

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
APRIL 12, 1980

PRESIDENT KANE, MEMBERS OF THE USOC HOUSE OF DELEGATES:

As the USOC makes a very serious decision affecting all Americans, I appreciate the chance to speak to you
opportunity

~~I SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ON BEHALF OF THE HONORARY PRESIDENT~~

OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

And I am grateful for the chance you give me this morning

I know that everyone in this room is from our country. And I imagine you are fellow Americans. I decide together to speak to you as fellow Americans determined to serve our nation's best interests

~~NEVER BEFORE HAS THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES FACED A DECISION~~

~~OF THIS GRAVITY. MANY OF YOU -- WHO HAVE MET IN RECENT MONTHS~~

~~WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS -- HAVE SAID~~

~~YOU FOUND THOSE BRIEFINGS HELPFUL. TODAY, AS YOU MAKE THIS~~

~~DIFFICULT DECISION, ALL OF YOU DESERVE TO HEAR OUR CASE. I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE CHANCE YOU GIVE ME THIS MORNING TO BRING THAT MESSAGE TO THE ENTIRE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.~~

AS WE MEET TODAY, HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH. *fatal lives* THE STORY OF FIFTY AMERICAN HOSTAGES STILL *hangs in the balance* LACKS A CLIMAX. THE LESSON OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN STILL WAITS TO BE DRAWN.

HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH -- ~~BUT THE SUSPENSE CUTS DEEPER~~ *than mere uncertainty, deeper than anxiety.* FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NO LESS THAN THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM ITSELF.

IF THE CIVILIZED WORLD CANNOT STAND TOGETHER TO END THE TERRORISM IN TEHERAN, CAN IT EVER STAND SECURE AT ALL? IF ONE NATION *is* CAN SEE ITS CITIES RAVAGED BY SOVIET AGGRESSION, IS ANY SOVEREIGN NATION TRULY SAFE FROM THAT FATE?

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IF THE SPECTRE OF A HUNDRED THOUSAND TROOPS, AND POISON GAS, AND NIGHTLY ASSASSINATIONS FAIL TO ALARM US -- WHAT WILL? IF THE SOVIET LUNGE TOWARD THE MOST STRATEGIC OIL-RICH SPOT ON EARTH FAILS TO UNITE US -- WHAT WILL?

AND IF WE AND OUR ALLIES FAIL TO USE EVERY SINGLE PEACEFUL MEANS WE HAVE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE, WHAT HOPE IS THERE THAT PEACE WILL LONG BE PRESERVED AT ALL?

WHILE HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH, WHILE OUR ALLIES WATCH FOR GUIDANCE, AMERICA HAS MOVED DECISIVELY.

• AFTER MONTHS OF RESTRAINT AND FRUSTRATING NEGOTIATIONS, THE PRESIDENT HAS IMPOSED SANCTIONS ON IRAN, AND HE HAS ASKED OUR ALLIES TO JOIN US.

• TO DELIVER A MESSAGE THAT WILL STING THE SOVIET UNION, THE PRESIDENT HAS EMBARGOED 17 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN.

• HE TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE.

• HE LIMITED SOVIET FISHING IN OUR WATERS.

• HE RAISED THE DEFENSE BUDGET AND ORDERED TO upgrade all aspects of our forces.

• HE STRENGTHENED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

• HE INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES.

• HE HAS OFFERED TO ^{help other states} ASSIST STATES IN THE REGION TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.

• HE HAS EXPLAINED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE ^{to legitimizing their invasion of Afghanistan.} MOSCOW OLYMPICS ARE A ^{blatantly} BLATANT SOVIET BID FOR WORLD LEGITIMACY. ^{Strike and using the}

• AND HE HAS INFORMED THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- AS THE LEADER OF THE ^{world's} FREE NATIONS -- REFUSES TO LET ITS ATHLETES BE CAST AS ^{pawns} PLAYERS IN THAT TAWDRY PROPAGANDA CHARADE.

I STAND BEFORE YOU TO EMPHASIZE THOSE LAST TWO POINTS -- AND TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE QUESTION YOU ARE DECIDING TODAY.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER AMERICANS WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES -- FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL NOT.

It is not a question of whether ^{team} our athletes will be honored -- for the American people ^{deeply} profoundly respect the sacrifice we are asking our ~~team~~ athletes to make.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER PARTICIPATION IN THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CONFERS LEGITIMACY ON SOVIET AGGRESSION. WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRINTS A MILLION HANDBOOKS TO TELL ITS TOP ACTIVISTS THAT THE SUMMER GAMES MEAN WORLD RESPECT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, SURELY THAT ISSUE IS BEHIND US.

NOR IS IT A QUESTION OF WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE INFUSED THE GAMES WITH THEIR POLITICS. WHEN BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF RUBLES ARE DIVERTED TO THE GAMES FROM ^{Soviet domestic} DESPERATE SOCIAL NEEDS;

*(when 4000
isolate and children who might meet Western
people and ideas on the streets are picked off to interval exile;*

~~WHEN RANSOMS OF WESTERN CAPITAL ARE EXTORTED FOR THE RIGHTS TO
REPORT THE GAMES; WHEN MOSCOW ^{and other Olympic cities are} IS PURGED OF DISSIDENTS WHO MIGHT
SPEAK OUT; ^{when the Olympic Games are not held in Moscow} AND CHILDREN WHO MIGHT BEG ON THE STREETS; WHEN A
MASSIVE WESTERN NEWS BLACKOUT IS PLANNED; WHEN SOVIET EMISSARIES
ROAM THE GLOBE TO BRIBE ^{athletes} TEAMS TO COME TO MOSCOW; WHEN SOVIET
SPORTS OFFICIALS ^{distort} OUTRAGEOUSLY MISREPORT THE NUMBER OF TEAMS
COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING -- SURELY, THE POLITICIZATION ISSUE,
TOO, IS BEHIND US.~~

ABOVE ALL, THE DECISION YOU WILL MAKE TODAY IS NOT A
CHOICE BETWEEN BELIEVING THE BOYCOTT TO BE EITHER A SPORTS ISSUE,
OR A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE. FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT
IS A ^{genuine} CRUCIAL ELEMENT OF AMERICA'S ^{response to the invasion of Afghanistan} ~~DEFERENT~~. ~~IT IS AN UNAMBIGUOUS~~
~~STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL RESOLVE.~~ ~~IT IS A KEYSTONE IN OUR CALL~~
~~TO OUR ALLIES FOR SOLIDARITY.~~

NO WORDS SPOKEN TODAY CAN BREAK THAT LINK BETWEEN AMERICA'S
POWER TO CHECK AGGRESSION, AND AMERICA'S CALL FOR AN OLYMPIC
BOYCOTT. YOUR VOTE IS A TEST OF OUR WILL, OUR CONFIDENCE, OUR
VALUES, AND OUR POWER TO KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

IT IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE -- FOR BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES
RESOUNDINGLY SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN CONGRESS. ~~IT IS~~
~~NOT AN ELECTION-YEAR ISSUE -- FOR ALL MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES~~
~~SUPPORT THE BOYCOTT.~~ IT IS NOT A PAROCHIAL ISSUE -- FOR THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY AGREE THAT WE MUST NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

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AND IT IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL ISSUE -- FOR CITIZENS AND
GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ~~LOOK TO THIS HOUSE OF DELEGATES~~ ^{share in judgment.}
~~FOR DIRECTION.~~ ^{Andrei Sakharov, --} FROM HIS EXILE IN GORKY, [^] THE FATHER OF THE
RUSSIAN H-BOMB [^] CALLS ON AMERICA TO LEAD A UNITED INTERNATIONAL
BOYCOTT. FROM LONDON TO BONN TO STRASBOURG TO MELBOURNE,
50 NATIONS AWAIT ^{your} THE SIGNAL TO JOIN US -- AND ^{many more are prepared} SCORES OF OTHERS
READY TO JOIN THE FIFTY.

ATHLETES AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL BODIES
AROUND THE WORLD ARE ~~ASKING YOUR COURAGE~~ ^{present and after needs} TO MOBILIZE THEIR
COMMITMENT -- AND FOR GOOD REASON. TODAY VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRIAL
NATION ON EARTH IS ~~SHOCKINGLY~~ ^{alarmingly dangerous} DEPENDENT ON PERSIAN GULF OIL.
HOW CAN WE CONVINCE THE SOVIETS NOT TO THREATEN THE GULF, IF YOU
DEAL A BLOW TO OUR DETERRENT? HOW CAN OUR GOVERNMENT SEND A
MESSAGE TO MOSCOW, IF TOMORROW'S PRAVDA BRAGS THAT YOU HAVE
REPUDIATED IT? HOW CAN OUR PRESIDENT CONVINCE OUR ALLIES TO
IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON IRAN, IF YOU TURN YOUR BACK ON OUR PRESIDENT?

IT IS FITTING THAT THE SAME ANCIENT NATION THAT GAVE US
THE OLYMPICS ALSO GAVE US DEMOCRACY -- FOR YOUR DECISION HERE IS
TRULY A REFERENDUM ON FREEDOM.

AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON DECENCY. ^{acknowledges} ^{national} ^{values, its character, and its} ^{America's character} ^{and fundamental} ^{values.} THE AMERICAN
^{The} ATHLETES YOU REPRESENT MAY HAVE BEEN BORN A FULL GENERATION AFTER
THE BERLIN OLYMPICS. BUT AS OUR ATHLETES' MENTORS AND TEACHERS,
YOU BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LINKING THAT HISTORY TO THEIR DUTY.

FOR THE STORY OF HITLER'S RISE IS MORE THAN AN UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY,
 MORE THAN A STUDY IN TYRANNY. IT IS ALSO A CHRONICLE OF THE
 FREE WORLD'S FAILURE -- OF OPPORTUNITIES ^{not} UNSEIZED, AGGRESSION
^{not} UNOPPOSED, AND ^{not} APPEASEMENT UNCONDEMNED.

BY THE FALL OF 1935, THE NAZIS HAD PASSED THE NOTORIOUS
 NUREMBURG LAWS REDUCING JEWS TO THE STATUS OF NON-PERSONS. FOR
 A HOPEFUL MOMENT, AMERICAN OPINION WAS GALVANIZED -- AND
 EDITORIALS AND AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY URGED
 A BOYCOTT OF THE BERLIN OLYMPICS.

AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE,
 ERNEST JAHNCKE ^[JANK-ee] MADE THE PLEA MOST ELOQUENTLY WHEN HE WROTE THE
 PRESIDENT OF THE IOC:

"IF OUR COMMITTEE PERMITS THE GAMES TO BE HELD IN
 GERMANY, THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT TO DISTINGUISH
 THE OLYMPIC IDEA FROM THE NAZI IDEAL. . . . IT WILL
 TAKE YEARS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PRESTIGE OF THE GAMES
 AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.
 SPORT WILL LOSE ITS BEAUTY AND ITS NOBILITY AND BECOME,
 AS IT HAS ALREADY BECOME IN NAZI GERMANY, AN UGLY,
 IGNOBLE AFFAIR."

THE CALL FOR A BOYCOTT WAS REJECTED. AND THE REASONS
 FOR REJECTION ARE BONE-CHILLING -- EVEN ACROSS ALL THESE YEARS.

DON'T DRAG SPORTS INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL ONLY PENALIZE OUR AMERICAN ATHLETES, THEY WERE TOLD. SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SPORTING BODIES, THEY WERE TOLD. LET US TAKE OUR JEWS AND BLACKS TO BERLIN AND BEAT THE NAZIS, THEY WERE TOLD. IF AMERICA REFUSES TO GO, WE WILL BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT OUT IN THE COLD, THEY WERE TOLD.

SUCH REASONS PREVAILED. ONLY WEEKS AFTER AMERICAN ATTENDANCE WAS ASSURED, NAZI TROOPS TOOK THE RHINELAND -- AND HITLER READIED GERMANY FOR THE GAMES. HIS PREPARATIONS CAST UNCANNY FORESHADOWS. FOR HE, ~~TOO~~^{too}, EXPELLED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS WHO ~~WROTE~~^{had} THE TRUTH ABOUT PERSECUTION. HE, ~~TOO~~^{too}, ORDERED HIS VICIOUS PROPAGANDA CONCEALED FROM FOREIGN VISITORS. ~~HE~~^{only}, TOO, LOOKED FORWARD TO LEGITIMACY. AS JOSEPH GOEBBELS BOASTED ON THE EVE OF THE OLYMPICS, THE REICH EXPECTED THE GAMES "TO TURN THE TRICK AND CREATE A FRIENDLY WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD NAZI POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND RACIAL AIMS."

Nazi War Minister

IT WORKED. LISTEN TO ALBERT SPEER'S REPORT ON THE FUHRER'S MOOD AS THE HAPPY SPECTATORS LEFT BERLIN:

"HITLER WAS EXULTING OVER THE HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAILED. . . . INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARD NAZI GERMANY WAS PLAINLY A THING OF THE PAST, HE THOUGHT."

LIKE YOU, I UNDERSTAND THE IDEALS OF SPORT -- FOR ^{am in awe of} SPORTSMANSHIP IS SYNONYMOUS WITH FAIR PLAY. LIKE YOU, I UNDERSTAND ^{Olympic tradition -- stretching over centuries, ~~massed~~ reaching out across cultures.} ~~THE SANCTITY OF THE GAMES -- FOR THE OLYMPICS ARE ALSO A RITE OF~~ ARMISTICE.

BUT I ALSO KNOW, AS YOU KNOW, THAT SOME GOALS SURPASS
EVEN PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT. TO ANY YOUNG ATHLETES WHO FEEL
SINGLED OUT FOR SUFFERING, I SAY, IT IS WAR THAT SINGLES OUT OUR
YOUNG FOR SUFFERING. 91 ASK THE FARMERS OF THE MIDLANDS IF THEY
HAVE SACRIFICED -- AND THEY WILL TELL YOU NOT HOW THE PRICE OF
WHEAT HAS FALLEN, BUT HOW THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA HAS RISEN.

Ask the workers in the steel and aluminum industries if they have sacrificed. Ask the computer companies. Ask the young military aviators whose products have been embargoed. Ask the young sailors in the Indian Ocean task force. Ask the American families who have lost loved ones.

Because years of planning have come undone.

of planning have been come undone.)

Ask the American Ambassador families whose taxes represent our defense budget. Ask the higher ^{forces} ~~higher~~ who are ~~not~~ ^{highly interested in} ~~the Smiths do not~~ ^{in El field in Moscow,}

~~but in the past times~~
but as a resistance fighter in Kabul.

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enormous price
the Olympics

WE RECOGNIZE ~~WHAT~~ WE ARE ASKING OF OUR ATHLETES. *480* WE
RECOGNIZE THE TOLL THIS WILL TAKE ON YOU. BUT IF THIS HOUSE OF
DELEGATES ACCEPTS THE UNDENIABLE NATIONAL CONSENSUS THAT OUR
COUNTRY DOES NOT WISH TO SEND ITS ATHLETES TO MOSCOW, THEN ON
BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES I ASSURE YOU THAT
OUR NATION WILL DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER

- ~~• TO PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE ARENAS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION;~~
- ~~• TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE LOS ANGELES GAMES;~~
- ~~• TO EXPLORE THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT SUMMER SITE IN GREECE;~~
- TO HELP THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE RESTORE ITS FINANCES AND PROVIDE EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMATEUR SPORT;
- AND ABOVE ALL, TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEROISM OF OUR ATHLETES WHO DO NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS YEAR'S OLYMPIC TEAM WILL BE
HONORED BY AMERICANS WITH AS MUCH PRIDE AND ENTHUSIASM AND LOVE
AS ANY PAST MEDAL WINNERS RECEIVED.

2 AND I *9* ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT WILL BE
FOREVER STRENGTHENED BY YOUR COURAGE -- AND THEIRS -- TODAY.
FOR ~~AT LAST~~ YOU WILL HAVE ~~TRULY ENDOWED~~ *grow rooted to* THE MODERN OLYMPICS *the ancient spirit of the gods."* WITH
~~A PRINCIPLE FROM ITS ANCIENT PAST: THAT NO NATION MAY SERVE AS~~
THE OLYMPIC HOST WHILE INVADING AND SUBJUGATING ANOTHER: *that has the*
rule in the Greek city-states, and that must be the rule once more.

an Olympic official took his stand against Berlin,

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN ERNEST JAHNCKE MADE HIS PLEA
TO KEEP AMERICAN ATHLETES FROM GOING TO BERLIN, HE SAID THIS:

pret "LET ME URGE UPON YOU THAT YOU PLACE YOUR GREAT TALENTS
AND INFLUENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE SPIRIT OF FAIR PLAY
AND CHIVALRY -- INSTEAD OF THE SERVICE OF BRUTALITY,
FORCE, AND POWER."

HE CONCLUDED BY RECALLING THE IDEALS OF BARON DE COUBERTIN, THE
FOUNDER OF THE MODERN OLYMPIC MOVEMENT:

"LET ME BESEECH YOU," HE SAID TO THE IOC, "TO TAKE
YOUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLYMPICS,
ALONGSIDE OF DE COUBERTIN, INSTEAD OF HITLER.
DE COUBERTIN RESCUED THE OLYMPIC IDEA ^{has been rescued} FROM THE
REMOTE PAST. YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESCUE
IT FROM THE IMMEDIATE PRESENT -- AND SAFEGUARD IT
FOR POSTERITY."

HIS WORDS FELL ON DEAF EARS ONCE -- BUT TODAY THEY REACH OUT TO
US ACROSS THE DECADES. HISTORY RARELY OFFERS US A SECOND CHANCE.
IF WE FAIL TO SEIZE ^{this one,} IT, HISTORY ITSELF MAY FAIL US.

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
APRIL 12, 1980

PRESIDENT KANE, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES:

AS THE USOC MAKES A VERY SERIOUS DECISION AFFECTING ALL AMERICANS, I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO YOU ON BEHALF OF THE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. ⁹ I KNOW THAT EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM LOVES OUR COUNTRY. AND I SPEAK TO YOU AS PATRIOTIC FELLOW AMERICANS DETERMINED TO SERVE OUR NATION'S BEST INTERESTS. ^{both ~~substantive~~ American ~~Paralympic~~ Sport, and}

AS WE MEET TODAY, ~~HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH. THE LIVES OF FIFTY AMERICAN HOSTAGES STILL HANGS IN THE BALANCE. THE LESSON OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN STILL WAITS TO BE DRAWN.~~

HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH -- FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NO LESS THAN THE FUTURE ^{security of the free world.} ~~OF FREEDOM ITSELF.~~

~~IF THE CIVILIZED WORLD CANNOT STAND TOGETHER TO END THE TERRORISM IN TEHERAN, CAN IT EVER STAND SECURE AT ALL?~~ ⁹ IF ONE NATION ^{can be subjected} ~~IS RAVAGED~~ BY SOVIET AGGRESSION, IS ANY SOVEREIGN NATION TRULY SAFE FROM THAT FATE?

IF A HUNDRED THOUSAND SOVIET TROOPS, AND THE BARBARIC USE OF POISON GAS, AND THE SPECTRE OF NIGHTLY ASSASSINATIONS FAIL TO ALARM US -- WHAT WILL? IF THE SOVIET LUNGE TOWARD THE MOST STRATEGIC OIL-RICH POINT ON EARTH FAILS TO UNITE US -- WHAT WILL?

AND IF WE AND OUR ALLIES FAIL TO USE EVERY SINGLE PEACEFUL MEANS WE HAVE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE, WHAT HOPE IS THERE THAT PEACE WILL LONG BE PRESERVED AT ALL?

WHILE HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH, WHILE OUR ALLIES WATCH ~~FOR GUIDANCE~~ ^{significance} AMERICA HAS MOVED DECISIVELY. *To show the Soviet Union that the President cannot and will not invade another nation without warning, and still conduct business as usual with the United States,*

• AFTER MONTHS OF RESTRAINT AND PAINSTAKING NEGOTIATIONS, THE PRESIDENT HAS IMPOSED SANCTIONS ON IRAN, AND HE HAS ASKED OUR ALLIES TO JOIN US. ~~that it cannot~~

~~TO DELIVER A MESSAGE THAT HAS STUNG THE SOVIET UNION~~ ^{show}
• THE PRESIDENT HAS EMBARGOED 17 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN.

- HE HAS TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE.
- HE HAS LIMITED SOVIET FISHING IN OUR WATERS.
- HE HAS RAISED OUR DEFENSE BUDGET TO UPGRADE ALL ASPECTS OF OUR FORCES.
- HE HAS STRENGTHENED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.
- HE HAS INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES.

- HE HAS OFFERED TO HELP OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES IN THE REGION TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.

- HE HAS EXPLAINED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE BLATANTLY USING THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS TO LEGITIMIZE THEIR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

- AND HE HAS INFORMED THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- AS THE LEADER OF THE WORLD'S FREE NATIONS -- REFUSES TO LET ITS ATHLETES BE CAST AS PAWNS IN THAT TAWDRY PROPAGANDA CHARADE.

I STAND BEFORE YOU TO EMPHASIZE THOSE LAST TWO POINTS -- AND TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE QUESTION YOU ARE DECIDING TODAY.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER AMERICANS WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES -- FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL NOT.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR TEAM WILL BE HONORED -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DEEPLY RESPECT THE SACRIFICE WE ARE ASKING OUR ATHLETES TO MAKE.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER PARTICIPATION IN THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CONFERS LEGITIMACY ON SOVIET AGGRESSION. WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRINTS A MILLION HANDBOOKS TO TELL ITS TOP ACTIVISTS THAT THE SUMMER GAMES MEAN WORLD RESPECT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, SURELY THAT ISSUE IS BEHIND US.

NOR IS IT A QUESTION OF WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE INFUSED THE GAMES WITH THEIR POLITICS. WHEN BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF RUBLES ARE DIVERTED TO THE GAMES FROM SOVIET DOMESTIC NEEDS; WHEN MOSCOW AND OTHER OLYMPIC CITIES ARE PURGED OF DISSIDENTS WHO MIGHT SPEAK OUT; WHEN SOVIET CHILDREN WHO MIGHT MEET WESTERN PEOPLE AND IDEAS ON THE STREETS ARE PACKED OFF TO INTERNAL EXILE; WHEN SOVIET EMISSARIES ROAM THE GLOBE TO BRIBE ATHLETES TO COME TO MOSCOW; WHEN SOVIET SPORTS OFFICIALS DISTORT THE NUMBER OF TEAMS COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING -- SURELY, THE POLITICIZATION ISSUE, TOO, IS BEHIND US.

ABOVE ALL, THE DECISION YOU WILL MAKE TODAY IS NOT A CHOICE BETWEEN BELIEVING THE BOYCOTT TO BE EITHER A SPORTS ISSUE, OR A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE. FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT IS A GENUINE ELEMENT OF AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. IT IS AN UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL RESOLVE. IT IS A KEYSTONE IN OUR CALL TO OUR ALLIES FOR SOLIDARITY.

NO WORDS SPOKEN TODAY CAN BREAK THAT LINK BETWEEN AMERICA'S POWER TO CHECK AGGRESSION, AND AMERICA'S CALL FOR AN OLYMPIC BOYCOTT. YOUR VOTE IS A TEST OF OUR WILL, OUR CONFIDENCE, OUR VALUES, AND OUR POWER TO KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

IT IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE -- FOR BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES RESOUNDINGLY SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN CONGRESS. IT IS NOT A PAROCHIAL ISSUE -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY AGREE THAT WE MUST NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

AND IT IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL ISSUE -- FOR CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SHARE OUR JUDGMENT. FROM HIS EXILE IN GORKY, ANDREI SAKHAROV -- THE FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN H-BOMB -- CALLS ON AMERICA TO LEAD A UNITED INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT. FROM LONDON TO BONN TO STRASBOURG TO MELBOURNE, 50 NATIONS AWAIT YOUR SIGNAL TO JOIN US -- AND MANY MORE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN THE FIFTY.

ATHLETES AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL BODIES AROUND THE WORLD ARE READY TO MOBILIZE THEIR COMMITMENT -- AND FOR GOOD REASON. TODAY VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRIAL NATION ON EARTH IS DANGEROUSLY DEPENDENT ON PERSIAN GULF OIL. How ^{could} CAN WE CONVINCE THE SOVIETS NOT TO THREATEN THE GULF, IF YOU DEAL A BLOW TO OUR DETERRENT? How ^{could} CAN OUR GOVERNMENT SEND A MESSAGE TO MOSCOW, IF TOMORROW'S PRAYDA BRAGS THAT YOU HAVE REPUDIATED IT? How ^{could} CAN OUR PRESIDENT CONVINCE OUR ALLIES TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON IRAN, IF YOU TURN ^{ed} YOUR BACK ON OUR PRESIDENT?

IT IS FITTING THAT THE SAME ANCIENT NATION THAT GAVE US THE OLYMPICS ALSO GAVE US DEMOCRACY -- FOR YOUR DECISION HERE IS TRULY A REFERENDUM ON FREEDOM.

AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON AMERICA'S CHARACTER AND FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. THE ATHLETES YOU REPRESENT MAY HAVE BEEN BORN A FULL GENERATION AFTER THE BERLIN OLYMPICS. BUT AS OUR ATHLETES' MENTORS, ~~AND TEACHERS,~~⁹ YOU BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LINKING THAT HISTORY TO THEIR DUTY. FOR THE STORY OF HITLER'S RISE IS MORE THAN AN UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY, MORE THAN A STUDY IN TYRANNY. IT IS ALSO A CHRONICLE OF THE FREE WORLD'S FAILURE -- OF OPPORTUNITIES NOT SEIZED, AGGRESSION NOT ~~NOT~~²POSED, APPEASEMENT NOT CONDEMNED.

BY THE FALL OF 1935, THE NAZIS HAD PASSED THE NOTORIOUS NUREMBURG LAWS REDUCING JEWS TO THE STATUS OF NON-PERSONS. FOR A HOPEFUL MOMENT, AMERICAN OPINION WAS GALVANIZED -- AND EDITORIALS AND AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY URGED A BOYCOTT OF THE BERLIN OLYMPICS.

AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ERNEST JAHNCKE [JANK-EE], MADE THE PLEA MOST ELOQUENTLY WHEN HE WROTE THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC:

"IF OUR COMMITTEE PERMITS THE GAMES TO BE HELD IN GERMANY, THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT TO DISTINGUISH THE OLYMPIC IDEA FROM THE NAZI IDEAL. . . . IT WILL TAKE YEARS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PRESTIGE OF THE GAMES AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. SPORT WILL LOSE ITS BEAUTY AND ITS NOBILITY AND BECOME, AS IT HAS ALREADY BECOME IN NAZI GERMANY, AN UGLY, IGNOBLE AFFAIR."

THE CALL FOR A BOYCOTT WAS REJECTED. AND THE REASONS FOR REJECTION ARE BONE-CHILLING -- EVEN ACROSS ALL THESE YEARS.

DON'T DRAG SPORTS INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL ONLY PENALIZE OUR AMERICAN ATHLETES, THEY WERE TOLD. SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SPORTING BODIES, THEY WERE TOLD. LET US TAKE OUR JEWS AND BLACKS TO BERLIN AND BEAT THE NAZIS, THEY WERE TOLD. IF AMERICA REFUSES TO GO, WE WILL BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT OUT IN THE COLD, THEY WERE TOLD.

SUCH REASONS PREVAILED. ONLY WEEKS AFTER AMERICAN ATTENDANCE WAS ASSURED, NAZI TROOPS TOOK THE RHINELAND -- AND HITLER READIED GERMANY FOR THE GAMES. HIS PREPARATIONS CAST UNCANNY FORESHADOWS. FOR HE EXPELLED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS WHO TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT PERSECUTION. HE ORDERED HIS VICIOUS PROPAGANDA CONCEALED FROM FOREIGN VISITORS. AND HE, TOO, LOOKED FORWARD TO LEGITIMACY. AS JOSEPH GOEBBELS BOASTED ON THE EVE OF THE OLYMPICS, THE REICH EXPECTED THE GAMES "TO TURN THE TRICK AND CREATE A FRIENDLY WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD NAZI POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND RACIAL AIMS."

IT WORKED. ^ LISTEN TO NAZI WAR MINISTER ALBERT SPEER'S REPORT ON THE FUHRER'S MOOD AS THE HAPPY SPECTATORS LEFT BERLIN:

*Not even Jesse Owens' triumph
presented ~~the~~ Hitler's international
propaganda success.*

"HITLER WAS EXULTING OVER THE HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAILED. . . . INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARD NAZI GERMANY WAS PLAINLY A THING OF THE PAST, HE THOUGHT."

BEFORE LONG, THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WERE OPERATING BRISKLY -- AND SOON THE NIGHT CLOSED IN.

WE ARE FAR FROM THAT TIME -- BUT NOT FROM THAT SCRIPT.

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WE RECOGNIZE THE ENORMOUS PRICE WE ARE ASKING OUR ATHLETES TO PAY. ~~WE RECOGNIZE THE TOLL THIS WILL TAKE ON YOU~~ ^{asked price tremendous sacrifice we ask of you} BUT IF THIS HOUSE OF DELEGATES ACCEPTS THE UNDENIABLE NATIONAL CONSENSUS THAT OUR COUNTRY DOES NOT WISH TO SEND ITS ATHLETES TO MOSCOW, THEN ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES I ASSURE YOU THAT OUR NATION WILL DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER.

- TO HELP THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE RESTORE ITS FINANCES AND PROVIDE EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMATEUR SPORT;
- AND ABOVE ALL, TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEROISM OF OUR ATHLETES WHO DO NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

¹⁰
9 We are grateful for the help you have already given us with the IOC. Add ~~all~~ all Americans ^{will}
Thank you for the further insight you can give to amateur sport today. 9 Fr
10 I BELIEVE THAT THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT WILL BE FOREVER
STRENGTHENED BY YOUR COURAGE. -- AND THEIRS -- TODAY. 2 FOR YOU
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OF THE GODS;" ~~it said~~ "NO NATION MAY SERVE AS THE OLYMPIC HOST WHILE
INVADING AND SUBJUGATING ANOTHER: THAT WAS THE RULE FOR THE
GREEK CITY-STATES, AND THAT MUST BE THE RULE ONCE MORE.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN AN OLYMPIC OFFICIAL TOOK HIS
STAND AGAINST BERLIN, HE SAID THIS:

"PLACE YOUR GREAT TALENTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE
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RESCUE IT FROM THE IMMEDIATE PRESENT -- AND TO
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HIS WORDS FELL ON DEAF EARS ONCE -- BUT TODAY THEY REACH OUT TO
US ACROSS THE DECADES. HISTORY RARELY OFFERS US A SECOND CHANCE.
IF WE FAIL TO SEIZE THIS ONE, HISTORY ITSELF MAY FAIL US.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
APRIL 12, 1980

PRESIDENT KANE, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES:

~~AS THE USOC MAKES A VERY SERIOUS DECISION AFFECTING ALL~~
~~AMERICANS,~~ I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO YOU ON BEHALF
OF THE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE -- THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I KNOW THAT EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM LOVES OUR COUNTRY.
AND I SPEAK TO YOU AS ~~PATRIOTIC FELLOW AMERICANS~~ ^{dedicated folks} DETERMINED TO
~~SERVE BOTH AMERICAN AMATEUR SPORT, AND OUR NATION'S BEST INTERESTS.~~

^{Citizen sincerely dedicated to America's best interests}
AS WE MEET TODAY, THE LESSON OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF
AFGHANISTAN STILL WAITS TO BE DRAWN.

HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH -- FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NO
LESS THAN THE FUTURE SECURITY OF THE ^{civilized} FREE WORLD.

IF ONE NATION CAN BE SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET AGGRESSION,
IS ANY SOVEREIGN NATION TRULY SAFE FROM THAT FATE? IF A HUNDRED
THOUSAND SOVIET TROOPS, AND THE BARBARIC USE OF ^{lethal} POISON GAS, AND
THE SPECTRE OF NIGHTLY ASSASSINATIONS ^{-- if true} FAIL TO ALARM US, ^W WHAT WILL?
IF THE SOVIET LUNGE TOWARD THE MOST STRATEGIC OIL-RICH ^{point} POINT ON
EARTH FAILS TO UNITE US, ^W WHAT WILL?

AND IF WE AND OUR ALLIES FAIL TO USE EVERY SINGLE PEACEFUL MEANS ^{available} ~~WE HAVE~~ TO PRESERVE THE PEACE, WHAT HOPE IS THERE THAT PEACE WILL LONG BE PRESERVED? ~~AT ALL?~~ *e*

WHILE HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH, AMERICA HAS MOVED DECISIVELY. TO SHOW THE SOVIET UNION THAT IT CANNOT INVADE ANOTHER NATION AND STILL CONDUCT BUSINESS AS USUAL WITH THE UNITED STATES, *our countrymen*

- ~~THE PRESIDENT HAS EMBARGOED 17 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN;~~
 - ~~HE HAS TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE;~~
 - ~~HE HAS LIMITED SOVIET FISHING IN OUR WATERS;~~
 - ~~HE HAS RAISED OUR DEFENSE BUDGET TO UPGRADE ALL ASPECTS OF OUR FORCES;~~
 - ~~HE HAS STRENGTHENED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN;~~
 - ~~HE HAS INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES; and~~
 - ~~HE HAS OFFERED TO HELP OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES IN THE REGION TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.~~ *in an unprecedented majority*
- As in the UN General Assembly, the ^{United States} joined more than a hundred nations on the UN General Assembly calling for the immediate, total and unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.*
- ~~HE HAS EXPLAINED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE BLATANTLY USING THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS TO LEGITIMIZE~~

~~THEIR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.~~

← But what about the President, the Congress, and the American people understood that the world trends to the Moscow side? Same old verbal condemnation devalues its condemnation and encourages its offers to Soviet propaganda.

and convinced that the American people

AND HE HAS INFORMED THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- AS THE LEADER OF THE WORLD'S FREE NATIONS --

REFUSES TO LET ^{their} ITS ATHLETES BE CAST AS PAWNS IN THAT TAWDRY PROPAGANDA CHARADE. *And I urge you to reflect that consensus is undeniable*

I STAND BEFORE YOU TO EMPHASIZE THOSE LAST TWO POINTS -- AND TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE QUESTION YOU ARE DECIDING TODAY.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER AMERICANS WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES -- FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL NOT.

of your decision today IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR TEAM WILL BE HONORED -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DEEPLY RESPECT THE SACRIFICE WE ARE ASKING OUR ATHLETES TO MAKE.

long IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER PARTICIPATION IN THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CONFERS LEGITIMACY ON SOVIET AGGRESSION. WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRINTS A MILLION HANDBOOKS TO TELL ITS TOP ACTIVISTS THAT THE SUMMER GAMES MEAN WORLD RESPECT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, SURELY THAT ISSUE IS BEHIND US.

NOR IS IT A QUESTION OF WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE INFUSED THE GAMES WITH THEIR POLITICS. WHEN BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF RUBLES ARE DIVERTED TO THE GAMES FROM SOVIET DOMESTIC NEEDS;

The line between Soviet sports and Soviet politics has long been increasingly blurred

WHEN MOSCOW AND OTHER OLYMPIC CITIES ARE PURGED OF DISSIDENTS
 WHO MIGHT SPEAK OUT; WHEN SOVIET CHILDREN WHO MIGHT MEET WESTERN
 PEOPLE AND IDEAS ON THE STREETS ARE PACKED OFF TO INTERNAL EXILE;
 WHEN SOVIET EMISSARIES ROAM THE GLOBE ^{offerings} ~~TO BRIBE~~ ^{expense-free trips} ATHLETES ~~TO COME~~
 TO MOSCOW; WHEN SOVIET SPORTS OFFICIALS DISTORT THE NUMBER OF
 TEAMS COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING -- SURELY, THE ^{and a} ~~POLITICIZATION~~
 ISSUE ^{also} ~~IS~~ ^{IS} BEHIND US.

of Soviet politics in Soviet sports

ABOVE ALL, THE DECISION YOU WILL MAKE TODAY IS NOT A
 CHOICE BETWEEN BELIEVING THE BOYCOTT TO BE EITHER A SPORTS ISSUE,
 OR A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE. ^{and the anti-Soviet} ~~FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED~~
~~STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT~~
 IS A GENUINE ELEMENT OF AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO THE INVASION OF
 AFGHANISTAN. IT IS AN UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL
 RESOLVE. IT IS A KEYSTONE IN OUR CALL TO OUR ALLIES FOR SOLIDARITY.

We must not -- and cannot --
~~NO WORDS SPOKEN TODAY CAN BREAK THAT LINK BETWEEN AMERICA'S~~
 POWER TO CHECK AGGRESSION, AND AMERICA'S CALL FOR AN OLYMPIC
 BOYCOTT. YOUR VOTE IS A TEST OF OUR WILL, OUR CONFIDENCE, OUR
 VALUES, AND OUR POWER TO KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

IT IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE -- FOR BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES
 RESOUNDINGLY SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN CONGRESS. IT IS
 NOT A PAROCHIAL ISSUE -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY
 AGREE THAT WE MUST NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

AND IT IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL ISSUE -- FOR CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SHARE OUR JUDGMENT. FROM HIS EXILE IN GORKY, ANDREI SAKHAROV -- THE FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN H-BOMB -- CALLS ON AMERICA, TO LEAD A UNITED INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT. *Saying that "a united position on the Moscow Olympic games must be taken by leading political and sports powers"*

This morning, as many as FROM LONDON TO BONN TO STRASBOURG TO MELBOURNE, 50 NATIONS AWAIT YOUR SIGNAL TO JOIN US. -- AND MANY MORE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN THE FIFTY.

obviously be a basic part of the world's response.

ATHLETES AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL BODIES AROUND THE WORLD *await your lead* ARE READY TO MOBILIZE THEIR COMMITMENT. *They do so* AND FOR GOOD REASON. TODAY VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRIAL NATION ON EARTH IS DANGEROUSLY DEPENDENT ON PERSIAN GULF OIL. HOW *can* ~~COULD~~ WE CONVINCE THE SOVIETS NOT TO THREATEN THE GULF, IF YOU DEAL A BLOW TO OUR DETERRENT? HOW *can* ~~COULD~~ OUR GOVERNMENT SEND A MESSAGE TO MOSCOW, IF TOMORROW'S PRAVDA BRAGS THAT YOU HAVE REPUDIATED IT? HOW *can* ~~COULD~~ OUR PRESIDENT CONVINCE OUR ALLIES TO *join our economic* ~~IMPOSE~~ SANCTIONS ON IRAN, IF YOU TURNED YOUR BACK ON OUR PRESIDENT?

IT IS FITTING THAT THE SAME ANCIENT NATION THAT GAVE US THE OLYMPICS ALSO GAVE US DEMOCRACY -- FOR YOUR DECISION HERE IS TRULY A REFERENDUM ON FREEDOM.

AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON AMERICA'S CHARACTER AND FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. THE ATHLETES, YOU REPRESENT *may have been* MAY HAVE BEEN BORN A FULL GENERATION AFTER THE BERLIN OLYMPICS. BUT AS *their advisors* ~~OUR~~ *and trustees,* ATHLETES' MENTORS, YOU BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LINKING THAT HISTORY TO THEIR DUTY. FOR THE STORY OF HITLER'S RISE IS MORE THAN AN UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY, MORE THAN A STUDY IN TYRANNY.

IT IS ALSO A CHRONICLE OF THE FREE WORLD'S FAILURE -- OF OPPORTUNITIES NOT SEIZED, AGGRESSION NOT OPPOSED, APPEASEMENT NOT CONDEMNED.

BY THE FALL OF 1935, THE NAZIS HAD PASSED THE NOTORIOUS NUREMBURG LAWS REDUCING JEWS TO THE STATUS OF NON-PERSONS ^{and were flexing their military muscle.} FOR A HOPEFUL MOMENT, AMERICAN OPINION WAS GALVANIZED -- AND EDITORIALS AND AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY URGED A BOYCOTT OF THE BERLIN OLYMPICS.

AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ERNEST JAHNCKE [JANK-EE], MADE THE PLEA MOST ELOQUENTLY WHEN HE WROTE THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC:

"IF OUR COMMITTEE PERMITS THE GAMES TO BE HELD IN GERMANY, THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT TO DISTINGUISH THE OLYMPIC IDEA FROM THE NAZI IDEAL. . . .IT WILL TAKE YEARS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PRESTIGE OF THE GAMES AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. SPORT WILL LOSE ITS BEAUTY AND ITS NOBILITY AND BECOME, AS IT HAS ALREADY BECOME IN NAZI GERMANY, AN UGLY, IGNOBLE AFFAIR."

THE CALL FOR A BOYCOTT WAS REJECTED. AND THE REASONS FOR REJECTION ARE BONE-CHILLING -- EVEN ACROSS ALL THESE YEARS.

DON'T DRAG SPORTS INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL ONLY PENALIZE OUR AMERICAN ATHLETES, THEY WERE TOLD. SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SPORTING BODIES, THEY WERE TOLD. LET US TAKE OUR JEWS AND BLACKS TO BERLIN AND BEAT THE NAZIS, THEY WERE TOLD. IF AMERICA REFUSES TO GO, WE WILL BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT OUT IN THE COLD, THEY WERE TOLD.

SUCH REASONS PREVAILED. ONLY WEEKS AFTER AMERICAN ATTENDANCE WAS ASSURED, NAZI TROOPS TOOK THE RHINELAND -- AND HITLER READIED GERMANY FOR THE GAMES. HIS PREPARATIONS CAST UNCANNY FORESHADOWS. FOR HE EXPELLED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS WHO TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT PERSECUTION. HE ORDERED HIS VICIOUS PROPAGANDA CONCEALED FROM FOREIGN VISITORS. AND HE, TOO, LOOKED FORWARD TO LEGITIMACY. AS JOSEPH GOEBBELS BOASTED ON THE EVE OF THE OLYMPICS, THE REICH EXPECTED THE GAMES "TO TURN THE TRICK AND CREATE A FRIENDLY WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD NAZI POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND RACIAL AIMS."

magnificent person

test
IT WORKED. NOT EVEN JESSE OWENS' TRIUMPH ~~PREVENTED~~ HITLER'S INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA SUCCESS. LISTEN TO NAZI WAR MINISTER ALBERT SPEER'S REPORT ON THE FUHRER'S MOOD AS THE HAPPY SPECTATORS LEFT BERLIN:

*- a coup he
linked directly to
his master
race
doctrine*

*of a host country
committed to the master
race doctrine.*

diminished

"HITLER WAS EXULTING OVER THE HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAILED. . . . INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARD NAZI GERMANY WAS PLAINLY A THING OF THE PAST, HE THOUGHT."

scorched
~~Before long, the Nazi war machine was moving across Europe --~~
 BEFORE LONG, ~~THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WERE OPERATING BRISKLY~~
 AND SOON THE NIGHT CLOSED IN.

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- *to assume the reins of the Los Angeles Games;*
- TO HELP THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE RESTORE ITS FINANCES;
- *AND* PROVIDE EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMATEUR SPORT;
- AND ABOVE ALL, TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEROISM OF OUR ATHLETES WHO DO NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

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