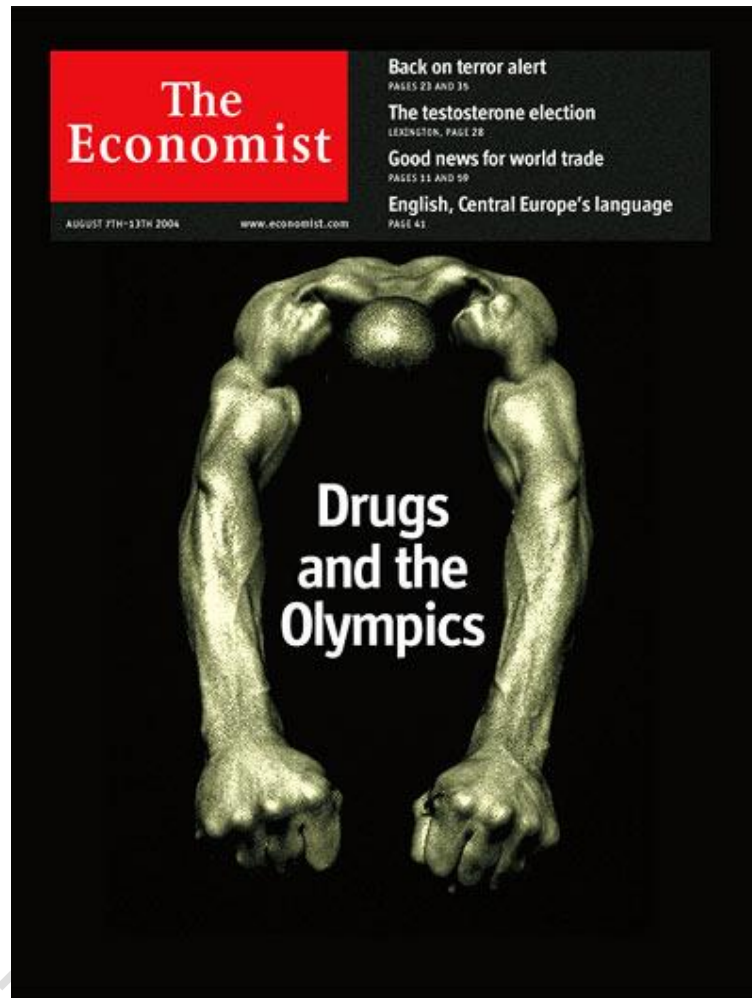


**Trojan Horses and the New Imperialism:
The IOC, High-Performance Sport and
Biotechnology**



August 7-23, 2004¹

Very often the *normalcy of sports* is the most important thing a child needs...Sports is an *international language*, and so it *brings credibility* about the importance. Sport helps people come together. Sports is a language children understand, and this is a way to inform, educate, to bring in, to *make young people feel less vulnerable*. (Carol Bellamy UNICEF Executive Director at an Olympic Aid Roundtable at the 2002 Olympics as quoted in, Qualter Berna, 2002, emphasis added)

¹ According to the BBC News, doping was one of this year's main issues, alongside the US elections, the insurgency in Iraq, and Yasser Arafat's death (<http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk>). This particular issue of *The Economist* argued in more than one of its articles that there were "no right or wrong answers...Indeed, such questions are wholly ill-suited to being answered with a blanket rule imposed by a single quasi-governmental global body that tends to see complex issues as black and white, and to demonise those who disagree with it – such as WADA (World Anti-Doping Agency)" (Editorial, 2004). Let us put aside the racist under/overtones this particular image draws upon, at least for the moment.

Now, however, change your song and *tell us of the construction of the wooden horse* which Epeios made with the assistance of Athena and which Odysseus got by *stratagem* into the fort of Troy after freighting it with the men who afterwards sacked the city....The bard, inspired by a god, lit up the picture of his story, starting at the point where some of the Argives set fire to their tents and sailed away while others, *hidden within the horse*, were waiting with Odysseus in the Trojan place of assembly. *For the Trojans themselves had drawn the horse into their fortress*, and it stood there while they sat in council round it, and were in three minds as to what they should do. Some were for breaking it up then and there; others would have it dragged to the top of the rock on which the fortress stood, and then thrown down the precipice; *while yet others were for letting it remain as an offering and propitiation for the gods*. And this was how they settled it in the end, for the city was doomed when it took in that horse, within which were all the bravest of the Argives waiting to bring death and destruction on the Trojans². (emphasis added, Homer, ????, book 8, line 490)

Introduction

What do sport, biotechnology, Greek myth and the new imperialism have to do with one another? Should we still "beware Greeks bearing gifts?" Does the resurrection of the Modern Olympics share a conflated past with the Aryan model of Western civilization and the Rockefeller Foundation's "Science of Man" agenda³? Is Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the Modern Olympics, a modern incarnation of Homer's Greek Odysseus from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the warrior who crafted the Trojan

² It is commonly thought that the story of the Trojan horse is from Homer's *Iliad*; in fact, it is from the *Odyssey*, the tale of the return of Odysseus who fought in Troy. It is storied in Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, written in Latin, which fills in the gaps between Homer's two works.

³ The Foundation program targeted vast sums of money and resources toward research that promoted applications in human engineering, relations and behavior, in particular the fields of biology and psychology. "Can man gain control of his own power? Can we develop so sound and extensive a genetics that we can hope to breed, in the future, superior men?...Can man acquire enough knowledge of his own vital processes so that we can hope to rationalize human behaviour? Can we, in short, create a new science of man?" (excerpts from Fosdick The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation as quoted in, Kay, 1993, p. 45).

horse strategy that fell the city of Troy? Are his IOC successors, such as former president Juan Antonio Samaranch, modern day "Rockefeller men"?

As the cover of the August 25th issue of *The Economist* suggests, drugs and Olympic sport seem to be two sides of the same coin⁴. Human engineering in one form or another is rampant in sport at all levels. This paper is not meant to argue the moral, ethical or practical issues of modern-day manifestations of eugenics,⁵ such as doping and gene therapy, not because of their lack of importance, but because this line of inquiry distracts its audience from a more complicated beginning. This beginning reveals both a shared history and a rewritten past. The intent of this paper, then, is to embark on a tracing of eugenics and its scientific predecessors in the domain of sport and to make connections between the inception and rise of the Modern Olympic Games and other documented histories which share ideologically-based eugenics projects (Haraway, 1989; Kay, 1993).

This paper suggests that the International Olympic Committee (IOC), its product (i.e., the Modern Olympic Games) and its services (i.e., the Olympic Movement⁶) utilize sport, in both its elite and recreational forms, under the guise of human rights, peace and economic development, to create a culturally palatable and ideologically resilient platform for racial domination and an economic platform for the expansion of

⁴ Actually the picture suggests more than this conflation: (1) drugs and the black athlete (2) the black athlete and the simian and (3) the black athlete and slavery.

⁵ Coined in 1883 by British biologist and psychologist Sir Francis Galton (knighted in 1909), the term combines the roots of the Greek words *eu* – "good" and *genos* – "birth" and refers to an applied science based on genetics and breeding. Galton, *Human Faculty* (1883), notes: "The investigation of human eugenics, that is, of the conditions under which men of a high type are produced" (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2004). Galton also coined the expression "nature versus nurture," developed the statistical concepts of correlation and regression to mean, persuaded Scotland Yard to introduce the use of fingerprinting, and was the first to use survey as a method of data collection.

⁶ Lenskji (2000, p. 3) prefers to use the term "industry" rather than movement due to the profit and power motives of the IOC which take precedence over the health and welfare of individuals.

capitalism. Seen in this light, sport is imbued with a specific civilizing agenda, one that Edward Said has referred to as the "moral epistemology of imperialism."⁷ The IOC accomplishes this cultural hegemony through its powerful resource base, its associations with and development of programs and research in universities, and its international partnerships with, among others, the United Nations (UN), the United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

What is "Ideology of Science"?

Ideology⁸ is essentially a collection of ideas or a system of beliefs that informs a culture and its individual constituents. The concept of ideology refers to the legitimation and the intrusion of values into reputed facts. The term has been employed by various critical theorists, each variations on two underlying themes: the social location of actors and the power/knowledge nexus. The notion of ideology of science, which is crucial to the framework of this paper, is best understood by a momentary discussion of the history of recent thought about the concept of ideology itself.

The Marxist (1970) notion of ideology, for instance, entails a sense of some false set of beliefs or practices (i.e., false consciousness) that is maintained by a dominant class and their vested interests. Foucault (1972), on the other hand, utilized the concept of ideological neutrality, whereby the dominant ideology appeared neutral when juxtaposed against all other "radical" visions, regardless of the "truth/falseness" of

⁷ As per Razack (2004), "The moral universe of imperialism, as in the moral universe of peacekeeping mythologies, is a universe of those who must be saved and those who must do the saving" (p. 157).

⁸ The term ideology was coined by Count Destutt de Tracy, who defined it as a "science of ideas."

the dominant ideology. Gramsci (1994) contributes to this discussion with his concept of hegemony. Interested in understanding why the working classes would yield to fascism, Gramsci sought to eradicate the economic determinism of Marx by theorizing that the supremacy and dominance of the bourgeoisie was based on both their economic power and their intellectual/moral leadership. Hegemony, then, refers to both the arriving at consent through force and through inducement, and the appearance of a dominant ideology that seems to be "common sense." Accordingly, hegemony is strongest when attained through consensual control, whereby individuals voluntarily assimilate the world view of the dominant group.

This brief digression reveals that the notion of ideology is rooted in an understanding that knowledge itself has a sociology, that it is socially located and that it is situationally contingent (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Mannheim, 1960). Recent exploration into disciplinary fields such as engineering, medicine and science clearly demonstrate the operation of ideology as a determinant in their curricular development, content of study and field of view (Brown, 1979; Haraway, 1989; Noble, 1977); in other words, even science has a world view and present conditions (i.e., disciplinary boundaries, questions pondered) could have been quite different given different set of choices and/or constraints.

Sport and Science, Sport Science?

The title of this section suggests several things. First of all, the existence of a discipline called Sport Science, which, of course, is the case; however, this paper will only allude to this field in terms of its members' possible location in the story and in terms of its ideological bent (i.e., the advancement of human engineering vis-à-vis the

body as machine). The second possibility this title suggests is a connection between sport and the ideology of science; this, in fact, is the line of argument upon which this paper precedes.

Kay (1993), in *The Molecular Vision of Life*, crafts a well articulated history of molecular biology, detailing the influence of the Rockefeller Foundation in shaping the course of molecular biology during the 20th century. Her work is useful for this analysis both in terms of her approach to constructing a history of this field and in terms of the specific connections between eugenics-based projects and science. Her employment of hegemony, or what she terms a "hegemonic bloc," is instructive in terms of this project, since it suggests a methodology that begins to craft a shared history of between sport and the ideology of science, specifically between the advent and evolution of the Modern Olympic Games and eugenics-based science⁹. A hegemonic bloc is:

analytic framework for cultural hegemony, though the explicit and tacit constitutive processes of consensus formation....sustained by formal and informal systems of incentives and power sharing, particularly through half-conscious modes of complicity. (p. 10)

In order to accomplish what Kay suggests, a much larger project would be necessary. This project would entail tracking specific members of the IOC and their connections and influence with foundations, post-secondary institutions, governmental and non-

⁹ Although leaning more toward a productive and circulating sense of power (Foucault), I am cautioned by Burstyn (1999) who states: "While appreciating the Foucauldian contribution, I part company with him and his followers in seeing power as only fluid and multifaceted. I see power as embodied, institutionalized, and instrumentally wielded to promote the interests of specific groups of people. In the late 1990s, when 358 individuals have personal wealth equivalent to the combined wealth of the poorest 45 percent of the world's population, when 50 of the world's 150 largest economies are corporations, and when weaponry and systems of war consume more than a trillion dollars a year, it seems absurd to agree that power is not condensed in enduring structures and economies that are based in staggering inequalities of power and privilege" (pp. 32-33).

governmental agencies. This paper aims to broadly sketch some of these associations in order to suggest the benefit of a much larger undertaking.

The second important trajectory, which Kay's work details, is the rise, fall and inner workings of eugenics-based projects and their relationship to the Rockefeller Foundation. The "Science of Man" agenda was:

both a scientific and a cultural enterprise. The motivation behind the enormous investment in the new agenda was to develop the human sciences as a comprehensive explanatory and applied framework of social control grounded in the natural, medical and social sciences. (Kay, 1993, p. 8).

Alongside Haraway's (1989) *Primate Visions*, scientific endeavors and practices can be seen as not only "narrating the history of nature" (p. 4) but also directing "the study of animate phenomena along selected paths toward a shared vision of society" (Kay, 1993, p. 3). But as Kay accounts, eugenics suffered a decline in the 1920s, both in terms of its political taint and also in terms of its perceived social efficacy; for instance, the rise of disciplines which contribute to social determinations other than genetic in the last instance. This did not, however, significantly alter the intent behind the men or the private agenda of the Foundation (Kay, 1993, p. ??).

Quite possibly, something was missing, a new terrain, an emerging discipline, a growing interest in popularity among the masses: sport, the "great masculine secular religion" of our era.¹⁰ If for Haraway (1989), simian "orientalist" discourse was more about the "cradle of culture," than about the "cradle of civilization," then this new project, the Modern Olympic Games, fit the bill. It was as much about the physical

¹⁰ For Burstyn (1999), "its rituals engage more people in a shared experience than any other institution or cultural activity...Sport's success lay in the development of a physical and mathematical language of meanings and loyalties, based on a gendered body, that superseded divisions of culture and religion" (p. 19).

articulation and manifestation of ideals as it was about the purity, civilization, peace and democracy¹¹. It had mass appeal and it appealed to the masses. And, it was the perfect site for the practice of technological intervention with the body. Yes, quite possibly, eugenics, and those interested in its pursuit, had found themselves an ideal host.

The Modern Olympics and the Birth of the IOC



The bands at the Opening Ceremony of the Games of the I Olympiad in Athens in 1896.

More or less fifteen centuries after the abolition of the Ancient Olympic Games, 24 year-old Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived the games in 1894 at a meeting of the *Union des Sports Athlétiques*. de Coubertin, a brilliant educator and scholar, but certainly not an athlete, had taken almost seven years to sway public opinion and rally support in England, France and the U.S. The first Modern Games were held in Athens, Greece in 1896. Although intended to be an international event, it was not until the

¹¹ Bernal (1991), in *Black Athena*, critiques the Aryan model of Western civilization, an ideology beginning in the 19th century in Europe that bolsters racism and anti-Semitism. Until this point in history, Greece shares a history and is influenced and possibly colonized by the Egyptians and Semitic Phoenicians. However, in order to represent a pure "white" and unsullied dawn of Western civilization, the Aryan model reconstructs Greek history, removing influences from the African continent. This allows for scientific evidence justifying the massive exploitation of that continent. For the purposes of this paper, the importance of *Black Athena* is twofold. First, it more closely associates the rhetoric and intense association with Greek civilization and purity that the Modern Games and the Olympic Movement draws upon; second, it ...

1912 Games that athletes from all five continents participated; the Games of 1896, 1900 and 1904 did not feature national teams; rather, only aristocrats and amateurs from affluent classes competed.¹² These are the five continents represented by the rings of the Olympic flag,¹³ designed to give the Olympic movement an identity, which in present times translates well into brand recognition and the resulting blue-chip stock value. As well, the concept of nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century was strong, and the interlocking rings were seen as a call for world peace and solidarity:

Let us export our oarsmen, our runners, our fears into other lands. That is the true free trade of the future; and the day it is introduced into Europe the cause of peace will have received a new and strong ally (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1983, p. 276).¹⁴

Throughout its modern history, the Games have been hosted by countries spanning the world. Burstyn (1999) characterizes Olympic and IOC history into four distinct periods: 1896-1914, the foundation years; 1918-1939, the inter-war years; 1952-1980, the cold war years; and finally, 1980 to present, the high corporate period (pp. 223-224).

The original IOC, of which de Coubertin is a founding member, consisted of 14 members and was created on June 23, 1894. Lausanne, Switzerland, the home of the

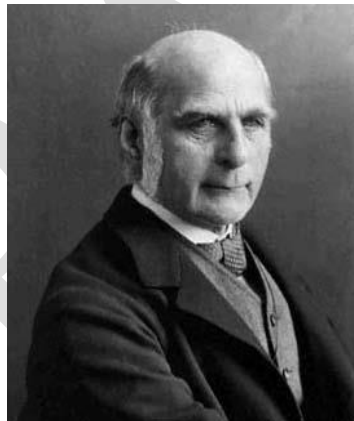
¹² The debate surrounding the division between amateur and professional status is a modern preoccupation. It was of little concern in de Coubertin's time since its participants were "by invitation only." These "men of standing" did not need prize money or wealth from participation. There exists in many debates about the status of athletes a belief only amateurs participated in the Ancient Games. This is erroneous for two reasons. First, the origin of the word amateur comes from the Latin *amator*, signifying lover or one who competes for the love of sports alone; for the ancient Greeks, this was as much a state of mind as it was a financial condition. Second, ancient athletes almost always received prizes and favors worth substantial amounts of money; as this was the case, the ancient Greeks also made no such distinction between amateur and professional status.

¹³ The idea of the flag is also credited to de Coubertin, who presented it at the Olympic Congress in Paris in 1914. Although there is much speculation, "official" history regarding the colors of the rings does not ascribe any particular color to any particular continent. The flag was officially flown in the 1920 Games.

¹⁴ Even in this early quote one can foretell the connections that today's IOC has forged with international human rights agencies and the notion that sport itself should be the vehicle for expansionist practice.

IOC since 1915, became the official Olympic Capital in December of 1933. The IOC is the supreme authority of the Olympic Movement, essentially of everything that is Olympic; it is an international, non-governmental, organization with rights to the symbol, motto, flag, anthem and the Games. Its current membership stands at (a maximum) 115 members, with a President¹⁵ who is elected for a term of eight years. The Executive Board consists of the President, the four Vice-Presidents and ten other members of the committee. Members of the IOC are hand-picked and act as representatives of the IOC in their home country; they are not delegates representing their country of origin to the IOC.

Pausing Briefly for a Moment of Reflection



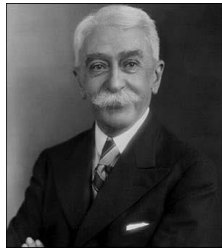
Francis Galton, father of modern statistics, coined the term "eugenics" and the phrase "nature versus nurture"

¹⁵ Current President Dr. Jacques Rogge.



Florence Griffith Joyner¹⁶, Triple Gold Medallist at 1988 Seoul Games, dead at 38

¹⁶ Known to the world as Flo-Jo, Florence Griffith Joyner was as popular for her outfits and her elaborate fingernails as she was for her world-record performances. She was the first woman to run 10.49s in the 100m. But, like other athletes of her time (e.g., Ben Johnson), there was much speculation about her use of performance-enhancing drugs due to her rapid improvement and heavily muscled physique. She consistently denied allegations and never "officially" tested positive for illegal substances. At the age of 38, she suffered a heart seizure, an incident which caused further rumor about drug use. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sport/176925.stm>).



Baron Pierre de Coubertin,
Educator, sociologist and founder
of Modern Olympics



John D. Rockefeller, Standard Oil,
Unwitting philanthropist?



Carl Lewis, 9-time Olympic Gold Medallist



Juan Antonio Samaranch¹⁷, former President IOC



Ben Johnson, stripped of Olympic Gold in 1988 Seoul Games for steroid use

The IOC: A Private Boys' Club¹⁸

From its inception, the IOC has been a private club,¹⁹ first consisting of men from affluent classes; today its membership has expanded to include a broader range of representation. In 1998, African and Asian members represented approximately 20% of

¹⁷ In comments to a journalist about drug allegations about Tour de France cyclists, Samaranch, for a few fleeting moments in history, stated that prohibited drugs should be limited to those that are dangerous to health, regardless of whether or not they are performance-enhancing. This was clearly not the position of Dick Pound, a Canadian member of the IOC, who now heads the World Anti-Doping Agency, an international arm of the IOC that formed amidst speculation about the tarnished Olympic rings and the potential loss of blue chip stock value. Pound has written and commented extensively on this topic (could include book reference and quote later).

¹⁸ A visit to the website of the IOC (http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/movement/index_uk.asp) reveals a remarkably interesting image. Instead of displaying the structure of the its partners and affiliates in a hierarchical fashion, the image presents the IOC as a sun at the centre of the universe with its partners orbiting around it at varying distances.

¹⁹ Though a private club, it has certainly not been a private project; it requires vast amounts of funding from corporate as well as nation state sources.

the membership (Lenskyj, 2000, p. 42).²⁰ Though more "diverse" in scope, its members are still handpicked, its voting process primarily executed by secret ballot,²¹ and its accountability both financially and legally rests above the law of any particular nation.

In recent years both the IOC and the Olympic Movement have been under attack from a variety of sources such as environmental groups (e.g., Green Games Watch 2000, which internationally, is known as Greenpeace) and social justice coalitions (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union and Bread Not Circuses Coalition). As well, the Olympics rings have been tarnished time and again amidst public scandal and media frenzy surrounding its bidding process (e.g., Salt Lake City and Sydney) and performance-enhancing drug usage (culminating in the establishment of WADA). However, as Lenskyj (2000) points out, even amidst controversy and speculation, "to criticize or oppose Olympic bids and preparations is to be unpatriotic, to lack civic pride, and, most seriously, to betray the young athletes who are the 'heart and soul' of the Olympics" (p. 131). The Games' continued promise to solve social problems, its reliance on peace-building rhetoric and its Spirit, which calls upon young would-be high-performance athletes to sacrifice at any and all cost, has been, and continues to be, a public relations success. The IOC has, in essence, won the war of words, at least for the time being. To accomplish this task has been no simple feat; manipulation, cooperation and patronage have helped direct the success of the Olympic Movement and the financial sustainability of the Games. Its *modus operandi* has involved specific

²⁰ Lenskyj (2000) also notes that former President Samaranch specifically "recruited from developing nations and the communist bloc men who had political or corporate power, rather than sport administration experience" (p. 43).

²¹ Lesnkyj (2000) notes this a consistent line of defense against bidding scandal allegations since, quid pro quo, attempted bribes could not be "guaranteed" and therefore did not demonstrate a one-to-one relationship for support or favour (p. 51).

alignment of its Charter with non-governmental agencies (NGOs) such as the UN, UNESCO²² and UNICEF; as well, it has created ties with research institutions through granting mechanisms and the establishment of institutions for the study of sport science in general, and Olympism in particular²³.

Excerpts from Olympic Charter

The goal of Olympism is to place sport at service of harmonious development of humankind...

- Principles 3

The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport...which requires...solidarity and fair play

- Principles 6

In the case of the UN, several initiatives of note over the past decade have brought both organizations into alignment. One such venture involved the establishment of the International Olympic Truce Foundation and the International Olympic Truce Centre in July of 2000. These institutional realizations of the Olympic Truce²⁴, an eternal peace accord with roots in the Greek tradition of *Ekecheiria*, capture the elements of the rhetoric of peace as important to economic development while simultaneously posturing sport as a means to diplomacy. This has had as its effect the

²² The "Science of Man" agenda was both a scientific and a cultural enterprise (Kay, 1993).

²³ IOC actions with regards to university research and institutional alignment resembles Kay's (1993) analysis of molecular biology. She notes with regards to the Rockefeller foundations influence: "The Foundation's power to shape life science transcended the dollar amount of its investment; its effectiveness lay in creating and promoting institutional mechanisms of interdisciplinary cooperation through extensive systems of grants and fellowships...The Foundation's network permeated their academic infrastructure; a significant number of Rockefeller trustees held top administrative positions in the universities...the officers became central to what in effect became an informal peer review system" (p. 6). Similar evidence can be demonstrated for the IOC. Several institutions such as Centres for Olympic Studies (in London, Canada, Barcelona, and Sydney) and related departments of Peace and Conflict Studies are fused with conferences that connect NGOs with academic research.

²⁴ This truce has its history in ancient Greece when warring city states of the 8th century B.C. would come together for the Games; peace was accorded for seven days proceeding and after the Games, in order that athletes and spectators could travel and enjoy in safety.

convening of a UN Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace in 2002²⁵, with the WHO and UNESCO as partners. In fact, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan sees the UN and sport as "natural partners" and recognizes that the Olympic ideals closely resemble those of the UN.²⁶

Partnerships and allegiances with UNESCO and UNICEF seem far more natural, given that all three organizations have, as their primary concern, the welfare of children. Once again, the IOC employs the same rhetoric of sport for development and peace. Sport builds tolerance and bridges ethnic divides; it integrates communities and families; it prevents drug and alcohol abuse; and it supports conflict resolution skills²⁷. Sport can even be seen to give those from war-torn areas as "sense of normalcy." But in this case its rhetoric precedes one step further; it manages a *god-trick*. By associating sport with education and physical health, both of which are basic human rights as guaranteed under the *Declaration of Human Rights*, sport itself *becomes* a basic human right.

In both these instances, humanitarian or peacekeeping efforts of First World Nations, and in this case, the IOC and its partners, hope not only to exert a civilizing influence on the Third World through the medium of sport, but also to create a "culture of civilizations," thereby creating a "culture of tolerance." This "universality of civilization" will bring with it "everlasting Greek university values of Democracy, Humanity...Olympism." Razack (2004), in an examination of Western peacekeeping,

²⁵ Prior to this task force, in 1993 the UN adopted a resolution entitled "Building a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal," a resolution which was co-sponsored in 1999 by 180 states. The resolution stressed the similarities between the UN and Olympic Charters and suggests that the Olympics and the UN can be a "winning team." (citation)

²⁶ Add citation.

²⁷ It is fascinating that this is the same sport that also produces hooliganism, violence on playgrounds – all while inculcating its participants into ideals which support capitalistic and industrial ways of life.

draws a similar analogy, not only to the acts of peacekeeper violence, but also to the erasure of colonial violence and First World complicity in the world's crises. Under an "illusion of benevolence," (p. 10) peacekeeping, like sport, takes us outside of a history of colonial violence, and in "a masterful act of forgetting" (p. 147), we become innocent people with a special gift – the gift of democracy and civilization.

No *peacekeeping mission* involving Western peacekeepers seems to have been without violence directed at the local population...Although peacekeeping violence ranges from racial slurs and small assaults to outright torture and murder, the most egregious acts of *peacekeeping violence* share certain characteristics. For one, it is mostly *openly practised* with several witnesses and participants. Second, the soldiers document many of the violent incidents by taking a number of *videotapes and trophy photos* to visually record the violence they enact and by writing descriptions of it in their *diaries*. A third feature is that the *victims of the violence are often children and youth*. Fourth, the *violence is sexualized* with rape and sodomy occurring. (emphasis added, Razack, 2004, p. 53)

Similarities between the staging of the Games and the spectacle of competition bear striking similarity to displays of peacekeeping violence and its documentary practices. Furthermore, although the necessity to expand its viewing audience is intricately linked to its profitability and viability,²⁸ this legitimising display is about something more than just the spectacle. Perhaps eugenics has also been apart of this project. Perhaps the IOC has learned from the public relations mistakes of previous eugenics-based projects (e.g., Kay's reference to personal documentation amongst Rockefeller Foundation trustees and key academics). Most certainly, both today and in the Games of the 20th century, eugenics has been an always and already absent

²⁸ Burstyn (1999) characterizes the IOC's aggressive turn to commercialism, with the advent of the television in 1956, as associated with sports' necessity to create audiences, i.e., to sell advertising (p. 228).

presence, for as Burstyn (1999) notes, "the athletic body is the logical site for more and more technological adjustments – more powerful biomachine" (p. 236).

The Place of Race

The mounting of each successive Olympic Games represents the culmination of efforts and financial backing from public as well as private funding.²⁹ The Games themselves are a manifestation of a specific moment in place and time, a moment when "place becomes race." Razack (2002b), in *Race, Space, and the Law*, draws on spatial analysis in order to pay attention to the material as well as to the symbolic constitution of space. This approach analyses both the material constitution of spaces which reproduce racial hierarchies and the symbolic constitution of spaces which uncover ideologies and practices of domination and exploitation (p. 5).³⁰ For example, in her examination of the murder of Pamela George, an Aboriginal woman who sometimes worked in prostitution, by two young white college men, Razack considers the eviction of the Aboriginal body from the city space and the violence to that body which occurs

²⁹ "The Olympic Games are the great Circus Maximus of planet Earth. They are mounted every two years, involve roughly ten thousand athletes from over two hundred nations, and, in the 1990s, the price tag per Summer Games topped \$2 billion per city...The entire enterprise is swathed in tinselled layers of marketing and hype – by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), by the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), by the transnational corporations who pay tens of millions of dollars to sponsor the Games, by the television networks that pay hundreds of millions of dollars to broadcast them, and by host cities and national governments who have invested hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars. All this marketing draws on the myth of the redemptive power of 'pure sport' for athletes, for their spectators, and for local and national communities; on the unquestionable assumption that the Games will bring economic and social benefits to those who host them" (Lenskyj, 2000, p. ix).

³⁰ "Racial hierarchies come into existence through patriarchy and colonialism, each system of domination mutually constituting the other" (Razack, 2002b, p. 6). The chapters in this volume address concepts such as the homeless body, which is of importance to this discussion given similarities to Germany's cleansing of anti-Semitic materials as well as the removal of Gypsies and homosexuals for the public eyes and Lenskyj's accounts of the cleansing of streets prior to the Atlanta Games (i.e., the criminalization of poverty) (Lenskyj, 2000, pp. 150-2).

under the guise of contract law:³¹ "What a spatial analysis reveals is that bodies in degenerate spaces lose their entitlement to personhood through a complex process in which the violence that is enacted is naturalized" (Razack, 2002a, p. 155).

With this in mind, the choice to examine the Nazi Olympics is not meant to place specific ownership or creation of eugenics-based projects with Nazi Germany, although there are clear historical facts that demonstrate the Reich's homophobic, racial and anti-Semitic acts. Choosing these Games is also not meant to aggrandize their importance in comparison to all other Games of the 20th and 21st centuries. Instead, these Games articulate a context which places the Olympic Movement, the IOC and eugenics-based projects in a framework wherein a common history becomes visible and therefore, thinkable, while erasing or negating specific others.³² Moreover, these Games mark the inception of particular practices which have continued until today in an a-historicized fashion.

The Nazi Olympics

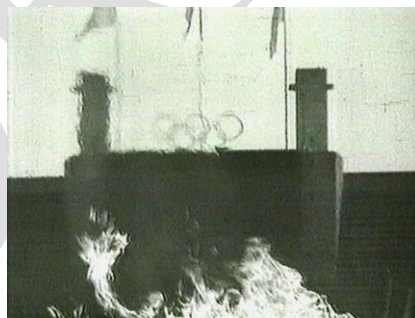


Figure 1

In 1931, the IOC awarded the 1936 Summer Olympics to the city of Berlin in the German Republic. Signalling the return of Germany to the world community after

³¹ Pamela George was taken outside the city limits of Calgary in Alberta, Canada to a place known for prostitution, where, according to Razack (2002a), "the record (of the trial) showed only that two white 'boys' lost control and an Aboriginal woman got a little more than she bargained for" (p. 127).

³² See Bernal (1991) for discussion.

its defeat in World War I³³, these Games later became known as the Nazi Olympics.³⁴ In January of 1933, Adolf Hitler, leader of the National Socialist party, became chancellor of Germany and put into practice policies that aimed at racial "purity" and the superiority of the German "race;" specifically, the Germanic "Aryan" population. These policies, from 1933 until the opening of the Games, included the suspension of civil rights (i.e., freedoms of speech, assembly and press), the exclusion of Jews from government employment and teaching positions, the forced sterilization of handicapped persons, Gypsies and Blacks, the mass arrests of homosexuals, as well as the establishment of anti-Jewish citizenship and inter-marriage laws.

The National Socialists harnessed sport as part of their drive to strengthen the "Aryan race" and to prepare German youth for war. The entire cost of the Games was underwritten by the regime: 20,000,000 Reichsmarks or US\$8,000,000.³⁵ Joseph Goebbels, then Minister of Propaganda proclaimed on April 23, 1933: "German sport has only one task: to strengthen the character of the German people, imbuing it with the fighting spirit and steadfast camaraderie necessary in the struggle for its existence" (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). This conflation of the use of sport as a means of citizenship building (i.e., national unity) and as a tool for military fitness (i.e., the health of the nation) was not a Nazi invention but dates back to the ancient Games of Greece.

³³ In fact, Frederick Birchall's report in *The New York Times* was typical of the positive spin reporters placed on the Games, even upon their completion; there was little public dissent in the press. (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004)

³⁴ See Mandell's (1987) *The Nazi Olympics*.

³⁵ It is reported that Goebbels had to convince Hitler, who initially held the Olympics in low regard, of their propaganda value; Hitler was concerned with the international attention and exposure that accompanied such an event (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). Although a reasonable account which most certainly reflects the regime's commitment to the importance of the Games, this explanation does not quite make the entire case for such a large expenditure given the Reich's post-Games military intention. Such expenditure would seem to necessitate more than just implementation as a tool of propaganda or an appeasement to growing concerns of the world community, especially considering the cost of mounting the impending army and war effort.

Spartans used physical education in the training of their youth for a life of military service. Figure 2 represents Germans engaged in uniformed, disciplined physical activity.



Figure 2

As well, many of the events of the ancient Games featured warriors from various city-states who displayed their specific military might in events which still exist today in the Modern Games (e.g., the discus, the javelin and foot races). Figure 3 depicts a German man emulating a sculpted Aryan competitor in a field of grass, poised to thrust the discus with immense power upon the "dark" heavens above.³⁶



Figure 3

³⁶ In her discussion of peacekeeping violence and the challenge of what humanitarianism is and can be, Razack (2004) notes: "It is the perils of humanitarianism by military intervention that mostly preoccupies us in this world of peacemaking, as we attempt to discover what acting morally means today. In practice, those advocating war and those advocating humanitarian intervention can sound the same. For example, President George W. Bush's war cry, his plea for intervention against 'the dark threat,' comes couched in the language of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention. His speeches are peppered with the oxymoron, 'We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favours human liberty.' Significantly, the argument 'Peace through War' is expressed as a universal and timeless morality in language that is meant to convince us that when we support President Bush, we are acting morally out of a shared belief in the humanity of all peoples...It is useful to remember that some of the worst atrocities have been undertaken in the name of human rights" (p. 154).

Other pieces of German sports imagery during the 1930s also idealized and promoted the myth of Aryan racial superiority and physical power. Figure 4 depicts the idealized athlete's sculpted body, heroic strength and Aryan facial features. The athlete is holding the Olympic torch³⁷ – a tradition whereby the Olympic flame is ignited in Olympia, Greece³⁸ and carried to the site of the Games for the opening ceremonies. This particular tradition continues today.³⁹ Hitler had in fact hoped that after the 1940 Games in Tokyo, they would come to rest for all time in Germany, and in the stadium he constructed for their display.⁴⁰



Figure 4

These Games were not without pre-Game conflict from the international community, including conversations about boycotting and racial unrest, both inside and outside of Germany. One such reaction was manifested in the planning of many counter-Olympic games, one of which was the "People's Olympiad." These Games, set

³⁷ Interestingly, the Greeks depicted death in the form of a young boy holding a torch upside down. The torch held by an Aryan in the Games can be seen as a symbol for a life force, while still drawing upon notions of Aryan supremacy rooted in Greek antiquity.

³⁸ Interestingly, Mount Olympus happens to be the mythical dwelling place of Zeus and his fellow gods. This region is often confused in geographic location with Olympia, the site of the ancient Games.

³⁹ The modern day torch relay, which travels around the world, beginning in Olympia and finishing with the lighting of the Olympic flame to commence each Games, carried with it Nazi Germany's hope for an Aryan world. Interestingly, the flame is not the only fabrication of the Nazis. Barney (1992) sets the record straight on many factual inaccuracies about the origin of the Olympic rings. He notes that evidence of the five rings carved into a stone at Delphi were in fact manufactured as part of this torch relay (pp. 627-31).

⁴⁰ This is documented in a personal conversation between Hitler and Albert Speer, the general architectural inspector for the Reich, in the spring of 1937 (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). In other words, the Olympic flame would always find its ultimate resting place on German soil.

to take place in Barcelona, were cancelled due to an outbreak of the Spanish Civil War on the eve of its opening. Other debates of importance reflecting the workings of eugenics and racial purification took place on U.S. soil⁴¹ and involved the Black community, the Jewish community and the American IOC.⁴² Anti-Semitism and racial discrimination in the U.S. marred many of these debates. Those who supported a boycott also feared a backlash at home for having taken a stance against the Reich and its racial and anti-Semitic politics. For instance, Black athletes from the U.S. were faced with fears for their personal safety in Nazi Germany on the one hand, and the hypocrisy at home with daily social and economic discrimination on the other. In choosing to attend,⁴³ many argued that their victories would undermine notions of Aryan supremacy. Among Jewish groups, the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee both supported the boycott; individual Jewish athletes made decisions to participate independent of these organizations.⁴⁴ While American Olympic Committee (AOC) president Avery Brundage opposed the boycott,⁴⁵ stating that "The Olympic Games belong to the athletes and not to the politicians," IOC member Ernest

⁴¹ Specific focus on the U.S. is important for several reasons. First, their decision in December of 1935 to participate in the Games led other countries to fall in line, 49 in total; this contingent represented the largest showing of nations in Modern Olympic history. Second, the U.S. had the second largest contingent of athletes, with 312, second only to Germany's 348 (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). Third, the relationship of Rockefeller's "Science of Man" agenda is of importance to this discussion, as are the issues around social/economic discrimination, the rise of biotechnology and eugenics. Lastly, current commercial interests with U.S. broadcasting rights, which have salvaged the solvency and financial position of the IOC, are important. (include L reference on \$)

⁴² Continuing a tradition of supra-national status, then U.S. President Roosevelt remained uninvolved in the debate and did not interfere with the decision of the American Olympic Committee.

⁴³ Eighteen Black athletes attended; of them, sixteen were men and two were women. Eight gold medals were won, four silver and two bronze. The star of the American team was Jesse Owens, who won the 100m, 200m, the long jump and the 4x100m relay gold.

⁴⁴ Thirteen Jews won medals at these Games, one from Germany, the U.S., Canada, Belgium, and Poland, two from Austria and the remaining six from Hungary. Samuel Balter won a gold medal for the U.S. in basketball.

⁴⁵ Brundage's position was not without dissent from other members of the AOC as well as from several state governor's and Judge Jeremiah Mahoney, president of the Amateur Athletic Union (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004).

Lee Jahncke in a letter to the President of the IOC on November 25, 1935 proclaimed: "Neither Americans nor the representatives of other countries can take part in the Games in Nazi Germany without at least acquiescing in the contempt of the Nazis for fair play and their sordid exploitation of the Games" (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004).⁴⁶ Jahncke became the only member in the IOC's 100 year history to be expelled from the committee and was replaced by a sympathetic Brundage.⁴⁷

History shows that Germany emerged victorious on many accounts from the Berlin Olympics. For instance, its athletes captured the highest number of medals overall, a fact conveniently corroborating the ideal of Aryan supremacy.⁴⁸ Under the Nazi regime, strict control of all media⁴⁹ as well as careful camouflaging of racist and anti-Semitic practices⁵⁰ provided the world with an image of a peaceful, hospitable and

⁴⁶ It is important to note that IOC members, though marked by their country of nationality, do not "formally" represent their national Olympic Committee or any national sport association. "Their responsibility is to represent the IOC to their country of origin...This arrangement helped secure the IOC's key role in the global integration of competitive sport" (Lenskyj, 2000, p. 1).

⁴⁷ Lenskyj (2000) notes that recent charges regarding improper conduct (surrounding bidding controversy of Salt Lake and other cities) for IOC members were more likely to affect a Black or minority member than a white one, and more likely to target a Black or minority recipient than a white donor of a bribe (p. 17).

⁴⁸ The notion of Aryan supremacy was not tainted with respect to Germany's medal count, since German Jews, with the exception of the half-Jewish fencer Helene Mayer, were excluded from the Games (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004).

⁴⁹ Directives from the Ministry were specific about what could be reported and what perspective or point of view would be tolerated. This included, for example, the exclusion of reference to the "two non-Aryans among the women" as well as assurance that "above all Negroes should not be insensitively reported" (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). These practices are mirrored in Lenskyj's (2000) use of newspaper and other media coverage to demonstrate that the "sport media-complex," a term coined by Sut Jhally in *The Insurgent Sociologist*, represents nothing more than the "structural integration of the media into the Olympic industry (which has) turned them into promoters – not journalists or critics – of all things Olympic" (p. xiii).

⁵⁰ Goebbels also ordered anti-Jewish signs removed from public view and "cleansed" the streets, arresting approximately 800 Gypsies; as well Nazi officials ensured that new anti-homosexual laws did not affect foreign visitors during their stay (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). An interesting aside consists in the fact that Goebbels himself, while sending handicapped people to the gas chambers, was physically handicapped; he was club-footed and therefore exempted from military service.

tolerant Germany,⁵¹ one that welcomed athletes and spectators alike with open arms. Held in a newly built stadium, the opening ceremonies,⁵² and each day thereafter until the closing of the Games, featured elaborately choreographed pageantry and spectacle sprinkled eloquently amongst world-class athleticism and showmanship. All media, including posters and magazines, plastered images such as those in Figures 3 and 4 wherever the foreign eye could see, clearly drawing a link between Greek antiquity and its apparent heir, the Aryan race (see Figure 5).

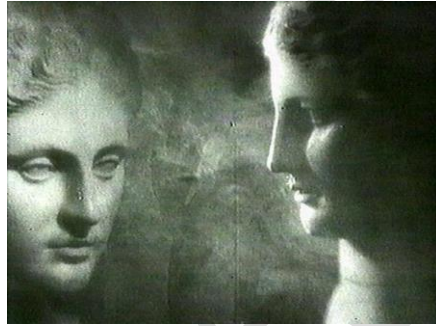


Figure 5

The Nazis, however, reached for new heights, using the Olympic Games as a material and symbolic space for yet another tool of propaganda.⁵³ In keeping with the

⁵¹ Early in 1936 Germany also hosted the Winter Olympics, which might be viewed as a "trial run." While careful attention was given to present to all foreign eyes the image of a tolerant and hospitable Germany, Western journalists did observe and report troop maneuvers at Garmisch (Jewish Virtual Library, 2004). No such mistakes were made for the Games in Berlin.

⁵² Hitler's entrance was choreographed to the music of Richard Wagner, the notoriously anti-Semitic composer of the 19th century, whilst the cavalcade of athletes marched into the new stadium accompanied by the sounds of the new Olympic anthem composed and conducted by Richard Strauss.

⁵³ Even today articles are written and conferences are held challenging the fact that devices such as documentary film were specifically intended as tools for propaganda instead of just as cinematographic works of art. One such article by Schneider and Stier (2001) argues that it is presumptuous as well as erroneous to postulate Riefenstahl's knowledge of Nazi intent or "planned evils." The problem with this type of analysis is that it falls into the rhetoric of a "few bad apples," which today is used to address issues of steroid use by viewing rampant abuse as individualistic rather than systemic (e.g., Ben Johnson at the 1988 Games).

numerous pre-war films, such as Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1934),⁵⁴ the Nazis commissioned her to produce a documentary film about the Berlin Games.⁵⁵ The result was a masterfully chilling two-part documentary film entitled *Olympia*⁵⁶ (Part One, entitled *Festival of the Nations* and Part Two, entitled *Festival of Beauty*). *Olympia* won the gold medal in the Paris festival in 1937, followed by the IOC Olympic Award in 1939, and was hailed as a cinematographic masterpiece.⁵⁷ It features the cult of the male body beautiful, an unmistakable fascist ideal, and moves seamlessly between these images of sculpted bodies in motion and those of athletes in the heat of competition. The film also made the Games accessible to the public in a form that was original and captivating. In fact, today this tradition is carried on by Bud Greenspan,⁵⁸ the "Official Keeper of the Olympic Flame," otherwise known as its official documentarian since the 1984 Games in Los Angeles.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ This film won the gold medal in Vienna in 1935 and the gold medal at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937.

⁵⁵ Razack (2004) reminds us that even on peacekeeping missions, Western peacekeepers continually exact violence against local populations, often with witnesses and participants. In the case of Somalia, these incidents share certain characteristics such as the taking of trophy photos and videotapes, and the writing of diaries (p. 53).

⁵⁶ The original German title of Part One is *Fest der Völker*, whereas the English translation is *Festival of the Nations*. The German word "Volk" denotes the English word "people". It is, however, important to note that Nazi rhetoric used this word to denote the Aryan race; hence, the necessity to translate "Volk" in the title into the English word "nation" so as to avoid conflation with its negative historical associations. Today in Germany, "Volk" still carries a negative connotation, which is why the Latin derivative "Nation" is preferred.

⁵⁷ This film incorporated sound in the form of background music and narration as well as other innovative techniques in filming.

⁵⁸ Interestingly enough, Greenspan's curriculum vitae also reads like a "who's who of American film making." He has won six Emmy Awards, the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Director's Guild of America and the Peabody Award. Like Riefenstahl years before, Greenspan was also awarded the Olympic Order in 1985 by IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch. "Just like the Olympics, Bud Greenspan's cinematic vision is deeply rooted in classicism...the belief that good storytelling along with powerful imagery will always endure over the sensational and often superficial world of television today" (http://www.goodmanspeakersbureau.com/biographies/greenspan_bud.htm).

⁵⁹ Other "official" documentaries of the Games include Tokyo Olympiad, which chronicled the 1964 Games, and Visions of Eight, which covered the 1972 Munich Games.

Getting Savvy about Imperialism: The Trojan Horse⁶⁰

Documentary practices continue to be of utmost importance to the Olympic Movement. The IOC's advertising and media campaign, *Celebrate Humanity*, is aimed at promoting the spirit of the Olympic Movement. Maggie Silverman, an account executive heading up the campaign for the IOC by an independent agency, notes: "We did a lot of research, as did the IOC, and one of the things we found was that people can separate management of the Games from the Games themselves." When then asked about the bidding and drug scandals and their potential effects on the Games, she responded: "But the only real way it affected us was this: We'd gotten to know the history of the Games so well, and learned how much it has done for world peace, that seeing the Olympics in jeopardy – seeing it under attack – made us even more determined to preserve and protect it."⁶¹

Let us return then to our original question. What do sport, biotechnology, Greek myth and the new imperialism have to do with one another? Should we still beware Greeks bearing gifts? We most certainly should. It is interesting to note that while the English translation of this maxim concentrates on warning against the Greeks themselves, the German translation emphasizes the gift.⁶² Bear in mind also that the Trojan horse was in fact a Greek horse, a strategy devised by Odysseus, as an offering to their Gods and as a ruse to enter the walls of Troy. So who are the Greeks and the

⁶⁰ Interestingly, the term Trojan horse is also used in computer language, as are many other Greek terms and characters from Homer. A Trojan horse is a program that appears to be useful software, but instead compromises the security of your system. Trojan horses spread when people are lured into opening a program because they think it comes from a legitimate source.

⁶¹ Create reference later, author Justine Elias, *An Olympian Effort*, LookSmart's Find Articles, <http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles>.

⁶² http://german.about.com/library/blidioms_greeks.htm

Trojans of this modern-day epic? Of whose making is the Trojan horse and what gift(s) does it bear?

In this tale, the Greeks are the IOC and its Family (i.e., its founders, its members, and its international partners). Their Trojan horse takes the form of the Olympic Movement, in all of its complexity and dynamism: in its physical manifestation (i.e., the Games and high-performance sport), in its ideological trappings (i.e., sport for economic development, sport as a human right, and sport for a culture of peace) and in its rhetoric (i.e., the Truce, the Spirit). Inside the belly of the horse lies the gift of eugenics, the promise of biotechnology, the miracle of gene therapy, the art of human engineering...and they mean to keep their promise of producing "men of a high type." All that is left of this riddle is the identity of the Trojans and location of the city of Troy. The Trojans represent on one scale, the average sport fan, the typical recreational athlete, and the masses who are entertained (and who crave entertainment) by the spectacle, dazzled by the feats and who themselves "secretly" long either for personal glory or, at the very least, a part of someone else's. On yet another scale, Trojans are high-performance athletes, their coaches and managers, doctors and physiotherapists – the every expanding industry of professions and professionals whose existence and financial viability – their very *raison d'être* – depend upon this great Circus Maximus.

The City of Troy

As for the mighty walls, they stood the test of time and for better part of the battle of Troy. To the citizens of Troy, the city walls were impregnable.⁶³ History tells

⁶³ This is an interesting play on words for several reasons. Trojans are a well known brand of condoms, one which has lent itself to name recognition like Kleenex. Second, birth control both in the form of

us, however, that the walls were in fact vulnerable, vulnerable to trickery, deceit and misinformation. It is the Trojans themselves who laboured, who dragged the horse from the beach, across great distance, and into the walls of Troy. Though many had cause for concern, in the end they believed the horse to be an offering to their gods. And thus fell Troy, as all its citizens lay asleep.

Today our modern day city of Troy is an occupied territory, not a barren land. It is a territory filled with the Black body, the degenerate body, the non-bourgeois body, the athlete's body – a territory to be exploited, colonized: to be ruled. However, although interested in expanding its control of bodies (of people and of land), the new imperialism is not interested in acquisition by accession. After all, annexed lands and their bodies need to be managed, cultivated – an expensive and unnecessary complication and one well learned from early and mid-twentieth century colonization and war (i.e., Afghanistan and Iraq).

So what then can be made of this new imperialism? And of what material is its armour (i.e., this Trojan horse) constructed? The IOC's armour is thick and seemingly impermeable; its cultural hegemony is well-secured (and not easily assailed) with alliances from the UN to UNESCO. This shell is clouded in Greek myth, adorned by a thin veil of purity and civilization which brings peace, solidarity and culture to a war-torn world under the guise of human rights. Its rhetoric is a thick hide which utilizes sport as its international language and medium, making culturally and ethically palatable, each successive project of eugenics. This Trojan horse faces dissent and critique, all of which it rebuffs with tricks and sleight of hand. To attack or refuse its

contraception (i.e., the pill and the condom) share histories with forced sterilization, eugenics (e.g., Margaret Sanger) and population control.

entry is to face censure and exile. Though a more complete account would be beyond the scope of this paper, this presentation highlighted possible connections and shared histories between the founding of the Modern Olympics and the Rockefeller Foundation's "Science of Man" agenda: to see eugenics (and the new imperialism) as a project that quite possibly had as one of its programmatic manifestations the creation of a space for the testing of human limits and the expansion of human capacities. That space quite possibly was, and most certainly is, the Modern Olympic Games. This paper represents an initial attempt to give a history to an otherwise unconnected past while clarifying many of the distortions that its histories would have us believe. This is what sport, biotechnology, Greek myth and the new imperialism have to do with one another.

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