympic Games have been explored extensively. With the odd exception, the works have either looked at the changing power struggle within the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the nature of Soviet sport with respect to its uneasy relationship with the amateur ethic of the IOC, or how Cold War issues have impacted on individual Olympic festivals.[[32]](#footnote-32)

Scholars such as Richard Espy,[[33]](#footnote-33) Alfred Senn,[[34]](#footnote-34) and Allen Guttmann[[35]](#footnote-35) have outlined the reluctance within the IOC to accept the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement. The Soviet version of events has been greatly expanded upon by the work of James Riordan and Jenifer Parks. Riordan’s “reasessessment” of Soviet sport has been nourished by the publishing of memoirs, and revelations by Soviet athletes who could finally unveil what they had for so long been forced to hide. Some of the material is startling. At one point, Soviet authorities were so unsure as to whether or not to join the IOC that selected pro-Olympic Soviet sports officials were executed for their overly Western opinions.[[36]](#footnote-36) Even more detail on this matter has been provided by Jenifer Parks who, with new archival sources, has been able to show the internal power struggles between Soviet sports officials and the Communist Party leadership.[[37]](#footnote-37) Her investigation draws somewhat different conclusions from those of Riordan. She found that Soviet sport administrators were not completely subservient to party domination; some found ways to present their case for participation at the Olympics by relating the issue to the goals of the regime.

When the Soviet Union finally entered the Olympic Movement in 1951, no one quite knew what might come of it. It is doubtful that any existing members of the IOC thought that nothing would change, regardless of their ideological allegiance. As events have proven, the arrival of communism into the Olympics had far-reaching consequences. The resulting dynamic of power relations within the IOC has been documented in several studies, most of which fall under the rubric of political histories of the Olympic Games.[[38]](#footnote-38) Allen Guttmann has studied this issue in several publications, and generally approaches the problem through the eyes of Avery Brundage, the President of the IOC from 1952-1972.[[39]](#footnote-39) This has illuminated the string of challenges that the Soviet membership introduced to the IOC. When, for instance, Soviet IOC members made decisions or voted on rulings, they did so in view of what suited the tempo set in the Kremlin. The members from Eastern Europe did the same. This led to “blocs” in the IOC, and ensured that certain matters of ideological interest were constantly on the agenda of meetings.

The aftermath of World War II produced further geopolitical realities that plagued the IOC. Political histories of the Games have consistently chronicled this fallout. Each of them has examined the IOC’s long protracted problem of whether to recognize East Germany as a separate entity from West Germany. All have asked the same question in regard to China and Taiwan or North and South Korea. Judgement has generally been kept in reserve, with events presented in an objective manner. Some historians have not been quite so restrained. Susan Brownell has criticized the IOC’s handling of the two Chinas situation, observing that neither Brundage nor his successor, Lord Killanin, were “sophisticated enough thinkers” to settle the issue.[[40]](#footnote-40) Some of the most thoughtful, and damning, critiques of IOC decision-making have come from John Hoberman.[[41]](#footnote-41)

Another conspicuous debate already present in IOC meetings before 1951, and a routine roadblock after, is the matter of professionalism; or, more precisely, communist state athletes. When the Soviet Union and other communist nations denied that their athletes were trained fulltime at the cost of the state, no one truly believed them, least of all the IOC. There had been problems with amateurism since the Modern Games began, though never to the same extent. The question of state-amateurism and the Olympics has been viewed in countless studies.[[42]](#footnote-42) Each of the Olympic political histories covers the issue.[[43]](#footnote-43) The simple problem is illustrated by Hart Cantelon: “In the Soviet Union, because of its vastly different structural fabric, concepts such as democracy and amateurism took on entirely different meanings than those in the Western nation-states.”[[44]](#footnote-44) On the Soviet side of the debate, Henry Morton has offered an uncompromising critique, and Riordan a spirited defence.[[45]](#footnote-45) Work by Vassil Girginov,[[46]](#footnote-46) Adam Fryc & Mirosław Ponczek,[[47]](#footnote-47) and Uta Andrea Balbier[[48]](#footnote-48) are examples of how the sports systems of Bulgaria, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic mirrored the Soviet method.

Over each Olympic Games of the Cold War era loomed either correlative political events or the sporting rivalry between the two superpowers. Most of these episodes have been examined in much the same manner in the several political histories of the Games. These studies are also complemented by many more specific works on individual festivals.

The Helsinki Olympics in 1952 are notable for being the first attended by the Soviet Union. It became, by extension, an exercise in counting medals. Visa Tikander contends that the final medals total for each nation had always been important, though in Helsinki, it was “serious business.” Media outlets from the U.S. and Soviet Union created their own method of calculating the importance of a Gold, as opposed to a Silver or Bronze, medal. The U.S. finished first regardless of the numerical systems.[[49]](#footnote-49) Maxwell L. Howell and Reet Howell could find nothing positive to say about the “turning point” that the Soviet participation “inflicted” upon the Olympic Movement. From a brazenly amateur position, they conclude that the Soviet Union only served to politicise the Olympics, and introduce the unsatisfactory spectre of the “state athlete.”[[50]](#footnote-50)

The intrusion of Cold War politics into the Olympic Movement was evident at the 1956 Games in Melbourne. The Melbourne Games have been studied, generally, with two events in mind: the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez crisis.[[51]](#footnote-51) Each caused international disagreement and boycotts. Alfred Senn has gone so far as to state: “In the Olympic Year of 1956 international tensions severely tested the IOC’s capacity to survive the Cold War.”[[52]](#footnote-52) The Soviet army ruthlessly ended the Revolution by sending tanks into Budapest. At the Games themselves, the bitterness resurfaced in the water polo contest between the Hungarians and the Soviets. The former easily defeated the latter. Robert Rinehart has studied the symbolic nature of the contest. He argues that the Hungarian victory in the game “crystallized” a moment of “political resistance” to the dominant Soviet regime.[[53]](#footnote-53)

While the general trend for some, including the U.S. government, was to focus on how the Soviet victory at the 1956 Games was an effective way of selling communist culture,[[54]](#footnote-54) Barbara Keys has looked at the Soviet presence in Melbourne as part of a long process of Western cultural infiltration. In addition to membership in the IOC and athletic exchanges, the Melbourne Games helped to expose the Soviet Union to “transnational influences.” Though a long term process, claims Keys, this sort of “cultural dialogue opened up a back door to influences that would ultimately serve to undermine the coercive power of the Soviet state.”[[55]](#footnote-55)

David Maraniss uncovers CIA activities at the 1960 Rome Olympics in a revealing, though poorly documented, study, while Kevin Witherspoon applied a Cold War lens to his account of the 1968 Mexico Olympics.[[56]](#footnote-56) Two events that have no shortage of secondary material are the Olympics of 1980 and 1984. In a purely sporting sense, possibly the most symbolically-charged superpower sporting occasion in the Cold War era was the ice hockey contest between the U.S. and Soviet Union at the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics. In the larger political context, however, the decision by U.S. President Jimmy Carter to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, has attracted a considerable body of work. The most recent, and best, study of this episode from the American perspective is by Nicholas Sarantakes. Sarantakes accuses the Carter White House of completely misunderstanding the organization of international sport and the workings of the IOC. Carter and his advisors thought that by using traditional diplomatic channels and contacting the leaders or governments of countries, they could stimulate a widespread boycott. They never quite grasped the fact that most National Olympic Committees do not answer to the government of the country in which they reside. Even more obtusely, the Carter White House could not understand that the IOC was an independent transnational organization that acted as it wished and not at the behest of any nation or political leader. The IOC president, Lord Killanin, refused to comply with the pressure applied by the U.S. government, and never succumbed to altering the IOC’s decision to stage the Games in Moscow.[[57]](#footnote-57) David Kanin draws the same conclusions, arguing that the overall success of the boycott was dampened by the inability of the West to satisfactorily use it as part of a strategy to redress Soviet actions in Afghanistan.[[58]](#footnote-58) For the perspective from Moscow, Jenifer Parks has examined Soviet archives.[[59]](#footnote-59)

The decision by the Soviet Union, and most of the communist countries, to boycott the 1984 Summer Games in Los Angeles has been treated as an inevitable reaction by some,[[60]](#footnote-60) and as a more complicated issue by others.[[61]](#footnote-61) Harold Wilson has used State Department archives in his research on the surprising decision by Romania to send a team to Los Angeles.[[62]](#footnote-62) On the Soviet side, Evelyn Mertin has used a range of sources to study how the Soviet government tried to explain the boycott to its people.[[63]](#footnote-63)

The decision by President Carter in 1980 stands above all others as the most significant single episode of sport encroaching on the sphere of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War. It is not an isolated case, however. A small band of scholars have approached the subject through several presidential administrations. Of this genre, Roy Clumpner has surveyed the widest time span, covering the years from 1950 to 1973. He claims that the U.S. government unquestionably tried to use sport as a tool for foreign policy by encouraging athletic success and international cultural exchanges. Importantly, he asserts that federal action was only in response to Soviet sports policy. His sources reveal the nature of his work. By using the Congressional Record, he plots the official response to Soviet sport. It is a story of inaction. Apart from a meagre program of athletic “good will tours” started in 1948 and expanded in 1954, much of the bluster delivered by individuals in numerous speeches before Congress failed to inspire anything but superficial interference in sport, especially as a means for propaganda. Comparatively, argues Clumpner, “American federal involvement in sport to promote American interests and foreign policy objectives was miniscule when compared to the Soviet Union from 1950-1973.”[[64]](#footnote-64)

One of the clear trends that emerges from the work of Clumpner is the pointed governmental interest in the Olympic Games. Nicholas Sarantakes shows that during the Nixon administration (1969-1974), this interest in the Olympic Movement evolved into manipulation. Although an era famous for ping-pong diplomacy, the reader is informed that Nixon had little use for sport in conducting foreign policy. This changed, according to Sarantakes, when the Los Angeles committee bidding to host the 1976 Olympics “injected” Cold War politics into its campaign. When the White House was informed that one of the competing cities to host the 1976 Games was Moscow, a previously ambivalent administration took note. Bribes were presented to Latin American IOC members, but the effort to influence the IOC vote was too late and too poorly coordinated.[[65]](#footnote-65)

The bribing of individuals to win an Olympic festival makes it clear that sport was not immune from improper activity on the part of the U.S. government. It also proves that the IOC had problems of its own. The Nixon administration showed no consistent interest in sport, even if some in the White House saw it as more important than others. Thomas Hunt proves that much the same attitude prevailed during the presidential years of Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1968). In a thorough piece of research, Hunt recognizes that while sport was understood to be a sound weapon in the cultural Cold War, the Johnson government sometimes lacked direction in how to use it. Some programs were instigated with an eye on psychological warfare. For example, the use of NASA satellite technology to broadcast the 1964 Olympic Games was an attempt to bolster the image of U.S. “space supremacy.” Indeed, while some showed genuine enthusiasm for good will tours and the presence of American coaches abroad, the Johnson administration witnessed the gradual decline of such cultural programs. Sport became lost in the shuffle behind larger political issues such as the Vietnam War. Hunt concludes, “American sport, used in conjunction with other forms of cultural diplomacy, played an important – though underappreciated – part in the administration’s struggle to win the hearts and minds of the world.”[[66]](#footnote-66)

There is a case to be made in claiming that athletic tours were the most sustained and valuable use of sport by the U.S. government to generate positive propaganda during the Cold War. Some athletes were willing to represent the U.S. abroad, while others used the experience to force an agenda of their own. Damian Thomas has looked at how the State Department enlisted black American athletes in a strategy to change the negative international opinion on civil rights in the United States. Black athletes were asked to cooperate in good will tours and to portray an image abroad that did not correspond to the domestic situation at home. In his excellent study, Thomas details how athletes like Kareem Abdul Jabbar started to treat sport as way to fight against, as opposed to endorse, the U.S. government.[[67]](#footnote-67)

Of the historians that have studied the place of sport in American Cold War policy, none have been able to integrate the issue of psychological warfare and propaganda to the degree achieved by Thomas Domer. It is the only piece of research that overlaps with this study, both in terms of the time period it covers, and the subject it probes. In his 1976 doctoral dissertation, Domer explored the *Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, 1953-1963*. He scoured Presidential Libraries, the National Archives, the Congressional Record, the Avery Brundage Collection, and many other primary source materials. Domer claims that both administrations were deeply aware of the importance of sport to national prestige and tried to “take every opportunity short of direct and total subsidy to enhance the sports image of the United States.”[[68]](#footnote-68) He also recognizes that some of these actions were overt, and some covert, particularly regarding the Eisenhower administration. One of the first overt, or official, actions taken by Eisenhower was the expansion of good will tours in 1954 as a reaction to the Soviet “cultural offensive.” Two years later, the President’s Council on Youth Fitness was initiated to raise the level of fitness in American youth. More pertinently, these two programs were supplemented by the People-to-People Sports Committee in 1956, a state-private initiative which aimed, among other things, to promote American values through international sports exchanges. Notably, Domer draws attention to how other private groups were drawn in to cooperate with government-led plans.

**Contribution to the Body of Knowledge**

It has been said often enough that sport reproduced the tensions of the Cold War; athletic events like the Olympics served to facilitate “symbolic combat;” while media outlets packaged their stories on either side of the Iron Curtain to reflect a particular ideology. This study will not challenge these conclusions; perhaps it might even add more credence to them. But most of what exists on U.S. government sport policy during the early years of the Cold War has been centred on the “official” response to the challenge of Soviet sport. Only Domer has looked at both overt and covert operations, but the issue is deeper and more pervasive than he gives it credit. In Domer’s defence, many of the documents that reveal this entered the public domain only in the last twenty years, long after he completed his research.[[69]](#footnote-69) What the documents prove is that the U.S. government was using sport for propaganda in much the same way as the Soviet Union. It is also clear that sport became a Cold War issue prior to the Eisenhower administration, and before the President’s Emergency Fund expanded good will tours in 1954. The government recognized the propaganda potential of communist sport in the late 1940s, but it was the entry of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement which accelerated this interest. Thus, the first large scale attempt to exploit the Olympics was in 1952, at the Oslo Winter Games.

I do not argue, as Domer has, that there was an overall “cold war strategy” with regard to sport and the U.S. government.[[70]](#footnote-70) Although there is evidence of widespread interest in sports across government departments and in the state-private network, there was no determining leadership in the process, certainly not from the President, in any case. This is not to say that there was no general consensus on what Soviet sport represented and how best to counter it. Indeed, many of the different meetings between private groups, government officials, and departments often shared distinct similarities. To claim, however, that a coordinated and centrally-organized approach was in effect is to overstate the case. If sport and cold war strategy existed in any sense, it was as part of a broader cultural program.

**Method and Sources**

This work, presented in the form of a historical narrative, is based, to a considerable degree, on archival sources. Much of this material has never been used by sport historians, and much of it has only been declassified in the last dozen years. Pertinent documents on the U.S. government’s propaganda and psychological warfare apparatus were gathered at the National Archives, the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, and the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library. Each of these locations contained valuable material on the government’s evolving fears about communist sport, and ideas and actions to counter them. In particular, the Papers and Records of Charles Douglas Jackson at the Eisenhower Library are crucial. Jackson was the president of the NCFE from 1951-1952, and he took a role as Special Assistant on Cold War Panning in the Eisenhower administration from 1953 to 1954. The use of sport for propaganda was a project Jackson saw fit to promote throughout the 1950s. This was expressed most explicitly in the relationship between the HNSF and the NCFE.

Material on the state-private angle was expanded upon by mining two repositories in particular. This included the records of the NCFE, which are subsumed in the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty collection at the Hoover Institution Archives. This voluminous collection holds information on sport-related NCFE propaganda initiatives and the organizations relationship with the HNSF. For the Hungarian National Sports Federation, I found enlightening the never-before-accessed material in the private papers of Count Anthony Szápáry, owned by his daughter and son, Gladys and Paul Szápáry, in Pound Ridge, New York.[[71]](#footnote-71)

By focusing on the Olympic Games rather than sport in general, I have, to a certain extent, narrowed my design. In terms of uncovering how the IOC dealt with the covert work of the HNSF, two archives were rich in germane documents. Firstly, the archives of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne, Switzerland, offer an unmatched collection on that organization’s history. The debate over exiled athletes generally circulated between three individuals: Sigfrid Edström, the IOC president from 1945-52; Avery Brundage, the IOC vice president from 1945-52 and president from 1952-72; and Otto Mayer, the Chancellor of the IOC from 1946-64. Correspondence between each of these men revealed not only IOC policy toward exiles, but also the personal opinion of each man on the issue. The minutes of IOC meetings gave final confirmation of how the IOC rules were applied. As well, the Avery Brundage Collection, located at the International Centre for Olympic Studies at The University of Western Ontario, revealed Brundage’s prolonged contact with the HNSF and psychological warfare experts in the U.S. government.

Three published sources also informed this study. The first is the *IOC General Session Minutes* and the *IOC Executive Committee Minutes* assembled by Wolf Lyberg.[[72]](#footnote-72) The second is the *Declassified Documents Reference System*, the complete collection of which is housed at the University of Michigan. And finally, the *Foreign Relations of the United States* prepared by the historians at the Department of State is an indispensable resource for researching U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War.

As this study is primarily concerned with the application of psychological warfare and propaganda, it is necessary to expand on these terms and what the U.S. government meant by them. To complicate matters, government officials often employed these and other concepts interchangeably throughout classified documents. One might find terms such as “political warfare,” “psychological strategy,” or even, in the public sphere, the less dramatic euphemism, “information.”[[73]](#footnote-73) That considered, a general government definition of psychological warfare is, the “planned use by a nation of propaganda and activities other than combat which communicate ideas and information intended to influence the opinions, attitudes, emotions, and behaviour of foreign groups in ways that will support the achievement of national aims.”[[74]](#footnote-74) Propaganda is an instrument of psychological warfare, and refers to “any organized effort or movement to disseminate information or a particular doctrine by means of news, special arguments or appeals designed to influence the thoughts and actions of any given group.”[[75]](#footnote-75)

Another term used frequently is the “free world.” I use “free world” only to denote how the U.S. referred to all non-communist nations. I do not use this term out of any personal belief; the contradictions are obvious.

**Limitations of Study**

Although other sport-related propaganda operations arise in the narrative, the main task of this study is to understand how overt and covert projects targeted the Olympic Games. This is not to say that other sporting events or organizations were not given attention by psychological warfare experts; to say so would be erroneous. Given the time period under consideration, however, the Olympics were certainly the largest athletic festival in existence, claimed considerable international attention, and represented the most prestigious single event in which the athletic teams of the two superpowers competed. When the U.S. government officials worried about the problem of Soviet sport, in general they worried about it in the context of the Olympics.

While this work is directed at covert and overt propaganda operations, there are geographical restrictions in this aim. In the main, the focus will be on how anti-communist propaganda was targeted at the countries of the “free world.” When I look at how anti-communist sport propaganda penetrated the Iron Curtain, it is mainly through the work of Radio Free Europe and its sporting broadcasts to Eastern Europe. In all of these instances, the core focus is on the planning, distribution, and themes of the propaganda rather than how it was received, or what effect it had. To effectively tackle the last two issues is, in any case, most likely an impossibility, and certainly beyond the scope of this work. This study offers a perspective that starts with the U.S. government and branches out from there. I have made no attempt to search in Soviet or Eastern European archives. My aim is to examine the U.S. government’s perceptions of communist sport, why they chose to counter it, and the methods deployed in relation to the Olympics. I do not claim that this is an exhaustive account of these operations; it is doubtful whether such a study is possible. There are, I would guess, many more documents to be declassified and many other secret projects to be uncovered. Only time will tell.

## Delimitations of Study

The main boundaries of this study are defined by the time period from 1950 to 1960. As a starting point, 1950 marks the year of the first letter sent from Count Szápáry to Avery Brundage, and thus the beginning of the HNSF effort to gain leverage in the IOC. At about the same time, the general disquiet in government circles over sport in the communist bloc, and particularly the Soviet Union, started to become noticeable. From here, the propaganda operations that surround each Olympic Games from 1952 to 1960 will drive the content of the dissertation. The study concludes with the 1960 Rome Summer Games, the last Olympic festival that coincided with the Eisenhower administration.

## Outline of Chapters

Due to the general change in U.S. government policy over time, and how this was reflected in its use of sport, a chronological approach will suit this study. Following the introduction, two contextual chapters ensue. Chapter 2 briefly examines the origins of the Cold War and the emergence of propaganda and psychological warfare as weapons of the U.S. government until the close of the Second World War. It then explores how the onset of the Cold War necessitated the creation of a peacetime propaganda program which, driven by a new dedication to psychological warfare, was directed at bringing down the Soviet Union. As will be shown, this program involved cultivating a state-private network. Chapter 3 discusses why sport has always been an effective conduit for propaganda, and why the Modern Olympic Games are inherently political. It is also argued that the “internationalism” of the Olympic Movement, as well as its size and popularity, turned it into a highly visible platform where Cold War political agendas were continually reproduced.

Chapter 4 assesses the growing concerns in the U.S. State Department about the ideological underpinnings of communist sport in the Soviet Union and its East European satellites. When it appeared that the Soviet Union would enter a team at the Olympic festivals of 1952, the United States information program responded by “exploiting” the Winter and Summer Olympics as part of a widespread government campaign to counter communist “lies” about America. Chapter 5 charts the early relationship between the NCFE and the HNSF and how, in 1952, they both helped form a group called the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen (UFEES). The UFEES was a collective group of exiled athletes from behind the Iron Curtain who wanted to compete at the 1952 Helsinki Olympic Games, but could not do so due to the nature of IOC rules. The resulting effort to lobby the IOC generated widespread publicity before and during the Helsinki Games, thus serving as a demonstration of why athletes from the Soviet bloc would rather compete in the free world.

The remainder of the study is set against the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. The most pronounced period of government concern with regard to communist sport is dealt with in Chapter 6. I look at how various U.S. government departments grew increasingly alarmed about the psychological fall-out of a defeat at the hands of the Soviet Union at the Melbourne Summer Games of 1956. In lieu of federal funding for the American Olympic effort, the state-private network was leveraged to raise money for the U.S. Olympic team, and the United States Information Agency saturated the media of the free world with stories that presented U.S. Olympic athletes as representative of America’s social diversity and progression.

Chapter 7 covers the events of the Hungarian Revolution that broke out a month before the Melbourne Olympics. The failure of the revolution was yet another indication that Eisenhower’s hope to “liberate” Eastern Europe would not involve military intervention. This chapter tells the story of how the HNSF and *Sports Illustrated* joined forces to facilitate the defection of thirty-eight Eastern European athletes, nearly all Hungarian, to America. Chapter 8 examines the effort to resettle and promote this group in America. It explores how they were sent on a nation-wide Freedom Tour and held up as living proof of the Hungarian fight for independence, and that the United States was a haven for refugees wishing to start a new and better life.

Before concluding, Chapter 9 discusses the gradual move from “liberation” to “cultural infiltration” that characterized U.S. Cold War policy toward the Soviet bloc under Eisenhower, symbolized by the U.S.-Soviet cultural agreement signed in 1958.[[76]](#footnote-76) Similar to the U.S. government, the NCFE also looked to create “evolutionary” change in Eastern Europe through “East-West contacts” and less strident propaganda. This chapter explores the last large-scale initiative at any Olympic festival by the NCFE and HNSF. It involved a multi-faceted “contact” program at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games, which sought to promote American solidarity with the “captive peoples” of Eastern Europe, and, as ever, dramatize the cause of exiled athletes to an extent that the IOC might change its rules. The dissertation concludes by summarizing the successes, failures, ideas, and actions behind the U.S. government’s campaign against communist sport.

**Chapter 2 – The Cold War, Psychological Warfare, and the State-Private Network**

**The Origins of the Cold War**

The rule of the Russian Tsars was cast off in the February revolution of 1917. The Provisional Government which replaced the monarchy was weak and divided. In October of the same year, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, entered the Winter Palace in Petrograd with a small force and performed a simple coup. The Provisional Government folded. It was a revolution guided by the ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; its enemy, like theirs, was capitalism. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels predicted that communist society would spring from the ruins of capitalism, a system that exploited the workers or, as they called them, the proletariat. No longer would capitalists, or bourgeois, own the means of production and dominate society. Communism would guide the new Soviet Russia and, like a beacon, Lenin hoped it would signal the same revolutionary events to surge throughout the world. He predicted the end of capitalism and the demise of the state. “So long as the state exists, there is no freedom. When freedom exists, there will be no state,” he wrote.[[77]](#footnote-77) In its place would be put the “dictatorship of the proletariat.” There was no world revolution, however. The Soviet state did not evaporate, or “wither away,” as Lenin thought it would. In order to sustain the revolution Lenin needed an instrument. That instrument was the Communist Party. This monolithic organ became the sole party of, and inextricably linked with, the state. The Russian Empire of the Tsar’s became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After Lenin’s death, his successor, Joseph Stalin, controlled the Communist Party with overwhelming might; it became ever more centralized, a vast bureaucratic structure that he kept his own through mass murder and manipulation. The Russian Revolution may have been performed so that power could be transferred to its people, but it transpired to give it to just one person.[[78]](#footnote-78)

While the turmoil in Petrograd saw the exit of Russia from the First World War, it also marked the decisive entry of the United States into the conflict. At the war’s end, the U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson, decided that the old forms of diplomacy – imperialism and nationalism – were to blame for the massacre. “Liberalism,” declared Wilson, “is the only thing that can save civilization.” In 1918, his declaration of Fourteen Points called for a world of “mutual guarantees of political independence” and, crucially, the conditions for free trade.[[79]](#footnote-79) Lenin, of course, wanted the opposite. This put the ideologies of America and the Soviet Union at odds, and permanently so. David Engerman argues:

Soviet and America ideologies were both universalistic; they both held that their conceptions of society applied to all nations and all peoples. Both nations prided themselves on their modernity, seeking to supplant what they saw as the moribund traditions of Europe – and ultimately to transform Europe itself. Both nations, furthermore, subscribed to progressive ideologies; they portrayed history as an irreversible march to improvement, which they defined as the spread of their own influence.[[80]](#footnote-80)

The liberal democracy of Wilson was thus forever in search of a world that Lenin and Stalin sought to destroy. Wilson saw Bolshevism as a “mistake.” “It cannot survive,” he remonstrated, “because it is wrong.”[[81]](#footnote-81)

Once the war was over, Wilson pushed for the formation of a League of Nations, a forum for independent states to settle problems peacefully before they resorted to battle. This organization was severely compromised by the fact that the U.S. never joined it, retreating, instead, into isolation.[[82]](#footnote-82) The Soviet Union, under Stalin, did much the same, embarking on a rapid course of industrialization. The U.S. did not give diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union until 1933. The reversal was motivated by economic and political imperatives. The Great Depression forced the U.S. to seek greater commercial links with their foe; the rise of National Socialism in Germany provided a mutual enemy. That changed when Stalin agreed on a peace pact with Hitler in 1939.[[83]](#footnote-83)

The course of the Second World War altered the relationship once again. In 1941, Hitler sent waves of Panzer tanks into the Soviet Union and, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he declared war on America. It was here that Hitler made a fatal mistake, opening a war on two fronts, and inviting into the fray the largest industrial power on earth. He overestimated his own strength, and underestimated that of America.[[84]](#footnote-84) The Soviet Union and the U.S. fought on the same side as part of a Grand Alliance, gradually turning the momentum of the war. The remarkable recovery of the Soviet Union after the siege of Stalingrad saw its troops push Germany back and across Soviet borders and through into Europe. When the Red Army met with American forces in Torgau on the Elbe in April 1945, most of Eastern Europe had been liberated from Nazi control, predominantly by Soviet forces. Nothing could cause Stalin to withdraw from the region. The Soviet Union had been decimated by the German invasion, it lost over 20 million of its population, its infrastructure was bludgeoned, its economy in ruins, while a large part of its surviving population was either starving or in dire poverty. Stalin did not want this to happen again, and if it meant dominating a cordon of countries to protect Soviet borders, then so be it. The Allies hoped that free and unfettered elections would be permitted following the edicts of the *Atlantic Charter*. The people of Eastern Europe must have a choice. In most cases, this didn’t happen.[[85]](#footnote-85)

These outcomes were forged at a series of conferences between the “Big Three” of the Grand Alliance (USSR, U.S., and Great Britain). The Soviet leader, Stalin, the U.S. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, met in Teheran in December 1943. Although the conversation dwelled mainly on military matters, they discussed the prospect for an alteration of borders in Europe. FDR told Stalin of American plans for a United Nations (UN). Stalin was unimpressed. Churchill then met with Stalin nearly a year later, and agreed on a percentage deal which gave the Soviet Union dominant authority in Romania and Bulgaria, while Britain (in accordance with the U.S.) would have majority authority in Greece. Power would be shared regarding Hungary and Yugoslavia. Near the war’s end, at Yalta, in 1945, the Big Three discussed, among other things, German reparations, the division of Germany into zones, the setting up of the United Nations, and the future of Poland. Stalin gave way on the UN. The Soviet Union would not be isolated in the organization, and would be joined by two or three Soviet republics. Roosevelt and Churchill wanted reassurances from Stalin that there would be democratic elections in Eastern Europe.[[86]](#footnote-86) The two western diplomats decided in 1941 that the post-war objectives included a world where “all peoples…choose the form of government under which they will live,” and, of course, the “fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field.” This declaration, formulated on a warship off the coast of Newfoundland, was called the *Atlantic Charter*.[[87]](#footnote-87)

Stalin, agreeing to the requests regarding Eastern Europe, proceeded to ignore them. The death of Roosevelt in April 1945 pushed his vice-president, Harry Truman, into the fray of negotiations. In July of the same year, the leaders of the Big Three gathered for the last wartime conference in Potsdam. Initially, Truman did not have much of an impact at the conference, for Roosevelt had hardly briefed him. When, however, Truman was alerted that the U.S. had successfully tested an atomic bomb, he exerted more confidence. The subject of Germany dominated the discussions. Stalin wanted reparations from Germany, finally accepting an offer to extract them from the Soviet zone. A Soviet-imposed border between Germany and Poland was recognized and a Council of Foreign Ministers established to tackle unresolved problems in the future. The stalemate on Europe continued. Daniel Yergin has maintained that “the Great Powers had found that the best way to cooperate was to give each a freer hand in its own sphere. Because they could not agree on how to govern Europe, they would begin to divide it.”[[88]](#footnote-88)

By the war’s end, the Soviet Union and America were no longer withdrawn from world affairs; they were at the centre of them. The transformation of Eastern Europe was well under way, though it progressed in no uniform manner: the different political conditions of each country resulted in varying forms of communist control. In Yugoslavia and Albania, for instance, local Communist Parties instigated changes on their own; elsewhere, such as in Romania and Bulgaria, Stalin imposed his prerogative. By 1947-48, the transition to communism in Eastern Europe was mostly complete.[[89]](#footnote-89)

The U.S. government wanted to halt what it saw as an almost relentless tide of Soviet expansion. Truman did not idly watch the changing picture of Eastern Europe; soon he tried to amend it. By early 1946, he came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was belligerently expanding. He wanted Soviet troops out of Iran, aimed to block any attempt by Stalin to capture Turkey or the Black Sea Straits of the Mediterranean, and desired to consolidate control of the Pacific. Furthermore, Truman would not recognize the “police states” of Romania and Bulgaria. “I do not think we should play compromise any longer,” he wrote, “I’m tired of babying the Soviets.” It was a dramatic move away from the policy of Roosevelt.[[90]](#footnote-90)

In February 1946, Stalin delivered an important speech. He declared that capitalism was to blame for the war and that the Soviet Union’s survival was proof that communism would prevail.[[91]](#footnote-91) The State Department thought the speech rather more threatening than perhaps it was. They asked for comment on it from George Kennan, a government official based in the American Embassy in Moscow. A graduate of Princeton, Kennan entered the Foreign Service in 1926, learned Russian, and became an expert on the Soviet Union. He worked for the U.S. government in Moscow and Europe and, as time passed, he developed a self-confidence in his own opinion on how America should conduct its diplomacy. In 1944, he took a position as Counselor of the Embassy in Moscow. Kennan had long believed that the Soviet Union was not to be trusted, and that it sought world revolution. He also thought that American foreign policy had been too conciliatory. In response to the request for his opinion, he produced the now famous “long telegram,” a document that he dictated to military and naval attaches as he lay sick in bed.[[92]](#footnote-92) The following year Kennan reworked and published it in *Foreign Affairs*, under the authorship of the mysterious, “X.” In it, Kennan surmised: “It must be invariably assumed in Moscow that the aims of the capitalist world are antagonistic to the Soviet regime,” and that this would remain the case until “the internal nature of the Soviet power is changed.” “In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States Policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.”[[93]](#footnote-93) The long telegram was highly influential and widely circulated within the U.S. government.[[94]](#footnote-94) John Lewis Gaddis has argued that “containment,” as expressed in Kennan’s telegram, “became the basis for United States strategy toward the Soviet Union throughout the rest of the Cold War.”[[95]](#footnote-95) The anti-communist consensus was hardening.

On 5 March 1946, Churchill, encouraged by Truman, spoke publicly about his fears of the Soviet Union. In Fulton, Missouri, he orated:

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.[[96]](#footnote-96)

The speech was highly publicized. Stalin responded by stating that “Mr. Churchill now takes the stand of the warmongers.”[[97]](#footnote-97) Nevertheless, it heightened anti-communist feeling in America. Truman felt that the Soviets could not be trusted and that they broke all the agreements that they promised to keep. He asked two of his closest aides, Clark Clifford and George Elsey, to write a report on Soviet violations of accords. The Clifford-Elsey Report was an alarmist document that painted the Soviet Union in the worst possible light, misrepresented Stalin’s military power, and foredoomed world communist domination. It was a report written and inspired by men who could see nothing but danger and conflict in the actions and policies that emerged from Moscow. There was no one left to disagree. By the Autumn of 1946, writes Melvin Leffler, “there was a general agreement in the United States that the Kremlin was an ideological enemy with no legitimate fears or grievances…The Cold War had begun.”[[98]](#footnote-98)

The relationship between the Soviet Union and America was in an unrecoverable slide. Increasingly threatened by the prospect of communist expansion through subversive means, a potentially hazardous situation developed in Greece and Turkey. Britain could no longer support both countries monetarily and militarily due to its own dire economic condition. Truman seized the moment. He stood before Congress and asked for financial and military aid for the two countries, in what was called the Truman Doctrine. “At the present moment in world history,” stated Truman, “nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.” He went on:

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, and guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.[[99]](#footnote-99)

The aid to Greece and Turkey, and an appeal to the United Nations to force Soviet troops out of Northern Iran, was demonstrative of American efforts to “contain” communism and secure access to Middle Eastern oil supplies. A further plan was developed to provide financial assistance to the rest of Europe. In Western Europe, the Second World War had disturbed trade and payment patterns; an incredibly harsh winter of 1946-47 added to the difficulties of hungry and homeless people. The defeat of Germany had, by turn, impaired the keystone of the European economy. The U.S. was fearful that social distress might lead to communist inroads. George C. Marshall, the Secretary of State, called for an Economic Recovery Plan for Europe (Marshall Plan), to be funded with billions of U.S. dollars.[[100]](#footnote-100) The decision to include Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the Marshall Plan had tactical motivations. The U.S. government knew fully well that Stalin would not allow the other communist countries of Europe to be lured into financial cooperation with America. This would reveal Stalin’s control over the region. A White House aide, George Elsey, confirmed: “There was never any thought that the Soviets would actually join the Marshall Plan but it was a desirable step to persuade the world that we really were being altruistic.”[[101]](#footnote-101) As expected, the Soviet bloc was eventually forbidden to partake in the initiative. Stalin responded to the Marshall Plan by forming the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), an organization designed to assure that the communist parties of Europe fell in line with the Soviet example.[[102]](#footnote-102)

**The American Experience with Propaganda and Psychological Warfare to 1945**

At the Potsdam conference, Truman learned that America had successfully tested the most powerful weapon in human history. The atomic bomb destroyed Japan’s resistance and ended the Second World War. It was, however, not used again. Truman was not prepared to launch a bomb at the Soviets; when the Soviets attained nuclear capability, they did not the push the fateful button either. Both sides accumulated a host of nuclear weapons, but it only achieved a stalemate. When the hydrogen bomb was developed, an even more destructive weapon, it was clear that a nuclear war could not only end in the destruction of a country, or a continent, but possibly much of civilization. Thus, in order to fight the opponent, even defeat them, another weapon would be needed. It is here that psychological warfare and propaganda became critical in the quest for victory, in addition to economic, political, and military measures.

Although the use of propaganda dates back to the ancient world and beyond, it is the twentieth century which has been called the “age of propaganda.” The explosion of communications technology made it increasingly feasible to spread information and easier for people to consume it. The opinions and attitudes of ever more literate populations could be shaped and influenced by new mediums, whether it be reading a newspaper, listening to the radio, or watching a film. International politics was also transformed. Diplomacy ceased to be a private matter deliberated behind closed doors. It was propelled into the public domain, where it could be debated and judged by those who read or wrote about it. Public opinion had to be considered more than ever in the formulation of foreign policy. This became abundantly clear in an age that witnessed the phenomenon of “total war.” The First World War was like no other before it; there were more casualties and its scale was unsurpassed. The great wars of the twentieth century were more exacting than anything before to those who fought in them and to those who stayed at home. Not only were citizens required to help make the endless products that sustain a war effort, but the government needed them to emotionally support the cause. As such, the warring governments used propaganda to mobilize civilians, soldiers, and allies, or as a means to demoralize the enemy.[[103]](#footnote-103)

In the nineteenth century, public relations experts in America used propaganda techniques to sell products for private firms, but the U.S. government was slow to harness these ideas to speak with its public. An image of America was projected abroad by commercial business rather than the state. This changed in 1917. Woodrow Wilson wanted to explain his reasons for entering the war to the outside world, so that his ideas of liberal internationalism could be understood and, if at all possible, reproduced. This required more than simply privately owned media companies. Two weeks after declaring war on Germany he established the Committee on Public Information (CPI) and selected a journalist named George Creel to run it. According to Creel, the task of the CPI was “to teach the motives, purposes, and ideals of America so that friend, foe, and neutral alike might come to see us as a people without selfishness and in love with justice.”[[104]](#footnote-104) It aimed to educate foreign and domestic audiences about the reasons America entered the war and how the Allies would achieve victory. The CPI undertook operations in 15 countries, ensuring that a range of propaganda such as American movies and publications provided insight into U.S. culture. At the war’s end, Congress shut the CPI down. Information activities were seen as something that should be left to private companies, while many in Congress were concerned about the political bias of the CPI, and the cost of the entire program.[[105]](#footnote-105)

Despite Wilson’s enthusiasm for propaganda, the three Republican presidents that followed him never shared the same sentiment. During the interwar years, even the term itself was controversial. The use of propaganda by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union associated the word with totalitarianism. When Roosevelt took office, this attitude toward propaganda began to change. Like Wilson, he believed in the need to inform the public, especially to sell his New Deal policies. When the Second World broke out, he instigated a number of information programs to counter the propaganda of the Axis powers. For example, in 1940 he created the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), to improve relations with Latin America. Led by Nelson Rockefeller, the CIAA used cultural exchange and propaganda to “combat the Nazi lie.”[[106]](#footnote-106)

When the U.S. entered the war in 1941, a confusing tangle of agencies administered propaganda on the domestic and international scene. Roosevelt corrected the problem by creating the Office of War Information (OWI) in 1942, under the leadership of a journalist and broadcaster, Elmer Davis. The OWI handled the information program at home and abroad, with the newly formed government radio network, Voice of America, falling under its jurisdiction. The Voice of America (VOA) broadcast only to foreign audiences and, by mid-1944, was transmitting 24 hours a day in forty languages. It confidently stated in its first broadcast: “The news may be good or bad. We shall tell you the truth.”[[107]](#footnote-107) In order to disseminate the message of American policy, the OWI Overseas Branch created 26 U.S. Information Service (USIS) posts in Europe, East Asia, and Africa. Films, leaflets, and magazines were sent around the world, combined with the programming of VOA. The OWI’s domestic output was similar to that of Wilson’s CPI, in that it rallied support for the war and provided information on more day-to-day matters, like rationing.[[108]](#footnote-108)

From the early stages of the war, intelligence operations were underway, as were other activities that used the art of psychological warfare. In an attempt to better coordinate these clandestine operations, another new unit was created under military jurisdiction, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Filled by ordinary civilians such as businessmen and professors, the OSS was mandated to undertake sabotage, espionage, guerilla warfare, and the gathering of vital intelligence from behind enemy lines.[[109]](#footnote-109) It was run by Colonel William “Wild Bill” Donovan. Donovan became entrenched in the American intelligence establishment during and after the war. He was once described “as the sort of guy who thought nothing of parachuting into France, blowing up a bridge, pissing in Luftwaffe gas tanks, then dancing on the roof of the St. Regis Hotel with a German spy.”[[110]](#footnote-110)

The capabilities of OWI and VOA in the developing field of psychological warfare became evident. For example, when Japan offered to surrender in 1945, the Allies realized that while the world was notified of this fact, the Japanese people had been deliberately kept in the dark. The theory being that the Japanese authorities could drive a better bargain if its people continued to resist. A flurry of activity in Washington saw this information divulged to the president, who then directed that the Japanese population be informed of the surrender. The VOA started to broadcast the news but Japanese jamming capabilities thwarted its effectiveness. As a second option, the OWI prepared a leaflet full of the critical information. Within 24 hours, 3 million copies of the leaflet were dropped over Japan. The Japanese government was forced to surrender and capitulate to the terms of its enemy.[[111]](#footnote-111)

The military increasingly used psychological warfare in operations. In 1942, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, in collaboration with the British, created a Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB) to help smooth the Allied invasion of North Africa. Led by General Robert McClure and a publisher named Charles Douglas Jackson, the PWB aimed to encourage the mass surrender and demoralization of the enemy. Techniques were often simply conceived ideas such as carefully worded leaflets or radio broadcasts. For the D-Day landings in 1944, a Psychological Warfare Division of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force prepared millions of leaflets for the Normandy landings.[[112]](#footnote-112) Eisenhower knew that psychological warfare had a tremendous effect on the course of the war. “Without doubt,” he wrote, “psychological warfare has proved its right to a place of dignity in our military arsenal.”[[113]](#footnote-113)

**Remobilizing Propaganda for the Cold War**

The end of the war witnessed a great dismantling of the American propaganda apparatus. The overseas activities of the OWI and CIAA were placed in the State Department; Truman still wished to ensure that “other people receive a full and fair picture of American life and the aims and policies of the U.S. government.”[[114]](#footnote-114) The position of Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs was created to administer the greatly reduced operations. For those who championed the information program, a period of struggle followed. Many in Congress, especially Republicans, had criticized the propaganda structure during the war, and their views only hardened in the post-war climate. The VOA was accused of being overly biased toward the policies of Democrats, its content lambasted, and there were scandals about spies having infiltrated its staff. The budget for information and cultural affairs was almost halved from $45 million in 1946 to $25.4 million in 1947. The head of information, William B. Benton, complained that, “It is not only way below the level of activities of England and Russia, but it is far below what seems to me to be self-evident national needs.”[[115]](#footnote-115)

For the intelligence services, too, the end of the war meant for many an end to their often daring and secret endeavors. There appeared to be even less need for covert operations in a time of peace. The OSS was liquidated. Thus, after the surrender of Japan, there followed a decided lull in clandestine activities. The demands for accurate and useful intelligence on the policies of foreign governments became ever more vital with the advent of the Cold War. In January 1946, a presidential directive from Truman created the Central Intelligence Group from the embers of the OSS.[[116]](#footnote-116) Then, a year later, the National Security Act (1947) – a great restructuring of the U.S. government – amended the intelligence apparatus once again. Part of the Act established a National Security Council (NSC) to co-ordinate policy formulation, and transformed the Central Intelligence Group into the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).[[117]](#footnote-117) The CIA was formed to coordinate, correlate, and evaluate intelligence information. It did not, however, have a clear charter for psychological warfare; rather, there was a vague stipulation that it should “perform other such functions.”[[118]](#footnote-118) The conditions in Europe necessitated some clarity on the matter. As each country in Eastern Europe gradually fell under communist control, there were signs that the expansion of communism in Europe would not end at the imaginary line that Churchill declared stretched from Stettin to Trieste. The situation in Italy by late 1947 was particularly pressing. A country which seemed close to political and economic collapse, Italy’s government was controlled by the Christian Democratic Party and its leader, Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi. Since the conclusion of the war, the Italian Communist Party had been exploiting the weakness of Gasperi’s leadership, and when it joined forces with the Italian Socialist Party to form “the Peoples Bloc,” appeared to be in a position where it could win a general election. During the first meeting of the NSC, the crisis in Italy was of paramount importance. NSC paper 1/1, recommended that the U.S. should “actively combat communist propaganda in Italy by an effective information program and by all other practical means.”[[119]](#footnote-119) Psychological, military, and economic aid would be provided. Such was the plan, but who would execute it? Much like the arrangement in World War II, the responsibilities were divided. The Council approved NSC 4, which stipulated that all overt “information activities” were the responsibility of the State Department, while a secret annex, NSC 4-A, placed “covert psychological operations” in the CIA under a Special Procedures Group. On the day this directive was approved (22 December 1947), a CIA team left for Italy under the command of James Jesus Angleton, an OSS veteran. An estimated sum of between 10 and 20 million dollars was spent on sabotaging communist momentum. The Voice of America broadcast appeals from celebrities like Rocky Graziano, Bing Crosby, and Frank Sinatra, who asked the people of Italy not to vote for the communists. The Catholic Church was enlisted, whereby American priests convinced their parishioners to write to relatives in Italy to sway votes. Public officials were bribed and funds secretly funneled to political parties. When the Christian Democratic Party won the election in April 1948, the U.S. reveled in its ability to use psychological warfare to dam the advance of communism.[[120]](#footnote-120) France had also appeared vulnerable. Communist infiltration of trade unions gave succor to the French Communist Party. In response, the CIA channeled funds to support the leading anti-communist trade union (Force Ouvrière) and the Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, arranged for New York bankers to bribe French labor leaders.[[121]](#footnote-121)

Yet this was only a prelude. To the east, China looked ripe for a communist revolution. Europe remained fragile. The communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 was a blow to American hopes. Soon after, the Soviet Union organized a blockade of western supplies to West Berlin, a tactic employed to halt the formation of a separate West German state. It caused the reverse. The United States sped up preparations for a West German state, and organized a prodigious airlift of supplies to West Berlin. The blockade ushered in a further division between east and west. The U.S. and a group of allies subsequently signed the North Atlantic Treaty, promising to come to each other’s aid in the event that any were attacked.

Buoyed with confidence, the new covert appendage of the CIA sought to develop a continued psychological effort against the Soviet Union. What it lacked, however, was guidance for planning strategy. Furthermore, many in the administration were of the opinion that a more concerted and coordinated covert function was required to counter Soviet inroads in propaganda and psychological warfare around the world. In May 1948, the Policy Planning Staff (PPS) of the State Department, under the directorship of George Kennan, produced a paper titled “The inauguration of organized political warfare.” The paper was crucial to the future organization of American covert operations, and explained:

In broadest definition, political warfare is the employment of all means at a nation’s command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives. Such operations are both overt and covert. They range from such overt actions as political alliances, economic measures (as ERP), and ‘white’ propaganda to such covert operations as clandestine support of ‘friendly’ foreign elements, ‘black’ psychological warfare and even encouragement of underground resistance in hostile states.[[122]](#footnote-122)

The report listed several potential projects, including support for “Indigenous Anti-Communist elements in threatened countries of the free world,” “Preventive direct action in Free Countries,” and the creation of private “Liberation Committees” that would receive covert guidance from the government.[[123]](#footnote-123) “The inauguration of organized political warfare” paper led to NSC 10/2 and the formation of an agency to administer covert operations. Established on 1 September 1948, it was named the Office Special Projects, but soon renamed the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC). Kennan made sure that control over this agency would fall to the State Department and not the CIA, chiefly because he had little respect for the incumbent Director of Central Intelligence. Still, the OPC was hidden within the CIA and, in 1952, fully absorbed by the Agency.[[124]](#footnote-124) A declassified history of the OPC confirms the strategic advantages of launching secret operations: “They were to be so planned and executed that any U.S. Government responsibility for them would not be evident to unauthorized persons. If uncovered the U.S. Government was to be able to disclaim plausibly any responsibility for them.” The OPC’s mandate included undertaking propaganda, economic warfare, sabotage, demolition, subversion, assistance to underground resistance movements and refugee liberation groups, guerilla warfare, and support of anti-communist movements.[[125]](#footnote-125) The leadership of OPC was handed to Frank Wisner. An ex OSS officer, and vehement anti-communist, Wisner had come close to making the U.S. track team for the 1936 Olympic Games. In WWII, he developed a prized network of espionage agents in Bucharest.[[126]](#footnote-126)

The OPC’s operations expanded quickly. By 1952, it had 2,812 agents on its payroll and a further 3,142 personnel under contract overseas; its budget rose from $4.7million at the outset to $82 million three years later. At the end of 1952, the money available rose to nearly $200 million through counterpart funds. (The Marshall Plan dictated that for every dollar provided by the United States, Western European countries matched the amount, and 5 percent of that money was put aside in local currency for the use of the United States. These funds became a bottomless pit for the OPC.[[127]](#footnote-127)) Ambitious plans to “roll back” communism included the often reckless use of Eastern European refugees. British and American covert operators, funded mostly by the OPC, collaborated in several attempts to start a civil war in Albania and other satellite countries. Guerrilla units were secretly trained and often dropped behind enemy lines whereupon they were expected to instigate unrest and revolution. Some operations were devised without scruples, even using Romanian fascists who had committed atrocities during the war. Most of these missions ended in complete failure. Soviet agents infiltrated the top-secret British and American preparations, so that when the unfortunate refugees landed in enemy territory they were caught and punished by way of imprisonment or execution.[[128]](#footnote-128)

In June 1948, American morale was given a boost when Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, split from the Soviet Union. The PPS continued to recommend an aggressive policy of putting the “greatest possible strain on the structure of relationships by which Soviet domination of [Eastern Europe] is maintained.” The approval of NSC 20/4 fortified this aim, calling for the “maximum strain on the Soviet structure of power and particularly on the relationship between Moscow and the satellite countries.”[[129]](#footnote-129)

In the words of one historian, the implementation of covert activities enshrined in NSC 4-4A and NSC 10/2, “piloted American intelligence into the choppy waters of secret political warfare for decades to come.”[[130]](#footnote-130) The addition of NSC 20/4 also provides persuasive evidence that the U.S. government was committed to a policy far more aggressive than its public pronouncements of “containment.” The goal of “liberating” Eastern Europe and “rolling back” Soviet power is more often associated with the Eisenhower administration, but it is clear that from 1948 the Truman government was attempting the same thing.[[131]](#footnote-131)

The beleaguered information program began to resuscitate. The Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, William Benton, linked the need for a stronger VOA and information program to the Truman Doctrine. He argued that the task of telling the world about U.S. policy should not be left to private enterprise. Soviet propaganda had to be countered. Benton strengthened his hand by helping to organize a trip to Europe for Representatives and Senators to investigate the information program’s effectiveness. Led by Senator Alexander Smith (R-NJ) and Congressman Karl Mundt (R-SD), the group returned with numerous concerns about the negative image of America held in Europe. The passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948 finally secured a permanent status for the overseas information program.[[132]](#footnote-132) The Act aimed to “promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international relations.” It advocated the use of print, film, radio, exchange programs, and exhibitions to present information about America. Appropriations for the information program doubled in its first full year as the U.S. embarked on a revitalized propaganda attack on communism. The program grew under continuing Cold War developments. Soviet propaganda became more virulent, and accused the U.S. of being an imperialist aggressor, while communism was styled as a great arbiter of “peace.” The VOA’s broadcasts in Russian were jammed by the Soviet Union, a sign that radio propaganda was having the desired effect. The communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade, Soviet testing of an atomic bomb, and the fall of China to communism guaranteed that fewer were opposed to strengthening America’s ability to respond with an enlarged propaganda strategy.[[133]](#footnote-133) One of the key government men to coordinate the new onslaught was Edward Barrett, who became the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in 1950. Barrett was the editor of *Newsweek* and had experience of psychological warfare working with “Wild Bill” Donovan in WWII. In order to breach the Iron Curtain with “ideas,” he demanded an “all-out effort,” to repel Soviet propaganda. The plan, announced by Truman in April 1950, was called the “Campaign of Truth:”[[134]](#footnote-134)

We must make ourselves known as we really are-not as Communist propaganda pictures us. We must pool our efforts with those of the other free peoples in a sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of freedom against the propaganda of slavery. We must make ourselves heard round the world in a great campaign of truth.[[135]](#footnote-135)

The outbreak of the Korean War ensured that Congress made nearly $80 million available to increase operations in radio, press and publications, film, exchanges of persons, and other cultural activities.[[136]](#footnote-136)

The Campaign of Truth appeared shortly after the completion of NSC 68. During the spring of 1950, Paul Nitze, Kennan’s replacement as head of the PPS, studied the new problem of Soviet atomic capability. Gathering a range of advice from government circles, he and the PPS staff attempted to form an idea of how the Soviet nuclear armory could impact American policy. The result of this analysis was NSC 68, a document that restated previous policy to break up Soviet control in Eastern Europe through economic assistance, military aid, covert operations, and psychological warfare. The unique aspect of NSC 68 was that it called for a massive escalation in these plans. In particular, it demanded an expansion of military spending. Oddly, few believed that the Soviet Union would start a nuclear war. Thus, building military and atomic superiority was a way of simply appearing more powerful. As Melvin Leffler argues, the U.S. officials remained “perplexed” by the Soviet Union, and reproduced their own “nightmare:”

If U.S. diplomacy were not active and vigilant, if U.S. aid were not forthcoming, and if U.S. determination were not evident to friends and foes alike, the industrial workshops of Europe and Asia and their attendant markets and raw materials could gravitate out of the U.S. orbit. The United States could become isolated in a hostile world.[[137]](#footnote-137)

The intensification of efforts contained within NSC 68 included psychological warfare. It encouraged “mass defections from Soviet allegiance and to frustrate the Kremlin design.”[[138]](#footnote-138) A PPS officer explained that there would be an increase of “affirmative and timely measures and operations by covert means in the fields of economic warfare with a view to fomenting and supporting unrest and revolt in selected strategic satellite countries.”[[139]](#footnote-139)

The heightened and diverse pursuit of propaganda operations created a problem of organization and coordination. Work in the field was undertaken by the State Department, the Economic Cooperation Administration (promoting the Marshall Plan in Europe), the CIA, and the OPC. In an attempt to remedy the confusion, in 1951, Truman approved the formation of the Psychological Strategy Board. Its members were the Director of the CIA, the Under-Secretary of State, and the Deputy Secretary of Defence. A declassified CIA history explains that “the PSB was authorized to plan psychological operations on the strategic level of the NSC, to coordinate implementation of the psychological strategy by the operating agencies, and to evaluate the results of the entire psychological effort in its fulfillment of national policy.” The greatest obstacle to the PSB’s effectiveness came from the State Department, which refused to acknowledge that the Board should be involved in, or responsible for, making policy.[[140]](#footnote-140)

Indeed, coordination remained an issue. The Truman administration had instigated a huge resurgence of psychological warfare in the years after WWII, yet the Soviet Union was still strong in Europe, even after the death of Stalin in 1953. The information program was in constant flux despite the Smith-Mundt Act, changing names on four occasions from the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, to the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange, then the U.S. International Information and Educational Exchange Program, and finally, in 1952, the U.S. International Information Administration. Many called for an independent information agency outside of the State Department to secure real effectiveness. Some scholars have noted that leadership was an additional constraint to the propaganda campaign. Kenneth Osgood argues that Truman “evinced little interest in or understanding of psychological warfare,” but the “next American president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, would make psychological strategy a key element of his election campaign and a priority of his administration.”[[141]](#footnote-141)

A Republican candidate and WWII hero, Eisenhower took office with the promise to liberate Europe from Stalin’s hold. Part of his policy to achieve this required, indeed demanded, a more consolidated harnessing of propaganda. This was of no real surprise.

Eisenhower saw the propensity for propaganda as a useful foil to military operations in WWII. In an election speech delivered on 8 October 1952 in San Francisco, he elaborated:

In ‘cold war’ we do not use an arsenal of arms and armaments. Rather, we use all means short of war to lead men to believe in the values that will preserve peace and freedom.

The means we shall employ to spread this truth are often called ‘psychological.’ Don’t be afraid of that term just because it’s a five-dollar, five-syllable word. ‘Psychological warfare’ is the struggle for the minds and wills of men.[[142]](#footnote-142)

A rather flagrant sign of his personal inclination in this direction was the appointment of Charles Douglas Jackson as his Special Assistant on Cold War Planning, the man who wrote Eisenhower’s October speech. Blanche Wiesen Cook has called Jackson the “chief architect of America’s psychological warfare effort during and after World War II.”[[143]](#footnote-143) Eisenhower prized his creativity, imagination, and ideas. After graduating from Princeton, Jackson’s early career path was spent ascending through the ranks of *Time Incorporated*. He became a vice president of the company and acted as a publisher for *Fortune* and, later, *Life* magazine. In the 1940s, Jackson was heavily involved with the administration of propaganda and psychological warfare for the United States government. He worked for the Office of War Information in North Africa and served in



Figure 1. C.D. Jackson (left) is sworn in by Dwight D. Eisenhower (right) as the President's Special Assistant on Cold War Planning. Eisenhower Presidential Library.

General Eisenhower’s commands in the Mediterranean and Europe; his subsequent role in Allied propaganda campaigns in Italy and Germany raised his status as an authority in

psychological warfare. He was a key figure in the PWB operation on D-Day.[[144]](#footnote-144) Jackson’s gift for propaganda made his services a commodity of great value during the Cold War. He was known as the “chief of the cold war,” by the “Communist propaganda apparatus.” Historian Valur Ingimundarson concludes that Jackson never, “advocated the use of force to liberate Eastern Europe,” instead he “sought to strengthen the opposition through overt and covert psychological warfare actions.”[[145]](#footnote-145)

The information program came under intense scrutiny in 1953. Four investigations simultaneously looked into the subject: two by Congress and two initiated by Eisenhower. Upon victory in the 1952 election, Eisenhower instigated the President’s Committee on International Information Activities, one of the most important studies into the U.S. propaganda program. It became known as the Jackson Committee, named after William H. Jackson, who chaired it. The inquiry began in January 1953 and the Committee completed the final report six months later in June. In main, the Jackson Committee called for a more centralized propaganda program, with leadership from the president. The report urged that propaganda should not be separated from official policy, but work in harmony with it. There was also to be a change in tone. For example, the strident propaganda of VOA should be replaced by a more measured, positive, and truthful approach. Official propaganda should be reduced; too much bore the label of the U.S. government. The forum for the aggressive approach would be through “private” means, such as the CIA-financed Radio Free Europe. In this way, the government could get its message across without taking responsibility.[[146]](#footnote-146)

The Jackson Committee made over forty suggestions to change the psychological strategy of the U.S. government. Most were upheld, though Eisenhower rejected one. He disagreed that the information program should remain in the State Department. A new agency was created in August 1953 to perform the role, called the United States Information Agency (USIA).[[147]](#footnote-147) For its overseas operations, the USIA still used the familiar title, USIS. “This new structure,” writes Shawn Parry-Giles, “placed the USIA at the helm of America’s propaganda operations, where it defined and coordinated the themes of the new propaganda offensive against the Soviet Union.”[[148]](#footnote-148) The USIA was directed by the White House in an attempt to maintain the administration’s control over output. The first Director of the USIA was a former dean of the Harvard Business School and a radio executive, Theodore Streibert.[[149]](#footnote-149) In an early strategic statement, Streibert explained that the USIA looked to gain the audience of the “free world” from communism. The government denied that the new agency was designed for propaganda, though clearly this was its aim, even through covert methods, mainly in the area of “gray” propaganda.

Psychological warfare experts tended to distinguish between propaganda in three categories. “White” propaganda is official and clearly produced by the U.S. government. “Black” propaganda is secret and subversive, and made to look as if it has come from an enemy source. The gray variety struck a balance between the white and black; it appeared to come from a “non-official” or “indigenous” source, thus making it more acceptable to the intended target than an official statement. Eisenhower believed that unattributed propaganda was far more effective to arouse foreign opinion. The Jackson Committee noted that “Audiences often do not believe information provided by any foreigner and are particularly quick to take offense at advice and exhortation received from abroad.”[[150]](#footnote-150) It was for this very reason that the private sphere was so critical in psychological warfare.

The Jackson Committee was also responsible for the dissolution of the Psychological Strategy Board, Truman’s answer to his own administration’s approach to “vanquish the Soviet Union.” The PSB only lasted from 1951-53 and failed due to one key issue: its foreign policy objectives impinged on the work of the State Department.[[151]](#footnote-151) The solution to the schism between the State Department and the PSB was to replace the latter with the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB) in September 1953.[[152]](#footnote-152) Membership of the new board included the Undersecretary of State, Undersecretary of Defense, the Director of the CIA, and a representative of the President (C. D. Jackson). Its mission: “get the psychological factor into all operations.”[[153]](#footnote-153) In order to free the OCB from bureaucratic difficulties it was placed in the NSC. The OCB was thus formed as an inter-agency group to follow through on NSC policies. The first Executive Officer of the OCB listed its objectives as:

(a) assuring coordinated implementation of national security policies approved by the President, (b) allocating agency responsibilities, (c) anticipating emerging problems, (d) developing agreed-upon plans of operations, and (e) reporting to the NSC on actions taken.[[154]](#footnote-154)

The OCB operated through a system of Working Groups, each assigned to a particular issue of psychological importance to the United States. The Working Group, once established, gathered information on the actions of all government departments involved with a specific issue, and formulated an action plan that coordinated an interdepartmental effort. Once a plan was finalized, and agreed upon by the OCB directors, each department carried out its part of the bargain. The process was very much like a military operation. Some Working Groups dealt with an issue in a particular region, others with sensitive issues such as nuclear testing. Although the OCB considered public opinion at home as important; the “climate of opinion” abroad provided the key target audience. The main decision-making of the OCB Executive took place during Wednesday lunchtime meetings. Without other staff around, the select few could be candid. One member of the OCB elite found the content of these meetings so sensitive that he would not discuss them 25 years later.[[155]](#footnote-155)

**The State-Private Network**

While the Jackson Committee suggested the increase in the use of “private” groups to fight the Cold War, by this point such plans were well underway. Indeed, the use of the private sphere in propaganda by the government has a long history, especially when foreign policy demands it. For example, the CPI worked with American businesses during WWI and the OWI cooperated with the Advertising Council in WWII. Of course, the information programs from WWI and beyond enlisted individuals from outside of traditional diplomatic channels, such as media men or publishers. The Cold War continued this tradition, with individuals like Barrett and Jackson appointed from the commercial field. For a time, NBC and CBS provided most of the content of VOA broadcasts; private advisors were solicited to assess the official information program; and the Smith-Mundt Act demanded that work was subcontracted out to private media outlets.

To generate public support for the Campaign of Truth and the U.S. in general, the information program created an Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation which formed links with American charities, organizations, groups, and businesses. One initiative organized for the Christmas of 1951, encouraged U.S. firms to mark envelopes destined for Europe with: “Listen to special year-end Voice of America programs.” The office invited companies to donate items such as used books to be sent abroad and advised private groups on how to develop international projects. Under Eisenhower’s USIA, the name of this unit switched to the Office of Private Cooperation.[[156]](#footnote-156)

In addition to this, clandestine methods were used. Both the U.S. and Soviet Union proved adept at trying to defeat the other by rallying public support, or by using “fronts.” As early as 1946, a State Department policy statement charged that the main threat of Soviet ideological expansion was through the private sphere: “[The Soviets] have evolved many methods of disguised penetration and control,” which included the use of “front organizations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the All Slav Committee, the Orthodox Church, various ‘anti-fascist’ Committees with headquarters in Moscow and of course the Soviet-controlled parliamentary parties.”[[157]](#footnote-157)

The cultivation of a state-private network in peace time by the U.S. began in 1947, with the perceived need to promote the Marshall Plan at home and overseas. Private individuals and the government cooperated to form the Citizens’ Committee to Defend the Marshall Plan, which campaigned through speeches, press releases, and radio to help underscore the benefits of economic recovery in Europe. As well, the private approach contributed to the operations in France and Italy.[[158]](#footnote-158)

The larger push for using government fronts came from the State Department, and was outlined in the Kennan-inspired “inauguration of organized political warfare:”

What is proposed here is an operation in the traditional American form: organized public support of resistance to tyranny on foreign countries. Throughout our history, private American citizens have banded together to champion the cause of freedom for people suffering under oppression. Our proposal is that this tradition be revived specifically to further American national interests in the present crisis.[[159]](#footnote-159)

“In just one document,” notes Hugh Wilford, “George Kennan had set the agenda for all of the United States’s front organizations in the first years of the Cold War.” And the task to carry out this agenda fell to the Office of Policy Coordination.[[160]](#footnote-160)

The rapid expansion of the OPC in its early years put the agency in a position to launch covert operations world-wide. The focus of attention switched from mostly Europe to the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East. Apparently South America and sub-Saharan Africa were of less importance. Its financial resources rose exponentially. Following the creation of the Cominform, it was noted that the Soviet Union established a host of front organizations to forward communist aspirations at peace and solidarity. This included the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the Women’s International Democratic Federation. The only way to combat these organizations, it was thought, would be to respond in “kind,” with international groups in the fields of culture, youth, veterans, women, labor, and lawyers.[[161]](#footnote-161) The rules were straightforward: “Limit the money to amounts private organizations can credibly spend…Use legitimate, existing organizations; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organization by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy.”[[162]](#footnote-162) The CIA eventually consolidated these operations into its International Organizations Division (IOD).[[163]](#footnote-163) Tom Braden, who led the IOD in its early years, later wrote: “By 1953 we were operating or influencing international organizations in every field where communist fronts had previously seized ground, and in some where they had not even begun to operate.” The whole state-private network unraveled in the media in 1967. Braden explained his actions, and those of the CIA. He was unrepentant: “The choice between innocence and power involves the most difficult of decisions. But when an adversary attacks with his weapons disguised as good works, to choose innocence is to choose defeat.” [[164]](#footnote-164)

In order to make sure that money couldn’t be traced back to the CIA, the International Organizations Division created its own “shell” foundations, by co-opting wealthy citizens as cover. A notable example was the Farfield Foundation. Apparently headed by a philanthropist named Julian Fleischmann, but actually a CIA conduit, it channeled up to $1.5 million a year to other front groups.[[165]](#footnote-165) Money reached far and wide. The call from George Kennan for a mobilization of the private sphere of American society was met with a resounding conversion into practical outcomes. The state-private network developed in size and scope, reaching into all corners of American life, but always with the same purpose in mind: the destruction of communism. For instance, Soviet criticism that America had a barren un-cultured society was met in “kind.” In 1950, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was formed as an intellectual bulwark “committed to demonstrating the fallibility of the Soviet Mythos, and the superiority of Western democracy as a framework for cultural and philosophic enquiry.” Novelists, artists, poets, and critics benefited from Agency money, whether they knew about it or not. Targeted at influencing the intelligentsia of Western Europe and beyond, this CIA financed operation lasted until 1967. Its output included publications such as *Encounter* (in cooperation with the British MI6), *Preuves*, *Cuadernos*, *Forum*, *Science and Freedom*, *Soviet Survey*, and *Tempo Presente*. The aim, as ever, “was to inoculate the world against the contagion of communism, and to ease the passage of American foreign policy interests abroad.”[[166]](#footnote-166) On one occasion, the IOD spent $130,000 to send the Boston Symphony Orchestra around Europe for the purpose of what C. D. Jackson thought “would be a startling and useful refutation” of Soviet attempts to denigrate American culture.[[167]](#footnote-167) Concern over the effect that Soviet-sponsored women’s groups were having on the female population of the free world, the CIA countered by funding the Committee of Correspondence. This women’s group wilfully cooperated with the government to counter communist propaganda though letter writing campaigns and conferences. For a decade between 1954 and 1966, it received over $500,000 of CIA funds through the “shell” Dearborn Foundation.[[168]](#footnote-168) Labor groups such as the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, the Public Service International, and the Retail Clerks International Association were linked with the Agency, while the CIA created the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers. Some of the leading academics from prestigious American universities helped in Cold War planning and think tanks. It has been estimated that the CIA worked in one way or another with around 5,000 academics, and, to take one example, sponsored William Elliot’s International Summer School at Harvard. Support in the student population was roused through Agency funding of the National Student Association. Efforts to allay Soviet race propaganda were countered through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The CIA worked hard in the realm of ideas, creating links with Hollywood producers and prominent intellectuals. Books such as George Orwell’s *1984* and *Animal Farm* were translated with Agency funds and the latter made into a movie. “Front” publishers were created, such as Arlington Press. Religion could not be kept from the fray, with CIA funding provided for the Catholic Family Rosary Crusade. A huge “Inventory of Instrumentalities” attested to the sheer breadth of organizations that the government viewed as potentially useful for support in “psychological operations.” Apart from organizations such as the American Federation of Labour, the Motion Picture Association of America, and even the Boy Scouts of America, the report confirmed that the International Olympic Committee, United States Olympic Committee, International Amateur Athletic Association, and Davis Cup Team were also considered valuable resources for the government to conduct psychological warfare.[[169]](#footnote-169)

Other far reaching projects were based on the “liberation committees” outlined by Kennan. There was The Committee for a Free Asia and The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.[[170]](#footnote-170) The most significant group that pursued the goal of “liberation,” however, was the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. (NCFE). Its origins, long obscured, are now known. There was a distinct lack of reliable intelligence and information from behind the Iron Curtain from which the U.S. could build strategy. One suggestion that emerged from the PPS was to use refugees that fled the Soviet Union or any one of its satellites. There were politicians, cabinet members, writers, and academics, all of whom could be used to breach the Iron Curtain. In PPS/22, John Paton Davies expressed the need “to utilize refugee resources available in free Europe…to fill the gaps in our own intelligence, in public information, and in our politico-psychological operations.”[[171]](#footnote-171) Kennan and Wisner thought it an area that could indeed reap crucial rewards. The OPC discussed a plan to establish “a democratic philanthropic organization in New York…which in turn would organize a committee of responsible foreign language groups now in western zones of Germany and provide them with facilities for communication with their homelands.” Soon the plan altered to focus on Eastern European émigré groups based in America. Kennan agreed on the new direction. Both he and Wisner put the idea to Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who also assented. Wisner then sought approval from FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover. With support from the intelligence community, the OPC started to prepare the formation of the new émigré group, find it office space in New York and, of course, funding.[[172]](#footnote-172) The level of OPC monies given to the NCFE for the first year reached $69,000, but as the committee’s operation expanded, this amount rose to over $16 million in 1952.[[173]](#footnote-173) The NCFE’s rented headquarters were in the Empire State Building.

The NCFE operated as an ostensibly private group, run by eminent American citizens that represented the will of the American people to denounce communism. But the NCFE was far from “philanthropic;” it was designed to work in step with American foreign policy, and to “engage vigorously in the political/psychological campaign against the Soviet Union.”[[174]](#footnote-174) The secretive nature of the NCFE was maintained because its funding was buried in the OPC. As the NCFE appeared to be a private organization, it meant that the government officials who controlled it could do so without the restrictions and accountability that often marred the effectiveness of “overt” programs.[[175]](#footnote-175) The role of the OPC in policy guidance for the NCFE is fairly obvious in the declassified documents; the initials F.W. (Frank Wisner) are commonly used to designate the channel of communications.[[176]](#footnote-176)

According to a former government employee who worked for the NCFE, the membership was “distinguished,” with “representatives of the business, communications, trade union and academic world.”[[177]](#footnote-177) The committee consisted of government men steeped in intelligence work, like Allen Dulles, OSS Director for Europe, and later director of the CIA. The first president was Dewitt C. Poole, head of the OSS Foreign Nationalities Branch in World War II.[[178]](#footnote-178) The first chairman was Joseph C. Grew, the former Undersecretary of State, and ambassador to Russia. The president of the NCFE from 1951-1952 was C. D. Jackson. Other members included Dwight D. Eisenhower, Henry Luce of *Time, Inc*., and Dewitt Wallace, the owner of *Reader’s Digest*.[[179]](#footnote-179)

The NCFE was incorporated on 11 May 1949,[[180]](#footnote-180) and Grew announced the aims of the group to the media in June:[[181]](#footnote-181)

Specifically, the committee will assist these [exiled] leaders to maintain themselves in useful occupations during their enforced stay in the United States; to come to know the people of the United States and to understand their spirit and aims; to engage in efforts by radio, press and other means to keep alive in their fellow-citizens in Europe the ideals of individual and national freedom; and to establish effective means of cooperation with like-minded European leaders in the United States and to coordinate their plans with those of similar leaders abroad.[[182]](#footnote-182)

The structure of the NCFE was fairly complex and consisted of six major divisions by 1952: the National Councils Division, Radio Free Europe, the Division of Intellectual Cooperation, the Research and Publication Service, Crusade For Freedom Inc., and General Administration.[[183]](#footnote-183) The most famous branch of the NCFE propaganda machine was Radio Free Europe, which started to broadcast in 1950.[[184]](#footnote-184) The committee poured money into a range of projects, sponsoring a Free European University in Exile and a plethora of other exiled groups; it published its own magazines, and floated over 350,000 balloons into Eastern Europe filled with propaganda leaflets.[[185]](#footnote-185)

Apart from CIA financing, the NCFE also raised considerable monies through its own fundraising organization, the Crusade For Freedom, run, for a time, by Abbott Washburn.[[186]](#footnote-186) A native of Duluth, Minnesota, and a graduate of Harvard, Washburn worked for General Mills, Inc. and served in the OSS during WWII.[[187]](#footnote-187) In a communication with Jackson that chastised Soviet propaganda, he wrote: “Their purpose is to convince the prisoner peoples that it is hopeless to resist. They want to create a vacuum of despair. Into this vacuum we must shine a new light of hope – a new vista of a very different future.” Washburn continued: “The American ideal has within it the dynamism to undermine the Soviet empire…provided we can get it across and show that we mean it. Our success in this job may well determine whether we can, indeed, win World War III without fighting it.”[[188]](#footnote-188) The NCFE and Radio Free Europe indeed tried to “shine a light” into Eastern Europe, through various means and missions, one of which involved using sport.

For only a few short years after WWII, the U.S. government dismantled its capability for psychological warfare and propaganda. In 1948 the mechanism was in swift rehabilitation. Whether it be by official or covert means, culture was rallied to the cause. Musicians, artists, and authors were used as a way to project ideological messages, to prove, as it were, that one system (capitalism) was more vibrant than the other (communism). Sports could not be insulated from this “total war;” the Olympics could not be excluded from such a battle. Indeed, by the time of the Cold War, the Olympic Games had become the largest and most prestigious international athletic festival in the world. This made it a perfect target for exploitation.

**Chapter 3 – An Iron Curtain in the Olympic Movement: Sport, Politics, and Propaganda**

**Sport, Politics, and Propaganda**

On 8 October 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower delivered an important foreign policy speech in San Francisco. To bolster his election campaign, he sought to convince voters of the power of psychological warfare, its scope and application. “Our aim in ‘cold war’ is not conquest of territory or subjugation by force,” he said, “Our aim is more subtle, more pervasive, more complete.” “We are trying to get the world by peaceful means to believe the truth,” he explained, and the “means we shall employ to spread the truth are often called ‘psychological.’” Eisenhower provided his audience with examples: “There are many peaceful tools that must be used in the waging of this fight…diplomacy, the spreading of ideas through every medium of communication, mutual economic, trade and barter, friendly contacts through travel and correspondence and sports.” He predicted winning the Cold War in this way:

In spirit and resolve we should see in this ‘cold war’ a chance to gain victory without casualties, to win a contest that can quite literally save peace.

We must realize that as a nation, everything we say, everything we do, and everything we fail to say or do will have its impact in other lands. It will affect the minds and wills of men and women there.[[189]](#footnote-189)

Eisenhower went on to bemoan the absence of this thinking from the Truman administration, but he was not entirely correct. The government under both Truman and Eisenhower understood the power of culture in the Cold War. A report prepared by the U.S. government in late 1951 had reviewed a range of psychological warfare operations and the particular field or category in which they were being realized. In the category of culture, it was admitted that the psychological significance was difficult to quantify, being somewhat intangible, although its “manifestations such as works of art, pieces of literature, declamations of drama and compositions of music, may be reduced to a tangible form and thus may be evaluated.” The report continued:

Since these manifestations are generally created for public consumption, they are capable of impressing the consumers – even if the normal reaction is so simple as ‘like’ or ‘dislike.’ However, in a vast majority of instances, an impression carries with it an idea; consequently cultural manifestations may well be considered vehicles for specifically designed impressions – in short, propaganda.[[190]](#footnote-190)

Culture, then, could be used to target an audience. Moreover, the report confirmed, sport could be harnessed as a form of entertainment with some prosperity, because it appealed to such a wide range of people. Like drama, music, or literature, sport “surmounts racial and national barriers, so its applicability is universal.” The value of sport was evident in its capability to “deliver its impact on non-communists and neutrals, as well [as] the communist bloc.”[[191]](#footnote-191) The capacity of sport as a tool for propaganda lay in its sheer global popularity, especially to the average soul on the street, or to the coveted opinion of the world’s youth.[[192]](#footnote-192) Not only this, but sport competition created a symbolic venue where nations could compete, and one could defeat another. When it came to the Olympic Games of 1956, psychological warfare experts worried about the unbreakable reality of a Soviet victory. “It will be practical proof of the superiority of the communists in terms that anybody can understand,” a government official conceded.[[193]](#footnote-193) Thus, the universal nature of sport and its results-driven structure formed the basis for understanding its effectiveness as a weapon for propaganda.

These ideas were not an American Cold War phenomenon. Modern sport[[194]](#footnote-194) has proven remarkably conducive to propaganda. “By its nature,” argues James Riordan, “sport is suited to the task: it excites nationalist instincts and encourages group identification; it is superficially apolitical and readily understandable; sporting activity can take place across barriers of race, class, religion and nationality; and, through modern means of communication, sporting spectacles can be transmitted throughout the world.”[[195]](#footnote-195) James Nafziger & Andrew Strenk concur, alluding to the “superficial” innocence of sport as a veiled political conduit: “Since a sporting event in itself has little political content, spectators and governments are free to reach any political conclusion they desire from results. And, since athletes in international events represent their countries and not themselves, the competition between political adversaries offers an ideal forum for demonstrating the success of a particular political system.”[[196]](#footnote-196) Another historian has reflected on the “ability of sport to capture the popular imagination, to infuse a sense of common commitment in the outcome of an epic contest.”[[197]](#footnote-197) Peter Beck has proposed that for the British government from 1900-1939, international sport was “capable of fulfilling a cultural propaganda role in terms of not only promoting a favourable image of Britain as a great nation characterised by an ability to win well in a fair and sporting manner but also countering the detrimental effects of foreign propaganda.”[[198]](#footnote-198)

In another sense, the comments on sport by the U.S. government were rather novel. The nature of the Cold War made sport far more of a state issue than it had ever been before. But there was also something about the very nature of sport which inspired the language used to describe it. After all, sport had not always been something “universal” across the planet, nor had it always been an international testing ground where national prestige was at stake, be it superficially or not. No, for sport to have become an asset in state propaganda it had to pass through a series of organizational developments, and these changes have occurred, relatively speaking, in our recent history.

Of course, sport, games, or physical culture have long been used, in one way or another, for politics and propaganda by those in power. In Ancient Egyptian civilization, Pharaohs performed athletic feats to confirm their supernatural and uncontested authority over their people.[[199]](#footnote-199) The Roman Circus was hardly administered for innocent entertainment. During the years of the Republic, politicians organized shows to win votes, or, in later times, Emperors staged grand spectacles to appease the masses and maintain control over their bloated Empire.[[200]](#footnote-200) But it is in the modern world, at least the late nineteenth century and after, that sport spread to all corners of the globe, and transformed into an international “imagined community,” where competition between athletes wearing the uniforms of their country was interpreted as a measure of national strength.[[201]](#footnote-201) By the 1930s, argues Barbara Keys, sport “came to constitute an ‘imagined world’ in much the same way as a nation can be seen as an ‘imagined community.’” Sport was “governed by distinctive laws and practices, linked by its own repertoire of invented symbols and traditions, referring to a common past and heroes.” The strength of sport was based on its ability to combine “universalism” with “nationalism,” so that “through international sport, belonging to the world was mediated by belonging to a nation.” Sporting festivals such as the soccer World Cup established themselves as global commercial mega events. As a site where victory or defeat could be universally understood and athletic performance celebrated, modern sport, in this sense, became a perfect venue for governments to sell their way of life to the world.[[202]](#footnote-202) Nowhere were these ideals so clearly unified than in the Modern Olympic Games.

**The Olympic Games and its Politics**

At a time when international sport was in a state of gradual stirring, the Olympic Games began. In 1894, Baron Pierre de Coubertin gathered a host of social elites to a conference at the Sorbonne called the “Paris International Congress for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games.”[[203]](#footnote-203) When the proceedings concluded, those in attendance voted to re-establish the Olympic Games. The International Olympic Committee was created. Two years later, in 1896, the first Modern Games were held in Athens.

Though there were several pseudo Olympic festivals held in Europe during the nineteenth century, the impetus for re-starting the Olympics issued, rather appropriately, from Greece. The Greek poet named Panagiotis Soustos wanted to recapture the glories of ancient Greece and thought that the Olympics might contribute to it. His ideas reached a wealthy compatriot by the name of Evangelis Zappas, whose riches paid for several Olympic festivals, beginning in 1859. The absence of determined leadership, coupled with the ambivalence of the Greek government, condemned this revival. Only later was the legacy of the initiative grasped by Coubertin.[[204]](#footnote-204)

Before the Olympics consumed his thoughts, Coubertin desired to reinvigorate the ailing fortunes of his native France after its defeat by Prussia. He pressed for a national program of physical education that would restore France’s military strength and fortify a nobility “imprisoned in the ruins of a dead past.”[[205]](#footnote-205) The inspiration for this came to Coubertin upon observing the public school sports of England and the college sports of America. He idolized Arnold of Rugby to the point of delusion. As John Lucas has written: “His romanticized version of Anglo-American organized, competitive athletics was rivalled only by his youthful conviction that these nations were the greatest powers in the world, due, in large measure, to a tradition of pervasive, virile, honourable and exhilarating games-playing.”[[206]](#footnote-206)

When Coubertin’s proposals to reproduce the school sports of England in France were rejected, he turned instead to a new project. He started to correspond with an English physician named William Penny Brooks, himself an advocate of physical education. During a visit to Brooks’s home town of Much Wenlock, Brooks “filled Coubertin’s ears” with the history of the Olympic Games, and the attempts to rekindle the movement in Greece.[[207]](#footnote-207) The baron took the idea, claimed it for his own, and from there took a path that led to the conference in Paris in 1894. The idea to revive the Modern Games may not have been Coubertin’s, but history has given him the credit for reigniting them.

The new festival grew slowly. The Athens Games of 1896 drew huge crowds and many plaudits. They were international in a limited sense; athletes from 15 countries participated. Coubertin handed the next instalment to Paris.[[208]](#footnote-208) Paris hosted a disappointing event, for it was hidden within a larger world Exposition. The athletic contests took place over two months with little organization or public exposure. The next Games in St. Louis were even more dismal. The events were once again held in conjunction with an Exposition. Located far from the European continent, few countries sent a team of any size, making the 1904 Games a competition mostly contended and dominated by American athletes. An unofficial Games hosted by Athens in 1906 managed to galvanize the flagging movement, so much so that the 1908 London Olympics of 1908 were rather more successful. The following festival in Stockholm, in 1912, saw the return to the promise displayed in the first of the modern renditions. From that point, the Olympics blossomed.[[209]](#footnote-209) The two festivals of the 1930s were unprecedented in size; the stadiums in Los Angeles (1932) and Berlin (1936) held over 100,000 spectators. At Los Angeles, the commercial power of the Games was proven; at Berlin, its use for political means confirmed.[[210]](#footnote-210) Even though an Olympic Games would not be held between 1936 and 1948 due to World War II, the movement was strong enough to withstand the pause. Upon resuming after the war, the Olympics moved into a new era of growth, with festivals in the Southern Hemisphere and Asia; more nations sent teams and there were higher standards of athletic performance. The emergence of satellite television was the catalyst for further international popularity and commercialism.[[211]](#footnote-211)

The larger the Games became, the larger were its complications. Coubertin’s vision, in fact his political philosophy, celebrated internationalism. The baron, on the other hand, did not care much for cosmopolitanism. He thought that friendly competition between nations could contribute to world peace. At the same time, Coubertin wanted his Olympic Games to be free of politics. His biographer writes: “He could claim for the Games a central place in human affairs which he knew to be eminently political and simultaneously act as if ideology and politics were mere epiphenomena to be ‘transcended.’”[[212]](#footnote-212) The IOC has never been under the control of any state or government; it answers only to its members. Yet, the structure of the IOC reflected Coubertin’s preoccupation with internationalism. Athletes competed for a nation; they had to be members of a national Olympic committee; they wore a national uniform; and, if they made the victory podium, could bask in the glory of seeing their national flag raised aloft.[[213]](#footnote-213) “One must be able to draw inspiration from the flag under whose colors one is doing battle,” Coubertin wrote in 1910.[[214]](#footnote-214) This fundamental part of the Games has made them inherently political. For, while the Games may well have contributed to mutual understanding, even a waft of peace, they also served as a barometer for measuring one nation against another, and presented an opportunity for a nation to be seen. This made the recognition of national Olympic committees a troublesome affair. As Richard Espy argues: “The IOC, by recognizing a country’s committee or by recognizing a certain name, in effect was conferring political recognition although the IOC had no formal diplomatic status.”[[215]](#footnote-215) In 1912, Finnish sports officials managed to convince the IOC that they should march under their own flag during the opening ceremonies of the Stockholm Games, even though their country was under Russian control. Similar attempts by Ireland and Armenia after WWI were rejected as neither of the two countries were fully independent.[[216]](#footnote-216) This general problem increased considerably in the second half of the twentieth century, as a mass of new nations, particularly in the third world, sought membership in the IOC. Moreover, when certain nations such as Germany and Korea were partitioned, the difficulties magnified still further.

Coubertin also wanted the Games to flow in an uninterrupted procession every four years, moving from one global city to another. Still, the Modern Olympic Games have not been impervious to the effects of war. The two world wars that dominated the first half of the twentieth century stopped the Olympic Games for a combined total of three festivals (1916, 1940, 1944).[[217]](#footnote-217)

Competing in and staging an Olympics were, and are, conducive to propaganda.[[218]](#footnote-218) Athletic victories were hailed in the western media as proof of national vitality, nowhere more so than in the United States. But perhaps the most political festival in the history of the modern Movement was not solely about who won the greater number of medals. When Hitler’s Germany hosted the 1936 Olympics, notes Arnd Krüger, the organizers “wanted to demonstrate organizational power first and athletic power second.”[[219]](#footnote-219) They managed to demonstrate both. The Games contributed to the self-satisfaction Hitler felt after his fourth year in power, having also remilitarized the Rhineland, rearmed Germany, and pulled the wool over the eyes of many world leaders.[[220]](#footnote-220) It led critics to question the integrity of the IOC for allowing a festival to occur in a country where, among other things, the rights of Jewish citizens were systemically removed. One historian was moved to comment that the 1936 Games “were an obscuring layer of shimmering froth on a noxious wave of destiny.”[[221]](#footnote-221)

The IOC was controlled by, indeed filled with, male social elites, for much of the twentieth century. The decision to make the Games an amateur affair further defined who could participate. The Victorian elites that did so much to organize modern sport did just as much to ensure that they could control who partook in it. In the 1860s, the amateur rule was invented by elite clubs in England to bar the working classes from competing. A “gentleman” was regarded as an “amateur” and a “professional” as a member of the “working class.” The rule later received amendments which stipulated that no athlete who derived profit from sport either directly or indirectly, could retain their amateur status.[[222]](#footnote-222) Coubertin and the social elites in the IOC incorporated the amateur rule, believing that they were following the example of amateurism adhered to during the first centuries of the Ancient Games. This, we now know, is not true. Athletes at the Ancient Games competed for considerable prizes. By taking the amateur rule and making it part of the Olympic structure, the baron guaranteed nearly a century of relentless furore over what amateurism meant and who was actually abiding by it.[[223]](#footnote-223)

**The American Olympic Experience**

Coubertin’s travels to America and experience of its sporting culture contributed to his decision to restore the Olympics in a modern form. That considered, by the turn of the century there was no deep penetration of the Olympic experience in the “American sport psyche.” This came a little later, when America became the third country to host the Games, and St Louis the third city.[[224]](#footnote-224) It was not the Games of St. Louis themselves that alone generated this interest, but the preceding controversy. Chicago had been the original choice to host the event, but the city could not raise sufficient funds. Coubertin decided to hand the Games to St Louis. Newspaper coverage of the story carried across America. While the Games of 1904 have never been celebrated as anything approaching a successful festival, this observation must be tempered with the fact that the St Louis Games did reel in the attention of the American people, and strengthened the Olympic Movement for this very reason.[[225]](#footnote-225)

In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the sporting traditions of the United States were “firmly established.” As Steven Pope has written: “Between the mid-1860s and mid-1870s, sports proliferated, and were transformed from local and regional contests into nationally standardized and commercialized ones.”[[226]](#footnote-226) The sports introduced by English émigrés to American soil were developed in a unique pattern, most clearly in the cases of football and baseball, but some of the ideology of English sports had been adopted. The muscular Christianity movement removed doubt for many as to the social benefits of sport, while the adoption of amateurism by elites provided a practical expression for social prejudices. Just as in England, the amateur rule cannot be used to describe the dominant practices of American sport - there was professionalism in English soccer, for example, just as there was professionalism in American baseball. In track and field, however, the amateur ethos pervaded. In 1888, the New York Athletic Club and eight other clubs formed the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU) to administer several sports, but particularly track and field. The AAU enforced amateurism strictly, controlled which athletes could compete at its sanctioned events, and barred for life those that elected not follow its amateur rule. By the end of the century, the AAU’s national championship was regarded as the national championship of America.[[227]](#footnote-227)

American participants at the first three modern Olympic Games journeyed to the host cities as individuals, funded by wealthy patrons or clubs. In 1904, however, the IOC gave the AAU the authority to select a national team. The AAU set up a temporary American Olympic Committee to arrange trials and take care of the arrangements for each festival. By the 1920s, the task of organizing the American Olympic team became a large logistical operation, with trials to arrange and funding mechanisms to put in place, all of which could not adequately be tackled by what amounted to a special committee. The American Olympic Association (AOA) took over the burden, though still under the immense influence of the AAU.[[228]](#footnote-228)

This was demonstrative of the growing American obsession with the Olympic Games. After all, Coubertin’s creation provided the most pronounced avenue for America to compete in international competition. Apart from forays abroad in some sports, baseball and football were not popular in Europe; basketball proved more so, though not until after World War I. At the Olympics, Americans could jump, throw, or run against athletes from around the world, and the successful performances of American athletes were interpreted as indicative of the nation’s prowess.[[229]](#footnote-229) Clarence Bush, the publicity director of the AOA, and a keen essayist, wrote several short articles on the subject, such as his “Americanism in the Olympic Games.” In this indulgent tract penned at some point in the early 1930s, Bush ruminates over why America’s “democracy” has “triumphed” at the Olympic Games “over rivals from aristocratic, monarchist and despotic nations.” The answer, he declares, “is found in our competitive way of life, surviving from pioneer days, giving all an equal chance but handsomely rewarding the fittest in all realms of activity.”[[230]](#footnote-230) At each Olympic festival the American sporting media created and reproduced national myths and narratives. This remains the case today. The foremost scholar on this subject wrote not long ago: “Predicting that Americans will use the Olympic games for nationalistic purposes is as facile as predicting that a tornado will touch down in Oklahoma sometime in spring.”[[231]](#footnote-231)

Importantly, the AAU and the AOA were strictly private endeavours; they did not answer to the U.S. government and handled their own affairs in what often amounted to splendid isolation.[[232]](#footnote-232) The proud Clarence Bush praised the voluntary funding of the U.S. Olympic team, which survived on contributions made by citizens rather than the government.[[233]](#footnote-233) U.S. sports officials revered the separation of government influence from the American Olympic authorities. As we shall see, during the Cold War this pride in the independence of the American Olympic movement was repeatedly weighed against the example of the Soviet Union. Indeed, compared to several European countries, the U.S. government pursued a generally “isolationist” policy with regard to international sport and the Olympics prior to the Cold War.[[234]](#footnote-234) In 1940, the Office of the Coordinater of Inter-American Affairs encouraged a small and limited foray into “sports diplomacy” by way of athletic exchanges. Directed primarily at Latin America, this operation was ended when the United States entered the war. When a cascade of American athletes toured throughout the world in the 1930s, it was the AAU, not the state department, which organized the endeavours.

The U.S. military was somewhat more involved in the Olympics. It had representatives on the AOA and many members of the armed forces competed on the American Olympic team.[[235]](#footnote-235) Military ships even helped to transport athletes to the Antwerp Games in 1920.[[236]](#footnote-236) In general, however, the U.S. Olympic team was funded by voluntary donations and coordinated by enthusiasts in the private sphere. If ever there was a moment that an American president could have made sport a matter of foreign policy, the 1936 Olympic Games should have been it. When the American public and sports officials debated furiously over whether to send a team to Berlin, the Roosevelt administration remained aloof from the dilemma.[[237]](#footnote-237)

No American believed in Olympic ideals more, or pursued them with greater zeal, than Avery Brundage. Brundage was born in Detroit on 28 September 1887. When he was five, his family moved to Chicago. His parents separated a short time later. Avery was raised by aunts and uncles. The “objective” test of sports entranced him from a young age, for he appreciated that the “track athlete stands or falls on his own merits.” When Brundage entered the University of Illinois in 1905 he had the reputation of being a fine sportsman. It is unclear whether popularity was one his gifts. He graduated with a degree in civil engineering and took a position as a superintendent at an architectural firm. In 1915, Brundage established his own building firm called the Avery Brundage Company. The Depression almost destroyed it. Brundage astutely moved into real estate and managed to survive where so many other businessmen failed, all the while preserving an upstanding reputation. He earned the nickname, “honest Ave.” In 1927, he married Elizabeth Dunlap, a relationship in which he was not so “honest,” indulging in an affair that produced two children.

The athletic interests of his high school and college careers did not cease upon graduation. Brundage became a member of the Chicago Athletic Association, where he trained heavily for the “all-round” competition, another name for the decathlon. Such was his ability that he qualified for the 1912 U.S. Olympic team, quit his job, and embarked on the voyage to Stockholm. As his biographer notes, it was possibly this sacrifice which drove Brundage to expect a similar effort from others when it came to enforcing the amateur rule. In an odd turn of events, he failed to finish the decathlon, electing to withdraw having fallen far behind in the points total. He regretted the decision for the rest of his life. But the Olympic experience filled him with joy and admiration:

All were judged and judged solely on their merit, regardless of social position, wealth, family connections, race, religion, color, or political affiliation. Here was no commercial connivery nor political chicanery. The rules were the same for everyone, respected by all, and enforced impartially.[[238]](#footnote-238)

Brundage saw the Olympics as something pure and serene: “My conversion, along with many others, to Coubertin’s religion, the Olympic Movement, was complete.”[[239]](#footnote-239) When he returned from Stockholm he won the all-round athletic championship of America on three



Figure 2. Avery Brundage (left), President of the International Olympic Committee, at the opening ceremony of the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. To his right is the Duke of Edinburgh. International Olympic Committee Archives.

occasions (1914, 1916, 1918) and developed into a first rate hand-ball player. The next phase of his sporting career brought him world renown as an administrator. Chief among his appointments was the presidency of the AAU from 1928 to 1935 (except for 1933). In 1928 he also became president of the AOA, a position he held until 1952. In 1945 he became vice president of the IOC and, in 1952, he was elected president. He ruled over the organization until 1972.

The 1936 Nazi Olympics were the catalyst for Brundage’s accession to the IOC. When it became quite apparent that Jewish athletes would not be invited to compete on behalf of Germany at the Berlin Games, the issue caused a volatile debate in America.Many thought that an American team in Germany would legitimize Hitler’s racial policies. Brundage was not among this group. Some of his closest friends – and Brundage had few – were German sports officials bound up in the organization of the Berlin festival. He did not intend to disappoint them. When he was reassured that Jewish athletes would be permitted to try out for the German team, he was satisfied with the response. For his part in ensuring U.S. participation in Berlin, the IOC rewarded Brundage with a seat on its committee.

That Brundage had been deceived regarding Jewish participation is clear; it is also clear that the whole affair put his own anti-Semitic ideas on display. He blamed Jews for the campaign to boycott the Berlin festival and started to collect anti-Semitic literature. He corresponded with severe anti-Semites. To this he saddled a contempt for communism, an ideology for which he thought the Jews were to blame. As a conservative Republican and self-made millionaire, it is evident that the merits of capitalism were far more likely to suit Brundage than Marxist doctrine.[[240]](#footnote-240) He preferred to think that Hitler’s anti-communism was a good thing as opposed to the stretching of Stalin’s influence across Europe. One must take his views on communism in general with caution, however. For when it came to the Soviet sports system, Brundage harboured an unconcealed admiration.

One scholar has made the point that Brundage did not “pretend to be an original thinker” concerning the Olympics.[[241]](#footnote-241) Like Coubertin, Brundage could not fully accept that the Olympics were a political event. He believed that the Games should be independent from government control or diplomatic wrangling, and used this argument to defend his position on American participation in Berlin. Those who wanted to boycott the Games were the ones bringing political arguments where they were most unwelcome. When he sat and enjoyed the events in Berlin, did Brundage understand that it was National Socialism on show every bit as much as it was the athletes? On occasion, he conceded the contradictions. He liked to tell the story of when he complimented the President of Venezuela on the absence of politics at the Bolivar Games, whereupon the Venezuelan responded: “Ah, but that is the best politics.”[[242]](#footnote-242) Still, anyone who reads the correspondence of Brundage cannot but notice his relentless repetition of the Olympic credo that sport and politics should not mix. In just the same way, he could not repeat enough that all those who competed at the Games should be amateur. Coubertin was never as boisterous about amateurism to the extent of Brundage. Few in history were. In protesting these two pillars of Olympic conduct – politics and amateurism – Brundage would not recoil or stand aside from battle, justifying his decisions by quoting the rules as written in the *Olympic Charter*. [[243]](#footnote-243) His personality was suited to the task. A brusque, obstinate and pedantic personality, his tenure as IOC president attracted world-wide criticism. To some he was anachronistic. To others he was a devout believer in the Olympic Games, and responsible for holding the Movement together during its most trying years.[[244]](#footnote-244)

**The Soviet Olympic Experience**

Like America, Russia had a member in the inaugural IOC.[[245]](#footnote-245) A small team of Russian athletes first attended the Games in London in 1908; in 1911, a Russian Olympic Committee was formed. A grander effort to win national prestige at the Stockholm Olympics was prevented before the team left its own shores when, for whatever reason, most of the athletes missed the boat to Sweden. The shambolic episode prompted the government to apply more organization to Russian sports, a considerable task when taking into account the vast size of the country. The fruits of this limited exercise were not reaped by the tsars: the First World War eliminated the 1916 Olympics, and the Russian Revolution removed the monarchy from its despotic rule shortly after. The Soviet Union thus inherited a weak sporting structure, although the amendments made prior to the revolution at least ensured that the feeble infrastructure was centralized.[[246]](#footnote-246)

The Soviet Union moved further away rather than closer to, the burgeoning world of international sport. Competitions like the Olympic Games did not suit the doctrine preached in the Kremlin and, for that matter, the IOC did not really appear to be a welcoming home. Some scholars of the Olympic Games have been inclined to look upon the IOC’s relationship with communism and see only the workings of an organization that put up impenetrable walls to Marxism. Carolyn Marvin has claimed that “Avery Brundage’s Olympic movement was eternally mobilized against Communism.”[[247]](#footnote-247) John Hoberman has argued that the peaceful internationalism of the IOC has been a “congenial environment” for anti-communism, with sympathies, instead, toward fascism.[[248]](#footnote-248)

At any rate, after the Russian Revolution it was initially the choice of the Soviet Union to avoid the Olympic Games and all other bourgeois sports competitions. Sport would serve a new role in Soviet society, distinct from the capitalist concoction experienced in much of the West. This presented a doctrinal challenge. Although Marx was given to predicting the process of the communist revolution, he was not so keen to produce a blueprint for its realization. As the philosopher Peter Singer notes, though Marx was confident in dealing with the past and his present, he could not predict “the form to be taken by the new society to be built by the free human beings of the new era.”[[249]](#footnote-249) This process was made none the easier when Marx’s pen fell silent; as was the case with sport.[[250]](#footnote-250) Indeed, so little did Marx write on physical activity that it is futile to lay undue weight on the scattered quotes that do exist from his thoughts on the matter. Similarly, Lenin was far from voluminous on the subject. But, as James Riordan suggests, when contemplating the thought of Marx and Lenin on sport, it is the “implications of their teaching that are generally referred to.”[[251]](#footnote-251)

In the 1920s this was characterized by a “proletarian” physical culture which was diverse in form and theory. All accepted that physical culture should contribute to a healthy and productive workforce in tune with ideological tenets, but Soviet educators pursued these aims in a variety of ways. Some used sports; others disliked them. The individualism, competition, and record-breaking elements of western sport were roundly eschewed. This was not straightforward to implement, however, and proved hard to pass on to a population that adored soccer.[[252]](#footnote-252)

In 1921, the Red Sport International (RSI) – an organization with strong links to the Communist International – aimed to reshape international and socialist sport by levying control of the worker’s sport movement from the Socialist Workers’ Sport International (WSI), an organization formed in 1920. Workers’ sport associations emerged in central Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century as an alternative to gymnastics and “bourgeois” sport. Several of these associations formed an international workers’ sport organization (1913), but it succumbed to the First World War. In 1920, advocates of workers’ sport reconvened and created the WSI (originally the Lucerne Sport International) to recover the movement. The WSI’s main base lay in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium.[[253]](#footnote-253) Like the RSI, it was thoroughly anti-bourgeois, and brought workers together in friendly competition without the “quest for records and idolization of individual athletes” that characterized events like the Olympic Games. Sport was a means for revolutionary change. The WSI organized its own colossal Workers’ Olympics, starting in 1925 in Frankfurt. The second, in Vienna (1931), attracted over 80,000 athletes from 26 countries, a figure which utterly eclipsed the 1,000 competitors at the 1932 Summer Olympics.[[254]](#footnote-254) To the detriment of both organizations, the RSI and WSI could not work together. The two had a fundamental difference in tone. The RSI wanted to use sport as a far more aggressive political instrument and desired full control over the WSI. Neither would fully give way to the other. The divided movement was eventually dissolved; Hitler destroyed the German core of the WSI, while the RSI lost its *raison d’être* when the Soviet Union became entranced by western sport.[[255]](#footnote-255)

During the 1920s the Soviet Union engaged in international competition to a very limited degree, mainly against other workers’ teams. Soccer contests became abysmally one-sided. The Soviet public and sports officials craved a worthy opponent, but this demanded a change in policy. In the 1930s, the Soviet regime made this change when it came to view international sport as a strategic device in propaganda and diplomacy. Mass forms of non-competitive physical culture were replaced by the slogan “catch up to and overtake bourgeois records in sport.” Sport became even more centralized to administer the movement, with a greater emphasis on training methods and tactics. As the Soviet Union looked to dramatically improve its international standing in sports, the RSI no longer served a purpose. Its work ceased in 1937. The only thing that stopped the Soviet Union from becoming a full member of the international sporting community was its absence from international sports federations. In general, many federations were reluctant to accept them. When pressed on the issue in 1934, the IOC president, Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, unreservedly opposed welcoming the “reds.”[[256]](#footnote-256)

In many ways, the changes in Soviet sport in the 1930s were driven by Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union moved away from its isolation and began to seek contacts with bourgeois countries. It joined the League of Nations in 1934. Stalin also turned against fascism out of a fear that it threatened to annihilate communism. He then took a remarkable political swerve in 1939, accepting Hitler’s offer of a peace pact. This paved the way for an increase in sporting relations between the two countries until, in 1941, Hitler launched operation “Barbarrossa” and sent an immense invading force into Soviet territory.[[257]](#footnote-257)

After repelling the catastrophic invasion, at the close of the war the Soviet Union addressed its monumental losses. It also entered a new phase of sporting diplomacy and international contacts. A government decree published in 1945 included the intention to “stimulate greater sports proficiency” and to “award monetary prizes for outstanding sports results.” It joined international sports federations. When federation officials raised the matter of the amateur rule, Soviet authorities reversed the resolution on monetary rewards, but this was only a sop.[[258]](#footnote-258) The state-controlled Soviet sport system was not changed because western sports federations asked for it. The determination to win was now policy. A Party resolution from 1948 declared that government sports committees were “to spread sport to every corner of the land, to raise the level of skill and, on that basis, to help Soviet athletes win world supremacy in major sports in the immediate future.”[[259]](#footnote-259)

**The Cold War and the Olympic Games**

By 1945 it was clear that the Soviet Union had decided to reverse its policy with regard to competing in “western” sports organizations, not only intending for Soviet athletes to perform in international events, but also intending to dominate them. When the IOC reconvened after WWII, it could not avoid this issue. The Olympic mission of peaceful internationalism demanded that if the Soviet Union asked for recognition, then the IOC should give it. The pre-eminence of the Olympics as an international sports event was also at stake. As the IOC president, Sweden’s J. Sigfrid Edström, duly acknowledged, to not accept the Soviet Union into the IOC would leave “the athletic world divided in two big sections – East and West.”[[260]](#footnote-260) This still did not make the decision easy. The very design and administration of the Soviet sports system, when placed side by side with the requirements of the *Olympic Charter*, could not have been more different. Primarily, the *Charter* called for a National Olympic Committee to be independent of government control – and, thus, free from political influence – financially self-sufficient, while the athletes that represent said committee must be purely amateur. Reports on the professionalism of Soviet athletes left Brundage “lukewarm” about inviting the Soviet Union into the Movement, while Edström knew fully well that “Of course everything in Russia is governed by the state.”[[261]](#footnote-261) To include the Soviet Union meant that many members of the IOC had to rethink long held perceptions about what sport represented as an ideal, and whether that ideal should be open to interpretation. Edström put this question to his fellow IOC members: “From the Western point of view we must question ourselves if the Russian athletes can be considered as amateurs. We must face the fact that many of them are professionals. We have thus a different idea of sport in Eastern Europe and in the West. The question is how shall we proceed in the future.”[[262]](#footnote-262) In the end, the IOC proceeded as it always had. Communist sport was permitted into the Olympic sanctuary, but the IOC continued to stubbornly promote all its usual edicts, which by this point, if not long before, were nothing but a myth.

Both Brundage and Edström wrestled with personal politics on the issue of communist sport. Edström’s thoughts on communism dovetailed with those of his colleague. An aristocrat by birth, he was trained as a civil engineer and became president of the Swedish General Electric Company in 1903. Sport was his obsession. Edström competed in the 100m at the first Olympics in Athens, later founded the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), and led the organizing committee for the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm. When the IOC president, Count Henri Baillet Latour, died in 1942, Edström served as acting president for four years until, in 1946, he was elected president. Politically, Edström has been described as “arch conservative” and right wing. Like Brundage, he also displayed strains of anti-Semitism and, to some degree, sympathized with the Nazi oppression of Jews.[[263]](#footnote-263) There was no such ambiguity when he spoke of communism. In a private letter written to friends and relatives in 1950, he summed up his feelings about post-war Europe. He recalled a conversation with the English Ambassador in Stockholm before the hostilities, where Edström questioned the gentleman as to why “England made a contract with Russia to fight Hitler,” as Stalin was a “thief, bank robber and murderer.” Edström complained that after the war the Soviet Union gained control in Eastern Europe by “treachery and force.” “Why do the Allied Powers not wake up? Do they not see the danger? It is horrible!” He concluded:

One often wonders if Democracy is a sound political system. It hardly seems so in these times of Dictatorship. Watch the way France is managed – where communists and social democrats throw the government out into the street time after time. They ought to have a Napoleon again.[[264]](#footnote-264)

While these opinions frequently bubbled to the surface, they did not rule the decisions Edström made as president of the IOC; nor were Brundage’s prejudices about communism allowed to dictate whether or not the Soviet Union could gain recognition. The rules of the *Olympic Charter* had to be overlooked, and were. This predicament never sat easily with either man, and remained a constant aggravation to Brundage throughout his leadership. But as Allen Guttmann has argued: “Despite the fact that Edström, Brundage…and all the other influential members of the IOC were vehemently anti-Communist, their public commitment to the universalistic ideal of Olympism was stronger than their private hostility toward communism.”[[265]](#footnote-265)

As communist regimes were established in Eastern Europe, the sporting culture in the region was readjusted to mirror that of the Soviet Union. Again, the IOC knew this. “It is impossible, therefore, to find a NOC in any Communist country that is free and not under complete state control,” lamented Brundage in 1950.[[266]](#footnote-266) As an example, the Polish IOC member, Jerzy Loth, wrote to inform Otto Mayer, the IOC Chancellor, that the NOC of Poland had been “dissolved and all its members replaced by people which are under communistic obedience.” Loth also complained about his own ejection from the Polish NOC.[[267]](#footnote-267) The difference in sporting ideology was also apparent. In 1948 the IOC received a report from the British Information Office regarding a statement that arrived from the sports authorities in Romania. The content lambasted the IOC as an organization full of “war criminals,” “capitalists,” “heads of imperialistic trusts,” “Lords and Counts,” and “fascists.”[[268]](#footnote-268) The Romanian declaration announced the country’s decision not to participate at the 1948 Games in London.

Despite this, the problem of recognition was not quite so difficult for several of the countries in Eastern Europe. Many already had an NOC in good standing from before the war, and this would not change.[[269]](#footnote-269) But the Soviet Union had never been a member of the Olympic Movement. The first step in the process of recognition was membership in the various international sports federations which cooperated with the IOC. In his capacity as President of the IAAF, Edström offered an olive branch to Soviet sports officials in 1945, a gesture that received no immediate response. When the Soviets finally reacted to the overtures, they presented a set of three demands. Russian should be made an official IAAF language, a Soviet representative must be elected to the IAAF Executive Committee, and fascist Spain should be jettisoned from the organization. These bold requests were tartly refused. When the Soviet requests were withdrawn, the application was accepted.[[270]](#footnote-270) In 1947, Mayer twice encouraged the chairman of the Soviet Sports Committee, Nikolai Romanov, to form an NOC and join the Olympic Movement in time for the 1948 festivals.[[271]](#footnote-271) Again, there was silence. Romanov did not simply ignore the letters from the IOC out of rudeness. He could not act without the permission of his political superiors, and the evidence indicates that they themselves were undecided. Not everyone believed in the need to enter the Olympics, so Romanov was left to sell the ideological benefits. Stalin indicated that a team should only be sent if victory could be guaranteed. Before Romanov’s superiors fully digested his assurances on Soviet athletic prospects, a purge of pro-western elements in Soviet society kept proposals to compete at a capitalist sports festival firmly out of the question. Not until 1951 did preparations to enter the Olympics become a priority.[[272]](#footnote-272) The 1948 Games in London came and passed without the involvement of the Soviet Union. Only Soviet government officials made their way to England, and only did so to observe.[[273]](#footnote-273)

When the Soviets attempted the same three demand manoeuvre with their application to the IOC, they were again forced to reconsider the doomed strategy.[[274]](#footnote-274) Eventually, a cable from Moscow confirmed that they accepted the IOC statutes and would apply for official recognition at the Vienna Session in 1951.[[275]](#footnote-275) No demands were made and the communication put Konstantin Andrianov forward as the Soviet candidate for membership in the IOC. Edström ruminated: “It will be interesting to meet these Russian gentlemen, but I am afraid that our American friends will not like them as members.”[[276]](#footnote-276) When the IOC voted on Soviet recognition, not one member obstructed the motion, though three delegates abstained.[[277]](#footnote-277) Brundage observed that the behaviour of the Soviet representatives in Vienna had been “quite correct.” Although there had been a good deal of opposition to the recognition request, Brundage noted that “Others felt that if Russian youth became acquainted with the Olympic Code of fairplay and good sportsmanship, benefits might accrue, not only to the participants, but also to the rest of the world.” On the other hand, Brundage feared that “If the application for recognition was denied, it was apparent that there would be a noisy Communist outburst against the committee which would be charged with violating its own regulations against introducing politics in sport.”[[278]](#footnote-278) Andrianov was elected as an IOC member, as was a second Russian, Aleksei Romanov, a year later. Both men were government officials in the state machinery of the Soviet Union. Communism was now fully recognized in the IOC, and the Soviet delegates would “unofficially” lead the Eastern European members in the process of decision making in the committee.[[279]](#footnote-279) Even after the vote in Vienna, however, the communist perspective in the IOC was carefully monitored, even quietly loathed. When Hungary asked for an additional representative in the IOC, Edström feared that further Iron Curtain countries would initiate the same proposal, adding to what was already a “disagreeable minority in our Olympic Committee.”[[280]](#footnote-280)

The Vienna Session marked the full penetration of the Cold War into the Olympic Movement. The media discourse in the U.S. veered toward the contest between U.S and Soviet athletes that looked set to occur at the 1952 Summer Games in Helsinki. All eyes turned to the medal table. Brundage was alarmed that the Games were being turned into “a battle between countries trying to demonstrate the superiority of their political systems.”[[281]](#footnote-281) He also tried to avert any hint that the internal dynamics of the IOC had changed since the war:

It is only since the last world war that there has been talk of ‘an European bloc’, a ‘Latin bloc’, ‘a bloc from behind the Iron Curtain’, ‘a Western Hemisphere bloc’, ‘a British Empire bloc’, etc., in the membership of the IOC. Certainly this has not developed to any very serious extent as yet, but the very fact that such blocs have been mentioned indicates that something has gone awry. There must be no blocs and there must be no nationalism in the International Olympic Committee.[[282]](#footnote-282)

The Cold War could not be elbowed out from the Olympic Movement by Brundage’s will alone; certain recurring challenges made this clear. The German problem was at the heart of superpower politics in the aftermath of the war and, likewise, filled pages in the minutes of IOC sessions and incited reams of correspondence among IOC members. Once the Federal Republic of Germany was established in 1949, a West German Olympic Committee was formed a day later. In 1950, this committee applied for recognition from the IOC, a proposal that was met with vocal opposition, especially by the English IOC members and from those whose countries had been overrun by Germany during WWII. Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, Carl Diem, and Karl Ritter von Halt, all had links to the Nazi Party and were part of the West German NOC. The objectors did not want a German NOC that contained individuals who had collaborated with the Nazis.[[283]](#footnote-283) Brundage and Edström were friends with the men and would not hear of their exclusion. Edström signalled that he would respond in this manner before the Session, when he confided to Mayer, “why shall we punish those who helped the sporting world during the hard years of the Nazi-Government, and how long shall we persecute our friends, because they have worked under the Nazis?”[[284]](#footnote-284) The IOC Executive Board wanted to expedite the recognition, though it accepted that no German could compete at Oslo.[[285]](#footnote-285) The King of Norway would not entertain the prospect and told the Oslo organizing committee to expect his absence if it were to happen. Edström accepted the argument in consideration of the destruction caused in Norway by the German army during the war. “The wounds in Norway are not healed as yet,” he conceded.[[286]](#footnote-286) But the opinions of a King are not always the opinions of his subjects. A Gallup poll on German participation taken in Norway a year before the Games revealed that of the 2,300 people interviewed, 64 per cent were in favour, 14 percent were against, and 22 percent had no opinion.[[287]](#footnote-287) It seems that public sentiment was ratified; the IOC permitted a team from West Germany to take part in Oslo.[[288]](#footnote-288)

The recognition for West Germany was due to be finalized at the 1951 Vienna Session, but the process was further complicated by a separate application from an East German NOC earlier in the same year. The West German representatives wanted to speak for all of Germany and the East Germans wanted to speak for themselves. As a more distant option, apparently both sides also entertained a joint committee. The Soviet Union opposed this last option, wanting a separate East German recognition. The IOC voted in the West German committee without quarrel, and the bolder proposal of a joint team was set for further discussion. Further meetings between IOC officials and East and West Germans were held in the coming months, whereupon major differences continued to blight the debate. The IOC would only entertain a joint team, though the majority of power sat with the committee from the West. Thus, the IOC chose to recognize one Germany, even though such a thing didn’t exist, nor would it for most of what remained of the century. What Brundage saw as a diplomatic success actually created an untenable position for all the German delegates concerned. East Germany gained provisional recognition in 1955, a joint team participated in 1956 at Melbourne, but the artificial unification lurched forward for over a decade, without ever proving satisfactory to either side.[[289]](#footnote-289)

Of course, it is easy to judge from a distance. As one noted historian has said: “It is very hard to remember that events now long in the past were once in the future.”[[290]](#footnote-290) Indeed, Brundage wanted to create a unified German team, place the issue on a raft and let it disappear over the horizon. He then despaired when a prevailing wind from the communist contingent continually blew it back. Soviet delegates constantly raised the issue in IOC sessions and pushed for the recognition of an East German NOC. The same political game was played with regard to China. Once again, a situation emerged in the aftermath of the war whereupon a country was split with one part aligned with the Soviet Union, and the other half aligned with the West. In many ways, the debate over China should have been simpler, but it ended up being even more complicated and enduring than the dilemma of the two Germanies. The IOC rules only accepted one legitimate NOC from any one country. For the two Germanies, this requirement had been oddly avoided. Once Mao Zedong and the communists gained control of mainland China, the usurped leader, Chiang Kai-shek, and his government fled to the island of Formosa (or Taiwan). In terms of the Olympics, China had a recognized NOC for some time, but now the government on mainland China and the exiled leadership in Taiwan both wanted to speak for all China on Olympic matters. In the case of the former, the Soviet Union was providing advice. The IOC had a decision to make on who should bear the responsibility for Olympic issues relative to China.[[291]](#footnote-291) Shortly before the Helsinki Games, the IOC received delegates from both the People’s Republic of China (Shen Chi-pai), and Taiwan (Gunsun Ho) to hear the case presented by each side. Both delegates talked more of politics than sport, much to the frustration of Edström and other IOC members present. An interim solution allowed for athletes from both Chinas to compete in Helsinki, “each in the sports for which its national federation had international recognition.”[[292]](#footnote-292) Even this ended in failure, as all but one of the athletes from the People’s Republic arrived in Helsinki ten days too late and the Nationalists boycotted because the communists were invited.[[293]](#footnote-293) Rather than pursue the strategy employed for the two Germanies, in this instance, the IOC allowed for two Chinas.

At its 49th Session in 1954, the IOC finally voted to recognize committees from both Chinas, though not without incident. During the session, Andrianov spoke effusively about sport in the People’s Republic and, responding to an angry aside from the Nationalist Chinese delegate, called the gentleman “a political leftover.”[[294]](#footnote-294) Interestingly, it appears that the Soviets urged the Chinese officials to settle for two Chinas, as this fit well with the same policy the Soviets pursued with regard to Germany.[[295]](#footnote-295) Regardless, two Chinas were thus recognized, but neither was content. Brundage repeatedly tried to explain that the IOC did not make the decision because of politics. He saw the arguments from both sides as “ridiculous:” “We do not recognize Chiang Kai-shek any more than we recognize Mao Tse Tung; we make no distinction between Communists and capitalists so long as they follow our regulations.”[[296]](#footnote-296)

The IOC’s solution crumbled. The member for the People’s Republic, Tung Shou-yi, grew ever more frustrated at the recognition of Taiwan, and jousted with Brundage over the matter in a string of letters. Under instructions from his government, Tung would not let the recognition of Taiwan drift on. By 1958, China decided to drop out of international sport federations that recognized Taiwan, and Tung informed Brundage, with some spite, that they were withdrawing from the IOC. Even though the communists were now out of the Olympic picture, Andrianov continued to support the Soviets’ political ally, and pushed for the exclusion of Taiwan.[[297]](#footnote-297)

In much the same way, the IOC faced a similar predicament regarding North and South Korea. Without attracting the same level of animosity, the issue still caused prolonged controversy. Prior to the Korean War, a Korean NOC was recognized and based in Seoul, so that when later requests were issued for an NOC from the North, the IOC denied them. One country, one committee, as the mantra went. In 1957, Andrianov called for provisional recognition of North Korea, and a joint team, as per the German case. When South Korea refused this arrangement, Andrianov called for full recognition for the North. In a letter to the Bulgarian IOC member, General Vladimir Stoytchev, Brundage relayed what he had been told by the president of the South Korean NOC. While a demilitarized zone existed between North and South Korea, the countries were technically still at war and, in such circumstances, a joint Olympic committee was wholly impractical.[[298]](#footnote-298) The IOC’s proposals for a joint team failed. Only South Korea sent athletes to the 1960 Rome Games. North Korea secured its own recognition and competed independently four years later in Tokyo.[[299]](#footnote-299)

In 1959, the IOC sensibly decided to no longer recognize an NOC purely by country, but, instead, “under the name of the territory in which they operate.”[[300]](#footnote-300) As such, Taiwan could not claim to speak for China, only the island from which it operated.

The Soviet influence in the IOC grew ever stronger as the decade passed. In 1956, Stoytchev was elected as the first communist on the Executive Board, and was later replaced by Andrianov. Larger Soviet efforts were made to “democratize” the IOC. Most notably, in 1959, the Soviet NOC proposed a complete reorganization of the committee.[[301]](#footnote-301) The IOC is a self-electing body and its members are representatives from, but not of, a country. The Soviet NOC called for the IOC to include in decision-making the presidents of all recognized NOCs, and the presidents of all recognized international sports federations. Thus, the new members would not be elected by the IOC, but by authorities within a country. If acted upon, the proposal would have tripled the size of the IOC and greatly enhanced the amount of control of communist bloc representatives and members from the Third World.[[302]](#footnote-302) Brundage was wary of the Soviet strategy: “This is indeed a most serious situation, particularly since the main objectives, no matter how well they attempt to cover them, are political.”[[303]](#footnote-303) “They want to reorganize the Olympic sports just as they want to reorganize the world,” he later added.[[304]](#footnote-304) Brundage managed to impede the Soviet effort by rallying opposition in the IOC which, in turn, voted down the drastic proposals.

Talk of politics filled letter after letter of Brundage’s correspondence. The second great topic that was given a Cold War flavour was that of amateurism. This problem had been in and around the Olympics in ancient and Modern times, though it gained cachet during the 1950s as many, especially in America, looked for an additional reason to moan about communism. It was true that sport in the Soviet bloc was directed by the state, and true that athletes were given financial subsidies, some more than others. When people picked up on this predicament they cried foul play because they thought, quite correctly, that the practice broke amateur rules. It was a favourite argument, but a broken one. The practice of state funding had been in existence long before the Cold War, and countries that would commonly be called “democratic” undertook it. Even more conspicuous was general professionalism. Brundage knew this. When he questioned and harried Soviet authorities about the financial rewards or amateur status of their athletes, he didn’t deny, in fact he chastised, the suspicious activities of sportsmen in America and other western countries.[[305]](#footnote-305) The IOC attempted to curb these infractions and control how NOCs were administered, but the results were not perfect, nor would they ever be. Professionalism could not be stopped. Mayer admitted as much to Andrianov: “Unfortunately we are living in a time where materialism is ruling the World and I don’t think that I am much wrong if I say that 90% (if not all) top athletes participating in the Games have received money at one time or at another.”[[306]](#footnote-306)

Likewise, the excessive nationalism associated with the Games also spiked Brundage’s blood pressure, especially regarding the unofficial medal table.[[307]](#footnote-307) When the Soviet Union participated in the Helsinki Games, the world’s press looked for a way to judge who had won, the U.S. or the Soviet Union. Brundage wrote to a colleague at the USOC: “The Olympic Games are a contest between individuals, there is no point scoring and no nation ‘wins’ them.”[[308]](#footnote-308) Unofficial medal tables were not a Cold War invention. “We are handicapped in stopping this talk about point scoring since we emphasize nationalism with our victory ceremony, the athletes’ parade, etc,” Brundage admitted, holding the U.S. newspapers especially accountable.[[309]](#footnote-309) The Games were based on the very concept of nationalism; it could also be called the central reason for its success. Suddenly to call for an end to fervent displays of national passion was perhaps the most far-fetched idea of all.

Brundage became an interesting figure for each superpower once he assumed the role of IOC President after the Helsinki Games. At an IOC Session in 1955, he remarked: “In a world engaged in a titanic struggle between different political systems, it is not a simple matter to keep aloof.”[[310]](#footnote-310) His sporting philosophy was staunchly born from the Western tradition of amateurism. His political feelings toward communism were apparent. But Brundage forged a path that took him somewhat more to the middle ground between east and west after 1952, where he increasingly became uncooperative with either American or Soviet government officials. A visit to the Soviet Union in 1954 appears to have made Brundage more accepting of communist sport than he had been, perhaps, hitherto. Brundage described a monumental sport parade in Moscow as “undoubtedly the greatest gymnastic display I have ever seen.”[[311]](#footnote-311) He graciously thanked his Soviet hosts for their hospitality, and marvelled at the sheer scale of athletic organization that he witnessed there.[[312]](#footnote-312) In a lighter moment with Mayer, Brundage commented: “In the thirties I was called a Nazi for talking about the German system; recently I have been talking so much about the Russians that they will probably call me a communist before they get through, although this has not happened yet. If I go to Barcelona, as you say, I will probably be a Franquiste; really international.”[[313]](#footnote-313) Some, indeed, exaggerated. At a coaches conference in the U.S., Brundage was accused of being “brain-washed in Russia.” Brundage’s retort was lengthy and volatile. He denied that his journey to Russia in 1954 brought about his complete acceptance of the communist conception of amateurism:

I have heard all these stories about ‘state amateurs.’ As a matter of fact, I took a large bundle of clippings with me to Moscow from English, French, German and other European and United States newspapers, had them translated and delivered to the top man in Russian sports circles. At an interview with him later, he categorically denied all of them except for the one about their paying cash prizes which he said had been discontinued. What was there for me to do then? One man’s word against another. We have no police force, detectives or army. I have heard scores of stories about Russian violations, but so far not one has been accompanied by the necessary evidence for action. Rumors and gossip, yes, but documentary evidence, none. Anytime the IOC is provided with proof of violations of it’s rules by anyone, you may be certain it will take action.[[314]](#footnote-314)

As one Olympic historian has asserted, Brundage became a far more astute diplomat upon assuming the IOC presidency, though his personal inclinations did not disappear in private.[[315]](#footnote-315) After receiving yet another clipping from a communist newspaper, Brundage reacted by stating: “One would think these people discovered ‘peace.’ Unfortunately, alas, most of their adherents in foreign countries do nothing but disturb the peace.”[[316]](#footnote-316) Brundage constantly expressed anguish over communist professionalism, but there was little he could do about it. When he pressed Soviet sports officials on the matter they simply denied it.[[317]](#footnote-317) When the U.S. media complained about Soviet state athletes, Brundage complained to colleagues about the military and college athletes on the American Olympic team.[[318]](#footnote-318) When the media alluded to the Soviet sports system, Brundage argued that the U.S. could learn from its political enemy, as Americans were too “soft.”[[319]](#footnote-319) When the U.S. government started to use athletes in diplomatic good will tours, Brundage admonished the practice, calling it no better than the same tactics used by the Soviets.[[320]](#footnote-320) Thus, under Brundage’s leadership, the IOC remained, to a degree, neutral.

The Cold War was reproduced within the IOC in many other events and controversies; the organization became yet another site where the ideological differences of the time could not be set comfortably aside. As we shall see, the Helsinki Games took on a new meaning for the U.S. government when it became a possibility that the Soviet Union would participate. Four years later, the events of the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez crisis dominated the months before the Melbourne Olympics. When the U.S. State Department withheld visas to East German athletes for the 1960 Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley, surely only the most unrealistic observer could think, even for a moment, that the Cold War did not infuse the Games with its own evolving complications. As Churchill observed in the aftermath of the Second World War, an Iron Curtain descended in Europe. Much the same happened in the Olympic Movement.[[321]](#footnote-321)

Chapter 4 –

“Outside Their Orbit:” Exploiting the Olympic Games and Countering Soviet Peace Propaganda

By the end of the 1940s, the Soviet Union’s hold on Eastern Europe was supreme. The Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan were combated with the creation of the Cominform. The actions of Tito in Yugoslavia served to quicken the process of Stalinization throughout Eastern Europe in an increasingly brutal manner. There would be no national road to communism or independent ideological doctrine in the Soviet satellites; they were forced to toe the Communist Party line, a line which inevitably emanated from the Kremlin.[[322]](#footnote-322) In the field of sport, too, the Soviet system provided a blueprint for replication. At home, sport contributed to the ideological education of the population, especially the youth, while keeping the people fit and healthy for production or war. Abroad, the very best athletes the system could produce served to sell communism as a better way of life. Bulgarian sports officials journeyed to Moscow as early as 1945 for education in what would become their country’s centrally organized and state-directed sports structure. In 1949, non-communist sports clubs and federations in Poland were brought under the autonomy of the state and similar developments occurred throughout Eastern Europe in the late 1940s.[[323]](#footnote-323)

The transition to the Soviet sport model by Eastern European nations did not escape the attention of the U.S. government; nor, for that matter, did the political motivations of sport in the Soviet Union. State Department officials received a host of Foreign Service reports on how sport was used to consolidate Soviet power in Eastern Europe. Not only this, but sport was caught within Stalin’s propaganda strategy to present communism as a vehicle of “peace” and America as a purveyor of war. The entrance of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement in 1951 added another dimension to this problem. Realizing that the Soviet Union would use the Games as a further means to promote anti-American propaganda, information experts in the U.S. government prepared plans of their own. These plans were inspired and driven by the Truman administration’s Campaign of Truth, a worldwide psychological initiative to scotch the “lies” issuing from the Kremlin. As a result, American participation at both Olympic festivals in 1952 was carefully manipulated. Information officers devised plans to showcase the friendliness and sportsmanship of the U.S. Olympic team, and encouraged private businesses to make the hosting cities a showground for American enterprise and culture. In tandem with this, American propaganda depicted communist sport in a negative manner, releasing stories that portrayed Eastern European athletes as prisoners of a garrison state. In order to create and implement a propaganda strategy for the Winter and Summer Games of 1952, the U.S. information program facilitated cooperation with both the United States Olympic Committee[[324]](#footnote-324) and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU). A long held tradition was eroded. The U.S. government had begun to work in concert with the private sphere in sport-related propaganda to new and uncharted levels under the mounting demands of the Cold War.

# The Soviet “Peace Offensive”

When World War II ended, some in government thought that the U.S. information program should end with it. After all, what would be the need for peacetime propaganda? When the issue of funding for the information program arose in Congress, the consensus preferred to reduce the budget rather than expand it. Many saw propaganda as a nebulous and wasteful endeavor lacking in tangible results. Those who ran the program were perceived in similarly derogatory terms. The crisis in relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union changed this. The specter of communism started to loom large. Uninformed members of Congress traveled to Europe and saw that Soviet power and influence grew ever stronger. It made the case for an expanded information program seem more persuasive.[[325]](#footnote-325)

The summation had substance. Stalin was further tightening his hold on Eastern Europe to prevent another act of “Titoism.” Stalin deliberately tried to eradicate Western influence from the Soviet Union and its satellites. At the same time, he launched a tactical “peace offensive,” which presented the Soviet Union as a peaceful negotiator and the U.S. as a belligerent imperialist which was to blame for the division of Europe.[[326]](#footnote-326) A State Department paper noted that there had been a “saturation of the complex Soviet propaganda machine with the ‘peace’ theme and exploitation both of front organizations and UN agencies as propaganda sounding boards for ‘peace.’” The paper commented that “Moscow considers the ‘peace offensive’ as potentially the most effective means of rallying non-communist foreign support.” The State Department was aware of Soviet-sponsored peace congresses and conferences that built on the theme, adding to its general dissemination. There were peace “meetings” in Uruguay, Korea, Romania, Bulgaria, Japan, Canada, Britain, Hungary, Chile, Cuba, and Poland. A “Day of Peace” was celebrated in Germany. Additionally, the State department reported, “trade unions, women’s organizations, youth and peasant associations, cooperatives, learned professional and other front-page organizations are being utilized increasingly as transmission belts in the propaganda campaign.”[[327]](#footnote-327)

In February 1950, Edward W. Barrett was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and took charge of the information program. Having worked for the Office of War Information and seen the impact of propaganda and psychological warfare operations in Europe, he thought the value of such activities was greatly underestimated. If America did not project its own image abroad then the task might be done for them. And if this task was performed by the Soviet Union, then the outcome could be disastrous. Barrett knew that something considerable was required to get the “truth behind the Iron Curtain.”[[328]](#footnote-328) A paper prepared by Barrett’s office shortly after his appointment concluded that “the present situation calls for positive action to extend the use of propaganda in support of our common objectives:”

The threat of Soviet-Communist tyranny cannot be met by material means alone. If we are to achieve the kind of world in which freedom can endure, we must employ all the means at our disposal to strengthen the unity of purpose and the moral determination of the free nations of the world.[[329]](#footnote-329)

Soon Truman launched the Campaign of Truth to challenge Stalin’s “hate America” and “peace” initiative.[[330]](#footnote-330) He addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors on 20 April 1950 and told those assembled that “The cause of freedom is being challenged throughout the world today by the forces of imperialistic communism. This is a struggle, above all else, for the minds of men.” While communist propaganda “portrays the Soviet Union as the world’s foremost advocate of peace” it “reviles the United States as a nation of ‘warmongers’ and ‘imperialists.’” But, stated Truman, the “false” and “crude” lies of the Soviet Union could be “overcome by the truth – plain, simple, unvarnished truth.”[[331]](#footnote-331) The Campaign coincided with the apocalyptic NSC 68, which was produced only weeks before. The invasion of South Korea by the communist North confirmed that nothing could be left to chance. Nearly $80 million dollars was passed for the Campaign of Truth budget.[[332]](#footnote-332)

The Voice of America (VOA) assumed a principal position in the revitalized propaganda campaign. Penetrating the Iron Curtain was the greatest challenge, for little of western culture was allowed behind it. The State Department overtly distributed a publication in the USSR titled *Amerika*, but radio became the most effective instrument to reach the “captive” peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Campaign of Truth not only released more funds to counter Soviet jamming of the VOA, but legitimated a more aggressive propaganda tone. Although VOA programming was filled with standard items such as music, news, and feature stories, the content became virulently anti-communistic. Quotes from communist leaders were vilified and refugee accounts were used to highlight negative aspects of life behind the Iron Curtain. A host of émigrés from Eastern Europe were employed by VOA to speak to the people of their homelands, and they did not restrain themselves in the least. They attacked the low wages, poor standards of living, religious constraints, and the denial of freedom of speech in the Soviet bloc. All this, of course, was then contrasted with the affluence and freedom of life in America. The “full and fair” policy was in abeyance. It reached the mark; estimating the size of the VOA audience behind the Iron Curtain was difficult but not impossible. Government officials interviewed defectors on the subject and asked whether they listened to VOA or knew of others that did. Rather more symbolically, the intensification of Soviet jamming techniques indicated that radio had rattled Stalin. For why, argued government experts, would he spend millions to counteract VOA signals if there was nothing to fear? By 1950 the VOA estimated that its worldwide audience stood at around 100 million.[[333]](#footnote-333)

In spite of being the target of continued discord within Congress, the Truman administrations propaganda apparatus, according to Walter Hixson, “had launched an aggressive program of psychological warfare that aimed to undermine communist movements worldwide:”

Although under fire and in disarray, VOA was still broadcasting to 100 countries in 46 languages; the U.S. press service supplied materials to 10,000 foreign newspapers a day; a motion picture service reached an audience of over 300 million in 1952; U.S. information centers could be found in more than 60 countries and 190 cities worldwide; and thousands of students, teachers, writers, scientists, artists, journalists, farmers, and labor leaders were participating in exchange programs.[[334]](#footnote-334)

**Reaching a Consensus on Communist Sport**

Set against a burgeoning fear and paranoia about communism, Soviet sport started to become a matter of U.S. government interest. In the past, it had raised few eyebrows. Indeed, in late 1945 an enquiry from the Young Men’s Christian Association of Chicago regarding volleyball contests between the Soviet Union and the United States received a warm reception from the U.S. embassy in Moscow. The American ambassador, W. Averell Harriman, fully endorsed the idea, and praised the concept of sporting competition between the superpowers as a means to enhance “understanding.” He cited the example of the recent tour to Britain of a Soviet soccer team, Dynamo Moskva, as evidence. Harriman accepted that “in the Soviet Union, sports, like everything else, are organized officially and controlled by the government,” and that international contests are viewed “primarily from the standpoint of national prestige.” But overall, he was inclined to think that sporting ties might help to remedy mutual ignorance, by opening a window into the culture of both countries.[[335]](#footnote-335) George Kennan, working under Harriman at the time, impressed on the State Department to give the proposal “full support.”[[336]](#footnote-336)

As the Soviet Union started to reverse its long-standing sporting isolation, the propaganda elements of its new course started to outweigh its capacity for generating good will toward the United States. Further to this, as the structure of sport across Eastern Europe was redrawn, these activities were recorded by U.S. foreign embassies with mild alarm. For instance, a report sent to Washington in 1948 from the American Legation in Bucharest, interpreted the centralizing of Romanian sport as a totalitarian scheme. The process in Romania, the Legation noted, “may be expected to continue the familiar authoritarian technique, used in Hitler’s Germany and in Stalin’s Soviet Union…of taking over all sporting organizations and developing them into instruments for spreading physical training, discipline and political agitation among the youth of the country.”[[337]](#footnote-337) Another dispatch from Bucharest two years later reported that sport contributed to the “conditioning of Rumanian youth for military service as well as their political indoctrination.”[[338]](#footnote-338) An official in Budapest wrote of much the same thing in October 1950. He confirmed that sport in Hungary followed the pattern of other Eastern European countries, and that Hungarian sports administrators were eliminating the lingering vestiges of bourgeois sport. The official quoted various Hungarian newspapers to prove the point, one of which criticized American sport for distracting the workers from their “class war.”[[339]](#footnote-339) A later treatise from the Legation in Budapest claimed that “the state is using sports teams and their participation in international contests as a medium of propaganda for the Communist regime.” It was added that private clubs had practically disappeared.[[340]](#footnote-340) A detailed dispatch issued from the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw outlined the new direction of Polish sport. The Chief Committee for Physical Culture created in 1949 drew inspiration from the Soviet system with the apparent aim “to draw closer into the framework of communist ideological control the various athletic and physical culture activities throughout Poland.”[[341]](#footnote-341) Upon observing “The Week of Physical Culture” in Sofia, the Legation in Bulgaria concluded that “all is done really at the order of an outside authority – i.e., Moscow.”[[342]](#footnote-342)

The direction and intent of communist sport was becoming ever clearer to the U.S. government. It was summed up by an employee in the Moscow Embassy, who produced a memorandum on Soviet conduct at the Women’s World Chess Championship. He stated that the “main purpose” of Soviet participants in “any tournament was to win.” “Victory is then propagandized,” he continued, as an indication of the “superiority of either socialist man, the Soviet state, or both.”[[343]](#footnote-343) State Department opinion on Soviet sport received perhaps its clearest expression in a speech delivered to the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States by Richard B. Walsh. Walsh worked under Barrett in the government’s International Information and Education Exchange Program, one of several attempts by Truman to organize America’s propaganda machinery. The address, made on 1 December 1951, was emphatic. Walsh explained that over the previous three years, the Soviet Union had continually tried to discredit the U.S., and these “lies” were being countered with government efforts to tell the “truth.” He added, however, that the Soviets reverted to “something new” in their propaganda. The evidence supplied by U.S. embassies proved that the “Kremlin has mounted a gigantic cultural offensive,” with the intent to “prove the Soviet line of supremacy in the arts as well as on the athletic field.” Walsh noted that the Soviets traditionally remained aloof from competition “outside their orbit,” but now they appeared to be “preparing to display their self-acclaimed supremacy in the field of sports beyond the borders of their domination.” He quoted a resolution passed by the Polish government and concluded that “sports in the slave world are conceived primarily as a tool for propaganda, an instrument of national policy, a means of strengthening the party line of Soviet superiority and of further indoctrinating Communists.”[[344]](#footnote-344) The speech built upon an address made a month earlier by Barrett. Barrett drew attention to the 39,000 athletes, scientists, writers, artists, ballet dancers, and musicians sent abroad by the Soviet Union since 1950. In what he called a “gigantic propaganda offensive,” the Soviet Union “intended to prove for once and for all that the West, and particularly the United States, is without culture and that the Soviet Union is the very cradle of culture.”[[345]](#footnote-345)

The entrance of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement in May 1951 raised the stakes still higher.[[346]](#footnote-346) During his speech to the AAU, Walsh had warned that the cultural offensive looked set to encircle the 1952 Olympic Games. Reports on the use of the Olympics to promote communist propaganda started to file into the State Department. A series of dispatches from Moscow were filled with apprehension. It was thought that the Soviet decision to compete at Helsinki “was not prompted exclusively by the Soviet desire to pit its athletes against those of the West; probably of equal importance is Soviet recognition of the games as an opportunity to again apply its talent for twisting international gatherings into vehicles for Soviet propaganda.”[[347]](#footnote-347) Details followed shortly on Soviet athletes and record holders.[[348]](#footnote-348) Further missives from Moscow ensued, mostly by John M. McSweeney, the Counsellor at the Embassy. The Soviet press incited him. An article in *Sovetskii Spor*t was translated in full and sent by McSweeney to the State Department. The article made some bold claims concerning the presence of military personnel on the U.S. Olympic team and used this as evidence of the general militarization of American life. McSweeney thought the attack “had no basis in fact.” He exaggerated. In some respects, the offending article had a kernel of truth. When the U.S. Olympic teams participated in Oslo and Helsinki, a considerable number of the athletes involved were from the military. On the other hand, when the article asserted that “all sport life in the country” was controlled by the Department of Defense, the writer went too far.[[349]](#footnote-349) No such state has existed in American sport, either before or since. In this case, as indeed in many others, truth was a flexible agent in sport propaganda for both superpowers in the Cold War.

One particular ingredient in Soviet propaganda became apparent. As the Soviet press became increasingly preoccupied with the approaching Helsinki Olympics, the coverage was tied to “peace propaganda” and the “anti US campaign.” George Kennan compiled a report in Moscow that noted the numerous Soviet accusations aimed at the U.S., such as the perversion of the Games for imperialist purposes, or the exclusion of black athletes from the swimming team because U.S. officials thought they would “defile” the water.[[350]](#footnote-350) Even before Soviet participation at the Olympics was confirmed, an exasperated official at the Helsinki Embassy groaned that a Finnish communist newspaper was using the Games to promote Soviet “peace” propaganda. The official wondered whether this was a forewarning that the USSR would indeed compete at the Olympics. However, he admitted that he could only be guessing. Such things, he ruminated, were better left to “those who have the power to divine the inner meaning of Marxist utterances.”[[351]](#footnote-351) During the Helsinki Games, too, the communist press continued to tie the Olympics to the peace campaign.[[352]](#footnote-352) The historian of Soviet sport, Jenifer Parks, has noted that, “Soviet sports administrators exploited the rhetoric of peace, common to both Olympism and Soviet communist ideology, to justify the Soviet presence in the Olympic Movement” to both their government and the International Olympic Committee.[[353]](#footnote-353)

# Plans for Exploiting the Olympics

Before the Soviet Union even secured the vote for its entry into the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Olympics were a matter of relevance to the State Department for one key reason: Germany. Divided between the four Allies after the war, Germany soon became an unsolvable dilemma. The Western Allies eventually consolidated their portions into the Federal Republic of Germany (FDR) and the Soviets converted their zone into the German Democratic Republic.

Since 1945, the entrance of Germany into international competition had been carefully forbidden by its occupying forces, but when the Federal Republic of Germany was created in 1949, this policy (Directive 23) was abandoned. A West German National Olympic Committee was formed shortly after by the traditional cohort of German sports officials from pre-1945. The membership of this National Olympic Committee (NOC) proved unsatisfactory to the State Department, British Foreign Office, and the British and American High Commissioners in Germany. The Nazi ties had to be cut.[[354]](#footnote-354) James Webb, the U.S. Undersecretary of State, knew that West German recognition in the IOC carried complications. Not only was the existing German NOC full of individuals who had collaborated with the Nazi regime, but there was also the chance that the German Democratic Republic would seek independent recognition (which it later did). Webb foresaw the likelihood of resistance to an application from IOC members from a country under German occupation during the war.[[355]](#footnote-355) An understanding between the U.S. government and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) was obviously required as the IOC was sensitive to pressure from diplomats who put politics into sport. Avery Brundage, the vice president of the IOC and president of the USOC, was approached by the U.S. government for guidance. He offered assurance that the NOC of West Germany was being recommended for full IOC recognition (which he fully endorsed), but, predictably, he stated that the members of the committee were not Nazis.[[356]](#footnote-356) While government officials were content with the first aspect of Brundage’s viewpoint, they disagreed with the second. Attempts to purge the new German NOC of Nazi members had to be cancelled, however. With the growing possibility of an independent East German committee, the Allies encouraged the swift recognition of a West German NOC in the International Olympic Committee. Even if some members of the West German NOC had Nazi ties, at least they would stick by the Allied prerogative of non-East German recognition in the IOC.[[357]](#footnote-357)

While the difficulties with Germany and the Olympics were discussed within the State Department, the sheer global popularity of the Games made further information on IOC matters imperative. The election of the American, J. Brooks Parker, to the IOC opened a useful avenue in this regard. Parker had a long association with the State Department and U.S. government. Aside from representing the U.S. Olympic fencing team at the Games of 1920 and 1924, he was an assistant secretary of War Risk Insurance for the Treasury Department from 1914-16; and the assistant secretary of the American-Mexican Joint Commission on Arbitration for the State Department in 1916. During the First World War he served as an officer in Army aviation and, in 1938, was the technical advisor to the American delegation at a diplomatic conference on air law.[[358]](#footnote-358) In a meeting between Webb and Parker, the two men discussed Olympic affairs and the complications involving Germany. An official privy to the meeting noted an important moment. Parker intimated that the USOC was willing to “abandon its long standing policy of operating without reference to or consultation with the United States government and had decided to maintain in the future closer association with the Department of State, and to request guidance from it in connection with international committee meetings, negotiations, etc.”[[359]](#footnote-359) Webb appointed Douglas Knox and William Johnstone to act as the USOC line of contact in the State Department.[[360]](#footnote-360)

Shortly after Truman won the 1948 election, a new National Security Council directive sharpened the contours of U.S. Cold War policy. The approval of NSC 20/4 further detailed the attempt to “roll back” communism. With this, the information program assumed a more central role. Simultaneously, Herbert Hoover was conducting an investigation into the executive branch of government. One of the grandest recommendations in the report called for a separate information agency, but legislation to enact it did not occur until Eisenhower took office. For the time being, overseas information activities were placed, yet again, under a new name: the United States International Information and Educational Exchange Program (USIE).[[361]](#footnote-361) Through this structure, a plan emerged to exploit both Olympic festivals in 1952.

In September 1951, the General Manager of the USIE produced a memorandum on the “Use of Sports Subjects in USIE Output.” The crux of the statement drew attention to the forthcoming Olympic year and potential Soviet participation. At this stage, no one was certain as to whether a Soviet team would actually compete at either the Summer or Winter festivals, but preparations were called for in the case of either scenario. The reasoning was simple. It was argued that “sports are one of the main interests of the working classes, that labor is a priority target in virtually all western European countries (as well as in some other areas), and that the USIE missions have consistently asked for greater emphasis on sports subjects.” Recommendations were made for media divisions to develop materials on both the similarities and differences between sport in Western Europe and America. The memorandum also asked for a considered effort to quell the perception in Western Europe that U.S. sport was “overprofessionalized” and that “money and prowess are inseparable in the American mind.” By emphasizing the participation of mainly amateur American athletes at the Olympics, this problem might be overcome. The need for some sort of campaign was apparent: “We may be sure the Russians will step up their propaganda on the subject, although I hope we shall not be forced to debate publicly with them the question of who invented muscles.”[[362]](#footnote-362)

Further ideas began to develop in the USIE for the “exploitation” of the Olympics. Overseas posts were queried on whether events could be organized for American athletes on the Olympic team to attend, or whether officers thought such demonstrations would be useful. Athletes could stop en route to the Games, or even compete after. Based on this information, the intention was to formulate a program in tandem with the United States Olympic Committee. Richard B. Walsh was charged to contact the USOC president, Avery Brundage.[[363]](#footnote-363) Walsh went further, and spoke with the USOC and the AAU. The plan to send American athletes abroad before and after Oslo would concentrate on Western Europe and in countries “where the appearance of the team would do the most good.” Walsh also gathered advice from Ted Husing and Art Gleason, the organizers of the Voice of America coverage at the London Games of 1948. Both men recalled that motion picture coverage in London was poor, expensive, and contained little on the performance of American athletes, with the overall rights having been sold to the J. Arthur Rank Corporation. Walsh sought to convince American private enterprise to capture the rights for Oslo and Helsinki before another company bought them up.[[364]](#footnote-364)

Representatives from the USIE had already started to explore the closer relationship between the State Department and the United States Olympic Committee. Brundage was asked to write an article on the positive aspects of American participation in the Olympics. The piece would be sent to more than “150 U.S. information centers in all parts of the world for use by foreign newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations.”[[365]](#footnote-365) Brundage agreed to put pen to paper.[[366]](#footnote-366)

Intelligence traveled both ways. When Parker asked for background information on Bulgarian and Soviet IOC members, the State Department sent back the relevant biographies. Though Parker did not read them (he died from a heart attack before he could do so), the enclosures were passed on to Brundage, “with whom Parker was working on this matter.”[[367]](#footnote-367)

Edward Barrett liked the Olympic angle, especially when taking into account that with the “USSR and the satellites participating,” it “should afford us some good propaganda opportunities.” He made Walsh a “one-man task force” on the project. “I think we will have to decide,” considered Barrett, “whether we want to use the presence of the Russians as an opportunity to beat them over the head, or whether we want to preach sweet reasonableness in the Olympic atmosphere.”[[368]](#footnote-368) He wrote Brundage that a successful U.S. performance in the two Games of 1952 “will have a pronounced effect on peoples all over the world…I can think of no better American export.”[[369]](#footnote-369) Brundage responded that “Young people imbued with the spirit of amateur sport are not swayed by radical propaganda.”[[370]](#footnote-370)

Walsh worked in the Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation within the USIE, a small group with responsibility for using the private sphere to promote the aims of the government. The Office was run by John M. Begg, the former associate editor of *Pathé* and a veteran of the wartime information program. In his Campaign of Truth speech, Truman had said that the propaganda “effort will require the imagination and energies of private individuals and groups throughout the country.”[[371]](#footnote-371) The publicity given to the initiative stimulated a good deal of public support which could be drawn on. The Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation did just this, contacting American charities, publishers, and businesses to contribute to the mission of the information program. They helped publishers to donate books and magazines for use overseas, sought aid from U.S. firms to donate items for USIE exhibitions, and encouraged groups to form international links around the world. With help from the Office, 128 U.S. towns adopted a foreign town. In the Letters from America Campaign, the Office encouraged individuals from 60 non-English language groups across America to send letters abroad that countered misconceptions about the United States. For this project alone, over a billion letters left American shores by 1952.[[372]](#footnote-372) Barrett appreciated the work in this area. He felt that each project on its own might not be decisive, but “taken together, they played an important role in the Campaign of Truth.”[[373]](#footnote-373)

Having examined the problem in greater detail, Walsh produced a comprehensive report. The main challenge was clear: “A major problem confronting us is the extent to which we may expect the Russians to use the 1952 Olympic games for propaganda purposes and the extent to which we plan to make best psychological use of the Olympics.” Walsh outlined the huge expenditure on cultivating elite athletes in the USSR; the constant improvement of results indicated that they wanted to “win” the Games. A number of propaganda options could be helpful, however. Firstly, Walsh wanted to help the USOC to contribute to the art competitions held in Helsinki, a “major factor in depicting the culture which has produced the American athletes participating in the games.” News stories could be produced at the athletic events during the Games, emphasizing not results, but human interest stories or other themes that might prove effective to audiences. These stories would also be disseminated by the Voice of America in as many languages as possible. By this time, the film rights to Oslo had been sold to Norsk Films. Walsh underlined the need to get American companies to buy rights from Norsk and, if possible, to secure the unsold rights to the Helsinki Games before communist companies got there first. He worried that without American cameras filming the events, the footage might not meet the needs of representing the U.S. in the most appropriate manner for distribution world-wide. The organization of exhibition tours before and after the Winter and Summer Games was progressing well. Walsh spoke to Daniel Ferris, the secretary-treasurer of the AAU, who would help the State Department to get athletes into countries where they could do the “most good.” Finally, Walsh stressed the importance of preparing the American athletes before their departure, so each individual understood “our international problem before they go abroad.” This amounted to the remarkable quibble of whether or not the athletes should be allowed to shake hands with Soviet competitors.[[374]](#footnote-374) It was later decided that they could.

The deadline for countries to accept their invitation to the Oslo Games was 31 December 1951. By November, Walsh knew that of the communist nations, only Bulgaria had officially signaled its intention to attend. He wondered whether the Soviet Union was planning to steal the best athletes of the Soviet bloc and put them on the USSR team. Perhaps teams from Poland or Hungary might not be able to attend at all. This might present an obvious topic for propaganda, thought Walsh, if only accurate intelligence could be obtained. He decided to ask the CIA whether it could procure the relevant information. Another critical aspect of preparing a propaganda plan involved capitalizing on possible defections of communist athletes. Walsh alluded to the defection of Czechoslovakian tennis players which had “aroused world-wide interest;” there could be many more at the Winter and Summer Games: “This brings up the problem of possible contact with athletes from Satellite countries, asylum for them if they decide to stay in the Free World and the maximum exploitation of them if this happens.” Again, Walsh requested that the CIA look into the matter. The information program had to be prepared.[[375]](#footnote-375)

The project took shape quickly. Walsh started to assemble a six man Task Force for Oslo. Many earlier ideas were in preparation, such as aiding the USOC to prepare a suitable exhibit in Helsinki. In fact, Walsh looked for the USIE to secure further space in Downtown Helsinki, so that the “finest possible exhibits with a sports theme” could be displayed. He wanted an unmistakable American presence. Private business was roused. “Every American company doing business in Helsinki should be urged to arrange exhibits and displays depicting their growth under the American system of private enterprise,” reasoned Walsh. General Electric should send its “magic show;” IBM should send its Leonardo DaVinci show “which belies Russian claims to various inventions;” other firms such as Pan American Airlines should be asked to cooperate. After prompting, the Radio Corporation of America considered taking a closed circuit television unit to Oslo and Helsinki, while the National Baseball Museum in Cooperstown, New York, “expressed interest in sending a special baseball exhibit to Helsinki.” Walsh urged that airlines and steamship companies be asked to promote the trip to Finland. All of these endeavors should be capitalized on in USIE output. Pamphlets and leaflets should be distributed “with or without attribution” during the Summer Games, with radio exposure in a range of languages. Through the USOC, American athletes should be encouraged to shake hands with communist opponents: “The greatest emphasis should be placed on good sportsmanship…and a sincere demonstration of friendship and international good will by the American participants on every occasion.”[[376]](#footnote-376) Barrett thought that Walsh had done a “first-rate job in record time in pulling this picture together.”[[377]](#footnote-377) Unfortunately, negotiations with Norsk Film by members of the USIE and NBC broke down, with the NBC refusing to pay $75,000 for the exclusive television rights.[[378]](#footnote-378)

Upon request from Walsh, the policy expert, Ralph Block, formulated some provisional objectives for the information program at Oslo and Helsinki:

(1) To present US (and for that matter, Free World) participation in the 1952 Olympic games in terms of the highest standards of sportsmanship, consonant both with American practice and the traditional Olympic spirit.

(2) To organize and carry out at the site of the games, information and educational exchange projects which project a positive and favorable picture of American life and thought and which promote public understanding and support US foreign policy objectives.

(3) To influence participating Soviet and Soviet-satellite athletes (and other Iron-curtain nationals who may attend), through exposure to appropriate information in its various forms, to carry away favorable impressions concerning the US and the community of free nations.

(4) To utilize effectively the presence in Europe of outstanding American athletes; specifically, to facilitate exhibition tours of US Olympic stars in as many European, Near Eastern and North African countries as desirable and feasible.[[379]](#footnote-379)

Block added that an attempt to concert efforts with the British and French might help to display unity among free world countries and could negate wasteful duplication of activities.[[380]](#footnote-380)

A great deal of the plans for the Olympic festivals of 1952 required close work with the USOC and the AAU. Both organizations had already responded to earlier communications with regard to assisting the information program. Walsh made sure of the arrangement by flying to the AAU convention at Daytona Beach, Florida, from 30 November to 1 December. It was on the last day of the conference that he gave a provocative speech on the Soviet sport “offensive.” By his own account, during his trip to Florida, Walsh managed to form a “smooth working arrangement” with the USOC and AAU. He and colleagues also managed to interview 19 sports officials for use in Voice of America broadcasts. The interviews dealt with questions on the “freedom of United States athletics from politics,” “the prominent role of Negro athletes” in the Olympic team, the “strong influence of other countries in the development of U.S. athletics,” and a “highly complementary reference to the athletes and teams of foreign countries that will compete against the U.S. in the 1952 Olympics.” Walsh received a “pledge of close cooperation” from the USOC and AAU. Two USIE men would be on the same flight as the American Olympic team to Helsinki to record interviews.[[381]](#footnote-381)

A list of actions confirmed that the swiftly assembled operation was taking shape. Walsh requested hotel space for the Task Force in Oslo and negotiated cooperation with Norwegian shortwave radio for broadcasts. Pan American Airlines promised to courier recordings, news and pictures to the United States, and agreed to track down window display space in Helsinki for American commercial exhibits. The Steuben Glass Corporation designed a Wassail Bowl worth $1000 for donation to the city of Oslo by Brundage, “an expression of appreciation from America.”[[382]](#footnote-382)

**Oslo**

As the Winter Games arrived first, this became the primary concern. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, sent an airgram to over a dozen diplomatic officers to ask whether U.S. Olympic athletes set to participate in Oslo could be used in exhibition events. Invitations were to be extended through non-governmental organizations, and it was made clear in further communications that “public US Government association with this project is not desirable.” On the American side of the arrangement, this would have to be through Ferris at the AAU.[[383]](#footnote-383) The request was greeted with enthusiasm by several embassies. The USIE officer in Paris thought it timely. He explained that there was a constant demand for American sports teams in France; it would be no problem arranging for French sports clubs to extend invitations. He added: “Publicity value of American sports in France cannot be exaggerated, especially in reaching large popular audience…particularly young workers.”[[384]](#footnote-384) The Director of the Office of Public Affairs in Frankfurt urged the presence of U.S. athletes at the German Winter Olympics Week to be held at Garmisch prior to the events in Oslo.[[385]](#footnote-385) A similar communication arrived from the Legation in Vienna. They proposed that a visit from the U.S. skiing, ice hockey and ice-skating teams could be “useful as a medium for furthering Austro-American relations.”[[386]](#footnote-386)

The decision of the AAU to work with the government satisfied the former in two respects. It kept primary control of organizing the tours, thus retaining its preference for general independence in sporting activities, and it was an opportunity to express the AAU’s prejudice toward communism.[[387]](#footnote-387) The teams identified to compete in West Germany were made available. While the State Department continued to insist that arrangements be carried out between the relevant private sports organizations in Germany and the AAU, it also accepted that such tours to Germany were a priority and that “officials assist where possible to assure coordinated arrangements and proper publicity.”[[388]](#footnote-388) Under the coordination of Walsh, and with the essential cooperation of the AAU and USOC, special appearances were made by American figure skaters in Austria, Germany, France and Norway; skiers in Austria and Germany; and speed skaters in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Walsh thought that one particular instance created a wealth of goodwill toward the United States. Shortly before the Games began, U.S. figure skaters performed an exhibition at Oslo’s Jordal Arena to a capacity crowd. The display was greeted with a standing ovation.[[389]](#footnote-389)

Before the turn of the year, the American Embassy in Oslo was still unsure as to whether or not the Soviet Union and most of its satellites would compete in the Winter Games. As we now know, creating conjecture over this subject was not a communist ploy; even Soviet sports officials did not know the answer to this fundamental question until the last minute decision to abscond.[[390]](#footnote-390) As it transpired, no Soviet team competed in Oslo.

The 1952 Oslo Winter Olympics were scheduled for the 14-25 February. Walsh made his journey to Norway via Paris and Copenhagen, to liaise with selected advisors.[[391]](#footnote-391) The Task Force was assigned “to provide fast, effective coverage” of the Games to the USIE “missions in the free world,” and to supply the USIE press division and VOA with the same type of material. A further staff meeting before Walsh left highlighted the latest progress regarding preparation for 1952. An eight page booklet titled “On to the Goal,” was produced to tell the story of a former Czechoslovakian hockey player, and a 32-page booklet published by the American Heritage Foundation called “What Should I Know When I Travel Abroad” was made available for U.S. tourists and the Olympic team on their way to Norway. Brundage was to be briefed by an USIE liaison in early February (he met with Gordon Knox[[392]](#footnote-392)) and then expected to speak with American athletes prior to their leaving for Oslo. The Wassail Glass bowl was ready for presentation and Pan American Airways handled transportation of the gift. With preparations well underway, “It was generally agreed that the coverage of the winter games in Oslo will provide valuable experience for the larger and more universally popular summer games.”[[393]](#footnote-393)

In January 1952, the information program received a change of name. A stirring in Congress to detach the information program from the State Department was avoided. Once more, some felt that an independent agency might be more effective. The State Department refused and created instead the “semi-autonomous” International Information Administration (IIA), to be run by an Administrator. This individual would not be Barrett. He left his position, having completed the two years of service that he agreed to give. Wilson Compton assumed the role, a former business executive and president of Washington State University.[[394]](#footnote-394) His tenure did not end well. A year after Compton took charge, Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin picked up the anti-communist crusade he joined in 1950 and directed it at the Voice of America. The McCarthy hearings produced paltry evidence, but to great effect. Several VOA staff capitulated under the pressure. Compton resigned almost immediately.[[395]](#footnote-395)

Walsh arrived in Paris on 2 February for a meeting with a UN Task Force. His aim was to gather advice on how the group met the challenges of covering the United Nations. Three days later he headed for Copenhagen to meet with propaganda specialists, Charles Hulten and Waldemar Nielson. Both recommended a closed circuit television demonstration, but added that such an operation might be better suited to Helsinki. Without much time to digest this information, on 7 February Walsh set foot in Oslo, where he met with representatives of the American Embassy. The rest of the Task Force landed in Norway on 11 February. The group consisted of Robert Allison (sports editor at VOA), Thor Larsen (Engineer), Bernard Seidman (writer), and Stanley Kalish (photographer). Walsh directed the operation.[[396]](#footnote-396)

The Embassy in Oslo made preparations for the arrival of the Task Force. The five men attained press accreditation, and arrangements were made for VOA and Allied Forces Network broadcasts. The IIA representative based in Oslo briefed Walsh on his arrival.[[397]](#footnote-397) Once established, the group produced news items, photographs, and tape recorded interviews in various languages for distribution in selected U.S. embassies and missions. In an effort not to duplicate the output of traditional news services, they cross-checked their material each day. The Task Force aimed to produce human interest stories and insight into the international friendship embodied by the Olympics which, they argued, wire services ignored. Such stories were thought to appeal to the “man in the street.” However, the first item produced investigated the tight security that accompanied the athletes of the five competing satellite countries. For every one of the 100 Eastern European athletes, the Task Force pointed to the “100 officials” who followed them. Examples included the case of the Polish team, which attended a movie theatre under close surveillance. The athletes were flanked by security officials in both the seating and aisles, while other “minders” remained at the exit points in the lobby. There were even rumors that trips to the toilet by Polish athletes were monitored by communist agents. Apparently, the Czechoslovakian hockey team received the same close scrutiny when they attended an exhibition game between the United States and Canada.[[398]](#footnote-398)

Other embarrassing episodes for the satellite nations were developed by the Task Force because they “lent themselves to world-wide publicity.” For example, the opening game of the Olympic ice hockey tournament was between Czechoslovakia and Poland. Unfortunately for the former, fifty Czechoslovakian refugees were in the crowd and bellowed organized chants during the timeouts. At intervals cheers of “Are you getting Stakhonovite medals?” “How many of you will end up in prison,” or “Beat Poland and then stay in Norway” echoed around the arena. A further story, which arrived via a tip from a Swedish newspaperman, told of the reaction by the Czechoslovakian media after their country’s defeat by Canada in ice hockey. According to the source, the press and radio in Czechoslovakia accused the referee of bias, while commending the “moral victory” of the communist nation.

Walsh and his colleagues were keen to highlight the activity of Eastern European refugees. The Task Force produced stories on the fact that many of these athletes could not compete at the Games, due to their stateless condition. One such athlete, the Hungarian speed skater Kornél Pajor, was even employed by VOA to do commentaries. Even more significantly, VOA managed to get the medal-winning Hungarian figure skating pair, László and Marianna Nagy, to make a statement about U.S. friendship with the people of Hungary. The Task Force also made sure to tarnish Soviet representatives in the IOC, presenting their “maneuvers” in meetings as political schemes. Elsewhere, Brundage’s presentation of the Steuben Glass Bowl to the city of Oslo “secured a great deal of favorable publicity throughout

Europe.”[[399]](#footnote-399)

**Helsinki**

With the Winter Games over, the attention switched to Helsinki. This time a Soviet team entered. From the American Embassy in Moscow, John McSweeney observed that while the Soviet sports machinery spent much of its time “exhorting Soviet athletes to strive for maximum achievement in sport for the glory of the motherland…the tempo of its campaign has been intensified in recent months since the Soviet authorities announced their decision to pit their charges against Western athletes in the Summer Olympics in Helsinki.”[[400]](#footnote-400) The Soviet team, and those of its satellites, did not stay with the other competitors in the Olympic Village, demanding separate quarters. The Finnish organizers consented. The Technological University at Otaniemi was set aside, and during the Games, the communist teams erected a large picture of Stalin on the outside of their building.[[401]](#footnote-401)

The 1948 Games in London had not passed without a Cold War flavor, even if the incidents were very much diluted. A suggestion by the USOC that it would be a fine gesture if the U.S. government were to feed the athletes in London was met with disapproval in the Soviet media as a “pork trick.” Some Czechoslovakian and Hungarian athletes defected; Romania boycotted the event altogether.[[402]](#footnote-402) It may have been the first Cold War Olympics, but without the presence of the Soviet Union, it did not stir the public imagination in America. But when it became clear that a Soviet team would compete in Helsinki, public opinion changed. Truman wrote Brundage in November 1951:

The Olympic competition this coming year is especially significant for many reasons. Certain countries which have not participated for many years will be represented, others will take part for the first time…This competition is not just another event. It requires the finest American athletes we can send, it requires the fullest support Americans can give. The eyes of the world will be upon us.[[403]](#footnote-403)

The fund raising drive to get the U.S. Olympic team to Helsinki became increasingly combative. The USOC needed $850,000 to send over 400 athletes to Finland, and to cover the costs for Oslo. In a speech to support the drive, the Governor of New York, Thomas Dewey, declared:

The Kremlin has announced that the Russians are scouring their vast dominions for their swiftest, strongest, and their most agile competitors…This is a challenge that will appeal irresistibly to every American heart and a peace-time legion of our young men and women will go to Helsinki to represent our country.[[404]](#footnote-404)

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# The atmosphere drew action from Congress, which recommended that Truman urge the American public to make voluntary contributions for the U.S. Olympic team. Truman responded by designating the seven day period after 18 May as “Olympic Week.”[[405]](#footnote-405) Notwithstanding, Congress rejected a proposal for federal grants to subsidize an increase in athletes from the Armed Services.[[406]](#footnote-406)

# Brundage called upon newspaper publishers to contribute advertising space for Olympic Week by warning of the propaganda value that Stalin would gain if the U.S could not send a team.[[407]](#footnote-407) Brundage also managed to induce help from Hollywood. Bob Hope and Bing Crosby staged an all-night televised benefit that raised over a quarter of a million dollars.[[408]](#footnote-408) Surveying the fascination with Soviet sport, Harry Schwartz wrote in the *New York Times*:

Until recently the Kremlin and its doings made few if any appearances on American sports pages. That situation has been changed now that the Soviet Union is in training for the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki. Today sports writers and fans who follow them are scrambling to find out about a host of Ivans, Vladimirs and Natashas who will wear Stalin’s colors in the competition this summer.[[409]](#footnote-409)

The great American decathlete Bob Mathias recalled: “There were many more pressures on American athletes because of the Russians than in 1948…This feeling was strong down through the entire team, even [among] members in sports where the Russians didn’t excel.”[[410]](#footnote-410)

# For the IIA Olympic program, Walsh made preparations by visiting the Finnish capital in advance of the festival. He met with the U.S. Ambassador to Helsinki, John M. Cabot, the Acting Public Affairs Officer, John Lund, the Chairman of the Helsinki Olympic Organizing Committee, Eric von Frenckell, and other local officials. He secured accreditation for eight people to cover the Games and for three other translators supplied by the Legation. They planned to cable 500-1,000 words daily during the Games.[[411]](#footnote-411) In the case of VOA broadcasts, a slight problem arose. Before VOA could broadcast any material from the Helsinki Games, it had first to get the appropriate accreditation. Walsh was told by Finnish State Radio that this might be impossible. Finland did not have the resources to allow for an unlimited amount of broadcasters to work out of the Helsinki stadium, so each country received a quota. This meant that only the main, or “official,” radio company of any country could cover the Games. In the case of the U.S., where several large companies existed, the rule was bent by the Finnish organizers to allow for two stations. As four big companies wanted the rights (ABC, NBC, CBS, and Mutual), the facilities had to be shared. CBS and Mutual agreed to share one pool, ABC and NBC the other. There was no room for a fifth broadcaster.[[412]](#footnote-412) Walsh only wanted a 15 minute slot every evening, and a colleague managed to persuade NBC to cooperate. Further plans were made to evaluate the use of material generated at Oslo in order to prepare for Helsinki. This included assignments for radio, press, and photography.[[413]](#footnote-413)

# Walsh also pursued other initiatives. The prospect of a telecast was still alluring, but this would be expensive. For the 30 tons of equipment alone, Walsh estimated that transportation would cost $18,000, and manpower a further $20-25,000. Hulten and Neilson claimed that counterpart funds could be made available, while Walsh approached General Sarnoff of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to assist. Sarnoff and RCA offered to help financially, but only if NBC could sell the television rights and offset the cost. The plan called for the installation of an antenna at the Olympic stadium, the use of at least two large screens at theatres in Helsinki, along with the installation of a hundred 17” black and white receivers in clubs, veteran’s hospitals, and the homes of Finnish government officials. RCA sent Richard Hooper to Helsinki to assess the situation. In local terms, the Finnish newspaper, *Sauomat*, agreed to sponsor the telecast, possibly cover the costs of renting the theatres and look after the operating crew. Walsh also helped the Finnish Olympic Committee to convince the Trans-Atlantic Shipping Conference to charter a ship from New York to Helsinki carrying over a thousand Finnish-Americans and students to the Games. With special low rates secured, the Department of State saw it as perfect opportunity for “promoting the objectives of the International Information Program by creating a better understanding between U.S. and Finnish citizens.”[[414]](#footnote-414)

# The strategy of getting American athletes to multiple events before and after the Oslo Games had been well executed. Walsh pushed for the same effort at Helsinki, with priority given to locations in Europe. Once again, Ferris would take care of the bookings on behalf of the AAU.[[415]](#footnote-415) Before long, however, cracks began to appear in the larger plans. The matter of VOA broadcasts resurfaced with the same problem as before. Finnish organizers simply would not accredit VOA personnel, or supply facilities and equipment. The rules for the broadcasting at Helsinki stated that only stations could be accredited that operated in the country in which they were based and broadcast directly to that country’s people. The organizers argued that VOA “does not broadcast to the American public in the English language.” They acknowledged that the situation was “unique.” When Legation officers asked for a unique ruling on the unique situation, their request was still denied. The VOA would have to consider the tactics of Radio Free Europe (RFE) in Oslo. For similar reasons, RFE was refused accreditation, but undaunted by the situation, broadcast from a hotel room.[[416]](#footnote-416) Also, the proposal for a telecast out of Helsinki by RCA simply could not be arranged. Hooper demanded that if RCA were to produce a free telecast of the Games to the surrounding area, then NBC should be granted the North American television rights at no cost. The Helsinki organizing committee did not take the bait and so the deal collapsed.[[417]](#footnote-417) “All concerned here most disappointed,” cabled Cabot.[[418]](#footnote-418)

# In order to determine how much coverage to provide at the Helsinki Games, Walsh recommended a study on the use of IIA material from Oslo. Dean Acheson sent out a circular airgram to diplomatic and consular officers with three main questions: 1. Was the IIA coverage of the Oslo Games of value, and was there enough of it? 2. Did the stories and photographs sent out arrive in time for appropriate use? 3. Was the coverage of the Olympics “of importance to IIA objectives in your country or area?”[[419]](#footnote-419) Responses varied. For some, the national media covered the Games in enough depth that IIA material was superfluous. Others, such as an Embassy official in Athens, thought the coverage was useful, despite the lack of Greek interest in winter sports. The stories arrived on time, and the material was “definitely” important to IIA objectives in Greece.[[420]](#footnote-420) In Bern, however, the Legation claimed the material received was delayed, and therefore of “limited value.” The officer commented that IIA objectives could only be satisfied if its material arrived promptly.[[421]](#footnote-421) The Legation in Reykjavik also received no IIA coverage during the Games, though such material would have been welcome. They hoped for better organization for the Helsinki Games.[[422]](#footnote-422)

# The work of the Oslo Task Force had been greeted with a mixed reception. Some in the IIA thought it ineffective, others quite the opposite. William Johnstone heard many comments about the “apparently unsatisfactory state of affairs” in Oslo. He wanted nothing of the sort in Helsinki, and asked John Dunning to take control of the operation.[[423]](#footnote-423) In his eagerness to organize the propaganda effort in Helsinki, Johnstone overlooked the responsibility of Walsh. In a letter to Johnstone from the IIA Deputy Administrator, Reed Harris, Walsh was defended for his work in Oslo for which, it transpired, he had been given relatively little support. Hulten, for one, praised the job done in Oslo. Harris impressed on Johnstone to draw on the experience of Walsh. The issue of Olympic coverage was being reviewed, in any case, due to imminent budget cuts. This frustrated those who saw the importance of the event. Harris observed that “sports news reaches the general public very effectively in Europe and Latin America, at least, and might be made an effective propaganda vehicle.”[[424]](#footnote-424) Staff in the IIA had personal problems with Walsh and thought him unsuited to running the propaganda show in Helsinki. Gradually he was nudged out.[[425]](#footnote-425)

# The Games drew closer, and the Legation in Helsinki kept the State Department abreast of political developments associated with the Olympics. They carefully monitored the possibility of participation by a team from East Germany and communist China (which did not occur), reported on complaints by Soviet sports officials about the facilities, gossiped about the possibility of Hungarian athletes staying with the free world teams, and rebuked the communist “fetish” of tying the Games to notions of “peace.”[[426]](#footnote-426) The single word, “peace,” caused frequent consternation within the U.S. government. When Erik von Frenckell, the head of the Helsinki Games Organizing Committee, revealed that he was considering asking all participants to “lay down arms” in the spirit of the ancient Olympics, the innocuous idea pricked ears in the State Department. The Deputy Secretary of State, David Bruce, argued that it aided communist plans to use the Olympics for peace propaganda, and that the State Department preferred an appeal “stressing sportsmanship” as it avoided political implications.[[427]](#footnote-427) Von Frenckell then “spontaneously” told Cabot that he would try to avoid using the crucial word.[[428]](#footnote-428) Cabot continued the quest by speaking with Brundage and other USOC officials about the dangers of communist propaganda and the “phony peace campaign.” The American sports officials reassured Cabot that the athletes under their supervision would be warned of the “dangers” at a team meeting.[[429]](#footnote-429) There was even a whiff of McCarthyism when the Finnish American Society asked the Helsinki Legation whether it would be appropriate to invite the actor Gregory Peck to speak at an annual gathering. The State Department responded in the negative, accusing Peck of affiliating with communist front groups.[[430]](#footnote-430)

# The Helsinki Games opened on 19 July. In addition to coverage from an IIA team in Helsinki, another tactic was employed. Cabot believed that Soviet propaganda was making considerable inroads in the lead-up to the Summer Games. He recommended “countermeasures.” Primarily, he suggested that a downtown theatre be rented for the screening of United States Information Service (USIS) films.[[431]](#footnote-431) The idea turned into a resounding success. For nine days during the Olympic Games, one of the largest moving picture theatres in Helsinki showed free USIS films. The project served as a “counteroffensive” to the same method used by the Soviet Union during the Games. The Soviets were showing films of their own to the public for free in open air theatres from 22 July to 3 August. Apart from several sports films, they showed cartoons and pictures titled “Moscow Today and Tomorrow” or “Toast to the Soviet Union.” From the moment the USIS showings began, the public response was excellent and remained so throughout. Showings occurred from noon to 6pm each day of the week, apart from Sundays. The theatre held 850 people and was full on all but one occasion. Officials noted that often 400-800 people were lined up waiting to enter. All told, some 31,000 people enjoyed the attraction. The operating hours allowed for about four to five performances per day, and the program changed daily between the 45 films made available. As the majority of the audience was Finnish, USIS officials adapted the films to their language. The packed houses’ were given films such as “Auto Worker in Detroit” or “Junior Chamber of Commerce.” The USIS even managed to advertise its own information center, library, and field publication, *Aikamme*. A large scale publicity campaign prior to the screenings proved so effective that it was no longer needed once the theatre opened. Advertisements were placed in Helsinki newspapers, and a mobile USIS unit toured the city announcing the show. When Cabot first called for the operation he predicted that $3000 would cover the costs. In the end, the plan was executed for half that amount.[[432]](#footnote-432) In the Olympic Village (for men) and the College of Nursing (for women), USIS productions played to audiences daily, except to the athletes of the Eastern bloc. In a separate facility, the Soviet and satellite teams watched films produced by the Soviet Union.[[433]](#footnote-433)

# Summary

In the atmosphere of early Cold War America, communist sport embodied yet another reason to fear the policies and question the intentions of Stalin. At a time when the U.S. hounded the Soviet Union for producing a system that embargoed the rights of its people, the American government and its public launched an assault on individual rights of their own. To be a communist in America was not a celebrated position. By 1951, Membership in the American Communist Party dwindled to a mere 32,000. Films that appeared to have a communist theme were censored; undesirable books were taken from library shelves. This extreme reaction to the enemy within was perhaps best personified in the often maniacal actions of Senator Joseph McCarthy who thought, no less, that a communist conspiracy had captured the U.S. government. When the Republican Party won control of the Senate in 1953, McCarthy became the new Chairman of the Committee of Government Operations and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, and used his position to tear into the U.S. information program. In a self-interested mission to raise his own profile he tried to undermine the image of others. His hearings slandered and misrepresented a host of government officials as communist stooges. Many of these individuals eventually resigned. McCarthy drew upon the anti-communist feeling in the country and used it in the most devastating manner. Evidence was hardly needed to ruin the reputation of his victims. Dwight MacDonald, a critic, wrote of McCarthy in 1954: “His targets are not actual, living, breathing Communists but rather people who once were or may have been but were not but may be made to appear to have possibly once been Communists or sympathizers or at any rate suspiciously ‘soft’ on the question.”[[434]](#footnote-434) Little wonder that at a time when all things Marxist were viewed with suspicion, distrust, and even venom, any product of the communist system would, in turn, be condemned. There was little left untouched in the battle for hearts and minds, sport included.

When the Winter Olympics closed, vanishing from sight for another four years, the Embassy in Oslo concluded, quite diplomatically, that the Iron Curtain countries did not cause any disruption at the Games.[[435]](#footnote-435) In a similar fashion, the Ambassador to Helsinki, John M. Cabot, summed up the role of the Helsinki Embassy for the two weeks of the Games. He included a rambling assessment of the Soviet Union’s presence at the Olympics. Cabot thought the Games were a triumph for Finland as a feat of organization, and he hoped that they might “do much to dispel the all too prevalent impression that Finland is a Soviet satellite.” There had been little controversy, and even the communist press printed generally fair reports, which the Ambassador found “surprisingly objective.” Cabot observed that relations between Soviet and American athletes had been completely amicable. In the case of the Soviets, Cabot thought that initially their friendly nature toward the Americans might have been to “further the Russian ‘peace’ campaign,” but acknowledged that “nothing of this nature developed.”[[436]](#footnote-436) Even so, his suspicions returned. The behavior of the Soviet athletes must have been “ordered,” he ruminated:

The Russians undoubtedly derived some propaganda advantages from their behavior. The many thousands of spectators could see for themselves that the Russians conducted themselves as good sportsmen, and for the most part could not read the Russian criticisms of the judging, etc. The conduct of the Russian athletes seems in many instances to have done something to counterbalance the impression left by outrageous Russian acts in other fields.[[437]](#footnote-437)

The friendly rivalry displayed in Helsinki led some to wonder, wrote Cabot, whether “it should be possible for the United States and Soviet Russia to have better political relations than now exist.” Cabot would not go this far: “Much as we should like to subscribe to this idea, we doubt that it has validity.” “At the very least,” he wrote, “the Olympic Games tended to reduce rather than augment existing international tensions.”[[438]](#footnote-438)

By then, indeed, perceptions on the masquerade of Soviet athletics had settled. Even though, as Cabot acknowledged, the Games were a peaceful spectacle and that he could recall no incidents between American and Soviet athletes, the political underpinnings of Soviet sport could not be ignored. The Olympic Games entered a new era. So, too, did the U.S government’s use of sport. The State Department’s information program and, more specifically, the Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation, took inspiration from the Campaign of Truth and channeled it toward the two Olympic festivals of 1952, using the occasions to present a positive image of America. At the same time, negative aspects of communist sport were magnified in radio and press stories. Links were established with the USOC and AAU to an unprecedented extent. Many other U.S. based businesses were harnessed to use the Olympic cities as a showground for American culture. These activities by the information program were complimented by other “private” means. While Walsh and his colleagues capitalized on the defection of communist athletes in their output, this story had a clandestine background. When a group of Eastern European athletes approached the IOC for admittance to the Olympic Games at Oslo and Helsinki, they were helped in their quest indirectly through the CIA (see chapter 5).

# All was not clear sailing, however. There remained doubts about the use of sport in the information program. These doubts lingered for years to come. Not everyone thought that the Olympics, or sport, could impact an audience or sway public opinion. In fact, many thought the contrary. These individuals were often some of the most influential and creative in the government’s propaganda apparatus, and they mostly came from the private sphere, in advertising, publishing, and journalism. In the Truman administration, it was Barrett; under Eisenhower, it was C. D. Jackson and Abbott Washburn. These individuals did as much as any to create a response to Soviet sport.

The entire information program also lacked stability. The Campaign of Truth had not shaken the foundations of Soviet power in Eastern Europe, even if it caused some disquiet. Fundamental questions asked frequently and loudly were still left unanswered. Who was in control of national “psychological strategy?” Should there be a separate information agency? And what should be the tone of propaganda? All these things Dwight D. Eisenhower tried to address.[[439]](#footnote-439)

**Chapter 5 –**

**A Sporting Front: The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen**

When one of countless letters crossed Avery Brundage’s office desk in Chicago early in 1950, he opened it and surveyed the contents. It was from a Count Anthony Szápáry, and politely informed Brundage of the Hungarian National Sports Federation (HNSF). The letter explained that the organization sought to aid Hungarian athletes who had fled from behind the Iron Curtain. The political agenda of the group was not hidden. Szápáry openly admitted that “Our Federation is in the service of anti-communist propaganda and our main purpose is to gain the free, democratic world for the fight against communism.”[[440]](#footnote-440) The letter arrived at a well-chosen desk. At the time he received the correspondence, Brundage was possibly the most powerful man in the U.S. sporting administration: President of the United States Olympic Committee and Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This made him a potentially important ally. One more fact adds to the significance of this letter. Szápáry also told Brundage that the HNSF was at the service of the National Committee for a Free Europe Inc., but he did not mention that this organization was secretly funded and directed by the highest authorities of the U.S. government’s intelligence establishment.

The National Committee for a Free Europe intended to help East European refugees in whatever way it could, preferably in a way that most suited the U.S. government’s needs in the trying conditions of the Cold War. The NCFE vigilantly waited for opportune moments, or created such moments by itself. The HNSF presented one such opportunity. It came at about the time that the State Department was reaching a consensus about communist sport. Information conveyed by several American embassies on the state-funded sportsmen and women of the Soviet bloc fuelled the indignant speech delivered by Richard B. Walsh before the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU) in 1951. It was the Department’s first clear statement during the Cold War concerning communist sport. But Walsh and his colleagues had later found a weakness, to which the Soviet Union was acutely sensitive, and upon which counter propaganda might be based. For although athletes from Eastern Europe could be symbols of communist supremacy, they could just quite as easily be symbols of its frailty. While covering the Oslo Winter Games, the International Information Administration Task Force used stories of defecting athletes to reveal a negative side of life behind the Iron Curtain that they most wanted Americans and the free world to see. Walsh and his team purred over the impact of comments delivered by exiled athletes on the airwaves of the Voice of America.[[441]](#footnote-441) After all, no propagandist could say it better than someone who had lived under communist rule. This, indeed, was the theory behind The National Committee for a Free Europe. It was this very thing that Szápáry’s organization offered the NCFE – athletes from Eastern Europe who had fled to the West with incriminating stories of communism and communist sport.

Throughout the 1950s, the HNSF and the NCFE constantly lobbied the International Olympic Committee to change its rules on the admission of stateless athletes. As it stood, without a country to represent, no one could compete at an Olympic festival. The leaders of the NCFE and HNSF considered the prospect of an exiled athlete competing against the government of their communist homeland, or even under the flag of a capitalist country, as marvelous propaganda that would “seriously damage” a communist regime’s “prestige.”[[442]](#footnote-442) This chapter will chart the opening salvo of a campaign to alter the IOC *Charter*, a campaign which continued through and beyond the 1950s. The first main thrust in this campaign resulted in the NCFE and HNSF creating another front group, named the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen.

This chapter also seeks to show how Brundage, the IOC, the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) were embroiled in this plan. This requires a necessary caveat. The CIA used an expression for the people who had full knowledge of secret operations. These people were described as “witting.”[[443]](#footnote-443) While there are numerous instances where the AAU and the USOC intentionally complied and cooperated with the U.S. government on sport-related propaganda activities in the 1950s, there are also cases when they did so unknowingly. There is no firm evidence that members of the American sporting establishment, or the IOC for that matter, had any knowledge of the CIA connection to the HNSF. Indeed, it was only due to the clandestine nature of the HNSF and the NCFE that their requests were given serious consideration by the International Olympic Committee in the first place. An official demand from the U.S. government could not have been so effective.

**The NCFE, Sport, and the Hungarian National Sports Federation**

In its first year of existence, the National Committee for a Free Europe concentrated on supporting émigrés in a range of occupations.[[444]](#footnote-444) When the Truman administration enlarged its propaganda offensive in the Campaign of Truth, the NCFE was required to follow suit. The Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Edward Barrett, and the Director of the Office of Policy Coordination, Frank Wisner, concurred that the NCFE “would have to speed up its program considerably if it [was] to be of real usefulness in the near future.”[[445]](#footnote-445) Radio Free Europe (RFE) rapidly became the main cannon in the armoury of the NCFE. Described as a “tough slugging weapon of propaganda that would counter-attack the loud voice of the Kremlin,”[[446]](#footnote-446) an RFE policy handbook explained its aim:

The purpose of RFE is to contribute to the liberation of the nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain by sustaining their morale and stimulating in them a spirit of non-cooperation with the Soviet-dominated regimes by which they are, for the time being, ruled.[[447]](#footnote-447)

This unique and vastly complicated logistical initiative started out with a fairly feeble 7.5 kilowatt transmitter, named Barbara, based in Germany. The first broadcast on 4 July 1950 was brief, but it merely started the process. With powerful transmitters acquired by RFE in 1951 and 1952, the airwaves of Eastern Europe were blasted with propaganda. In 1951, headquarters were built for the radio in Munich. The programming of RFE replicated what might be found in any commercial radio network, with news, educational, and cultural programmes filling the schedule.[[448]](#footnote-448) Unlike the Voice of America, RFE did not have the restrictions of an official government organ. The head of radio operations commented that RFE was “unhampered by the niceties of intercourse. We enter this fight with bare fists.”[[449]](#footnote-449) Wisner envisioned that the covert station “can move into the area of gray or even black propaganda should the situation warrant it.”[[450]](#footnote-450) Within two years of work, RFE broadcast to six Iron Curtain countries in seven languages.[[451]](#footnote-451)

Still, credibility for such a large project was required as cover. The NCFE had to appear self-sustaining, even if it was not. Thus, the NCFE created its own fundraising organization, the Crusade For Freedom. Chaired by WWII hero, General Lucius Clay, the Crusade would raise money for RFE, serve to heighten the public profile of the committee’s work, and try to provoke a national reaction in favor of defeating communism in Europe. Abbott Washburn of General Mills, Inc, in Minneapolis was drafted to help lead the project. He and an associate selected the “Freedom Bell,” based on the Liberty Bell, as the symbol for the campaign. A firm in England cast the ten ton giant bell and it arrived in New York in September 1950. It was the center piece in a parade on Broadway. Afterward, it toured the country for a month aboard the “Freedom Train.” Those who witnessed the huge metal device were asked to sign “Freedom Scrolls.” Some 100,000 people obliged. Once the tour was completed, the bell was conveyed to its final resting place in Berlin. Around 400,000 Germans gathered in the Schoenenberger Platz in West Berlin to watch the bell installed in the tower of city hall. The Crusade, eventually incorporated, established offices in 16 U.S. cities, and drummed up a wealth of publicity in newspapers and television. Celebrities were used to promote the parades, including sports stars like Jesse Owens and Luke Appling of the Chicago White Sox. The message of “freedom” was carried behind the Iron Curtain by way of balloons which were designed to drop leaflets across the continent. From 1951 to 1956, 300 million leaflets drifted over Eastern Europe. Some balloons were blown off target, however, and flew to countries far from the mark. One was even discovered on the property of a farmer in Scotland. Despite all the fanfare, the Crusade only contributed $3.5 million to the NCFE in its first two years, not nearly enough to sustain the work of RFE on its own.[[452]](#footnote-452)

The National Committee for a Free Europe committed itself to supporting an array of émigré projects. “Intellectual” initiatives included a Mid-European Studies Center. The Centre was filled with “trained research analysts” from disciplines such as history, sociology, economics and literature. Books, pamphlets, and articles were published on topics like “The Romanian Oil Industry,” “Institutional Changes in the Post-War Economy of Poland,” and “Forced Labor in the People’s Democracies.” Further intellectual endeavors were The Mid-European Law Project and East European Accessions List. The NCFE also sponsored a Free European University in Exile, located in Strasbourg, France. It took in hundreds of refugee students who were provided with housing and living expenses. All in all, by 1955, the committee was working with at least forty-five émigré organizations.[[453]](#footnote-453)

Such was the diverse range of activities pursued by the NCFE. In simple terms, it discredited the Soviet bloc through whatever means it deemed effective. This was epitomized in the thinking of C.D. Jackson, the NCFE president from 1951 to 1952.[[454]](#footnote-454) For him, the best way to undermine Soviet control in its satellite countries was to “move with boldness and intelligence, and above all, unorthodox, imaginative thinking.”[[455]](#footnote-455) Consequently, sport was just one of many areas that refugees could exploit, and an avenue that Jackson fully endorsed. In several of the Eastern European regimes, especially Hungary, sport was a useful way of arousing interest, which was clearly evident in the programming content of RFE. Broadcasting policy on sports aimed to cover the achievements of exiled athletes and draw attention to the “poor sportsmanship” of Soviet competitors. On the other hand, RFE celebrated the amateur nature of athletes in the “free world” “and the democratic character of the organizations in which they received their training.”[[456]](#footnote-456) As with other standard material prepared for RFE, sport stories were formulated with propaganda in mind, capitalizing on topical episodes that programmers estimated might be disruptive behind the Iron Curtain.[[457]](#footnote-457) In some instances, information for RFE shows was provided by American embassies, such as examples of “disguised professionalism” in Eastern Europe.[[458]](#footnote-458) More straightforward reporting was also important. Sports enthusiasts often care for simply the outcome of a contest rather than any melee that surrounds it. Less dramatic content complemented the more provocative. For example, a proposal for Czechoslovakian programming suggested a show named “sports around the world.” Apart from including news about Czech and Slovak sportsmen in exile, there was a more standard element of reporting up-to-date results for soccer or track and field.[[459]](#footnote-459)

One of the benefits that endeared RFE to many in Eastern Europe was the speed of its reporting on current affairs. It often took communist stations a great deal of time to not only produce a story, but also to get it approved for air by senior government officials. Radio Free Europe did not have such restrictions. Of course, news had to pass through the gaze of an editor, or a translator, but all of this could be completed at a pace that left its communist counterparts far behind. Accounts from refugees confirmed this fact. When four Hungarian exiles were interviewed by RFE staff to gauge the effectiveness of the station’s content, the question of sport arose in the discussion. One of the refugees replied that he greatly enjoyed sport and that “the listeners at home [in Hungary] especially appreciate it that you [RFE] always broadcast the sports events earlier than Budapest. This has especially become obvious since the Olympic Games.”[[460]](#footnote-460) Due to technical and political issues, as well as an unofficial status, RFE sometimes faced difficulties getting accreditation to cover the Olympic Games. Creativity and determination often overcame red tape. At the 1952 Winter Games in Oslo, for instance, the broadcast was made from a hotel room.[[461]](#footnote-461)

In the late 1950s, some audience analysis called for more sport coverage than RFE actually provided. A report on Polish programming ranked sport programmes “among the most desired,”[[462]](#footnote-462) while another study, commissioned by RFE and undertaken by Zbigniew Brzezinski of Harvard University, drew a similar conclusion. Having spent a weekend listening to tapes of RFE material, Brzezinski commended the use of sport in Polish output and added that more frequent use of the topic could attract an even larger audience. In particular, he thought RFE “made very effective use of association by emphasizing Polish triumphs in sports, speaking of them as ‘our’ triumphs, ‘our’ team, ‘our’ competitors and so forth.”[[463]](#footnote-463)

In addition to using sport as a propaganda tool on the airwaves, it could also be found in the NCFE’s printed magazine, *News From Behind the Iron Curtain*. Produced by the Research and Publications Service division of the NCFE, *News from behind the Iron Curtain* provided information on “Communism-in-action.” By the end of 1952, its circulation reached 10,000 and the NCFE distributed the publication in 38 countries.[[464]](#footnote-464) The journal mainly consisted of reports culled from the media in Eastern Europe and refugee accounts that were gathered into a monthly edition illustrating negative aspects of life in the Soviet bloc. Sports were given some attention, none of it positive. The general aim of the sport-related articles was to demonstrate the ideological nature of sport behind the Iron Curtain, its use for propaganda and indoctrination, its restrictive nature, the professionalism of communist athletes, its military leaning, and its contribution to solidarity among communist nations. As one column assessed: “To the Communists, sports are a grim and serious business. They form an integral part of the regimented Communist State System and are assigned a specific function in the Communist propaganda machine.”[[465]](#footnote-465)

The deployment of the Soviet sports model in Eastern Europe was repeatedly stressed. One article claimed that the Czechoslovakian sport system was “patterned” on the Soviet ideal; another noted a broadcast on Radio Sofia that announced the reorganization of Bulgarian sport based on the Soviet blueprint.[[466]](#footnote-466) The President of the National Committee for Physical Training and Sports in Hungary was quoted as saying: “We have reached these excellent results in close cooperation with…the USSR.”[[467]](#footnote-467) Elsewhere, a resolution from the Polish Central Committee for Physical Culture was quoted from the Polish publication, *Rzeczpospolita*, which read: “The Polish people must be familiarized with physical culture and athletics in the Soviet Union.”[[468]](#footnote-468)

The ideological feature of communist sport was frequently raised in the magazine. A Czechoslovakian refugee claimed: “To be a good sportsman in present-day Czechoslovakia is determined by one’s political ‘maturity’ rather than one’s athletic skill. Political ‘maturity’ is judged by membership and activities in the Communist Party and the Union of Czechoslovak Youth.”[[469]](#footnote-469) A publication from Prague (*Lidove Demokracie*) stated: “Players…failing in loyalty will not be allowed to play no matter how good they are.”[[470]](#footnote-470) In another example, a Romanian editorial was quoted with regard to sport being an invaluable part of “Communist and patriotic education.”[[471]](#footnote-471)

While the programming of RFE and stories published in *News From Behind the Iron Curtain* may have contained sport-related propaganda, the Hungarian National Sports Federation stood as an organized opposition to communist sport, a group that not only intended to inflict damage upon athletics in Hungary, but also succeeded. In the dozen or so years that followed its creation, the HNSF became the focal point of sport-related initiatives supported by the NCFE.

The Hungarian National Sports Federation was formed in December 1949, under the auspices of the Hungarian National Council (HNC).[[472]](#footnote-472) The HNC was part of the National Council’s Division of the NCFE, and widely regarded as the most functional of the councils in exile. John Foster Leich, who worked in the council’s Division, observed that the HNC consisted of members from the “non-communist parties which participated in the Hungarian government until the resignation of Ferenc Nagy as Premier in May 1947.”[[473]](#footnote-473) Its aim, according to Steven Bela Vardy, was “to represent the nation muted [by Soviet occupation], as well as to care for and to supply spiritual and political guidance to the dispersed Hungarians.”[[474]](#footnote-474)

Szápáry acted as the President of the HNSF, a position in which he could make abundantly clear his own political convictions. His arrival in the United States, and his desire for a free Hungary, were based upon some almost catastrophic experiences at the time of, and after, Hitler’s attempt to master Europe. During the war he was an officer of the Hungarian Red Cross and helped to aid Polish refugees who swarmed into Hungary.



Figure 3. Count Anthony Szápáry, President of the Hungarian National Sports Federation. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.

He was arrested by the Germans in 1944, imprisoned in the Mauthausen concentration camp, and “condemned to die.” To his considerable fortune, an intervention by the King of Sweden saved his life. He arrived in the U.S. in 1948, found employment at the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, and later married the granddaughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt, a descendant of the great Commodore.[[475]](#footnote-475) A disdain for totalitarian regimes echoes through his correspondence.

The general political aim of the HNSF was “to deal the greatest possible blows whenever and wherever possible to the communists in the field of sports.”[[476]](#footnote-476) Although the HNSF was designed to provide sporting aid to all Hungarian defectors, the most prized assets were coaches, and especially, established international class athletes:

Assistance given to the defecting Hungarian athletes and the activities of the HNSF will seriously damage the communist regime’s prestige, and on the other hand it would be a gesture greatly appreciated by the Hungarian nation, to see that the greatest democracy in the world has not failed to help those who have chosen freedom. The Hungarian regime would again lose an effective propaganda weapon, the cream of the nation in sports, who in turn would be a gain for the West.[[477]](#footnote-477)

For the Hungarians whom the HNSF helped to defect, and others who managed the task on their own, starting a new life was not easy. Here the HNSF also intervened. It strove to unite the exiled community of Hungarian sportsmen, find them access to sports facilities, and pursue their re-admittance into international competition. The last of these aims presented a considerable obstacle. International Sports Federations were reluctant to allow stateless competitors to compete in their events. They, and the IOC, were organized around the primacy of the nation-state; individual sportsmen must be affiliated with their national federations who, in turn, must be recognized by the international governing body. In the case of the IOC, its *Charter* dictated that athletes who wanted to compete in the Olympics were obliged to be members of the National Olympic Committees (NOC) of their respective nations, who were then, after an official application process, recognized by the IOC. An athlete who was not a member of an NOC was unable to compete in any competition administered by the IOC. As exiled athletes were, in effect, without an NOC, their situation was difficult. There was a further complication. It was not enough for refugee athletes to simply become citizens of a different country. Rule 27 of the *Charter* prescribed that if they had already competed for one country in the Olympics, then they were forbidden to compete for another.[[478]](#footnote-478) For over a dozen years after its foundation, the HNSF lobbied the IOC regarding its provision for exiled athletes, seeking a change in the rules, not just for the sake of refugee sportsmen, but also for the concomitant rationale of propaganda.

Apart from its base in New York, the HNSF had thirty-one affiliated sports clubs worldwide, in locations such as Brussels, Buenos Aires, London, Paris, Rome, and Salzburg. In 1958, the federation was incorporated.[[479]](#footnote-479) By the end of the 1950s, the NCFE provided an office and regular funding for the group. It is unclear in the records whether Szápáry knew about the origin of the NCFE’s financial support. However, he was a well-respected member of the Hungarian exile community, and familiar with other Hungarian groups that received money from the NCFE. As such, it is perhaps worth considering the inside opinion of John Foster Leich, who has commented: “The exiles without exception assumed that government funds were involved, and were glad of this evidence of United States interest in their cause.”[[480]](#footnote-480) It is hard to be precise about the total amounts the NCFE provided the federation over the years. On multiple occasions it is indicated that the NCFE gave the HNSF funding from the outset. A confidential budget review for the fiscal year of 1959/1960 indicates that the HNSF received $18,486 (the equivalent of $138,996 today) for its program, and there is every reason to believe that it was given an allowance before that.[[481]](#footnote-481) It does appear, however, that the funding subsided in 1960 and was cancelled in 1962.[[482]](#footnote-482) In return for its investment, the NCFE gained access to the rich propaganda potential of sport.

**The Idea for an Exiled Olympic Team**

The germ for the project which translated into the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen came from the HNSF. At first, Szápáry wanted exiled Hungarian sportsmen to compete in international competition because he thought that the impact in Hungary would be disruptive. He probably never considered that it might cause a revolution, but he might have thought it could contribute to one. Being as this was the aim, it made sense that the HNSF would want its athletes to compete at the Olympic Games, an international athletic festival that drew great attention across the globe. It made equal sense that he should first contact the head of the United States Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage. Upon receiving his first letter from the Count, Brundage was cursory but encouraging: “I shall keep your organization in mind,” he told Szápáry, “If at any time there are developments that might be of interest to you, I shall let you know.”[[483]](#footnote-483) Even though Brundage’s response was vague, it made a mockery of his well-known beliefs on the separation of politics from sport. It is doubtful that he knew about the covert function of the NCFE, the reality of who directed the organization, and by whom it was funded. At no point in his correspondence does he even hint at possessing this knowledge. But he did know, because Szápáry had explicitly stated it, that the HNSF was political. If Brundage had followed his personal dictum, he would have thrown the letter away. But he didn’t, and in this case, he put his principles aside.

Athletes from Hungary were not the only sportsmen to defect; they were just some of many from Eastern Europe. And like those who formed the membership of the HNSF, some were still willing and capable to pursue their sporting ambitions. Szápáry had begun to assess the possibility of exiles competing in international sport by communicating with Brundage, and though the Olympic Games were not mentioned by either party, the implication was clear. It is also clear that the HNSF started to look beyond the participation of only Hungarian athletes at the Olympics, and began to consider an East European exiled team for the Olympic festivals of 1952. What they required was financial assistance.

By 1951 the HNSF started to broker this idea to the NCFE. Though the documents on this formative period are haphazardly dated, if dated at all, it appears that probably by April the matter reached the Committee’s staff. Andor Gellért of the NCFE proposed a meeting between himself, the secretary of the HNSF, Péter Zerkovitz, and another Committee employee, Robert Cutler. Gellért explained to Cutler that the issue of exiled athletes was due to be raised at the IOC Session in Vienna (which never happened), and that Brundage was in favor of the proposal. Gellért added that an exiled sports team, based upon the model of the HNSF, could be formed and “function in accordance with the guidance” of the NCFE. Clearly taken with the scheme, Gellért wrote: “Just imagine what…tremendous propaganda could be derived from such a participation for the countries behind the Iron Curtain.”[[484]](#footnote-484)

As the idea of an exiled sports group remained only an idea, Zerkowitz produced a memorandum to clarify what was needed to make it a reality. Zerkowitz was the former vice-president of the European Judo Federation, and emerged as a guiding force in the exiled sportsmen community. Firstly, Zerkowitz stated the problem: exiled athletes could not compete in official championships under the existing rules of international sports organizations. Nevertheless, the HNSF managed to set a small number of precedents which proved that rules could sometimes be broken. With its help, the skater, Kornél Pajor, competed at the World Championships in 1951; the HNSF had been recognized by the International Sport Shooting Federation; and an exiled Hungarian soccer team played competitive games, even though the Fédération Internationale de Football Association would not give it full recognition. Zerkowitz argued that a group would be more effective than trying to get individual entries at the Olympics, and that it was crucial that this group had the backing of both the NCFE and Brundage before it applied for official recognition from the IOC. Thus, the aim of the group was 1. “Co-coordinating and developing the exiled national sports federations,” 2. “Exploiting the tremendous propaganda value inherent in the activities of the organization,” and 3. “Participation in international sports events.” Finally, the group needed money.[[485]](#footnote-485)

Zerkowitz pushed the matter further by producing an inventory of the most capable exiled sportsmen, to prove that such a team could hold its own on the Olympic stage. Among the listed athletes there were gymnasts, swimmers, boxers, wrestlers, over forty soccer players, and twenty more for basketball. The entire silver medal winning water polo team from the 1948 Games was ready for Helsinki, as was the world champion figure skater, Kornél Pajor, and Olympic gold medalist fencer, Imre Rajczy.[[486]](#footnote-486)

With the potential of an exiled Olympic team capturing the attention of NCFE staff, the project took form. As well, intelligence from behind the Iron Curtain pointed to the need for action. The story of exiled athletes and the Olympic Games was greeted positively in Hungary, for example. A report received from Budapest by the Hungarian desk of Radio Free Europe called for more information on the subject as it had stirred a great deal of interest.[[487]](#footnote-487) Without support from sports officials and the sanction of the IOC, however, the exiles did not stand a chance, so it was to this vital cohort that the NCFE turned.

There was reason for optimism. Brundage had been contacted early in 1950 and seemed responsive to the situation faced by stateless athletes. The NCFE started to seek support from other quarters of the American sporting administration, contacting the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States. In June 1951, two representatives of the NCFE, one of whom was Frank C. Wright Jr., met with Daniel Ferris, the secretary-treasurer of the AAU. They discussed the exile conundrum over lunch. A week later, Wright informed Ferris that C.D. Jackson, was “very anxious to follow through with the matter,” and that the NCFE president wished to meet with Brundage.[[488]](#footnote-488) Ferris tried to arrange a conference between Jackson and Brundage, but failed. Instead, Ferris wrote a letter to Brundage intending to “pave the way” for a discussion in the next session of the USOC Executive Board, scheduled for June 29-30.[[489]](#footnote-489) In the end, only one of the two things happened. There is no evidence that Brundage met with any NCFE staff, but the USOC did discuss the exiles in its Executive meeting, though not until the following year.

In spite of this reassurance from Ferris, Wright prepared a draft letter for Brundage. Since the letter was to be signed by the president of the NCFE, Wright asked Jackson for “any suggestion as to how we can squeeze the very last drop of publicity out of an opportunity which is, according to Brundage, almost inevitably going to result in a negative answer.”[[490]](#footnote-490) How Wright could anticipate Brundage’s opinion on the matter is unclear. The likeliest scenario is that at some stage Brundage must have indicated to Ferris that he doubted an exiled committee would pass the rigor of IOC scrutiny. At this juncture, Brundage had yet to admit this fact to Szápáry. Ferris could then have dutifully passed this intelligence to Wright at their meeting. In any case, it appears that for the time being the draft letter was set aside and reworked at a later date for the attention of Brundage and the USOC.[[491]](#footnote-491) In the final version, which is dated 30 January 1952, Jackson made several persuasive arguments. He understood that the main problem for the moment was the IOC rules, so he raised the famous Article 1 of the *Olympic Charter*, that stipulated that no person should be barred from the Games for reasons that are either racial, religious, or political. Jackson followed this by shrewdly quoting Article 39, which stated: “It is not permissible for a competitor…to represent *another country*…except where his former country or place of birth has been incorporated in another state.”[[492]](#footnote-492) He reasoned that the refugee athletes were not so much interested in representing “another country” but “the exile community” instead. Jackson further argued that the rules were subject to some flexibility, citing the decision by The International Sport Shooting Federation to recognize the HNSF. He concluded his case by stating: “The National Committee for a Free Europe is anxious to place the question before your Committee (USOC) in order to bring it to a conclusion in the International Committee as soon as conveniently possible.”[[493]](#footnote-493) The letter resulted in a discussion at the USOC Executive Board, which empowered Brundage to put the question before the IOC.[[494]](#footnote-494)

By November 1951, Brundage was aware of a general NCFE strategy, having received a letter from Szápáry via an intermediary, the coach of the U.S. fencing team, George Santelli.[[495]](#footnote-495) Szápáry announced the following:

Negotiations have been initiated…with the competent authorities of the National Committee for a Free Europe, who are willing to support - may be also financially - the plan of organizing a Free Europe Olympic Association under the auspices of which sportsmen escaped from behind the iron curtain would participate as a group in the Olympic Games.[[496]](#footnote-496)

The NCFE intended to sponsor approximately 30-35 of the finest exiled athletes to compete in Helsinki. Szápáry asked Brundage for his support: “The realization of this generous initiative depends, in the first place, on you, Mr. Brundage.” The Count tried his best to veil the political motivation of the proposal by stressing its noble intentions: “Those sportsmen in exile are led by the true spirit of fair play, whilst Bolshevism takes sport for nothing but as a means of propaganda.”[[497]](#footnote-497)

Faced with an escalating situation, Brundage responded to Santelli, though he confessed to being “at a loss to know what to do.”[[498]](#footnote-498) He knew that there was no chance that the refugees could be admitted; the rules of the IOC forbade it. To further complicate the issue, the IOC presided over the re-entry of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement at the 1951 IOC Session in Vienna. Still, he did not drop the issue, and dispatched a letter to Szápáry to offer him at least a glimmer of hope. He reiterated to the Count the sympathy he felt for their cause, while also reminding him that the “existing rules” of the *Olympic* *Charter* simply did not accommodate the exiled sportsmen. All that Brundage felt he could do was to place the issue on the agenda for the IOC Session in Oslo, due to convene in February 1952.[[499]](#footnote-499) This, indeed, was the very approach recommended by the USOC Executive, and precisely the one Brundage followed. The decision led to the first success for what became the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen. Staff at the NCFE were pleased at the international exposure. Wright wrote to Jackson that, “Consideration by the International Olympic Committee should provide us with many handles to take hold of for propaganda purposes.”[[500]](#footnote-500)

**A Passing Problem**

Prior to the Winter Games in Oslo, the IOC convened for its 46th Session. During his time in Oslo, Brundage was joined in his hotel room by Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano for a discussion on refugee athletes.[[501]](#footnote-501) Márffy would, eventually, be the one to make the decisive speech for the exiled Olympic committee in front of the IOC at Helsinki. This marked, to some degree, his entrance into the plot. Before his meeting with Brundage, Márffy had already shown himself to be a partisan of stateless sportsmen. In 1951, he wrote a persuasive missive to Jackson on behalf of the International Federation of Free Journalists (another organization with links to the CIA), and asked that the NCFE do everything in its power to help exiled athletes compete at the Olympics. Márffy balked at Soviet participation, maintaining that its “competitors will be simple tools in the hands of their masters in the Kremlin.”[[502]](#footnote-502) Like Szápáry, his motivations stemmed from first hand experience. He was a Hungarian aristocrat by birth, and educated at Cambridge. In 1929 he passed the entrance exam to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. This gave Márffy access to powerful people and high politics. He experienced for himself the “hypnotic power” of Hitler during a state dinner in Rome, and was a helpless spectator in Poland, where he witnessed a Nazi airplane gun down an innocent peasant girl. He despised National Socialism. The Soviet influence in Hungary after WWII was no better. When a communist suggested that Márffy join the Party, he replied: “How could I? You stand for the destruction of my class, my ideals, my religion.”[[503]](#footnote-503) Márffy was relieved of his position in the Hungarian foreign ministry; his aristocratic lineage no longer served a purpose in a government increasingly dominated by the Communist Party. Nearly all of his family was “released” from Hungary by the persistent lobbying of his sister, the Countess of Listowel, a resident of Britain. Márffy took refuge in Vienna for a while and fought in diplomatic circles to join his wife and two of their three children in England. The Countess eventually secured Márffy’s entry, and some years later, that of his final sibling, Peter.[[504]](#footnote-504) Márffy’s struggle to aid exiled sportsmen was motivated by his resentment of the communist regime in Hungary and a lifelong love of sports. His greatest sports honor was captaining the 1936 Hungarian Olympic field hockey team.[[505]](#footnote-505)

The organizers of the Oslo Winter Games confirmed that athletes without membership of an NOC could not pursue a medal at the festival.[[506]](#footnote-506) In any event, the matter of refugees was indeed raised for discussion at the Oslo IOC Session. Sigfrid Edström, the IOC president, explained to the assembly that many exiles, including former Olympic champions, had come together with the intent to participate at Helsinki, and asked the members for any suggestions that might solve the problem. Brundage, John-Jewett Garland, Prince Axel of Denmark, Lord Aderdare, Erik von Frenckell, Dr. Joseph Gruss, and Dr. Jose Pontes debated the issue. The most influential contribution came from von Frenckell, the Finnish delegate. He stated that the request came far too late, and added that in the long-term, the exiles would be too old to compete at the 1956 Games.[[507]](#footnote-507) Von Frenckell thought the problem was short term, and convinced many that it would simply disappear with time. The first reason he gave was valid enough, although not without some precedent. The Soviet Union appeared at the European track-and-field championships in 1946 without an invitation and its athletes were allowed to compete.[[508]](#footnote-508) The championship was under the jurisdiction of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), which relaxed the rules on that occasion. The president of the IAAF at the time was Edström, and the IAAF member who eased the situation was Brundage. The second point von Frenckell made about the athletes’ age was decidedly shortsighted. There was a constant stream of people fleeing the Iron Curtain, and many athletes were among them. Rather than fade away before the 1956 Games in Melbourne, the Hungarian revolution – an event, in fairness, that von Frenckell could not have foreseen – later induced a flurry of sporting defections. Although the von Frenckell line of thought was obtuse, it became, along with the rigid Olympic *Charter*, the standard IOC thinking on the problem of the stateless athletes. Edström agreed with the argument, and thought – though with an unfortunate choice of words – that the “fugitive question” was “a passing problem that we must not pay too much attention to.”[[509]](#footnote-509)

After a year of service as president of the NCFE, Jackson stepped down, and took a position working on Dwight D. Eisenhower’s campaign team for the 1952 presidential election. He was replaced by Admiral H. B. Miller.[[510]](#footnote-510) Miller’s previous job was director of public information for the Navy.[[511]](#footnote-511) The cause of Szápáry and his associates, at the time and for years to come, was undoubtedly helped by the interest shown by Jackson, who saw the potential of the exiled athletes to strike a blow behind the Iron Curtain. Miller did not veer from this course. He immediately generated further ideas for using the Olympics as a venue for propaganda and communicated them to Richard B. Walsh in the Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation in the State Department. He told Walsh that during an evening meal shared with “a group of Balts,” the Helsinki Games arose in conversation. Miller suggested that members of the State Department, or other organizations, distribute brochures encouraging defection, thus arousing “apprehension” in Soviet athletes, with a view to causing the Soviet secret police to double its guard. Miller reasoned that this could “arouse a psychological reaction in the minds of the Russian athletes” and wreck their ability to compete. He asked Walsh to give the idea “serious consideration.”[[512]](#footnote-512) The main fault of the proposal was that the USSR anticipated it. An NCFE staff member explained that “the Soviets have already provided for the possibility that we will heckle their athletes” and “each morning and evening their athletes will be flown from and to Tallinn or Leningrad so that they will only be in Helsinki when the games are actually in progress.” It was a fair, if exaggerated, estimate. The Soviets did separate their athletes from the Olympic village for the Helsinki Games just as predicted, but they were only on the outskirts of the city. In light of this intelligence, an alternative was considered, whereby athletes from the individual Soviet Republics (e.g. “Ukrainians or Lithuanians”) could be framed in propaganda as competing for their country, as opposed to “Joe Stalin.” “This will accentuate the divisive tendencies within Russia by adding fire to the nationalities’ resentment of Moscow’s rule,” it was added.[[513]](#footnote-513)

**The Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen is Formed**

A lull appeared to ensue on the activity of Peter Zerkowitz. At least some thought that it had. Wright heard nothing from Zerkowitz for a month and asked for a progress report, while Miller had to reassure a perturbed Márffy that the project was being taken seriously by the NCFE.[[514]](#footnote-514) Undeterred by the proceedings in Oslo, the plan for an exiled Olympic team continued. Running initially under the title, Free Eastern European Olympic Committee, it soon evolved into the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen (UFEES). The group drafted a constitution, elected officials, and established an Executive Committee.[[515]](#footnote-515) The NCFE sent Zerkowitz a modest check of $350 to help pay for items, such as mailing expenses and cables, so that he could spread the story of the exiles.[[516]](#footnote-516) When it came to forming the UFEES, Hungarians bore a considerable amount of the administrative burden. Zerkowitz claimed that the HNSF was the only acting refugee sports organization, and this fact is apparent in the leadership of the UFEES. Although the organization was representative of Eastern Europe, with members from each of the countries it professed to speak for, the Chairman of the UFEES was Szápáry, and the general secretary was Zerkowitz. The committee had two vice-chairman. The first was a Yugoslav named Grga Zlatoper, and the second was Brundage’s old friend, Janis Dikmanis. Dikmanis had escaped to Germany after the Soviet Union annexed Latvia and eventually made his way to the United States. Brundage knew that Dikmanis left most of his belongings behind, and made enquiries on his behalf.[[517]](#footnote-517) A year later, Dikmanis had settled in America and busied himself with the cause of exiled athletes. He wrote articles in an anti-communist Latvian newspaper in New York and encouraged Latvian athletes in exile to “make sport propaganda.”[[518]](#footnote-518)

The fledgling committee applied for official recognition by the IOC in May 1952,[[519]](#footnote-519) and then began its short but eventful campaign to compete in Helsinki. The UFEES stood to represent the refugee athletes of ten nations “enslaved by the Kremlin:” Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia.[[520]](#footnote-520) In order to raise awareness, the UFEES held a reception at the Weylin Hotel in New York. Szápáry sent an invitation to Brundage,[[521]](#footnote-521) and another to John T. McGovern, the Counselor of the USOC.[[522]](#footnote-522) In a somewhat odd letter to Brundage, McGovern claimed that he had never heard of the group and was unsure of their intentions. Wary of any association being implied with the USOC, he declined the invitation.[[523]](#footnote-523) Even though McGovern had been part of the USOC’s decision to lobby on behalf of exiles earlier in the year, and even communicated with NCFE officials, he now did not want to endorse them. His actions failed to send the desired message, as the UFEES still claimed the backing of the USOC in the coming weeks. As for Brundage, he chose not to attend the soirée either; like his colleague, he was careful of making any “official connection” between himself and the IOC with the exiled Olympic Committee. This, too, was a wasted gesture; Brundage had been painted as a supporter of exiled athletes for some time. In a letter to McGovern, he did not hide his admiration for the UFEES, extolling the “first class athletes” and the “high class individuals” that were associated with the group. “As a matter of fact,” he continued, “since the Olympic games are supposed to assemble the youth of the world, perhaps there really should be some way of allowing them to compete.”[[524]](#footnote-524) One American sports official who did attend was Daniel Ferris from the AAU. He was joined at the Weylin by the new chairman of the NCFE, Rear Admiral H.B. Miller, and by Richard B. Walsh.[[525]](#footnote-525)

The Hungarian National Council managed to expand the UFEES campaign by stimulating support in other quarters. Paul Auer, an HNC representative based in Paris, communicated to Edström that the subject of exiled athletes had been raised at the January Session of the European Movement, in London.[[526]](#footnote-526) Unbeknownst to Edström, he faced another “front.” The European Movement was a “private” group which lobbied for a “United Europe” to repel the possibility of communist expansion. With Winston Churchill among its leading advocates, the group approached the U.S. government in 1948 to acquire unofficial funding. A large portion of the 3 million dollars that propped up the European Movement from 1949 to 1960 arrived via the CIA.[[527]](#footnote-527) When Edström received Auer’s announcement he was unmoved.[[528]](#footnote-528) The matter did not halt there. One of the ideas that the European Movement strongly supported was the creation of the Council of Europe, another pro-unity organization. Members of parliament from the participating nations used the Council “to achieve a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress.”[[529]](#footnote-529) According to a former NCFE employee, John Foster Leich: “The European Movement also persuaded the Council of Europe to set up a Special Committee, under the chairmanship of Harold Macmillan, to watch over the interests of the countries not represented in the Council of Europe.”[[530]](#footnote-530) When Auer was asked to attend a meeting of this Special Committee scheduled for April 1952 in Bonn, he duly apportioned some room in his speech for refugee athletes.[[531]](#footnote-531) On 25 May 1952, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe asked the Special Committee to approach the IOC with the following question: “Request to the International Olympic Committee to consider any suggestions which would enable political exiles to take part in the Olympic Games in future years.”[[532]](#footnote-532) It was this very committee that contacted the IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer in July 1952, to discuss the participation of exiled athletes in future Olympic Games.[[533]](#footnote-533) A series of letters passed between the Special Committee and Mayer until 1953, with the IOC Chancellor adeptly deflecting each query he received.[[534]](#footnote-534)

As Helsinki fast approached, the story behind the UFEES began to receive national publicity. On 21 May, an Associated Press release on the exiled athletes was carried by newspapers throughout the United States. The article acknowledged that the IOC Session in Helsinki was the last chance for the UFEES. “We are more hopeful than confident,” admitted Szápáry, “We realize that the time is short but even if we do not obtain approval to compete in Helsinki, we hope to obtain permission for our exiled athletes to participate in future events.”[[535]](#footnote-535) The Count confirmed that the UFEES had the backing of The National Committee for a Free Europe and the United States Olympic Committee. Another article claimed that the number of world class athletes associated with the Union grew by the day and included, “16 Olympic, 20 World and 35 former intercollegiate champions.”[[536]](#footnote-536) One of them was Stella Walsh, a Polish-born track athlete who relocated to California. She was highly enthused at the possibility of taking the Olympic stage for her third time as part of the UFEES team. Walsh correctly thought that Brundage favored the exiles’ entry, but acknowledged that any chances of actual participation were likely to be squashed by the Soviet delegates in the IOC.[[537]](#footnote-537) Another frustrated exile was the Hungarian speed skater, Kornél Pajor. Pajor finished fourth in the 10,000 meter event at the 1948 Games, fled to Sweden shortly thereafter, and now became a victim of Rule 27. He complained:

I chose the Western world and freedom in order to live as a free human being. Had I stayed in Hungary and pretended to be a Communist, they would have welcomed me at the games. These unrealistic rules were written before such things as political refugees or displaced persons existed.[[538]](#footnote-538)

During interviews with the media, Zerkowitz openly disparaged what he saw as the Soviet Union’s motivations for sending its athletes to Helsinki. He claimed that Soviet sport records were falsified, that contests between satellite nations and the USSR were “thrown” to favor the Soviets, and drew attention to the systematic training and financial rewards given to Soviet athletes. He even questioned whether the Soviet Union would attend Helsinki when faced with a superior U.S. team. “The Russians are like children,” Zerkowitz charged, “they can’t stand to lose.”[[539]](#footnote-539) Further accusations from Zerkowitz, combined with NCFE information on the close surveillance of Iron Curtain athletes by communist authorities, were also featured in American newspapers.[[540]](#footnote-540) It all added to the generally negative depiction of Soviet sport that filled column inches across the United States.[[541]](#footnote-541)

The key to an exiled team participating at the 1952 Summer Games rested firmly on the outcome of the IOC meetings scheduled for Helsinki. The IOC had received the official application for recognition from the UFEES, and Otto Mayer informed them that the final decision would be made in the Executive Committee meeting in July, shortly before the Games opened.[[542]](#footnote-542) With that, Szápáry produced a lengthy letter to sway the minds of any members in the Executive Committee who might have been undecided. He asked them to consider the very nature of the Olympic Movement, the high ideals proclaimed in Article One of the *Charter*, and why, despite the rule violation, the Soviet Union was allowed to send its professional athletes to compete. Most of all, and on behalf of the ten nations the UFEES represented, Szápáry attacked the regimes from which each athlete had escaped:

These stateless athletes are barred from the most noble Festival of the youth, just because their political convictions were against a regime which took over each of their countries by force, and which will tolerate no political opposition whatsoever. Even these athletes are penalized, just because they were not willing to compromise with the ideals of freedom. As individuals they are ostracized, just because they do not live endangering their lives and personal freedom within the political border of a nation. And having once competed for their countries they can never participate again, just because they could not agree to the enslaving of their countries.[[543]](#footnote-543)

As ever, the foundation of the argument was that Article 1 of the *Olympic Charter* was being ignored in order to accommodate Rule 27, which dealt with eligibility. The IOC simply could not reconcile the two edicts and, for no apparent reason, valued the second over the first. Szápáry’s treatise called this interpretation “discrimination.” Edström, like other IOC members, looked at precisely the same predicament but saw only the reverse. He accepted that there should be no discrimination at the Games, but “it is fundamental that the amateurs belong to a nation.”[[544]](#footnote-544)

So important was the IOC meeting in Helsinki, that the UFEES decided on a last minute plan to lobby its cause. Zerkowitz wrote to Wright with another request: money to send two representatives of the UFEES to attend the decisive IOC meeting. Zerkowitz drew Wright’s attention to the “attack launched against us by the Communist press and radio” as evidence of the group’s effectiveness.[[545]](#footnote-545) A final chance to speak with IOC delegates in Helsinki could only cause more disquiet in the Soviet bloc and increase the chance of recognition for the team. Miller compromised and cleared the way for one UFEES delegate to make the eleventh hour journey.[[546]](#footnote-546) The task fell to Márffy.

Before leaving for Finland, Márffy contacted the British Olympic Association and spoke on stateless athletes at the organization’s congress. His words convinced most, though not all, in the room. On arriving in Helsinki, he discreetly distributed a pamphlet prepared by the HNSF for the Hungarian Olympic team and made efforts to speak with a host of IOC delegates, claiming that most supported his arguments on exile participation. Apparently Otto Mayer was “in all respects most helpful.”[[547]](#footnote-547) Márffy might well have gained this impression, but years later Mayer recalled that Márffy was a “nuisance” who “upset everybody.”[[548]](#footnote-548) Márffy was permitted to speak at the official IOC press conference, and also asked Mayer if he could do the same in front of the IOC members at the General Session. First, however, the Executive Board deliberated the case. On 14 July, Brundage addressed the Board, outlined the problem, and confirmed that the rules did not permit exiles to take part. After a “long debate” the Executive could not reach a satisfactory conclusion and referred the matter to the General Session, due to convene two days later.[[549]](#footnote-549) Márffy was told that he could speak before the plenum. The proceedings of the General Session opened at 2pm on 16 July. Following some introductory comments, and other business, the exile issue took centre stage. Edström summarized the problem and handed the floor to Márffy. Grasping the moment, Márffy appealed to the IOC members regarding the “plight” of the exiled sportsmen. He asked that the IOC authorize the International Sports Federations to recognize the exiled athletes, or that the UFEES might be able to compete either under the banner of the International Red Cross, the Olympic Rings, or possibly even through “the intermediary of countries such as Switzerland or Greece.” He asked for leniency in light of Article 1 of the *Olympic* *Charter*. He pointed to the decision to include China at the Games, and even the example of the recent Wimbledon tennis championships, where stateless players had taken part. Having completed his oratory, Márffy withdrew, and left the decision to his audience. Edström explained that the Executive Committee had looked at the problem at length but could find no way of admitting the group. The assembly vetoed the entry. IOC member, Lord Aberdare, asked that the committee “convey” its “sympathy” to the exiles. The session adjourned at 4.30pm.[[550]](#footnote-550)

Days after the IOC announced its decision, Szápáry sent his reaction to the *New York Times*. Referring to the athletes of the UFEES, he wrote: “For ‘choosing freedom’ they are now banned from the greatest sports event of the world.” Szápáry challenged the participation of the Soviet Union and the other countries behind the Iron Curtain, which were allowed to compete despite their professional athletes. Blame was apportioned two ways: the IOC was guilty of its adherence to an “obsolete rule,” and the Soviet bloc was guilty for protesting against the participation of the exiles.[[551]](#footnote-551) Whether the Soviets did in fact protest is unclear. The minutes of the IOC Session in Helsinki are not forthcoming on the subject and a later report prepared by Zerkowitz is no more illuminating. Publicly, the IOC stood behind the reasoning expressed in Oslo by Erik von Frenckell. What happened behind closed doors in Helsinki, we do not know. Precisely what the Soviet Union thought of the exiled athletes, and the application of the UFEES to the IOC, is also unknown. It is highly doubtful that Soviet IOC delegates approved. For one thing, escapees from the Soviet bloc were a considerable problem for the communist regimes, hidden if at all possible or empathically criticized if necessary. When Brundage visited the USSR in 1954, he asked the Soviet IOC member, Alexsei Romanov, about the negative stories told by exiles. “These men are deserters, traitors,”[[552]](#footnote-552) replied Romanov.

**Summary**

The Helsinki Games closed with the United States finishing first in the overall medal count; the Soviet Union placed second. Soviet sports officials used an alternative mathematical formulation to obviate this, reworking the value of gold, silver and bronze medals, but whichever method they used, they could not truthfully alter the final standings. This did not stop Soviet officials from claiming for the next 50 years that their athletes had triumphed in Helsinki.[[553]](#footnote-553)

The Games may have ended, but the Cold War had not. Soviet troops still marshaled the fate of Eastern Europe, there had been no rolling back of communism, or shattering of Stalin’s hegemony. Even though the dictator’s life was soon to end, his gains stood firm. The Olympics continued to be a forum for refugees to draw attention to a broader political agenda, proving to be far more than just a “passing problem.” Shortly before the Games ended, the Hungarian National Council sent a telegram to Brundage, expressing pride for the performance of Hungarian athletes at Helsinki despite the “despotic rule” over their country.[[554]](#footnote-554)

The Soviet “peace campaign” did not escape the notice of *News Behind the Iron Curtain*, just as it aroused frustration in the State Department. A post-Olympic edition of the magazine made extensive use of this theme, punctuating its translation of communist media by exposing contradictions. In a piece titled “Communism on Display,” the writer complained about the propaganda in the satellite press during its coverage in Helsinki: “more newsprint went into plugs for the Soviet peace campaign, descriptions of the marvelous Soviet ‘brethren’ and slurs on the decadent West, than to actual sports reporting.” The six page article dissected the media coverage of the Olympics in the Eastern European media, quoting a range of stories such as the oppression of America’s “negro athletes,” western manipulation of the medal count, and the misconceptions of “bourgeois” sport.[[555]](#footnote-555)

In his final report on the Helsinki Games, Zerkowitz expressed delight with the results of the UFEES campaign. He drew attention to an article in the Hungarian newspaper, *Szabad Nép*, which called the exiled sportsmen “traitors.” He noted that Radio Warsaw and Radio Prague had reported on the work of the Union. The fact alone that the IOC voted to offer its “sympathy” to the exiles gave Zerkowitz reason to think that the efforts of the UFEES had been justified, and that the exiles had “the moral support of the free world.” “Through our representative’s conversations with officials and delegates as well as some of the Iron Curtain team members the propaganda value of the Union became clear which originates from its very existence,” continued Zerkowitz. He called for a further intensification of activities by refugee athletes and a greater use of “sports as a means for propaganda” in broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain. The results of work thus far, concluded Zerkowitz, was “beyond expectations.”[[556]](#footnote-556) Wright agreed, stating that “it is considered by all to have been a fine investment, particularly in view of the wide syndicated news coverage given the petition in the press.”[[557]](#footnote-557)

The publicity generated by the UFEES was itself a success, but the IOC did not buckle or give even an inch on the issue of exile participation. Once the Games in Helsinki ended, Mayer remained pragmatic when questioned at length by the Council of Europe regarding the IOC’s decision. Mayer carefully answered all of the questions that the Special Committee asked of him, but the crux of the problem was clear when he wrote: “It has been considered that giving satisfaction to the exiles would mean changing the complete machinery of our whole world organization, and this is impossible.”[[558]](#footnote-558) After months of correspondence with Mayer, the Special Committee sent a communication to the UFEES to confirm the un-retractable nature of the IOC rules.[[559]](#footnote-559)

Szápáry maintained contact with Brundage despite the setback of 1952. He even proposed a new idea to navigate the issue and suggested that International Federations could nominate one or two athletes to compete at future Games, thus abandoning the idea of an exiled Olympic committee.[[560]](#footnote-560) Szápáry hoped that this could be proposed at the 1953 IOC General Session in Mexico City. Unfortunately, the International Federations were not present in Mexico and so could not be petitioned. Even if they had been present, Brundage predicated that “opposition in the Federations from behind the Iron Curtain will prevent them from taking affirmative action.”[[561]](#footnote-561) A year later Zerkowitz took one last stab on behalf of the UFEES for the next General Session in Athens. He asked Wright if the NCFE would pay for a delegate to be flown to Athens to speak to the IOC in person. Once again, Márffy was dispatched to cajole the IOC delegates and raise awareness in the media.[[562]](#footnote-562) The IOC again avoided the issue, striking what must have been a final blow to the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen.[[563]](#footnote-563) From 1954 onward, letters from the organization ceased to arrive at the IOC, but the HNSF, which provided the main ballast for the exiled Olympic team, did not fold quite so easily.

Chapter 6 – Creating a “favorable climate of opinion:” the United States Information Agency and the 1956 Olympic Games

Shortly after Eisenhower took office, Stalin suffered a fatal stroke. The Soviet dictator died on 5 March 1953. A small cadre of Soviet officials assumed leadership in the Kremlin, until Nikita Khrushchev eventually nudged his way to the top. From the first, Stalin’s successors brought with them new policies and attitudes towards the West, and even offered to negotiate on a number of issues with the U.S. government. The Soviet Union sought “peaceful coexistence,” and a more accommodating diplomacy. Just as importantly, the USSR started to change its rigid policy of excluding Western culture from the communist bloc. People could leave and enter the Soviet Union in greater numbers. Cultural representatives were sent from country to country to show that communism was not a fearsome and repressive force, but a vibrant, creative, and friendly doctrine. The Soviet Union helped bring an end to the Korean War and restored relations with Yugoslavia.[[564]](#footnote-564) By contrast, the U.S. was made to look like the greater belligerent, with its biting anti-communism and reluctance to accept the USSR’s peaceful overtures. Eisenhower looked upon the fresh appeals from the Soviet Union as a “new type of Cold War.”

The United States responded to the challenge. The Eisenhower administration developed a global propaganda strategy to convince the world that in the battle for hearts and minds, the people should look to the White House for guidance, as opposed to the Kremlin.[[565]](#footnote-565)

The direction of Soviet sport altered accordingly in the wake of Stalin’s death. The regularity of sporting exchanges between the Soviet Union and the outside world grew quickly.[[566]](#footnote-566) Communist athletes functioned as ambassadors wherever they visited, part of an overall policy of forming contacts and alliances. At the same time, the goal of achieving “supremacy” in international sport remained. Psychological warfare experts in the U.S. government found this disconcerting. This chapter will explore the Eisenhower administration’s reaction to the new direction of communist sport, which was seen as part of broader Soviet “cultural offensive.” Many of the American initiatives floundered. A program to send American athletes abroad on “good will tours” was insubstantial. Even psychological warfare doyens such as Abbott Washburn and C.D. Jackson could not find a way of increasing the number of American athletes in international competitions.

In the midst of this faltering response, there arose growing anxiety over the prospect of a Soviet victory at the 1956 Winter (Cortina d’Ampezzo) and Summer (Melbourne) Olympic Games. Declassified documents have made it possible to identify the role of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB) in the research and orchestration of interdepartmental action. While government officials kept track of events in the Olympic Movement by secretly consorting with the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), the main challenge was financial. The only way to keep pace with Soviet cultural exchange and athletic prowess was through a larger budget. Congress would not give it, and few wanted them to. In lieu of federal spending on the U.S. Olympic team, Eisenhower’s propaganda apparatus used American participation at the Olympics as a way to create a “favorable climate of opinion” in regard to worldwide perceptions of the United States. This was part of a larger propaganda process in the Cold War. As Laura Belmonte has argued, information strategists tried to present the United States “as a nation that valued freedom, tolerance, and individuality.” To sell the “American way of life” they,

emphasized the egalitarian nature of the U.S. political system and the vibrancy of American culture. They extolled the U.S. standard of living and capitalism. While muting coverage of racism and economic inequalities, they offered a markedly liberal vision of America that promised progress and prosperity for individuals and families.[[567]](#footnote-567)

# Sport and the Soviet “Cultural Offensive”

# In the last years of Stalin’s reign, the Soviet Union crept toward an increase in “foreign contacts.” When Stalin died, this process accelerated. The Soviet Union started to open its doors to the outside world, and sent out streams of its youth “to undo the harmful effects of Stalinist rudeness, secrecy, bluster, and violence.”[[568]](#footnote-568) The new direction in Soviet foreign policy aimed to reveal the vibrancy of Soviet culture, and through it, the superiority of socialism. The process became known in the U.S. government as the Soviet “cultural offensive.” The Deputy Director of the USIA, Abbott Washburn, called it a “three headed” strategy whereby the USSR increased its commitment in three main areas: international trade fairs, exchanges in cultural activities (e.g. ballet troupes, musicians, performing artists) and international athletics.[[569]](#footnote-569) A USIA intelligence report confirmed that in order to “popularize” and “propagandize” its culture, the USSR sent abroad a mass of theatre groups, musicians, choirs, scientists, artists, and sportsmen.[[570]](#footnote-570) What made the offensive so ominous was its “soft” and “peaceful” approach through “non-political” forums. Simultaneously, communist-organized trade fairs and other forums were also being used for rallies and campaigns to portray the United States as a belligerent and racist nation.[[571]](#footnote-571)

The global challenge of communist sport waxed rather waned. Information on the subject continued to pour into the State Department from U.S. embassies, just as it had since the early 1950s. Some reports dealt with sporting interactions between communist and free world nations; others merely harped on about the use of sport for “propaganda” in the Eastern bloc.[[572]](#footnote-572) Such information was often sent by the State Department to the Voice of America for use in broadcasts.[[573]](#footnote-573) On occasion, there were requests for U.S. athletes to compete at communist youth festivals, such as the International Friendly Youth Sports Meeting in Warsaw (1955).[[574]](#footnote-574) The State Department was quick to torpedo these invitations.[[575]](#footnote-575)

The United States Information Agency collated the most influential reports on the activities and direction of communist sport. The material was a constant source for the perpetuation and invigoration of U.S. government interest in the subject**.** Several of the USIA reports referenced prominent themes, such as the sheer weight of Soviet victories in international sport, and its possible implications:

…Soviet victories, in virtually every form of sport, are creating the psychological effect the Soviet seeks – impressing on the minds of youth everywhere that communist youth is the new symbol of athletic perfection and that the myth of American sports supremacy has been shattered.[[576]](#footnote-576)

# This accusation was nothing original. However, a change in Soviet strategy was noted. “Since the Helsinki Games of 1952,” it was reasoned in one analysis, “the Soviets have repeatedly shown that they intend to employ the sports arena as a forum for communist propaganda.” But “since the death of Stalin, Soviet participation in sports has taken a new psychological direction, one designed to create friendliness among the democratic and other non-communist countries.” The USSR was trying to build friendships through athletics, avoiding the flagrant denunciation of democracy typical of previous years. Communist front groups such as the World Federation of Democratic Youth led the charge. The approach of demonstrating superiority with a smile was having an effect on the youth of the world, and, the report continued: “It has proved one of the most effective psychological weapons the Kremlin has yet unsheathed.”[[577]](#footnote-577)

The role of sport in the broader Soviet “culture offensive” was also given ample coverage by the USIA’s Office of Research and Intelligence (IRI). A series of IRI reports charted the increase in communist athletes traveling to and from their “orbit,” “one of the many ‘prongs’ of the Communist propaganda offensive.” Intelligence experts believed that this process broadened after 1953.[[578]](#footnote-578) The focus of analysis was often regional, or by country. “In Sweden, as in the other Nordic countries, Soviet exchange activities underwent acceleration during 1954,” read one assessment.[[579]](#footnote-579) Among a horde of recorded interactions, nine Soviet gymnasts gave an exhibition in Copenhagen, Norway sent a band of cyclists to Prague, Swedish and Polish swimmers held a meet, and Finland welcomed a ten-man boxing team from East Germany.[[580]](#footnote-580) It was estimated that ninety- nine sporting interactions took place between Scandinavian and communist countries in the second half of 1955 alone.[[581]](#footnote-581) For the same period, there were a total of 207 cultural exchanges between Britain and the communist bloc, thirty-one of which involved sport.[[582]](#footnote-582) For 1955, intelligence officers put the number of sports exchanges between the communist countries and those of the free world at 493. For the most part, these interactions were with Western Europe; smaller numbers were sent to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For the Soviet Union’s total program with the free world and other communist countries, intelligence analysts estimated that for the majority of 1955, 178 sports groups consisting of around 2000 people came to the USSR, and 142 Soviet groups consisting of around 2,186 athletes went abroad. More exchanges were predicted, as were more communist victories.[[583]](#footnote-583) Reports also drew attention to the rise of athletics in China. An intelligence summary alluded to China’s efforts to “expand its Olympic-sports program among the masses, presumably to create champions who can surpass the best in the non-communist world, thus vindicating the superiority of the Chinese Communist system.”[[584]](#footnote-584)

# One particular intelligence analysis was widely distributed within the government. Titled, “Evidence of Professionalism in Soviet Sports,” it provided a long treatise on why the Soviet sports system could not conform to the amateur code. Without a great deal of academic literature available on the subject, the writer or writers used newspapers and published documents from inside and outside the Soviet Union, and supplemented this with refugee accounts. There was no room for latitude:

# Both at home and abroad, the Soviets have been promoting the idea that only under their system can sports attain perfection and embrace the masses of the population. The propaganda value of sports has now become a concern of the state and an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

# Having inextricably tied sports activities with politics and propaganda, the Party and Government of the USSR have been obliged to take extraordinary steps for establishing unique conditions and prerequisites for Soviet champions and record holders.[[585]](#footnote-585)

# Any statements from Soviet sports officials that denied the professionalism of their athletes were held false. “Prior to the Olympic Games of 1952, the professional status of Soviet sportsmen was established,”[[586]](#footnote-586) concluded the USIA, which dispersed the report throughout the government. A copy was even requested by, and sent to, the National Committee for a Free Europe.[[587]](#footnote-587)

**A Faltering Response**

# In 1954, Eisenhower asked congress for $5 million “to fund a crash expansion in cultural exchange activities and to boost the American presence at international trade fairs.” The money was granted for the year, and again a year later, in what was called the “President’s Special Emergency Fund.” The financing was secured on a permanent basis for such activities in 1956, when Congress passed the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Act. With this, the Eisenhower Administration embarked on its own cultural offensive to stimulate a positive image of the United States. The cold war historian, Kenneth Osgood, appropriately notes, “In the worldwide battle for hearts and minds…cultural interchange and expression became weapons of ideological warfare – mechanisms for illuminating, disseminating, and demonstrating ideological principles.” The Emergency Fund money was directed into programs that worked through private groups. By doing so, it was hoped that government “propaganda motives” might be shielded.[[588]](#footnote-588) The State Department was put in charge of the “cultural presentations program” while the USIA and OCB coordinated the “propaganda aspects” of operations. The OCB, for instance, determined which countries to target. Initially, the countries that were judged to be in the greatest danger of “communist cultural infiltration” were in Europe, but the focus of the program soon switched to the developing world. NBC’s symphony orchestra visited the Far East, the Martha Graham Modern Dance Company performed across Asia, Louis Armstrong and the Dizzie Gillespie Band toured world-wide, as did the folk opera, *Porgy and Bess*. These and other “cultural presentations” were designed to “refute communist propaganda by demonstrating clearly the United States’ dedication to peace, human well-being and spiritual values.”[[589]](#footnote-589)

In the field of sport, a small exchange program already existed, following the Fulbright (1946) and Smith-Mundt Acts (1948), but it was usually physical educators, rather than athletes, that were sent abroad.[[590]](#footnote-590) Yet, some sporting tours were planned with psychological implications in mind. For example, the “good will tour” made by the New York Giants baseball team to Japan in late 1953, was, as *The Sporting News* put it, more than just a “baseball junket:” “It was a jaunt vitally important to international relations. The State Department, President Eisenhower and other high government officials all consider it a trip of great import.”[[591]](#footnote-591) The Giants’ tour was given enthusiastic support by C.D. Jackson, a leading propaganda expert in the government at the time, and was approved by the Psychological Strategy Board.[[592]](#footnote-592)

The President’s Emergency fund set aside around $200,000 annually for sports exchanges. “If we Americans are sincere and devoted to making this exchange of persons a two-way street then we must present all facets of our life,” explained Harold L. Howland of the State Department. “Not only must we exchange the professor, the lawyer, the trade unionist, the member of government, but also our athletes. Certainly, athletics is a major facet of American life.”[[593]](#footnote-593) Howland organized four “good will tours” in late 1954. Sammy Lee (diver) was sent to South East Asia, Mal Whitfield (middle-distance runner) to Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, Bob Richards (pole-vaulter) to East Asia, and Harrison Dillard (hurdler) to South America.[[594]](#footnote-594) By the end of 1955, the State Department had supported nine “good will tours,” followed by fifteen in 1956, six in 1957, seven in 1958, two in 1959, and seven in 1960.[[595]](#footnote-595) A crucial element in the organization of this initiative was the working relationship between the State Department and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU). This had existed for some time, but State Department aims sometimes compromised the ideals of the AAU. After all, U.S. sporting organizations were not supposed to be devices of the government, even though they sometimes volunteered to be. When in April 1954, an *Associated Press* release announced that Dillard accepted an invitation from the State Department to go on his tour of South America, the AAU registered displeasure.[[596]](#footnote-596) The secretary-treasurer of the AAU, Daniel Ferris, wrote to Howland to convey his surprise. Ferris argued that goodwill tours would only have a positive effect on world opinion if they were conducted primarily through the AAU, and the relevant sporting organizations of other countries: “It was my understanding that we were in agreement that the best results will be obtained if it is not generally understood that the trips of these athletes are being sponsored by the State Department.” Ferris was also firm on the matter of financial recompense. Only legitimate expenses could be paid by State, or the AAU would withdraw all support from the project.[[597]](#footnote-597) Howland agreed to all the AAU demands. He also apologized for the press release, but claimed it was not the State Department’s fault, and that Dillard must have leaked the story.[[598]](#footnote-598) But as strict as Ferris might have been on the private nature of goodwill tours, he was not oblivious to their propaganda potential. He admitted to a colleague that Howland had briefed him on the need to “offset some of the claims made by the Iron Curtain countries that our negro athletes are not given the same rights and privileges of other citizens of the United States.”[[599]](#footnote-599)

By 1956, the State Department had facilitated a significant expansion in cultural exchanges, especially with regard to American coaches operating abroad.[[600]](#footnote-600) Nevertheless, the number of athletic tours still paled in comparison to the Soviet program. Many in government knew that more had to be done to counter the specter of communist sport. In his role as Special Assistant to Eisenhower on Cold War planning, Jackson was giving the issue serious consideration in mid-1953.[[601]](#footnote-601) It also bothered his old colleague from the National Committee For a Free Europe, Abbott Washburn, now Deputy Director of the USIA. Washburn sent Jackson a batch of material on communist sport. “After you have had a chance to glance through it, we’d like to bat up a couple of suggestions for your reaction,” he told Jackson.[[602]](#footnote-602) Washburn saw the Soviet “cultural offensive,” as, “cold-bloodedly and unscrupulously a cold-war, political maneuver.” While America was “making some progress” with international trade fairs and other cultural activities, little was being done with sport. Only a few athletes were sent on goodwill tours. “That’s all. No teams,” moaned Washburn. American athletes were being invited to compete abroad but the AAU simply could not afford to send them. In the meantime, the Soviet Union dominated international sport. Washburn proposed the formation of a committee of “distinguished leaders, some of them sports figures,” to get a U.S. athletic presence in international competition. “It would not mean subsidizing or paying athletes – but it would mean assisting them to participate, with the necessary transportation, equipment, etc.” He went on:

The committee would work closely, though informally and entirely unofficially, with USIA, CIA, and State. Here at USIA we would have a man assigned to the committee full time to run down information, to set up meetings here in Washington, to come to NYC when needed, and serve as general liaison.[[603]](#footnote-603)

Money would not present a problem. Private business would help and funds could be channeled via the “foundations.” A list of prospective members included John Whitney, a wealthy businessman who worked closely with the intelligence community, and William H. Jackson, the former Deputy Director of the CIA. Prominent sporting members suggested by Washburn were the golfer, Ben Hogan, and Ford Frick, the Commissioner of Major League Baseball. Washburn thought the “committee” should also include representatives from the United States Olympic Committee and AAU.[[604]](#footnote-604) Harlan Logan, Vice President of General Foods and former Rhodes Scholar, offered to serve as Executive Secretary. C.D. Jackson’s connections opened other doors. Although he had left office and returned to *Time* when Washburn proposed the sports committee, this certainly didn’t mean that he severed ties with the government. The Managing Editor of *Time’s* new publication, *Sports Illustrated*, wanted a representative on the committee and offered space in the magazine for stories on the committee’s work.[[605]](#footnote-605) Jackson even intimated that Eisenhower was “personally interested in this project.”[[606]](#footnote-606)

Both Jackson and Washburn started to search for an appropriate chairman. Bing Crosby was a popular choice. At first, Crosby was keen, but could not commit due to his hectic schedule.[[607]](#footnote-607) Washburn was frustrated. He complained that the government provision for U.S. athletes to appear overseas was “but a pittance.” “There must somewhere be an appropriate chairman just waiting to be asked.”[[608]](#footnote-608) Jackson replied that he hoped that “somehow, and soon, the sports thing gets going.”[[609]](#footnote-609) Washburn then approached Colonel Edward P. Eagan. “Eagan is the answer to our prayers if he will take it,” Washburn scribbled in a handwritten note to Jackson.[[610]](#footnote-610) Washburn spoke to “Eddie” about the idea over lunch. Eagan was a former Olympian, a Wall Street broker, and the chairman of the USOC fundraising effort for the 1956 Games. Washburn followed up on the lunch with a missive that outlined the Soviet “cultural offensive.”[[611]](#footnote-611) At this point, the initiative hit a wall. No chairman was found, and no committee formed. The idea was resurrected late in 1956, however, with Washburn and Jackson’s involvement. This time, Eagan accepted the offer to lead the USIA initiative called the People-to-People Sports Committee (see Chapter 9).[[612]](#footnote-612)

Despite succor from the President’s Emergency Fund, there was no massive expansion of U.S. athletes and sports teams competing abroad. Other means were required to promote America around the world through the medium of sport. Eisenhower established the United States Information Agency in 1953, in an effort to centralize the government’s information program. The USIA had first to overcome the final unfortunate and destructive accusations of Senator McCarthy and subsequent cuts in personnel and budget. Eisenhower personally spoke to the USIA staff and gave them his support. By mid-1954, the information program seemed to have turned a corner. Through overt and covert means, the USIA began to launch an assault on communist propaganda in the guise of three main themes: “denounce communism, exalt the capitalist system, and promote democracy.” Official propaganda had to be less stridently anti-communistic than was evident during Truman’s Campaign of Truth; while covert propaganda had no such limitations and was to be delivered in an “unattributed” manner.[[613]](#footnote-613) For the USIA, gray propaganda complemented the white.

The Soviet Union’s strategy of “peaceful coexistence,” adopted since the death of Stalin, set off alarm bells in the Eisenhower administration. As the Soviet Union embarked on liberalizing policies within the state, and a warmer diplomacy abroad, the more likely it would be that other countries might be willing to work with it. This tendency was particularly evident in the developing world. As one country after another unchained itself from colonialism, they might choose to cooperate with the USSR. America had to be portrayed as a peaceful world leader. Its policies and way of life had to be presented as a superior alternative.[[614]](#footnote-614)

Two damaging areas that communist propaganda honed in on were racial inequality in America, and the accusation that U.S. society was dominated by capitalists. The race question was somewhat of an “Achilles heel” to propaganda experts. Soviet accusations about civil rights in the U.S. were correct. The USIA resorted to a careful manipulation of stories, to indicate progress was being made on race issues in American society. The second great problem presented by communist propaganda was that of general inequality. For this, the concept of “People’s Capitalism” was formulated. It focused on rising incomes across the country, and how anyone could attain material wealth. All Americans could enjoy “the abundance of our land, the leisure to enjoy it, and the opportunity to grow intellectually and culturally.”[[615]](#footnote-615) At the same time, the USIA continually tried to counter other themes in communist propaganda, such as the low levels of culture in American society, or that American women were “materialistic,” “unfeminine,” and “irresponsible glamour girl[s].”[[616]](#footnote-616)

The U.S. information program had a dual nomenclature. In America, it was called the USIA, and overseas, the United States Information Service (USIS). By the end of the 1950s, the USIA had over 200 information posts in 91 free world countries. There were USIS posts in Europe, the Middle East, south Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Far East, all of which received a steady stream of material for distribution either overtly or covertly.[[617]](#footnote-617) Carefully produced information on American life was sent around the world in “feature packets.” These packets focused on key demographic areas, such as labor, women, and youth, and like the cultural presentations program, aimed to dispel the “lies” of communist propaganda and elevate pro-American ideals. Youth packets, for example, included stories such as “U.S. Youths ‘Speak for Democracy’ in Nationwide Radio Contest,” or “Student Tours Foster International Understanding.”[[618]](#footnote-618) One article called “Freedom Answers Communism” looked to describe “in simple terms the theory of government of the United States where powers are derived ‘from the consent of the governed,’ and where national and individual freedom are safeguarded against seizure of control by any single group or by a dictator.”[[619]](#footnote-619) Labor packets contained articles like “Reinforcing Democracy Through Labor Education,” “New Jobs for Women in Railroad Industry,” and “Communist Slave Labor Threatens World Peace.”[[620]](#footnote-620) The Women’s feature packets were filled with items such as “Virginia Mother of the Year,” “U.S. Businessman says Women Make Best Executives,” and “U.S. Army Nurses Care for Wounded in all Parts of the World.”[[621]](#footnote-621)

A series of USIA packets was also dedicated to sports. Starting in 1954, these became a monthly staple for all USIS posts with articles, cartoons, and photographs for use overseas.[[622]](#footnote-622) It is here that sports became a means to present a positive image of life in America, and to gloss over certain accusations made by communist propaganda. The race issue was countered with a string of articles on African-American athletes. One story focused on the black American decathlete, Milton Campbell. A USIA cover note explained that the article should be used because it showed “how a young man without funds or influence was able – in a free society – to develop his special abilities and earn recognition for himself.”[[623]](#footnote-623) A piece on the baseball player, Willie Mays, explained that, “His rise from obscurity is a typical American success story.”[[624]](#footnote-624) The USIA drew attention to how Harrison Dillard won the award for U.S. athlete of the year in 1955, and publicized stories on Sugar Ray Robinson, and Wilt Chamberlain.[[625]](#footnote-625) A long piece in a youth feature packet on the “American Negro in Baseball” stated that a “dozen or more outstanding Negro athletes now playing in the two major baseball leagues are leaving an indelible record of accomplishment.”[[626]](#footnote-626) Other vignettes emphasized how U.S. coaches were working around the world in order to spread American knowledge on training techniques. Foreign audiences could read about Jim McGregor of Portland, Oregon, who coached the Italian National basketball team to a second place finish in the Mediterranean Cup,[[627]](#footnote-627) or Dave Albritton from Dayton, Ohio, who guided the Iranian track and field team.[[628]](#footnote-628) American touring teams were constantly lauded, as were the visits of foreign athletes to American shores. The goodwill tour of Sammy Lee to South East Asia was given coverage[[629]](#footnote-629) and, when Lee, of Korean ancestry, was voted as the outstanding U.S. amateur of 1953, the USIA produced a story on the subject to “show that all Americans, regardless of race, color, or creed, have an equal opportunity to win recognition for their



Figure 4. A United States Information Agency cartoon of the boxer, Floyd Patterson. National Archives.

particular skills or abilities and expose the deceit of Communist claims.”[[630]](#footnote-630) Other articles celebrated the opportunities for immigrants to succeed in a “democratic society.”[[631]](#footnote-631) One story told of a boxing contest between champions from Europe and the United States, set to take place in Chicago. The USIA liked the piece because the proceeds for the event went to charity and demonstrated “U.S. concern for unfortunate people.”[[632]](#footnote-632) Another piece on a U.S. trainer was dispatched to USIS posts as it stressed the “care” given to athletes in America.[[633]](#footnote-633) A further story praised the effort of private U.S businessmen to help fund the Japanese Olympic team.[[634]](#footnote-634) Accounts from Eastern European refugees provided additional copy. These were often highly negative anecdotes about the repressive nature of life in the communist bloc. A Hungarian athlete who defected in 1954 alluded to the performance enhancing drugs that he received: “They were driving me the way a bad jockey drives his horse.”[[635]](#footnote-635) The religious freedom in America was a further theme with several features on the Reverend Robert Richards.[[636]](#footnote-636) In much the same way, a story on the long distance swimmer, Florence Chadwick, told of her feat in swimming the English Channel and the “spiritual inspiration that guided her.”[[637]](#footnote-637) Many other stories on female athletes filled the sports packets. Foreign audiences got the chance to read about skier Andrea Mead Lawrence, golfer Patty Berg and Maureen “Little Mo” Connolly, “one of the great U.S. woman tennis players.”[[638]](#footnote-638) The private aspect of sport in America was also highlighted. The USIA distributed an article on a fund raising event at Madison Square Garden as it pointed out “that the U.S Olympic Committee depends on contributions to pay the cost of transporting athletes to the Olympic Games.”[[639]](#footnote-639) Another piece drew attention to IOC president Avery Brundage, and his demand for only amateur athletes to compete at the 1956 Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo. A further story quoted a West German Olympic official who blasted communist “sham amateurs.”[[640]](#footnote-640) Indeed, the Olympic theme became predominant in 1956 as the USIA attempted to promote American participation at the Melbourne Games, and to draw attention away from a possible defeat to the Soviet Union.

# A New Olympic Challenge

# The Helsinki Games of 1952 had been a watershed. Communist sport was seen in a new and sinister way. Within the context of the Soviet cultural offensive, the potential of the USSR to beat the U.S. at the 1956 Olympic Games became a troublesome matter for the U.S. government. One of the earliest warning flags was hoisted on 2 September 1953, in a Foreign Service despatch from the U.S. *Charge d’Affairs* in Budapest, George Abbott. Abbott reported the visit of Brundage to Hungary. Brundage was inspecting the athletic facilities in Budapest, one of 17 cities preparing a bid to host the 1960 Summer Games. It was noted by Abbott that Brundage admitted in a press conference that the subsidization of athletes by the Soviet Bloc complicated the distinction between the amateur and professional sportsman. When professionalism led, in turn, to repeated victories in international sport, it became an issue. Abbott argued that communist nations saw athletic victories as proof of their ideological superiority. He suggested that the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB) should embark on a campaign to expose the state athlete so that the IOC might take action at its forthcoming General Session in Athens.[[641]](#footnote-641) The PSB gave the Abbott despatch careful consideration. It was acknowledged that the Soviet Union and Hungary had finished second and third respectively at the Helsinki Games, and the relentless improvements made since by the USSR under state funding made it likely that it would win the most medals in 1956. This, the PSB articulated, would be used to make “great propaganda capital” by the Soviets. There was, however, one great difficulty in running a campaign based on moral superiority. By accusing the Soviet orbit of foul play so far in advance of the 56’ Games, it might seem that the U.S. was seeking an “alibi” for future defeat. The best course of action, it was decided, was to create publicity on the issue of state subsidization behind the Iron Curtain, though not to demand that the Soviets be removed from the Olympics.[[642]](#footnote-642) But when action was taken, it was not by the PSB; by late 1953, it was plummeting to its demise.

# When Eisenhower restructured the psychological warfare apparatus upon the recommendations of the Jackson Committee, he replaced the PSB with the Operations Coordinating Board. The PSB was accused of failing to coordinate the government’s psychological warfare program when, in fact, it had stepped on the toes of the State Department. The OCB was created as an adjunct to the National Security Council.[[643]](#footnote-643) One member of the Jackson Committee later wrote that the OCB “would strive…for better dovetailing of the programs of the departments and agencies responsible for carrying out approved national security policies.”[[644]](#footnote-644) Soon this body, like its predecessor, struck upon the Olympic problem. In June 1954, Colonel Dean T. Vanderhoef of the OCB came upon a press article entitled “We’ll Lose the Next Olympics.” The piece, from *This Week Magazine,* reported the phenomenal progress of Soviet athletes and the distinct possibility of a heavy U.S. defeat in Melbourne. Vanderhoef thought it “might be developed into a target of opportunity,” to create a “world-wide acceptance and recognition of the professionalism of Communist athletes.”[[645]](#footnote-645) Not all concurred. Horace Craig did not feel that it was the “target of opportunity” that Vanderhoef envisioned. He recalled in detail the relative failure of Mussolini’s state-trained fencing team at the 1932 Summer Games in Los Angeles. He then stated confidently (and incorrectly) that the Nazis had tried the same approach in 1936, only for the United States to win more medals at the Berlin Games.[[646]](#footnote-646) For Craig, it was nothing new, and certainly nothing to fear.

# Many disagreed. The general interest across government departments on the Soviet sport offensive resulted in a gathering at the Pentagon in late September 1954, attended by representatives of the USIA, Department of Defense, Department of State, and an unnamed member from the United States Olympic Committee. Those assembled discussed the forthcoming participation of U.S. athletes at the Modern Military Pentathlon in October 1954, the Pan American Games in 1955, and the Winter and Summer Olympics in 1956. These festivals were of the uppermost importance as “All such international sports events are being treated as a propaganda device by the Russian Communists and their satellites to increase the prestige of the Communist world and add to the theme of the invincibility of Communists and Communism.” The Soviet Union achieved its sporting success, they reasoned, because of state funding. This had to be exposed, but the group hesitated to take action. It was decided that any attempt to draw attention to the U.S. amateur, as opposed to the Soviet professional, would pay few dividends in a propaganda campaign. Communists could quite easily challenge the legitimacy of athletic scholarships offered in U.S. colleges, while athletes from the United States military had encountered problems regarding their amateur status. Instead, attention should be drawn toward the Olympics being a gathering for peace, not a competition between nations, especially the U.S. and Soviet Union.[[647]](#footnote-647)

# The group also produced a plan to invigorate a fund raising drive to ensure the best possible U.S. showing at the festivals listed. In this regard, some early progress was made. A proclamation issued by Eisenhower, and passed by Congress, named 16 October 1954, as National Olympic Day. It was hoped that National Olympic Day would launch a drive to raise $1,100,000. Support for the initiative came from over a hundred colleges, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Catholic Youth Organization, high schools and other societies and organizations. Eisenhower opened the drive himself during half time of a televised football game between the Universities of Southern California and Oregon. To raise awareness for the campaign, the USOC organized a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria, which was attended by a thousand guests, with many former Olympic athletes among the throng. The profile of the dinner was raised via television, when a portion of the evening was televised over the Bob Hope Show. Further along the media line, the company that produced *The Bob Mathias Story* offered to donate the proceeds from the film’s premier night. News of “Olympic Day” reached the free world through the USIA.[[648]](#footnote-648) The cost of the entire publicity campaign was anonymously underwritten by *Life Magazine*, a subsidiary of *Time*.[[649]](#footnote-649)

**Getting Inside the IOC**

At the midpoint of 1955, the Executive Officer of the OCB, Elmer B. Staats, asked for a progress report on what had been achieved regarding Soviet professional athletes. Vanderhoef obliged. He told his superior that the IRI study, “Evidence of Professionalism in Soviet Sports,” had been given “wide distribution, going to all principal posts and Iron Curtain embassies and legations.” Vanderhoef also raised the question of official government involvement in the U.S. Olympic team. The work of the USOC and the government were traditionally independent, and there was little support for the arrangement to change.[[650]](#footnote-650) This was a matter of tradition. A few Bills were placed before Congress prior to the Melbourne Games for government funding of U.S. athletes, but each aroused a limited response, and all were rejected.[[651]](#footnote-651) Possibly the loudest voice on this issue was Republican Senator John Marshall Butler of Maryland. At times, it seemed, he was unable to restrain himself. On the evening of 9 June 1955, he told an audience at the Friendship International Airport in Baltimore: “Are we in the United States…allowing the Soviet Union to pollute the Olympic Games; to use, with diabolic deceit, the spirit of sportsmanship itself as a velvet gloved iron fist to ruthlessly hammer out their Godless propaganda?”[[652]](#footnote-652) He sent a copy of the speech to Brundage. The IOC president returned his “compliments,” but warned against turning American amateur athletes into “political agents.”[[653]](#footnote-653) Butler co-authored one of the Bills for subsidizing U.S. athletes that died in Congress, and proposed another resolution which called for American Olympic authorities to seek the “disbarment” of Soviet professional athletes from the Movement, or that the U.S. team should participate in the Games “under official protest.”[[654]](#footnote-654) Even the State Department determined that this action would be unwise, and added that it “may very well result in our country getting considerable criticism from abroad.”[[655]](#footnote-655) In a letter to Eisenhower, Butler wrote:

There is a great bulk of unimpeachable evidence attesting to the fact that Soviet Russia, in her drive for supremacy by fair means or foul in every conceivable phase of human existence, is ruthlessly prostituting the spirit of the Olympic Games and brazenly ignoring cherished Olympic rules for the express purpose of dominating the 1956 Games. I need not stress the fact that such an eventuality will strike a serious blow at the morale of American athletes, and clearly jeopardize American prestige abroad.[[656]](#footnote-656)

Butler’s outbursts were part of a national discussion on the matter of Soviet professionalism. One reporter referred to the “America hysteria over Russia’s subsidized athletic success.” Brundage would have none of it: “It is not the strength of other people that we in the United States need fear,” he lectured, “it is our national complacency and the softness in life brought on by too much prosperity.”[[657]](#footnote-657) Art Rosenbaum of the *San Francisco Chronicle* tried to keep things in perspective:

People who know the Olympic Games best cannot help but be amused by the deep and constant cries of horror about the possibility of the United States losing to Russia. Fact is, Russia has developed some great athletes and stands a fine chance of dominating in certain classifications – but even if Russia does “win” the

Olympics it doesn’t mean the end of the democratic world as we know it.[[658]](#footnote-658)

One of the few sport-related items acted upon by Congress was further financial support for the military Olympic program. A total of $800,000 was cleared for distribution between each of the branches. The USOC was also pleased to announce that a “great expansion of activities has been made among the G.I.s and additional opportunities for competition have been afforded.” The results proved that a fertile reservoir was tapped. John T. McGovern, the Counselor of the USOC, confirmed that over half of the male U.S. competitors at the Pan-American Games in Mexico City were drawn from the Armed Forces, and he praised both their “performances and behavior.” For the Melbourne Games, 101 of the 338 athletes on the U.S. Olympic team were from the military.[[659]](#footnote-659)

Nonetheless, no official funding for the U.S. Olympic team was sanctioned by Congress. In this instance, tradition ruled the day. In another case, it had been reversed. The USOC had responded to the Cold War by assisting the government rather more than it had done in the past. This closer relationship became apparent once again. Vanderhoef wanted to know what influence the Soviet Union had in the IOC and, better still, what general IOC opinion was regarding the Soviet Union and other Iron Curtain countries. Most of all, he wanted an update on the two Germanies. He asked McGovern for assistance. McGovern acquiesced. It was, in fact, McGovern who had provided the interview for the article in *This Week Magazine* that had caught Vanderhoef’s attention a year earlier. Though McGovern was not an IOC member, his close friend and USOC vice-president, Douglas F. Roby, was, and Roby willingly revealed the content of IOC meetings.[[660]](#footnote-660) Vanderhoef primed McGovern beforehand, and sent him the IRI analysis on professionalism in Soviet sports.[[661]](#footnote-661) McGovern’s first report gave Vanderhoef two issues to consider, both raised at the IOC General Session in Paris. The first was the award of the 1960 Summer Games to Rome, and the second was the effort in East Germany to form an independent Olympic Committee. The selection of Rome, argued McGovern, was politically motivated, as was the award of the 1956 Winter Games to Cortina d’Ampezzo. The large presence of communists in Italy was a factor, wrote McGovern:

It was thought by many of the delegates that the award successively of Winter Games and Summer Games to Italy would create a favorable attitude towards the West and perhaps keep the Italian population pro West at least during the period covered by the Winter and Summer Games.[[662]](#footnote-662)

Though other issues undoubtedly entered the consideration of IOC members, McGovern felt that politics influenced the voting, and accounted for the U.S. delegation finally supporting Rome despite the presence of a bid from Detroit. The possible entrance of an East German team into the Olympic Movement was a less conclusive matter. McGovern explained that the Russian delegates had raised the East German issue but that nothing definite was decided. A later letter to Vanderhoef was more enlightening. In it, McGovern outlined a new IOC proposal disclosed by Roby. East Germany would be allowed to participate at future Olympics, but only as part of a joint team with West Germany, which already had full recognition. McGovern reassured Vanderhoef that the Russians would not control the East German athletes. That privilege lay instead with the West German Olympic Committee, which was the dominant partner. Upon the word of Roby, McGovern claimed that, “if it should happen that Russia might dominate the situation…the I.O.C. is prepared to cancel the participation by East German athletes.” “I am confident this information will be pleasant to you,” McGovern added.[[663]](#footnote-663)

McGovern consulted four members present at the Paris meeting. Though he trusted Roby, McGovern built his case around the information of one very important contributor: the President of the International Olympic Committee, and his friend, Avery Brundage. McGovern described the IOC president as “unswerving in his efforts to obtain observance of amateur conformity,” and “the most powerful man in the whole Olympic family.” McGovern revealed that he spoke to Brundage for some time about state amateurs. It transpired that Brundage did not hold the same opinion as that expressed in the IRI report. Brundage had said publicly that the Soviets would enter only amateur athletes in the Olympics, a point of view that McGovern attributed to “delusions inflicted by the nature of his geographical observations.”[[664]](#footnote-664) McGovern’s statement referred to Brundage’s visit to Russia the previous year. In an attempt to endear himself to Soviet Olympic officials, Brundage journeyed through the Soviet Union in 1954. He was, consequently, left with a most favorable impression of the Soviet endeavor to raise the fitness of its people.[[665]](#footnote-665) He was also told by Soviet sports officials that the Soviet Olympic team would conform to amateur principles.[[666]](#footnote-666) It is not true, as McGovern claimed, that Brundage was deluded in his view on the Soviet Union. At the IOC General Session in Athens (1954), it was decided that National Olympic Committees must be responsible for policing their own athletes on amateurism.[[667]](#footnote-667) If Soviet sport officials told Brundage that they were conforming to Olympic rules, then what more could he do? While articles were published on Soviet professionalism in newspapers across the globe, many press clippings found their way to Brundage’s desk. On the content of said reports, Brundage directly challenged the Soviet IOC member, Konstantin Andrianov. Brundage asked his colleague: “I wish that you could give me some definite supporting evidence which might offset this growing indignation against communist methods which are alleged to be in violation of Olympic rules.”[[668]](#footnote-668) Each time Brundage asked for an explanation, he was given one.[[669]](#footnote-669) The great problem faced by Brundage was that for every press clipping he received exposing state funding and professionalism in the Soviet Union, he received many on the subject of U.S. college athletes and military personnel getting privileged treatment.[[670]](#footnote-670) “The fact that the complaints [against Russia] have come from a country that has been notorious internationally for gross irregularities in sport at educational institutions, of all places, has not added to their acceptance,” he observed.[[671]](#footnote-671)

While Vanderhoef may have reaped the benefits of McGovern’s work, the relationship became frustrating for the latter. McGovern spent considerable time in accumulating information and rifling through records. When Vanderhoef stopped replying to his letters, McGovern took it upon himself to choose the theme of discussion. He recalled meeting many Soviet athletes during the Helsinki Games. “The youth who live in mother Russia,” McGovern wrote, “are tremendously devoted to their government.”[[672]](#footnote-672) Although Vanderhoef found the letter “a trifle petulant,” he appreciated McGovern’s frustration. For some time Vanderhoef had intended to pay McGovern a visit in New York but was awaiting authorization. He certainly felt a meeting was required, “if only to raise [McGovern’s] opinion of the U.S. Government above what it now appears to be.”[[673]](#footnote-673) Although the available records show no sign of a meeting between the two, a brace of apologetic letters from Vanderhoef kept McGovern from abandoning future correspondence.[[674]](#footnote-674)

**The USIA and the OCB Working Group on the 1956 Olympic Games**

As time pressed on, talk in government departments about the “possible” defeat to the Soviet Union in the 1956 Games was sometimes replaced by the “inevitable.” Soviet athletes were depicted as machines, and, if one were to believe everything written, spared barely a breath for anything but preparation for the Games. A report written by the OCB’s Ralph R. Busick is a case in point:

Certain offices of the United States Government have become concerned regarding the possible adverse psychological effects which a USSR victory at the 1956 Olympics at Melbourne, Australia, in November 1956 would have upon world opinion and attitude toward the U.S. This concern has grown out of a realization that the USSR will be represented by strictly professional athletes who have no other vocation, who are trained like race horses, consistently and constantly, and who will be fighting the ideological battle by athletic competition.[[675]](#footnote-675)

Busick wanted the CIA to plant stories in publications on Soviet professionalism, which the USIA could then “pick up” and repeat in its own output. “It is the consensus,” he added, “that the hand of the U.S. Government must not appear publicly in operations, sponsorship, or management of American Olympic participation.”[[676]](#footnote-676) In another memorandum, Busick continued to fret over the possibility of a Soviet victory in Melbourne:

# A considerable blow will have been struck at U.S. prestige; at the same time the communists will appear to be vigorous, young, full of the stuff that makes a nation great and strong. This is heady wine for all communists and their sympathizers. It will be practical proof of the superiority of the communists in terms that anybody can understand.[[677]](#footnote-677)

The Olympics were clearly seen as a world event that could send a very particular message. The Busick memorandum outlined some options for a U.S. response: it stipulated that at the very least, the USIA should plant material across the world and draw attention to the Soviet “soldiers of the state;” the U.S. should protest to the IOC and request for professional athletes to be disqualified from the Games, and any such protest should be followed by a threat to withdraw U.S. athletes from competing in Melbourne. In lieu of a withdrawal, Busick proposed that the U.S. ask for the Games to be postponed for a “year or two” so that America could “prepare its athletes in the same way the USSR does.” By exaggerating the problem, Busick had fallen foul of seeing over-reaction as the solution. The fatal flaw in the plan was acknowledged by Busick himself. If the U.S. was to send a team of professional athletes, but still failed to defeat the Soviet Union, then it would be left without any excuse. Although preparations had been made to send the strongest team available, optimism for an athletic victory was not pronounced. It was limiting the psychological impact that became a priority. “The worst that could happen,” Busick stressed, “would be for us to do nothing.”[[678]](#footnote-678)

As alarmist as Busick’s memorandum may have been, he was not alone when he noticed that little action was being taken in the area of propaganda. But the project still stirred the OCB Executive Officer, Elmer Staats.[[679]](#footnote-679) He suggested to Theodore Streibert, the Director of the USIA, that the issue “might be appropriately discussed in the OCB,” and notified members from the State Department, the Department of Defense, the CIA, and International Cooperation Administration.[[680]](#footnote-680) In the meantime, Leslie S. Brady of the OCB, confirmed the general consensus of opinion. Few, if any, needed convincing. What could not be escaped, conveyed Brady, was the sheer symbolic value of the Olympic Games:

‘The Struggle for men’s minds’ slogan has led to an accent on wordiness that is not always appropriate…Some things are not explained away at all…and any attempt at alibis ends up looking like…alibis. A case in point is the Olympic Games, fast upcoming. If the Russians win them, no amount of words from us will convince the world that they did not win or should not have won.[[681]](#footnote-681)

He added that a Soviet victory “might not immediately demonstrate to intellectuals that Russians are now superior to Americans,” but “it would have an immediate impact on the man in the street, the worker, the rural citizen who reads little, the maiden who admires brawn.” Brady feared the broad appeal of the Olympics, but he was not convinced that nothing could be done, and laid out a contingency plan that could act as “insurance against the worst.” Like other plans prepared before, Brady targeted a number of areas for a propaganda offensive: the U.S. could draw attention away from nationalism in regard to the Olympics; emphasize that Soviet sport was an instrument of the state; plant negative material on communist sport; and implore the IOC to form an official scoring system so that the final medal count could not be manipulated behind the Iron Curtain. Finally, Brady thought the U.S. should flood all events with American athletes to maximize the chances of winning medals, or make sure that it would be widely publicized what events the U.S. would not compete in. Brady stressed the importance of action: “Time’s a-wasting. The Winter Games await only snow in Italy.”[[682]](#footnote-682) Staats thought that the Brady memorandum was a “sufficient introduction to the problem” of the Olympic Games, and proposed to present it to the OCB at its regular Wednesday meeting.[[683]](#footnote-683)

The uncoordinated action taken by different government agencies on a specific issue was a problem that the OCB was designed to remedy. The primary means of implementing and harmonizing policy objectives was through Working Groups. The Working Group, once established, was to gather information on the actions of all government departments involved with a specific issue, and formulate an action plan that coordinated an interdepartmental effort. Once a plan was finalized, and agreed upon by the OCB directors, each department carried out its part of the bargain.[[684]](#footnote-684)

At a meeting held on 18 January 1956, the OCB created a Working Group on the 1956 Olympic Games. Although the principal responsibility for action was in the hands of the USIA, representatives were assembled from the Department of State, Department of Defense, CIA, International Cooperation Administration, and the OCB. Frank L. Dennis of the USIA was selected to Chair the Group. Keeping faith with its raison d’être, OCB responsibility to the Working Group was to “coordinate the preparation and implementation of courses of action by all appropriate agencies.”[[685]](#footnote-685) By the time the Working Group gathered for a second time, it had begun to shape its specific intent: “The Working Group will develop courses of action, and assure their coordinated implementation, to achieve a favorable ‘climate of opinion’ in connection with U.S. participation in the Games.” The general aims of the Group remained consistent with ideas displayed in the past: maintain close contact with the USOC, ensure “maximum participation” of U.S. athletes at the Games, and draw attention to the difference between the Soviet professional athletes, as opposed to the amateur American.[[686]](#footnote-686) Although both Olympic festivals were targeted, the main preoccupation was with the Summer Games in Melbourne.

Dennis distributed a list of “Courses of Action” for the participants of the Group and their respective government department to consider. Its content was, more or less, what the final Working Group report contained. The USIA was responsible for filling the media with positive stories on U.S. participation and an “unattributed,” or gray propaganda campaign, on Soviet professionalism. It was decided to keep U.S. athletes visible on the world scene, emphasize that the professional U.S. athletes would not compete in Melbourne, seek ways and means of raising more money for the U.S. Olympic team, and make sure that the best military and college athletes could make it to the Games. It was even suggested that help should be sought from the British government to douse the world’s media on the subject of Soviet professionalism.[[687]](#footnote-687) In essence, the plan was reduced to two very basic aims: present U.S. participation at the Games in a positive light, and the participation of Iron Curtain countries in the negative. One matter was clarified; the focus on Soviet professionalism was to be dropped. The Working Group realized that the ambiguous status of college and military athletes meant that using that theme “would be almost sure to backfire.” It was settled that the “statism” of Soviet sport might be more suitable for censure.[[688]](#footnote-688)

There was also a return to the ongoing, though sometimes muddled, attention paid to Brundage. It was recommended that someone from the State Department visit Brundage and inform the IOC President of the “U.S foreign policy implications of the Olympics.”[[689]](#footnote-689) When Brundage was approached, it was not by a representative of the State Department, but by Theodore Streibert, the Director of the USIA. Having arranged to meet with Brundage, Streibert subsequently apologized that he was unable to fulfill the obligation; Frank Dennis stepped in as Streibert’s replacement and met with Brundage at the New York Athletic Club.[[690]](#footnote-690) Dennis communicated to Brundage the “propaganda problems” of the Olympic Games, and asked what the IOC president thought of them.[[691]](#footnote-691) It does not appear that Brundage cooperated to the extent of either Roby or McGovern. Brundage thought that Soviet sporting success was not taken “too seriously” in the U.S. whereas, “The Communists may…seek to utilize these victories in their propaganda.”[[692]](#footnote-692) Dennis sent Brundage a newspaper clipping a few weeks after their meeting. The article considered the merits of allowing professional athletes to compete in the Olympics.[[693]](#footnote-693) Brundage thought it must have been written by someone “who is not familiar with the Olympic Movement.”[[694]](#footnote-694) Dennis was, at least, prepared for the worse. An early Working Group report had acknowledged the “anticipated difficulties of dealing with Mr. Brundage.”[[695]](#footnote-695) At times, the relationship between Brundage and the government was strained. For example, Brundage made no secret of his contempt for the State Department’s motives regarding the goodwill tours. In a letter to Ferris, Brundage raged: “This is exactly the same sort of thing that has aroused such a storm of adverse criticism in the United States when practiced by other governments.”[[696]](#footnote-696) Brundage also became fixated with regard to the ceremonial parade performed to open each Olympic Games.[[697]](#footnote-697) As each national team entered the Olympic stadium during the opening ceremony, it was considered respectful to dip the flag of each team’s country as it passed the seating position of the President, or King, of the country where the Games were being staged. “That is,” wrote Brundage in a letter to the State Department, “all except the United States flag.”[[698]](#footnote-698) Brundage thought the slight reflected poorly on the U.S. and simply asked for the policy to be amended. Though Brundage may have had good manners on his side, the law of the land was not. The response from Harold Howland in the State Department read:

After receiving your letter I went into it very carefully again with the Heraldic Branch of the Department of Defense and found that Public Law 829 of the 77th Congress, December 22, 1942, Section 4, specifically forbids civilian groups from dipping the flag ‘to any person or thing.’ This, of course, even includes the president of our own United States.[[699]](#footnote-699)

The matter of the flag was included in the final Working Group report, but, when the U.S. Olympic team reached the Tribune of Honor at the Olympic Stadium in Melbourne, their flag remained vertical.[[700]](#footnote-700)

Dennis had proposed that U.S. missions overseas be questioned about the “psychological effects” of the 1956 Winter Games and the “Olympics in general.”[[701]](#footnote-701) A questionnaire was sent out to gather the relevant data, along with the IRI report on Soviet professionalism. The Winter Games took place in Cortina d’Ampezzo, Italy, and opened on 26 January. The Soviet Union dominated the events. Criticism in the U.S. media about Soviet professionalism was widespread.[[702]](#footnote-702) The U.S. embassies told a different tale, however. Many countries, for instance, did not have an appropriate climate for winter sports. “Temperatures of [a] hundred degrees generally melt[s] interest [in] winter sports,” was the response from Pakistan.[[703]](#footnote-703) Another difficulty was distinguishing between an amateur and professional. In Beirut, the embassy responded that the public were unsure of the difference.[[704]](#footnote-704) Further to this, the IRI report on the professionalism and state funding of Soviet athletes did not have the same impact in countries that followed the same policy. The embassy in Cairo noted that “Egyptians use similar techniques” in international sport.[[705]](#footnote-705) From Damascus, the Public Affairs officer told the USIA that “if anything, the average Syrian would prefer to emulate the Soviet system.”[[706]](#footnote-706) From Athens, the embassy concluded that “regarding professionalism Greek writers find little to choose between United States and Russia.”[[707]](#footnote-707) The IRI compiled a study on the general press reaction to the Winter Games around the world. Coverage was only extensive in countries that were participating in Italy, which meant mainly Western Europe. The communist press did not boast in an excessive way and “let the record speak for itself.” In general, there was no deep concern over Soviet professionalism; most countries apparently accepted government funding as something normal. The rivalry between the U.S. and USSR did not appear to interest the outside world as much as it did the superpowers.[[708]](#footnote-708)

With a final draft settled upon in early April 1956, the Working Group was terminated by the OCB shortly after.[[709]](#footnote-709) The Winter Games had passed without much activity on the propaganda front. There were a few related articles in USIS sports packets, but nothing of large consequence. Not so for the Melbourne Games. Credentials were attained for a four man USIA team to go to Melbourne to cover press and radio assignments.[[710]](#footnote-710) But even before this, from the beginning of 1956, a trickle of feature stories, photographs, and cartoons of U.S. Olympic athletes were sent to all information posts. This grew by the



Figure 5. A United States Information Agency cartoon of the Gymnast, Judy Howe. National Archives.

month. The August sports packet was dedicated entirely to U.S. Olympic athletes.[[711]](#footnote-711) The themes were consistent with the OCB Working Group and the general USIA effort to present American culture in a favorable way. The athletes were presented as well-rounded and accomplished individuals. The female members of the U.S. team appeared in a way that contrasted with communist propaganda on American women. One cartoon told of a swimming prospect, Wanda Werner, who wanted to become a novelist, and

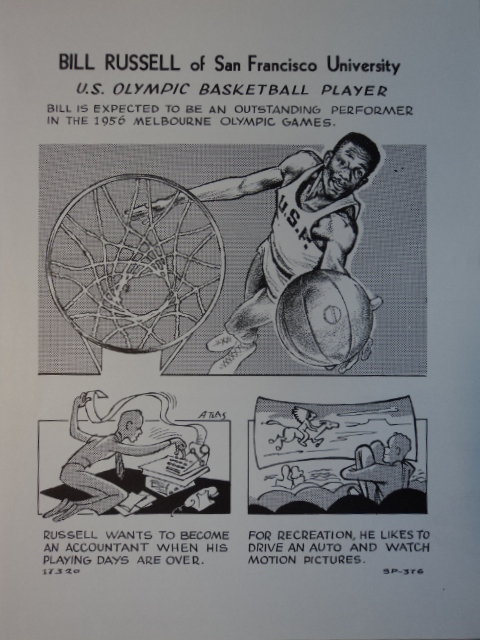


Figure 6. A United States Information Agency cartoon of the basketball player, Bill Russell. National Archives.

helped her mother with housework, sewing, and knitting.[[712]](#footnote-712) Other illustrations included the “recently married” gymnast, Judy Howe, who worked as stenographer at a telephone company and “enjoys cooking and other household duties,” or the swimmer, Carin Cone, an “earnest student” and “devotee of music.”[[713]](#footnote-713) African-American athletes were prominent. One piece described how the sprinter Mae Faggs was not only “one of the world’s outstanding woman athletes” but also desired to become a housewife and raise a family.[[714]](#footnote-714) Basketball star Bill Russell wanted to become an accountant when his playing career ended. Russell is depicted as enjoying the pleasures of American life, such as driving a car and watching movies.[[715]](#footnote-715) Other stories repeatedly stressed the ethnic diversity of athletes in America, their family values, work ethic, the opportunities for social and financial advancement, and their interests in art and culture. As the OCB Working Group recommended, there was no emphasis on American amateurism.

## Summary

The Soviet Olympic team entered the 1952 Helsinki Games with the intention to win more medals than any other nation; it only narrowly failed in that mission. The slender margin of defeat suffered to the United States team did not quell, rather it strengthened, Soviet resolve. The Soviet Union poured more resources into the cultivation of elite athletes, and with equal haste it was rewarded. It became a clear possibility to the interested observer that the 1956 Summer Games in Melbourne might not see the victory for the United States that was witnessed by onlookers in Helsinki. Certainly, by late 1953, the U.S. government’s psychological warfare apparatus identified the 1956 Games as a potential pressure point for future action. Several private organizations were caught in the response of the U.S. government, particularly the United States Olympic Committee and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States. Avery Brundage was also asked to assist the government. He had, by then, assumed the role of IOC president, and was often more obstructive than helpful.

The widespread prediction of a U.S. defeat by the Soviet Union in Melbourne held true. The effect on world opinion of the Soviet victory in Melbourne is, of course, impossible to gauge. One could side with the cultural historian, Frederick C. Barghoorn, and deduce that the Soviet Union gained prestige across the breadth of the globe.[[716]](#footnote-716) Or perhaps surmise that people accepted the result begrudgingly, in the West at least. One could even speculate further, like Barbara Keys, that the resultant mingling with Western culture from Soviet participation in sports competitions like the Olympics, only “served, in the long run, to undermine the very legitimacy that participation was supposed to ensure.”[[717]](#footnote-717) In the end, it is probably better to accept the merits of each case.

In any event, the U.S. government’s interest in the Olympic Games reached an unparalleled height. Never before had American participation at an Olympic festival been seen as so important in psychological terms, or so widely discussed and scrutinized across government departments. In a wider sense, too, sport took on a new significance for the federal government, not only in terms of athletic tours and USIA propaganda, but also in physical education. In 1956, for example, Eisenhower created the President’s Council on Youth Fitness after being given a research article that showed American children had comparably lower fitness levels than children in Europe.[[718]](#footnote-718) This was a case where a role for federal involvement in sport received keen support from Congress. In most respects, however, the reverse was true. Combating the sporting aspect of the Soviet “cultural offensive” proved to be more difficult. Yes, athletes were sent abroad by the State Department and, yes, aid was given to bolster the fund raising drive for the USOC. Congress even increased appropriations for athletes in the military in order to strengthen the Olympic team. But Congress did not satisfy calls to finance the overall Olympic effort. It was not the American way.

Covert methods fizzled out. The plans made by Jackson and Washburn to create a front group to fund American athletes in international athletics never progressed past the planning stage. Exactly why this was so, the records do not reveal. At any rate, it is possible to speculate that American sports officials at the USOC and AAU would not have approved of such an organization, and without their backing it could never have worked. Although the line between the state and sport blurred in the early years of the Cold War, the American sporting establishment was not ready to sacrifice their control of the country’s elite athletic bureaucracy. The propaganda of the USIA, like its predecessor, the International Information Administration, did not require sanction from American sports officials. As such, “sports packets” and “unattributed” stories became one of the most prominent means to use sport as a weapon against communism. America’s male and female athletes were presented as symbols of the American way of life; shining examples of freedom and democracy for audiences to consume.

But this was not the limit of American psychological warfare activities in 1956. Though C.D. Jackson may have failed to form a front group to galvanize an American athletic presence overseas, Count Szápáry’s Hungarian National Sports Federation was in full swing. When Jackson heard of Szápáry’s plan to help the Hungarian Olympic team defect after the Melbourne Olympic Games, he swept into action.

**Chapter 7 – “Down a Road Called Liberty:” *Sports Illustrated* and the Melbourne Defection**

The Truman administration had preached to the public that it would endeavour to “contain” communism. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the other hand, took office on the pledge of “liberating” those countries under communist rule. As Eisenhower’s first term drew to a close, the United States was no nearer to fulfilling this goal. The prospect of liberation suffered perhaps its greatest setback in 1956, when riots in Poland and a revolution in Hungary failed to dislodge either country from the Soviet orbit. In the aftermath of these events came the Melbourne Summer Olympic Games, and out of this festival emerged a story which dramatized the upheaval in Hungary. In an article published on 17 December 1956, *Sports Illustrated* (*SI*) described in detail how it had been involved in the defection of thirty-eight Eastern European athletes, coaches, writers, and sports administrators following the close of the Melbourne Games. Thirty-four of the group were Hungarian. Andre Laguerre, SI’s Chief Correspondent at the Olympics, not only wrote the story, he was also integral to arranging the whole defection. His article began:

Less than 48 hours before the Melbourne flame was officially doused, two men in ill-fitting civilian clothes walked for the last time through the Olympic Village. It was dusk, they spoke no word, and they trod by one of those dramatic coincidences which occasionally brighten the drab hues of reality – a road named Liberty Parade.

In silence they were let through the guarded exit and in silence they climbed into a car waiting for them, by agreement, at the flagpole from which flew the Hungarian flag. They were driven to a private home on the outskirts of Melbourne.

The two men were named Zoltán Török and Róbert Zimonyi. They were the first Hungarians to make the break from their teams, their families and their homes in the hope of finding a new life in a country which, for 10 years, their own government’s propaganda had vainly sought to depict as the epitome of selfishness and vicious exploitation – the United States of America.[[719]](#footnote-719)

The self-congratulatory piece applauded the decision of America’s new guests. A quote from Zimonyi read: “I want to go to America to learn and to teach freedom.” But the article omitted as much as it included. Laguerre claimed that, “These men and women are subjected to no pressure or propaganda. They had no contact with any U.S. official. They sought out representatives of *Sports Illustrated*.”[[720]](#footnote-720) The magazine did play the leading role in the defection; but these words were a little disingenuous. The whole project did not come together in quite the manner that Laguerre suggested. The background to the Melbourne defection has been examined once before, in a 1976 doctoral dissertation written by Thomas M. Domer.[[721]](#footnote-721) In Domer’s short account of the episode, he showed that other factors were also important, none more so than the involvement of C.D. Jackson and the Hungarian National Sports Federation. Neither was mentioned by Laguerre. Without question, it was Jackson who pulled strings in the State Department so that the refugees could enter the United States with relatively little fuss. Likewise, Domer correctly attributes the whole idea of the defection to the HNSF and not *SI*, but he had no inkling of the federation’s connection to the Free Europe Committee (as the National Committee for a Free Europe became known in 1954).[[722]](#footnote-722) In terms of sources, Domer mined the revealing “Documentary Chronology” of the defection that sits in the Jackson Papers, which are housed at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library. This document contains most, though not all, of the cabled and telephone communications between the *SI* office in New York, and the small group of *SI* reporters that coordinated the operation in Melbourne. Suffused around these communications are short narrative descriptions of how the project took shape, filling in some of the blanks from behind the scenes. Unfortunately, there is no recognized author of the “Documentary Chronology,” though it can be surmised that it was compiled and written by an employee of *Sports Illustrated*. This chapter will build upon the evidence in the “Documentary Chronology,” and draw upon a variety of additional primary sources to flesh out the involvement of the HNSF in the whole operation and, in particular, its representative sent to Australia, Dr. George Telegdy. By using the Private Papers of Count Szápáry, the Radio Free Europe archives, and thus far unexamined documents from the Jackson Papers, it is possible to get an even more nuanced picture of the HNSF’s and Jackson’s role in getting the East Europeans to America. This will demonstrate that despite Laguerre’s careful wording, it is impossible to overlook *Sports Illustrated’s* part in the state-private network, or the element of “propaganda.” The HNSF, for all its humanitarian services, existed in order to promote anti-communist propaganda directed at the Hungarian regime. It is pointless to argue that Jackson saw the defection in any other way. When it appeared a possibility that some of the athletes might redefect, Jackson hammered home his opinion on the matter:

Having been involved in psychological warfare work for a number of years, and having made somewhat of a speciality of the Eastern European countries, I cannot stress too strongly the impact that the return of either of these two men would have. In Hungary they are national figures as well-known as any of America’s top personalities, and their return would therefore be a tremendous prize for the Communist regime, to be heralded and paraded as a great victory.[[723]](#footnote-723)

The tumultuous circumstances of 1956 may have dramatically exposed the poverty of the U.S government’s policy of liberation, but the defection of some of Hungary’s very best sporting assets at least provided a valuable propaganda sidelight.

**Liberation?**

Dwight D. Eisenhower intended to brush the “immoral” policy of “containment” aside; instead, he promised, “The policies we espouse will revive the contagious, liberating influences which are inherent in freedom. They will inevitably set up strains and stresses within the captive world which will make the rulers impotent to continue in their monstrous ways and mark the beginning of their end.”[[724]](#footnote-724) Eisenhower’s conviction that the Cold War could be won through “peaceful” means was signified in his choice of C.D. Jackson as his Special Assistant for psychological planning. The first great opportunity for “liberation” came with the news of Stalin’s death, what Jackson called the “the single most important event since V-J Day.”[[725]](#footnote-725) Jackson pushed for the exploitation of this vicissitude in the Kremlin, even proposing an effort to detach Albania from the Soviet bloc. Much to Jackson’s frustration, the administration reacted with caution. Indeed, it was the Soviet Union that made the first move, with its Prime Minister, Georgi Malenkov, offering to reach a “peaceful” solution to the superpower conflict. Eisenhower responded with a propaganda speech called “A Chance for Peace,” in which he illustrated America’s commitment to peace, disarmament, and to raising the standard of living around the world. But as Scott Lucas argues, the speech “was never a serious effort at negotiation; no one in the Administration expected the Soviets to accept the US conditions…it was a concerted effort to win over world opinion.”[[726]](#footnote-726)

It was hardly a dramatic response, however, and revealed the rifts in the government’s psychological strategy. While the Jackson Committee recommended a restructuring of the psychological warfare apparatus, including the creation of the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), one fundamental question remained unanswered: to what lengths would the government go to ensure the liberation of Eastern Europe? An opportunity arose in East Germany to find out. In June 1953, workers in East Berlin’s construction industry went on strike after news that a 10 percent increase in labor quotas would not be reduced. Further strikes riddled the country.[[727]](#footnote-727) Protests turned to violence and Soviet tanks were required to restore order. The U.S. government’s Radio in the American Sector encouraged the protesters to seek change in the political system of East Germany. Jackson and other officials pushed for further action, but Eisenhower wavered; a proposal by the CIA to hand out weapons to the protesters was rejected. A belated retort came in the form of 4,500 tons of food relief for the people of East Berlin. Jackson called the project an “absolute little gem.” In addition to this, he drew upon the “private” sphere to exploit dissension in Eastern Europe. For example, riots in Czechoslovakia were fuelled by Radio Free Europe, and exacerbated by balloons dropped on the country with leaflets filled with pictures of the demonstrators in Berlin. This aside, the U.S. government was in the process of saying one thing, and doing another. In public, the rhetoric was “liberation,” behind closed doors, the administration talked only vaguely of how this could be done.[[728]](#footnote-728) Psychological warfare operations still continued, some of which attained startling results. The apparent widening of Soviet efforts in the developing world was countered with a range of covert activities. This included “black” operations to “roll back” communism in North Vietnam by stimulating uprisings and encouraging defection. The OCB and CIA manipulated elections in Thailand, and the CIA infamously organized coups to overthrow governments in Iran (1953) and Guatemala (1954). In spite of this, the liberation of Eastern Europe remained a sticking point.[[729]](#footnote-729) Indeed, Walter Hixson notes that as Eisenhower’s first term came to a close, “Cold War militarization” may have been the “dominant paradigm,” but there was “incremental progress toward détente and cultural infiltration” of the Soviet bloc. “Having rejected negotiations and failed to achieve liberation,” argues Hixson, “U.S. Cold War planners began to emphasize a gradualist approach over aggressive psychological warfare.” This thinking was clear in NSC 5505/1, which stipulated that American strategy toward the satellites should “stress evolutionary rather than revolutionary change.”[[730]](#footnote-730) Hopes for liberation in Eastern Europe were given a welcome lift, however, by events in Poland, and particularly Hungary, in the fall of 1956.

The riots in East Berlin were part of a wave of strikes and unrest that occurred throughout Eastern Europe in 1953. It was a hangover from the Stalin era. People protested for economic reasons, which then translated into grievances against the regime in general. In fear of further unrest or outright dissolution of the Soviet sphere of influence, the leaders in the Kremlin made plans to reform their policies toward the satellites. The “little Stalins” in Eastern Europe were told to take a “New Course.” In part, this meant putting an end to the “excesses of police terror” and to provide “economic concessions” to the people. In 1955, the Soviet Union embarked on another initiative to promote unity within the communist bloc, by way of the Warsaw Pact. As a reaction to the integration of West Germany into NATO, the Warsaw Pact was a political and military alliance which encouraged the satellites to increasingly promote Soviet goals in Europe and the developing world. Evidence of a relaxation in Moscow did not end there. In February 1956, Khrushchev, who now had control in the Kremlin, made a remarkable “secret speech.” At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he emphasized the doctrine of “peaceful coexistence” and also denounced the crimes of Stalin. Rather than relaxing the mood of people in Eastern Europe, it created an atmosphere for change. This opened a door in Poland and Hungary which, in the case of the latter, the Soviet Union had to forcibly shut.[[731]](#footnote-731)

Hungarian leaders were called to Moscow in June 1953 for instructions on implementing the New Course. The Stalinist leader of Hungary, Mátyás Rákosi, was demoted on the spot as punishment for his brutal regime. With Rákosi falling to First Secretary of the Party, Imre Nagy rose to Premier.[[732]](#footnote-732) But the New Course did not last long in Hungary. The rise of Khrushchev in the USSR’s collective leadership brought an alteration in the approach to the satellites. The main architect of the New Course was Malenkov, whom Khrushchev had supported. Within the power struggle in the Kremlin, however, Khrushchev now wanted to oust Malenkov. Khrushchev and other members of the leadership denounced Malenkov’s liberalizing policies. As a result, in 1955, Nagy was called to Moscow and berated for implementing the policies that he had been ordered to put in place. Nagy was soon dismissed and shunned from the Communist Party. As Charles Gati has commented, “Nagy became the unwitting victim of…a very complex Kremlin free-for-all.”[[733]](#footnote-733)

Meanwhile, in February 1956, Edward Ochab succeeded the deceased Bolesław Bierut as leader of Poland. Ochab, as a “reliable Communist,” was prepared to enact the reforms articulated by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Party Congress. “Revisionists” in Poland demanded still more, such as a free press, while workers petitioned for higher wages. In June, riots broke out in Poznan amid rumours that some workers from the city had been arrested in Warsaw. Polish security forces crushed the rebellion. From the midst of the crisis grew a movement to install Wladyslaw Gomulka, formerly in disrepute for being a “Titoist,” as the new leader. Khrushchev accepted that Gomulka should take over control in Poland. Gomulka proceeded to strike a balance that gave concessions to the population but allowed Soviet troops to remain on Polish soil.[[734]](#footnote-734)

In Hungary, the ejection of Nagy ensured the return of Rákosi to direct the country away from the New Course, and back to the old. Unleashed once again, Rákosi resumed the heavy-handed tactics that prompted his first demise. But Rákosi went too far, and when he planned to arrest Nagy and four hundred political opponents, Khrushchev again relieved the Hungarian Premier of his responsibilities. The subsequent appointment of Ernö Gerő was not much better. After all, Gerő had worked under, and in compliance with, Rákosi. The mood of the Hungarian people was bitter and frustrated. Riots in Poland (June 1956) kick-started a surge of workers’ protests across Hungary. The call was for “independence” from the Soviet Union. Around 200,000 demonstrators swelled around the Hungarian Parliament on 23 October 1956. When the Department for the Defence of the State (ÁVO) opened fire on the crowd, the kindling of the Hungarian Revolution was set aflame. Soviet tanks entered Budapest on 24 October, and Nagy was again installed as Premier to appease the people. A peaceful demonstration a day later was sprayed by bullets from the ÁVO. Revolt gripped the country.[[735]](#footnote-735) The U.S. government sensed the potential for liberation. John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, exclaimed that “the great monolith of communism is crumbling!” The joy was short-lived. On 4 November, Soviet tanks moved into Budapest. The main thrust of the revolution was spent. Eisenhower admitted that it was “indeed a bitter pill for us to swallow.”[[736]](#footnote-736) “It proved,” writes Gregory Mitrovich, “that despite the years of public support for satellite liberation the United States would take no overt action to support an independent Eastern Europe.”[[737]](#footnote-737)

To make matters worse, accusations emerged from countries in both the east and west that American propaganda had caused the Hungarian revolution. Even though the Voice of America had been toned down upon recommendations from the Jackson Committee, the same could not be said for Radio Free Europe (RFE). Fortunately for the Eisenhower administration, RFE was not an official mouthpiece of the government, and this allowed the White House to distance itself from criticism.[[738]](#footnote-738) Still, the issue was unfortunate. Certainly, RFE had been closely following the events of 1956, and gave extensive coverage to Khrushchev’s “secret speech.” Studies of RFE programming during the changes in Poland have commended its “restraint,” claiming that RFE called for “moderation” from the people of Poland rather than outright revolt. Much the same content was evident in RFE broadcasts to Hungary up until 23 October. There were no cries for violence, simply recommendations for “gradual reform.” Policy guidance for RFE from the U.S. government followed the same general line. But as the revolution unfolded, the Hungarian Service of RFE exceeded its mandate. For although, as A. Ross Johnson argues, “the RFE Hungarian Service…could not have inspired, provoked, or by themselves prolonged the Hungarian Revolution or caused the Soviet Union to suppress it,” it did contribute to and “nurture the hopes of Hungarians for Western military intervention that would never happen.”[[739]](#footnote-739) In a similar vein, Arch Puddington has written that “the challenge for RFE was to support the goals of the revolution through honest, nonpolemical reporting, to provide a realistic evaluation of the international response to Hungary’s plight, and to avoid becoming a participant in the upheaval. Unfortunately, RFE fell short on all three goals.”[[740]](#footnote-740)

Aside from the ruptures in Eastern Europe, there were further signs that the Cold War was spreading to encompass the “third world.” Egypt, long under the protectorate of the British, encountered a nationalist revolution in 1952. It resulted in Great Britain withdrawing its forces from the country, though the British refused to relinquish control over the Suez Canal, a crucial transport link to the Middle East and beyond. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian leader, sought pre-eminence in the Arab world, and was willing to court both the Soviet Union and the United States to get it. He secured funding from America to build the Aswan Dam on the Nile, a vital economic project, and purchased arms from Czechoslovakia. Nasser then angered the United States by recognizing the People’s Republic of China, causing the U.S. to cut off its capital for the dam. Unperturbed, Nasser simply brokered a deal with the Soviet Union, and nationalized the Suez Canal. The decision drew an aggressive retort from the British and French, who, in league with the Israelis, planned an invasion of Egypt to secure the canal and topple Nasser. However, they did so without conferring with the United States. The attack took place in late October. Not wishing to lose the support of the Arab world, Eisenhower forced the British and French to cease the operation through a resolution in the United Nations. Khrushchev, after the fact, threatened an unlikely nuclear attack on the belligerents. Nasser remained in control of the canal. It was an example of how “non-aligned” states could manipulate the attention of both superpowers for their own gain.[[741]](#footnote-741)

**The Melbourne Olympic Games and the World Situation**

The state of affairs in Egypt and in Hungary generated international condemnation. The Olympic Games were enveloped in this sentiment. Egypt withdrew from the festival in August in protest over British influence in the Olympic Movement. Lebanon and Iraq boycotted as a sign of Arab solidarity. The Netherlands and Spain withdrew from the festival due to the Soviet intervention in Budapest. In an unrelated act, the Olympic committee from the People’s Republic of China withdrew because athletes from Taiwan would be in Melbourne. Even the neutral Swiss got caught in the shuffle. They boycotted due to the actions of all the belligerent nations prior to the Melbourne Games, then rescinded, then realized it was too late to send a team.[[742]](#footnote-742) Otto Mayer, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) chancellor and Swiss citizen, was aggrieved “that a neutral nation and the very country where the IOC has its headquarters should set such a shameful example of political interference with the Olympic ideal.”[[743]](#footnote-743) Mayer tried his “utmost” to change the decision made by “hesitating countries,” but with no success.[[744]](#footnote-744) Not without reason, the president of the Netherlands National Olympic Committee asked, “How can sports prevail over what has happened in Hungary?”[[745]](#footnote-745) The argument that sport and politics should not mix failed to convince. This did not stop the idealistic fraternity from making the point anyway. W.S. Kent Hughes, the head of the Melbourne Games Organizing Committee, announced that “Never before in the history of the Olympics have the games been staged under such difficult conditions.” He then made a somewhat unconvincing appeal that the “true spirit of the Olympics triumphs over international distrust and jealousies.”[[746]](#footnote-746) True to form, the IOC approved a statement from its president, Avery Brundage, for release to the press:

Every civilized person is shocked by the massacre in Hungary, but that is not a reason to destroy international cooperation and the Olympic Movement. The Games are competitions between individuals, not between nations. We do hope the nations that decided to stay home might reconsider their decision. In this imperfect world there would be very few international competitions if the politicians violate the human laws.[[747]](#footnote-747)

While the U.S. government watched the chaos unfold in Hungary, a boycott of the Olympic Games was proposed as one form of punishment for the Soviet Union. Many years later, during the Carter administration, this idea was given full support. But on that occasion, the Games were in Moscow, and a boycott was thus viewed as a more dramatic affront. For government officials in 1956, it was not seen as a worthwhile, nor appropriate, exercise. At an interdepartmental meeting on 6 November, a representative of the CIA asked if withdrawing from the Olympics had been considered as a measure with regard to the USSR’s actions in Hungary. “Not advisable” was the response, due to America’s policy in promoting cultural exchanges.[[748]](#footnote-748) A subsequent memorandum by the State Department elaborated on why the government “should not request the U.S. Olympic Committee to withdraw from the Games.” Primarily, the decision rested with the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), but further reasons were given. The State Department did not want to upset their “good friends” in Australia, or appear to support the position of either “Red China” or Egypt. Certainly, in the case of Egypt, this might be interpreted by “England and France as a widening drift” in their “traditional alliance” with America. Boycott was also seen as “a deviation from the true purpose of the Games.” “Finally,” the memorandum added, “Government interference in our U.S. Olympic Committee affairs, at this time, would not have the abundant support of the American people.”[[749]](#footnote-749) Further to this, the State Department had been given “no indication” that the USOC intended to withdraw its athletes due to the “world situation.”[[750]](#footnote-750) The American attitude to a boycott reflected the general, though not the uniform, international reaction.

While some countries debated whether or not to send a team to the Summer Games due to the turmoil in Hungary, a decision also had to be made by the Hungarian Olympic Committee. Some athletes on the Hungarian Olympic team fought in the revolution, marched in protest against the Soviet Union, and wielded machine guns against Soviet troops.[[751]](#footnote-751) There were doubts they could get to Australia at all. Otto Mayer managed to persuade the Swiss government to speak with Hungarian authorities on the IOC’s behalf. The diplomatic approach worked; the Hungarian athletes were conveyed to Czechoslovakia. Mayer claimed to have achieved an “Olympic Truce.”[[752]](#footnote-752) The Hungarian National Olympic Committee sent a cable to the Olympic Organizing Committee to confirm that its athletes were coming to Australia, albeit one week later than originally planned. The understated message blamed “unforeseen circumstances.” The Hungarians would arrive on 10 November.[[753]](#footnote-753) Some of the team were put aboard a Russian ship, others waited for a flight out of Prague. A few of the athletes wondered if they should return to the fray. They were given no choice. As the team waited to depart from Prague for Melbourne, the athletes were told that they “must go on to the Games.”[[754]](#footnote-754) “What happened when they got to Melbourne,” wrote Telegdy, “was a catastrophe for the communist sports program.”[[755]](#footnote-755)

The first group of Hungarian athletes landed in Darwin before the final leg of their journey to Melbourne. When they left Budapest it looked as if the revolution might succeed. Only in Darwin did they hear that it had been broken by the Soviet army. Some spoke of not returning home.[[756]](#footnote-756) When they noticed the communist flag of Hungary they called for its removal, to be replaced by the traditional standard. “We can never compete while the Communist flag flies,” said one athlete.[[757]](#footnote-757) Two days later, the flag was switched in time for the arrival of the second Hungarian contingent, who were greeted by around 2,000 members of Melbourne’s Hungarian community.[[758]](#footnote-758) The presence of the Hungarian team at the Games provided a story for the media to follow throughout the duration of the festival. It also roused further protests against the Soviet Union. Brundage received a cable from California Relief For Free Hungary, which called for the removal of the Soviet team from the Olympic competition in Melbourne.[[759]](#footnote-759) A group known as The Students of Hungarian Origin in Los Angeles called for the same measures as “the Red Army is at this very moment slaughtering men and women in Hungary.”[[760]](#footnote-760) The Free Europe Committee recommended that Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano, a Hungarian exile based in London, and the Free-Polish Council for Physical Education and Sport, send an appeal to the IOC. They did.[[761]](#footnote-761) Márffy sent an additional cable to Brundage demanding action.[[762]](#footnote-762)

The Soviet Olympic team flew to Melbourne in six flights chartered by Pan American Airways. When the State Department got wind of this, it was suggested that copies of its propaganda magazine, *Amerika*, be made available “for the entertainment of the Olympic team.” The United States Information Agency was alerted and arrangements put in motion.[[763]](#footnote-763) On arrival in Melbourne, Konstantin Andrianov, the president of the Soviet National Olympic Committee, was challenged about his country’s actions at a press conference. One report described the Soviet official, somewhat unflatteringly, as a “little, round-faced man with dishevelled hair.” Andrianov gave little away. When asked about the boycott of the Netherlands, he replied: “I know of no grounds for a protest.” When pressed on whether he knew of the latest developments in Hungary, Andrianov said: “Yes, we read the papers. But we are sportsmen, not politicians. That comes under another bureau.”[[764]](#footnote-764)

**The Defection**

The involvement of *Sports Illustrated* in the Melbourne defection was indicative of how the state-private network stretched into the world of the media. Under the directorship of Allen Dulles,[[765]](#footnote-765) the CIA cultivated a range of contacts with prominent journalists, newspapers, magazines, and television networks. In an exposé on why the CIA was eager to use journalists for intelligence work, Carl Bernstein elucidated:

The peculiar nature of the job of the correspondent is ideal for such work: he is accorded unusual access by his host country, permitted to travel in areas often off-limits to other Americans, spends much of his time cultivating sources in governments, academic institutions, the military establishment and the scientific communities.[[766]](#footnote-766)

Journalists acted as “eyes and ears” for the CIA, or contributed to “black propaganda” operations by “planting” unattributed stories. Foreign correspondents, returning home after a stint overseas, often stepped off the boat only to be greeted by CIA officials eager for a “debriefing.” Other newspaper men wrote and published stories under instructions from the Agency. Some did it for pay, others out of what they saw as patriotic duty. It is unclear how many reporters worked with the CIA at any given time. When pressed on the subject in 1973, the Agency admitted to having “some three dozen” on its books, while Bernstein estimated in 1977 that at least 400 had worked with the Agency since 1952.

The U.S. government also had strong connections with major news media companies. The publisher of the *New York Times*, and a good friend of Dulles, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, signed a secrecy agreement with the CIA. The newspaper granted “cover” for at least ten Agency officers, which allowed CIA operatives to masquerade in foreign countries as reporters for the *Times*. Elsewhere, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) offered even more elaborate services. Dulles was a close friend of CBS president William Paley. Paley’s network provided a “recruiting-and-cover capability,” gave the Agency access to its film archives, and helped launder CIA funds. On one occasion, writes Hugh Wilford, a “CBS broadcast booth at the United Nations” was loaned out “to intelligence officers so that they could lip-read the whispered conversation of Soviet delegates during Nikita Khrushchev’s visit in 1959.”[[767]](#footnote-767)

The Agency maintained links with widely circulated magazines. For instance, the editor of the New York based *New Leader* had meetings about magazine content with psychological warfare experts like George Kennan, Dulles, and Jackson. Because the *New Leader* had an anti-communist stance, it was seen as an important intellectual medium for audiences at home and abroad. CIA funds helped keep the publication afloat. Among the list of subsidization tactics, large sums of money were simply handed to the magazine’s editor, and the Free Europe Committee gave an annual grant of $25,000.[[768]](#footnote-768) An extremely close relationship was developed with *Time Inc.*, a company run by the anti-communist crusader, Henry Luce. Spurred on by religious zeal and a deep conviction in America’s capacity to lead the world, Luce pitted *Time* against communism in a “private war.”[[769]](#footnote-769) Luce, a founding member of the Free Europe Committee, was well connected in covert circles. The presence of Jackson at the company meant that Luce had a direct contact into the government’s psychological warfare machinery. Articles were often published in *Time*, with or without prompting from Jackson, which gave the Eisenhower administration favourable coverage.[[770]](#footnote-770) Beyond the fact that Dulles and Luce were good friends, there are several murky episodes that point to connections between the publisher and the Agency. For example, during the CIA organized coup in Guatemala, stories produced by *Time* reporters were rewritten at the magazine’s headquarters to ensure that they conveyed a sufficiently hard-line stance against the Guatemalan government. The reporters apparently “suspected government intervention.”[[771]](#footnote-771) The magazine provided “cover” for Agency staff. In return, a grateful Dulles hosted dinners for *Time*’s foreign correspondents. Luce’s publication assisted in Agency projects and contributed funds to struggling magazines, like the *New Leader*. Taking all this into account, Wilford has commented that “it was difficult to tell precisely where the Luce empire’s overseas intelligence network ended and the CIA’s began.”[[772]](#footnote-772)

To what extent was *Sports Illustrated*, a subsidiary of *Time*, caught in this covert web? Thomas Domer was the first to reveal a clandestine connection. Elsewhere, John Massaro has observed that *Sports Illustrated*’s reporting was consistently anti-communist in 1956, but he doubts whether there was any government “conspiracy;” rather, it was merely a case of a “typical Cold War bias” that pervaded American society.[[773]](#footnote-773) Of course, *Sports Illustrated*, which started publishing in 1954, may not have had reporters on the CIA’s payroll, but there is evidence to suggest that the popular magazine was not an innocent or objective vessel. The *SI* editors had already donated space in the publication when Jackson requested such in 1955 as part of a failed effort to form a front group to fund a greater American athletic presence in international competition. The events that transpired before, during, and after the Melbourne Olympic Games indicate that *Sports Illustrated* was part of Luce’s “private war” against communism, and that this war was not isolated by any means from the U.S. government.

On the afternoon of 11 November 1956, Szápáry and his wife entertained Whitney Tower at their home in Pound Ridge, New York. It was just under two weeks before the start of the Melbourne Games. Tower had family connections in Hungary and his Uncle’s daughter, Sylvia Széchényi, was Szápáry’s wife. This was not only a social gathering, however. Szápáry had just returned from Vienna where he had been trying to organize relief for Hungary. Upon his return, the Count contacted Tower for a meeting, primarily because the latter was the Associate Editor of *Sports Illustrated*. Szápáry inquired if *SI* and *Time* could assist in the defection of Hungarian Olympic athletes. Also present at the meeting in Pound Ridge was Dr. George Telegdy, the Secretary of the Hungarian National Sports Federation. Both he and Szápáry explained to Tower that many of the Hungarian team in Melbourne had decided not to return home. Bringing the athletes to the United States was the goal.[[774]](#footnote-774) Tower agreed to help. He produced an “urgent and confidential” memorandum on the idea and submitted it to the Managing Editor of *SI*, Sidney James. James reacted at once. He immediately sent the memorandum to C.D. Jackson, the “man behind the scenes” at *Time*, and the “closest friend” of Henry Luce. Tower told Szápáry that “outside of top government officials there is probably no man who has more influence with Ike (Eisenhower) and the State Department than C.D. Jackson.”[[775]](#footnote-775) Within days, Tower wrote Szápáry that “things definitely look promising” and that “Jackson is at the moment probing deeper into the matter in Washington.” He added in a handwritten note: “I cannot over-emphasize the importance of maintaining the closest possible secrecy on this subject.”[[776]](#footnote-776)

Plans developed rapidly. *Sports Illustrated* sent a reporter, Coles Phinizy, to Melbourne with a copy of the Tower memorandum. Phinizy was told to give the report to *SI*’s chief correspondent at the Olympic city, Andre Laguerre. Laguerre became a key component in the defection. Phinizy was also instructed to create a code so that communication between *SI*’s New York office and Melbourne could be kept secret. For instance, the Hungarian athletes would be referred to as “Australian rules football players,” and Jackson as “Charles Johnson of Merion Cricket Club.” Finally, Phinizy had to make contact with Telegdy who, “with an assist from Radio Free Europe,” had already left for Melbourne.[[777]](#footnote-777) Indeed, the Free Europe Committee had been kept abreast of developments through information provided by the Hungarian National Council and, undoubtedly, the HNSF.[[778]](#footnote-778)

George Telegdy was associated with the HNSF from its early days, but gradually became the driving force in the organization. Telegdy was born in Hungary in 1921; he graduated from the University of Budapest with a Doctorate degree in Political Science. His professional career was spent in the Budapest City Administration where, for a time, he was the personal secretary to the city’s Mayor. In 1948, he escaped from Hungary and eventually made his way to America. Telegdy enjoyed a prominent reputation in Hungarian sporting circles. He was an outstanding fencer during his time at university, and later became a member of the Hungarian Fencing Association and president of the Budapest University Athletic Club.[[779]](#footnote-779) He was characterized by an often misguided passion. This endeared him to some; not so to others. Many wearied of Telegdy’s personality. One Free Europe Committee employee described him as a “megalomaniac,”



Figure 7. The Officials of the Hungarian National Sports Federation. From left to right, George Telegdy (Secretary-General), Count Anthony Szápáry (President), and Frank Chase (Vice President). Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.

prone to “exaggeration of his own importance.”[[780]](#footnote-780) Szápáry was told about the “incompetence” of his colleague,[[781]](#footnote-781) but the Count looked past this. He appreciated Telegdy’s “energy” and “dynamic personality,” not to mention his “extraordinary ideas.” When Telegdy set foot in America, Szápáry once recalled, “he continued his vocation, rather than his job…and that was fighting against communism.”[[782]](#footnote-782)

When Telegdy arrived in Melbourne he was greeted with tragic news. His uncle had been killed by Soviet gunfire during the revolution and his cousin seriously wounded. This intelligence steeled his resolve: “I decided to do all that I could to help those Hungarian athletes who decided not to return to Communism.” He called the plan “Operation Griffin.”[[783]](#footnote-783) Telegdy found time to enjoy the Olympics and attended several events. He witnessed the crowd booing Soviet fencers during the Sabre tournament, and watched for himself the famous, and bloody, water polo contest between the Soviet Union and Hungary. But Telegdy was not at the Games to be a mere spectator; rather, he was there on a prescribed mission. Authorities in Australia knew this. Telegdy was quietly taken to one side by government officials and encouraged to work “behind the scenes,” so as not to disturb the conviviality of the Games. Through contacts in the Argentine and Italian Olympic teams, word of Telegdy’s presence in Melbourne was conveyed to Hungarian athletes. Friends in the city found him private accommodation in North Brighton, “a cheery little suburb.” “Within a few days,” Telegdy wrote, “this became a second home for Hungarian Olympians, whom we welcomed at all hours of the day or night.”[[784]](#footnote-784) Even though later reports from Melbourne indicate that it was difficult to communicate with Hungarian athletes due to close surveillance by communist secret police, Telegdy claimed to “speak freely” with them. Athletes approached him on a mainly personal basis, airing fears about possible reprisals for family members in Hungary if they were to defect.[[785]](#footnote-785)

The Games opened on 22 November. The subsequent day, the first coded message from Laguerrre arrived at *SI*’s New York office. Laguerre had talked with Telegdy; the HNSF official intimated that between 20 and 50 percent of the Hungarian Olympic team was thinking of defecting. At this point, there was confusion over whether these athletes would stay in Australia, go to Europe, or request asylum in the United States. For the time being, Laguerre waited for developments; the Games had only just started and much could happen in the coming weeks.[[786]](#footnote-786) C.D. Jackson, privy to Laguerre’s message, relayed its contents in a letter to William H. Jackson, at the time Eisenhower’s Special Assistant on Cold War Planning.[[787]](#footnote-787) He needed to keep the White House informed, in case of developments. Laguerre’s message had been calm and deliberate. In contrast, Telegdy wrote Szápáry from Melbourne with an “urgent” letter. He feared that if the Hungarian athletes stayed in Australia “the tremendous propaganda value they represent, would be lost for once and for ever.” He needed assurances that the U.S. government would grant the Hungarians asylum. Telegdy implored his colleague: “I have all this on my shoulders, on my mind…Do something, before it is too late. This is the last chance to do something for our sportsmen, and at the same time to gain a vast fortune for the free world”[[788]](#footnote-788)

Telegdy, abandoning secrecy, ignored the code and cabled on 29 November that he had twenty-three athletes and three coaches who were prepared to defect. With assistance from local authorities in Australia they would be taken to a “safe place.” Apart from news of this early promise, Telegdy pushed for information on transport for the athletes to America and an update on whether they could obtain visas. He asked that fundraising begin for the defectors and that Szápáry “confer with Jackson” about organizing an American tour.[[789]](#footnote-789) At the same time, Laguerre cabled James with the same questions, though in a more measured tone. James was happy to inform Laguerre that Telegdy “need not worry about money,” and that Jackson was making progress with the State Department. A tour looked probable.[[790]](#footnote-790) Soon the number of athletes willing to defect reached thirty-two.[[791]](#footnote-791) One by one, they managed to sneak off from the Olympic Village and avoid the entourage of communist secret police. Just days before the Games closed, the first two to leave, Zoltán Török (a rowing coach) and Róbert Zimonyi (a coxswain), “sprang” into a car bound for Telegdy’s house. Telegdy and the two men celebrated with a glass of aged Hungarian apricot brandy. Telegdy was even approached by László Nadori, the Chief of staff of the Hungarian Sports Ministry, who no longer wanted to serve the communist regime.[[792]](#footnote-792)

Telegdy kept members of the HNSF in New York updated on his progress. These communications were then relayed to the Free Europe Committee. On at least one occasion, Telegdy requested more money. Free Europe Committee records indicate that this would be “supplementary,” which suggests that the organization was already providing expenses. A further $300 was advanced to the doctor.[[793]](#footnote-793)

Transportation presented the next hurdle. All commercial flights were fully booked through the Christmas period, and the Hungarians wished to be in the United States to celebrate the holiday.[[794]](#footnote-794) This was not all. A good deal of confusion hampered the decision-making of the Hungarian athletes; some lacked confidence in the abilities of Telegdy, others looked for lucrative rewards from a possible exhibition tour. Laguerre even surmised that some were merely waiting for the best offer, be it from America or their home government. Laguerre did not feel comfortable negotiating on such matters, though he assured the athletes that they would be given help to start a new life in America. For the time being, however, once individuals made the break from the Olympic Village, *SI* had to assume responsibility for them, which meant food, shelter and spending money. Above all else, nothing had been heard from the State Department.[[795]](#footnote-795) James offered reassurance. He responded that *Sports Illustrated* would cover all costs and organize an exhibition tour. Meanwhile, C.D. Jackson had “needled” the State Department and worked on an “immediate special airlift” by Pan American Airways. James added that, “Luce himself just called to say this issue a knockout.”[[796]](#footnote-796)

Even before the Hungarian team reached Melbourne, rumours of defection swirled. In a government meeting, a representative of the CIA mentioned that the “Hungarian Olympic performers were defecting en masse.”[[797]](#footnote-797) While the activities of *SI* and the HNSF remained hidden, newspapers increasingly reported that Hungarian athletes were preparing to defect. László Tábori, a famed middle distance runner, told a reporter: “I cannot say definitely what I will do, but I am seriously considering staying in Australia.”[[798]](#footnote-798) Around 140 athletes and 34 officials composed the Hungarian Olympic team, and some reports guessed that two thirds would “choose freedom.” Others estimated the number to be only in the thirties.[[799]](#footnote-799) The United States Consul General in Melbourne, Gerald Warner, said: “The United States would look with favour on any pleas for political asylum from any Olympic Games athletes – Hungarian or otherwise.”[[800]](#footnote-800)

Formalities and red tape still had to be overcome. The defectors had to register with Australian authorities, who then had to contact the relevant American officials. By then the press was covering the story, so Laguerre abandoned the code. He also abandoned Australia, climbing aboard a scheduled flight to America. Roy Terrell, another *SI* representative in Melbourne, took over the chaotic operation. To add to the difficulties, Telegdy welcomed four Romanian athletes to join the defectors. “Telegdy now apparently gathering oppressed peoples like a dog gathers fleas,” cabled Terrell. A further individual, Alexander Brody, was told to follow Telegdy closely.[[801]](#footnote-801) Brody, an employee of the marketing firm Young & Rubicam, was enjoying the Olympics as a tourist, but appears to have been inadvertently embroiled in the defection. *SI* staff praised his assistance, and Brody stayed involved in the project for some time. The Pan American Airways flight arranged by Jackson would not leave America until the Olympians had registered with the Australian immigration authorities. Brody was given assurances that the paperwork would be a formality. On 8 December, the day of the Olympics closing ceremony, Telegdy reported that other “foreigners” were “bidding” for the allegiance of the athletes. He claimed one such “foreign group” was the International Rescue Committee. This is plausible. The Rescue Committee was a refugee relief organization that focused on exiles from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. At one time or another, it had received CIA funds. Telegdy would not let the athletes slip from his grasp. He spoke to them about “a life without fear in the world’s greatest democracy,” and promised them that “America awaited them with open arms.” At that moment he formed the Hungarian National Olympic Team, with himself as Chief of Mission, and Nadori as Team Leader. It worked. The group were later moved into the American quarters in the Olympic Village and guarded by Australian federal security agents. Other Hungarian athletes who had left the Village beforehand were rounded up by the Australian police and taken to join their compatriots in Telegdy’s custody. At this stage, the athletes were the financial responsibility of *Sports Illustrated*. The sum of £200 had been cleared for living expenses but Telegdy had already spent it on other contingencies. Terrell found this confusing, as the athletes had only just taken up their temporary accommodations. Nonetheless, a further £200 was allotted to cover costs.[[802]](#footnote-802) The problem of registering with Australian authorities was finally solved. Terrell revealed that “Australian immigration officials decided to take the mountain to Mohammed,” and entered the Olympic Village on their own initiative to process the athletes.[[803]](#footnote-803)

The *SI* team in Melbourne started to disperse. As Terrell departed, Stan Eskell, an *SI* correspondent based in Sydney, took over the task of coordination. Laguerre, now back in New York, started to send cables in the other direction. Personnel at *Sports Illustrated* sent more money to Telegdy to buy the athletes clothes, and for further living expenses.[[804]](#footnote-804) Problems unexpectedly ensued within the State Department. As a result of the revolution, over 200,000 Hungarians fled their country. In the first week of November, 15,000 escaped into Austria. More followed. The Eisenhower administration, ineffectual thus far in terms of the revolution, moved to admit some of the refugees into America. They relaxed the strict immigration rules of the U.S. Refugee Relief Program, which started in 1953, and allowed for 5,000 Hungarians to enter the U.S. by the end of the year. This number was increased as thousands continued to pour into Austria. An Eisenhower directive attempted to increase the intake by way of admitting an alien into the country on “parole.” This option was offered on an “emergency” basis, whereby refugees could enter the country if it “served the public interest,” although the alien had no official status and no visa.[[805]](#footnote-805) Jackson phoned Tracy Voorhees, who had been appointed by Eisenhower to coordinate the Hungarian refugee program. Even though Voorhees did not believe “that State has been asleep on this one,” and that “between them and CIA there has been a lot going on,” he admitted that the defection of the Hungarian Olympic athletes was “not such a clearcut matter as…first understood.”[[806]](#footnote-806) When representatives of *Sports Illustrated* also hounded Voorhess, the government official lost his temper. Simply putting the Olympic athletes on an airplane and flying them to America meant avoiding standard procedures. The *SI* team argued that the athletes could be brought to America as part of the Refugee Relief Program. Voorhess retorted that the relief program was first and foremost for those people “who have had their horses shot out from under them.” He underscored that the Hungarian athletes were not in the same desperate need as the refugees in Austria.[[807]](#footnote-807) During a meeting of the Operations Coordinating Board on 14 December, the same points were discussed. A State Department representative explained that “haste had been urged” to get the athletes to the United States, but that “normal visa procedures” did not apply. There was even doubt about whether some of the team qualified for a visa in the first place. When a participant in the OCB meeting suggested that the athletes be brought in under “parole,” the point was countered with the assertion that this had only been authorized for refugees in Austria. A decision needed to be made as to whether the admission of the “Olympic escapees on parole would be in the national interest.”[[808]](#footnote-808)

Jackson spent a weekend exerting his influence; the red tape loosened. On 18 December, Laguerre sent a cable to Telegdy with the good news. The U.S. government had granted “immediate” asylum to the Hungarians. They would enter the United States on “parole,” a status that came back to haunt them in their future Olympic ambitions. A

special Pan American flight would carry them to San Francisco, via Honolulu, where they would land on Christmas Eve.[[809]](#footnote-809) *Sports Illustrated* feverishly made preparations for the arrival of the refugee athletes, arranging for photographers and the utmost publicity. Dick Neale, an Assistant Publisher at *SI*, was responsible for the Hungarians the moment they hit American soil.[[810]](#footnote-810) Before they even landed, Neale delighted in the “Great national interest in [the] returning athletes.”[[811]](#footnote-811) All told, thirty-eight athletes and officials stepped off the Pan American flight arranged by Jackson. Four were from the Romanian water polo team; the rest were Hungarian. They included five fencers, three of whom were part of the gold medal winning sabre team; five swimmers, two divers, two from track and field, a canoeist, and a rowing coxswain. There were four gymnasts, two of whom, Andrea Bodó and Margit Korondi, took gold in the team exercise on apparatus. Five members of the gold medal winning water polo team were part of the group, along with a total of six coaches, one of whom was the famed Mihály Iglói, the mentor of another defector, László Tábori.[[812]](#footnote-812) “Fleeing from Red oppression,” commented the *Los Angeles Times*, the athletes “arrived here today to start a new life in a land of freedom.”[[813]](#footnote-813) Telegdy congratulated himself on the achievement: “I delivered to the people of the U.S.A. the world famous Hungarian athletes who henceforth would serve the cause of American and Hungarian freedom in this greatest of democracies.”[[814]](#footnote-814)

**Summary**

C.D. Jackson was dismayed at the American inaction toward Hungary. “The Kremlin,” he wrote, “has been rocked to its foundations.” And yet, he complained, “we have limited ourselves for all practical purposes to arm waving at the Russians.”[[815]](#footnote-815) Some years later, he recalled:

…hope was the controlling word from 1950 to 1956. But when October-November 1956 came around, which as far as the Hungarians and the Poles were concerned represented the climax of ‘hope,’ with the results we all know – and I repeat for good and sufficient reasons – that word ‘hope’ took a terrible beating, a beating from which it has not yet recovered.[[816]](#footnote-816)

At a time when America’s foreign policy lacked the purpose which Jackson demanded of it, the defection of Hungarian athletes in Melbourne provided him with a much needed sense of accomplishment. He referred to the “highly successful operation” as “part high adventure and part dangerous long shot.”[[817]](#footnote-817) The defection certainly had an effect in Hungary. It sufficiently troubled Hungary’s government, sporting establishment, journalists, and academics, to a degree that few wrote about it in the country for years to come. Hungarian sport historians lingered over the 1956 Summer Games in only the briefest manner. A contemporary communist newspaper, *Nemzeti Sport*, wondered whether the athletes made their decision with a “calm mind.”[[818]](#footnote-818)

The reaction in America was, understandably, quite different. An article in the *New York Times* read:

There is no surcease of sorrow in the whole story of the refugees from terror. But these athletes are not pitiful creatures. They are proud men and women who have attained recognition at home and honor abroad. Their flight is therefore the more impressive, because it is completely rational. They cannot stomach the regime in Budapest. Neither can we.[[819]](#footnote-819)

For the next few years, Jackson and *Sports Illustrated* tried to feed off this public good will toward the exiles. The exiled athletes were enlisted in a nationwide campaign to convince the American people that the vast influx of Hungarian refugees was a bonus to the country, as opposed to a hindrance. Jackson also kept alive the hope that some of these exiled athletes could compete at the next Olympic Games, only this time for the United States.

**Chapter 8 – Symbols of Freedom: Resettling the Hungarian National Olympic Team**

On 8 December 1956, George Telegdy gathered a group of Hungarian athletes together at the Olympic Village in Melbourne. Telegdy told the athletes that a new and better life awaited them in America. All they had to do was trust him. For those that did, Telegdy formed the Hungarian National Olympic Team. The Team eventually included all thirty-eight of the exiles that landed in the United States on Christmas Eve, 1956. Precisely one year after Telegdy made his plea, this very same group, albeit somewhat smaller, celebrated its first anniversary. They assembled in San Francisco, the city where they first set foot on the American mainland. To mark the occasion, the exiles sent letters of appreciation to a host of individuals involved in the defection. A letter, of course, was conveyed to C.D. Jackson.[[820]](#footnote-820) He responded in effusive language:

The members of your Team represent the very best of Hungary’s tradition through the excellence of their performance in sports, and through their demonstrated love of freedom. All Americans who have witnessed the Hungarian Team in competition must think also of that brave and oppressed land itself – in terms of admiration for its bravery and hope for its ultimate victory and freedom.[[821]](#footnote-821)

It had been a remarkable year. Once the Hungarian National Olympic Team reached America, a triumvirate of parties took responsibility for their welfare: *Sports Illustrated* (*SI*), the Hungarian National Sports Federation (HNSF), and Jackson himself. This triumvirate combined to secure two basic aims. First, the Team was paraded around the country in a nationwide tour. The athletes were presented in U.S. propaganda as symbols of freedom, both in terms of their choice to flee from communism, and as living proof that the people of Hungary wished to be released from Soviet domination. Second, the athletes had to appear to have made the transition to life in America in the smoothest manner possible. This fell in line with an overall propaganda strategy devised by the U.S. government, which was itself trying to ease the way for a further 38,000 Hungarian refugees into American society.

Housing and employment was found for nearly all members of the Team. In a few cases, special actions were required. It was here that Jackson made his decisive impact. He used his connections in government to acquire visas and cut through red tape. When two of the Hungarians, Mihály Iglói (a coach) and László Tábori (a runner), threatened to “re-defect,” Jackson contributed to finding them a place to work and train at an athletic club in Santa Clara, California. He also made arrangements with the Free Europe Committee (FEC) to pay most of Iglói’s salary. Jackson hoped that the Hungarian coach might be able to develop a batch of American distance runners that could challenge for honors at the next Summer Olympic Games, due to take place in Rome in 1960. He also hoped, as did others in government, that members of the Hungarian National Olympic Team, along with other exiled athletes in America, could be permitted to compete at the Games as representatives of the U.S. squad. Unfortunately for Jackson, and even more so for the refugee athletes, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Congress stone-walled these efforts.

**The Freedom Tour**

Over 200,000 people fled Hungary as a result of the 1956 revolution. According to Michael Marrus, “there are few comparable outpourings of population anywhere in modern times.” The majority marched by foot across Hungary’s poorly guarded border with Austria.[[822]](#footnote-822) Not all of those who left were specifically anti-communist, but the revolution provided an opportunity to escape and relocate, be it in Western Europe, South America, or the southern hemisphere. The Eisenhower administration relaxed its hitherto strict immigration procedure to allow for a huge influx of refugees. Before an escapee could depart from Vienna and begin a new life in America, however, they had first to complete an array of tasks. Amid the list of requirements, each person had to be interviewed and pass through health and security checks. Voluntary agencies matched refugees with sponsors who, in turn, helped them find a job and somewhere to live. When the refugees landed in America, they were then taken to Camp Kilmer in New Jersey, where further checks and bureaucratic measures followed.[[823]](#footnote-823)

The thirty-four Hungarians and four Romanians who defected after the Melbourne Games arrived in San Francisco on Christmas Eve under the sponsorship of *Sports Illustrated*, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and First Aid for Hungary. Their case had been expedited, because it served the "national interest.” They avoided the



Figure 8. The Hungarian National Olympic Team stands in front of the United Airways plane that flew them to New York. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.

screening process at Camp Kilmer. For a couple of days the Olympic athletes were able to sample the sights and sounds of the Bay area; a United Airways flight then flew the group to New York. They spent their first day on the east coast registering with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, and then attended a lunch given by the Hungarian National Council.[[824]](#footnote-824) Jackson wrote to the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to thank him for the “total absence of bureaucratic red tape.”[[825]](#footnote-825) After completing these formalities, the group was taken from location to location for a range of interviews and public appearances.[[826]](#footnote-826) A dozen of the athletes spent the evening of New Year’s day at the home of Jackson “for dinner and general discussion.” Jackson used the opportunity to gather some first-hand knowledge of life in Eastern Europe and led the conversation, probing the opinion of the athletes on “radio broadcasting in Hungary” and “the root causes of the revolution.”[[827]](#footnote-827)

During the early stages of the Melbourne defection, Telegdy had proposed the idea of a tour for the athletes, if and when, they reached America. *Sports Illustrated*, for its part, had accepted the responsibility of organizing this exhibition. They did not default on the promise. Plans were put in motion for a nationwide Freedom Tour, led by Richard Neale, the Assistant Publisher of *SI*. Neale sent a letter to sports editors around the United States to provide background information on the tour. He outlined the three main aims: “First, fund raising for Hungarian Relief; secondly, a living demonstration of the Free Hungary story, and third, resettlement and jobs for the athletes themselves.” He was keen to make sure that the coverage of the tour was kept under a modicum of control. If the athletes complained about something or expressed “dissatisfaction,” then it should not be hidden. By the same token, quotes from the team had to come from the mouth of the athletes in the presence of an interpreter. Neale warned against “second hand” reporting or the crafty work of agents spreading “false rumors.” The *Washington Post* published one of his letters, although it had been carefully edited and omitted a crucial sentence that was present in the original copy: “For your information, and not for the public record,” wrote Neale, “the Freedom Tour has, of course, enlisted the active support of the State Department and CIA.”[[828]](#footnote-828)

The tour was organized in three parts. The fencers journeyed with the gymnasts, the water polo team joined the swimmers, and Tabori had the stage to himself. Only on two dates, one in New York, and one in Philadelphia, did they all appear together. *Sports Illustrated* received cooperation from several powerful American sports administrators, including Daniel Ferris, secretary-treasurer of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, Lyman Bingham, Executive Director of the United States Olympic Committee, Colonel Edward Eagan, president of the People-to-People Sports Committee, and Jose R. de Capriles of the Amateur Fencers League of America.[[829]](#footnote-829)

The Hungarian and Romanian athletes left New York on 10 January to start the six week tour. Two blue and white Greyhound Scenicruiser buses transported them from “coast-to-coast.” It was a long and grueling trip for all concerned. The teams staged 95 performances at 59 different locations. The gymnasts and fencers started out in Connecticut on 11 January, and performed almost every other day on the tour. Contests were held with athletes from Harvard and MIT in Boston, Notre Dame in South Bend, an Air force Academy team in Denver, the Milwaukee Fencers Club in Wisconsin, and the San Francisco Fencers Club in California.[[830]](#footnote-830) The water polo and swimming teams moved across the country at an unrelenting speed. They gave demonstrations at Yale University, Springfield College, Northwestern University, the University of Oklahoma, Texas A&M, and further shows in Phoenix and Las Vegas.[[831]](#footnote-831) Tábori competed in indoor track meets in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Cleveland.[[832]](#footnote-832) As expected, these occasions kept the story of the exiles in the American media. At the mid-way stage of the tour, Neale expressed to staff at *SI* “the importance of this tour, both for keeping the story of Hungary’s fight for freedom alive in America, and for its impact behind the Iron Curtain.”[[833]](#footnote-833)

Public opinion in America regarding the admission of over 38,000 Hungarian refugees was not fully supportive. Outspoken members of Congress charged that the relaxed screening methods, especially for parolees, presented an opportunity for communists to enter the United States. The Eisenhower administration took steps to arrest these fears. American prestige was at stake. The world had to see that the refugees were welcomed with open arms. On 12 December 1956, Eisenhower created the President’s Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief to run a public relations campaign to “sell” the notion that the new inhabitants would be valuable, productive members of society, and that they were opponents of communism. Carl Bon Tempo explains that the committee was formed to “coordinate the refugee-resettlement efforts of the voluntary agencies, the federal government, and private-sector contributors.” Tracy Voorhees led the operation. The bulk of the public relations was undertaken by two private firms: the Advertising Council and Communications Counselors, Inc. (CCI). The Advertising Council pressed radio and television networks to air positive coverage of the Hungarian refugees, while CCI launched an extensive drive to “assist in creating an atmosphere of public acceptance” of the refugees. Aside from courting television networks, CCI encouraged newspapers and magazines like *Look*, *Reader’s Digest*, *Time*, *Life*, and *Sports Illustrated* to publish stories which would help to promote the assimilation of refugees into American society.[[834]](#footnote-834)

When Neale reviewed the overall effect of the Melbourne defection, from its inception and beyond, he thought the impact on the American people had been “tremendous.” “I suspect,” wrote Neale, that the “resulting public relations…has been of inestimable value to the whole related area of fund raising and social acceptance for the Hungarian cause in general.” Radio, television and newspapers were filled with stories of the athletes from the time they left Melbourne, with “human interest interviews,” coverage of athletic performances, and the progress toward resettlement. Every time the athletes competed on the Freedom Tour it “dramatized” their story. In a random assessment of nationwide news outlets, the *Sports Illustrated* team found nearly 800 references to the tour in 48 states. Movie and television newsreels across the country showed the athletes arriving in San Francisco, landing in New York, and departing for the tour. Some of the athletes gave interviews on radio and television. The Team was welcomed on The Ed Sullivan Show; NBC’s Today Show reported the arrival of the athletes at Idlewild airport; and NBC’s Home Show welcomed the athletes as guests. Neale was interviewed on several occasions, twice by the sportscaster, Howard Cosell. A contestant on the “$64,000 Question even donated part of his winnings to the Hungarian fund.[[835]](#footnote-835)

*Sports Illustrated* carried stories on the Team and published supportive letters from the American public.[[836]](#footnote-836) The magazine produced a special edition booklet that commemorated the Freedom Tour, and profiled each of the thirty-eight exiles. Neale himself wrote a wrap-up piece titled “Across a Free Land,” where he underscored that the athletes were “a living demonstration of the obstinate, furious idea of Free Hungary:”

All of them were urged to go back, in letter after letter from Budapest. They were told that the end of the tour would find them stranded. They were ordered to return, begged to return, promised rewards and privileges if they would return. Sensibly, the athletes took this propaganda campaign to mean that the Freedom Tour was having an effect of its own in their native country. The tour, successful in America, had apparently been a sensation behind the Iron Curtain.[[837]](#footnote-837)

Neale sent Voorhees a copy of *Sports Illustrated*. After reading the story about the Freedom Tour, Voorhees offered his sincere congratulations:

Sports Illustrated has performed a public service of genuine value in bringing these athletes here and arranging for the tour. This came at a time when the favorable publicity for the Hungarian refugees which was generated by the presence of these Olympic athletes, was of particular usefulness in assisting in American acceptance of the…Hungarian refugees who have already come to our shores.[[838]](#footnote-838)

The Eisenhower propaganda apparatus spun the same line. Individual experiences of refugees were carried on Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and in the output of the United States Information Agency (USIA).[[839]](#footnote-839) This was reflected in sport-related material distributed globally to information posts. Even prior to the events in Hungary, the USIA constantly referred to exiled Eastern European athletes living in America. These stories presented the athletes as exemplars of freedom, who, having chosen to leave a life under communist rule, were now integrated into the democratic ways of America, and prospering in a system where anyone could succeed. The Hungarian National Olympic Team was depicted in a similar vain. A profile of László Tábori explained that he was among the Hungarian athletes and officials “who chose freedom rather than return to their Kremlin-dominated homeland.” The article described Tábori as “engaging” and “pleasant,” while a quote from the runner read: “I am grateful I was permitted to come to

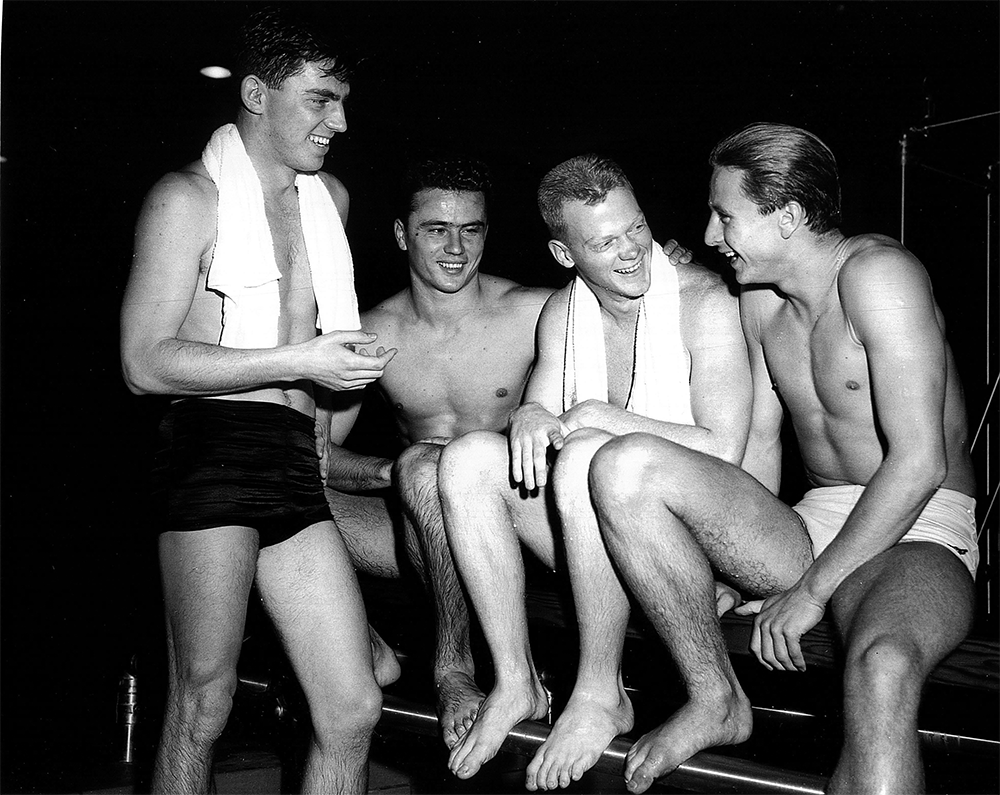


Figure 9. A United States Information Agency photograph shows American and exiled Hungarian swimmers enjoying each other’s company during the Freedom Tour. The Hungarian’s were part of an exhibition at the University of Maryland. From left to right they are Dick Amen, Ferenc Siak, Stapler Shields, and József Gerlach. National Archives.

the United States. I should like to remain and work in my own field and compete in track and field when I have time.”[[840]](#footnote-840) Other features described the Freedom Tour. One piece boasted that the exiles “have made many friends during their coast-to-coast exhibition tour of major U.S. cities.” “Everywhere they went,” it continued, “the athletes were greeted with warm enthusiasm and understanding.” The USIA sent photographs of the tour to information posts, showing the Hungarians smiling and enjoying their interactions with American competitors. [[841]](#footnote-841) Continuing the theme, another article reported how the Hungarian canoeist, István Hernek, had settled in Minneapolis and was learning the boat making business.[[842]](#footnote-842)

After a long debriefing from Neale, Jackson was extremely pleased with the “logistical triumph” of the Freedom Tour. The costs incurred by *Time* for the defection, the tour, and the resettlement of the athletes came to $35,000, far below original estimates. The tour even made a profit, some of which was donated to First Aid for Hungary, and some set aside for a special relief fund for the families of the athletes.[[843]](#footnote-843) Gradually, the role of *SI* in the orchestration of the Team’s affairs receded. On the other hand, the HNSF assumed a greater responsibility for the lives of the Hungarian National Olympic Team, in much the same way as it attended to the well-being of other refugee athletes, inside and outside of America. For Jackson, too, his attachment to the project did not dwindle and, at times, the exiles turned to his aid when all else failed.

**Resettlement: Operation Eagle**

On the eve of the Freedom Tour, Whitney Tower sent a congratulatory letter to Count Szápáry: “Without your inspiration I don’t think anything could have been accomplished – and the fact that it has been accomplished is, I am quite sure, largely a reflection on your strong will-to-succeed.” Tower went on to make one apology, and to give one warning. First, he bemoaned that some people at *Sports Illustrated* were using the defection to raise the profile of the magazine. Tower claimed that he himself, and most of the editorial team, had attempted to stem this practice, but, he said, “one has to expect and accept a few warped mentalities in a journalistic empire whose rank and file live and breathe the words TIME, INC, 24 hours a day.” On another topic, Tower gave a sour account of Telegdy’s involvement in the defection. The *SI* staff in Melbourne, including Andre Laguerre, reported to Tower a “tale of terrible confusion” due to the work of Telegdy. Australian authorities confirmed this. “Frankly,” finished Tower, “it was agreed by all who had a hand in the business, that he is incompetent for this sort of organizational work.”[[844]](#footnote-844) Incompetent Telegdy may have been, but he remained a pivotal figure in the HNSF. He continued to aid exiles, and irritate collaborators, for some time to come. Telegdy became immersed in the long-term process of resettling the Hungarian National Olympic Team in America, which he called “Operation Eagle.”

On 3 January 1957, the HNSF established an office at Camp Kilmer. Many sportsmen were among the 38,000 refugees who came to America after the revolution. By April, around 240 refugee athletes reported at the new HNSF facility. Telegdy and his colleagues found employment for over sixty individuals, and university scholarships for seven more. Other relief organizations placed a portion of the athletes elsewhere in America. Telegdy gave these individuals a stamped self-addressed postcard so they could send an update upon finding a permanent address. In all these efforts, Telegdy claimed to have the “close” cooperation of Ferris at the AAU, Capriles of the Amateur Fencers League of America, and a “cordial relationship” with *Sports Illustrated* following “initial misunderstandings.” The HNSF also worked closely with the Free Europe Committee, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the International Rescue Committee. Through this network of contacts, the HNSF tried to introduce athletes to the broader Hungarian community in America, and integrate them into American society. The HNSF opened three new Hungarian sports centers in New York, San Francisco, and Cleveland. Not only this, Telegdy claimed that due to his prompting, a separate branch of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was “engaged in supervising the affairs of the Olympic athletes and of other sportsmen” in order to prevent the communist regime from “luring” the athletes home.[[845]](#footnote-845)

Certainly, the triumvirate understood that their work was not finished upon the conclusion of the Freedom Tour: the refugees were also to be resettled and given assistance to start a new life. *Sports Illustrated*, Jackson, and the HNSF were mostly successful in this final stage of the operation. By April, all of the athletes were placed in jobs or procured a scholarship at a university.[[846]](#footnote-846) For example, the fencer, Jenő Hámori, had a job and an apartment in Philadelphia; the swimming coach, János Gergely, chose to settle in California; Mártha Nagy, a gymnast, was studying at the University of Colorado; the diving coach, Bálint Papp, accepted a job offer in Florida; and Gábor Nagy, the Romanian water polo player, was given a scholarship at the University of Southern California.[[847]](#footnote-847)

In a couple of instances, Jackson had to call on the aid of his friend in the White House, Tracy Voorhees. Two of the Hungarian athletes, Béla Rerrick and József Sakovits, needed assistance to tackle difficult immigration problems. Unbeknownst to Rerrick, while he was in Melbourne, his wife and two daughters fled to Austria, and were then resettled in Sweden. In the case of Sakovits, his sister and her husband ended up in Sweden via a similar set of circumstances. Both Rerrick and Sakovits desired to be reunited with their families in America. Jackson asked Voorhees for “guidance and/or help.”[[848]](#footnote-848) In a follow-up letter, Jackson placed extra emphasis on the situation faced by Rerrick, a man whom Jackson admired for his intellectual capacity and “moral caliber.” Jackson felt that the multi-lingual Rerrick could be “most useful in this country for the promotion of the cause of freedom behind the Iron Curtain” and in his capacity to “communicate with all kinds of people.” “I think it would be a definite loss,” Jackson continued, “not to C.D.J.’s Olympic project, but to the United States, if this man were to leave…And after all, what is he asking? Not for the moon or a million dollars, but simply to be reunited with his wife and daughters.” Jackson added that he was willing to “use up some of my White House credit by writing to the President.”[[849]](#footnote-849) Voorhees moved to assist Rerrick,[[850]](#footnote-850) but the problem only magnified over time. Rerrick was allowed to leave the United States and travel to Sweden, whereupon he would meet with his wife and children, and bring them back to America. Jackson and Neale made arrangements, with Jackson working on the visas. *Time* footed the bill. At the last minute, however, Rerrick announced that he and his family had decided to stay in Sweden to avoid more upheaval. Jackson was mystified. It transpired that Rerrick was suffering from a bout of mental frailty, and harbored a desire to return to Hungary and resume his fencing career. The whole family eventually made it to America, but Rerrick then abruptly returned to Europe. His wife and children remained in the United States; Rerrick eventually returned to Hungary.[[851]](#footnote-851)

Indeed, not all of the refugees adapted to their new life in America. Zoltán Török, the rowing coach, learned that his mother was deeply ill and so flew home. László Nádori, the sports administrator, received letters from his family, pleading for his return. He could not, and did not, ignore them. The swimmer, László Magyar, and two of the water polo players, László Jeney and György Kárpáti, all “re-defected.” Others talked of doing the same thing.[[852]](#footnote-852) Coupled with personal and unforeseen dilemmas, Szápáry underscored that the communist regime was “desperately” trying to entice athletes back to Hungary.[[853]](#footnote-853)

Since the end of the Freedom Tour, *Sports Illustrated* had ceased to provide financial assistance to the athletes, because all were either working or in educational institutions. Count Szápáry, Jackson, and Neale managed to attain a donation of $5,000 from First Aid for Hungary; Szápáry argued persuasively that the money be used to bolster the “re-defection program.” This program attacked the problem of re-defection in two ways. First, the HNSF helped the dependents of the exiles still living in Hungary by sending them goods and medicines only available in the United States. Over fifty packages had been sent on four occasions to family members in Hungary, and the HNSF received word that they “meant a great deal” to the dependents. Second, Szápáry wanted to make sure that the athletes who desired to keep competing had the financial backing to do so. He thought keeping the athletes active might help in the process of resettling. In addition to this, Szápáry added: “Now we have the chance to use the appearance of the Hungarian athletes as well as their results in the service of the Hungarian national cause and the athletes themselves are anxious to serve this cause.”[[854]](#footnote-854) Keeping the athletes active and in the public eye was essential. A *Time* employee in California made this clear in a letter to Jackson with regard to the fencers:

The propaganda value for the U.S., particularly in the vast field of international sports, seems obvious to us. It seems important to keep the group together and to provide them with a reasonably good way of life so that when they travel and are interviewed, they can say with assurance that the life in America is what they had been led to believe it would be.[[855]](#footnote-855)

When members of the Hungarian National Olympic Team celebrated the first anniversary of the group’s formation, they had much for which to be grateful. They also knew there was much to be done. A meeting was organized for the Team in San Francisco. The meeting began with Telegdy providing background information on the defection of three more of the Team, Lídia Dömölky, József Sakovits, and Béla Rerrick. The last of the three received the strictest condemnation for having “deserted his wife and two little girls.” After this, the great debate was over future tours and competition. As Szápáry had stated earlier in the year, the possibility and realization of competition would help the athletes feel a sense of purpose in their new lives and, by turn, serve as excellent propaganda. Some of the athletes were already taking part in competitions around the country, and the HNSF set up a “Campaign Fund” so that the practice could continue. Szápáry made the first donation and the FEC put $4,000 into the pool. The assembly at the meeting decided that sporting events should be carefully selected based on financial viability and the possible impact of a refugee presence. One of the competitions isolated for special attention was the 1958 Fencing World Championships, scheduled to take place in Philadelphia. Not only would the exile fencers stand a good chance of winning, but representatives of the Hungarian regime were sure to be there.[[856]](#footnote-856)

At this stage, the Free Europe Committee began to intensify its support for the HNSF and the Hungarian National Olympic Team. Perhaps spurred on by the level of public attention directed at the exiled sportsmen, the FEC supplied more money to the federation than it ever had before. The period 1957 to 1960 were the golden years of the relationship.[[857]](#footnote-857) The FEC paid for an HNSF soccer team to fly to Stockholm for the World Cup,[[858]](#footnote-858) for Zsuzsa Ördögh to compete at the U.S. National swimming championships,[[859]](#footnote-859) and for a Hungarian chess player, Paul Benkő, to fly to a tournament in Yugoslavia.[[860]](#footnote-860) On several occasions, the FEC covered the expenses for Telegdy to attend the annual meeting of the AAU.[[861]](#footnote-861) When it came to the World Fencing Championships in Philadelphia, the FEC underwrote all the costs for a five man team, amounting to just under $4,000.[[862]](#footnote-862)

It transpired that during the Championships in Philadelphia, the fencers from the Hungarian regime refused to compete against the exiles. The American Legation in Budapest reported that the Hungarian press was groping for excuses.[[863]](#footnote-863) Telegdy was ecstatic: “The participation of the Free Hungarian team at these Championships echoed very loudly in Hungary.”[[864]](#footnote-864) It also served as a reminder that grave problems still had to be overcome with regard to immigration. While the Hungarian athletes could compete in America at various national or state competitions, international events were a different matter altogether. The athletes that fled Melbourne entered the United States on parole, and were thus not American citizens. Initially, the entry of the exiled Hungarians into the World Fencing Championship was doubtful. The athletes had no country to compete for and the International Fencing Association was reluctant to permit the entry of the refugees. The exiles had to provide evidence of their “statelessness.” Through Neale, Jackson, and contacts at the State Department, preparations were made to attain the necessary documentation.[[865]](#footnote-865) It was enough for the time being. The long term challenge remained. Jackson could not hide his frustration with the laws of the land. He berated the State Department:

These are important people in the eyes of the world, particularly in the world behind the Iron Curtain. They have sought asylum in this country, which has been granted, but at the same time they are important specialists in an international field. Inevitably they will be invited to participate in athletic events outside the country, which at present they cannot do.

Does the Government of the United States, under constant attack for inadequate handling of the cold war problem, consider it important enough to go through the necessary bureaucratic motions to arrange for these people to do for the United States and for the West the thing at which they are supremely competent – something which will make headlines throughout the world.[[866]](#footnote-866)

In July 1958, Congress passed a law that allowed parolees to apply for permanent residence if they had been living in the United States for two years. These first two years were then retroactively deducted from the five years of residence it took to apply for citizenship.[[867]](#footnote-867) Unfortunately, citizenship was not enough for the International Olympic Committee. The Hungarian National Olympic Team had all competed for Hungary at the Melbourne Games, and this discounted them from representing another nation.

**The “Igloi-Tabori Mission” and the Santa Clara Valley Youth Village**

As the case of Béla Rerrick demonstrated, there was very much a human side to the Melbourne defection, which accounted for inconsistent or unsettled behavior by some of the Hungarian refugees. America was a foreign land with an unfamiliar culture. Adjusting from a life of relative stardom, to relative obscurity, was not without challenges. Some of the athletes and coaches wanted the treatment they had received in Hungary and were not content to settle for random employment. The HNSF would have expected this. Jackson himself intimated that perhaps he and *SI* were less prepared for the human element.[[868]](#footnote-868) At any rate, the strains of resettlement became clear in relation to two specific cases of the Hungarian National Olympic Team: Mihály Iglói and László Tábori, each of them prominent and well known members of the group. Iglói had an international reputation as a coach of middle distance runners. Tábori was a prodigy of Iglói, and one of the few athletes of his time to break the four minute mile. The two wanted to work together; the one to train, the other to coach, preferably in California. Following the



Figure 10. Pictured from left to right: László Tábori, Mihály Iglói, and George Telegdy. Courtesy of Gladys and Paul Szápáry.

Freedom Tour, the University of North Carolina gave both men part-time jobs and invited them to lodge at the university on a temporary basis. Iglói wrote to Neale from Chapel Hill in gratitude for the work done by *Sports Illustrated*. He promised not to “disappoint.”[[869]](#footnote-869) Once their sojourn in North Carolina ended, they reverted to their original plan, and moved to California in the hope of forging something more permanent at a university athletic program. Instead, they found no openings. Tábori eventually secured a job in a shoe factory. The work itself did not considerably bother the runner, but the hours did. Beginning at 7am in the morning and finishing at 6pm in the evening allowed little time for training. Much to his dissatisfaction, Iglói performed manual labor. He wanted to train Olympic caliber athletes, nothing else would suffice. The two Hungarians grew increasingly disenchanted with the American sporting establishment. By the winter of 1957, they considered returning to Hungary.[[870]](#footnote-870)

When Jackson became aware of the situation he scrambled to find a solution. He worried about the “psychological” impact of the two re-defecting. He asked the Dean at Princeton if he would employ both Hungarians, but to no avail.[[871]](#footnote-871) Two colleagues in San Francisco, Richard Pollard, an employee of *Time*, and Alexander Brody – a “special agent for SI and Time”[[872]](#footnote-872) – tried to make other arrangements, but could only do half the job. Tábori was found a more accommodating position at the San Jose Steel Company, which allowed him to train in the afternoons. Then, to their relief, a small AAU-accredited athletic club stepped into the picture and offered to employ Iglói as its coach and to have Tábori as a member of its track team. The Santa Clara Valley Youth Village would take the pair until the 1960 Olympic Games. The idea was that Iglói could train a team “which



Figure 11. Father Walter E. Schmidt pictured with young members of the Santa Clara Valley Youth Village. Department of Archives and Special Collections, Santa Clara University.

will beat the Soviet Union and, for the first time, establish American supremacy in distances over 1500 meters.” The only impediment, as ever, was funding.[[873]](#footnote-873)

The Santa Clara Valley Youth Village (SCVYV) was established in 1944 by a priest named Walter E. Schmidt. Born in San Francisco in 1911, Schmidt was ordained in 1941. Gregarious and well-liked, he was once given an award in San Jose for being the Optimist of the Year. The SCVYV grew in popularity during the Second World War and soon required a large facility to serve as its base. Schmidt raised money for the building of the SCVYV centre by inviting celebrities like Frank Sinatra to perform at benefits, and encouraged businesses and corporations to support the project. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, gave the Youth Village two commendations and commented that it “serves as a guidepost to moral living and is a dynamic force for good among young people.” In 1953, Schmidt organized the Youth Village track team in tandem with an athletics coach named Mike Ryan. The team mainly consisted of athletes that were no longer eligible to compete at college and university, as well as individuals who were refused sponsorship elsewhere due to their race. Although the Youth Village was not an educational institution, it competed against other universities and colleges on the competitive track and field circuit. After fifteen years of work, the SCVYV produced fourteen athletes for the U.S. Olympic team, eight of whom won gold.[[874]](#footnote-874)

Richard Pollard of *Time* arranged for Schmidt and Ryan to meet with Iglói and Tábori. Schmidt estimated that around ten or twelve thousand dollars a year would be needed to pay for Iglói’s salary and to keep the track fund at Santa Clara operational. He wrote Jackson: “If this meets with your approval we will do all we can to help Mr. Iglói and László Tábori realize their ambitions in and for track in this country.”[[875]](#footnote-875) Jackson was more than satisfied. “This situation had gotten so hopelessly complicated and emotional,” he replied to Schmidt, “that I did not think a solution could be found, and now it has been thanks to your understanding.”[[876]](#footnote-876) Although the last year had been taxing, Jackson took it all in stride and good humor. “By now I think it would be less trouble to liberate all of Hungary than to take care of these Hungarian Olympic athletes, and am seriously thinking of suggesting this to the President,” he quipped.[[877]](#footnote-877)

At first, Jackson and his colleagues thought that they could fund the “Iglói-Tábori Mission” through private donations. They arranged for the 6 January edition of *Sports Illustrated* to contain a letter from the Hungarian National Olympic Team (which it did). In the next edition, *SI* would then publish a letter to the editor from Schmidt (which it also did), referring to the Hungarian athletes and alerting the readers that two of the exiles were part of the SCVYV program. Jackson believed the exposure in *SI* would stimulate contributions and act as a “handy reference piece” with which to approach larger investors.[[878]](#footnote-878) In January 1958, Jackson began an effort to solicit funds. The first contribution came from Jackson’s friend, Sigurd Larmon, the president of Young & Rubicam. “It is a worthy project,” commented Larmon, who donated $1,000.[[879]](#footnote-879) *Time* gave a further $1,000, and few smaller amounts arrived from other private sources.[[880]](#footnote-880) Jackson was pleased with the early success. He wrote one of the sponsors:

This is one of those cases where you are actually helping not only a couple of Hungarians, and an athletic association, and our chances in the 1960 Olympics, but also the U.S., which would have suffered a terrible black eye of things had not

been worked out as they have.[[881]](#footnote-881)

However, these few donations were well short of the $12,000 required to keep the Iglói-Tábori Mission afloat. Jackson’s confidence faltered. He wrote to Neale that “neither you nor I should have to be beating our brains out trying to find $12,000 for Father Schmidt in Santa Clara Valley.”[[882]](#footnote-882) By April 1958, Father Schmidt was concerned that the money had dried up and, further, he had employed Tábori as part time worker at the Youth Village. The financial situation, as Father Schmidt described it, was “precarious.”[[883]](#footnote-883) Jackson concurred: “I myself do not like this hand-to-mouth, month-to-month living.”[[884]](#footnote-884) Jackson prepared a draft letter to send to wealthy donors in order to reinvigorate the fundraising.[[885]](#footnote-885) The project demanded an injection of money immediately. Jackson was running out of time, he contacted another friend, the Director of the CIA, Allen Dulles. “It clearly fits in with your psywar charter,” Jackson wrote Dulles after discussing the issue on the phone. Jackson asked for $5,000 right away.[[886]](#footnote-886) “As you know,” responded Dulles, “the welfare of defectors and refugees in this country is of the utmost importance, and the case which you cite in your letter is of special interest.”[[887]](#footnote-887) A month later the money arrived in Santa Clara.[[888]](#footnote-888) Other amounts materialized from private donors. Schmidt continued to welcome money from the likes of *Time*, Young & Rubicam, and Benton & Bowles. On multiple occasions, Jackson donated the honorarium he received from making speeches.[[889]](#footnote-889) The SCVYV was also sent donations by the HNSF, and Schmidt communicated and met with Telegdy.[[890]](#footnote-890) Even then, it was not enough. Jackson had to use his influence to get support from other “private” organizations. Indeed, the Free Europe Committee gave funds for the SCVYV project on two occasions in 1959, amounting to a total of $5,000.[[891]](#footnote-891) The correspondence between Jackson and Schmidt developed a familiar theme. In general, Schmidt either asked for money or thanked Jackson for receiving it. “Once again I come knocking at the door,” Schmidt wrote Jackson in the fall of 1959.[[892]](#footnote-892) Once again, Jackson asked the Free Europe Committee to contribute to the mission. Just as before, his request was answered, this time to the amount of another $5,000.[[893]](#footnote-893)

During the period in which Iglói and Tábori were at the SCVYV, the local media was filled with stories on the pair. When Tábori raced, newspapers like the *San Jose News* and *San Jose Mercury* often reported on his performance and published photographs of the runner in action. Jackson was “delighted” by a piece in *Time* that mentioned Iglói and the Youth Village.[[894]](#footnote-894) *Sports Illustrated* contained feature articles on the eminent Hungarian coach, which described his unique training methods and tactics.[[895]](#footnote-895) Jackson and Father Schmidt enthused over these stories, and other such examples of favorable publicity.[[896]](#footnote-896)

The Iglói-Tábori Mission was originally designed to last until the 1960 Summer Olympic Games. Jackson used the Rome Games as a “selling point” for contributors. He doubted whether he could arouse the same interest once the Olympics passed. He hoped that the publicity given to the work of Iglói at the SCVYV might attract other sponsors to take over. Regretfully, he told Father Schmidt: “I do not see how I can undertake the responsibility for further funds except in occasional driblets which will not be adequate for your needs.”[[897]](#footnote-897) For his part, Schmidt understood this. He had known all along that the “1960 Olympics made a natural breaking-off point.” Being no stranger to fundraising, he vowed to keep the program running.[[898]](#footnote-898) Jackson’s “driblets” ceased in 1961.[[899]](#footnote-899)

**The International Olympic Committee Stands Firm**

Prior to the Rome Olympics, Szápáry again wrote to IOC president Avery Brundage on the issue of exiled athletes. The Count thought it “absurd” that proven competitors like Tábori were excluded. He asked that the IOC consider altering its rules “which were fashioned in another era” and by leaders who “could never have foreseen the circumstances existing in our world today.” Szápáry suggested a team could be formed that could compete “under the flag of the United Nations.” “I cannot imagine anything which could be more in the true spirit of the Olympics,” he wrote. [[900]](#footnote-900) In his response, Brundage repeated that the problem of exiles had been debated at length but that no solution had been forwarded which did not require reorganizing the basic structure of the IOC. At any rate, the idea of a team representing the United Nations appeared to inspire confusion in Brundage, as opposed to optimism. He offered to discuss the issue at the Rome General Session.[[901]](#footnote-901) There is no currently known record to indicate that this transpired. Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano tried to rekindle the topic in the IOC by also writing to Brundage and Otto Mayer. It was not received well by the latter, who thought that he had heard the last of the Hungarian in Helsinki. “He wants to interfere again,” moaned Mayer, “if we begin again [to correspond] with that nuisance of a man, we shall not get rid of him.”[[902]](#footnote-902) In a calmer moment, Mayer wrote to Márffy that the IOC could do nothing more.[[903]](#footnote-903)

The die had been cast. Indeed, the IOC was forced to consider the problem of exiled athletes beyond the protestations of the HNSF. A Hungarian skier named László Bohus fled Hungary in 1949, but was unable to compete at the 1952 Winter Games in Oslo.[[904]](#footnote-904) Upon hearing the story, Brundage commented: “While the International Olympic Committee was very sympathetic toward the predicament of displaced persons, insofar as competition in the Olympic Games is concerned, no way could be found under existing rules to allow them to participate.”[[905]](#footnote-905) Dan Boruzescu and N. Floresco were part of a bobsleigh crew that fled Romania when the communists took control. Both men wanted their case to be given close consideration by the IOC so they could represent the “free Rumanians who are scattered throughout the world.”[[906]](#footnote-906) Once again, Brundage apologetically explained that “the whole conception of the Olympic Games is based on National teams organized by National Olympic Committees.”[[907]](#footnote-907) The sprinter Stella Walsh was born in Poland but her family brought her to the U.S. in 1912. She competed for Poland at the 1932 and 1936 Games and, after WWII, became an American citizen. “I feel that I should have the opportunity of competing for the United States in the Olympic Games this year,” Walsh had argued, “for I will not consider the possibility of becoming a member of the Communist Party, which would be necessary if I were to compete for Poland.”[[908]](#footnote-908) John Jewett Garland, the IOC member from the U.S., suggested to Brundage that the rules be relaxed for Walsh. He cited the case of a Danish female swimmer who had been allowed to compete for Sweden after marrying a gentleman from that country.[[909]](#footnote-909) When Walsh did wed an American, her performance in the U.S. Olympic trials was insufficient.[[910]](#footnote-910) Yet even the flexibility of the marriage clause infuriated Mayer, so he invented a scenario to prove it:

A Swiss girl competes for her country (Switzerland) in one or two Olympic Games. She gets married to a Swede and can compete either for Sweden or for Switzerland, as, if she likes, she may keep her Swiss nationality. Therefore, if she has some difficulties with Switzerland, she can say to its Olympic [Committee]: Go to hell, I am going to compete with Sweden. To the Swedish [Olympic Committee] she can do the same. (she can compete with who pays best!!). O.K. – After 1956 she gets divorced and marries a German. In 1960 she may compete with Germany.

[Thank] God that she will get too old…either to marry again…or to compete! But in the meantime, she has competed for three different countries.[[911]](#footnote-911)

There was yet another exiled group that pursued a political agenda with the IOC. The Ukrainian Olympic Committee (UOC) was an exile organization based first in Washington, D.C. and, later, in nearby Baltimore, Maryland. The UOC started to correspond with the IOC in 1956, and asked for an independent Ukrainian Olympic committee distinct from the Soviet Union. “It would [be] disrespectful to identify the terrorized and muzzled Ukrainian sportsmen with their Communist oppressors, or to pin upon them the label Russian or so-called Soviet nationality,” argued Osyp Zinkewytch, the UOC Secretary General.[[912]](#footnote-912) The main fault with the demand was that it came from outside the Ukraine. When pressed on the matter by Brundage, a Soviet IOC member scolded the exiles. The IOC debated the issue at a Session in late 1956; no decision was made and no independent Ukrainian Olympic team would compete at the Games until the collapse of the Soviet Union.[[913]](#footnote-913) Regardless, the UOC continued to lobby the IOC, even after it assumed a new name, the Ukrainian World Committee for Sport Affairs. Mayer, as usual, was less than diplomatic. In a private letter to Brundage on the subject he sarcastically remonstrated: “I have received the copy of a letter sent to you by the Ukrainian World Committee for Sport Affairs. What do they imagine??? Taking part at our meetings etc. !!”[[914]](#footnote-914)

The Melbourne defection did not register to any considerable degree in the IOC. This is understandable. Due to the sheer controversy of the Hungarian Revolution, coupled with the Suez Crisis, Brundage and his colleagues had to focus on promoting a united front, while trying, as ever, to insist that political incidents should not impede on the Olympics. After the Games, Brundage casually mentioned to the Hungarian IOC member, Ferenc Mező, that some of the defectors were touring around the U.S., but did not seem to have been vocal about it.[[915]](#footnote-915) On a further occasion, Brundage displayed no animosity to the HNSF or the defected Hungarians when it came to a request for Olympic diplomas. George Telegdy wrote to Mayer on behalf of the members of the Hungarian National Olympic Team. Telegdy sent a list of the athletes who had finished either first, second, or third in their respective event, and asked that the appropriate diplomas be sent to the HNSF, who would distribute them accordingly. He added: “Should the diplomas be sent to the Communist Hungarian Olympic Committee, the just owners of the diplomas would never receive them.”[[916]](#footnote-916) Brundage had no objections: “I see no harm in sending diplomas from Melbourne to this organization, since they are in touch with the athletes who have left Hungary.”[[917]](#footnote-917) Mayer replied to Telegdy that the IOC agreed with the request and Mayer informed the Melbourne Organizing Committee to forward the relevant articles.[[918]](#footnote-918) Telegdy was thrilled with the minor success,[[919]](#footnote-919) although a few months later, Brundage once again stated that the IOC could do nothing about the Hungarian exiles. “Furthermore,” he added, “we would be in endless difficulties if we permitted ourselves to become involved in political questions of this kind.”[[920]](#footnote-920)

The IOC rules were a constant obstacle for Tábori and the exiled Hungarians who wanted to compete at the Rome Games. Jackson hired a lawyer, Jack Dowd, to investigate the specific case of two Hungarian female athletes who lived in exile in the United States after defecting. Dowd looked into the matter, though his findings repeated exactly what was already known. The only way the two ladies could participate for the U.S. team would be if they married a U.S. citizen and then applied for full citizenship. Having received the same advice from the USOC, Jackson accepted defeat: “I would love to see these fine athletes qualify for the Olympics, but am not prepared to become a marriage broker in order to accomplish it.”[[921]](#footnote-921)

The hope of fast-tracking exiled athletes into the U.S. Olympic team received yet another setback in 1960. Jackson had berated the government for not following through with the “necessary bureaucratic motions” to expedite citizenship for refugee sportsmen. The Free Europe Committee, the HNSF, and the AAU had been investigating ways to force special legislation.[[922]](#footnote-922) They were not alone. In 1959, Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson submitted a bill to the Senate for the purpose of speeding up the immigration process for a Polish born athlete who relocated to America. Johnson argued that it was an exceptional case. The individual could compete for the U.S. at the 1960 Olympics if he were granted citizenship in advance of the standard five year waiting period. The Senate passed the bill in May. When it reached the House Judiciary Committee, it was given to a subcommittee on immigration. Here it faltered. The chairman of the subcommittee, Congressman Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, said he would “use every effort to block its approval.” Walter charged that if the United States were to pass such legislation, then it could be accused of “bootlegging” communist athletes.[[923]](#footnote-923) Four other bills, this time for Hungarians, received the same treatment. Walter later added that the subcommittee did not recommend the bills to the House “because we believe it would be highly improper and totally out of line, both with the American tradition in sports and with the true spirit of the Olympic games.”[[924]](#footnote-924) An article in *Sports Illustrated* concluded: “In the field of sport, it is possible for the U.S. to try too hard.”[[925]](#footnote-925)

**Summary**

With the end of the Freedom Tour and the gradual resettlement of the Hungarian National Olympic Team more or less complete, the involvement of *Sports Illustrated* in the lives of the exiles began to recede. The magazine had spent a fair sum of money in all its efforts, not to mention the enormous cost of the time taken up by its staff. The intentions of *Sports Illustrated* from the Melbourne defection to the Iglói-Tábori Mission are clear. No doubt there was a motivation to sell copies of the magazine, or at least, to advertise the brand in an innovative manner. As Whitney Tower admitted to Szápáry, there were many at the magazine who wanted to exploit the situation for commercial, as opposed to moral, gains. Still, this was not the only reason for the pivotal contribution of *SI*. It is hard to look beyond the Cold War mentality of individuals such as Neale, Tower, Pollard, and Jackson. Neale for instance, understood that “In city after city, there is developing a very warm and human appreciation of the part that Sports Illustrated” played in the Freedom Tour. At the same time, after visiting Voorhees in Washington, D.C. to discuss the resettlement of the exiled athletes, he wrote that “the importance of this tour, for keeping Hungary’s fight for freedom alive in America…was impressed on me.”[[926]](#footnote-926) Brody was not called to San Francisco simply to protect the reputation of a magazine. In a report to Larmon with regard to Iglói and Tábori, Brody wrote: “Their significance from a political and propaganda standpoint is too obvious to need explanation.”[[927]](#footnote-927) The Freedom Tour and the resettlement of the Hungarian National Olympic Team was about more than sales figures for *SI*. It was a case of private citizens and private groups doing what they could for a cause they believed in, and a cause that often complemented government policies.

Gradually, too, C.D. Jackson’s involvement in the activities of exiled athletes also began to ebb. Congress was taking a moral stance on the law, and the IOC’s rules were as rigid as ever. He still took an interest in the fortunes of Father Schmidt and the Santa Clara Valley Youth Village, and still maintained contact with Szápáry. When, however, Telegdy presented the publicist with a plan to facilitate another mass defection at the Rome Olympics, Jackson was uncharacteristically negative. “I think he is over optimistic,” Jackson told Brody. “The atmosphere in the summer of 1960 is unfortunately quite different from the atmosphere of December 1956.”[[928]](#footnote-928)

The Hungarian National Sports Federation experienced its most productive stage in the aftermath of the Melbourne Games. The HNSF succeeded *Sports Illustrated* as the main source of support for the exiles, and the Free Europe Committee responded by giving the federation a consistent financial injection. Keeping the refugee sportsmen actively participating in sporting competitions became the central goal. Aside from anything else, this was a valuable form of propaganda. The HNSF capitalized on its raised status and, in harness with the FEC, embarked on one final large scale Olympic project. Telegdy called it, “Operation Rome.”

**Chapter 9 – Operation Rome: East-West Contacts, the Free Europe Committee, and the 1960 Summer Olympic Games**

Throughout the second term of the Eisenhower administration, America remained locked into the Cold War. Defeats and embarrassments were suffered. On 4 October 1957, the Soviets launched an artificial earth satellite into space. The device, named Sputnik, was a tremendous propaganda coup. The American public and Federal government viewed the episode as a considerable setback. *Newsweek* magazine called it a “defeat in three fields: In pure science, in practical know-how, and in psychological warfare.”[[929]](#footnote-929) On 1 May 1960, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane which had been gathering intelligence on Soviet military capabilities. Though at first Eisenhower denied violating Soviet airspace, he was forced to admit American culpability when Khrushchev produced the plane and the pilot.[[930]](#footnote-930) The event curtailed the prospect of peace talks.

In some respects, nothing appeared to have changed. The U.S. and USSR increasingly vied for preponderance in the Third World, and relentlessly built up their military and nuclear capacities. In one area, however, there was a promise of détente. The Soviet Union had closed its borders and shielded its people from Western influence in the early years of the Cold War. After the death of Stalin, this policy receded. The new leaders in the Kremlin started to press for greater East-West contacts with America, and finally, following some reluctance, the Eisenhower administration acquiesced. In 1958, the two countries signed a cultural agreement, which signalled a new era of reciprocal technical, cultural, and scientific exchanges. It revealed the shift in U.S. policy under Eisenhower. With the prospects of “liberation” seemingly in abeyance, the U.S. government looked to induce “evolutionary” change in the Soviet bloc through “cultural infiltration.”

By 1960, time was running out for the financial aid which the Free Europe Committee (FEC) provided for Count Szápáry and company. The FEC itself faced a period of crisis. The failure of the Polish uprising of 1953, and the Hungarian Revolution three years later, was a terrible blow to its objectives and to the exiled community in general. The U.S. government’s new direction in policy also had a profound effect on the organization. The Free Europe Committee also looked to increase contacts between exiles and the people of Eastern Europe to keep hopes of liberation alive. In the spirit of this new direction, the 1960 Rome Olympic Games became the focus of a multi-faceted FEC plan. The aim was to use the event to make “contact” with foreign nationals from either side of the Iron Curtain and offer advice to any Hungarian athlete that wished to defect. A large part of the project was instigated and run by George Telegdy and the Hungarian National Sports Federation, under the title, Operation Rome. Moreover, Operation Rome served as the last bold initiative by the HNSF at an Olympic festival.

**East-West Contacts and the Cultural Agreement**

American and Soviet cultural relations quickly diminished after World War II. The spirit of cooperation, embodied in the Grand Alliance, gave way to mutual fear and distrust. As the Cold War set in, so did Stalin’s insularity. He sealed off the Soviet Union and purged it of Western culture. Soviet writers, musicians, magazines, and scientists were scolded for displaying sympathy to the West, or for showing signs of being too “bourgeois.” Soviet culture had to be praised; American culture ridiculed. Likewise, the anti-communist hysteria that swept post-war America also created an atmosphere wholly unwelcoming to Marxism. In 1950, the Subversive Activities Control Act basically barred all “nonofficial” Soviet bloc citizens from entering the United States. Two years later, the Immigration and Nationality Act, otherwise known as the McCarran Act, added further restrictions. From then on, all Soviet bloc persons applying for visas to enter America had to be fingerprinted. While both superpowers launched cultural programs that reached far and wide, they ignored interactions with one another. “Except for the slimmest of threads,” writes J.D. Parks, “cultural contacts between the former war partners ceased to exist.”[[931]](#footnote-931)

Stalin’s death altered the situation. After his demise, the collective leadership in the Kremlin enacted liberalizing policies within the Soviet Union and pursued a more welcoming policy to the outside world. All of a sudden, Americans were granted visas to enter the Soviet Union and, once inside its borders, were given relative freedom to roam. This spirit of openness was not reciprocated by the United States. A few Soviet citizens were allowed into America in 1954, including a chess team, but the visitors were only permitted to travel within a 25 mile radius of New York City. The State Department, it appeared, was not taken with the idea of reopening cultural exchanges with its greatest enemy. In 1955, however, the level of exchanges began to increase, including a highly publicized visit of Soviet delegates to learn farming techniques in Iowa. On this occasion, the fingerprinting requirement was waived, but in general, this law obstructed the progress of cultural relations. In July 1955, the leaders of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France gathered for a conference in Geneva. They discussed pressing Cold War issues, such as German reunification and disarmament. Also on the agenda, was the subject of “East-West contacts” which could “(a) bring about a progressive elimination of barriers which interfere with free communication and peaceful trade between people and (b) bring about such freer contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and the peoples concerned.” For the time being, there were too many differences of opinion for an agreement to be struck, but discussion of the issue made clear that all sides took it seriously.[[932]](#footnote-932)

During and after the Geneva conference, the number of Americans travelling to the Soviet Union continued to rise. Educators, religious leaders, politicians, tourists and entertainers capitalized on the chance to see the other side of the Iron Curtain. “Official” Soviet delegates travelled to the U.S., a designation that allowed them to avoid fingerprinting. A formal agreement beckoned. That is, until the Hungarian Revolution put added strain on relations between Washington and Moscow. For the next six months exchanges almost stopped. However, during a televised interview in June 1957, Khrushchev called for more contacts between the U.S. and USSR. It seemed to reinvigorate the debate for exchanges in the State Department. The abolishment of the fingerprinting requirement soon followed.[[933]](#footnote-933) In January 1958, the two countries signed a cultural agreement. The agreement allowed for all manner of reciprocal exchanges in science, agriculture, medicine, television, film, scholarly research, tourism, and sport.[[934]](#footnote-934) At the same time, the U.S. government sought to widen its cultural contacts with willing Eastern European regimes, thus “breaking down the isolation of the captive peoples from the West.” This, and the cultural agreement, were symbolic of the shift in thinking in the Eisenhower administration. “Liberation” may have remained the ideal goal, but it would have to be achieved by “gradualist” means and with an “evolutionary approach,” by penetrating the Iron Curtain with ideas and culture.[[935]](#footnote-935)

On the American side of the cultural agreement, exchanges were organized in cooperation with the private sector.[[936]](#footnote-936) In the case of sport, this meant the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU). In actual fact, the AAU and Soviet sports officials had been negotiating on and off for athletic exchanges for several years. Political and structural differences prevented an accord. As Joseph Turrini explains, the AAU preferred an “exchange of individual athletes to compete in non-team-scored meets,” while the Soviet Union “desired scored dual meets between the two national squads.” These problems were resolved. The political aspect was non-negotiable.[[937]](#footnote-937) The fingerprinting requirement in the McCarran Act was seen as a “humiliating procedure” by Soviet sports leaders.[[938]](#footnote-938) A few isolated sporting interactions occurred, such as the appearance of two American wrestlers in the USSR, but these were few and far between.[[939]](#footnote-939) Finally, in October 1957, Congress amended the law on fingerprinting. When the cultural agreement was signed, the State Department requested that the AAU organize athletic exchanges with the Soviet Union. The exchanges began in April 1958, with American men’s and women’s basketball teams visiting the USSR, and Soviet wrestling and weightlifting teams competing in America. “All of these tours were highly successful,” opined the AAU.[[940]](#footnote-940) Also that year, the AAU agreed with Soviet officials to instigate an annual track and field meet, with the first competition set for Moscow in July 1958, and the next in Philadelphia in 1959. This dual track series became a sensation for years to come, attracting a huge amount of publicity and public attention. The Olympic decathlon champion, Rafer Johnson, later said of the first leg in Moscow, that it “was not just man-on-man for the unofficial title of World’s Greatest Athlete, it was Communism vs. the Free World.”[[941]](#footnote-941)

Prior to the Hungarian revolution, the U.S. government had received overtures from Romanian authorities which signalled a willingness to broaden technical and cultural ties.[[942]](#footnote-942) Thus, in 1956, the State Department allowed for three American athletes to attend a track and field meet in Bucharest. The American Embassy in Bucharest produced a glowing report of the reaction in Romania. It was noted that the Americans were greeted with “tumultuous applause” as they marched into the stadium, whereas the Soviet competitors garnered only a “polite ripple.” Each time the Americans performed, the crowd showed its appreciation. Witnessing this support, Soviet diplomats were reduced to “glum looks and mutterings amongst themselves.” The Embassy concluded:

There is no question but that the participation of these American athletes in this Track Meet did a great deal to maintain the prestige of the United States among the Rumanian people and gave them a rare opportunity of publicly exposing their warm feelings and admiration for the United States.[[943]](#footnote-943)

The Soviet intervention in Budapest only a month later tempered cultural relations between the U.S. and the communist satellites for some time. Within a year, however, further plans emerged to rekindle the athletic relationship with Romania, and six American athletes journeyed to Bucharest for a track meet in September 1957.[[944]](#footnote-944)

Elsewhere, the U.S. made even more pronounced efforts to cultivate interactions and exchanges with Poland, a country that was viewed as a prime example of how an Eastern European country could gain some level of independence from Moscow. Cultural relations with Poland included exchanges of academics, artists, technical experts, and athletes.[[945]](#footnote-945) In August 1958, for instance, the U.S. and Poland competed in a track meet in Warsaw. The American Embassy praised the “highly successful exchange,” which drew huge crowds and “whetted” the Polish appetite for more frequent sporting contacts.[[946]](#footnote-946)

Apart from these positive reactions to sport exchanges, doubts about communist sport could not be put to rest. American embassies still pointed to the dubious intentions and propaganda element of sports in the Soviet bloc. Defeats were still feared. When an American basketball team lost to the Soviet Union at a tournament in Chile, the American Embassy in Lima wrote to inform the State Department that the outcome of the contest was widely covered in Peruvian newspapers. “As a result of this victory,” wrote the Public Affairs officer in Lima, “the Soviet Union has again scored an important psychological advantage and, as far as the average, non-too-intelligent-man-on-the-street is concerned, it is another indication of Soviet ‘superiority’ over the U.S.”[[947]](#footnote-947) The Public Affairs Officer in Santiago was irate. He complained that the defeat of an under strength American team backfired in two respects. Not only was the loss a blow to national prestige, but it was also a “slight to Chilean pride” because the U.S. did not deem it necessary to send its best team. He argued that the basketball tournament had “a psychological importance which transcends the frontiers of sports” and that this aspect should be taken into account for future U.S. participation in sports events.[[948]](#footnote-948) Another alarmist message issued from an American Consul official in Zurich, who reacted to reports from a Swiss shooting official that the Soviet Union had manipulated results at a rifle tournament in Moscow. Apparently, the Swiss shooting official had spoken to some Australian competitors who were in the USSR for the event, and they severely criticised the food given them for the duration of their stay. The Swiss official suggested that Soviet authorities had “drugged” visiting teams. The Consul asked if the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the Voice of America might corroborate the story and find out if “the Soviet Union is so interested in proving its superiority in all military matters that it may have deliberately arranged for foreign rifle teams to be unable to shoot to their maximum capabilities.”[[949]](#footnote-949) On other occasions, embassies celebrated examples where satellite countries used sport as a way of showing displeasure to the USSR. Gradually, too, it was noted that contacts between the communist bloc and developing countries was expanding.

While the State Department continued to work in concert with the AAU, and suggest valuable political destinations for American athletes to tour, an additional government project also contributed to increasing the number of American athletes sent abroad. In 1956, the People-to-People Sports Committee Inc. was established as part of a government initiative, the People-to-People Program. The idea for the People-to-People Program came from the USIA deputy-director, Abbott Washburn, and was transmitted to Eisenhower by the USIA director, Theodore Streibert. Streibert tried to convince the president that the U.S. needed a stronger reaction to the Soviet cultural offensive, especially in the private sphere. Streibert proposed rallying ordinary American citizens to make friendly contacts with other like-minded citizens around the world. The aim would be to reinforce ideals of American culture and peace abroad, and stimulate people at home to get behind the country’s foreign policy. The plan transformed into the People-to-People Program. Eisenhower gave it his full backing. The Program was run by the USIA, or, more precisely, by an internal administrative unit called the Office of Private Cooperation. During the Truman administration, the Office of Private Cooperation was embedded in the International Information Administration, and identified by a somewhat similar title, the Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation (see chapter 4). Like its predecessor, the Office of Private Cooperation sought to encourage private businesses and organizations to contribute to the mission of the government’s information program. Its budget and staff grew under Eisenhower, buoyed by the recommendations of the Jackson Committee to increase the use of the private sphere in U.S. propaganda operations. Streibert wanted the Office to move beyond short-term projects and create permanent organizations and self-sustaining programs. The Office could then concentrate on creating these “mechanisms” and work on their propaganda themes. The People-to-People Program was the perfect opportunity. The Program would be based on a host of independent citizen committees, with each focused on a particular area or segment of society. The Office created over thirty of these committees, including a Hobbies Committee, a Fine Arts Committee, and others for advertising, health, and insurance. The Program was launched at a conference on 11 September 1956, with Eisenhower and Streibert addressing the new committee chairs. The Cold War intentions were clear. Eisenhower reminded the assembly that while communists “subject everything to the control of the state,” America acts upon the “will of the majority.” The American people were needed to tell the world that the United States was not “warlike” and that it wanted peace and understanding. Although the individual committees were essentially financially self-sustaining, the imprint of the U.S. government on the whole Program was obvious. Apart from the input of the Office of Private Cooperation, the Operations Coordinating Board set up a Working Group on the project.[[950]](#footnote-950)

The People-to-People Sports Committee emerged as one of the many committees promoting the image of America at home and abroad. Streibert, like Washburn, had grown increasingly frustrated at the less than energetic efforts of the U.S. government to fund athletic tours and exchanges. Streibert rejected hundreds of proposals for sport-related projects because of a lack of funds. When the USIA director rebuffed yet another request from a U.S. information post, he noted that the Agency had received over 200 calls for assistance in the “sports area.” “These have invariably proved hard nuts to crack,” he added. However, Streibert hoped that the People-to-People Sports Committee “will be prepared to deal positively with requests of this nature.”[[951]](#footnote-951) The Sports Committee was, in a distant way, the realization of plans discussed by Washburn and C.D. Jackson from 1954 to 1956. These two Cold War warriors wanted to make sure the U.S. was represented at the most important overseas athletic competitions, so that the Soviet Union would not dominate international sport unchallenged. This idea floundered. No one could be found to chair the committee and the plan never left the planning stage. It is also questionable whether such a committee would have been sanctioned by the AAU and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC); they considered international sport as their territory. The People-to-People Sports Committee was chaired by Colonel Edward P. Eagan, the same man coveted by Washburn and Jackson (see chapter 6). Furthermore, Jackson and Washburn were briefed on the Sports Committee’s progress and development.[[952]](#footnote-952) But the aims of the People-to-People Sports Committee were a little different from the original proposal put forward by Jackson and Washburn. Participation in elite international competition was not the central focus; rather, the Sports Committee aimed to promote exchanges with schools, universities, and amateur and professional clubs; provide sports equipment to those that needed it; and work with and stimulate other sports organizations to try and use sport as a way to break down social and cultural barriers between the United States and other nations.[[953]](#footnote-953) In a letter written by Eagan to drum up public support, the Colonel explained the effect this could have:

From time to time we receive requests originating in consulates and embassies for assistance which would make possible the launching of some sport abroad. Most of them are not extensive or expensive, but you can be sure are earnest, and, if filled, create understanding and friendship for the United States. The significance of our billions of dollars of foreign aid is not readily understood by the man on the street abroad, but a little sports equipment which he or his son or daughter can use and enjoy with others is understood and helps erase the all too prevalent impression that we are cold, aloof, heartless, dollar-hungry people.[[954]](#footnote-954)

The work of the Sports Committee moved at a pedestrian pace in its first year. It took time for Eagan to attract well connected members to the group and to enlist the support of other sports organizations. The AAU, in particular, was helpful, with Daniel Ferris volunteering to act as a director. He was joined by J. Lyman Bingham of the USOC, Sidney James of *Sports Illustrated*, and representatives of several other prominent sports, health, and recreation organizations. The USIA provided a seed fund of $8,900. Once this ran out, it was the responsibility of Eagan and the other members to keep the committee financially stable.[[955]](#footnote-955)

The Sports Committee coordinated a variety of activities with the State Department and the USIA. The first major project saw the Sports Committee bring the Pakistan national cricket team to America to play games and “learn more about” the United States. The committee sponsored a men’s field hockey club to compete against and host teams from around the world, and funded a 30 day tour of the U.S. for a university basketball squad from Ecuador. Eagan and his colleagues organized an annual international junior tennis tournament with the Miami Beach Tennis Association, and sent university chess teams to World Championships for men and women. In its first seven years, the Sports Committee arranged for U.S. representation in yacht races, boxing tournaments, and horse shows; and facilitated tours in lacrosse, handball, rugby, field hockey, soccer, and lawn bowling. It shipped thousands of dollars’ worth of sports equipment to numerous countries, facilitated pen-pal correspondence between foreign and American sports enthusiasts, and formed connections with sports associations and clubs across the globe. The Sports Committee also made arrangements to set up hospitality facilities at major sports events such as the Olympic Games, handing out free pro-American literature and putting on entertainment.[[956]](#footnote-956) Attempts to hide the political aspect of the committee were merely subterfuge. Cuban sports officials bitterly complained to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) about the anti-communist material distributed by the Sports Committee at the 1963 Pan American Games and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Brundage sternly reprimanded Eagan and threatened to ban the Sports Committee from operating at future Olympic or Regional Games.[[957]](#footnote-957)

**More Olympic Controversy**

The Winter and Summer Olympic festivals of 1960 were not set in the same tense political climate that shadowed the Games in Melbourne. Yet, the Cold War impaired preparations. When the 1960 Winter Games were awarded to the American ski resort of Squaw Valley, it was done so on the proviso that all member nations of the IOC would be allowed unimpeded passage into the United States. But U.S. immigration restrictions to communist countries were obstructive, especially with regard to China, North Korea, Bulgaria, and Albania, none of whom had diplomatic relations with America.[[958]](#footnote-958) There was an additional problem. Konstantin Andrianov, the Soviet IOC member, wrote to Otto Mayer to point out that visits of Soviet sportsmen to the U.S. “were several times cancelled because they could not agree with a humiliating procedure of fingerprinting when getting the American visas.”[[959]](#footnote-959) He demanded that the IOC be given assurances that this would not happen for the Games. Mayer agreed. He asked Brundage to approach the State Department for assurance that “ALL athletes without distinction of countries get their visa to enter the USA.”[[960]](#footnote-960) Brundage and the IOC simplified the situation. If the U.S. would not admit athletes from “All” IOC-recognized countries for the Winter Games, then the Games would be moved to another site. The Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Andrew Berding, wrote John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, to discuss the matter. Berding believed that the U.S. should grant visas to all countries for the Winter Games. He alluded to the “serious propaganda blow to the United States if we specifically exclude any athletes from any country whatsoever.”[[961]](#footnote-961) Dulles indicated to his staff that the Administration was in favour of eliminating the fingerprinting requirement altogether and approving legislation which would “specifically” apply to the Olympic Games.[[962]](#footnote-962) The U.S. government acceded to the IOC demands. No communist athletes would be fingerprinted, but the government wanted the names of each athlete in advance so background checks could be completed.[[963]](#footnote-963)

In a communication to Dulles, Berding also raised the issue of American Olympic officials being granted visas to attend the 1957 IOC Session in Bulgaria. He urged the State Department to allow for the visit, so that Brundage and the other American IOC members could confirm to the other International Olympic Committee delegates that entry to the United States for the Squaw Valley Games would not be withheld. Brundage had already written to John Foster Dulles, complaining: “Certainly the Communists would make capital of my absence and only we would suffer by lack of representation.” The State Department granted his visa.[[964]](#footnote-964) The political argument swung the decision. The government speedily sanctioned visas for other U.S. Olympic officials, with particular attention to the passport of Douglas Roby, whose “experience and strength would be absolutely needed to properly protect U.S. interests at the international meeting.”[[965]](#footnote-965)

Regardless of American concessions, not everything proceeded without drama before the Winter Games commenced in Squaw Valley. East Germany, as part of a joint team with West Germany, attempted to attain visas for twenty extra “officials,” above and beyond its quota. The State Department refused to issue visas to the suspicious complement, doubting their sporting credentials.[[966]](#footnote-966) But this was nothing compared to the reaction in the State Department when the IOC made a technical ruling over Taiwan in May 1959. In 1954, the IOC recognized two Chinas in the Olympic Movement, one on the mainland, the other on Taiwan (Formosa). Mainland China (The People’s Republic), however, never accepted the situation, and lobbied Brundage to drop the committee in Taiwan. Brundage refused, and in 1958, The People’s Republic of China cut ties with the Olympic Movement. After some contemplation, the IOC then ruled that because Taiwan did not govern Olympic matters on mainland China, it should not be known as the “Chinese Nationalist Olympic Committee.” The IOC asked the Taiwanese Olympic authorities to reapply for recognition under a name that made no reference to China. When this news broke in the world’s media, it was interpreted that the IOC had jettisoned Taiwan from the Movement. The State Department exploded with criticism. Eisenhower joined the chorus. The American public condemned the decision. The USOC, the AAU, and even Roby, chastised the IOC. [[967]](#footnote-967)

The State Department had been informed of the IOC ruling by Roby. Roby had secretly reported the intelligence to a U.S. Embassy official in Munich. It was not the first time he had furnished the government with inside information on IOC meetings (see chapter 6). Roby claimed that his idea to keep the Taiwanese in the Movement while they changed their name was supported by no one, and that included the two American IOC members, Brundage and John Jewett Garland.[[968]](#footnote-968) The Operations Coordinating Board discussed the IOC ruling at length. It was feared that if the U.S. government appeared ambivalent on the IOC decision, it might have “incalculable effects on the voting in the United Nations” an organization that did not recognize communist China. An OCB official also complained that the American IOC members “were not very well briefed” on the government’s policy to “exclude Communist China” from all international organizations.[[969]](#footnote-969) The IOC was incorrectly blamed for submitting to communist demands. Karl Harr, the President’s latest special assistant on psychological warfare, referred to the “inability” of IOC members to understand the “machinations” of communists “who seek to pervert such forums to political purposes.”[[970]](#footnote-970) The Department of State concurred, calling the name alteration “an attempt by Communists in the IOC to deny the existence of the Republic of China and thereby pave the way for the re-admission of the Chinese Communists.”[[971]](#footnote-971)

Brundage was bewildered. He told a colleague: “I found that we were being charged with having ‘kicked out’ the Formosa Chinese (which we did not do) in order to take in the Communist Chinese (which we did not do), as a result of Communist pressure (there was none).”[[972]](#footnote-972) He went on the offensive. After all, the IOC recognized geographical areas, not countries, and the Taiwanese Olympic Committee could only speak for the island on which it operated. He publicly criticised Roby, and tried to force the USOC official out of the IOC.[[973]](#footnote-973) But the public outcry forced the IOC to make a compromise. The Olympic Committee in Taiwan could retain China in its title (Republic of China Olympic Committee), but in international competition, it would compete under the name of Taiwan. This produced an amusing moment during the opening ceremony in Rome; when the Taiwanese team marched past the reviewing stand the placard bearer momentarily produced a sign that read, “Under Protest.”[[974]](#footnote-974)

**Making Plans, Making Contact**

If the Hungarian Revolution had damaged the prestige of the Soviet Union, it also had a lasting impact on the Free Europe Committee. The FEC entered a period of declining morale and organization. Radio Free Europe, for instance, had been widely condemned for its broadcasting of the revolution; efforts were made to regroup with new staff and tighter script control. RFE tried to “inject constructive criticism into its commentaries,” as opposed to relentlessly attacking communism.[[975]](#footnote-975) The State Department strove for more control over the whole Free Europe Committee operation. The FEC streamlined and reduced its exile relations program to achieve greater efficiency at a lower cost. Various government officials talked of the decline of the Free Europe Committee and Radio Free Europe. One CIA officer wrote: “FEC/RFE has hardening of the arteries;…the drive and imagination which characterized it in the early 1950s are no longer there.”[[976]](#footnote-976)

Like the U.S. government, the FEC and RFE had begun to move away from the policy of liberation in the early 1950s; the Soviet intervention in Budapest further solidified this process. An “evolutionary” policy replaced the “revolutionary.”[[977]](#footnote-977) And, similar to the government, the FEC embraced the approach of using cultural infiltration and East-West contacts to effect change in the satellite regimes. The aim was to “bring about a loosening of ties between the satellite states of the USSR by keeping opposition to the regimes alive, maintaining the captive peoples sense of identity with West,” and “stimulating a gradual evolutionary change…on the way to national independence on democratic foundations.” The residue of liberation remained, though it was acknowledged that this would not come from military intervention from the outside. The FEC concurred that “East-West contacts” were “extremely valuable” to promote these liberalizing tendencies in the Soviet bloc.[[978]](#footnote-978) A “broadening” of the FEC contacts program was seen as compatible with the “national interest of the United States.” These “personal encounters” could “achieve political objectives by…non-political means.” Encouraging defection was not viewed as a productive policy in this regard, for it might threaten the plan of “inducing cooperation” on the part of communist regimes.[[979]](#footnote-979)

It did not take long for Telegdy to rebound from disappointment. There never seemed a chance that the IOC would amend its rules to accommodate exiled athletes, yet as long as Hungary was under communist control, and as long as the Soviet Union existed, there was something to fight against. Early in 1960, Telegdy rolled out his latest plan. It was reminiscent of Melbourne. The Soviet “professional gladiators” had dominated the 1956 Olympics, and “Soviet supremacy will be even more marked at Rome,” argued Telegdy. Hungary, like the other satellites, was also preparing to use the Games for “propaganda” and to “prove the regime’s” policy. But, Telegdy continued, “Hungarian sports quarters suffered a severe loss in 1956” and ever since, he claimed, “a special section of the Hungarian Sports Ministry” worked exclusively to “counterbalance the activities of the HNSF.” He estimated that between 15 and 25 Hungarian athletes would defect at the Rome Games, and he wanted assurances that they would be given asylum in America, help to resettle, and possibly even sent on an exhibition tour. If athletes preferred to stay in Europe, then other arrangements could be made. Most of all, Telegdy asked for the financial and logistical backing of the Free Europe Committee.[[980]](#footnote-980)

When C.D. Jackson read Telegdy’s report he reacted with indifference. “Over optimistic,” he told a colleague.[[981]](#footnote-981) The report landed on the desk of Andre Laguerre at *Sports Illustrated*, the individual who coordinated the Melbourne defection in Australia. Laguerre did not take the bait. He thought that *Sports Illustrated* could be part of a committee to help athletes in America after the defection, but nothing more. “Journalistically,” he told Jackson, “the defections would not be anything like the story for us they were last time, and indeed I think we should be striking a false note in taking the lead again in this situation.”[[982]](#footnote-982)

Telegdy kept planning, all the same. He named the project, Operation Rome.[[983]](#footnote-983) Although the usual suspects – i.e. Jackson and *Sports Illustrated* – distanced themselves from involvement in another defection, the higher echelons of the Free Europe Committee reacted very differently. There were doubts whether anyone would, in fact, defect, and reservations about immigration procedures, yet Operation Rome was afforded serious attention. An FEC memorandum underscored that Telegdy and the HNSF “have become recognized by the Hungarian regime as the greatest thorn in their side concerning sports propaganda.” If Telegdy were not in Rome, it was added, “his absence would be considered a great victory for the [Hungarian] regime.” Funds were cleared (around $3,000) and preparations instigated. Essentially, Telegdy’s plan was split into two phases. First, Telegdy would travel around Europe for just under a month, visiting London, Paris, Munich, and Vienna; his aim being to promote the cause of stateless athletes and to meet up with other exiled sports organizations in an attempt to create unity in the exiled sportsmen community. The second stage concentrated on the Olympic Games in Rome. A four person team, one of whom was Telegdy, would travel to the Eternal City. Once in Rome, the plan would be to make “contact” with any Hungarian athletes who wanted to defect and provide these individuals with guidance and information.[[984]](#footnote-984) In addition to this, the four man team would hold a press conference and reception to highlight the exclusion of exiles from the Olympics, urging the International Olympic Committee to alter its rules. An exiled water polo team based in Vienna, “Hungaria Heimatlos,” was also added to the venture. The team would be transported to France for a week of practice and then shuttled to Rome to compete in exhibition contests during the Olympics.[[985]](#footnote-985)

Soon, however, Operation Rome became subsumed under a multi-faceted East-West contact program. It was assumed by FEC staff that the Soviet Union would make its “most intensive effort ever” at the Rome Games “to prove to the attentive eyes of all the world the superiority of their system.” This was part of a “ceaseless assault on the morale of the free world.” The FEC predicted that the USSR and its satellites would not only prepare intensively for the athletic competitions, but that it would also import “cheering sections.” It was understood that thousands of people from the Soviet bloc would be in Rome to support communist athletes. There were obvious limits to a Free Europe Committee response. Nothing could be done to alter the outcome of the sporting events, and nothing could be arranged to stop communist tourists from cheering or booing from the stands. But something could be done in other respects. Throughout the duration of the Games, the FEC would aim to make “contact” with “East Europeans who already feel themselves committed to the West and against the communists.” Converting hard-line communists was considered unlikely given the short time span of the Games. In much the same way, making contact with tourists from the free world had limitations. The FEC chose to direct attention to individuals who already harboured distaste for communism: “It will be enough if the fact that of the communist domination of these countries is simply brought home to them in one fashion or another.” The methods used had to complement the festival atmosphere. “Attempts to harangue the general public on the Soviet oppression of Eastern Europe…are bound to be ignored and will probably be counterproductive,” it was concluded.[[986]](#footnote-986)

During the summer of 1960, a range of contact projects were approved and cleared for funding. One proposal instigated by the Union of Free Hungarian Students (UFHS) revolved around setting up a camp on the outskirts of Rome. The UFHS would thus provide cheap lodging for its members, international students, or other young persons who were in Rome for the Olympics. The aim of the camp was to counter Soviet propaganda, “which blames the West for not taking care of refugee students.” Additionally, the camp would have an exhibit to “demonstrate the activities of the Hungarian student community in exile” and “indicate the advantages and intellectual superiority of the free form of living.” The camps site could accommodate over 300 people. In conjunction with other refugee student groups, the UFHS also organized an information centre in Rome.[[987]](#footnote-987) A “Polish Contact Program,” was focused on Polish youths and students visiting Rome for the Games. This idea proposed to assist some of these youths in visiting art galleries or exhibits in the city,[[988]](#footnote-988) while a Polish Information Centre would provide guide books, guides, interpreters, and arrange bus tours in and out of Rome.[[989]](#footnote-989) In another plan, the Italian student organization, Foccolarini, was given $1,000 to show films like “Hungary In Flames.”[[990]](#footnote-990) Finally, a further émigré group funded by the FEC, the Assembly of Captive European Nations, proposed establishing a show window to distribute leaflets to promote its cause.[[991]](#footnote-991)

In the midst of preparations for exploiting the Rome Games, the HNSF and the Free Europe Committee combined for a further project, this time in New York. In order to pay for U.S. representation at each Olympic festival, the United States Olympic Committee traditionally launched a nationwide fundraising campaign aimed at capturing public donations. It was always a private affair, never a state-sponsored effort. After all, officials of the USOC constantly preached that sport should be separate from politics. The HNSF and FEC decided to make their own “private” contribution. On 11 July an “Olympic Evening Festival” was arranged by the HNSF and the New York Committee for the 1960 Olympic Games to raise funds for the American Olympic team. A Free Europe Committee official, John Matthews, worked in cooperation with Teledgy on the preparations. Over 1000 invitations were sent out and guests were asked to pay $10 for a ticket.[[992]](#footnote-992) All proceeds were donated to the USOC Olympic fund. As Count Szápáry put it, even though exiled athletes could not represent the United States in Rome, they could at least help to make sure that an American team was present in Italy. The evening was opened with a torch run by a 52 year old Greek named Constantinos Kotteakos. He started at the Statue of Liberty and was then taken in a coast guard boat to the Battery. From there he ran six miles to the Tavern on the Green, the site of the celebration. The evening consisted of athletic displays by members of the U.S. Olympic squad and the Hungarian National Olympic Team. There were demonstrations in wrestling, fencing and gymnastics. Guests were also able to enjoy the orchestras of Roland Hass and Count Stephen Revay, and a buffet supper. The Honorary Committee for the evening is indicative of the position that the HNSF had assumed in the U.S. sporting establishment and the state-private network. Listed are Archibald Alexander, the president of the FEC, C.D. Jackson, Sidney James, Edward Eagan, Daniel Ferris, and Lyman Bingham.[[993]](#footnote-993)

**Telegdy on Tour**

By the end of the 1950s, the FEC assisted and, to a more limited degree, funded, several exile sport groups in Europe. For instance, the DTJ Czechoslovak Sports Verein, based in Vienna, received money to buy sports equipment and rent playing fields. The FEC was also linked to the Polish Sokol Union in Lens, which it helped in its aim of giving “physical and moral education” to Polish youths in France. Aid was given to the Hungaria Sports Club in Paris, and the World Federation of Hungarian Refugee Sportsmen in Vienna was channelled money to cover costs for administration, and to “enable free Hungarians to participate in sports events in and outside Austria.”[[994]](#footnote-994) In general, the Free Europe Committee faced an ongoing struggle to maintain harmony within and between the exile groups it sponsored. Thus, the first part of Operation Rome saw Telegdy try and forge a united front between other Hungarian refugee sport groups in Europe.

Before Telegdy departed for his tour, he was briefed extensively by FEC officials. They reminded him to keep focused and on track. “He is not,” stated one FEC memorandum, “to use this trip to try to…expand the European end of HNSF or to force or entice dissident groups into his organization.” On the contrary, Telegdy was “to try and iron out differences which exist in the Hungarian exile sports world so that a united front can be put forward at Rome.”[[995]](#footnote-995) Letters were written to FEC representatives in Europe, instructing them to watch over the Hungarian, and prevent him from attracting “undue attention.”[[996]](#footnote-996) These measures reveal the general concerns that many had regarding Telegdy’s personality. John Matthews thought that, “The only way he can be brought to heel…is to convince him that he does not, in fact, have the unqualified support of FEC or the Hungarian sports world that he would like to have, and that unless he cooperates with the many other person’s involved he and his Sports Federation are finished.”[[997]](#footnote-997) Robert Minton, vice president of the FEC, was a touch more diplomatic, and considered that “despite certain natural tendencies [Telegdy] has to over dramatize his and the Federation’s importance, we place a great confidence in him personally as a conscientious and sound person who has the best interests of his athletes and the Free World at heart.”[[998]](#footnote-998)

In fact, when Teledgy made his way from city to city, his main focus was in publicizing the absence of Stateless athletes from the Games, rather than a unifying mission. This had always been the ultimate goal for him, and for other vocal exiles attached to the HNSF. Before the Rome Games, both Count Szápáry and Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano had prodded Avery Brundage on the matter of exiled athletes, without gaining even so much as a crumb of comfort in return. While Teledgy made his way around Europe, he attempted to generate more publicity for the issue, explaining the problem to whomever would listen, and probably even to those who would not. During his four country sojourn, the warmest reception for the cause came in England. Indeed, a statement on the subject by the Member of Parliament and Olympian, Christopher Chataway, appeared in *The Times* of London. The MP complained about the continued omission of Laszlo Tabori from the Olympics. He also cited Article 1 of the *Olympic Charter*, just as many had done before him. Chataway went on:

This question of admitting stateless athletes has been put to the International Olympic Committee again and again in the past decade, but to no effect. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of these administrators to devise a formula by which athletes in this category are permitted to compete.[[999]](#footnote-999)

Márffy cabled an excited message to the FEC regarding the Chataway statement.[[1000]](#footnote-1000) Minton appreciated its importance. He wrote John Leich, an FEC official in London: “We naturally take a positive view of any internationally prominent athlete speaking up for the rights of stateless athletes – particularly when the spokesman is not American.”[[1001]](#footnote-1001)

Telegdy arrived in London in late July, exhausted from the flight and bitter at having paid extra for his overweight luggage. He stayed at the St. James’ Club in Piccadilly, an exclusive members club for individuals based in the diplomatic services. Much of Márffy’s correspondence issued from this address, and it was probably he who suggested that Telegdy stay there. Telegdy wasted little time recuperating and adjusting to the “British ways.” He soon met with the secretary of the British Amateur Athletic Board, Jack Crump. Much to the his surprise, Crump displayed sympathy for stateless athletes and supported the statement made by Chataway.[[1002]](#footnote-1002)

Telegdy was pleased by this, but was quickly distracted when another opportunity presented itself. One evening he dined at the home of Márffy. Also present were a few “leading Hungarians.” By chance, Telegdy casually picked up a newspaper and noticed that László Tábori had won an international race in London. He phoned the newspaper and asked for an address to reach the runner, which he was accordingly given. Tábori and his coach, Mihály Iglói, were in the middle of a European a tour of their own, paid for by the British Amateur Athletic Board. The two gentlemen were due to travel to further invitational meets in Stockholm, Glasgow, Fontainebleau, Edinburgh, and back to London. Telegdy met with Tábori and Iglói for dinner. The coach and his charge indicated to Telegdy that they were free during the period of the Rome Games (25 August – 11 September). Telegdy suggested that the two could be flown to Rome and compete in exhibition races.[[1003]](#footnote-1003) The day before Telegdy departed for Paris, he met with an FEC official, John Leich, and mentioned his plan for Iglói and Tábori. Leich thought it sound, as it would “dramatize the question of participation of stateless persons in the Olympics.” As predicted, Leich noted that Telegdy was bumbling, unable to adhere to a budget and displaying a “generally disorganized approach.” “Since Paris is fairly empty in August,” pondered Leich, “I doubt he will have much luck.” Yet, he added, Telegdy “has surprised us here.”[[1004]](#footnote-1004)

The indefatigable Telegdy arrived in France on 4 August. He managed to visit the Hungaria Sports Club, an HNSF affiliate. The manager of the club outlined present difficulties and they worked on ways to fix them. Teledgy met with Radio Free Europe officials and worked on a press release for French newspapers on the subject of exiled athletes. Another day was spent with contacts at UNESCO; Telegdy enquired if the organization would sponsor an exiled Olympic team. They declined. There were communist members in UNESCO and it would be “futile to attempt such a request.” Limited success came from newspaper coverage of Tábori, who finished second in his race in Fontainebleau. Little else happened. Paris was indeed “dead.”[[1005]](#footnote-1005) Telegdy completed the final two legs of his journey, travelling to Munich and Vienna. He then proceeded to Rome.

**Operation Rome**

Before Telegdy left for Europe, he was briefed by Harry Crossman and Stephen Koczak of the State Department. The two men instructed Telegdy on how to behave in Rome and what to expect from the U.S. government if Hungarian Olympic athletes chose to defect. They told him to be, if at all possible, inconspicuous. When Telegdy suggested that he “operate secretly” as a foreign correspondent, the government officials reacted with “derision.” Since the communist regime in Hungary knew who Telegdy was, and what he looked like, there was no need for this pretence. Further procedures had to be adhered to. Telegdy had to meet with government officials at the American Embassy in Rome.[[1006]](#footnote-1006) Any defectors were to be turned over to the Italian government, who would place them in a camp. Visas to the U.S. would be “no problem,” but they would take time, perhaps a year.[[1007]](#footnote-1007)

A four person team assembled in the Eternal City to carry out Operation Rome. In addition to Telegdy, now in Italy following his European tour, there were two other members from the HNSF. Géza Super lived in Toronto and edited the HNSF publication, *Sporthiradó*; István Moldoványi was a former official in the Hungarian sporting administration, based in New Jersey. The fourth member of the group, Anne Campanaro, was an FEC Special Assistant,[[1008]](#footnote-1008) whose job it was to keep Telegdy somewhat under control and somewhere within budget. Moreover, Telegdy had been repeatedly briefed and warned about what he could do in Rome and more to the point, what he could not. The world situation was far different from what it had been in Melbourne. Telegdy had to understand this. Above all else, he was ordered not to encourage defections.[[1009]](#footnote-1009)

The team made contact with Hungarian athletes, advised those that wanted to defect on how best to proceed, and tried to create momentum for a change in IOC rules on stateless athletes. Campanaro fed frequent reports back to the FEC. “Rather exhausting trying to keep up with George and the boys,” she said.[[1010]](#footnote-1010) Telegdy and his “legmen” met with the Hungarian Olympic athletes whenever they could, avoiding the government chaperones that closely monitored the Hungarian team. Aside from this, Telegdy spread “propaganda about Tabori, life in the free world, and the case of stateless exiles.”[[1011]](#footnote-1011) During the festival, he and Márffy spoke with IOC members and cornered Brundage, who they described as “surprisingly friendly.” As planned, an evening reception was held around the theme of raising awareness for exiled athletes. Over one hundred attended the affair, including U.S. government officials, Eddie Eagan, the chief of the Italian police, a member of the IOC Executive Board (Mohammed Taher Pacha), representatives of the U.S. Olympic team, and reporters. Even three members of the Hungarian Olympic team appeared, though it was subsequently revealed that they were spies.[[1012]](#footnote-1012)

Telegdy arranged for a press conference to take place a few days before the opening ceremony of the Games. “Two Hungaries are taking part in the Rome Olympic Games,” read the press release, “One is the official Hungary, that of Kadar and Communism, the other is exile Hungary, that of the Revolution.” It was highlighted that many exiled Hungarians were participating at the Games, either as coaches or as athletes, having taken another nationality. Over thirty reporters attended the conference and the Free Europe Committee noted that it inspired articles in several newspapers across Europe. Frustratingly for the FEC, it was also observed that this media coverage disappeared during the Games, erased by the natural interest in the sporting events and dramas.[[1013]](#footnote-1013) In a further initiative, a Vienna-based exiled Hungarian water polo team played exhibition games during the Olympics.[[1014]](#footnote-1014) Exhibition matches were held with teams from Japan, America, Brazil, and France. The team also convened its own evening reception, which was given reasonable publicity.[[1015]](#footnote-1015) “The regime athletes from Hungary could not fail to notice the performances and popularity of their former team mates,” it was later concluded.[[1016]](#footnote-1016) Elsewhere, Tábori and Iglói appeared at a press conference, where Tabori’s status with regard to the Olympics was discussed.[[1017]](#footnote-1017) However, plans for Tábori to race on the streets were scuppered by Italian authorities who “frowned” upon anything that might “embarrass the Communists.” Instead, Tábori and Iglói “contributed to the attention received by the exile athletes by separate interviews with the press, TV coverage, and contacts with athletes in the Olympic Village.” Both men were interviewed by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.[[1018]](#footnote-1018) Indeed, Radio Free Europe sent broadcasting teams to both Squaw Valley and Rome. The FEC boasted that the results of events were translated and broadcast at a far quicker rate than news outlets of the communist regimes. A report added: “Some of RFE’s commentators covering the Games had been athletes and sports commentators in their countries behind the Iron Curtain, a fact that increased the popularity of RFE’s broadcasts on the subject behind the Iron Curtain.”[[1019]](#footnote-1019)

There were rumours that Hungarian athletes would defect, but no firm indication had been received.[[1020]](#footnote-1020) Intelligence from Hungary implied that the Hungarian government was aware that Telegdy would be in Rome. There were even rumours that the Hungarian athletes had to ask for written permission each time they left the Olympic Village. As it turned out, a few tourists defected, but no athletes.[[1021]](#footnote-1021) Shortly before the closing ceremony of the Games, Campanaro reported that the communist sports authorities had “tightened their grip” and Telegdy could not even speak with any of the athletes. More pertinently, some of the athletes were even “indifferent” towards defecting in the first place. “I believe that Telegdy is now convinced that the situation has changed and that this will not be another ‘Melbourne,’” added Campanaro.[[1022]](#footnote-1022)

Further evidence confirmed that the satellite regimes were aware of the broader FEC contact program in Rome. Czechoslovakian newspapers, for example, carried stories on American plans to facilitate defections.[[1023]](#footnote-1023) Other communist newspapers made accusations that linked these plans with the Vatican. A USIA official in Rome reported on communist claims “that priests and nuns, speaking several languages, were receiving special training so that they could move actively during the Games to encourage defection.” While these charges were rather extreme, the official did admit that even though the Games were held in an “atmosphere which seemed on the surface to be confined to international sports competition,” there were “propaganda undertones.” Italian communists handed out a “lush” magazine called “Sports in Russia,” to western athletes, while other representatives from the Soviet bloc distributed pamphlets to the press and sportsmen. Not to be outdone, American athletes passed out “reading material” to Soviet competitors. The People-to-People Sports Committee worked out of facilities in Rome donated by the YMCA. Eagan’s team offered copies of *Amerika* magazine and other government propaganda publications; all of which “disappeared within a few days.”[[1024]](#footnote-1024) The People-to-People Sports Committee provided multi-lingual hosts to speak with tourists and athletes, gave out free refreshments and souvenir kits, showed motion picture programs, and arranged for evening music and dancing.[[1025]](#footnote-1025)

During the 1956 Melbourne Games, the USIA had given away copies of Colonel John V. Grombach’s book, *Olympic Cavalcade of Sports*. The book was “effective in countering the Russian strategy by its emphasis on the true spirit of the Olympic events, i.e. a healthy athletic competition without relationship to politics.” For the Rome Games, the USIA purchased a further 5,000 copies to be given out at information posts worldwide at no cost.[[1026]](#footnote-1026) Grombach himself was an interesting figure. During World War II, the Army General Staff created its own intelligence unit, separate from the Office of Strategic Services, known as POND. Grombach directed the top secret activities of POND. A graduate of West Point, one historian describes Grombach as “a no-nonsense man…who believed in nuts-and-bolts espionage – barroom seductions, dead drops, and all the paraphernalia.” He “despised communists, and to him that included socialists, neutralists, and New Dealers.”[[1027]](#footnote-1027) Grombach was also an outstanding sportsman, and boxed for the U.S. at the 1924 Olympic Games. Since retiring from espionage, he became active in the American and international sporting establishments and was an Advisory Coach for the U.S. Olympic pentathlon team. Grombach was in Rome as a reporter for the CIA-subsidized *Rome Daily American*. He railed against the IOC for its handling of the Taiwan Olympic Committee, and even hired private investigators to look into the background of the English IOC member, Lord Burghley. Grombach believed the Lord was a communist sympathiser that supported the wishes of the USSR in the IOC.[[1028]](#footnote-1028) Not surprisingly, the Colonel was a loud supporter of admitting exiled athletes into the Games.[[1029]](#footnote-1029)

There is evidence, too, that the CIA approached an American athlete, David Sime, for assistance in Rome. The Agency was under the impression that a Soviet long-jumper, Igor Ter-Ovanesyan, was ready to defect. Sime was asked to speak with Ter-Ovanesyan, and arrange a meeting for the athlete with a CIA agent who operated under the fictitious name of Mr. Wolf. Sime accepted the mission. He met with Ter-Ovanesyan during practice. Eventually a meeting was arranged where the Soviet would speak with Mr. Wolf at a restaurant. When the critical moment arrived, however, Ter-Ovanesyan panicked. He was unsure if the man was a double agent. Rather than find out, he left the restaurant and abandoned any plans to defect.[[1030]](#footnote-1030)

The Polish Information Centre operated with considerable success during three weeks of work at the Games. Located on the Via Piemonte, the Centre consisted of a two room apartment with arm chairs, a television, and facilities to serve light refreshments. Ten young staff, recruited from England and France, operated inside and outside of the facility. The Free Europe Committee estimated that around 4,000 Polish tourists were in Italy for the Olympics, most of whom were on excursions organized by state travel agencies. The Polish authorities were aware that “émigré provocators” would be in Rome and worked hard to “protect” the tourists from mingling with undesirable Western elements. For the first week or so in particular, the staff at the Centre used creative ways to communicate with the heavily guarded Polish visitors. When they discovered the hotels where the Polish tourists were staying, information leaflets were delivered to the appropriate locations. Letters to the hotel managers were attached to the bundles of leaflets asking for cooperation. Some of the hotel managers were sent money to help them with their decision. The results were immediate. Polish tourists started to drop by the Centre, some for genuine information on the city, while others were curious to see the “subversive Centre.” Some Poles had heard that the Centre was buying products that the tourists brought with them, such as vodka and caviar. As the communist visitors were given a meagre amount to spend daily, they desired to sell their goods and enjoy the extra spending money. Free sight-seeing trips were also organized, with bus tours to Monte Cassino, Pompeii, and Naples. These sojourns provided valuable time for the contact staff to speak with the tourists. Often it was the case that the visitors asked most of the questions, always keen to gather information on life in the West and the standard of living in the free world. The Centre handed out 3,000 books of the “highest political, historical and educational value.” For those that feared being seen at the Centre, books were delivered to an agreed-upon location in the city so that tourists could pick them up in private. A special Mass was arranged each morning at St. Peters Basilica, where contact staff were always present to speak with and offer advice. By the time the second of three waves of Polish tourists arrived a week into the Games, the strict surveillance loosened somewhat. Consequently, the volume of visitors to the centre dramatically increased, even though staff could tell that secret agents were often snooping around. It was estimated that 750 tourists and sportsmen visited the Centre and 1,500 people were contacted outside of the premises.[[1031]](#footnote-1031)

Other FEC projects went ahead as planned. The Polish student operation, in conjunction with the Italian student group, Foccolarini, arranged for the showing of films to visiting Polish students and, like the Centre, assisted as guides, translators, and distributed exile publications.[[1032]](#footnote-1032) The Assembly of Captive European Nations exhibit was in a building centrally located on the Via del Corso. There visitors could take booklets, flags, and literature. On the night before it opened, the building was broken into and the signs for directing tourists to the exhibit were stolen. The organizers suspected communist stooges. Regardless, more signs were ordered; the building was often frequented by Eastern European tourists.[[1033]](#footnote-1033)

The camp run by the Union of Free Hungarian Students experienced a steady turnover of inhabitants at its site near Castello di Magliana, donated for the duration of the Games by the Knights of Malta. The Italian military supplied tents for 300 persons, including a separate area for women. Signs were erected along the nearby highway and railroad, in four languages to advertise the location. The Italian police provided a “special security service” to watch over the property, and twice intervened when unauthorized persons tried to enter the grounds. The UFHS suspected that communist spies were intently watching, and noted that a nearby news vender jotted down the licence plate numbers of cars that stopped at the camp. Although the total number of guests at the site didn’t surpass 300, the FEC praised the valuable contribution of the UFHS to the whole operation in Rome. The students made frequent contact with the three waves of Hungarian tourists in the city, offering information and advice for whoever sought it. They distributed publications, provided transportation, served as translators, and helped tourists sell goods brought from Hungary.[[1034]](#footnote-1034)

**Summary**

For the second successive Summer Games, the USSR beat the United States in the medal count. American sports officials made their excuses. They blamed the lack of training facilities in the country compared to the Soviet Union, and claimed that at least the American athletes were amateurs. Brundage found fault with American society. “We take life too easy in the United States,” he said.[[1035]](#footnote-1035) Arthur Daley of the *New York Times* wrote: “The totalitarian powers have the ability to marshal their youth for what they regard, among other things, as part of the propaganda war.” Judging by those standards, Daley thought the Rome Games “represented a resounding victory for Soviet Russia.”[[1036]](#footnote-1036)

As ever, the propaganda war stretched beyond the medal table. The Olympic Games yet again provided a venue to promote American values and to show support for the “captive peoples” of Eastern Europe. The overall performance at Rome by the multiple contact programs was given a sound review by Free Europe Committee officials. In particular, the Polish centre was “well organized and carefully planned,” and the UFHS managed to function well within its $2,000 budget. Credit was given to Operation Rome. Telegdy and the team spoke to many athletes, even though none defected. There was good publicity for Tábori and the issue of stateless athletes.[[1037]](#footnote-1037) But these achievements were tempered by an ongoing failure. The International Olympic Committee still refused to alter its *Charter*. In fairness to Telegdy, he was not alone in defeat. Before the Games, a statement by Christopher Chataway created a ripple of interest in England for exiled sportsmen. Chataway was joined by Márffy and Jack Crump in a small group called the “Committee for the Admission of Stateless Athletes to the Olympic Games,” which sent a cable to the IOC to try and force a decision.[[1038]](#footnote-1038) One of the group, Ion Ratiu, a Romanian exile and chairman of the CIA-funded International Federation of Free Journalists, hoped it would provoke action. “Frankly,” he told Telegdy, “we have no news from the IOC but we are pretty certain that this move will get some results because it has already been published in the ‘Times’ of September 10th and they just simply cannot ignore it.”[[1039]](#footnote-1039) He was wrong. For now, nothing could be done to influence the IOC. The writing was already on the wall, and it had been before the Rome Games started. On 18 August 1960, *The Times* reported that Telegdy had communicated to the IOC for a change in rules, then, five days later, printed a short article that predicted no probable decision.[[1040]](#footnote-1040) The article was correct. The IOC was unmoved. It made no new ruling on stateless athletes. As Brundage and Mayer maintained all along, to accept the participation of stateless athletes would mean altering the entire structure of the IOC, and this they would not do. Not, at least, for a few years more.

**Chapter 10 – Conclusion: Over the Dam?**

Following its doldrums in the late 1950s, the Free Europe Committee (FEC) entered a phase of renewed fortunes under the leadership of a New York investment banker, John Richardson. Richardson, who began his tenure as FEC president in 1961, streamlined the operation, giving it direction and purpose. Although he fought hard for ample budgets from the CIA, he did not always get what he asked for.[[1041]](#footnote-1041) Some programs had to be cut. In the fall of 1961, Richardson regretfully made the decision to sever FEC funds for the Hungarian National Sports Federation (HNSF). As of January 1962, regular payments to the HNSF ceased. The FEC provided an allotment for three more months to “phase-out” the Federation’s activities and to buy time for George Telegdy to find alternative employment.[[1042]](#footnote-1042) Count Szápáry attempted to recover the situation, and wrote C.D. Jackson for assistance. Szápáry argued that the discontinuance of FEC funds might cause “panic” in the HNSF’s affiliated clubs, and “greatly affect the Hungarian morale and spiritual resistance of Hungarians in Hungary.” The end result, he added, “would only satisfy the Hungarian Communist regime.”[[1043]](#footnote-1043) Jackson did what he could, sending a message to Bernard Yarrow, Vice President of the Free Europe Committee. “Is this over the dam, or can something be done?” he asked Yarrow.[[1044]](#footnote-1044) There was some optimism in Yarrow’s response. He explained that “there is no assurance as yet that we will get the necessary funds to keep it going at its old level, but we shall try to do our very best.”[[1045]](#footnote-1045) For a time, the HNSF received a few more instalments, but these were temporary, and soon ground to a halt. Telegdy was employed by the FEC until 1963, and then released when his services were no longer required.[[1046]](#footnote-1046)

While the FEC recovered, the reputation of the CIA declined. An attempt to overthrow the revolutionary leadership of Fidel Castro in Cuba was a complete and embarrassing failure. To make matters worse, American newspapers were also beginning to dig up evidence of the Agency’s covert front organizations. In 1967, the counterculture magazine, *Ramparts*, carried a story revealing the CIA funding of the National Student Association. It was followed by an article which examined the CIA’s use of dummy foundations to funnel money to private groups. The secret network of CIA fronts began to unravel in the American media.[[1047]](#footnote-1047) The source of the Free Europe Committee’s financial reserves had never been a particularly well kept secret. Members of Congress, former FEC employees, and a number of citizens were aware of the clandestine connection.[[1048]](#footnote-1048) The FEC had been accused of being linked with the CIA on several occasions, but this association, mentioned among the revelations of the late 1960s, was confirmed in a speech by Senator Clifford Chase to the Senate in 1971. Case’s remarks spelled the end of CIA funding for the Free Europe Committee. In over two decades, from 1949 to 1971, the FEC received over $300 million from the CIA. After June 1971, the U.S. government officially administered the financing of Radio Free Europe, and shut down the non-radio operations of the Free Europe Committee.[[1049]](#footnote-1049)

The HNSF continued its operations on a more limited scale. It received good news in 1964. A year before, at the 60th International Olympic Committee Session in Baden-Baden, the Marquess of Exeter proposed an amendment to Rule 27, to add an additional qualification whereby an individual could compete at an Olympics after “he has become naturalized [in a new country] and a period of at least three years has passed since he applied for naturalization.”[[1050]](#footnote-1050) In June 1964, the IOC Executive Committee acknowledged that Hungarians who defected in 1956 could compete for the U.S. Olympic team if they qualified. The rule was finalized at the 62nd IOC Session.[[1051]](#footnote-1051) With the change to the *Olympic Charter* ratified, three former Hungarian citizens took part in the Tokyo Games wearing the colors of the United States. Jenő Hámori and Attila Keresztes were part of the fencing team, while Róbert Zimonyi was the coxswain in the eight-oared shell.[[1052]](#footnote-1052) Years of HNSF lobbying were finally rewarded.

The Cold War era permeated the Olympics. The sports historian, Allen Guttmann has written that from “1952 to 1988, from the games held in Helsinki to those just completed in Seoul, one of the most dramatic aspects of modern Olympics has been the sports rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.”[[1053]](#footnote-1053) The Soviet Union did not commit its athletes to compete in an Olympic festival until it was certain that there was an excellent chance of winning, and winning, of course, meant defeating America and other bourgeois countries.[[1054]](#footnote-1054) But the superpower conflict at the Olympic Games is not just a story of the Soviet Union using the Games to promote communism. The place of sport in Cold War America cannot be absent from the debate. There might not have been the vast state-funded sports system that operated in the Soviet Union, or the same intensive use of athletes for diplomatic imperatives, but sport did not go untouched by the U.S. government.

The IOC was, without question, caught in the Cold War crossfire. Other front organizations from both the United States and Soviet Union contacted the IOC looking to find a useful affiliation, whether it was the Soviet-sponsored World Federation of Democratic Youth, or yet another CIA group, such as the Committee for a Free Asia.[[1055]](#footnote-1055) It appears that Avery Brundage was well aware of communist front organizations, as was Otto Mayer, but the U.S. versions managed to avoid detection. Had Brundage and other IOC members been “witting” regarding the HNSF or the FEC, doubtless they would have kept the organizations at more than arm’s length, and would not have given an audience to Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano in Helsinki. But in order for the state-private network to function, few could know it existed. The secrecy of the FEC and the HNSF allowed their cause to be debated in IOC meetings which, in turn, was converted into valuable propaganda in the world’s media. An official demand from the U.S. government could not have been so effective. When, in fact, Brundage was approached by U.S. officials for cooperation regarding propaganda intelligence, he was generally unhelpful. As a case in point, when he saw what the U.S. government was doing with athletic “good will” tours in the mid-1950s, he blasted: “This is exactly the same sort of thing that has aroused such a storm of adverse criticism in the United States when practiced by other governments.”[[1056]](#footnote-1056) If Brundage had known that America’s intelligence community was behind the HNSF, it is unlikely that his correspondence with them would have been quite so civil.

Indeed, from 1950 to 1960 the U.S. government took an unprecedented interest in international sport and the Olympic Games. As the Cold War conflict was increasingly channelled into various cultural forms, the Olympics became immersed in propaganda and psychological warfare activities to an extent that has never been repeated. Without the necessary legislation to launch a state-financed training program for athletes, the U.S. government made the Olympic Games a vehicle for propaganda by other means. In the lead-up to, and during each Olympic festival, the U.S. information program sent waves of propaganda material across the globe to promote the American way of life and, by the same token, to denounce communism. It used the Olympic cities as venues for a range of propaganda drives to advertise the American economic and political system and to make “contact” with people from around the world. The most prevalent aspect of many of these initiatives was cooperation with private groups and organizations, all of which, while happy to aid the government, were also fighting the Cold War for reasons of their own. Even though the traditional separation of the state from sport was generally maintained, other lines of demarcation with the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU) and United States Olympic Committee (USOC) became blurred. Although these two giants of the American sporting establishment retained control over the organization of U.S. participation in international athletics, in another respect, they adapted to the Cold War climate. In the early 1950s, American sports officials began to cooperate with their government more than they ever had before, aiding in government planning and the execution of operations. Sometimes, on the other hand, they also cooperated without knowing. The USOC and AAU were receptive to the Hungarian National Sports Federation. Telegdy referred to Daniel Ferris, the secretary-treasurer of the AAU, and Lyman Bingham, the Executive Director of the USOC, as “my good honorable friends.”[[1057]](#footnote-1057)

Just as importantly, the relationship between the government and private groups was not perfectly harmonious. The AAU for instance, was sensitive to interference from the State Department and would not relinquish its grip on administering amateur sports in America. Sometimes USOC officials failed to represent the best interests of the U.S. government at IOC meetings, and Brundage was hardly the type to manipulate. Telegdy drew exasperation from some at the FEC. He frequently spent his operational budget haphazardly and was sometimes unpredictable. As such, the relationship between the government and the private sphere cannot be simply reduced to private groups working in straightforward compliance with the state. Likewise, it was often the case, as in many state-private initiatives, that the impetus for action came from the private side.[[1058]](#footnote-1058) The Hungarian National Sports Federation approached the FEC for help, not the other way around.

As Philip Taylor asserts, it is no longer possible to dismiss the part played by propaganda and psychological warfare in the Cold War as a mere “sideshow” to the “political, military or economic strategies of the period.”[[1059]](#footnote-1059) But, at the same time, the appropriations for the U.S. government’s propaganda program paled in comparison to the immense spending on militarization. Selling the American way of life was a constant fiscal headache to the leadership of the U.S. information program under Truman and Eisenhower. And while much of this propaganda was designed to promote the merits and values of the American way of life, much of it, too, was intended to mute Soviet accusations and “lies” about the United States.[[1060]](#footnote-1060) This defensive, or reactive, element is apparent in the entire campaign against communist sport. While American athletes were undoubtedly presented as ideal representatives of freedom and democracy, other themes countered Soviet accusations about race, women, and inequality. One has to agree with Thomas Domer that “a large part of America’s official governmental interest in sport since World War II can be considered a reply to Soviet overtures.”[[1061]](#footnote-1061) The aim of exploiting the Olympic Games came on the back of a growing apprehension about the directions and effectiveness of communist sport as a diplomatic weapon, and the entrance of the Soviet Union into the IOC. Propaganda experts in the Eisenhower administration discerned the sporting aspect of the Soviet “cultural offensive,” and then tried to formulate a strategy to counter it. The actions undertaken did not always reflect the plans. Although this study has exposed the government’s use of the Olympic Games in propaganda, it has also revealed the limitations to this campaign. Congress refused to grant funds for the U.S. Olympic effort. Sporting exchanges as personified in “good will tours” were poorly funded and limited. Even though these tours were generally well reviewed by government officials, and the importance of sport in the battle for hearts and minds often stressed, sports were not seen as an important enough avenue for serious government intervention. More creative minds thought differently. Leaders of America’s propaganda and psychological warfare strategy, such as C.D. Jackson, Abbott Washburn, Theodore Streibert and Edward Barrett, were quick to back sport-related projects. Despite this, the U.S. government’s use of sport was dwarfed by the Soviet Union’s.

The legacy of this campaign is hard to measure. Certainly, federal involvement in sport increased in other respects. The Eisenhower, and subsequent administrations, took steps to raise the level of fitness of America’s youth and to promote sport in the country, encouraging input and cooperation from private groups and sports organizations. A large part of the motivation for these initiatives was to raise the general standard of elite sport in the United States in order to challenge Soviet sporting supremacy. Moreover, the government intervened in the feud between the AAU and National Collegiate Athletic Association, which appeared to be compromising America’s capacity to defeat the Soviet Union at the Olympics. This quarrel was finally resolved by the Carter administration when the Amateur Sports Act was passed in 1978. Victory or defeat at the Games remained important to the public and to some in government. If anything, however, there appears to have been less action in the field of sport-related propaganda. Government-run sports exchanges started to decline in the late 1960s and the budget for the broader cultural program was halved. When it was suggested that the United States Information Agency develop an “all-out program of coverage” for the 1964 Summer Games in Tokyo, the USIA Director, Carl Rowan, responded that “the Games have relatively little relevance to USIA psychological objectives so that only limited selective coverage is regarded as justified.”[[1062]](#footnote-1062)

All the same, government efforts to exploit the Olympics still persisted. The Lyndon B. Johnson administration organized a satellite broadcast of the Tokyo Games, and sent a cultural exhibit to the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.[[1063]](#footnote-1063) The Nixon White House sanctioned bribes for IOC officials to bring the 1976 Olympics to the United States, and Jimmy Carter used a U.S. led boycott of the 1980 Olympics as a diplomatic tool to punish the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan.[[1064]](#footnote-1064) The Ronald Reagan administration considered the repercussions if Soviet athletes sought asylum in America at the Los Angeles Olympics and,[[1065]](#footnote-1065) despite the revelations about CIA funding, Radio Free Europe carried on its operations and continued to cover each Olympic festival, a fact that triggered repeated protests from the Soviet bloc to the IOC.[[1066]](#footnote-1066)

Perhaps documents will be released in the future that will further nourish our understanding of the ways in which the U.S. government mobilized sport in the cultural competition for “hearts and minds.” At any rate, in the early years of the Cold War, psychological warfare experts, sometimes with cooperation from private groups, were concocting ways that would best utilize the Olympic Games to forward American foreign policy objectives towards the Soviet bloc. They never paused to wonder about whether or not these activities compromised the very sporting ideals they hoped to promote. These contradictions were not relevant. It was America’s sporting philosophy that was “right,” and communist sport that was “wrong.” As Senator John Marshall Butler proclaimed in 1955, it was the Soviet Union that “polluted” the Olympics, not the United States.

Avery Brundage, more than anyone else, liked to talk about the sanctity of the Olympic Games. “Some misguided persons seem to think that Olympic sport can be made a political tool,” he said on one such occasion. “This is as erroneous as anything can be. The minute political activities are permitted in Olympic affairs the Games are finished.”[[1067]](#footnote-1067) The burden of this error was shared in the east, as well as the west.

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1. Butler was the Republican Senator from Maryland. The full text of the speech is appended to a letter from John Marshall Butler to Avery Brundage, 25 July 1955, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75, Box 333, Reel 145, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives, The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada; “USSR ‘Polluting’ Olympics With Pros, Senator Charges,” *New York Times*, 10 June 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For example, Arthur Daley of the *New York Times* was a perseverant critic of the Soviet sports system. See also Anthony Moretti, “*New York Times* Coverage of the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games,” *Sport History Review* 38 (2007), 55-72; John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1984), 190-91; John N. Washburn, “Sport as a Soviet Tool,” *Foreign Affairs* 34, no. 3 (April, 1956), 490-499. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 5-47. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. James Riordan has written the most extensive amount on this subject. See especially James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “Memorandum for the Cultural Presentation Committee” 30 November 1956, White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, 1953-61 (hereafter referred to as WHO NSC Papers), OCB Central File Series, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. William C. Bourne to Mr. Berding, 30 September 1954, White House Office, WHO NSC Papers 1953-1961, OCB Central File Series, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Roy Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” in *Sport and International Relations*, eds. B. Lowe, D.B. Kanin, A. Strenk (Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1978), 402-3; Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations,” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 39, 47, 156-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Scott Lucas, *Freedom’s War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 1-3. See also the edited collection by Helen Laville & Hugh Wilford, eds., *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: the State-Private Network* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006). Ideology refers to the “realm of ideas or culture, in general, and that of political ideas or political culture more specifically.” See Gordon Marshall, ed., *A Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 297. For more on American ideology and the Cold War see Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 168-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Martin McCauley, *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949* Third Edition (London: Pearson Longman, 2003), 10-27; Hans Krabbendam & Giles Scott-Smith, “Introduction: Boundaries to Freedom,” in *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, eds. Hans Krabbendam & Giles Scott-Smith (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. For a superb review essay on some of this work see Kenneth Osgood, “Hearts and Minds: The Unconventional Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 2 (May, 2002), 85-107. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See particularly, Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America’s Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000); and Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America’s Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), x. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, xv. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 4-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 2-3, quote on 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 7. See also Scott Lucas, “Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control: Approaches to Culture and the State-Private Network in the Cold War,” *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 2 (2003), 53-72; Scott Lucas, “’Total Culture’ and the State-Private Network: A Commentary,” in *Culture and International History*, eds. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht & Frank Schumacher (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 206-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (Great Britain: Granta Books, 1999), 2-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 5-10, quote on 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See for example David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews, “Introduction: War Minus the Shooting,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Peter Beck, “Britain and the Cold War’s ‘Cultural Olympics:’ Responding to the Political Drive of Soviet Sport, 1945-58,” *Contemporary British History* 19, no. 2 (June, 2005), 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
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24. Joseph M. Turrini, “‘It Was Communism Versus the Free World:’ The USA-USSR Dual Track Meet Series and the Development of Track and Field in the United States, 1958-1985,” *Journal of Sport History* 28, no. 3 (Fall, 2001), 428. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Stephen Wagg, “‘If You Want the Girl Next Door…:’ Olympic Sport and the Popular Press in Early Cold War Britain,” in *East Plays West*, 100-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Mary G. McDonald, “‘Miraculous’ Masculinity Meets Militarization: Narrating the 1980 USSR-U.S. Men’s Olympic Ice Hockey Match and Cold War Politics,” in *East Plays West*, 222-234; and John Bale, “‘Oscillating antagonism:’ Soviet-British athletic relations, 1945-1960,” in *East Plays West*, 82-99. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Anthony Moretti, “*New York Times* Coverage of the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games,” *Sport History Review* 38 (2007), 67-68. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. John Massaro, “Press Box Propaganda? The Cold War and *Sports Illustrated*, 1956,” *The Journal of American Culture* 26, no. 3 (September, 2003), 361-370. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Jeffrey Montez de Oca, “The ‘Muscle Gap:’ Physical Education and U.S. Fears of a depleted masculinity, 1954-1963,” in *East Plays West*, 123-148. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. See for example David B. Kanin, “Superpower Sport in the Cold War,” in *Sport and International Relations*, 249-262; Philip Goodhart & Christopher Chataway, *War Without Weapons: The Rise of Mass Sport in the Twentieth Century – and its Effect on Men and Nations* (London: W.H. Allen & Company, 1968), 81. For a study on the philosophical underpinnings of communist sport see James Riordan, “Marx, Lenin and Physical Culture,” *Journal of Sport History* 3, no. 1 (1976), 152-161. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, 19-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Other Cold War issues that surrounded the Olympics include doping and the transformation of women’s participation at the Games. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (London, England: University of California Press, 1979), 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events, and Controversies that Shaped the Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1999), 84-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 133-139. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. James Riordan, “Rewriting Soviet Sports History,” *Journal of Sport History* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 1993), 250. This article also reveals other negative aspects of Soviet sport such as doping, coercion, and the strict government control of Soviet athletes. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Jenifer Parks, “Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946-1952,” in *East Plays West*, 27-44; Jenifer Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape: The Olympic Games, The Soviet Sports Bureaucracy, and the Cold War, 1952-1980” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Christopher Hill, *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta* Second Edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*; David B. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981); Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events, and Controversies that Shaped the Games*. See also Allen Guttmann, “The Cold War and the Olympics,” *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988), 554-568; Cesar R. Torres & Mark Dyreson, “The Cold War Games,” in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young & Kevin B. Wamsley (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), 59-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 132-169; Allen Guttmann, “The Cold War and the Olympics,” 554-568; Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 89. For a short account of Guttmann’s research into Brundage see Allen Guttmann, “Olympic Research as ‘Fiasco’ and ‘Serendipity,’” *Journal of Olympic History* 17, no. 2 (August, 2009), 18-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Susan Brownell, “‘Sport and Politics Don’t Mix:’ China’s Relationship with the IOC During the Cold War,” in *East Plays West*, 269. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. John Hoberman, *The* *Olympic Crisis: Sport, Politics, and the Moral Order* (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1986); John Hoberman, “Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism,” *Journal of Sport History* 22, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 1-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. See for example Harold J. VanderZwang, “Amateurism and the Olympic Games,” in *The Modern Olympics*, eds. Peter J. Graham & Horst Ueberhorst (Westpoint, NY: Leisure Press, 1976), 74-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. See for example Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 51-52. Guttmann has written at length on the matter in *The Games Must Go On*, 110-131. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Hart Cantelon, “Amateurism, High-Performance Sport, and the Olympics,” in *Global Olympics*, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Henry Morton, “Soviet Sport Reassessed,” in *Sport, Culture, and the Modern State*, eds. Hart Cantelon & Richard Gruneau (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 209-219; James Riordan, “Sport and the Soviet State: Response to Morton and Cantelon,” in *Sport, Culture, and the Modern State*, 265-280. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Vassil Girginov, “Bulgarian Sport Policy 1945-1989: A Strategic Relations Approach,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (March, 2009), 515-538. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Adam Fryc & Mirosław Ponczek, “The Communist Rule in Polish Sport History,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (March, 2009), 501-514. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
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51. Eric Monnin & Renaud David, “The Melbourne Games in the Context of the International Tensions of 1956,” *Journal of Olympic History* 17, no. 3 (December, 2009), 34-40; Hilary Kent & John Merritt, “The Cold War and the Melbourne Olympic Games,” in *Better Dead Than Red: Australia’s First Cold War, 1945-1959* Volume 2, eds. Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (Sydney: Allen &Unwin, 1986), 170-185. For the Perspective in the Hungarian press see Emese Ivan & Dezső Iván, “The 1956 Revolution and the Melbourne Olympics: The Changing Perceptions of a Dramatic Story,” *Hungarian Studies Review* XXXV, no. 1-2 (2008), 9-23. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Robert E. Rinehart, “‘Fists Flew and Blood Flowed:’ Symbolic Resistance and International Response in Hungarian Water Polo at the Melbourne Olympics, 1956,” *Journal of Sport History* 23, no. 2 (Summer, 1996), 136. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Frederick C. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role Of Cultural Diplomacy In Soviet Foreign Policy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), 240-241. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Barbara Keys, “The Soviet Union, Global Culture, and the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games,” Presented to the Conference on Globalization and Sport in Historical Context, University of California, San Diego, March, 2005. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. David Maraniss, *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed The World* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2008); Kevin B. Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 108-147. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape.” [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. See for example Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 148. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. See for example Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Harold E. Wilson Jr., “The Golden Opportunity: Romania’s Political Manipulation of the 1984 Los Angles Olympic Games,” *Olympika* 3 (1994), 83-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Evelyn Mertin, “The Soviet Union and the Olympic Games of 1980 and 1984: Explaining the Boycotts to their own People,” in *East Plays West*, 235-252. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Roy Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” 440. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, “Moscow Versus Los Angeles: the Nixon White House Wages Cold War in the Olympic Selection Process,” *Cold War History* 9, no. 1 (February, 2009), 135-157. For a study on the more recent examples of corruption in the International Olympic Committee, see Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, & Scott G. Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Thomas M. Hunt, “American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years,” *Journal of Sport History* 33, no. 3 (Fall, 2006), 273-297. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Damian Thomas, “Playing the ‘Race Card:’ U.S. Foreign Policy and the Integration of Sports,” in *East Plays West*, 207-221. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. For instance, a plethora of documents have been released in the National Archives and the Eisenhower Presidential Library since Domer finished his work. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Additionally, the Papers of Father Walter E. Schmidt at the Santa Clara University Library offer insight into a further state-private project (see chapter 8). [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Wolf Lyberg, ed., *IOC Executive Committee Minutes*, Volume II 1948-1969 (1992); Wolf Lyberg, ed., *IOC General Session Minutes*, Volume III 1948-1955 & Volume IV 1956-1988 (1992). All volumes are housed at the International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives, The University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 8; Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Cited in Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 4, 430n. A similar definition was pulled from government documents by Shawn J. Perry-Giles in *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 53-54. See also White House memorandum, 15 July 1952, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, CT, 1986), document number 3554. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Cited in Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 4. For a more general definition of propaganda see Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda* (Guildford, Surrey: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999), 2-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, xiv. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. E. H. Carr, *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin, 1917-1929* (London: Macmillan Press, 1980), 1-8, quote on 5. Marx and Engels foresaw that the full development of capitalism would create the social conditions for revolution, whereupon the working classes, or proletariat, would rise up and overthrow the capitalists (bourgeois). For the communist battle cry written in 1848, see Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*: *With an Introduction and Notes By A.J.P. Taylor* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967). As Taylor acknowledges in his introduction, the composition of the *Communist Manifesto* was Marx’s, and “his readiness to put Engels’s name also on the title page was a remarkable example of intellectual generosity.” See Taylor, “Introduction,” 22. See also David Priestland, *The Red Flag: A History of Communism* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2009), 23-31.

    Marx called communism “the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation, and thus, the real appropriation of human nature, through and for man. It is therefore the return of man himself as a social, that is, really human, being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. See T.B. Bottomore & Maximilien Rubel eds., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965), 249-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. David McLellan, *Marxism After Marx* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1979), 91, 98, 100, 102, 132. Eric Hobsbawn writes of the Russian Revolution: “The October revolution produced by far the most formidable organized revolutionary movement in modern history. Its global expansion has no parallel since the conquest of Islam in its first century. A mere thirty to forty years after Lenin’s arrival at the Finland Station in Petrograd, one third of humanity found itself living under regimes directly derived from the [Russian Revolution], and Lenin’s organizational model, the Communist Party.” See Eric Hobsbawn, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994), 55. Brackets mine. The Soviet Union was formed in 1922 and Stalin had full control of it by 1929. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Cited in David C. Engerman, “Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 1: Origins*, eds., Melvin P. Leffler & Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Engerman, “Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War,” 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Cited in Engerman, “Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War,” 27. See also Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* (New YorK, NY: The Free Press, 1995), 1-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2005), 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Vladislav M. Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 11-12; Ralph B. Levering & Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, “The American Perspective,” in *Debating the Origins of the Cold War: American and Russian Perspectives*, eds., Ralph B. Levering, Vladimir O. Pechatnov, Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, & C. Earl Edmondson (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), 7-11; Engerman, “Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War,” 29-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Peter Calvocoressi & Guy Wint, *Total War: Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), 170-71, 202-3; Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (New York, NY: Konecky & Konecky, 1962), 662-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 21; Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 5-21; Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2006* Tenth Edition (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2008), 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston: Hougthon Mifflin Company, 1977), 54-68; Adam B. Ulam, *The Rivals: America & Russia Since World War II* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), 53-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. The *Atlantic Charter* is reproduced in Martin McCauley, *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949* (London: Pearson, 2003), 112-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 111-18, quote on 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Norman Naimark, “The Sovietization of Eastern Europe, 1944-1953,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 1: Origins*, 177-78, 183-90. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 160-62; Levering & Botzenhart-Viehe, “The American Perspective,” 33-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 11-27; “X,” “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4 (July, 1947), 566-582. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. X, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” 572, 575. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950*, 11-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Text of document cited in McCauley, *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949*, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Text of document cited in McCauley, *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949*, 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 130-140, quote on 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. “Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine. March 12, 1947,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1963), 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. David S. Painter, *The Cold War: An International History* (London: Routledge, 1999), 19-22; Martin Walker, *The Cold War: A History* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 49-51. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Cited in Scott Lucas, *Freedom’s War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Naimark, “The Sovietization of Eastern Europe, 1944-1953,” 189-92; Scott Parish, “The Marshall Plan, Soviet-American Relations, and the Division of Europe,” in *The Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944-1949*, eds., Norman Naimark & Leonid Gibianskii (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 267-90. It is not the intention of this study to apportion blame for the emergence of the Cold War. Having said that, Ralph Levering and Verena Botzenhart-Viehe are perhaps prudent when they consider that American and Western leaders “often were assertive and anti-Russian, that Stalin’s government typically was expansionist and uncooperative, and that jockeying for power was almost inevitable, especially in the huge power vacuums in Europe and Asia left by Germany’s and Japan’s defeat.” See Levering & Botzenhart-Viehe, “The American Perspective,” 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda* (Guildford, Sutton: Sutton Publishing Company, 1999), 88-89; Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 173-75; Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 15-22. For more on the concept of “total war” see Hobsbawn, *Age of Extremes*, 22-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Cited in David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 12, 19-23; Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 25-28; Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 28-29; Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of* Ideas, 35-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 29-31; Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America’s Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 15-19; Arthur B. Darling, *The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 6-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Cited in Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 3; Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 60. Tom Braden recalled that Donovan once said to him: “Braden, if you get in a tight spot, take your knife and drive it straight through his balls.” See Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Edward W. Barrett, *Truth is our Weapon* (New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1953), 12-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Cited in Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 23-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 28; Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Edward P. Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951,” 19 December 1951, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (hereafter referred to as US DDRS) (Woodbridge, CT, 1988), document number 1742, 15-16, 18, 26; Trevor Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part I,” *The Historical Journal* 24, no. 2 (June, 1981), 404-5. For the opposition to a central intelligence agency from State, Military, Congress, the media, and even Truman see, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 32-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950*, 76; Robert Cutler, “The Development of the National Security Council,” *Foreign Affairs* 34, no. 3 (April, 1956), 441. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy*, 41; Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Trevor Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part I,” 412; Sarah-Jane Corke, “George Kennan and the Inauguration of Political Warfare,” *The Journal of Conflict Studies* 26, no. 1 (Summer, 2006), 102-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Corke, “George Kennan and the Inauguration of Political Warfare,” 103-5; Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part I,” 412-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 46; Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part I,” 413. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, 4 May 1948, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945-1950*  (hereafter referred to as *FRUS Intelligence*)*: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1996), 668-69; Corke, “George Kennan and the Inauguration of Political Warfare,” 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, 4 May 1948, *FRUS Intelligence*, 1945-50, 670-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. For a superb analysis of the formulation of NSC 10/2 and Kennan’s desire to keep covert operations under the control of State, see Corke, “George Kennan and the Inauguration of Political Warfare,” 108-13. See also “Office of Policy Coordination, 1948-1952,” Central Intelligence Agency website, [www.foia.cia.gov/](http://www.foia.cia.gov/) (hereafter referred to as CIA FOIA); Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951,” 46-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. “Office of Policy Coordination, 1948-1952.” As Trevor Barnes has also argued: “Clandestine operations were able to supplement overt policies – diplomatic, economic, and military – and had advantages deriving from their secrecy. Since the activities could not, in theory, be traced back to the United States they combated communism without precipitating war.” See Trevor Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part II,” *The Historical Journal* 25, no. 3 (September, 1982), 670. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared: The Early Years of the CIA* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 40, 63; Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 154-89. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, PPS quote on 62 (brackets mine), NSC 20/4 quote on 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Kenneth Osgood, “Hearts and Minds: The Unconventional Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 2 (May, 2002), 89; Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America’s Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 2. For a discussion on the general incoherence of U.S. strategy see Scott Lucas and Kaeten Mistry, “Illusions of Coherence: George F. Kennan, U.S. Strategy and Political Warfare in the Early Cold War, 1946-1950,” *Diplomatic History* 33, no.1 (January, 2009), 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Wilson P. Dizard, *The Strategy of Truth: The Story of the U.S. Information Service* (Washington DC, Public Affairs Press, 1961), 36-38; Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 65-72, 214-15; Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas*, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 10-11, 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 13-14, 16; Barrett, *Truth is our Weapon*, 74; Barrett Memorandum, 2 March 1950, *FRUS, 1950, Volume IV, Central and Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, 272. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. “Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,” 20 April 1950, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1950* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1965), 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 16; Barrett, *Truth is our Weapon*, 80; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 359. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*, 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Scott Lucas, “Campaigns of Truth: The Psychological Strategy Board and American Ideology, 1951-1953,” *The International History Review* XVIII, no. 2 (May, 1996), 287-88, 296; Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 131; Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951,” 94. According to Lilly, the Economic Cooperation Administration “emphasized news releases, fostered local publicity for ECA-sponsored projects, and whipped up local interest for the American objectives” of the Marshall Plan. See Lilly, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. “Text of Gen. Eisenhower’s Foreign Policy Speech in San Francisco,” *New York Times*, 9 October 1952; Blanche Wiesen Cook, “First Comes the Lie: C. D. Jackson and Political Warfare,” *Radical History Review* 31 (1984), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Cook, “First Comes the Lie: C. D. Jackson and Political Warfare,” 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. David Haight, “The Papers of C.D. Jackson: A Glimpse At Presidents Eisenhower’s Psychological Warfare Expert,” *Manuscripts* XXVIII (Winter, 1976), 27-28; “Psychological Warfare,” by C. D. Jackson, no date, US DDRS 1995: 2950; H. W. Brands, Jr., *Cold Warriors: Eisenhower’s Generation and American Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988), 117-137. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Valur Ingimundarson, “Containing the Offensive: The ‘Chief of the Cold War’ and the Eisenhower Administration’s German Policy,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Summer, 1997), 481. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Shawn J. Parry-Giles, “The Eisenhower Administration’s Conception of the USIA: The Development of Overt and Covert Propaganda Strategies,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (Spring, 1994), 265-68. The other three committees were the Senate Committee on Permanent Investigations (McCarthy Committee), the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Hickenlooper Committee), and the President’s Advisory Committee on Government on Government Reorganization (Rockefeller Committee); Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 94-96. See also Shawn J. Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 129-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Dizard, *The Strategy of Truth*, 43-44; Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 88. On this issue, Eisenhower sided with the recommendations of the second committee he had instigated, the Rockefeller Committee. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Shawn J. Parry-Giles, “The Eisenhower Administration’s Conception of the USIA: The Development of Overt and Covert Propaganda Strategies,” 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 92-95, quote on 95; “Principles to Assure Coordination of Gray Activities,” 14 May 1954, US DDRS 1992: 486; Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency*, 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Lucas, “Campaigns of Truth: The Psychological Strategy Board and American Ideology, 1951-1953,” 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Alfred Dick Sander, *Eisenhower’s Executive Office* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 124-27; Cutler, “The Development of the National Security Council,” 448-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 86; Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*, 124-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Cited in Sander, *Eisenhower’s Executive Office*, 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 87-88; Bradley H. Patterson, Jr., “Eisenhower’s Innovations in White House Staff Structure and Operations,” in *Reexamining the Eisenhower Presidency*, ed., Shirley Anne Warshaw (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 37-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy and the Private Sector: The United States Information Agency, its Predecessors and the Private Sector,” in *The U.S. Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network*, eds., Helen Laville & Hugh Wilford (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 210-15; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 56-58, 103-4; Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 229-32; Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Cited in Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 18-19. See also Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 38-40, 44-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, 4 May 1948, *FRUS Intelligence*, 1945-50, 670. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. “Office of Policy Coordination, 1948-1952.” [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. Tom Braden, “I’m glad the CIA is ‘immoral,’” *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 May 1967. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 96-97; Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Braden, “I’m glad the CIA is ‘immoral.’” [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 2-5, 213-215. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Cited in Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Helen Laville, “The Committee of Correspondence: CIA Funding of Women’s Groups, 1952-1967,” *Intelligence and National Security* 12, no. 1 (1997), 104-121. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 110-21; “Inventory of Instrumentalities,” 28 November 1951, US DDRS: 1997 563. See also Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*; Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*; and Wilford & Laville, eds., *The U.S. Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network* for more examples and discussion on front groups supported by the CIA. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (which changed name multiple times) also administered Radio Liberation (later renamed Radio Liberty), which began broadcasting to the Soviet Union in 1953. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950*, 182. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 8-12, quote on 10; “Office of Policy Coordination, 1948-1952;” Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 67; Sig Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 17-21; Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 7-12. For an older version of these events that omits the OPCs involvement see Robert T. Holt, *Radio Free Europe* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 9-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Larry D. Collins, “The Free Europe Committee: An American Weapon Of The Cold War” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Carelton University, 1973), 121. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950*, 204-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Collins, “The Free Europe Committee,” 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. See for example, Dewitt C. Poole to Allen Dulles, 28 September 1950, CIA FOIA; Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice*, 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. John Foster Leich, “Great Expectations: The National Councils in Exile, 1950-60,” *The Polish Review*, Vol. XXXV, no. 3 (1990), 184. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Leich, “Great Expectations: The National Councils in Exile, 1950-60.” [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, 13; Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 12 [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. “Memorandum on Organization and Operations,” 25 July 1949, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 188, (1) Free Europe Committee, Inc. General, 1949-1957, Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California. Originally, the organization was called the Committee for Free Europe, Inc. but it was changed to the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. 11 April 1950. See Notice by Theodore Augustine, no date, RFE/RL, Box 188, (1) Free Europe Committee, Inc. General, 1949-1957, HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice*, 18-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. “New Group Formed To Assist Refugee’s,” *New York Times*, 2 June 1949. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. This information was found in the 1952 “Presidents Report” for the NCFE, which was appended to a letter from Whitney H. Shepardson to Allen W. Dulles, 10 April 1953, CIA FOIA. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Radio Free Europe was “an instrument of psychological warfare, [its] purpose is to prevent, or at least to hinder, the cultural, political and economic integration of the satellite states with the Soviet Union.” See “Radio Free Europe,” by Frank Wisner, 22 November 1950, CIA FOIA. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 67; Katalin Kádár Lynn, “At War While at Peace: United States Cold War Policy and the National Committee for a Free Europe,” unpublished paper presented to the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Los Angeles, California, November 2010. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. The Crusade For Freedom distracted anyone who might be interested in how the NCFE financed itself, and organized many rallies to stimulate the American public into supporting the cause of anti-communism. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Press Release, 6 February 1952, RFE/RL, Box 355, (13) Alphabetical File, Washburn, Abbott, 1949-1963, HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Abbott Washburn to C. D. Jackson, 22 October 1951, RFE/RL, Box 355, (13) Alphabetical File, Washburn, Abbott, 1949-1963, HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. “Text of Gen. Eisenhower’s Foreign Policy Speech in San Francisco,” *New York Times*, 9 October 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. “Inventory of Instrumentalities,” 28 November 1951, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, CT, 1997), document number 563. Emphasis in original. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. “Inventory of Instrumentalities.” Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. See for example, “Use of Sports Subjects in USIE Output,” T.L. Barnard to Mr. Dunning, Mr. Morris, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Kohler, Mr. LaBlonde, and Mr. Johnson, no date. The memorandum is appended to a report from Orville C. Anderson to Miss Kirkpatrick & Mr. Kellerman, 3 October 1951, RG59 (hereafter referred to as RG), Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/10-351, National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland; William R. Tyler to Department of State, 6 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-651, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. “Memorandum For Brigadier General Dale O. Smith,” by Ralph R. Busick, 20 October 1955, White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, 1953-61, OCB Central File Series, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Allen Guttmann explains that modern sport (“as opposed to premodern sport”) can be defined by seven characteristics: secularism, equality, specialization, bureaucratization, rationalized, quantification, and the obsession with records. See Allen Guttmann, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 348; James Riordan, “Soviet Sport and Soviet Foreign Policy,” *Soviet Studies* 26, no. 3 (July, 1974), 322. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. James A. R. Nafziger & Andrew Strenk, “The Political Uses and Abuses of Sport,” *Connecticut Law Review* 10 (1977-78), 271. John Hoberman makes a similar point when he writes: “It is the power to spread this innocence and ‘good will’ – virtue in its public, disembodied, an anonymous form – which makes the sport festival an appealing vehicle for political propaganda.” See John Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis: Sport, Politics and the Moral Order* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1986), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Peter Clarke cited in Peter J. Beck, *Scoring For Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. Beck, *Scoring For Britain*, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Wolfgang Decker, translated by Allen Guttmann, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, 19-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London: Camelot Press Ltd, 1972), 185. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006); Pierre Arnaud, “Sport and International Relations Before 1918,” in *Sport and International Relations*, eds., Pierre Arnaud & James Riordan (London: Routledge, 1998), 14-30; Peter C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society* (London, C. A. Watts & Co, 1968), 188-203. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 2-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 92. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. This condenses the persuasive arguments in Young, *The Modern Olympics*, in chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), Coubertin quote on 51, 188-89; Richard Mandell, *The First Modern Olympics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 54-55. For French “delusions” over their military strength see A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 206. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. John Lucas, “The Influence of Anglo-American Sport on Pierre de Coubertin – Modern Olympic Games Founder,” in *The Modern Olympics*, eds., Peter J. Graham & Horst Ueberhorst (Westpoint, NY: Leisure Press, 1976), 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Young, *The Modern Olympics*, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. The first president of the IOC was a Greek named Demetrios Vikelas, although Coubertin controlled the Movement. After the Athens Games, Coubertin assumed the presidency and held it until 1925. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Champaign, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2002), 21-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Keys, *Globalizing Sport*. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. For the extraordinary impact of satellite television and commercialism on the Olympics see Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, & Scott G. Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol*, 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 2; Barrie Houlihan, “International Politics and Olympic Governance,” in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young & Kevin B. Wamsley (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Norbert Müller, ed., *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000), 265. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (London, England: University of California Press, 1979), 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 34, 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Müller, “Coubertin’s Olympism,” in Müller ed., *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism: Selected Writings*, 45; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 73-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. For more on this see Barrie Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics* (Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), 120-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Arnd Krüger, “‘Buying Victories is Positively Degrading:’ European Origins of Government Pursuit of National Prestige Through Sport,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 2 (August, 1995), 184. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (New York, NY: Konecky & Konecky, 1962), 355. Bullock adds: “Germany’s new masters entertained with a splendour that rivalled the displays of *le Roi Soleil* and the Tsars of Russia.” [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. Richard Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), xiv. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. David C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago, IL: Ares Publishers, Inc., 1984), 15-22; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 12. Richard Holt provides the following summary: “Amateurism was an important and distinctive element in the ideology of the British elite through which divisions between land and money were effectively bridged whilst manual workers and the lower middle classes were informally excluded.” Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 116-117. See also H. A. Harris, *Sport in Britain: Its Origins and Development* (London: Stanley Paul & Co Ltd, 1975), 86. Harris quotes the Amateur Rowing Association which excluded “anyone who is a mechanic, artisan or labourer or engaged in any menial duty, or is a member of a boat or rowing club containing anyone liable to disqualification under the above rules.” For further discussion see Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 166-67. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*, 7; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. Robert Knight Barney, “Born From Dilemma: America Awakens to the Modern Olympic Games, 1901-1903,” *Olympika* 1 (1992), 92-93, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Barney, “Born From Dilemma,” 109, 116-117, 120. Once the Games had been officially handed to St Louis by Coubertin, the subject of the Olympics continued to fill newspapers, with articles on the ancient Games, pictures of Coubertin, or debate over which athletes would represent America in 1904. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Steven Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*, 22-27; Keys, *Globalizing Sport* , 22; Joseph Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 12-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Pope, *Patriotic Games*, 40-41; Mark Dyreson, *Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance: America at the Olympics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 1-4. See also Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Dream: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. “Americanism in the Olympic Games,” by Clarence E. Bush, no date (circa 1934-35), Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 232, Reel 135, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Dyreson, *Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance*, 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*, 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Bush, “Americanism in the Olympic Games.” [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Krüger, “‘Buying Victories is Positively Degrading:’ European Origins of Government Pursuit of National Prestige Through Sport,” 182; Roy Clumpner, “Pragmatic Coercion: The Role of Government in Sport in the United States,” in *Sport and Politics*, ed., Gerald Redmond (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1984), 5-12. I refer only to U.S. government funding and influence with regard to international sport. Mark Dyreson has studied how, in the 1920s and 30s, the Departments of State and Commerce advised American sporting manufacturer’s on which overseas markets to exploit. See Dyreson, *Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance*, 134-72. Domestically, the government intervened in sporting matters of, among other things, law and commerce. For example, the Roosevelt administration promoted sport and outdoor recreation as part of New Deal policies on improving social welfare. See John Wong, “FDR and the New Deal on Sport and Recreation,” *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), 173-191. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 70-71, 76-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. Pope, *Patriotic Games*, 55-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. Stephen R. Wenn, “A Suitable Policy of Neutrality? FDR and the Question of American Participation in the 1936 Olympics,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 3 (December, 1991), 328. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. For this background on Brundage I have drawn extensively from the superb biography written by Allen Guttmann. See Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 2-11, 28, 38-42, 47-49, quotes on 4 and 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. Cited in Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 72, 90-94; Carolyn Marvin, “Avery Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games,” *Journal of American Studies* 16, no. 1 (April, 1982), 81-105. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis*, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Avery Brundage to Miguel A. Moenck, 24 January 1955, ABC, Box 60, Reel 36, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. The *Olympic Charter* operates as the constitution of the IOC and has had various names since Coubertin created it in 1908. Although it has only been called the *Olympic Charter* since 1978, for the sake of ease I will refer to it by this name. See Bill Mallon & Ian Buchanan, *Historical Dictionary of the Olympic Movement* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2006), 207-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 138; Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis*, 51; Robert K. Barney, “Avery Brundage,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, eds., John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 471-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Young, *The Modern Olympics*, 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. James Riordan, “The USSR and the Olympic Games,” *Stadion* 6 (1980), 291-93; Victor Peppard & James Riordan, *Playing Politics: Soviet Sport Diplomacy to 1992* (Greenwich, CT: Jai Press Inc., 1993), 22-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Marvin, “Avery Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games,” 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. John Hoberman, “Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism,” *Journal of Sport History* 22, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 1-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Peter Singer, *Marx* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. John Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1984), 31. As Hoberman states: “It is difficult to overlook the fact that Marx, who did not live to see the age of mass sport, was a theorist of labor rather than leisure.” [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. James Riordan, “Marx, Lenin and Physical Culture,” *Journal of Sport History* 3, no. 1 (1976), 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 161, 163. For more on soccer in the Soviet Union see Robert Edelman, *Spartak Moscow: A History of the People’s Team in the Workers’ State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. David A. Steinberg, “The Workers’ Sport Internationals, 1920-28,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (April, 1978), 233-34; Riordan, “The USSR and the Olympic Games,” 295; Peppard & Riordan, *Playing Politics*, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Bruce Kidd, “‘Another World is Possible:’ Recapturing Alternative Olympic Histories, Imagining Different Games,” in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds., Kevin Young & Kevin B. Wamsley (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), 150-51. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. Steinberg, “The Workers’ Sport Internationals, 1920-28,” 245-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 120-52; Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, 164-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. Riordan, “The USSR and the Olympic Games,” 297-98; Peter Calvocoressi & Guy Wint, *Total War: Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), 170-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 162-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. Cited in Jenifer Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape: The Olympic Games, The Soviet Sports Bureaucracy, and the Cold War, 1952-1980” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Sigfrid Edström to Otto Mayer, 24 April 1951, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Brundage to Edström, 15 November 1947, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA; Edström to Brundage, 25 October 1950, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. Brundage had written to Edström a few days earlier about the “serious problem” of Soviet participation at the 1952 Helsinki Games. In a moment of frustration he stated that, “I for one am not in favour of waiving Olympic rules for any country or individual.” Edström replied that, “It certainly would be much better, if they (the Soviet Union) did not come along.” See above and Brundage to Edström, 21 October 1950, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. Parenthesis mine. See also Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Edström to Members of the IOC, no date (circa 1950), Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. Along with this note, he attached an article by a Swedish colleague named Tage Ericson. The article was based on Ericson’s three week journey through the Soviet Union and his observations on Soviet sport. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. Edward S. Goldstein, “Sigfrid Edström,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, 468-71; Leif Yttergren, “J. Sigfrid Edström, Anti-Semitism, and the 1936 Berlin Olympics,” *Olympika* 16 (2007), 77-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. Edström to Friends and Family, 8 August 1950, Biography, Press Cuttings, Circulars, and Speeches of Sigfrid Edström, Box 4, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Brundage to Edström, 7 December 1950, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. Mayer to Edström, 9 December 1950, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, May 1950 – March 1951, Box 2, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. British Foreign Office press review, 5 August 1948, Correspondence of the NOC of Romania, 1910-1971, Box 233, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 136-38; “Private and Confidential,” by Brundage, no date, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA. This document contains Brundage’s personal recollection of the Soviet entrance into the Olympic Movement. It was written at some point after May 1951 and before the Helsinki Games in 1952. On the matter of Soviet demands, Brundage recalled that they were “denied in practically every instance” and that “Most federations informed them that since they were not members, they had no right to make demands of any kind.” [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. Mayer to Nicolai Romanov, 25 May 1947, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives; Mayer to Romanov, 15 December 1947, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Jenifer Parks, “Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946-1952,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 30-33; James Riordan, “Rewriting Soviet Sports History,” *Journal of Sport History* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 1993), 249-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 138; Brundage, “Private and Confidential.” [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. See cable from Sobolev to Edström, 23 April 1951, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives; Edström to Mayer, 24 April 1951, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. Edström to Mayer, 25 April 1951, Recognition Requests of the NOC of the USSR: Correspondence and Recognition, 1935-51, Box 238, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 139. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. Brundage, “Private and Confidential.” [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 139-40. Guttmann notes a letter on this issue from Daniel Ferris of the AAU to Brundage. As Guttmann tells it, apparently at an IAAF congress in Belgrade, “the leader of the Russian delegation left his alphabetically assigned seat at the rear of the hall and sat in the front row where he was visible to the delegates from the satellite countries, and he looked about during the votes to make sure that all hands were dutifully raised.” See also Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 89. Romanov later wrote: “The collective preparation of strategy and tactics of sports organizations of the socialist lands in the international sports movement has become an objective necessity and in practice displays a growing influence on the course of development of world sport.” Cited in Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events, and Controversies that Shaped the Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1999), 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. Edström to Mayer, 21 June 1951, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, April 1950 – March 1952, Box 3, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. Brundage to Douglas Roby, 15 November 1952, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. “Circular Letter to Members of the IOC,” by Brundage, 30 January 1954, ABC, Box 70, Reel 39, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. Brundage, “Private and Confidential;” Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 100-101, 151. Other individuals whose presence was protested included Italian and Japanese delegates. Brundage revealed little sensitivity toward the anti-fascist sentiment in the IOC. He wrote Hans Strack: “Unfortunately there still exists much bitterness and hatred, particularly in the neighbouring countries. Feelings of this kind should not appear in meetings devoted to sport, but they do, alas!” See Brundage to Hans Strack, 3 July 1950, ABC, Box 127, Reel 70, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. Edström to Mayer, 23 February 1950, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, May 1950 – March 1951, Box 2, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 32-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. Edström to Mayer, 15 November 1950, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, May 1950 – March 1951, Box 2, IOC Archives; Edström to Mayer, 24 November 1950, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, May 1950 – March 1951, Box 2, IOC Archives. See also Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. John Gordon Mein to Department of State, 4 April 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5116, 857.4531/4-451, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. Heather L. Dichter, “Sporting Democracy: The Western Allies’ Reconstruction of Germany Through Sport, 1944-1952” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Toronto, 2008), 236. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 151-57; Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 33-34. On the creation of an East German NOC see G.A. Carr, “The Involvement of Politics in the Sporting Relationships of East and West Germany, 1945-1972,” *Journal of Sport History* 7, no. 1 (1980), 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. The quote is from F. W. Maitland and cited in A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (London: Readers Union Ltd, 1962), 231. [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. Fan Hong & Xiong Xiaozheng, “Communist China: Sport, Politics, and Diplomacy,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, no. 2 (2002), 319-323. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 142-44. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. Vesa Tikander, “Helsinki,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. Cited in Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. Susan Brownell, “‘Sport and Politics Don’t Mix’: China’s Relationship with the IOC During the Cold War,” in *East Plays West*, 260. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. Brundage to Stoytchev, 4 December 1958, IOC Member Stoytchev, Vladimir Dimitrov, 1948-78, Box 112, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. Susan Brownell, “‘Sport and Politics Don’t Mix’: China’s Relationship with the IOC During the Cold War,” in *East Plays West*, 261-63; Fan Hong & Xiong Xiaozheng, “Communist China: Sport, Politics, and Diplomacy,” 325-26; Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 146-47. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 66-67; Brundage to Stoytchev, 28 August 1958, IOC Member Stoytchev, Vladimir Dimitrov, 1948-78, Box 112, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Christopher Hill, *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta, 1896-1996* Second Edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 164. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. Cited in Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape,” 84, 115-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. “Brundage Replies to Russian Proposal,” ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA; Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 171-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. Brundage to Mayer, 15 April 1960, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Brundage to Mayer, 6 May 1961, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1961, Box 6, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 140-42; Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 51-52. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Mayer to Andrianov, 16 January 1961, IOC Member Andrianov, Konstantin, 1951-, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. Brundage to Roby, 15 November 1952, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. Brundage to Mayer, 3 November 1955, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1954-55, Box 4, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. “Brundage Pleas To Protect Olympics From Those With Ulterior Motives,” *The Hartford Courant*, 14 June 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. Brundage to Andrianov, 2 September 1954, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA. See also Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 140-41. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Brundage to Nicolai Romanov, 2 September 1954, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA; Brundage to Vladimir Tchubarov, 2 September 1954, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA; Brundage to Aleksei Romanov, 2 September 1954, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. Brundage to Mayer, 9 December 1954, Correspondence of Brundage, 1954-55, Box 4, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. Brundage to George L. Rider, 11 April 1959, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. Brundage to Mayer, 17 April 1957, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. For examples of Brundage questioning the Soviet NOC over state athletes, see Brundage to Andrianov, 28 July 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA; and Brundage to Andrianov, 15 November 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA. For a defence from Andrianov see his letter to Brundage, 22 October 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Brundage to K. L. Wilson, 23 February 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to McGovern, 23 December 1953, ABC, Box 32, Reel 19, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. “Brundages Blasts U.S. Hysteria,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 April 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. Brundage to Daniel Ferris, 14 June 1954, ABC, Box 24, Reel 15, ICOSA; “Athletes’ Tours Hit by Brundage,” *New York Times*, 16 March 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. For a similar argument see Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. Vladislav M. Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 73. Tito pulled Yugoslavia away from Soviet control in 1948. The Soviet Union responded by expelling Yugoslavia from the Cominform. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. Vassil Girginov, “Capitalist Philosophy and Communist Practice: The Transformation of Eastern European Sport and the International Olympic Committee,” *Culture, Sport, Society* 1, no. 1 (May, 1998), 125; Adam Fryc and Mirosław Ponczek, “The Communist Rule in Polish Sport History,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (March, 2009), 505; James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 380. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. In 1940, the American Olympic Association was renamed the United States of America Sports Federation and then, in 1945, it was changed to the United States Olympic Association. Both of these organizations administered the United States Olympic Committee, formerly the American Olympic Committee, which was formed every four years to organize the Olympic team for each Games. For the sake of ease I will use the United States Olympic Committee to refer to the organization of all Olympic matters in America during the Cold War. Apart from keeping things simple there is a further justification. The correspondence from U.S. Olympic officials is nearly always with a USOC letterhead and they generally refer to this designation when discussing Olympic matters. For more on this see, Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 88; and Robert P. Watson & Larry Maloney, “The U.S. Olympic Committee,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, eds. John E. Findling & Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 500. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. Edward W. Barrett, *Truth Is Our Weapon* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1953), 51-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 73-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. “The Soviet ‘Peace’ Offensive,” 9 December 1949, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter referred to as *FRUS*) *1949, Volume V, Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1976), 839-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. Edward Barrett to James Webb, 6 March 1950, *FRUS,* *1950, IV, Central and Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, 274-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. “U.S. Views on Capturing the Initiative in Psychological Field,” no date, *FRUS, 1950, IV*, 296-302. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. Edward P. Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951,” 19 December 1951, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, CT, 1988), document number 1742, 82; Shawn J. Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. “Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,” 20 April 1950, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1950* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1965), 260-64. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 54-56; Gary D. Rawnsley, “The Campaign of Truth: a Populist Propaganda,” in *Cold War Propaganda in the 1950’s*, ed., Gary D. Rawnsley (Houndsmills, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 32, 35, 39, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 30-47; Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951,” 80-81; “Retaliatory Action Against USSR and Satellite Restrictions on U.S. Information Materials,” 6 April 1950, *FRUS, 1950, IV*, 290-292. For more on *Amerika* magazine see, Andrew L. Yarrow, “Selling a New Vision of America to the World: Changing Messages in Early U.S. Cold War Print Propaganda,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 11, no. 4 (Fall, 2009), 3-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 35-55, quote on 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. W. Averell Harriman to Secretary of State, 12 December 1945, Record Group 59 (hereafter referred to as RG), Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 6659, 861.4063/12-1245, National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. See also Harriman to Secretary of State, 12 December 1945, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 6659, 861.40634/11-1545, NA. For the tour of Dynamo Moskva see for example, Peter Beck, “Britain and the Cold War’s ‘Cultural Olympics:’ Responding to the Political Drive of Soviet Sport, 1945-58,” *Contemporary British History* 19, no. 2 (June, 2005), 169-85; and Ronnie Kowalski & Dilwyn Porter, “Cold War Football: British European Encounters in the 1940s and 1950s,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 64-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. George Kennan to Secretary of State, 12 December 1945, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 6659, 861.4063/12-1245, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. Rudolf E. Schoenfeld to Department of State, 11 June 1948, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 7092, 871.406/6-1148, NA; and Rudolf E. Schoenfeld to Department of State, 28 June 1948, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 7092, 871.406/6-2849, NA [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. Rudolf E. Schoenfeld to Department of State, 14 January 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5329, 866.453/I-I450, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Ruth R. Tryon to Department of State, 23 October 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5296, 864.45/I0-2350, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. George M. Abbott to Department of State, 2 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5296, 864.453/7-252, NA. See also Walter Dowling to Department of State, 27 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5296, 864.45/5-2752, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. Joseph A. Robinson to Department of State, 31 March 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4937, 848.453/3-3150, NA. Robinson recommended that the report be passed on to the Voice of America for use in an item called “Life in Poland Today.” [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. Donald R. Heath to Secretary of State, 22 June 1948, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1945-49, Box 7101, 874.4063/6-2248, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. “Moscow Observations: Soviet Conduct of Tournaments as Indicated by Recent Women’s World Chess Championship,” 23 January 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5167, 861.4536/I-2350, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. “The Soviet Athlete in International Competition,” 24 December 1951, *Department of State Bulletin*, 1007. Walsh moved on to highlight examples of unsportsmanlike behaviour by Soviet teams, and how competition between the USSR and its satellites was manipulated to ensure a Soviet victory. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. “U.S. Found Losing In ‘Cultural War,’” *New York Times*, 15 November 1951; Barrett, *Truth Is Our Weapon*, 180-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. The State Department could not have missed this fact. Newspaper coverage of the event was extensive and a dispatch from Vienna, which hosted the IOC meeting that witnessed the decision, confirmed the news. See E. Wilder Spaulding to Department of State, 16 May 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-1651, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. J. M. McSweeney (Counselor of Embassy in Moscow) to Department of State, 9 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-952, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. McSweeney to Department of State, 29 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-2952, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. McSweeney to Department of State, 15 February 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/2-1552, NA; Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 38-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. George Kennan to Secretary of State, 18 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5167, 861.4531/7-1852, NA. See also McSweeney to Department of State, 9 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-952, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Frances E. Willis to Department of State, 10 August 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/8-1051, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. David G. Wilson to Department of State, 17 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/4-1752, NA; H. Bartlett Wells to Department of State, 22 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-2252, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. Jenifer Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape: The Olympic Games, The Soviet Sports Bureaucracy, and the Cold War, 1952-1980” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. Heather L. Dichter, “Sporting Democracy: The Western Allies’ Reconstruction of Germany Through Sport, 1944-1952” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Toronto, 2008), 281, 283-89. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. James Webb to HICOG, 9 May 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-950, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. Avery Brundage to John J. McCloy, 14 October 1950, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 127, Reel 70, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. George A. Selke to Department of State, 3 July 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5252, 862A.453/7-351, NA; Dichter, “Sporting Democracy,” 300-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. Dichter, “Sporting Democracy,” 303-4; “J. Brooks Parker, Olympic Official,” *New York Times*, 1 December 1951. [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. Williams to Byroade, 30 August 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-2851, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. Parker to Johnstone, 2 October 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/10-251, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 47-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. See T.L. Barnard to Mr. Dunning, Mr. Morris, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Kohler, Mr. LaBlonde, and Mr. Johnson, No date. The memorandum is appended to a report from Orville C. Anderson to Miss Kirkpatrick & Mr. Kellerman, 3 October 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/10-351, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. Orville C. Anderson to Miss Kirkpatrick & Mr. Kellerman, 3 October 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/10-351, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. Richard B. Walsh to Barrett, 30 October 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. For the sale of the film rights at the 1948 London Games see also Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, & Scott G. Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2004), 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. Thomas Nickels to Brundage, 21 August 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. Brundage to Nickels, 28 August 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA; Nickels to Brundage, 21 November 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. Joseph C. Kolarek to Parker, 8 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5116, 457.4531/11-1351, NA; Parker’s Secretary to Kolarek, 12 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5116, 857.4531/12-1251, NA; Brundage to Kolarek, 14 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5116, 857.4531/12-1451, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. Barrett to Walsh, 30 October 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Barrett memorandum, 30 October 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. Barrett to Brundage, 16 October 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. Brundage to Barrett, 27 October 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. “Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,” 20 April 1950, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1950*, 264; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy and the Private Sector: The United States Information Agency, its Predecessors and the Private Sector,” in *The U.S. Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network*, eds., Helen Laville & Hugh Wilford (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 214-15; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 56-58; Rawnsley, “The Campaign of Truth: a Populist Propaganda,” 38; USIE Newsletter No.2, 2 July 1951, Harry S. Truman Papers (hereafter referred to as Truman Papers), Staff Member and Office Files: Psychological Strategy Board Files, 1951-53 (hereafter referred to a PSB Files), Box 29, “350 File #1, Department of State – USIE Program – July 27, 1951,” Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as HSTL), Independence, Missouri; USIE Program, 27 July 1951, Truman Papers, PSB File, Box 29, “350 File #1, Department of State – USIE Program – July 27, 1951,” HSTL. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. Barrett, *Truth Is Our Weapon*, 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. Walsh to Ralph Block, 6 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. Walsh to John Devine, 9 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. Perhaps Walsh referred to the well-publicised defection of Jaroslav Drobny and Vladimir Cernik in 1949. See for example, “2 Czech Tennis Aces Renounce Country,” *New York Times*, 16 July 1949. [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. Walsh to Barrett, 15 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. Barrett to Walsh, 26 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. Jack Fleischer to Department of State, 20 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/12-2151, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. Block to Walsh, 19 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. Block to Walsh, 19 November 1951, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. Walsh to Barrett, “1952 Olympics – Progress Report No.4,” no date (circa December 1951), RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. Walsh to Barrett, “1952 Olympics – Progress Report No.4,” no date (circa December 1951), RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Walsh to Brundage, 22 January 1952, ABC, Box 158, Reel 90, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. Dean Acheson to Certain American Diplomatic Officers, 24 October 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/10-2451, NA; Webb to Legation in Vienna, 24 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-951, NA; Webb to Legation in Helsinki, 1 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-1651, NA. The officers contacted, as the plan recommended, were mostly in Western Europe. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. William R. Tyler to Department of State, 6 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-651, NA. Tyler noted the “phenomenal success” of the Harlem Globetrotters in France as evidence. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. Shepard Stone to Department of State, 7 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-751, NA. After 1949, the High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG), under the State Department, controlled the U.S. media program in Germany. See Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. E. Wilder Spaulding (Cultural Affairs Officer) to Department of State, 9 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-951, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. In 1950, for example, the president of the AAU, Albert F. Wheltle, called attention to what he saw as the role of international sport for stimulating “good will” and “its value in combating communism.” See “Minutes of the 62nd Annual Meeting of the AAU,” December 1950, Archives of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (hereafter referred to as AAU Archives), Lake Buena Vista, Florida. [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. Webb to HICOG, 5 December 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-1551, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. Walsh to Wilson Compton & John Begg, “Report on 1952 Winter Olympic Games at Oslo, Norway,” 3 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; “Minutes of the 63rd Annual Meeting of the AAU,” November-December 1951, AAU Archives; “Minutes of the 64th Annual Meeting of the AAU,” December 1952, AAU Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. Jack M. Fleischer (Public Affairs Officer) to Department of State (For International Broadcasting Division), 14 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-1451, NA; Jenifer Parks, “Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946-1952,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 27-44. In reference to the larger plan of “exploitation,” the Embassy recommended drawing attention to the predicted defection of many Eastern European athletes. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. Barnard to Arnot, 3 January 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Barnard to Sargeant, 3 January 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Barnard to Walsh, 3 January 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Barnard to Walsh, 5 January 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. Walsh to Brundage, 22 January 1952, ABC, Box 158, Reel 90, ICOSA; Brundage to Gordon Knox, 23 January 1952, ABC, Box 158, Reel 90, ICOSA; Knox to Brundage, 28 January 1952, ABC, Box 158, Reel 90, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. Walsh to Barrett, 22 January 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 168-72, 219; Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency*, 63; Barrett, *Truth Is Our Weapon*, 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 52-54; Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. Walsh to Wilson Compton, 14 February 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Acheson to American Embassy in Oslo, 4 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-452, NA. A further individual, the reporter Richard Montague, was listed originally in the Task Force but does not appear to have joined the group in Oslo. The Task Force provided coverage to U.S. Mission in Athens, Belgrade, Brussels, Bern, Buenos Aires, Canberra, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Lisbon, London, Paris, Pusan, Rome, Rejkjavik, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Stockholm, The Hague, Vienna, Tel Aviv, Pretoria, Bonn, Tokyo and Poland. See Acheson to Certain Diplomatic Officers, 24 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-2452, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. William P. Snow (Charge d’Affairs) to Department of State, 31 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-3152, NA. The Voice of America’s coverage at the Winter Games presented a technical problem. The U.S. Embassy in Oslo did not have the necessary equipment or knowledge to lead the project. It requested a member from the International Broadcasting Division be sent to perform what was felt to be “no small task.” The Embassy would lend support to the individual to the up most through its USIE section. See, Jack M. Fleischer (Public Affairs Officer) to Department of State (For International Broadcasting Division), 1 November 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/11-1451, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. Walsh to Wilson Compton & John Begg, “Report on 1952 Winter Olympic Games at Oslo, Norway,” 3 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. Walsh to Wilson Compton & John Begg, “Report on 1952 Winter Olympic Games at Oslo, Norway,” 3 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. McSweeney to Department of State, 5 March 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5166, 861.453/3-552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. Vesa Tikander, “Helsinki,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, 143; Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events, and Controversies that Shaped the Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1999), 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (London, England: University of California Press, 1979), 29; Robert A. Mechikoff & Paula R. Lupcho, “The Emergence of the Cold War Olympics: 1948 London Games,” in *Fourth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education: Proceedings*, 24-26 June 1979, ed., Barbara Schrodt (The School of Physical Education and Recreation, The University of British Columbia, 1979), 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. Harry Truman to Brundage, 10 November 1951, Truman Papers, Presidents Personal File, Box 485, “PPF 468-F Olympic Games,” HSTL. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. “Statement by Governor Thomas E. Dewey – March 11, 1952,” ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. Truman Proclamation for Olympic Week, 17 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-1952, NA; “Congress Urges Olympic Fund,” *New York Times*, 16 May 1952; “Olympic Week to Begin,” *New York Times*, 17 May 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. “An Urgent Appeal to Newspaper Publishers of the United States,” by Brundage, no date, ABC, Box 160, Reel 91, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. Brundage to Edström, 26 June 1952, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1952, Box 4, International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland; Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 45-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. “Stalin Trains His Olympic Teams,” *New York Times*, 20 April 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. Cited in Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. Walsh to Begg & Compton, 10 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; John M. Cabot to G. Hayden Raynor, 29 February 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5166, 800.4531/2-2952, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. John V. Lund to Department of State, 24 March 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/3-2452, NA. See also the appended letter from Einar Sundström to United States Olympic Committee, 24 March 1952, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. Walsh to Begg & Compton, 10 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. Walsh to Begg & Compton, 10 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; J.E. Saugsted (Chief, Shipping policy Staff, Department of State) to Joseph Mayber (Transatlantic Passenger Conference), 19 March 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/3-1952, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. Walsh to Arnold & Fisk, 28 April 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; “Minutes of the 64th Annual Meeting of the AAU,” December 1952, AAU Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. David G. Wilson to Department of State, 8 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-852, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. Cabot to Secretary of State, 17 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/4-1752, NA; Acheson to Helsinki Legation, 18 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/4-1852, NA; Cabot to Secretary of State, 29 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/4-2952, NA; Willis to Secretary of State, 9 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/5-952, NA; Willis to Secretary of State, 12 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/5-1252, NA; Harris to Hulten, 13 May 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; May to Byrnes, 13 May 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Cabot to Secretary of State, 26 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/2-2652, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. Cabot to Secretary of State, 26 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/2-2652, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. Acheson to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 22 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-2252, NA. The airgram was sent to 40 locations that varied from Europe, South America, Asia, and Africa. [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. Maurice S. Rice to Department of State, 27 May 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/5-2752, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. Donald C. Dunham to Department of State, 5 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/6-552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. Sidney Sober to Department of State, 13 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/6-1352, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. William C. Johnstone to John L. Dunning, 8 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 811.4531/4-852, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. Reed Harris to Johnstone, 30 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/4-3052, NA. Harris alluded to the misinterpretation of Walsh’s role in a memorandum prepared by Johnstone. See Johnstone to Begg, 28 April 1952, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. John A. Hamilton to Harris, 20 May 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA; Harris to Johnstone, 3 June 1952, RG306, Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
426. Frances E. Willis to Department of State, 17 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/6-1752, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. Cabot to Secretary of State, 14 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/6-1452, NA; Bruce to Helsinki Legation, 24 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/6-1452, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. Cabot to Secretary of State, 6 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. Cabot to Secretary of State, 10 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-1052, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. Willis to Secretary of State, 21 February 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/2-2152, NA; Webb to Helsinki Legation, 27 February 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5155, 860E.4531/2-2152, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. Cabot to Secretary of State, RG59, 10 July 1952, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-1052, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. Wilson to Department of State, 5 September 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/9-552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. David G, Wilson to Department of State, 29 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-2952, NA. For more on the request for USIS films in the Olympic Village see Cabot to Secretary of State, 17 June 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.453/6-1752, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John’s Hopkins Press, 1991), 3-25, 37-42, quote on 39; Krugler, *The Voice of America*, 185-86. See also Ralph B. Levering & Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, “The American Perspective,” in *Debating the Origins of the Cold War: American and Russian Perspectives*, eds., Ralph B. Levering, Vladimir O. Pechatnov, Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, & C. Earl Edmondson (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), 1-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. Embassy in Oslo to Department of State, 7 April 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/4-752, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. Cabot to Department of State, 15 August 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/8-1552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. Cabot to Department of State, 15 August 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/8-1552, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. Cabot to Department of State, 15 August 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/8-1552, NA. See also Cabot’s comments during the Games in Cabot to Department of State, 30 July 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4372, 800.4531/7-3052, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. Count Antal (Anthony) Szápáry to Avery Brundage, 17 January 1950, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter cited as ABC), Box 132, Reel 73, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter cited as ICOSA), the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. Richard B. Walsh to Wilson Compton & John Begg, “Report on 1952 Winter Olympic Games at Oslo, Norway,” 3 April 1952, Record Group 306 (hereafter referred to as RG), Office of Administration, 1952-55, Box 4, “Private Enterprise Cooperation, 1952-53,” National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. George Telegdy to John Matthews (NCFE), no date, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. See for example Helen Laville, “The Committee of Correspondence: CIA Funding of Women’s Groups, 1952-1967,” *Intelligence and National Security* 12, no. 1 (1997), 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 15; John C. Hughes, W.H. Jackson & Allen Dulles to The Board of Directors, 29 June 1950, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 189, (3) “Free Europe Committee, Inc., Board of Directors, 1949-54,” Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. Cited in Scott Lucas, *Freedom’s War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. “Radio Free Europe – Fact Sheet,” no date (circa 1950), RFE/RL, Box 166, (14) “Crusade for Freedom, General, July-Dec, 1950,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. “Radio Free Europe Policy Handbook,” 30 November 1951, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, CT, 1986), document number 1974. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. Sig Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 30-33, 48-50; “Thumbnail sketches of Typical Radio Free Europe Programs,” no date, Charles Hulten Papers (hereafter referred to as Hulten Papers), Box 22, (2) “Radio Free Europe,” Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (hereafter referred to HSTL), Independence, Missouri; “Radio Free Europe – Fact Sheet.” [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. Cited in Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice*, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. “Radio Free Europe,” by Frank Wisner, 22 November 1950, Central Intelligence Agency website, [www.foia.cia.gov/](http://www.foia.cia.gov/) (hereafter referred to as CIA FOIA). [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. This information was found in the 1952 “Presidents Report” for the NCFE, which was appended to a letter from Whitney H. Sherpardson to Allen W. Dulles, 10 April 1953, CIA FOIA. [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice*, 51-58; Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 101-3; Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, 14-15; Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 20-24; “Loop Freedom Rally to Hear Admiral Halsey,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 September 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. “President’s Report for the Year 1955,” Hulten Papers, Box 22, (3) “Radio Free Europe,” HSTL; “Presidents Report;” Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, 75-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. “Circular,” by Dewitt C. Poole, 17 January 1951, RFE/RL, Box 188, (1) “Free Europe Committee ,Inc., General, 1949-57,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. Cited in Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. “Radio Free Europe Policy Handbook.” For an example of sport programming see, Program Manager (Hungarian desk) to RFE Staff, 17 September 1951, RFE/RL, Box 277, (5) “Hungarian Desk, 1951,” HA; “Thumbnail sketches of Typical Radio Free Europe Programs,” no date, Hulten Papers, Box 22, (2) “Radio Free Europe,” HSTL. [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. See for example, Program Manager (Hungarian desk) to RFE Staff, 17 September 1951, RFE/RL, Box 277, (5) “Hungarian Desk, 1951,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. James W. Pratt to Department of State, 29 September 1954, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5329, 866.453/9-2954, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. Pavel Tigrid to William T. Rafael, 13 December 1950, RFE/RL, Box 275, (4) “Czechoslovakian Desk, 1949-1950,” HA. See also “Programs for the Czech Desk,” 13 December 1951, RFE/RL, Box 275, (2) “Bulgarian Desk, 1949-1966,” HA; and “Programs for the Hungarian Desk, 13 December 1951, RFE/RL, Box 275, (2) “Bulgarian Desk, 1949-1966,” HA. One report on broadcasting to Czechoslovakia noted that during a program commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Sokol movement, communist “jamming increased to such an extent that nothing could be heard.” See “Report on the Reception in Czechoslovakia of Programs of the Free Europe Sender,” no date (circa 1952), RFE/RL, Box 270, (1) “RFE broadcasts to Baltic Countries, 1953-1957,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. Lewis Galantiere memorandum, “Interview with four Hungarian Refugees,” 21 October 1953, RFE/RL, Box 211, (4) “Hungary, 1949-1957,” HA. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. William Snow to Department of State, 2 February 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-3152, NA; Snow to Department of State, 31 January 1952, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 4371, 800.4531/1-3152, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. “Special Report No. 16, Listener Suggestions for RFE Polish Programs,” April 1957, RFE/RL, Box 278, (3) “Polish Desk General, 1952-1958,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. Zbigniew Brzezinski to John L. Dunning, 14 October 1959, RFE/RL, Box 271, (3) “Broadcasting Review, 1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. “Presidents Report.” For a review of the journals content see C. D. Jackson to Members of the Board of Directors of the National Committee for a Free Europe, 1 August 1951, RFE/RL, Box 189, (3) “Free Europe Committee, Inc, Board of Directors, 1945-54,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. “Olympics Preview,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 7 (July, 1952), 42. The editions of the journal used for this paper were viewed at the Buhr Remote Shelving Library, The University of Michigan. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. “Olympics Preview,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 7 (July, 1952), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. “Communism on Display,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 9 (September, 1952), 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. “Olympics Preview,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 7 (July, 1952), 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. “Political Preparation for Sport,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 2 (February, 1952), 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. “Olympics Preview,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 7 (July, 1952), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. “Communism on Display,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 9 (September, 1952), 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. Szápáry to Avery Brundage, 17 January 1950, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. It appears that the HNC did exercise, or, at least, tried to exercise some control over the HNSF in return for supporting the sports federation’s interests in the NCFE. This situation was indicative of the broader power struggles within the HNC, where supporters of former Hungarian Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, collided with supporters of Tibor Eckhardt. In the case of the HNSF, it was Nagy’s cohort that attempted to leverage influence on Szápáry and company by claiming that they would “sponsor the association (HNSF) at the NCFE providing that the association first elects individuals who follow their political line.” Apparently Szápáry, Zerkowitz, Telegdy, and Geza Gyamarthy signed an agreement on this arrangement even though Telegdy and Zerkowitz were listed as undesirables. See Report by Paul Vajda, 15 February 1951, RFE/RL, Box 277, (5) “Hungarian Desk,” HA. Parenthesis mine. For the power struggle in the HNC see Katalin Kádár-Lynn, *Tibor Eckhardt: His American Years, 1941-1972* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 156-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. John Foster Leich, “Great Expectations: The National Councils in Exile, 1950-60,” *The Polish Review*, Vol. XXXV, no. 3 (1990), 186. For the announcement of the formation of the Hungarian National Council on 18 November 1947, see Kádár-Lynn, *Tibor Eckhardt: His American Years*, 218-219. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Steven Bela Vardy, *The Hungarian-Americans* (Boston:Twayne Publishers, 1985), 127. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. “Anthony Szapary, Led Sports Group,” *New York Times*, 26 December 1972; “Sylvia Szechenyi Fiancee Of Count,” *New York Times*, 12 February 1949. [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Szápáry to C.D. Jackson, 2 February 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. George Telegdy to John Matthews (NCFE), no date, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. For Rule 27 see International Olympic Committee, *Fundamental Principles Rules and Regulations* (Lausanne, Switzerland: 1958), 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. Szápáry to Robert McKisson (South European Division, Department of State), 25 May 1950, RG59, Central Decimal File,1950-54, Box 5296, 864.453/5-2550, NA. This information on the HNSF was drawn from a “Pro-Memoria” appended to the letter. A copy was also sent to Avery Brundage, see Szápáry to Brundage, 24 May 1950, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. For the HNSF’s incorporation see Stein to George Telegdy, 27 March 1959, The Private Papers of Count Anthony Szápáry (hereafter referred to as Szápáry Papers), Box 2, “B,” Pound Ridge, New York. Among the athletes associated with the HNSF in its early days were world-class trap and skeet shooters, István Strassburger and Sándor Dóra, the wrestler István Kiss, the fencing champion Béla Mikla, the fencer József Vida, and swimmer, József Szegedi. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Leich, “Great Expectations: The National Councils in Exile, 1950-60,” 185. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. “Reorientation of Exile Organizations,” 1 April 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (2) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. This report is appended to a letter from Archibald Alexander to Members of the Free Europe Committee Executive Committee, 4 April 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (2) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. The termination of funding for the HNSF is discussed in a letter from Bernhard Yarrow to Jackson, 27 March 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” DDEL. For Szápáry’s response see Szápáry to Jackson, 2 February 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. Brundage to Szápáry, 25 January 1950, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. A. Gellért to Robert Cutler, April 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. Zerkowitz to Cutler, no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Although there is no date on this memorandum, it was likely produced early in 1951 as Zerkowitz alludes to the “next meeting” of the IOC at Vienna in May, which took place in that year. [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. List attached to note from Peter Zerkowitz to Wright, 23 May 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. “Excerpt from Budapest to Hungarian Desk,” 9 May 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. Frank C. Wright Jr. to Ferris, 5 June 1951, ABC, Box 24, Reel 14, ICOSA; Daniel Ferris to Brundage, 6 June 1951, ABC, Box 24, Reel 14, ICOSA. Wright was the Director of Public Relations at the NCFE. [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. Ferris to Wright, 6 June 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. Wright to Jackson, 26 June 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; Jackson to Brundage, 26 June 1951, RFE/RL, Box, 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. There is no evidence in Brundage’s papers that he ever received this letter. [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. Wright to John T. McGovern, 30 January 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. Jackson to Brundage, 30 January 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Italics mine. For Article One of the *Olympic Charter* see, International Olympic Committee, *Fundamental Principles Rules and Regulations* (Lausanne, Switzerland: 1958), 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. Jackson to Brundage, 30 January 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Parenthesis mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. Wright to Jackson, 4 February 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. George Santelli to Brundage, 20 November 1951, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. In his covering letter, Santelli told Brundage that he was in the “the sincere hope that you will try to assist this earnest group in achieving their goal.” [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. Szápáry to Brundage, 13 November 1951, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. Szápáry to Brundage, 13 November 1951, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. Brundage to Santelli, 27 December 1951, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. Brundage to Szápáry, 27 December 1951, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Brundage later confirmed this intention to the press. See “Brundage to Point Out Plight Of Refugee Olympic Athletes,” *Ironwood Daily Globe*, 8 February 1952; “Winter Olympic RoundUp,” *San Mateo Times*, 8 February 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. Wright to Jackson, 4 February 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano to Brundage, 14 June 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Brundage confirmed the meeting with Márffy in a letter to Szápáry. Brundage told the Count that there had been a discussion “on the subject in which you are interested.” See Brundage to Szápáry, 18 June 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Márffy also confirmed his trip to Oslo in a letter to Rt Hon. Edward Charles Guerny Boyle. See Márffy to Boyle, 5 March 1952, MS 660/3043, Correspondence and Papers of the Rt Hon. Edward Charles Gurney Boyle, Special Collections, Brotherton Library, The University of Leeds, England. Márffy’s correspondence was predominantly based out of the St. James’ Club in Piccadilly, a members club for individuals based in the diplomatic services. For more on the club see Charles Graves, *Leather Armchairs: The book of London Clubs* (New York: Coward-McCann INC, 1964), 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. Márffy to C. D. Jackson, 11 May 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. This information was drawn from a book written by Márffy’s sister, the Countess of Listowel. The book is a personal recollection of their upbringing and struggle under communist rule. It includes the story behind her efforts to get her brother’s family out of Hungary after World War II. See Judith Listowel, *The Golden Tree: The Story of Peter, Tomi and their Family Typifies the Enduring Spirit of Hungary* (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1958), 53, 62, quote on communism on 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. “Judith, Countess of Listowel,” *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 July 2003. Márffy’s sister was a quite formidable woman. A writer and journalist, she fought against oppression in Eastern Europe and Africa. The evidence suggests she was a gifted political agitator, having been blacklisted by both Nazi Germany and communist Hungary. See “Judith, Countess of Listowel,” *The Times*, 30 July, 2003. To secure the release of Peter, Márffy’s wife even wrote to Khrushchev to seek an intervention. See “Womans Plea To Mr. Khruschev,” *The Times*, 13 April 1956; “Boy Issued With Passport,” *The Times*, 16 April 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. Listowel, *The Golden Tree*, 22-25, 50. On Márffy’s sporting background see also Márffy to Miller, 5 April 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; “Hungary’s Olympic Fate in Doubt,” *The Charleston Gazette*, 30 October 1956; and *Flight International,* 3 April 1969. [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. Rolf Peterson to Count Istvan Revay, 21 December 1951, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 46th Session,” Oslo, 12-13 February 1952, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 136. [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. Sigfrid Edström to “Members of the IOC Executive Committee,” 18 March 1952, ABC, Box 43, Reel 25, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. Blanche Wiesen Cook, “First Comes the Lie: C. D. Jackson and Political Warfare,” *Radical History Review* 31 (1984), 52. Miller began his term as NCFE president on 1 March 1952. See “Free Europe Committee Elects New President,” *New York Times*, 16 January 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. Kádár-Lynn, *Tibor Eckhardt: His American Years*, 173. [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. Miller to Walsh, 18 April 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. E. Acker to Wright, 23 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Brundage had also foreseen a similar situation, though he thought the strategy was deployed purely to avoid defection, preventing the communist athletes from succumbing to “temptation.” See “Private and Confidential,” by Brundage, no date (circa 1951-1952), ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. Wright to Zerkowitz, 18 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA;

     Márffy to Miller, 5 April 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; Miller to Márffy, 12 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Incidentally, Miller had met Márffy in Berlin. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. “Draft of the Constitution of the Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen,” no date (circa 1952), RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. There is also an undated document that stipulates the officers of the UFEES and the members of the Executive Committee. The UFEES had representatives from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. Wright to Augustine, 28 February 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; Miller (Assistant to Financial vice-president of the NCFE) to Zerkowitz, 4 March 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. Brundage to Dietrich Wortmann, 10 January 1951, ABC, Box 42, Reel 24, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. Janis Dikmanis to Brundage, 23 September 1951, ABC, Box 22, Reel 13, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. Otto Mayer to Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen, 19 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. The application was dated 6 May 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. Notably, Yugoslavia was included despite Tito’s split with Stalin in 1948, and East Germany was avoided all together. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. Szápáry to Brundage, 14 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. Szápáry to John T. McGovern, 9 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. The invitation began with the statement: “The exiled athletes from the ten nations enslaved by the Kremlin have recently organized under the name of Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen. It is their purpose to fight Communism in their various countries of refuge.” [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. McGovern to Brundage, 12 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. Brundage to McGovern, 15 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. “Exiles Of Satellites Ask For Olympics Entry,” *New York Times*, 25 May 1952. Szápáry also invited other staff from the NCFE, including Wright, Frederick Dolbeare, and John F. Leich. See Szápáry to Wright, 9 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; Szápáry to Dolbeare, 15 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; and Leich to Szápáry, 17 May 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Incidentally, this is the same John Leich who wrote the article on the NCFE quoted earlier in this chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. Paul Auer to Edström, 12 March 1952, ABC, Box 43, Reel 25, ICOSA. At the January meeting of the European Movement, Auer delivered a speech stating that, “an agreement between west and east which would accept a permanent Iron Curtain, and condone the present situation in our countries, would abandon us once and for all to Soviet Russia.” See “Essential Unity Of Europe,” *The Times*, 22 January 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. Richard J. Aldrich, “OSS, CIA and European Unity: The American Committee on United Europe, 1949-60,” *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 8, no. 1 (March, 1997), 185, 189, 190-91. A conduit was thus created to filter the money to the European Movement, called the American Committee on United Europe, organized by Allen Dulles and William Donovan, both former OSS and leaders of the U.S. intelligence community. For more on the European Movement see Wilfried Loth, *The Division of the World, 1941-1955* (London: Routledge, 1988), 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. Sigfrid Edström to Members of the IOC Executive Committee, 18 March 1952, ABC, Box 43, Reel 25, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. Cited in A. H. Robertson, “The Council Of Europe, 1949 – 1953,” *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (April, 1954), 286. See also Loth, *The Division of the World, 1941-1955*, 219-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. Leich, “Great Expectations: The National Councils in Exile, 1950-60,” 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. Auer’s speech to the Special Committee is appended to a letter he sent to Leich. See Auer to Leich, 9 April 1952, RFE/RL, Box 342, (4) “Special Committee to Watch Over Interests of European Nations, 1951-52,” HA. It is worth noting that the subject of exiled athletes is not actually mentioned in the list of resolutions passed by the European Movement in its January session. See the pamphlet titled, “European Movement Central and Eastern European Commission: Conference on Central and Eastern Europe, Resolutions,” 20-24 January 1952, RFE/RL, Box 184, (9) “European Movement Central and Eastern European Section, 1951-52,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. See “Consultative Assembly Of The Council Of Europe: Fifth Ordinary Session, 31 March 1953. Report on the participation of Exiles in the Olympic Games,” by M. Pfleiderer (hereafter cited as COE Minutes), 1. This document contains all the correspondence between the “Special Committee to watch over the interests of European Nations not represented in the Council of Europe” and Otto Mayer. It is in the Brundage Collection, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Caracciolo was the Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. F. Caracciolo to Mayer, 11 July 1952, COE Minutes, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Brundage was satisfied with Mayer’s diplomacy, and reported to his colleague that, “I think you covered the subject very well.” See, Brundage to Mayer, 10 October 1952, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1952, Box 4, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. For example see “New Organization Seeks Entry in Olympic Games,” *Post Tribune*, May 21 1952. See also “Exiles From Behind Curtain Plan To Enter for Olympics,” *The Berkshire County Eagle*, 21 May 1952; “‘Exiled Sportsmen’ Appeal For Olympic Participation,” *The Albuquerque Tribune*, 21 May 1952; “Iron Curtain Refugees Organize for Olympics,” *Blytheville Courier News*, 21 May 1952; “Exiles Hoping To Compete In Olympic Games,” *The Capital Times*, 21 May 1952; “Olympic Committee Has to Rule on More Athletes,” *The Ada Evening News*, 21 May 1952; “Iron Curtain Exiles Make Olympic Bid,” *Corpus Christi Times*, 21 May 1952; “E. Europe’s Exiled Athletes Seek OK As Olympic Entry,” *Charleston Daily Mail*, 21 May 1952; “Hope for Exiled Sportsmen,” *The Portsmouth Herald*, 21 May 1952; “Iron Curtain Athletes Seek Olympic Entry,” *The Herald-Press*, 21 May 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. “Self-Exiled European Athletes Seek To Compete As A Unit In Olympics,” *The Portsmouth Times*, 20 June 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. “Stella Walsh Still Hopes to Make Olympic Games as ‘Union’ Member,” *Los Angeles Times*, 2 July 1952. See also “Exiled Stars Want to Run In Olympics,” *The Washington Post*, 5 June 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. “Exiled Athletes Seek to Enter Olympic Play,” *The Charleston Gazette*, 29 April 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. “Russia Probably Will Skip Olympics, Refugees Avow,” *The Charleston Gazette,* 28 April 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. See for example “Sports to Russians Are Completely Political,” *The Charleston Gazette*, 30 April 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. See for example Anthony Moretti, “*New York Times* Coverage of the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games,” *Sport History Review* 38 (2007), 55-72 [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. Mayer to Union of Free Eastern European Sportsmen, 19 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. Szápáry to Members of the Executive Committee, 20 May 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. Edström to Mayer, 29 May 1952, Correspondence of Sigfrid Edström, April 1952-1953, Box 3, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. Zerkowitz to Wright, 1 July 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. Wright to Miller, 3 July 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA;

     Zerkowitz to Miller, 10 July 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. “Activities of the Union in connection with the IOC and the Olympic Games in Helsinki,” by Zerkowitz, 24 August 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) Olympic Games General, 1951-1959, HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. Mayer to Brundage, 8 July 1960, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. “IOC Executive Committee Minutes,” Helsinki, 12, 22-24 July & 2 August 1952, in Wolf Lyberg, ed. *IOC Executive Committee Minutes*, Vol II (1948-1969), 111; or “Extract Of The Minutes of the Executive Committee of the I.O.C. with the Delegates of the International Federations,” Helsinki, 14 July 1952, *Olympic Review* 34-35 (September, 1952), 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 47th Session,” Helsinki, 16 July 1952, IOC Archives; “Activities of the Union in connection with the IOC and the Olympic Games in Helsinki,” by Zerkowitz, 24 August 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Zerkowitz claimed that Mantuano spoke for around 20 minutes and that the IOC members “extensively applauded” the Hungarian when he finished. See also Listowel, *The Golden Tree*, 261. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. “Olympic Ban Queried,” *New York Times*, 20 July 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. “I Must Admit – Russian Athletes Are Great!” *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 April 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Jenifer Parks, “Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946-1952,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 40; Vesa Tikander, “Helsinki,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, eds. John E. Findling & Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. HNC to Brundage, 2 August 1952, Correspondence and Telegrams at the Olympic Games of Helsinki 1952, Box 3, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. “Communism on Display,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 9 (September, 1952), 35. See also “Political Preparation for Sport,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 2 (February, 1952), 38.

     The attempt by Soviet sports officials and communist media to claim that the Soviet team had won the most medals at the Helsinki Games attracted other comments in the magazine. See for example, “Pragmatic Press,” *News from behind the Iron Curtain* 1, no. 9 (September, 1952), 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. “Activities of the Union in connection with the IOC and the Olympic Games in Helsinki,” by Zerkowitz, 24 August 1952, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. Wright to Sherpardson, 6 April 1953, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. Mayor to Major Tufton Beamish, 2 October 1952, COE Minutes, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. COE Minutes, 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. Szápáry to Brundage, 10 April 1953, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. See also the telegram from the UFEES to the IOC in Mexico, 20 April 1953, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. Brundage to Szápáry, 22 May 1953, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. Wright to Yarrow, 13 April 1954, RFE/RL. Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. The original person selected to represent the UFEES in Athens was Alexander Dora, a member of the HNSF. The report on activities in Athens, however, notes that Márffy performed the task. See “UFEES Special representative at the IOC Congress, Athens,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. Márffy also sent a telegram to the IOC on behalf of the UFEES just prior to the Athens meeting. See Márffy to IOC, 8 May 1954, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. There is nothing on the issue in the minutes of the Athens Session. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. David Priestland, *The Red Flag: A History of Communism* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2009), 322-28; Vladislav M. Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 94-122; Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2006* Tenth Edition (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2008), 151-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 47-48, 55-57, 67-68. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. Jenifer Parks, “Red Sport, Red Tape: The Olympic Games, The Soviet Sports Bureaucracy, and the Cold War, 1952-1980” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), 99, 131; James Riordan, “Soviet Sport and Soviet Foreign Policy,” *Soviet Studies* 26, no. 3 (July, 1974), 333; Roy Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” in *Sport and International Relations*, eds. B. Lowe, D.B. Kanin, A. Strenk (Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1978), 417-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 179. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. Frederick C. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role Of Cultural Diplomacy In Soviet Foreign Policy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), 17-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. Abbott Washburn to C.D. Jackson, 11 January 1955, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 62, “International Sports,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas; Walter L. Hixson, *Parting The Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 136. [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. “Communist Cultural and Sports Delegations to the Free World After 1953,” 6 June 1955, Record Group 306 (hereafter referred to as RG), Office of Research and Intelligence (hereafter referred to as IRI), Box 5, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. Hixson, *Parting The Curtain*, 136. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. A long and detailed treatise on “The Hungarian Sporting Scene” was even forwarded to Avery Brundage, the president of the International Olympic Committee. See Henry P. Leverich to Brundage, 23 May 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/5-2355, NA. For the report see, Ernest A. Nagy to Department of State, 11 February 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/2-1155, NA. Brundage was grateful for the “confidential report.” See Brundage to Leverich, 27 May 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/5-2755, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. See for example the despatch from the American Embassy in Warsaw, Joyce R. Herrmann to Department of State, 17 April 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4549, 848.453/4-1756, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. Walter J. Stoessel to Daniel J. Ferris, 17 March 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4549, 848.4531/3-1155, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. See for example Henry P. Leverich to Ferris, 5 June 1953, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5347, 869.453/5-1353, NA; and Harry E. Wilson to State Department, 31 March 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4549, 848.4531/3-3153, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. “International Athletics – Cold War Battleground,” 28 September 1954, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. See also, “Associated Press European File,” Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL; “Pravda On The Training Of Soviet Athletes,” Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. “The Communist Sports Offensive,” no date, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. “Communist Cultural and Sports Delegations to the Free World After 1953,” 6 June 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 5, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. See also “WorldWide Communist Propaganda Activities in 1954,” 15 February 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 4, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. “Soviet Offensive Against Scandinavia, 1954-55,” 22 March 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 4, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. “Scandinavian-Communist Bloc Exchanges,” 27 October 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 6, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. For a report on Swedish and Soviet sporting interactions see for example Marshall Green to Department of State, 1 March 1955, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4735, 861.453/3-155, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. “Scandinavian-Communist Bloc Exchanges During the Second Half of 1955,” 12 March 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 7, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. The total for the whole of 1955 was estimated at 171. See “Scandinavian-Communist Bloc Exchanges During 1955,” 13 April 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 8, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. “British-Communist Exchanges During the Second Half of 1955,” 12 March 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 7, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA; “British-Communist Bloc Exchanges During the First Half of 1955,” 7 October 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 5, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. “Sports Delegation Exchanges Between Communist and Free World Countries in 1955,” 3 May 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 8, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. Since 1954, the IRI noticed a marked increase in athletic and other cultural delegations that visited Latin America from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. See “Communist Propaganda Activities in Latin America, 1955,” 29 February 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 6, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA; “Communist Propaganda Activities in Brazil, 1955,” 8 February 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 3, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. “Olympic and National Defense Sports in Communist China,” 18 June 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 3, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. “Evidence of Professionalism in Soviet Sports,” 16 June 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 2, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. “Evidence of Professionalism in Soviet Sports,” 16 June 1955, RG306, IRI, Box 2, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Lewis Galantière to Henry Loomis, 28 October 1955, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 13, “Free Europe Committee, Inc.,” NA; Loomis to Galantière, 14 November 1955, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 13, “Free Europe Committee, Inc.,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, quotes on 214 and 215; Hixson, *Parting The Curtain*, 137; Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 219, 224-29, quote on 224; “Terms of Reference for the Cultural Presentation Committee,” 12 August 1955, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, CT, 1992), document number 2270. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” 416-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. “Giants in Japan, Trip Hailed as Aid in International Affairs,” *The Sporting News*, 14 October 1953, Volume 136, No. 11, *The Sporting News*, July – December 1953, The Baseball Hall of Fame Archives, Cooperstown, New York. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. C.D. Jackson to Ford Frick (Commissioner of Major League Baseball), 8 July 1953, White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, 1948-61 (hereafter referred to as WHO NSC Papers), Psychological Strategy Board, Central File Series (hereafter referred to as PSB), Box 25, “PSB 353.8,” DDEL; “Agenda Item 3,” 8 July 1953, WHO NSC Papers, PSB, Box 25, “PSB 353.8,” DDEL. The idea for the tour came from “Lefty” O’Doul a year before. See J.E. MacDonald to Allen, 14 October 1952, Harry S. Truman Papers (hereafter referred to as Truman Papers), Staff Member and Office Files: Psychological Strategy Board Files, 1951-53 (hereafter referred to as PSB Files), Box 30, “353.8 Activities of ‘Lefty’ O’Doul in promoting U.S.-Japanese friendship,” Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as HSTL), Independence, Missouri; “Activities of ‘Lefty’ O’Doul in promoting U.S.-Japanese friendship,” 14 October 1953, Truman Papers, PSB Files, Box 30, “353.8 Activities of ‘Lefty’ O’Doul in promoting U.S.-Japanese friendship,” HSTL. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Harold E. Howland to Daniel Ferris, 4 March 1955, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 333, Reel 145, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada; Thomas M. Domer, “Sport In Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic And Political Use Of Sport In The Eisenhower And Kennedy Administrations” (PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. “67th Convention of the AAU,” November 1954, Archives of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, Lake Buena Vista, Florida; Ferris to Howland, 19 May 1954, ABC, Box 24, Reel 15, ICOSA; Howland to Kenneth Wilson, 30 August 1954, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA; “Good Will Tour For Bob Richards,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 September 1954; “Lee’s Tour Wins Friends for U.S.,” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 November 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” 418-19. Clumpner adds that most of the tours occurred in either “the Near East, South Asia, Western Europe and Latin America.” [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. “Dillard Will Go Abroad On U.S. Goodwill Tour,” *New York Times*, 23 April 1954. Dillard was expected to “give talks on American athletics, and social activities, conduct track and field clinics and give exhibitions in his specialties.” See “Dillard Will Make Tour In S. America,” *The Chicago Defender*, 9 October 1954; “Harrison Dillard On Good Will Tour,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 September 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. Ferris to Howland, 30 April 1954, ABC, Box 24, Reel 15, ICOSA. Parenthesis mine. Legitimate expenses were listed as transport, room, food, and any incidental costs. Payments for loss of salary were strictly forbidden. [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. Howland to Ferris, 6 May 1954, ABC, Box 24, Reel 15, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. Ferris to L.G. Wilke (AAU), 20 May 1954, ABC, Box 24, Reel 15, ICOSA. See also Damian Thomas, “Playing the ‘Race Card’: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Integration of Sports,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 207-221. [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. Howland to Frank L. Dennis, 28 March 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB Central File Series (hereafter referred to as OCB), Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8 (Amusements and Athletics) June 1954 – April 1956,” (hereafter referred to as “OCB 353.8”), DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. Jackson to Ralph Hills, 27 August 1953, Jackson, C.D.: Records, 1953-54, Series I: PSB-OCB Series, 1953-54, Box 3, “H,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. Washburn to Jackson, 28 October 1954, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Washburn to Jackson, 11 January 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. Emphasis in original. [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. Washburn to Jackson, 11 January 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. For John Whitney see Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 261. For William H. Jackson see Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. Sidney James to Harlan Logan, 14 May 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. Jackson to Dorothy Goodgion, 4 February 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. Goodgion to Jackson, 8 March 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. Washburn to Jackson, 17 June 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 111, (5) “Washburn, Abbott,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. Jackson to Washburn, 21 June 1955, Jackson Papers, Box 111, (5) “Washburn, Abbott,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. Washburn to Jackson, no date, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. Washburn to Colonel Edward Eagan, 16 March 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL; Domer, “Sport In Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. Domer, “Sport In Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 83-84. The last mention of the committee is in a private study that Washburn asked the Earl Newsom & Company to perform. See Earl Newsom to Jackson, 25 May 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL; and the attached memorandum, “International Sports,” 24 May 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 62, “International Sports,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. Hixson, *Parting The Curtain*, 121-26; Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 78; Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 100, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 56-57, 74-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. Hixson, *Parting The Curtain*, 129-34, quote on 134; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 117-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 255, 259. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 92-93. USIS posts also produced their own propaganda material. [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. “U.S. Youths ‘Speak for Democracy’ in Nationwide Radio Contest,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 1, “#1: USIS Special Youth Packet, April 1953,” NA; “Student Tours Foster International Understanding,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 2, “#11: USIS Special Youth Packet, February 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. “Freedom Answers Communism,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 3, “#16: USIS Special Youth Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. “Reinforcing Democracy Through Labor Education,” and, “New Jobs for Women in Railroad Industry,” in RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 8, “#12: USIS Special Labor Packet, March 1954,” NA; “Communist Slave Labor Threatens World Peace,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 8, “#13: USIS Special Labor Packet, April 1954,” NA [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. “Virginia Mother of the Year,” “U.S. Businessman says Women Make Best Executives,” and “U.S. Army Nurses Care for Wounded in all Parts of the World,” in RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 16, “#2: USIS Special Women’s Packet, May 1953,” NA. For more on the themes of feature packets and USIA propaganda see Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*; Osgood, *Total Cold War*; and Hixson, *Parting The Curtain*. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. “Note to Public Affairs Officer,” 19 July 1954, RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. “Milton Campbell: American Athlete,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. “Willie Mays – Wonder Boy of Baseball,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#3: USIS Sports Packet, August 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. “Harrison Dillard Named U.S. Amateur Athlete of 1955,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#19: USIS Sports Packet, January 1956,” NA; “Sugar Ray Robinson – New World Middleweight Champion,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#19: USIS Sports Packet, January 1956,” NA; “Wilt Chamberlain, Newest U.S. College Basketball Sensation,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#20: USIS Sports Packet, February 1956,” NA [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. “The American Negro In Baseball,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 1, “#4: USIS Special Youth Packet, July 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. “U.S. Coach Boosts Italian Basketball Hopes,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. “U.S. Coach Dave Albritton Coaches Iranian Olympic Team,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#24: USIS Sports Packet, June 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. “U.S. Army Major Sammy Lee Tours South East Asia,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#3: USIS Sports Packet, August 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. “Major Sammy Lee Voted Outstanding U.S. Amateur Athlete of 1953,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 2, “#13: USIS Special Youth Packet, April 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. “He takes the lead and stays there,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. “Punches for Charity,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. “He Soothes Aching Muscles,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. “U.S. Businessmen Help Japanese Olympic Team,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#20: USIS Sports Packet, February 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
635. “Hungarian Athlete Tells of Treatment Behind Iron Curtain,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
636. See for example “Reverend Robert ‘Bob’ Richards – Top U.S. Olympic Prospect,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. “Mermaid with Stamina,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#2: USIS Sports Packet, July 1954,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. “Maureen Connolly Becomes A Professional,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#20: USIS Sports Packet, February 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. “U.S. Olympic Sports Carnival Sparks Drive For Funds,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. “Olympic Head Gives Warning,” and “Communist Sports Hit,” in RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. “Foreign Service Despatch,” by George M. Abbott, 2 September 1953, WHO NSC Papers, PSB, Box 25, “PSB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
642. Arthur M. Cox to Mr. O’Connor, WHO NSC Papers, PSB, Box 25, “353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
643. Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America’s Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 124-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
644. Robert Cutler, “The Development of the National Security Council,” *Foreign Affairs* 34, no.3 (April, 1956), 448. [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
645. Nicholas McCausland to Charles Norberg, 21 June 1954, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; “We’ll Lose The Next Olympics…,” *This Week Magazine*, 15 May 1954, ABC, Box 32, Reel 19, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. Horace S. Craig to Norberg, 29 June 1954, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. The Italians won two gold medals, the first by Gustav Marzi in the individual foil as Craig recognized, and a second in the individual épée, by Giancarlo Cornaggia-Medici. See David Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book Of The Olympics* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1984), 245, 252. [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. William C. Bourne to Mr. Berding, 30 September 1954, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; Avery Brundage to John T. McGovern, 23 December 1953, ABC, Box 32, Reel 19, ICOSA. The unnamed member from the USOC was probably John T. McGovern, the organization’s Counselor.

     The Hess Committee had already scrutinized the Army for “coddling” its athletes and allowing the boxer Sandy Sadler excessive leave so that he could compete in a fight. The group at the Pentagon meeting decided that if military athletes were to be used in propaganda, then attention would have to focus on their full combat training and military duties, not time off allowed for training. See, “House Group Blames Army For Coddling Of Fighters,” *The Hartford Courant*, 22 July 1954. The Committee was led by Republican Hess of Ohio. [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. “‘Olympic Day,’ to be observed in the United States,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 25, “#3: USIS Sports Packet, August 1954, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. Bourne to Berding, 30 September 1954, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; “Public Law 342 – 83d Congress Chapter 171 – 2d Session S. J. Res. 146,” 22 April 1954, Dwight D. Eisenhower: Records as President, White House Central Files, 1953-61, Central File (hereafter referred to as Eisenhower Records), Box 734, “143-D Olympic Games,” DDEL; “Ike Opens Drive For Olympic Funds,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, 16 October 1954; “Olympic Athletes Feted At Dinner,” *New York Times*, 13 October 1954. See also the Generic invitation from the USOC and signed by its President, Kenneth L. Wilson. See ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA. The publishers of *Life* did not want to face the charge that it helped only in order to promote its new sport magazine (*Sports Illustrated*).

     Incidentally, *The Bob Mathias Story* was beloved by government propagandists that worked in concert with Hollywood. It was described as “an almost perfect portrayal of the best phase of American life – a small town boy with his family, his sweetheart, his career, his interest in sports – all building up to his two time triumph as one of the outstanding athletes in the history of the Olympics…if it hasn’t got the American values we want on screen, then we have got to start looking for a new set of values to publicize.**”** Cited in Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, 289. [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. Col. Dean T. Vanderhoef to Craig, 7 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” 402-403. [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. The full text of the speech is appended to a letter from John Marshall Butler to Avery Brundage, 25 July 1955, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA; “USSR ‘Polluting’ Olympics With Pros, Senator Charges,” *New York Times*, 10 June 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. Brundage to Butler, 2 August 1955, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” 402-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. Robert C. Hill to Butler, 31 May 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/2-1058, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. Sen. John Marshall Butler to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 18 May 1956, Eisenhower Records, Box 734, “143-D Olympic Games,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. “Brundage Blasts U.S. Hysteria,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 April 1956. For more media reaction see also Domer, “Sport In Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 173-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. “If the Russians Win…So What?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 May 1955, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1954-55, Box 4, International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. Domer, “Sport In Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 164-66; McGovern to Vanderhoef, 3 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-659)
660. McGovern to Vanderhoef, 24 June 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-660)
661. Vanderhoef to McGovern, 7 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-661)
662. McGovern to Vanderhoef, 11 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-662)
663. McGovern to Vanderhoef, 11 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. For more on this IOC Session see “Extract from the Minutes of the 50th Session of the International Olympic Committee,” Paris, 13-18 June 1955, *Olympic Review* 52 (November, 1955), 44-46. McGovern later sent Vanderhoef the exact resolution adopted by the IOC on the joint German Committee. See McGovern to Vanderhoef, 18 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-663)
664. McGovern to Vanderhoef, 14 July 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL [↑](#footnote-ref-664)
665. “Athletics in Russia Impress Brundage,” *New York Times*, 1 August 1954; “Brundage Praises Russian Athletes,” *New York Times*, 31 August 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-665)
666. Brundage to Nicolai Romanov, 2 September 1954, ABC, Box 149, Reel 84, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-666)
667. “Extract of the 49th Session of the International Olympic Committee,” Athens, 11-14 May 1954, *Olympic Review* 46 (June-July, 1954), 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-667)
668. Brundage to Konstantin Andrianov, 28 July 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA. Brundage claimed to have articles from many countries, including England, France, West Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-668)
669. Andrianov to Brundage, 22 October 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA. On this occasion, Andrianov asked Brundage about the amateur status of the American athletes who took part in goodwill tours. [↑](#footnote-ref-669)
670. Brundage to Wilson, 23 February 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to Wilson, 28 March 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to McGovern, 3 August 1955, ABC, Box 32, Reel 19, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-670)
671. “Brundage Blasts U.S. Hysteria,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 April 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-671)
672. McGovern to Vanderhoef, 15 August 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-672)
673. Vanderhoef to Craig, 17 August 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. Brackets mine. In a later letter to McGovern, Vanderhoef blamed the summer exodus of government officials from Washington for his lull in correspondence. See Vanderhoef to McGovern, 18 August 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-673)
674. Vanderhoef to McGovern, 18 August 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; Vanderhoef to McGovern, 2 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL [↑](#footnote-ref-674)
675. “Memorandum For The Cultural Presentation Committee,” 30 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-675)
676. “Memorandum For The Cultural Presentation Committee,” 30 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-676)
677. “Memorandum For Brigadier General Dale O. Smith,” by Ralph R. Busick, 20 October 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-677)
678. “Memorandum For Brigadier General Dale O. Smith,” by Ralph R. Busick, 20 October 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-678)
679. N.C. Debevoise (OCB) to Louis T. Olom (USIA), 24 October 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. Debevoise insisted that Staats was, “still very much interested in the sports question.”

     The problem of coordination was a common one. The psychological warfare strategy in the U.S. government sometimes lacked internal cooperation. To add to the confusion, several departments showed interest in the project, and each produced its own opinion on potential action. When John T. McGovern of the USOC lost patience with the unanswered letters he had sent to the OCB, Colonel Vanderhoef tried to explain the problem: “…the delay is occasioned largely by bureaucratic roadblocks which appear whenever an effort is made to get the U.S. Information Agency and the Departments of State and Defense to speak with one tongue. See Vanderhoef to McGovern, 2 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-679)
680. Elmer B. Staats to Max Bishop (State Dept), William H. Godel (Dept of Defense), Wayne Jackson (CIA), and John Tobler (ICA), 1 November 1955, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (1) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. The International Cooperation Administration handled international educational exchanges. [↑](#footnote-ref-680)
681. Leslie S. Brady to Staats, 13 January 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-681)
682. Leslie S. Brady to Staats, 13 January 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-682)
683. Brady to Washburn, 13 January 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. Brady explained that the bulk of work could be carried out by the USIA, but also acknowledged that the Department of Defense would be heavily involved, as it was set to provide a large percentage of the U.S. Olympic team. [↑](#footnote-ref-683)
684. Alfred Dick Sander, *Eisenhower’s Executive Office* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 130-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-684)
685. “Terms Of Reference For OCB Working Group On 1956 Olympics,” 25 January 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. The formation of the Working Group was signed off by Staats. See “Memorandum For The Board Assistants,” 25 January 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. Those present were Ralph Collins (Department of State), Capt. Charles H. Darling (Department of Defense), an unnamed representative of the CIA, Walter McPherson (International Cooperation Administration), Busick (OCB), and William C. Bourne and Frederic Bundy (USIA). [↑](#footnote-ref-685)
686. “Terms Of Reference For OCB Working Group On 1956 Olympics,” 8 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. The State Department tried to make minor revisions to the terms of reference but failed. See Ralph S. Collins to Ralph R. Busick, 9 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-686)
687. “Courses of Action,” 8 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. One area that the USIA had isolated was the publishing of unofficial medal tables by newspapers. The IOC’s position on medals and superpower conflicts at the Games was simple. It, and especially its president, Avery Brundage, wanted no part of it. “The IOC deplores the practice in the newspapers of the world, of attributing and publishing tables of points showing national placing’s in the Olympic Games. This is entirely contrary to the rules and spirit of the Olympic Games, which are contests between individuals with no points scored,” Brundage blasted. See “Extract of the Minutes of the 47th Session – Helsinki,” 16 July 1952, *Olympic Review* 34-35 (Sept, 1952), 32-34. Brundage later moaned in a letter to Douglas Roby of the USOC: “The Olympic Games are a contest between individuals, there is no point scoring and no nation ‘wins’ them. If they are allowed to develop along the lines played up by some of the newspapers last summer into a battle between countries trying to demonstrate the superiority of their political systems, it will be only a short step until hired gladiators are being used.” Brundage to Douglas F. Roby, 15 November 1952, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA. See also Brundage to Roby, 21 November 1952, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-687)
688. “Consideration Of U.S. Position In Connection with 1956 Olympic Games,” 21 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL [↑](#footnote-ref-688)
689. “Courses of Action,” 8 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-689)
690. Theodore C. Streibert to Brundage (Western Union Telegram), 18 February 1956, ABC, Box 114, Reel 62, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-690)
691. Dennis to Brundage, 27 February 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-691)
692. Brundage to Dennis, 28 February 1956, ABC, Box 114, Reel 62, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-692)
693. Dennis to Brundage, 15 March 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-693)
694. Brundage to Dennis, 23 April 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-694)
695. “Committee on the 1956 Olympic Games,” 14 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-695)
696. Brundage to Ferris, 14 June 1954, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. See also Brundage to Wilson, 23 February 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to Wilson, 28 March 1955, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to Gustavus Kirby, 23 July 1955, ABC, Box 30, Reel, 18, ICOSA; “Athletes’ Tours Hit By Brundage,” *New York Time*s, 16 March 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-696)
697. Bundy to Busick, 29 March 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; “Memorandum For The Board Assistants,” 30 March 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-697)
698. Brundage to Department of State, 28 February 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. Brundage added: “At the recent Olympic Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo, where teams from more than thirty different countries participated, every flag including those of the communist countries was dipped before the Tribune of Honor except the Stars and Stripes.” In a later letter to Howland of the State Department, Brundage claimed that he’d “heard the boo’s” from spectators as a result of the U.S. non-dipping policy. See Brundage to Howland, 23 July 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-698)
699. Howland to Brundage, 30 July 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-699)
700. Mark Dyreson, *Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance: America at the Olympics* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 33. Dyreson adds that the Czechoslovakian and Soviet teams also failed to dip their flags. For the origins of the American flag dipping myth see also Bob Wilcock, “This Flag Dips to No Earthly King… The 1908 Olympic Ceremony: Fresh Evidence,” *Journal of Olympic History* 19, no. 1 (March, 2011) 39-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-700)
701. “Committee on the 1956 Olympic Games,” 14 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. For the list of questions see “Consideration Of U.S. Position In Connection with 1956 Olympic Games,” 21 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL [↑](#footnote-ref-701)
702. Jim Nendel, “Cortina D’Ampezzo, 1956,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, eds. John E. Findling & Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 327-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-702)
703. Driver to USIA, 10 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. Brackets mine. See also Astill (Addis Ababa), to USIA, 9 March 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA; Wailes (Pretoria) to USIA, 9 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-703)
704. Nevins to USIA, 12 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-704)
705. Weathersby to USIA, 11 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-705)
706. George A. Mann to USIA, 2 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-706)
707. Olson to USIA, 4 April 1956, RG306, Office of Research and Intelligence, Headquarter Subject Files, 1955-70, Box 12, “Olympics – 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-707)
708. “World-Wide Press Reaction to the Winter Olympic Games,” 24 May 1956, RG306, IRI, Box 8, “Intelligence Bulletins, Memorandums and Summaries, 1954-56,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-708)
709. “Interim Report: Consideration Of U.S. Position In Connection With 1956 Olympic Games,” 17 April 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-709)
710. Bundy to Busick, 29 March 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (3) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL; Warner to Secretary of State, 24 March 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.4531/3-2356, NA; Robert J. Boylan to Department of State, 9 October 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.4531/10-956, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-710)
711. “Note to PAO’s,” July 1956, RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#25: USIS Sports Packet, July 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-711)
712. For the Wanda Werner cartoon see RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#25: USIS Sports Packet, June 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-712)
713. Judy Howe in RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#27: USIS Sports Packet, September 1956,” NA; and Carin Cone in RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#28: USIS Sports Packet, September 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-713)
714. For Mae Faggs see RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#28: USIS Sports Packet, October 1956,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-714)
715. For Bill Russell see RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 26, “#28: USIS Sports Packet, October 1956,” NA. The race issue was given further attention by sending Jesse Owens to Melbourne as one of four personal representatives of Eisenhower. The American Consulate in Sydney reported that Owens made “appropriate remarks” with regard to the “negro problem” in public statements. See Orray Taft to Department of State, 21 December 1956, Eisenhower Records, Box 734, “143-D Olympic Games,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-715)
716. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive*, 240-41. [↑](#footnote-ref-716)
717. Barbara Keys, “The Soviet Union, Global Culture, and the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games,” *Presented to the Conference on Globalization and Sport in Historical Context*, University of California (March 2005), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-717)
718. Deobold B. Van Dalen & Bruce L. Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), 516-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-718)
719. “Down A Road Called Liberty,” *Sports Illustrated*, 17 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-719)
720. “Down A Road Called Liberty,” *Sports Illustrated*, 17 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-720)
721. Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations,” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 90-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-721)
722. See “Notice of Change of Name,” *New York Times*, 10 March 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-722)
723. C.D. Jackson to Douglas J. Brown, 4 December 1957, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas. [↑](#footnote-ref-723)
724. Cited in Scott Lucas, *Freedom’s War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 163. [↑](#footnote-ref-724)
725. Jackson to Dwight D. Eisenhower, 2 April 1953, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (hereafter referred to as US DDRS) (Woodbridge, CT, 1986), document number 3560. [↑](#footnote-ref-725)
726. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 164-74, quote on 174; Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 63. See also Shawn J. Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 152-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-726)
727. Csaba Békés, “East Central Europe, 1953-1956,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 1: Origins*, eds., Melvin P. Leffler & Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 337; John W. Young, *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991: A Political History*, Second Edition (London: Arnold, 1996), 249. [↑](#footnote-ref-727)
728. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 177-91; Quote in “Psychological Warfare,” by C.D. Jackson, no date, US DDRS: 1995 2950. [↑](#footnote-ref-728)
729. Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 220-31; Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared: The Early Years of the CIA* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 107-26; Trevor Barnes, “The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956, Part II,” *The Historical Journal* 25, no.3 (September, 1982), 659-60. [↑](#footnote-ref-729)
730. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 101. See also Jim Marchio, “Resistance Potential and Rollback: US Intelligence and the Eisenhower Administration’s Policies Toward Eastern Europe, 1953-56,” *Intelligence and National Security* 10, no.2 (April, 1995), 230. [↑](#footnote-ref-730)
731. Csaba Békés, “East Central Europe, 1953-1956,” 334-47; Ben Fowkes, *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 76-77. The CIA managed to attain a copy of the speech and gave to it to the State Department, which then passed it to the *New York Times*. John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, called it the “greatest feat by American intelligence in a number of years.” See Lucas, *Freedom’s War*, 250. [↑](#footnote-ref-731)
732. Csaba Békés, “East Central Europe, 1953-1956,” 334-39; Fowkes, *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe*, 76-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-732)
733. Charles Gati, *Hungary and the Soviet Bloc* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 134, quote on 135. [↑](#footnote-ref-733)
734. Young, *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991*, 250-51. [↑](#footnote-ref-734)
735. Gati, *Hungary and the Soviet Bloc*, 135-55; Fowkes, *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe*, 78-91; Charles Gati, *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 145. Nagy was tried and executed in 1958. János Kádár was installed at the expense of Nagy, and, unlike his predecessors, embarked on a considerably longer tenure. Kádár remained Premier of Hungary until 1988. See Young, *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991*, 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-735)
736. Both quotes cited in Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, Dulles on 81, and Eisenhower on 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-736)
737. Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America’s Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-737)
738. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 82-83. [↑](#footnote-ref-738)
739. A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 79-118, quote on 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-739)
740. Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-740)
741. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2005), 126-28; David S. Painter, *The Cold War: An International History* (London: Routledge, 1999), 46-48; T.E. Vadney, *The World Since 1945* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 220-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-741)
742. Eric Monnin & Renaud David, “The Melbourne Games in the Context of the International Tensions of 1956,” *Journal of Olympic History* 17, no. 3 (December, 2009), 36-39; Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 162; Avery Brundage to Otto Mayer, 9 November 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-742)
743. Cited in Ian Jobling, “Strained Beginnings and Friendly Farewells: The Games of the XVI Olympiad Melbourne 1956,” *Stadion* 21/22 (1995/96), 258. For more on the Swiss situation see Mayer to Brundage, 8 November 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-743)
744. Otto Mayer to W.S. Kent Hughes, 7 November 1956, Telegrams About the Olympic Games of Melbourne, 1956, 1952-57, IOC Archives; Mayer cable, 14 November 1956, Telegrams About the Olympic Games of Melbourne, 1956, 1952-57, IOC Archives. Brundage urged Mayer to contact the withdrawing countries but Mayer replied that he was already intervening. See Brundage to Mayer, 7 November 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives; Mayer to Brundage, 7 November 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-744)
745. Cited in Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (London, England: University of California Press, 1979), 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-745)
746. “Olympic Head Appeals For Nations to Stay,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-746)
747. “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 53rd Session,” Melbourne, 19-21 November, 4 December 1956, in Wolf Lyberg, ed. *IOC General Session Minutes*, Vol. IV (1956-1988), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-747)
748. “Notes on the 44th Meeting of Special Committee on Soviet and Related Problems,” 6 November 1956, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter referred to as *FRUS*), *1955-57, Volume XXV, Eastern Europe* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1990), 400-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-748)
749. Russell L. Riley to Carl McCardle, 9 November 1956, Record Group 59 (hereafter referred to as RG), Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.4531/11-956, National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. See also “Telegram from the Office of the Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to the Department of State,” 13 November 1956, *FRUS, 1955-57, XXV*, 443-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-749)
750. Fisher Howe to Macomber, 9 November 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.4531/11-956, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-750)
751. “Hungary’s Heroes In Their Hour Of Staggering Strain,” *Sports Illustrated*, 3 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-751)
752. Mayor to Brundage, 30 October 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives; Mayor to Brundage, 28 October 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives; Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 54-55; “Hungary Will Send Team to Olympics,” *New York Times*, 30 October 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-752)
753. “Olympic Newsletter No. 19,” Olympic Games Organizing Committee of Melbourne, 1956: Circulars, Communications, Organizing Program and Press Releases, 1954-56, IOC Archives. Radio Free Europe announced that the Hungarian team was being accompanied by an entourage of “escorts,” and the entire “brain trust” of the nation’s sporting administration. See “Broadcasts – Content Summaries, October 23-November 15, 1956,” no date, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 195, (3) “Free Europe Committee, Inc., Reports, Broadcasts, 1956,” Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California. [↑](#footnote-ref-753)
754. “Hungary’s Heroes In Their Hour Of Staggering Strain,” *Sports Illustrated*, 3 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-754)
755. This quote was drawn from an article written by George Telegdy in the FEC magazine, *East Europe* (formerly *News From Behind the Iron Curtain*). It was from the February issue of 1963 and titled “Hungary’s Professional Sportsmen.” Telegdy sent the article to Avery Brundage. See Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 132, Reel 73, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-755)
756. “Hungarian Team Stunned By News,” *New York Times*, 11 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-756)
757. “Hungarians Demand Removal of Red Flag,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, 11 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-757)
758. “Hungarian Olympic Athletes Greeted By 2,000 Upon Arrival at Melbourne,” *New York Times*, 13 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-758)
759. California Relief For Free Hungary to Brundage, 12 November 1956, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-759)
760. The Students of Hungarian Origin in Los Angeles to Brundage, date unclear, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-760)
761. Wierzbianski cable, 7 November 1956, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA; Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano & General K. Glabiez to Brundage, no date, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-761)
762. Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano to Brundage, date unclear, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-762)
763. “PanAmerican World Airways Airlifts Soviet Olympic Team,” 11 October 1956, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/2-1058, NA. A [↑](#footnote-ref-763)
764. “Tea Drinking Russian Athletes Spurn Vodka,” *The Hartford Courant*, 6 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-764)
765. Allen Dulles became the director of the CIA in 1953. [↑](#footnote-ref-765)
766. Carl Bernstein, “The CIA and the Media,” *Rolling Stone*, 20 October 1977, 56-58, quote on 56. A few years before writing this article, Bernstein broke the story of the Watergate cover-up with a colleague at the *Washington Post*, Bob Woodward. See Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-766)
767. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 225-27, quote on 227; Bernstein, “The CIA and the Media,” 55-63; Stuart Loory, “The CIA’s use of the press: a ‘mighty Wurlitzer,’” *Columbia Journalism Review* 13 (September-October 1974), 9-18; Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 63. The CIA manipulated and planted stories in further ways through syndicated services such as the *Associated Press* and even formed its own company, *Forum World Features*. [↑](#footnote-ref-767)
768. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 227-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-768)
769. Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-769)
770. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-770)
771. Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 117; Blanche Wiesen Cook, “First Comes the Lie: C. D. Jackson and Political Warfare,” *Radical History Review* 31 (1984), 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-771)
772. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 227-32, quote on 232; Bernstein, “The CIA and the Media,” 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-772)
773. John Massaro, “Press Box Propaganda? The Cold War and *Sports Illustrated*, 1956,” *The Journal of American Culture* 26, no. 3 (September, 2003), 361-70. Massaro might have drawn a different conclusion if he had read the work of Domer. This is not evident in Massaro’s bibliography nor in the content of his article. [↑](#footnote-ref-773)
774. All communications quoted from the “Documentary Chronology” of the Melbourne defection will be followed by DC. Whitney Tower to Sid James, DC, 15 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-774)
775. Tower to Szápáry, 15 November 1956, The Private Papers of Count Anthony Szápáry (hereafter referred to as Szápáry Papers), Box 2, “HNSF, 1956,” Pound Ridge, New York; Szápáry to James, 18 June 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, 1956.” Parenthesis mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-775)
776. Tower to Szápáry, 19 November 1956, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated, 1956-57.” [↑](#footnote-ref-776)
777. Tower to Sid James, DC, 15 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Phinizy memorandum, DC, no date, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-777)
778. Alexander Hahn to John F. Leich, 9 November 1956, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-778)
779. “Curriculum” of Telegdy, no date, RFE/RL, Box 343, (20) “Telegdy, George,” HA; “Biography of George Telegdy, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “misc;” Tibor Szy, *Hungarians in America* (New York, NY: The Kossuth Foundation, Inc., 1966), 428. [↑](#footnote-ref-779)
780. John Matthews to R.W. Minton, 21 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-780)
781. Tower to Szápáry, 10 January 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated, 1956-57.” [↑](#footnote-ref-781)
782. Szápáry to John Richardson, 30 April 1962, RFE/RL, Box 343, (20) “Telegdy, George,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-782)
783. “Operation Griffin,” by George Telegdy, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Melbourne.” Telegdy explained that the griffin is a “bird of battle in ancient Hungarian mythology.” The Griffin was also on his family crest. [↑](#footnote-ref-783)
784. “Operation Griffin,” by Telegdy, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” This report is Telegdy’s personal account of Operation Griffin and the version referred to throughout this chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-784)
785. “Operation Griffin.” For more on the fencing and water polo contests, see Hilary Kent & John Merritt, “The Cold War and the Melbourne Olympic Games,” in *Better Dead Than Red: Australia’s First Cold War, 1945-1959* Volume 2, eds. Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (Sydney: Allen &Unwin, 1986), 170-185. For the water polo see also Robert E. Rinehart, “‘Fists Flew and Blood Flowed:’ Symbolic Resistance and International Response in Hungarian Water Polo at the Melbourne Olympics, 1956,” *Journal of Sport History* 23, no. 2 (Summer, 1996), 120-39. The Hungarians defeated the USSR 4-0. [↑](#footnote-ref-785)
786. Laguerre cable, DC, 23 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-786)
787. Jackson to William H. Jackson, 24 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 63, (1) “Jackson, William H.,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-787)
788. Telegdy to Szápáry, DC, 24 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-788)
789. Telegdy cable, 29 November 1956, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated, 1956-57.” [↑](#footnote-ref-789)
790. Laguerre cable, DC, 29 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; James cable, DC, 30 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; James cable, DC, 1 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-790)
791. James cable, DC, 29 November 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Laguerre cable, DC, 1 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-791)
792. “Operation Griffin.” Early one morning at 3am, Nadori walked around the Olympic Village as though “indisposed,” then jumped into a waiting car and was taken to a nearby hotel together with the long jumper, Olga Gyarmathy. Gyarmathy won gold in the long jump in 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-792)
793. M. Schmidt to Yarrow, 27 November 1956, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-793)
794. Laguerre cable, DC, 5 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Telegdy cable, 4 December 1956, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated, 1956-57.” [↑](#footnote-ref-794)
795. Laguerre cable, DC, 6 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-795)
796. James cable, DC, 6 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-796)
797. “Notes on the 46th Meeting of the Special Committee on Soviet Related Problems,” 13 November 1956, *FRUS, 1955-57, XXV*, 436-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-797)
798. “5 Hungarian Athletes Ask Australian Asylum,” *New York Times*, 4 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-798)
799. “Hungarians Decide to ‘Choose freedom,’” *Los Angeles Times*, 6 December 1956; “Hungarian Athletes Set Freedom Dash,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-799)
800. “Hungarian Athletes Cutting Ties,” *New York Times*, 6 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-800)
801. Terrell cable, DC, 8 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-801)
802. Terrell cable, DC, 9 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; “Operation Griffin;” “Hungarians Given Aussie Police Shield,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 10 December 1956. On the International Rescue Committee see Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 175-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-802)
803. Terrell cable, DC, 10 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-803)
804. Burton cable, DC, 10 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Laguerre cable, DC, 13 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-804)
805. Carl J. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate: The United States and Refugees During the Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 45, 65-66, 70; Michael Gill Davis, “The Cold War, Refugees, and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1952-1965” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Vanderbilt University, 1996), 128-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-805)
806. Telephone conversation between Jackson and Tracy Voorhees, 7 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 69, (4) “Log – 1956,” DDEL; “President Names Aide to Expedite Refugees Entry,” *New York Times*, 30 November 1956; “Refugee Expediter: Tracy Stebbins Voorhees,” *New York Times*, 30 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-806)
807. James cable, DC, 15 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-807)
808. “Interdepartmental Escapee Committee,” 14 December 1956, US DDRS: 1996 2860. [↑](#footnote-ref-808)
809. Laguerre cable, DC, 18 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Laguerre cable, DC, 19 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. Telegdy informed the Free Europe Committee of this. See Telegdy to Yarrow, 22 December 1956, RFE/RL, Box 245, (4) “Olympic Games General, 1951-1959,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-809)
810. Pollard cable, DC, 20 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; James cable, DC, 20 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-810)
811. Neale cable, DC, 22 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-811)
812. This information was drawn from a special supplement of *Sports Illustrated* called the *Hungarian Athletes Freedom Tour*. [↑](#footnote-ref-812)
813. “Hungarian Athletes in San Francisco,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-813)
814. “Operation Griffin.” [↑](#footnote-ref-814)
815. Cited in H. W. Brands, Jr., *Cold Warriors: Eisenhower’s Generation and American Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988), 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-815)
816. Jackson to Cord Meyer, 12 January 1960, US DDRS: 1995 1394. [↑](#footnote-ref-816)
817. Jackson to Larsen, 4 April 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-817)
818. Emese Ivan & Dezső Iván, “The 1956 Revolution and the Melbourne Olympics: The Changing Perceptions of a Dramatic Story,” *Hungarian Studies Review* XXXV, no. 1-2 (2008), 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-818)
819. “Hungarian Sidelight,” *New York Times*, 9 December 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-819)
820. Hungarian National Olympic Team to C.D. Jackson, 8 December 1957, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas. Telegdy intimated that the four Romanian’s in the contingent were of Hungarian descent. [↑](#footnote-ref-820)
821. Jackson to Piller, 10 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-821)
822. Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 359-61, quote on 359. [↑](#footnote-ref-822)
823. Carl J. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate: The United States and Refugees During the Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 66-70; Michael Gill Davis, “The Cold War, Refugees, and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1952-1965” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Vanderbilt University, 1996), 128-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-823)
824. “Operation Griffin,” by George Telegdy, no date, The Private Papers of Count Anthony Szápáry (hereafter referred to as Szápáry Papers), Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle,” Pound Ridge, New York; “Lag Is Reported In Refugee Help,” *New York Times*, 22 December 1956; “Exiled Athletes Hailed,” *New York Times*, 28 December 1956. The National Catholic Welfare Conference was a refugee resettlement agency which oversaw the other Catholic sponsors. First Aid for Hungary Inc. was a highly successful relief initiative founded by Tibor Eckhardt. It was a temporary aid organization aimed at providing assistance to Hungarian refugees in Austria and those who reached America. First Aid had several Free Europe Committee members as sponsors, including C.D. Jackson. Szápáry’s wife was also an active participant in the fundraising activities. For more on First Aid for Hungary Inc. see Katalin Kádár-Lynn, *Tibor Eckhardt: His American Years, 1941-1972* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 181-87; “Organization and First Month’s Activities,” by Tibor Eckhardt, 7 December 1956, Jackson Papers, Box 52, “First Aid for Hungary,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-824)
825. Jackson to General Joseph M. Swing, 2 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 69, (1) “Log – 1957,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-825)
826. “Hungarian Olympic Athletes Schedule, December 31 – January 8,” no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-826)
827. Jackson to General Willis D. Crittenberger, 2 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 69, (1) “Log – 1957,” DDEL. The discussion lingered on the subject of radio. The group identified that three networks were “worth listening to,” the BBC, Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe (RFE). Apparently the BBC was held in the highest regard for its “high intellectual quality” and “political content.” The political broadcasts on the Voice of America, however, were regarded as “too international in scope,” with not enough focus on Europe. The exiles claimed that RFE had a large audience in Hungary and that it appealed to a wider range of people. They said that the volume of listeners to the station had dropped prior to the revolution because Hungarians were tired of being told about what was happening in Hungary, when they already knew for themselves. The onset of the revolution caused a resurgence in interest for the station, but when no help arrived from America, the people blamed RFE. This information was tempered by the acknowledgment from the exiles that RFE should not be stopped. On a lighter note, Jackson’s guests thought that there could be more programs on the living standards in Western Europe and America, not to mention more jazz music, which was a sensation with the youth. Overall, they claimed that Hungarians had lost faith in propaganda. The next day, Jackson sent a report on the whole evening to the president of the Free Europe Committee, General Willis D. Crittenberger. For more on Jackson’s interactions with the athletes see Jackson to Lansing Shield, 14 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 52, “First Aid for Hungary,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-827)
828. “Hungarians Serve Freedom’s Cause Thursday,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, 29 January 1957; Neale letter, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-828)
829. *Sports Illustrated* Press Release, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” The Freedom Tour and other parts of this chapter are briefly mentioned in Thomas Domer’s dissertation. See Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations,” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 96-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-829)
830. *Sports Illustrated* Press Release, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957;” “Across a Free Land,” *Sports Illustrated*, 8 April 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-830)
831. “Hungarian Water Polo – Swimmers Tour,” 26 January 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-831)
832. “American Welcome,” *Sports Illustrated*, 7 January 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-832)
833. Richard Neale to Staff, 19 February 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-833)
834. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate*, 75-82, quote on 77; Gill Davis, “The Cold War, Refugees, and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1952-1965,” 133-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-834)
835. Neale memorandum, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” Most of the clippings identified *SI* as the main protagonist in the project. [↑](#footnote-ref-835)
836. “Without Fear or Terror,” *Sports Illustrated*, 7 January 1957; “The Stranger,” *Sports Illustrated*, 28 January 1957; “American Welcome,” *Sports Illustrated*, 7 January 1957; “Memo from the Publisher,” *Sports Illustrated*, 14 January 1957; “Memo from the Publisher,” *Sports Illustrated*, 25 March 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-836)
837. “Across a Free Land,” *Sports Illustrated*, 8 April 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-837)
838. Tracy Voorhees to Neale, 23 April 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 90, “Rerrick, Bela,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-838)
839. Gill Davis, “The Cold War, Refugees, and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1952-1965,” 136 note 79. For more on USIA propaganda and the Hungarian Revolution see Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-839)
840. “Hungarian Runner Tabori Wants to Stay in the United States,” Record Group 306 (hereafter referred to as RG), Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 27, “#31: USIS Sports Packet, January 1957,” National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. For an interview with some of the Hungarian athletes see also “What it is Like to be an Athlete in a Soviet Satellite,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 27, “#33: USIS Sports Packet, March 1957,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-840)
841. “Refugee Athletes Make Friends in the United States,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 27, “#33: USIS Sports Packet, March 1957,” NA; “Hungarian Refugee Athletes Plan U.S. Tours,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 27, “#31: USIS Sports Packet, January 1957,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-841)
842. “Hungarian Refugee Learning Boat Business in U.S.,” RG306, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, Box 27, “#33: USIS Sports Packet, March 1957,” NA. Elsewhere, a further opportunity to utilize the defection of Hungarian sportsmen arose. The Hungarian soccer team, Honved, was touring Europe at the time of the revolution. They made a decision to defect, and play in exile. Honved was already due to tour South America and moved ahead with the tour against the wishes of Hungarian soccer authorities. The U.S. Embassy in Rio urged the State Department to secretly fund the Honved team, for it would be “highly embarrassing for [the] communist cause” and “dramatizes [the] Hungarian fight for freedom.” After some debate, the matter was dropped. Several of the Honved players later returned to Hungary. See Briggs to Secretray of State, 15 January 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/1-1557, NA; “Problems of the Free Hungarian Champion Soccer Team, Honved,” 23 January 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/1-2357, NA; Briggs to Secretary of State, 30 January 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4807, 864.453/1-3057, NA; “Hungary Booters Firm,” *New York Times*, 4 January 1957; “Crack Hungary Soccer Squad to Ignore Ban,” 6 January 1957,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 January 1957; “Hungarians Await Trip,” *New York Times*, 12 January 1957; “Hungary Team in Rio to Return to Vienna,” *New York Times*, 3 February 1957; “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on six months’ activities,” 10 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” [↑](#footnote-ref-842)
843. Jackson to Larsen, 4 April 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-843)
844. Whitney Tower to Szápáry, 10 January 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-844)
845. “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on three months’ activities,” 15 April 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle;” “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on six months’ activities,” 10 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” [↑](#footnote-ref-845)
846. Neale to Count and Countess Szápáry, 3 April 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957;” Telegdy to Neale, 28 February 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957;” “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on three months’ activities,” 15 April 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” Telegdy organized a preparatory English course for those who needed it, which was conducted by the International Rescue Committee. [↑](#footnote-ref-846)
847. Neale to Team Members, 14 May 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957;” Neale to Szápáry, 15 May 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” For other placements see Jackson to Congressman Francis E. Walter, 19 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 69, (1) “Log – 1957,” DDEL; Jackson to Voorhees, 19 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 110, “Voorhees, Tracy,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-847)
848. Jackson to Voorhees, 11 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 110, “Voorhees, Tracy,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-848)
849. Jackson to Voorhees, 29 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 110, “Voorhees, Tracy,” DDEL; Voorhees to Swing, 19 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 110, “Voorhees, Tracy,” DDEL [↑](#footnote-ref-849)
850. Voorhees to Jackson, 18 January 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 110, “Voorhees, Tracy,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-850)
851. Jackson to Signe Bolander, 4 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 90, “Rerrick, Bela,” DDEL. Jackson admitted that he was “dumbfounded” by Rerrick’s decision. The “Rerrick, Bela” file in the Jackson Papers holds a host of documents that relate to this affair. [↑](#footnote-ref-851)
852. Neale to Team Members, 14 May 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957;” “Across a Free Land,” *Sports Illustrated*, 8 April 1957; “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on six months’ activities,” 10 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle; “2 Hungarian Athletes Change Minds, Go Home,” *The Hartford Courant*, 5 February 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-852)
853. Szápáry to James, 18 June 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF 1956.” [↑](#footnote-ref-853)
854. Szápáry to Jackson, 8 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Misc;” Jackson to Tibor Eckhardt, 9 July 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 52, “First Aid for Hungary,” DDEL; “Operation Eagle – Summary Report on six months’ activities,” 10 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” [↑](#footnote-ref-854)
855. Pollard to Jackson, 31 May 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-855)
856. “Meeting of the Hungarian National Olympic Team,” 8 December 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF.” [↑](#footnote-ref-856)
857. See for example Bernard Yarrow to Szápáry, 30 December 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee;” Yarrow to Szápáry, 26 June 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee;” M.F. Delgado to Szápáry, 8 July 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” [↑](#footnote-ref-857)
858. Yarrow to Szápáry, 2 June 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” [↑](#footnote-ref-858)
859. Delgado to Szápáry, 1 August 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” [↑](#footnote-ref-859)
860. Delgado to Szápáry, 24 July 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” [↑](#footnote-ref-860)
861. Bernard Yarrow to Szápáry, 10 December 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee;” “FEC Special Project,” no date (circa 1959), Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” Telegdy appears in the minutes of the AAU annual meeting in 1958. He was seeking AAU sanction for a Latin American tour for members of the Hungarian National Olympic Team. Although the AAU approved the project, the tour never appears to have occurred. See “Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention of the AAU,” 4-7 December 1958, Archives of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, Lake Buena Vista, Florida; Telegdy to Ferris, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “AAU of U.S.” [↑](#footnote-ref-861)
862. Yarrow to Szápáry, 7 August 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Free Europe Committee.” [↑](#footnote-ref-862)
863. James W. Pratt to Department of State, 8 October 1958, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/10-858, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-863)
864. Telegdy to Laurence Dawson, 23 January 1959, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF.” [↑](#footnote-ref-864)
865. Neale to Jeno Hamori, 16 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Neale to Rod O’Connor, 16 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Neale to Jose de Capriles, 20 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Neale to Jackson, 20 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Jackson to O’Connor, 10 July 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-865)
866. Jackson to Rod O’Connor, 10 July 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-866)
867. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate*, 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-867)
868. Jackson to Neale, 17 April 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-868)
869. Mihály Iglói to Neale, 2 April 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 90, “Rerrick, Bela,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-869)
870. Iglói to Telegdy, 6 July 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Mihaly Igloi;” “Meeting of the Hungarian National Olympic Team,” 8 December 1958, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF;” “Miler to Return to Red Hungary,” *New York Times*, 24 November 1957; “Across a Free Land,” *Sports Illustrated*, 8 April 1957; Alexander Brody to Sigurd Larmon, 16 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-870)
871. Pollard to Jackson, 4 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Jackson to Douglas J. Brown, 4 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 104, “Sports Illustrated – Hungarian Olympic Team Defectors,” DDEL; Kenneth Fairman to Jackson, 17 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-871)
872. Jack Tibby to Pollard, 20 December 1957, Walter E. Schmidt, S.J. Papers, 1944-1988 (hereafter referred to as Schmidt Papers), Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” Department of Archives & Special Collections, Santa Clara University Library (hereafter referred to as SCUA), Santa Clara, California. Brody was involved in the Melbourne defection and once more aided in the matter of the exiled athletes. As noted in chapter 7, Brody worked for the marketing firm, Young & Rubicam. The president of Young & Rubicam, Sigurd Larmon, was good friends with Jackson and appears to have allowed Brody to help out in San Francisco. Not only was Brody highly capable but he was also born in Hungary and fluent in the language. [↑](#footnote-ref-872)
873. Pollard and Brody to Jackson, 9 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Brody to Larmon, 16 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. Although both men accepted the offer, Iglói wavered at first. See Pollard to Jackson, 10 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-873)
874. “Walter E. Schmidt, S.J.,” 2 December 1969, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Bequest Brochures,” SCUA; Marion R. Royle to Robert O’Brian, 5 May 1959, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Coach Mihaly Igloi Press Release,” SCUA; Father Schmidt to All Members of the SCVYV Track Team, 8 January 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “The Track Team/Igloi, Letters of Application, 1960,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-874)
875. Father Schmidt to Jackson, 16 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-875)
876. Jackson to Father Schmidt, 20 December 1957, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-876)
877. Jackson to Fairman, 20 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-877)
878. Tibby to Pollard, 20 December 1957, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” SCUA; “The Readers Take Over,” *Sports Illustrated*, 13 January 1957. The Editor of *SI* responded to Schmidt’s letter by writing in the magazine: “The editors heartily applaud Father Schmidt for giving these fine Hungarian athletes the opportunity to take root in their adopted country and to make their individually unique contribution to sport.” See also Gioia Grieme to Father Schmidt, 10 March 1958, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Coach Mihaly Igloi Press Release,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-878)
879. Larmon to Jackson, 23 January 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-879)
880. Father Schmidt to *Time Inc*., 19 February 1958, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-880)
881. Jackson to Clifford Roberts, 6 February 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-881)
882. Jackson to Neale, 17 April 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-882)
883. Father Schmidt to Pollard, 16 April 1958, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Coach Mihaly Igloi Press Release,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-883)
884. Jackson to Father Schmidt, 22 April 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-884)
885. Jackson to Larmon, 23 April 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-885)
886. Jackson to Allen Dulles, 16 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-886)
887. Dulles to Jackson, 25 June 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-887)
888. Father Schmidt to Jackson, 29 August 1958, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-888)
889. See for example Jackson to Father Schmidt, 7 April 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-889)
890. See for example Telegdy to Father Schmidt, 11 March 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Track & Field Financial Obligations/Correspondence, 1960,” SCUA; Father Schmidt to Telegdy, 16 March 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Track & Field Financial Obligations/Correspondence, 1960,” SCUA. Telegdy was incredibly “grateful” for the work done at the Youth Village. [↑](#footnote-ref-890)
891. Yarrow to Jackson, 19 March 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Jackson to Father Schmidt, 20 March 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Yarrow to Jackson, 22 June 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Jackson to Father Schmidt, 24 June 1959, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-891)
892. Father Schmidt to Jackson, 30 October 1959, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Time, Inc. Track & Field Campaign, 1957-1959,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-892)
893. Jackson to Archibald Alexander, 21 January 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Theodore Augustine to Jackson, 22 January 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (2) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Jackson to Father Schmidt, 22 January 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Misc,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-893)
894. Jackson to Father Schmidt, 6 June 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; “Sport: I’m No Miler,” *Time*, 6 June 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-894)
895. “Masters of Endurance,” *Sports Illustrated*, 22 February 1960; “An Upset on Schedule,” *Sports Illustrated*, 6 June 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-895)
896. See for example, Father Schmidt to Jackson, 3 March 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Track & Field Financial Obligations/Correspondence, 1960,” SCUA; Jackson to Father Schmidt, 18 February, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Track & Field Financial Obligations/Correspondence, 1960,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-896)
897. Jackson to Father Schmidt, 4 October 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-897)
898. Father Schmidt to Jackson, 20 October 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-898)
899. Marie McCrum to Father Schmidt, 16 February 1961, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. Schmidt did manage to keep attracting funding, and received the amount of $2,500 from a private business in early 1961. See Father Schmidt to Jackson, 23 February 1961, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. Igloi later moved on, and coached at the Los Angeles Track Club. See “Sport: Ready for Anything,” *Time*, 31 August 1962; “The Magic of the Great Igloi,” *Life*, 1 March 1963. Jackson and Father Schmidt still enjoyed this publicity given to Igloi and any reference to the Youth Village. See Jackson to Father Schmidt, 8 March 1963, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL; Father Schmidt to Jackson, 24 April 1963, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-899)
900. Szápáry to Avery Brundage, 1 August 1960, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 132, Reel 73, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-900)
901. Brundage to Szápáry, 6 August 1960, ABC, Box 132, Reel 73, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-901)
902. Mayer to Brundage, 8 July 1960, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. Parenthesis mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-902)
903. Mayer to Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano, 28 July 1960, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. See also Márffy-Mantuano to Mayer, 28 July 1960, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA; and Brundage to Mayer, 15 July 1960, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-903)
904. Frank E. Somogyvari to Roger Langley, 7 October 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA; Langley to Brundage, 13 October 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-904)
905. Brundage to Roger Langley, 21 October 1952, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-905)
906. Dan Boruzescu & N. Floresco to Brundage, 14 January 1954, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-906)
907. Brundage to Boruzescu & Floresco, 27 January 1954, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-907)
908. Stella Walsh to John Jewett Garland, 5 April 1956, ABC, Box 42, Reel 24, ICOSA. Stella Walsh competed under the name, Stanislawa Walasiewicz, at the 1932 and 1936 Olympic Games. The USIA made use of Walsh in its output as an example of an exile rejecting communism and living in America. See for example “Stella Walsh Will Not Run for Poland,” RG306, Box 25, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, “#17: USIS Sports Packet, November 1955, NA; “Stella Walsh Inspires U.S. Women Athletes,” RG306, Box 25, Feature Packets with Recurring Subjects, 1953-59, “#34: USIS Sports Packet, April 1957, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-908)
909. Garland to Brundage, 12 April 1956, ABC, Box 42, Reel 24, ICOSA. For the decision see “IOC Executive Committee Minutes,” Cortina d’Ampezzo, 22 January 1956, in Wolf Lyberg, ed. *IOC Executive Committee Minutes*, Vol II (1948-1969), 124. [↑](#footnote-ref-909)
910. “Stella Walsh is Married,” *New York Times*, 16 August 1956; “Mrs. Brown Betters Two Track Records,” *New York Times*, 26 August 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-910)
911. Mayer to Brundage, 1 March 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. Brackets mine. Emphasis in original. [↑](#footnote-ref-911)
912. Zinkewytch to Brundage, 16 November 1956, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. Brackets mine. Along with this letter, Zinkewytch sent a list of the Ukrainian athletes set to represent the USSR in Melbourne. Furthermore, a pamphlet produced by the group stated: “Ukraine is a distinct and separate nation, with a long history and separate language and culture of her own. Her position as a Russian-occupied and dominated country is not her own choosing and, like many other peoples held in bondage by Russia, she has a long tradition of struggle for freedom.” The pamphlet was produced by the UWCSA in 1956. See *Ukraine and the XVI Olympic Games*, page 10, 1956, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-912)
913. Toby C. Rider, “The Distant Fight Against Communist Sport: Refugee Sports Organizations in America and the International Olympic Committee,” in *Rethinking Matters Olympic: Investigations into the Socio-Cultural Study of the Modern Olympic Movement, 10th International Symposium for Olympic Research*, eds. R. K. Barney, J. Forsyth & M. K. Heine (London, Ontario: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 2010), 118-119; “International Olympic Committee 52nd Session,” Melbourne, 19-21 November & 4 December 1956, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-913)
914. Mayer to Brundage, 11 August 1957, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. See also Mayer to Brundage, 16 October 1956, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-914)
915. Brundage to Ferenc Mező, 18 February 1957, ABC, Box 60, Reel 36, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-915)
916. Telegdy to Mayer, 29 April 1957, Correspondence of the NOC of Hungary, 1907-1969, Box 166, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-916)
917. Brundage to Mayer, 11 May 1957, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-917)
918. Mayer to Telegdy, 15 May 1957, Correspondence of the NOC of Hungary, 1907-1969, Box 166, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-918)
919. Telegdy to Mayer, 3 June 1957, Correspondence of the NOC of Hungary, 1907-1969, Box 166, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-919)
920. Brundage to Mayer, 12 August 1957, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-920)
921. Jackson to Jack Dowd, 8 June 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 60, “Hungarian Olympic Team,” DDEL; Dowd to Jackson, 10 June 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 60, “Hungarian Olympic Team,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-921)
922. Matthews to Jackson, 21 January 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL; Matthews to Jackson, 2 February 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL; Telegdy to Edward Rosenblum, 16 December 1959, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Roma.” [↑](#footnote-ref-922)
923. “How to Try Too Hard,” *Sports Illustrated*, 15 February 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-923)
924. Quoted from a copy of the *Congressional Record* sent to Father Schmidt by Congressman Charles S. Gubser. See Gubser to Father Schmidt, 6 April 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Olympic Track Team – Biographies/Correspondence, 1960-61,” SCUA; Father Schmidt to Gubser, 14 April 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “Olympic Track Team – Biographies/Correspondence, 1960-61,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-924)
925. “How to Try Too Hard,” *Sports Illustrated*, 15 February 1960 [↑](#footnote-ref-925)
926. Neale to Staff, 19 February 1957, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “HNSF, Sports Illustrated 1956-1957.” [↑](#footnote-ref-926)
927. Brody to Larmon, 16 December 1957, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (3) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-927)
928. Jackson to Brody, 17 February 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-928)
929. Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2006* Tenth Edition (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2008), 201; Quote in Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 336. [↑](#footnote-ref-929)
930. LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, 211. [↑](#footnote-ref-930)
931. J.D. Parks, *Culture, Conflict and Coexistence: American-Soviet Cultural Relations, 1917-1958* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), 116-33, quote on 116. The McCarran Act was named after Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran. [↑](#footnote-ref-931)
932. Parks, *Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, 134-55, quote on 148. The Iowa farmers also journeyed to the Soviet Union. [↑](#footnote-ref-932)
933. Parks, *Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, 156-71; Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 78-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-933)
934. Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange & the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 15; Belmonte, *Selling the American* Way, 83-84. The full title of the agreement was the “Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Exchanges in the Cultural, Technical, and Educational Fields.” [↑](#footnote-ref-934)
935. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 110, 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-935)
936. Richmond, *Cultural Exchange & the Cold War*, 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-936)
937. Joseph M. Turrini, “‘It Was Communism Versus the Free World:’ The USA-USSR Dual Track Meet Series and the Development of Track and Field in the United States, 1958-1985,” *Journal of Sport History* 28, no. 3 (Fall, 2001), 428-29; “Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention of the AAU,” 4-7 December 1958, Archives of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (hereafter referred to as AAU Archives), Lake Buena Vista, Florida. [↑](#footnote-ref-937)
938. Konstantin Andrianov to Otto Mayer, 28 March 1957, IOC Member Andrianov, Konstantin, 1951-, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. [↑](#footnote-ref-938)
939. “Minutes of the 69th Annual Convention of the AAU,” October-November 1956, AAU Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-939)
940. “Minutes of the Joint AAU Executive and Foreign Relations Meeting,” 20-21 June 1958, AAU Archives; “Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention of the AAU,” 4-7 December 1958, AAU Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-940)
941. Turrini, “‘It Was Communism Versus the Free World,’” 429-30, quote cited on 430. [↑](#footnote-ref-941)
942. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-942)
943. Robert Thayer to Department of State, 18 September 1956, Record Group 59 (hereafter referred to as RG), Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4835, 866.453/9-1856, National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland. [↑](#footnote-ref-943)
944. Thayer to Department of State, 5 September 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4835, 866.453/9-557, NA; Thayer to Department of State, 18 September 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4835, 866.453/9-1257, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-944)
945. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-945)
946. Beam to Department of State, 14 August 1958, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4549, 848.453/8-1458, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-946)
947. Richard C. Salvatierra to Department of State, 30 January 1959, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/1-3059, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-947)
948. Howson Ryan to Department of State, 3 February 1959, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/2-359, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-948)
949. Lewis M. Lind to Department of State, 2 October 1958, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4062, 800.453/10-258, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-949)
950. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, 230-36; “Remarks at the People-to-People Conference. September 11, 1956,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1956* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), 749-52; Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-950)
951. Theodore Streibert to USIS Tel Aviv, 28 September 1956, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 15, “People-to-People Partnership, Sports Committee,” NA. See also Streibert to USIS Lahore, 12 September 1956, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 15, “People-to-People Partnership, Sports Committee,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-951)
952. See for example George Allen to C.D. Jackson, no date, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 24, “Sports Committee General,” NA; and Lorimer Moe to Abbott Washburn, 30 January 1957, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 24, “Sports Committee Administration – Membership,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-952)
953. “Report To The Nation: The First Seven Years,” People-to-People Sports Committee pamphlet, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 228, Reel 132, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. See also Roy Clumpner, “Federal Involvement In Sport To Promote American Interest Or Foreign Policy Objectives, 1950 – 1973,” in *Sport and International Relations*, eds. B. Lowe, D.B. Kanin, A. Strenk (Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1978), 439-40; Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations,” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 127-31. The Sports Committee was incorporated in 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-953)
954. Edward Eagan to Fellow Americans, 20 August 1957, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 24, “Sports Committee General,” NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-954)
955. “Minutes of the Executive Body – People-to-People Sports Committee,” 16 May 1957, RG306, Subject Files, 1953-67, Box 24, “Sports Committee Administration – Meetings – Minutes,” NA. For example, the Hungarian National Sports Federation was a member of the Sports Committee. [↑](#footnote-ref-955)
956. “Report To The Nation: The First Seven Years.” [↑](#footnote-ref-956)
957. Avery Brundage to Manuel González Guerra, 16 November 1964, Correspondence of the NOC of Cuba, 1964-79, Box 98, IOC Archives; Brundage to Eagan, 12 November 1964, ABC, Box 228, Reel 132, ICOSA. Brundage was asked to become a member of the Sports Committee but had to decline due to his position as IOC president. See Brundage to Eagan, 9 February 1957, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-957)
958. Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (London, England: University of California Press, 1979), 62; “U.S. Agrees to Admit Red China’s Athletes,” *New York Times*, 18 September 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-958)
959. Andrianov to Mayer, 28 March 1957, IOC Member Andrianov, Konstantin, 1951-, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-959)
960. Mayer to Brundage, 2 April 1957, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-960)
961. Andrew Berding to John Foster Dulles, 12 July 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4063, 800.4531/7-1257, NA. See also Berding to Christian Herter, 26 July 1957, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1955-59, Box 4063, 800.4531/7-2657, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-961)
962. Robert Cartwright to William Macomber, 9 August 1957, Dulles, John Foster: Papers, 1951-59, General Correspondence and Memoranda Series, Box 5, “Miscellaneous Correspondence May 16, 1957 – August, 9, 1957,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL).. [↑](#footnote-ref-962)
963. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 61-62; “U.S. Agrees to Admit Red China’s Athletes,” *New York Times*, 18 September 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-963)
964. Brundage to Dulles, 6 July 1957, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA: Brundage to Rod O’Connor, 24 July 1957, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-964)
965. Robert Cartwright to Herter, 13 August 1957, Herter, Christian A.: Papers, 1957-61, Box 2, (2) “Chronological File, August 1957,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-965)
966. Tim Ashwell, “Squaw Valley 1960,” in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, eds. John E. Findling & Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 340; “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 56th Session,” San Francisco, 15-16 February 1960, in Wolf Lyberg, ed. *IOC General Session Minutes*, Vol IV (1956-1988), 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-966)
967. Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage And The Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 142-47; Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 64; “Pre-press conference briefing, June 17, 1959,” Dwight D. Eisenhower: Papers as President of the United States, 1953-61, Ann Whitman File, Press Conference Series, Box 8, “Press Conference 6/17/59,” DDEL; Kenneth Wilson & Asa Bushnell to IOC, 31 July 1959, Correspondence of the NOC of the United States of America, 1955-66, Box 118, IOC Archives; Daniel Ferris to IOC, 23 June 1959, Correspondence of the NOC of the United States of America, 1955-66, Box 118, IOC Archives; Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 187-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-967)
968. Page to Secretary of State, 28 May 1959, White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, 1952-61, OCB Series, Subject Series, Box 5, “Olympics,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-968)
969. Edwin F. Black memorandum, 1 June 1959, White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, 1952-61, OCB Series, Subject Series, Box 5, “Olympics,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-969)
970. Karl Harr memorandum, 5 June 1959, White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, 1952-61, OCB Series, Subject Series, Box 5, “Olympics,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-970)
971. “Statement on Olympic Situation,” by Walter Robertson, 16 June 1959, White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, 1952-61, OCB Series, Subject Series, Box 5, “Olympics,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-971)
972. Brundage to Albert Mayer, 15 August 1959, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-972)
973. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 148-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-973)
974. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, 65-66. [↑](#footnote-ref-974)
975. Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 115-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-975)
976. A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 118-29, quote on 128; “Reorientation of Exile Organizations,” 1 April 1960, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 53, (2) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-976)
977. Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, 51-55, 62, 118-29; Sig Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 101-2, 110-11; Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 65, 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-977)
978. “Evaluation of Current FEC Mission,” 18 February 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (2) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL; “Plan of FEOP Operation in Europe,” December 1959, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 197, (7) “Free Europe Organizations and Publications,” Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California. [↑](#footnote-ref-978)
979. “Free Europe Committee and East-West Contacts,” 10 June 1959, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (2) “Free Europe Committee, 1959,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-979)
980. George Telegdy to John Matthews, no date (circa January-February 1960), Jackson Papers, Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-980)
981. Jackson to Alexander Brody, 17 February 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 93, (1) “Santa Clara Youth Village,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-981)
982. Andre Laguerre to Jackson, 11 February 1960, Jackson Papers, Box 53, (3) “Free Europe Committee, 1960,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-982)
983. “Operation Rome, Report No.2,” no date (circa 1960), RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-983)
984. “HNSF Secretary General and Delegation’s Trip to Europe and Attendance at XVII Olympic Games in Rome,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. Brackets mine. See also “Operation Rome,” 1 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; and “To Enable Three Representatives of the Hungarian National Sports Federation to Attend the XVII Olympic Games to be Held in Rome,” 2 February 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-984)
985. “Hungarian Waterball Team to Participate in Olympic Games in Rome,” 2 May 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “Preparatory Training for Olympic Water Ball Match,” 5 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-985)
986. “Round-up of FEOP Projects for the Rome Olympic Games,” 22 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-986)
987. “1960 Olympic Games – Hungarian Contact Program,” 25 April 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-987)
988. “1960 Olympic Games – Polish Contact Program,” 25 April 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-988)
989. “Round-up of FEOP Projects for the Rome Olympic Games,” 22 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “FEOP-Sponsored Activities in Connection with the Rome Olympics,” No date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-989)
990. “Olympic Games – Student Contact Program (Italy),” 29 April 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-990)
991. W. Zahorski, I. Barev, & R. Frasheri to Peter Zenkl, 27 June 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. The Assembly of Captive European Nations was founded on 24 September 1954. Katalin Kádár-Lynn explains that the ACEN was “a voice for the exiled leadership of those nine nations whose role in the United Nations was controlled by the Soviet Union.” See Katalin Kádár-Lynn, *Tibor Eckhardt: His American Years, 1941-1972* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 176. For more on the ACEN see also, Anna Mazurkiewicz, “‘The Voice of the Silenced Peoples:’ The Assembly of Captive European Nations,” in *Anti-Communist Minorities in the U.S.: Political Activism of Ethnic Refugees*, ed. Ieva Zake (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 167-85. [↑](#footnote-ref-991)
992. Henry P. McNulty to Bernard Yarrow, 6 June 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Count Anthony Szápáry to Yarrow, 10 June 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-992)
993. “Olympic Evening Festival Program,” no date (circa 1960), The Private Papers of Count Anthony Szápáry, Box 2, “Misc,” Pound Ridge, New York; FEC press release, 8 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “Olympic Drive Opened,” *New York Times*, 12 July 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-993)
994. C.K. Huston to Robert Minton, 29 September 1959, RFE/RL, Box 197, (7) “Free Europe Organizations & Publications,” HA; “FEOP Exile Organizations in Europe,” 16 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 199, (1) “Free Europe Organizations & Publications, Exile Political Organizations Division, Exile Organizations in Europe, 1960,” HA. At this stage, the FEC relationship with exiled groups was administered by Free Europe Organizations & Publications. [↑](#footnote-ref-994)
995. “HNSF Secretary General and Delegation’s Trip to Europe and Attendance at XVII Olympic Games in Rome,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-995)
996. Minton to Keith Turner, 16 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. See also Minton to Eugene Metz, 27 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-996)
997. Matthews to Minton, 21 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-997)
998. Minton to John F. Leich, 27 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-998)
999. “No Discrimination,” *The Times*, 21 July 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-999)
1000. Thomas de Márffy-Mantuano to FEC, 23 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1000)
1001. Minton to Leich, 27 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1001)
1002. Telegdy to Anne Campanaro, 2 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1002)
1003. Telegdy to Campanaro, 2 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. For the arrangements of Tábori and Iglói’s trip to Europe see Jack Crump to Laszlo Tábori, 16 June 1960, Walter E. Schmidt, S.J. Papers, 1944-1988 (hereafter referred to as Schmidt Papers), Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “SCVYV, Track Team/Igloi, Letters of Application, 1960,” Department of Archives & Special Collections, Santa Clara University Library (hereafter referred to as SCUA), Santa Clara, California; Tábori to Crump, 30 June 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “SCVYV, Track Team/Igloi, Letters of Application, 1960,” SCUA; Tábori to Ferris, 30 June 1960, Schmidt Papers, Santa Clara Youth Village Files, Box 12, “SCVYV, Track Team/Igloi, Letters of Application, 1960,” SCUA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1003)
1004. Leich to Huston, 3 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. Eugene Metz, an FEC representative in Paris, made the same point regarding August in the city. See Metz to Leich, 10 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1004)
1005. Telegdy to Campanaro, 11 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. UNESCO refers to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. [↑](#footnote-ref-1005)
1006. Matthews to Minton, 21 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1006)
1007. “Report on Meeting,” 26 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1007)
1008. “Operation Rome,” 1 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA [↑](#footnote-ref-1008)
1009. Minton to Hoge, 29 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1009)
1010. Campanaro to Leich, 28 August 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1010)
1011. Campanaro to Leich, 14 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1011)
1012. Campanaro to Leich, 5 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1012)
1013. “Rome Olympics Report,” 17 October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1013)
1014. “Hungarian Waterball Team to Participate in Olympic Games in Rome,” 2 May 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1014)
1015. “FEOP-Sponsored Activities in Connection with the Rome Olympics,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Campanaro to Leich, 2 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1015)
1016. “FEOP-Sponsored Activities in Connection with the Rome Olympics,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1016)
1017. Campanaro to Leich, 8 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1017)
1018. “FEOP-Sponsored Activities in Connection with the Rome Olympics,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Campanaro to Leich, 2 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1018)
1019. *Free Europe Committee: 11th Annual Report, 1960*, 9. This report was accessed at the Buhr Remote Shelving Library, The University of Michigan. [↑](#footnote-ref-1019)
1020. Leich to Minton, 1 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1020)
1021. Confidential memorandum, no date (circa 1960), RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Campanaro to Leich, 14 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “Round-up of FEOP Projects for the Rome Olympic Games,” 22 July 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Telegdy to Matthews, no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1021)
1022. Campanaro to Leich, 8 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. Telegdy did take solace in the fact that the water polo team from Vienna decided to merge with the HNSF. [↑](#footnote-ref-1022)
1023. “Czechoslovak Press Survey, No.746,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; Stanislaus B. Milus to Department of State, 23 August 1960, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1960-63, Box 2239, 800.4531/1-460, NA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1023)
1024. Alfred V. Boerner to Department of State, 30 September 1960, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1960-63, Box 2698, 865.4531/9-3060, NA; Eagan to Brundage, 29 July 1960, ABC, Box 168, Reel 96, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1024)
1025. “Report To The Nation: The First Seven Years.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1025)
1026. George V. Allen to All Principle USIS Posts, 4 January 1960, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1960-63, Box 2239, 800.4531/1-460, NA. See John V. Grombach, *Olympic Cavalcade of Sports* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1956). [↑](#footnote-ref-1026)
1027. Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America’s Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-1027)
1028. David Maraniss, *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed The World* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 121-23, 221-22, 412-14; John V. Grombach to Mayer, 28 September 1959, Otto Mayer Private Fond, 1952-84, IOC Archives; Grombach to Mayer, 11 June 1959, Otto Mayer Private Fond, 1952-84, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-1028)
1029. See for example Grombach to Lyman Bingham, 11 June 1964, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1029)
1030. Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 26-28, 30, 114, 258. Ter-Ovanesyan delighted over western culture and listened to jazz on the Voice of America. [↑](#footnote-ref-1030)
1031. “Preliminary Account of the Olympic Games Operation,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “A general characteristic of persons who came from Poland for the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome as compared with the Youth Festival in Vienna in 1959,” October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “Rome Olympics Report,” 17 October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA; “FEOP-Sponsored Activities in Connection with the Rome Olympics,” no date, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1031)
1032. “Rome Olympics Report,” 17 October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1032)
1033. Campanaro to Leich, 2 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1033)
1034. “Rome Olympics Report,” 17 October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1034)
1035. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 199-201, quote on 201. [↑](#footnote-ref-1035)
1036. “Somber Second Thoughts,” *New York Times*, 13 September 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-1036)
1037. “Rome Olympics Report,” 17 October 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1037)
1038. Lord Birdwood, Chataway & McWhirter to Mayer, 1960, ABC, Box 116, Reel 63, ICOSA; “Stateless Athletes and the Future,” *The Times*, 10 September 1960; “To Aid of Stateless Athletes,” *The Times*, 9 August 1960. In a book Christopher Chataway co-authored a few years after his protest against the IOC was published in *The Times*, he was able to restate his point: “[T]he idea of excluding a qualified athlete because of the misdeeds of his rulers was certainly not part of Baron de Coubertin’s original vision.” See Philip Goodhart & Christopher Chataway, *War Without Weapons: The Rise of Mass Sport in the Twentieth Century – and its Effect on Men and Nations* (London: W.H. Allen & Company, 1968), 128. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-1038)
1039. Ion Ratiu to Telegdy, 12 September 1960, RFE/RL, Box 245, (5) “Olympic Games General, 1960,” HA. [↑](#footnote-ref-1039)
1040. “New Olympic Appeal,” *The Times*, 18 August 1960; “Hungarian Exiles Out of Games,” *The Times*, 23 August 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-1040)
1041. A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 131-32; Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 130. Most of the NCFE budget was put towards RFE instead of other exile organizations. [↑](#footnote-ref-1041)
1042. John Richardson to Count Anthony Szápáry, 3 January 1962, The Private Papers of Count Anthony Szápáry (hereafter referred to as Szápáry Papers), Box 2, “Antal Szapary,” Pound Ridge, New York; Szápáry to Richardson, 5 December 1961, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “R.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1042)
1043. Szápáry to C.D. Jackson, 2 February 1962, C.D. Jackson: Papers, 1931-67, Series II Time INC. File, 1933-64, Subseries A. Alphabetical File, 1933-64 (hereafter referred to as Jackson Papers), Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library (hereafter referred to as DDEL), Abilene, Kansas. [↑](#footnote-ref-1043)
1044. Jackson to Bernard Yarrow, 16 March 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” DDEL. Jackson told Szápáry that he read the Count’s letter with “the utmost sympathy and will be glad to do what I can.” See Jackson to Szápáry, 16 March 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-1044)
1045. Yarrow to Jackson, 27 March 1962, Jackson Papers, Box 53, “Free Europe Committee, 1962,” DDEL. [↑](#footnote-ref-1045)
1046. J.W. Brinkley to Christopher Emmet, 3 September 1963, RFE/RL INC. Corporate Records (hereafter referred to as RFE/RL), Box 343, (20) “Telegdy, George,” Hoover Institute Archives (hereafter referred to as HA), Stanford University, California. [↑](#footnote-ref-1046)
1047. Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 233-48; Frances Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 381-406; Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 153-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-1047)
1048. Sig Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 121-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-1048)
1049. Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, 202-5, 215-17. Case attacked both Radio Free Europe and another CIA funded radio station, Radio Liberty. He told the Senate: “Several hundreds of millions of dollars in United States government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe…[At] no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its constitutional role of approving the expenditures.” Cited in Mickelson, *America’s Other Voice*, 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-1049)
1050. “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 60th Session,” Annex 4, Baden-Baden, 16-20 October 1963, International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter referred to as IOC Archives), Lausanne, Switzerland. Brackets mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-1050)
1051. “IOC Executive Board Meeting,” Lausanne, 26-27 June 1964, IOC Archives; “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 62nd Session,” Annex 10, Tokyo, 6-8 October 1964, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-1051)
1052. Asa Bushnell, ed., *The United States Olympic Book* (Providence, RI: Riverhouse Publishing Company, 1964), 38, 39, 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-1052)
1053. Allen Guttmann, “The Cold War and the Olympics,” *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988), 554. [↑](#footnote-ref-1053)
1054. Jenifer Parks, “Verbal Gymnastics: sports, bureaucracy, and the Soviet Union’s Entrance into the Olympic Games, 1946-1952,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg & David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 27-44. [↑](#footnote-ref-1054)
1055. See pamphlet in IOC file, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Correspondence, 1955-59, IOC Archives; Harry Edward to Avery Brundage, 7 January 1953, Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-75 (hereafter referred to as ABC), Box 223, Reel 130, International Centre for Olympic Studies Archives (hereafter referred to as ICOSA), The University Of Western Ontario, London, Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-1055)
1056. Brundage to Daniel Ferris, 14 June 1954, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA; “Athletes’ Tours Hit By Brundage,” *New York Time*s, 16 March 1955. [↑](#footnote-ref-1056)
1057. “Operation Griffin,” by George Telegdy, no date, Szápáry Papers, Box 2, “Confidential Reports – Operation Eagle.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1057)
1058. For more on this see Scott Lucas, “Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control: Approaches to Culture and the State-Private Network in the Cold War,” *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 2 (2003), 58-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-1058)
1059. Philip M. Taylor, “Through a Glass Darkly? The Psychological Climate and Psychological Warfare of the Cold War,” in *Cold War Propaganda in the 1950’s*, ed. Gary D. Rawnsley (Houndmills, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-1059)
1060. Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 178-79; Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, “Culture and the Cold War in Europe,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 1: Origins*, eds., Melvin P. Leffler & Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 406-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-1060)
1061. Thomas M. Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963: The Diplomatic and Political Use of Sport in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations,” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Marquette University, 1976), 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-1061)
1062. Thomas M. Hunt, “American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years,” *Journal of Sport History* 33, no. 3 (Fall, 2006), 273-88, quote on 277; Domer, “Sport in Cold War America, 1953-1963,” 288-302. On the budget for cultural and sports exchanges see also “Administrative History of the Department of State During the Johnson Administration,” Vol 1, Chapter 2, *United States Declassified Documents Reference System* (hereafter referred to as USDDRS) (Woodbridge, CT, 1990), document number 3412. [↑](#footnote-ref-1062)
1063. Hunt, “American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years,” 278-79, 284; “Administrative History of the Department of State During the Johnson Administration.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1063)
1064. Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-1064)
1065. Kenneth J. Hill to Michael K. Deaver, 3 May 1984, US DDRS: 1999 543. [↑](#footnote-ref-1065)
1066. See for example “Minutes of the International Olympic Committee 78th Session,” Montreal, 13-17, 19 July 1976, IOC Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-1066)
1067. Cited in Harold Lechenperg, ed., *Olympic Games 1960* (New York, NY: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1960), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-1067)