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THE EAST GERMAN DOPING SCANDAL

The East German Doping Scandal

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This essay examines how sporting victories can be seen as instruments of power outside of the athletic world, and the role of the East German government in achieving these wins for their country. The extreme lengths the people in power went to resulted in ramifications that are still felt today.

“I was exploited and abused by our coaches and doctors on behalf of the state, East Germany.”¹

These words are straight from the mouth of East German rhythmic gymnast Susann Scheller who was administered performance enhancing drugs, without her knowledge, when just a child. In an attempt to gain global recognition, East Germany embarked on a costly athlete doping regime that was an extreme abuse of the power by the government. This scandal lasted from the late 1960s until German reunification in 1990.² Even today Scheller, and over 10,000 others,³ are living with the horrific side effects of this bid for international prominence that the country’s people in power attempted to achieve through sporting victories.

After their defeat in World War II, Germany was a nation divided.⁴ It was split into four different sectors with Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union each occupying a certain part.⁵ Growing Russian paranoia over the Allies unifying their zones of the country into a powerful, united front⁶ resulted in the Berlin Blockade: a Soviet-imposed barrier placed between the Eastern and Western parts of Germany.⁷ And so followed the erecting of the Berlin Wall in 1961,⁸ launching East and West Germany into competition: a battle of

¹ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

² Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

³ Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁴ HISTORY. (2009). *Berlin is divided*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/berlin-is-divided> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

⁵ University of Luxembourg's CVCE. (n.d.). *The division of Germany*. [online] Available at: <https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/55c09dcc-a9f2-45e9-b240-eaef64452cae/5d3b421b-9a4b-46fc-a041-fab64325d6a6> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

⁶ Cold War Museum. (n.d.). *Separation of Berlin*. [online] Available at: http://www.coldwar.org/articles/40s/separation_of_berlin.asp [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

⁷ BBC Bitesize. (n.d.). *The Berlin Blockade and airlift*. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/bitesize/guides/zgdnmsg/revision/1> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

⁸ HISTORY. (2009). *Berlin is divided*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/berlin-is-divided> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

ideologies between two government styles that could not be more different.⁹ Overshadowed by the economic boom in the West¹⁰ and their reputation as simply another Communist Soviet ally in the Cold War,¹¹ East Germany embarked on a mission to stand out; to find something that would give them power and respect on the world stage.¹² The government deduced that, with the help of performance enhancing drugs, “sports were one area in which this small state... could really outrun the rest of the world.”¹³

Sporting victories fulfil people’s hunger to prove strength: a desire that has existed throughout time. Winners have always stood out as being special, talented and strong; within sport and out victors are hailed as heroes.¹⁴ To the East German government, the people in power for a nation whose ideological rivals were flourishing while their own country was floundering,¹⁵ winning was so important that they were willing to do whatever it took in order to achieve victories.¹⁶ As an attempt to halt the thousands of East Germans scaling the wall each day to try and reach the West,¹⁷ sporting festivals were introduced to distract the country’s own citizens from the West German economic boom.¹⁸ Katja Hofmann, a woman

⁹ BBC Bitesize. (n.d.). *The Berlin Blockade and airlift*. [online] Available at:

<https://www.bbc.com/bitesize/guides/zgdnmsg/revision/1> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

¹⁰ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

¹¹ Franke, W. and Berendonk, B. (1997). *Hormonal doping and androgenization of athletes: a secret program of the German Democratic Republic government*. [online] Clinical Chemistry. Available at:

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9216474> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

¹² Longman, J. (2002). *East Germany's Doping Chief, Manfred Ewald, Is Dead at 76*. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/23/sports/east-germany-s-doping-chief-manfred-ewald-is-dead-at-76.html> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

¹³ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

¹⁴ Shannon, M. (2002). *Drugs in Australia - Drugs in Sport*. Echidna Books, pp.4-28.

¹⁵ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at:

<https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

¹⁶ Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

¹⁷ HISTORY. (2009). *Berlin is divided*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/berlin-is-divided> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

¹⁸ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

who was affected by the doping as a child, reflected on how citizens were always told “We [East Germany] are better than the West.”¹⁹ Soon enough, this image of a strong, healthy and athletically skilled nation was also projected onto the rest of the world. Sports became almost like a religion to East Germans. Overseas competitions meant huge amounts of pressure for athletes and their coaches to win and do themselves, and their country, proud.²⁰ Politicians soon decided that, in order to change how East Germany was perceived, they would use sporting success as a fast and cost-effective way of being viewed as a powerful nation.²¹ The government created an image of their citizens being great sportspeople: healthy and strong products of life in a Communist paradise.²² Frank Hellmuth, an East German handball player, was always told that “medals [were]... more important than the truth.”²³ Victories were seen as such huge instruments of power by the East German government that they were willing to achieve them at any cost.²⁴

The athlete doping scheme, orchestrated to try to gain sporting victories and power for the nation, was a horrific experiment conducted on athletes by the government. Manfred Ewald, the president of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation, was the most influential person in the world of East German sports at the time and is known for being the driving force behind the drug scandal.²⁵ He drafted State Plan 14.25: the law that made it state policy

¹⁹ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

²⁰ Shannon, M. (2002). *Drugs in Australia - Drugs in Sport*. Echidna Books, pp.4-28.

²¹ Franke, W. and Berendonk, B. (1997). *Hormonal doping and androgenization of athletes: a secret program of the German Democratic Republic government*. [online] Clinical Chemistry. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9216474> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

²² SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIZ_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

²³ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

²⁴ Shannon, M. (2002). *Drugs in Australia - Drugs in Sport*. Echidna Books, pp.4-28.

²⁵ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

for athletes to be administered performance enhancing drugs by their coaches.²⁶ For six years prior to the time doping became compulsory, the East German government was conducting experiments on athletes such as giving female shot-putter Margitta Gummel performance enhancing drugs before she competed in the Olympics.²⁷ Greeted with the success of achieving a higher medal count at the 1972 games than their rival West Germany,²⁸ the government had all the proof they needed that their illegal scheme was working. In 1974 the doping of athletes became state policy.²⁹ Over 10,000 sportspeople were affected, some of whom were younger than ten years old and had no idea they were being doped.³⁰ The East German secret police, also known as the Stasi,³¹ had over 3,000 spies in place in the sporting industry to ensure that coaches and teams were complying with the doping laws.³² Of the few athletes who were informed about the drugs or were suspicious of the pills and injections they were constantly given, those who refused to take part were threatened with being banned from competing ever again.³³ Rica Reinisch, an East German swimmer, once refused to be given an injection before a competition. In response, her “coach came and said: Rica, either you let them give you this stuff or your four years of training have been for *nothing*.”³⁴ However, athletes who decided that quitting would be the best way to avoid the drugs’ horrible symptoms were met with an entirely different reaction all together. Recovered Stasi meeting transcripts document how a certain athlete had “decided to cease high-level

²⁶ Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

²⁷ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

²⁸ Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

²⁹ Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

³⁰ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

³¹ Encyclopædia Britannica. (1998). *Stasi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Stasi> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

³² Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

³³ Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

³⁴ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

competitive sports following the Summer Olympics so that... she wouldn't one day look like [a man]. Thereupon, the... leadership presented her with the choice to either continue with high level competitive sports or face the revocation of all further support.”³⁵ The doping scheme owed its success to how incredibly organised it was: the government even built centres for the sole purpose of testing their athletes to ensure they would not fail drug tests overseas,³⁶ and conducted years of research into how to avoid positive results in test situations. The country even had doctors who were part of the Olympic anti-drug committee, acting as spies and sending warnings about new drug detection procedures.³⁷ Katharina Bullin, an East German volleyball player, stated “the story was always the same: that there were nasty capitalist athletes who were using doping drugs to get ahead, and back then I thought: that's terrible, because it's not about fairness anymore then, is it? It would never have crossed my mind that they were putting things in *our* food and *our* shots. We were so trusting!”³⁸ The East German doping scandal was an incredibly strict and regimented program which is why it had such success in secretly giving athletes performance enhancing drugs, often without their knowledge.

In the words of current Olympic drug testing lab operator Dr Don Caitlin, “[East Germany's] system [of doping athletes] was successful if you count the medals... but it was not successful if you count the human tragedy.”³⁹ The doped athletes die around 12 years sooner

³⁵ Meeting Report IMB “Technik”. (1976). [Transcript] Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic.

³⁶ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

³⁷ Shannon, M. (2002). *Drugs in Australia - Drugs in Sport*. Echidna Books, pp.4-28.

³⁸ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

³⁹ Longman, J. (2002). *East Germany's Doping Chief, Manfred Ewald, Is Dead at 76*. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/23/sports/east-germany-s-doping-chief-manfred-ewald-is-dead-at-76.html> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

than the rest of the population,⁴⁰ and one in ten of them suffer from cancer.⁴¹ The drugs can cause the masculinisation of women and feminisation of men,⁴² with East German shot-putter Heidi Krieger (now Andreas Krieger) experiencing physical and psychological changes so severe that they warranted sex reassignment surgery.⁴³ Children of athletes are frequently disabled, known as second-generation victims. After the scandal's exposure the government experienced costs such as compensation payments to athletes; however, these payments were still considerably smaller than most people believe the victims deserved.⁴⁴ Manfred Hoepfner, a head sporting doctor in East Germany, and Manfred Ewald, the man who made doping a state policy, were eventually charged with the "intentional bodily harm of athletes, including minors", yet were both given suspended sentences.⁴⁵ The lack of jail time meant that the only real cost for these men was a damaged reputation. The world's view of East Germany as a whole was also tarnished. Dr Hoepfner spoke of how, after the scandal was exposed at German reunification,⁴⁶ "East German sport [was]... discredited."⁴⁷ Unfortunately this also affected the athletes, although no athletes had their medals revoked,⁴⁸ Ines Geipel, a record-breaking East German track and field athlete, reflected back on her victory saying that

⁴⁰ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

⁴¹ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

⁴² Stoppard, M. (1999). *Australian Drugs info file*. Dorling Kindersley, pp.111-113.

⁴³ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

⁴⁴ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

⁴⁵ Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁴⁶ Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

⁴⁷ Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁴⁸ Longman, J. (2002). *East Germany's Doping Chief, Manfred Ewald, Is Dead at 76*. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/23/sports/east-germany-s-doping-chief-manfred-ewald-is-dead-at-76.html> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

her “record was criminal.”⁴⁹ While most athletes had no knowledge that they were on performance enhancing drugs, when the scandal was exposed they felt like all of their hard work had been for nothing. While the people in power in the doping scandal experienced costs in the form of having to pay compensations and being charged with their crimes, unfortunately the costs for the athletes were far more pronounced.

The process that the East German government underwent to dope their athletes was not only very costly but also a huge abuse of their power. Sports doctors, scientists, and all other people involved were forced by the government to sign confidentiality agreements, and they were made well aware that if they broke these they would be arrested or possibly killed by the widely-feared Stasi.⁵⁰ This is a violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which states that everyone has the right to freedom of speech.⁵¹ In the trial of Manfred Ewald for the harm he caused athletes, the judge said that Ewald was “merciless” in trying to get victories for his country; winning medals was put before athletes’ health.⁵² Governments have an obligation to protect their citizens, not intentionally harm them as part of a bid for power. The government also forced scientists and doctors to break their professions’ codes of ethics. Employees had no choice other than to comply since they knew Stasi spies would otherwise inform the government that they were defying them.⁵³ Article 12 of the UDHR states that everyone has the right to privacy,⁵⁴ and the intricate spying network created by the government abused this right. Whilst many people would assume that the horrific side effects experienced by athletes were beyond anything the East

⁴⁹ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

⁵⁰ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

⁵¹ United Nations. (n.d.). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁵² Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁵³ Franke, W. and Berendonk, B. (1997). *Hormonal doping and androgenization of athletes: a secret program of the German Democratic Republic government*. [online] Clinical Chemistry. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9216474> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁵⁴ United Nations. (n.d.). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

German government had ever imagined, this was unfortunately not the case. Recovered Stasi meeting transcripts revealed a conversation between leaders saying when a “track-and-field athlete... was checked into the Erlabrunn Hospital... the doctor determined that the liver failure observed was the result of the ingestion of anabolic steroids.”⁵⁵ The head of clinical research for the doping program, and Stasi spy, Dr Rainer Hartwich said “we knew certain liver functions could be affected, so we did talk about these things... [but] were not put off.”⁵⁶ People younger than ten were forced to train until they “dropped”,⁵⁷ and young athletes and their parents were not even informed that the pills and injections the children were constantly being administered by their doctors were harmful, illegal drugs. Inhuman treatment includes “serious physical or psychological abuse in a health care setting”,⁵⁸ which is exactly what this process was. No one shall be subject to inhuman treatment under Article 5 of the UDHR.⁵⁹ These are just a few of the many ways the government abused their power and used their authority to scare people into complying with them, violating many human rights.

The East German doping scheme is clearly an example of a government using sport as an instrument of power, while unfortunately flouting their responsibilities and creating many costs in the process. The government endeavoured to use athletic victories as power outside of sport; using wins to make their country seem prosperous and strong. This led to the orchestration of a very sophisticated program in which they gave their athletes performance enhancing drugs resulting in many negative impacts on athletes, people in power, and the nation as a whole. The outrageous way citizens were treated by the government was

⁵⁵ Meeting Report IMB “Technik”. (1985). [Transcript] Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic.

⁵⁶ SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

⁵⁷ Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

⁵⁸ Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2018). *Article 3: Freedom from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment*. [online] Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/human-rights-act/article-3-freedom-torture-and-inhuman-or-degrading-treatment> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

⁵⁹ United Nations. (n.d.). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

definitely an abuse of state authority. Evidence and testimonies from people involved prove that while this corrupt bid for power was successful in achieving medals and international recognition, on its discovery it tarnished the government and nation's reputation forever, along with ruining the lives of countless innocent people.

Annotated Bibliography

BARKSDALE, N. (2014). *How long was the Berlin Wall?* [online] HISTORY. Available at: <https://www.history.com/news/how-long-was-the-berlin-wall> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This article is very brief, however provided me with a few measurements and statistics that I included in my essay regarding things such as the length of the Berlin Wall.

BBC Bitesize. (n.d.). *The Berlin Blockade and airlift.* [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/bitesize/guides/zgdnmsg/revision/1> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This website is useful for gaining background knowledge about the political situation in Germany at the time. It details the divide of the country into the East and West, and explains how the United States, Britain, and France each controlled a part, along with outlining their differing political views.

Cold War Museum. (n.d.). *Separation of Berlin.* [online] Available at: http://www.coldwar.org/articles/40s/separation_of_berlin.asp [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This article mainly repeats information that I had found from other sources, and therefore I did not find it very useful for gaining more knowledge, rather I used it to confirm information about the separation of Berlin that I had received already.

Duncanson, N. (1989). *The Olympics.* Wayland (Publishers) Ltd, pp.10-43.

This book is very interesting and provides insight into how the East German doping scheme played a part in the history of the Olympics as a whole, and in what ways it related to other events that occurred. It also gives a perspective of the timeframe in which the doping took place.

The Economist. (2000). *Erich Mielke.* [online] Available at: <https://www.economist.com/obituary/2000/06/01/erich-mielke> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

I only used this website to find out when Erich Mielke died, which is also the only information it provides.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (1998). *Erich Honecker*. [online] Available at:
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Erich-Honecker> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

This website gives a detailed description of Erich Honecker's life, however I only used it to find out a few basic details. It explains his role in the East German government from the improvements he achieved in trade and relations with the West, to his charges with crimes such as abusing his power.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (1998). *Stasi*. [online] Available at:
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Stasi> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

The article provides a general overview of the East German secret police however it does not cover the role they played in the country's doping scheme. It explains their responsibilities, how they were overseen by the government, and gives some background context about their leaders and collaborators.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (1998). *Walter Ulbricht*. [online] Available at:
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Walter-Ulbricht> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This website giving an insight into Walter Ulbricht's life is relatively useful, and it also covers the formation and role of the East German government as a whole since Ulbricht was a huge part of this.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (1999). *Mikhail Gorbachev*. [online] Available at:
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mikhail-Gorbachev> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

One of the longer Encyclopædia Britannica articles I used, this account of Mikail Gorbachev's life is very detailed. While I did not end up writing about Gorbachev in this essay, the website provided me with valuable background knowledge that I found useful.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2018). *Article 3: Freedom from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment*. [online] Available at:
<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/human-rights-act/article-3-freedom-torture-and-inhuman-or-degrading-treatment> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

When investigating how the East German government had misused their power, and gone against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the horrible treatment of their athletes, I found this website very useful for breaking down Article 3. It is very good at

outlining what each part of the section means: explaining what torture, inhuman treatment, and degrading treatment refer to.

ESPN. (2019). *Montreal 1976 - Medal Table*. [online] Available at: <http://en.espn.co.uk/espn/sport/story/142360.html> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

This medal table shows how many medals each nation won in the 1976 Montreal Olympics, and I used it to verify information that I had found in a book.

Franke, W. and Berendonk, B. (1997). *Hormonal doping and androgenization of athletes: a secret program of the German Democratic Republic government*. [online] Clinical Chemistry. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9216474> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

Since it entirely focusses on the East German doping scheme, this report was very useful for my essay. It's quite long and therefore I did not read the whole thing, but instead skimmed for some key facts and examples, along with looking at the diagrams and graphs that were included which had been produced at the time of the doping, documenting many things about the process and how athletes were being affected.

Fritsch, O. (2018). *Doping: Poisoned by East Germany*. [online] Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/sport/2018-03/doping-ddr-sport-dopingopfer-kinder-folgen-hilfe-english> [Accessed 8 Mar. 2019].

Oliver Fritsch's article, Poisoned by East Germany, was the most helpful source when it came to the writing of my essay. It covers almost every aspect of the doping, from its setup to the athletes' opinions and the consequences that they now deal with. Additionally, five different people were interviewed for the article including male and female athletes, a coach, and a second-generation victim. These people all had different circumstances and their interviews give a valuable insight into many different perspectives of the doping, and what people in varying situations experienced. There are many quotes that I included, scanned documents that were produced at the time, and even photos of the drugs given to athletes.

Helmstadaedt, K. (2000). *EAST GERMAN DOPING TRIAL*. [online] The Globe and Mail. Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/east-german-doping-trial/article4165918/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

I used this news report to discover information concerning Manfred Ewald and Manfred Hoepfner's charges related to the doping trials. The article is also useful in that it includes quotes from the presiding judge.

HISTORY. (2009). *Berlin is divided*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/berlin-is-divided> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

Another of many articles I used to get background knowledge of East Germany's position in the cold war, while this website is quite simplistic and mainly just verified what I had learned from other places, it is a good, brief summary of events.

HISTORY. (2010). *Berlin blockade lifted*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/berlin-blockade-lifted> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This webpage almost acts as a timeline, detailing the process of the Berlin Blockade being put into place all the way to its lifting. It also gives some background into why the Blockade existed in the first place.

Kanitz, M. (2016). *Experience: I didn't know I was being doped*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/sep/09/i-didnt-know-i-was-being-doped-marie-katrin-kanitz> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

This article is very valuable for understanding the perspective of East German athletes as they look back on what was done to them. It was written by a female figure skater who was unknowingly doped as a teenager, and she explains what the process of the doping was like.

Longman, J. (2002). *East Germany's Doping Chief, Manfred Ewald, Is Dead at 76*. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/23/sports/east-germany-s-doping-chief-manfred-ewald-is-dead-at-76.html> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

Written two days after Manfred Ewald died, this New York Times article looks back on the role he played in the doping scandal. It is one of the only articles I used that solely focusses on him, so that made it an interesting read.

Meeting Report IMB “Technik”. (1976). [Transcript] Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic.

A very fascinating transcript and also incredibly useful, this record shows the words of a German Democratic Republic State Commissioner regarding the threats that athletes were given if they tried to quit competitive-level sport. It also shows athlete opinion as it references a female expressing her wishes to stop competing for East Germany for fear of experiencing the effects of the drugs that she has witnessed in fellow athletes.

Meeting Report IMB “Technik”. (1985). [Transcript] Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic.

Another transcript from East German archives, this proves that the government knew the consequences of their doping yet continued it anyway. Consequently, I was able to link their actions to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as abuses of it.

SECRETS OF THE DEAD | Doping for Gold | PBS. (2008). [video] Available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta70OIz_b_c [Accessed 28 Mar. 2019].

While this documentary is over an hour long and I did not originally intend to watch all of it, rather find a certain quote, the extreme usefulness of it along with how fascinating I found it meant I viewed it all. It covers many aspects of the doping scandal, and includes interviews with many people who were involved, therefore providing lots of opinions. Additionally, original clips have been utilised so that viewers get to witness real events happening related to the doping scandal.

Shannon, M. (2002). *Drugs in Australia - Drugs in Sport*. Echidna Books, pp.4-28.

While this book does not focus on East Germany, it allows readers to learn a lot about the use of performance enhancing drugs in the sporting world.

Stoppard, M. (1999). *Australian Drugs info file*. Dorling Kindersley, pp.111-113.

Another book very useful for learning about drugs, this text covers an very broad range of illicit substances and therefore does not provide much detail about the doping scandal in the German Democratic Republic, but rather background knowledge.

ULBRICHT IS DEAD IN EAST GERMANY. (1973). [Newspaper] The New York Times, The New York Times Print Archive.

A print archive from the New York Times, this report was very brief but efficacious in that it allowed me to learn when Walter Ulbricht died, and the general public's reaction to this.

United Nations. (n.d.). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [Accessed 27 Mar. 2019].

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was very valuable when it came to the writing of my essay: I used it to discover what human rights have been set forward so I could then analyse the ways in which the drug scandal abused them.

United States of America Department of State. (n.d.). *A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: East Germany (German Democratic Republic)*. [online] Available at:

<https://history.state.gov/countries/german-democratic-republic> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

This reliable report explains the history of the German Democratic Republic, and the perspective with which the United States views the past country.

University of Luxembourg's CVCE. (n.d.). *The division of Germany*. [online] Available at:

<https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/55c09dcc-a9f2-45e9-b240-eaef64452cae/5d3b421b-9a4b-46fc-a041-fab64325d6a6> [Accessed 6 Mar. 2019].

While this article is simplistic, the conciseness makes it very easy for readers to find key facts about the divide of Germany during the Cold War.

Wilkinson, C. (2008). *The Games*. Black Dog Books, pp.84-109.

Although not incredibly useful, this book was very interesting and easily read, providing a lot of detail about the modern Olympic Games. Additionally, considering the significance of the East German doping scandal in sport, the text relates to the topic of my essay and therefore it was worth the read.