

THE REPORTING OF THE JOURNALISTS OF “RAZ, DWA, TRZY” AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN BERLIN IN 1936

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Abstract The Olympic Games of 1936 in Berlin found sports and Olympic movement in the Second Republic of Poland at a stage of developing and strengthening its organizational structure. The most famous and honored sport newspapers were: “Przegląd Sportowy” from Warsaw and – published by “IKC” concern from Cracow – “Raz, Dwa, Trzy”. The circulation of both titles constituted more than 3/4 of the circulation of all the sporting titles in the Second Republic of Poland. In this paper reports of “Raz, Dwa, Trzy” correspondents of the Olympic Games and the capital of Germany were presented.

The analysis of the reporting of the journalists of “Raz, Dwa, Trzy” from the The Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin allows to conclude that the narration of the reports fully corresponded with the aforementioned Polish-German Press Agreement of the 7th October 1934 and its basic assumptions. At the same time it was in accordance with the appreciation expressed to German organizers by foreign correspondents. The relations of the correspondents from Cracow indicate that Hitler’s’ regimentation reached its goals also in this environment. Enormous sports and infrastructural investments in the Third Reich, together with incorporating the modern technology, high degree of social discipline and the penchant for order and cleanliness, so typical for Germans, found their expressive reflection in the pages of “Raz, Dwa, Trzy”.

Key words Berlin Olympic Games, Polish sport’s press, Nazi Sport

The Olympics and the Third Reich

The Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin occupy special place in the history of the Olympic movement for several reason Firstly, for the first time in history the hosts involved considerable financial means in the organization of the event, supported by modern construction technology and information flow. Secondly, Germany was a totalitarian country, which three years after the Olympics unleashed the World War II and perpetrated terrible crimes, most of all – the Holocaust. German (Alkmeyer, 1996; Eisenberg, 1999; Geyer, 1996, pp. 41–44; Kruger, 1972, pp. 180–181; Peiffer, 2009; Simon, 1964; Teichler, 1976; Wildmann, 1998) and Polish historiography (Falewicz, 2004, pp. 58–61; Jucewicz, 1972, pp. 44–49; Młodzikowski, 1970, 1971, 1984; Olszański, 2000, pp. 24–25; Weiss, 1972) agree that Hitler used the fact that in April 1931 in Lausanne the Weimar Republic was chosen to organize the Olympic Games

in 1936 and prepared a giant political mise-en-scene, both for internal and external use. The “New Germany” was presented as an economic power, the country of technical innovation, inhabited by people (Nation/Volk) united around Führer and fully engaged in the fulfillment of the goals of National Socialism. It cannot be forgotten that Hitler, through his giant propaganda apparatus and declaring his faith to the tradition of ancient Olympics, prepared an efficient show aimed at seducing the world (Harder, 1936). He stole and changed the meaning of traditional Olympic values and symbols. The Nazi filled the Olympic Games of 1936 with military elements, the motives of sacrifice and cult of death. These elements were clearly seen in the artistic performances and monumental sculptures. All those actions were fully accepted by the International Olympic Committee, as well as by P. de Coubertin himself, who eagerly took part in paid guest appearances in German radio (Lipoński, 2012). For German society of that time, independently of the judgements, the Olympic Games of 1936 until the end of the World War II remained the unexampled triumph of German sports, reflected by the top places in medal and scoring tables (Porada, 1980).

The Olympic Games of 1936 and the Second Republic of Poland

The Olympic Games of 1936 in Berlin found sports and Olympic movement in the Second Republic of Poland at a stage of developing and strengthening its organizational structure. These actions, right from the beginning, have been conducted by the elites of revived Poland with enormous determination despite giant material and cultural losses from the World War I. The preparations started under annexations, laying the foundation for the development of physical activity and grassroots sport (Zaborniak, 2009).

The society has been gradually “infected” with the Olympic idea passing down the reports from the first and the following modern Olympic Games (Cybula, 2006; Stępiński, 2010). Polish middle-class movement, immediately after regaining the independence, established its ties with international sports movement by creating PKOl (Polish Olympic Committee) and, afterwards, national sports associations and federations (Gaj, Hądzulek, 1991). Associative movement in Poland, retarded if compared to England, was not much lagging behind compared to other European countries. At the end of the 19th century it gained the ability to join and evolve into higher level organizations (Lipoński, 2012). The most important stimuli in this matter were establishing the Polish Olympic Committee in October 1919 and the will to participate in the first post-war Olympic Games in Antwerp in 1920. These aspirations were accompanied by thorough pioneer actions (Dobrowolski, 1948; Słoniewski, 1986; Wryk, 2012).

Gradual strengthening of the position of Polish Olympic Committee toward International Olympic Committee was a result of the tendency of national Olympic committees to decide about the movement’s character and its mission in the world (Młodzikowski, 1984; Wryk, 2012). The consecutive governments of the Second Republic of Poland and the First Marshal of Poland Józef Piłsudski supported sports and Olympic movement at the organizational, scientific and educational level.

The Department of Sports was created at the University of Poznań, and Central Institute of Physical Education (CIWF) was established in 1927 in Warsaw (Gawkowski, 2012; Szymański, 1998; Wieczorek, 2008). Sports and Olympic movement gained an important ally, namely: the sports press and the developing journalistic environment (Kunert, 2008).

Polish athletes that went to Berlin had already had the experience of participation in three former Summer Olympic Games (Paris 1924, Amsterdam 1928 and Los Angeles 1932) and four Winter Olympic Games (Chamonix 1924, Saint Moritz 1928, Lake Placid 1932 and Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1936). Their medal record was rather

good. In 7 events Poles won 3 gold, 8 silver and 9 bronze medals- all of them during Summer Olympic Games (Gaj, Hądzelek, 1991).

Sports press in the Second Republic of Poland

The first stage of the development of Polish sports press in the interwar period finishes in 1926. Until that time all types of sports newspapers had already appeared together with the specialization of sports journalism and the Association of Sports Journalists and Publicists. The relations between the sports press and the government, namely the Department of Physical Education and Basic Training, were mostly correct though cold. Sports press was developing successfully, even in the times of crisis, and before 1939 it achieved a European level. In the times of the Second Republic of Poland 164 sports magazine were being published regularly. The most numerous group of sports magazine were the ones devoted mostly to sports reporting. Their goal was to inform Polish readers about sporting life of the country and the events abroad. The most famous and honoured from this group were two magazines: "Przegląd Sportowy" from Warsaw and – published by "IKC" concern from Cracow – "Raz, Dwa, Trzy". The latter was edited by Adam Obrubański [1892–1940], Włodzimierz Długoszewski [1905–1945], Jerzy Jakub Rochatiner [1904–1979] and Aleksander Szenajch [1904–1987] (Tuszyński, 1997). The existence of "Raz, Dwa, Trzy" is connected to the magazine titled "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny" created in 1910 by Marian Dąbrowski, one of the most distinguished organisers and press publishers of the interwar period. Out of a modest local magazine, in a short period of time, he was able to create the biggest and most influential Polish magazine, from the printing, as well as from the popularity, social range, and influence on public opinion point of view. The group of 'IKC' magazines, the so called "Press Palace" in Cracow, became in the period the Second Republic of Poland the main competitor of "Prasa Polska A" concern from Warsaw. Beside "Orędownika" from Poznań or "Express Ilustrowany" from Łódź it was the leader as far as the number of printed issues is concerned. The career of "IKC" was based on a well-organized system of distribution (printing up to 200,000), print and preparation of journalists and editors.

National departments and a dozen or so of foreign correspondents worked for the needs of the publisher (Łojek, Myśliński, Władyka, 1988, pp. 101–111). The weekly sports magazine "Raz Dwa Trzy" belonged to the "IKC" group (Paczkowski, 1971). It was set up in 1931 and published in the "Press Palace" as a large-format, illustrated newspaper. The most compelling were the big opening and closing photographs, as well as so called "Kaleidoscope" in which photos from various sporting events were presented. Large format, typical for all the magazines of M. Dąbrowski, considerable volume (16 columns), relatively low price compared to illustrated magazines (30 gr) – and obviously – the growing popularity of sports, quickly made this weekly magazine from Cracow nation-wide and well recognizable. In its peak period the newspaper circulation was 50,000 copies. Compared to other similar periodicals-excluding the aforementioned "Przegląd Sportowy" – it could be considered the leading one (Paczkowski, 1971).

The circulation of both titles constituted more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the circulation of all the sporting titles in the Second Republic of Poland. Apart from these two titles, also "Sport" from Lvov, "Wychowanie Fizyczne" (Poznań–Warszawa), "Stadjon", "Sport Polski" and "Sport Wodny" were noteworthy (Maślanka, 1976). In the 1930's a considerable number of instructional and professional magazines were being published under the auspices of National Institute of Physical Education and Basic Training.

The magazines published by Jewish organizations, i.e. "Makkabi" were of a smaller outreach. Almost all the daily newspapers had their sports columns which often occupied much space. Some editors had their own teams of specialized journalists responsible for sports columns. Polish Association of Sports Journalists and Publicists

was established in 1925 (Dudek, 2001; Paczkowski, 1980; see also: Jakubowska, 1962). 50% of all the journalists worked in the biggest cities of the Second Republic of Poland. The modern and comfortable (at that time) edifice in Marszałkowska Street, where the editorial offices of four daily newspapers and some periodicals belonging to "Dom Prasy" were based, became "the opinion-forming center of Polish journalistic thought" (Nałęcz, 1982). The journalists who worked there were specialized in particular sport disciplines, i.e. Zygmunt Weiss in cycling, Kazimierz Gryżewski in tennis and Zbigniew Lewicki in swimming. This is also where the journalistic talent of Wojciech Trojanowski, the leading athlete and Olympian from 1928 matured (Tuszyński, 1997). In "Raz, Dwa, Trzy" Władysław Długoszewski, Jerzy Rocha and Aleksander Szejnach were the leading admirers of Olympic preparations of the Second Republic of Poland and the Third Reich. They belonged to the group of the leading, professional sports journalists who were able to speak foreign languages and were by no means anonymous abroad. They were people in the limelight of the authorities who used to organize different meetings in order to get them closer. For instance, the local authorities of Warsaw regularly wined and dined the journalistic elite during dinners. On the other hand, important representatives of the government, church, local authorities, the world of culture and science, as well as the employees of foreign diplomatic posts often participated in the journalist deliberations (Nałęcz, 1982).

All the cultural and social processes encompassed also the editorial offices and journalists of the biggest sports magazines which, like in the case of "Przegląd Sportowy", remained under the direct influence of the government.

The departure of Polish Olympic team and a large group of Polish journalists to Berlin took place, as mentioned, in the conditions of Polish-German rapprochement also in this area. Special entities popularizing sporting achievements of both countries were established in Warsaw and in Berlin, and the rapprochement had its origins back in the Weimar Republic.

Polish Committee of Sporting Evets was set up in Berlin and led, consecutively, by: Wojciech Gawroński, and next Andrzej Kruczkiewicz (Gąsiorowski, 1982). It is worth remembering that Poland had its "contribution" in the fact that the International Olympic Committee awarded the 1936 Summer Olympics to Berlin. During the International Olympic Committee's meeting in Lausanne in May 1931 Polish delegates Ignacy Matuszewski and Stanisław Roupert voted for the German capital city (Karl Lennartz, 1994). As one of the coryphaei of post-war sports journalism said, Germans tried to maintain good and warm relations with Polish sport (Gryżewski, 1968). We should add that it was reciprocal.

The Olympics and the relations between Poland and Germany

At the beginning it is worth mentioning that in the reports coming from Berlin by the correspondents of "Raz, Dwa, Trzy" the Olympic Games and the capital of Germany were presented in a good light (Stępiński, 2008). G. Walters claimed that for many people visiting Berlin what was striking were not only the omnipresent swastikas and Olympic rings, but also the pervasive militarism (Walters, 2008). W. Lipoński wrote about the propaganda present in every corner of the city and the Olympic village (Lipoński, 2012). The opinions differed. The reporting of Polish journalists should be seen in the context of sports contacts between the Second Republic of Poland and the Third Reich intensified after 1934 and resulting from, inter alia, Polish-German agreements (German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact and Press Agreement from 1934) aimed at supporting peaceful and good-neighbourly relations (Fischer, 1992). Moreover, those relations were much more intensive than in the times of Weimar Republic. Polish representatives were always received hospitably and with all the honours (Gąsiorowski, 2008). When assessing

those relations one has to bear in mind that the enthusiasm of Polish journalists for the Olympic facilities was present in the whole world at that time. The guests leaving Berlin in 1936 were impressed by the extraordinariness of the event, the inhabitants of the city and the city itself. Polish people were prepossessed by the propaganda posters in Polish, which could be seen in Berlin (Rurup, 1996), as well as the participation in International Camps for Youth and Students organized in Germany before the Olympics. Young, foreign visitors could participate in the Olympics for free and their stay was full of cultural and tourist events (Suchorzewski, 1936). Also the world of Polish authorities from the field of sport sciences (anthropologists, doctors, pedagogues and physiologists) cooperated with the most important German research centers (Cejlar, 1936).

The Olympic Games of 1936 in the pages of „Raz, Dwa, Trzy“

One of the first articles expressing the appreciation for the Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin was published in "Raz, Dwa, Trzy" on the 7th of April 1936. The author was relieved because the opponents of the Olympics in Berlin were defeated. He claimed that Germany had to win over the enormous campaign started by the opponents of the Olympics. For a moment it seemed that they were going to succeed, however the Olympic idea triumphed. Germans included Jews – Rudi Hall and Helene Meyer – in their national team, and therefore they refuted the arguments of the "enemies of the Olympics of Berlin" (Raz, Dwa, Trzy [futher: RDT], 1936, 14). The editors of RDT rushed to inform that even though that for a moment the Olympics were threatened by the "little Austria" whose government was afraid of the Nazi propaganda, finally it withdrew from this strict standpoint and sent Austrian athletes to Berlin. Not even residual reports concerning the boycott of the Games of the XI Olympiad in the USA can be found in RDT. Instead, under a big heading saying "Pre-Olympic fever in the USA" one could find an extensive report on the preparations of the Olympians in the USA supported by numerous illustrations. The enthusiasm of the newspaper from the 7th of April found its continuation on the 9th of April – below the title it was written that "it turned out that the whole hate-campaign against the organization of the Olympic Games in Berlin ended up without any results, and the number of 53 countries reported to the Olympics is a record, never present in any former Olympic Games". Later, the author informed about the hidden purpose of the event in Berlin, unfortunately not the one we would have expected: "We will be the witnesses of the impressive championships of the amateur world with which no other event in the world can compete. To start with, there will be everybody who has anything to say in any of the sports disciplines. We are therefore witnessing a great victory of the idea of the brotherhood of nations over the more mundane trends, the use of a great sports event for political purposes and to set prominent nations of the world against each other" (RDT, 1936, 23).

This line of the newspaper, emphasizing the loyalty of the host country for the Olympic idea, was maintained throughout, far beyond the period of preparation and duration of the Olympic Games. It was expressed both in the content, as well as in the illustrations suggestively affecting the reader's imagination.

The correspondents from the weekly magazine from Cracow were impressed by the incredible scale of the preparations of Berlin to the Games of the XI Olympiad, which increased the international status of the Third Reich's capital city. The reader could learn that it became the capital city of the world for the time of the Olympics. Ehlert, the editor, in positive terms reported on the city which appeared an "Olympic gown". At that time he was not bothered by the omnipresent flags with swastikas. In his opinion Berlin, just like ancient Olympia, was well-prepared for the organization of the Olympic Games and the arrival of 50,000 visitors: "The participants will find everything ready, starting from the smallest details. If someone has ever visited Berlin he can be sure not to recognize the city, it has

changed so much. Berlin is not only decorated with the Olympic emblems, but also the people and daily habits have changed. Everything was marked by the Olympic Games” (RDT, 1936, 30a).

RDT, together with the others, shared the enthusiasm of the of Carl Diem's supporters' idea of the Olympic Torch travelling from ancient Olympia to Berlin. The Nazi press devoted a lot of space to this journey, treating it – unfortunately rightly – as an original contribution of Nazi Germany to the modern Olympic Games. The way the fire travelled from Greece to Germany was being reported both by the OLYMPIA-ZEITUNG and the film crew of L. Riefenstahl. The originality of the idea and its pioneering nature were emphasized (RDT, 1936, 30b).

Zbigniew Grabowski passed to Cracow a cycle of “Olympic letters”, which constituted a series of Olympic reporting from the capital of the Third Reich. He emphasized that the Winter Olympics in Ga-Pa was both a sporting and political phenomenon. Grabowski wrote:

“The Olympic Games of Berlin are a political issue and in principle they were meant to be such an issue. From the beginning they belonged to the politics and were a perfect instrument of what is called propaganda. Their aim is to show the new Third Reich in a positive light and, in the second place – equally important – to refute the arguments of all those who were hostile to the *new Germany*. The aim is to discredit them and show that their allegations are completely unfounded. Germany has to appear as a country of prosperity, peace and incredible hospitality. This hospitality is underpinned by a great organization thanks to the “helpful”, omnipresent uniformed services, i.e. the police, SA, or HJ, as well as well-developed network of public transport in Berlin.”

The arrival to the capital of the Third Reich was purposely facilitated for numerous visitors. Access roads, the airport and the train stations were all extended and one could feel the smell of fresh paint, they welcomed the guests with the signs in many foreign languages, including Polish. Z. Grabowski was impressed by the new face of Berlin's train stations Berlin Friedrichstrasse and Berlin Zoogarten. The latter gained a new setting of glass. Besides the refurbished means of public transport many small information desks appeared in the city. The waiters and waitresses from numerous Berlin cafes and restaurants were dressed in new uniforms with Olympic rings. Other Olympic symbols were exhibited in the shop windows. The press did not lag behind. Even before the start of the Olympic Games special Olympic issues, such as the aforementioned “Olympia Zeitung” appeared in the newsagents’ (RDT, 1936, 31a, see also: Stępiński 2010).

The author also expressed his appreciation for the tremendous panache of sports infrastructure and propaganda setting of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Stadium itself was described by Grabowski as an “impressive 100-thousander.” He also liked the newly built swimming pool and large gyms (e.g. Deutschlandhalle) and the events accompanying competitions, such as the “Deutschland” exhibition and the exhibition of Hellenic art opened on July 29th.

According to Grabowski the primary objective of the giant efforts was to display the implicit appreciation of Germany for the tradition of ancient Olympism and the attempt to transfer it to modern times: “Olympics is a period of stopping all the struggles, a general pacification, it is also a demonstration of the fact that Reich, is and wants to be, peaceful. If we put all these qualities together, we have to admit that one could not imagine a better propaganda opportunity than the Olympics to show the world the achievements of the Third Reich. ... The Olympics can and must be used to reveal what you've done ... This is why the German propaganda can rightly say: If there were no Olympic Games, they would have to be created.” (RDT, 1936, 31a).

The aforementioned uniqueness of the Games of the XI Olympiad, and to some extent the impression of acceptance for the Third Reich by the Olympic community, were supported by pictures showing the opening

ceremony of the Olympic Congress in the auditorium of the University in Berlin. In the pictures one can see the dignitaries of IOC and notables of the Third Reich, with H. Baillet-Latour and Rudolf Hess in the forefront.

The joy of the opening of the Olympics in Berlin was expressed in the joyous title on the cover of that issue. Against the background of clouds the great banner of the Olympic was flapping in the wind and below one could see the Olympic Stadium. Inside the newspaper, under the title "Welcome of the Polish Olympians in Berlin" there was a large photograph of the welcome of the Polish delegation at the station Berlin-Friedrichstrasse by the Chairman of the Organizing Committee and German officers with hands raised in the "German greeting."

The Cracovian newspaper with satisfaction reported on numberless crowd and perfect weather conditions, and the news about the appearing of the Chancellor Hitler as an acquiescent host who, from his loge, compliments the contestants on winnings was printed in bold.

The information that also Maria Kwaśniewska, a Polish athlete who together with two German sportswomen won the first Olympic medal, had such an honour was not omitted.

Also the information that on the 2nd of August German athletes won four medals – two gold, one silver and one bronze was bold faced (Volkischer Beobachter, 1936, 49; RDT, 1936, 31b).

After the first day of the Olympic Games also Owens was described as he fastest man in the world who believed that the Olympic Stadium in Berlin was the greatest Arena of the world.

In that issue, although in a different article, the newspaper came back to the topic of the presence of M. Kwaśniewska at the Olympic Stadium. Aleksander Szejnach described the competition in javelin throw and the bronze medal won by the Polish athlete.

The article was meant to flatter Polish national pride and to make Polish javelin thrower another, after Stanisława Walasiewiczówna, star of the Polish Olympic Team. The description of the medal ceremony clashed with the aforementioned post-war way of interpretation of the Games of the XI Olympiad and is an example of normality(or correctness) of the relations between Poland and Germany.

It can be seen not only in the tone of the description itself, but also in the way Kwaśniewska was treated by Hitler. This episode, emphasized in 1936 by the *Sanation* sports press was condemned for total oblivion during the successive 50 post-war years: (RDT, 1936, 31c) "...Both of the German contestants, as well as Kwaśniewska, stand in the middle of the stadium, two German flags and one Polish white and red flag rise up on the mast next to the scoreboard. After the medal ceremony three triumphators of javelin throw were invited to the loge of Chancellor Hitler who talked to them for a while. We had the opportunity to have a closer look at the conversation. Smiling Hitler was talking not only to the Germans, but also to Kwaśniewska who replied very pluckily. It could be seen that the Chancellor was impressed by her and he saw her off even more kindly than he did with the German athletes".

Another expression of full acceptance for the Olympics in Berlin together with its particular competitions was the information about Polish victories in the Olympic Art Competitions in Berlin (Hądzelek, Zuchora, 2012), in which we had great traditions (Lipoński, 1974). German Olympic propaganda appreciated Polish artists. The piece of art called "The ball" by Józef Klukowski was awarded with a Silver Relief (Lorenz, 1936).

Other compliments for the hosts came from Grabowski's article dated August 11th, titled "The Olympic Carnival".

The author stated that besides the rally of the NSDAP in Nuremberg, where it was possible to achieve "memorable mass effects," there have never been such a directing with participation of hundreds of thousands of people in Germany. Grabowski relied on a certain English journalist, who aptly stated that Germans were patterning

themselves on the American Hollywood. Usually “rigid” Berlin was transformed. Colorfully adorned, “packed” with the Olympics it looked like a giant film decoration and was experiencing its carnival.

Grabowski highly praised the working conditions of journalists in Berlin. He himself felt very privileged, surrounded by the extraordinary care and treated seriously by the Organizing Committee and the authorities of the Reich. He stressed with great satisfaction that his Olympic Identity Card [“Olympia-Ausweis”] allowed him to use all means of communication for free. He was also impressed by organization of work in the press offices, messaging systems and excellent conditions, created by the hosts for the media, including Polish journalists.

In the further period of functioning of the Olympic post the author raised the issue of the contribution of one of the Nazi organizations NSKK (The National Socialist Motor Corps) which left at the disposal of the organizers of the Olympic Games 5,000 motorcycles and the members helped in mail distribution from the morning till the evening.

The author – as a professional – was particularly interested in radio reporting. In his short description of German broadcasting station he gave his excellent opinion about it. He was similarly impressed by the opening ceremony, its deeply Olympic character and unmitigated admiration for the Chancellor of the Reich. The author admired the organization not only of the ceremony itself but also of the entrance and exit of such a mass of people.

To emphasize the range of the event he gave the accurate numbers of the people being transported in Berlin. He got aware of the greatness of the event and the accompanying load of emotions only 48 hours after the end of the opening ceremony: “This colossal stadium reminds me now of some surreal transatlantic liner with numerous stairs and gangways. Up on the captain’s bridge there’s the press and the radio...the Chancellor, together with the Olympic Committee, went to the entrance which resembles the opening of the Roman Colosseum... the yell “Heil” crushes the stadium...the stadium is alive and beautiful” (RDT, 1936, 32).

At the end of his article the correspondent from Cracow positively referred to the official reception organized by the hosts for the Olympic guests on the 31st of August 1936. He mentioned Joseph Goebbels as an authority figure who reassured the people that the Olympic of Berlin had peaceful and apolitical nature.

The newspaper through the selection of the titles, texts and illustrations strengthened the image of a truly Olympic newspaper and carefree atmosphere of the Berlin Olympics, this “Olympic Carnival.” The section called “The Olympic Kaleidoscope” was dominated by pictures showing rows of smiling faces, the representatives of all nations and races, athletes of many countries during the competitions, medal ceremonies, listening to the national anthems or participating in sport competitions. The choice was objective. Next to the photo of Tilly Fleischer from Germany, there was a photo of an American champion in discus throw – Carpentier. There was also enough space for the world of media and politics. The following pictures showed Leni Riefenstahl filming the stadium and the Chancellor of the Third Reich surrounded by party dignitaries and guests of the IOC in the “Loge of the Führer.”

Cracow newspaper correspondents were impressed by the sporting successes of the greatest sports powers of the Games of the XI Olympiad, namely Germany and the USA. In his correspondence dated the 18th of August the correspondent of RDT reported, using headings in capitals, that Germans – motivated by the fighting spirit and cheering crowd – won 5 five gold medals in the sailing regatta finals.

This search for sources of the triumph of the Germans in Grünau indicates a certain, clear boundary that was not crossed by the editors of RDT. The correspondents did not mention the cult of the Führer as a source of motivation for German athletes. In fact, the presence of Hitler at the Olympic Stadium constituted great source of motivation for young German Olympians. They wanted to honour their “beloved” Führer by their sporting successes, as well as express their love and devotion.

The admiration for the triumph of Nazi sport clearly contrasted with boundless sadness because of the weak, as shown, performance of Polish representation at the Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin. The vastness of sadness, disappointment and frustration did not prevent Polish correspondents from recognizing the triumph of German sport. Two days after closing of the Olympics a great heading "Under the sign of German victory" the admiration for athletic performance of German athletes was expressed. It was stated there that the organizational success was to be expected, however the sporting victory of Germans who with their 33 gold medals beat the Americans (so far regarded the unrivaled sporting nation) was a surprise.

It was described this way: "Germany has shown that the incredible diligence and accuracy can fill in any gaps and shortcomings. Germany won the Olympics in sports and organization and there is no doubt that all the goals of organizers from Berlin have been fully accomplished" (RDT, 1936, 33).

Grabowski, summing up the Olympics, expressed his criticism towards the performance of Polish athletes, justifying them by the greatness of the event, its length and panache, which overwhelmed them and "tied their legs". Later in his text, he emphasized great energy with which the authorities of the Reich began to take advantage of the success of the Olympic Games. Before every film in Germany the "Olympic Review" and the trailer of L. Riefenstahl's film were shown. Grabowski used to call it "the longest film of the world", edited using hundreds of thousands meters of the filmstrip. It was to be shown in 2 parts in every corner of Europe. The author appreciated also the educational value of the film "...This film will be the real school for the athletes from all over the world. They will be able to observe the secrets of Owen's and Lovelock's step, the swing of Jaervinem and the artistry of American divers" (RDT, 1936, 34).

Following the journalistic reports before and after the Olympic Games it can be stated that the journalists themselves were overwhelmed by the greatness of the event. Even before the Olympic torch was lit they used to write that the Olympics was going to be an endless 'Olympic Carnival', however at the end of August they claimed, with a certain relief, that it was good that the "Olympic avalanche was over". Those discrepancies were influenced by the fact that in the summer of 1936 they were not able to write anything about gold medals for Polish athletes. It might have been also a result of the load of work they had to do during the Olympic days.

However, in the end the comments of RDT regarding the Olympic Games were rather enthusiastic, almost in line with the interpretation dominating in the propaganda of the Third Reich.

Their enthusiasm expressed strong support for the segment of propaganda and information policy of J. Goebbels, who, after August 16th expressed his deep and undisguised satisfaction of the authorities of the Third Reich with the triumph of the Olympics and the moral and political defeat of supporters of the boycott. On September 1st 1936 W. Długoszewski with passion rejected the accusations of the enemies of the Reich (RDT, 1936, 35).

"One of the biggest accusations brought against the organizers of the Games of the XI Olympiad was the question of supposed German intolerance of other nations. The anti-German agitation pointed to the fact of relegating the Jews from Germany and was proving that there was no guarantee for the peaceful course of the Olympics in Berlin. In practice, such an argumentation was ungrounded. There were hundreds of representatives of other races at the Olympics and I have not heard of any race-based intolerance. Quite the opposite. I have had a lot of evidence how kind and hospitable the Germans were for the "colored" races.

Later in his text, Długoszewski claimed that the Olympics proceeded in a pleasant atmosphere of trust and omnipresent brotherhood. He also gave numerous examples of positive behaviours, i.e.: "Negroes, hated in America, saved the honour of Americans in athletics. Without them, the Americans would not have played any

role... When Owens won, no one at the Stadium asked about his race. The crowd of one thousand people was cheering the black runner.”

According to the author, other foreigners such as the Japanese, the Indians, the Egyptians or the Chinese, were also kindly welcomed. The inhabitants of German towns eagerly listened to the Brazilian folk songs in the evenings and “didn’t think about finding a stick for them”.

There was a clear message coming from the author’s relation aimed at showing the Germans as people by all means tolerant. One would think that the author might not have seen some blatant behaviours. Just the opposite, he was outraged by the posed photographs in which the amateurs of originality purposely collated the representatives of various races, especially Negroes and Asians.

In his opinion, it would paint the whole white race in a bad light. In the end he rushed to explain that “those amateurs of originality were not Germans.”

In the summary, the author manifested his love to the Olympics that had just finished. The best evidence are his words:

“This was the Olympics of records and the record of the Olympics – a record which will never be repeated... When the bell tolled for the last time and the Olympic flame went off one could feel the regret, the regret that the spectacle was over and will never repeat again... Nowhere else one could better feel that the Olympic sport has reached the level that cannot be better... The Games of the XI Olympiad were a powerful anthem in honour of the Olympic idea and every race. The anthem sounded with a great power and there is no hope for it to be repeated ever again.”

Summary

The analysis of the reporting of the journalists of “Raz, Dwa, Trzy” from the The Games of the XI Olympic allows to formulate some judgements. It can be concluded that the narration of the reports fully corresponded with the aforementioned Polish-German Press Agreement of the 7th October 1934 and its basic assumptions. At the same time it was in accordance with the appreciation expressed to German organisers by foreign correspondents. The relations of the correspondents from Cracow indicate that Hitler’s’ regimentation reached its goals also in this environment. Enormous sports and infrastructural investments in the Third Reich, together with incorporating the modern technology, high degree of social discipline and the penchant for order and cleanliness, so typical for Germans, found their expressive reflection in the pages of “Raz, Dwa, Trzy”. Moreover, the triumph of monumental architecture and modern technical civilization was observed from the perspective of a country, which after times of slavery and terrible damage of World War I, could only dream of such infrastructure and organization. It remains an open question to what extent this positive, sometimes enthusiastic picture of Germany as a host of the Olympic Games in Berlin was influenced by the triumph of German sports and rich symbolic and aesthetic sphere.

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