

An Olympic Mosaic

Multidisciplinary Research and Dissemination of Olympic Studies
CEO-UAB: 20 Years

Editors

Emilio Fernández Peña
Berta Cerezuela
Miquel Gómez Benosa
Chris Kennett
Miquel de Moragas Spà



Centre d'Estudis Olímpics
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona



Ajuntament de Barcelona

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Publishers

Ajuntament de Barcelona
and Centre d'Estudis Olímpics
de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Barcelona City Council Publications Board

Ignasi Cardelús, Enric Casas, Eduard Vicente, Jordi Martí, Màrius Rubert, Jordi Campillo, Glòria Figuerola, Víctor Gimeno, Joan A. Dalmau, Carme Gibert, José Pérez Freijo.

Translation and Language Correction

Steve Norris, UAB Servei d'Idiomes Moderns, Anna Baldirà

Design and Layout

Mireia Rocher, Ramon G. Sedó,

Publishing and Printing

Direcció d'Imatge i Serveis Editorials
www.bcn.cat/publicacions

© Of the publication: Ajuntament de Barcelona and Centre d'Estudis Olímpics de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

© Of the texts: The authors

ISBN Ajuntament de Barcelona: 978-84-9850-317-3

ISBN Centre d'Estudis Olímpics 978-84-938759-2-3

Legal Deposit: B: 23138-2011

April 2011

Printed on paper from sustainable sources

Acknowledgments

This book has been published within the framework of celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB), which was founded in June 1989.

We would like to express our thanks to all the people and institutions that, in one way or another, have helped to make this project a reality.

And, in particular, to CEO-UAB co-founder Barcelona City Council, which has made the printing of this publication possible.

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The 1992 Olympic Games



Juan Antonio Samaranch, Pasqual Maragall and Josep Miquel Abad Talk about the Legacy of the Barcelona'92 Olympics 10 Years after the Event¹¹

Miquel Botella

Economist; Deputy Director General Administration, COOB'92

Miquel de Moragas

Professor of Communication Theory; CEO-UAB Founder and Director, 1989-2009

Introduction

Ten years after the 1992 Games, on a June morning in 2002, Miquel de Moragas and Miquel Botella, editors of the book *Barcelona: l'herència dels Jocs (1992-2002)*, were able to bring together three of the outstanding protagonists of the Barcelona'92 Olympics to talk about the event: Juan Antonio Samaranch, Pasqual Maragall and Josep Miquel Abad.¹²

The meeting was convened to analyse the key aspects of the candidature, preparation, celebration and memory of the Games. Unhurriedly, with time to remember and clarify.

This summary is the result of the conversation, and the protagonists' reactions to issues that, as editors, we gradually put to them.

The remote origin of the idea

Juan Antonio Samaranch (J. A. S.): Actually, if the truth be told, we need to go right back to 1931 to find the real origin of the Barcelona'92 Olympics. The stadium, the swimming pool [...] everything for the Olympic Games: everything in Barcelona was ready. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) held a meeting in April 1931 in Barcelona to decide on the host city for 1936. And what happened was that the Second Spanish Republic came into being and the people who intended to come got scared: between 50 and 60 people were supposed to come but only 17 or 18 eventually did. The person who organised everything, Baron de Güell, the then President of the Spanish Olympic Committee (COE), also left and went to Paris. The

11. Editors' note: Text originally published in Catalan as part of the book *Barcelona: l'herència dels Jocs (1992-2002)*, edited by Miquel de Moragas and Miquel Botella, which CEO-UAB dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the 1992 Olympic Games.

When selecting the texts for the book, the editors felt that it would be interesting to include the testimonies of three people that played lead roles in winning the bid for and organising the Barcelona

12. Juan Antonio Samaranch, former President of the International Olympic Committee; Pasqual Maragall, former President of COOB'92 (Barcelona Organising Committee for the 1992 Olympic Games) and former Mayor of Barcelona; Josep Miquel Abad, former Chief Executive Officer of COOB'92.

IOC members who attended the meeting decided to vote, but with a secret vote, to keep the votes, to take them to Lausanne, to hold a postal vote for the members who had not been to Barcelona and then open the envelopes to see who had won.

Pasqual Maragall (P. M.): So where did they open the envelopes?

J. A. S.: In Lausanne. Berlin won by a large majority. Of course, when Berlin won, Hitler hadn't risen to power. And when he did, he didn't want anything to do with the Games. Apparently, it was Goebbels who managed to convince him that it was the best form of propaganda for the regime. And then he began to take them seriously: to begin with, the Jews were respected, but as soon as the Games had ended, the repression started. All of that comes out in Charlie Chaplin's film *The Great Dictator*: there's a moment when the Jews have no idea what's going on because the police started smiling at them, bringing them flowers [...].

P. M.: But the People's Olympiad was held in Barcelona in 1936, whose Executive Board was chaired by Lluís Companys¹³.

J. A. S.: But it wasn't even opened.

P. M.: But you know why it wasn't opened, don't you?

J. A. S.: Because of the Spanish Civil War.

P. M.: It was that day, that very day, something that maybe hasn't been explained well enough: Franco's uprising was on the 18th and the People's Olympiad was due to start on the 19th. One of the things people say that he said was that some blokes dressed as international athletes had come here, but that they were really revolutionaries. It was one of the excuses that General Franco made for the uprising: saying that some foreigners had come here to Spain for goodness knows what weird purpose. That's actually been recorded.

J. A. S.: But the programme of the People's Olympiad was pretty poor.

P. M.: That's a different matter. What I'm saying is that it had a historic significance.

The immediate origin of the idea: Barcelona, an Olympic city?

Josep Miquel Abad (J. M. A.): Those meetings! What Pasqual and I can remember is a meeting of Barcelona City Council's governing team in 1980, when I assume that, after discreet conversations between Narcís Serra and Juan Antonio Samaranch, the Mayor then appeared and said: "What do you think about us organising an Olympic Games?" And we exclaimed: "About doing what?" From then on the idea began to take shape.

J. A. S.: At that time, I was sure I could become President of the IOC. The only doubt I had was that if Lord Killanin were to stand again, I wouldn't be able to. But then, when I realised for sure that he wasn't going to stand, I decided to go ahead. That was when I went to see Narcís Serra, the Mayor of Barcelona. That must have been 1979. I told him: "Listen, if I'm elected, we can pull out all the stops and ask for an Olympic Games to be held in Barcelona." The day I was elected President, on the 16th of July 1980, Serra sent me a telegram to congratulate me, to remind me of our conversations and to remind me that Barcelona [...]. And then I came to Barcelona and we began to talk. That's when you come in, isn't it? (Addressing Maragall).

J. M. A.: Not exactly. It was Narcís who sent me discreetly on condition that we talk to see if everything could be set up. He also said that you had to invite me to eat at the Girardet restaurant (that was part of the whole deal). And, on returning, the first study was commissioned, which was led by Romà Cuyàs.

13. Translator's note: The President of the Government of Catalonia from 1934, during the Spanish Civil War

P. M.: A significant day was the 1981 Armed Forces Day (I seem to recall that it was the 30th of April). And, just think for a moment, that, on the 23rd of February, there had been a coup d'état attempt. Things were so bad that, a month later, when the Banco Central was raided, a Civil Guard General came, and he thought that the same thing was happening again, that all of that was part of the Tejero coup d'état. A week later, the Armed Forces Day was celebrated and everyone felt as if they were experiencing an obsession of the past. And then the parade was prepared. Narcís took care of it, he saw the King, the parade took place in the morning (it was a beautifully sunny Sunday) and, in the Moll de la Fusta area, the first of a series of major building works was opened. In my opinion, that day changed people's mindsets, because they saw a young socialist Mayor and the King presiding over the parade in Catalonia, in Barcelona. And then, in the afternoon, in the Saló de Cent, Narcís publicly told him this: "Your Royal Highness, we want your support for the Olympic Games." Which effectively meant that the King already knew about it.

J. A. S.: The King's support was decisive, because, at that time, the Prime Minister was Calvo Sotelo. I coincided with him one day in Mexico, at a reception being offered by the President of that country in honour of his visit. I was there, in the first row. When he saw me, he came over and said: "Listen, call me when you get back to Spain, because I'm not at all convinced about the Olympic Games thing." I didn't call him because I had a lot of work on.

P. M.: He called you.

J. A. S.: No, he didn't call. But, at that time, he was completely against the idea. Then there was a change of government: having a socialist government with a socialist Mayor was a huge advantage. Though Felipe González wasn't that enthusiastic about the idea either, at least to begin with.

P. M.: I didn't ever hear him say anything, in Madrid at least.

J. A. S.: Whatever the case, he gave it the green light.

P. M.: Well, he didn't just give it the green light. Felipe González was then absolutely for it.

J. M. A.: No-one had any idea of the scale of what the Olympic Games meant. So, to Calvo Sotelo for some reasons and to Felipe González for others, the Games thing must have sounded half outlandish, half sporty, and so on. Everyone saw what the real transcendence of the Olympic Games was much later on.

P. M.: When Felipe González joined the government, Narcís Serra was by his side. At that time he knew what was going on. He never had the chance to be in any doubt about that.

Investments

J. A. S.: The government's contribution to the Olympic Games was actually quite discreet.

P. M.: Well, I think it was basic.

J. M. A.: In the Organising Committee's budget, it was discreet because it probably needed to be. However, central government's contribution to the essential infrastructure works for holding the Games was a determining factor.

J. A. S.: I always maintained that if the State only gave Barcelona a third of what it gave to the Seville Expo, we could be happy with that.

J. M. A.: I think, if we add everything together, it didn't reach a third.

J. A. S.: Not by a long shot.

J. M. A.: COOB'92's initial budget was 150 billion¹⁴ in 1987. It ended up being 190 billion, with a profit or surplus of 500 million. To that budget, the State made a contribution for the Stadium (COOB'92 and other entities also contributed to it), but afterwards, and in particular, it contributed through the Tax Benefit Law. In other words, it contributed well, though not so much by providing resources as by facilitating the fact that COOB'92 could do things for itself through the Tax Benefit Law. It also did lotteries, football pools, stamps and a whole series of things that obviously meant money for COOB'92. From that point of view it's obvious: the sum total of all of that meant a lot of money for COOB'92. Though it didn't come directly from the coffers of the State.

P. M.: The most important thing was the guarantee, because we were acting at all times with the safety net of knowing that Mr Solchaga, or whoever it might be (because you knew perfectly well that you could go to Madrid to see Mr Gómez Navarro and tell him: "we need this or that").

J. M. A.: We had Madrid's guarantee which, luckily, didn't need to be used.

P. M.: There are three different things. One is the budget for the Games, that 150-billion figure, which ended up being 190 billion, which the State guaranteed. And the Government of Catalonia made a partial contribution, though with a risk limit of 4 billion: "I'll put that in and that's it". And that's understandable, because it used to have a lot fewer financial powers, fewer than now and fewer than the State, of course. Second: the building works. The largest part of the works accounted for 200-odd billion, corresponding to Holding Olímpic, which had to be done by thirds: State, Government of Catalonia and City Council. Finally, the Government of Catalonia said that it had put in what it was supposed to put in. These 200 billion were financed by Holding Olímpic, chaired by Santiago Roldán, with a 51%-49% share between the State and the City Council, because the Government of Catalonia said that it didn't dare spend any more money. Here we need to add the building works that were done, whether or not they were connected with the Games, which were not included in the Holding programme. For example, the bypasses, which cost 180 billion, or the airport, which cost 28 billion. So, if we add everything together (the Games, the building works, the bypasses, the airport, plus, in third place, the related outlays made by private companies, one of which was Telefónica, at that time in the process of privatisation, which cabled the city and the facilities), we're talking about a figure of 900 billion then, which would now be about 1,500 billion. And that's not just about the Games; those were the investments generated at that time, which I think were more than paid for by Barcelona. It was the best business venture in the life of the city of Barcelona, even though the City Council ended up with a debt of 280 billion with a budget of 250 billion. In other words, it ended up being indebted for a figure greater than had been budgeted for. But that was rectified, because Joan Clos, who at that time was Deputy Mayor for Public Finance, and others, began to get to work on sorting that out to get the city back on track again: what happened in Montreal did not happen here, neither was there any sign of the ghost of times past that basically meant that the Games would lead to ruin.

Candidature process

J. A. S.: The candidature was really important. Candidature meant getting votes, and you couldn't get votes here in Barcelona, you had to get them abroad. And then a very strong candidature appeared on the scene, which was Paris. The Mayor of Paris, Chirac, was also Prime Minister. Prime Minister and Mayor. That gave the candidature a great deal of force. And the candidature team in Barcelona was formed by Carlos Ferrer, Rodés, Abad, Mercè Varela and Ambassador Masferrer. And that was it. These were the five people who, every month or six weeks, had a meeting with me.

J. M. A.: We used to meet at your place. We didn't all arrive at the same time, so that we could go in discreetly.

14. Translator's note: Pesetas

J. A. S.: And they began to get to work. At that time, IOC members could travel to the candidate cities. When they came here, they were welcomed really well and, above all, they were taken around by helicopter so that they could see how close the sports facilities were. They were welcomed by the Mayor, by the President of the Government of Catalonia, Jordi Pujol, who, before welcoming each member, learnt a couple of things about sport in their countries of origin so that he could talk to them about it.

P. M.: And they ended up having dinner at Leopoldo and Isabel's place.

J. A. S.: Leopoldo Rodés opened the doors and they had dinner there, at his place, and the truth is that it all went swimmingly.

P. M.: Great!

J. A. S.: Yes, really well. The choice was very easy, even though in Lausanne, when the decision was made, President Chirac was present, who gave an amazing speech. I was afraid. Though not really. The truth is that, without false modesty, I must say that if Barcelona hadn't have won, I, as President of the IOC, would have considered it to be a vote of no confidence. And my position would have been very difficult, I would have had to give up. I wouldn't have been able to stand for re-election.

Relationships between the IOC and the Coordination Commissions

J. M. A.: It's obvious that Barcelona won for many reasons and that your role (addressing Samaranch), along with other factors, was a wholly determining one. For example, I remember some of the funny moments, like the candidature committee's power of persuasion, when the Evaluation Commission came here, which was chaired by Mr Ericson, who subsequently chaired the Coordination Commission: when we took him to the Olympic Village, the railway lines, the factories with chimneys billowing smoke, etc. were still there. "Here, Mr Chairman of the Commission, is where the Olympic Village will be." And he said: "Listen, are you saying that it will be here in five years' time?", because, of course, it seemed utterly implausible.

P. M.: And the journalists asked him what he thought and he answered by saying that he had "butterflies in his stomach".

J. A. S.: I remember a poster full of butterflies.

J. M. A.: Well it's true: we gave him a picture, a typical collector's one, of a fantastic collection of butterflies. We gave it to him, he was moved, he cried.

J. A. S.: That Coordination Commission was created for Barcelona. Now we wonder how it would have been possible to continue with a Games without that Commission. The Commission for Daily Monitoring while the Games were being held was something I created for the first Games held after I became President.

P. M.: President Samaranch was very neutral because, once, in San Juan de Puerto Rico, I had cramps in my stomach after the telling-off we had. Do you remember that? You said: "What about the bypasses?" No, that will go very well for us.

J. A. S.: I was very demanding. Maybe more so with Barcelona than with other candidates. Up to a certain time, up to a year and a half before the Games.

Conflict resolution

J. M. A.: The tough time was between 1987 and the end of 1989, when all we could do was show projects. And the few real things we could show, like the Stadium, didn't have a very brilliant opening. I remember, after the opening of the Athletics

Championships, that you (referring to Pasqual Maragall) and I were the only ones left in the tribune. You took me by the shoulder and said: "Well, lad, we made a real pig's ear of that!" The IOC's sports advisor, Artur Takaç, saw both of us alone, totally upset, and told us: "Don't worry, politically-speaking you'll have problems and you'll get a lot of criticism, but luckily for you, this has happened three years beforehand. You've got time to rectify it." That gave us a lot of encouragement at that time.

P. M.: It was a very good idea to do everything in advance, because it allowed us to make mistakes and react to them. Every organisation of an Olympic Games, as far as I know (and the President will correct me if I'm wrong), or of universal expos and everything that is set up for a particular date without a stable system, all of them go wrong at some stage. And here it was great to set it up with sufficient time. As a result, a year later, when the Palau Sant Jordi was opened, no-one remembered what had happened.

J. M. A.: As from an IOC Executive Board meeting at the end of 1989, where we gave a report, things began to change because real things could then be seen and credibility increased.

J. A. S.: In the same period, I said that everything was going very well, that we were all pulling together, and that things should keep moving ahead.

J. M. A.: At the City Hall, the official signature by the four members of the Organising Committee took place on the 12th of March 1987, and the assembly was formed on the 13th of March. Four or five months had gone by since the 16th of October.

P. M.: We managed to create a management body. But I remember that, at the constituent assembly of COOB'92 in the Saló de Cròniques, there were about 90 of us, and there were a couple of incidents owing to language. But, in the end, all the delicate issues were resolved very well, mainly because the father figure of the President of the IOC was there.

J. A. S.: But the Barcelona Games were the only ones in history to have four languages.

J. M. A.: In Helsinki too, which was our point of reference at the time of the candidature, when Catalan was already being revindicated. I've never understood why it was demanded with such acrimony, in the way it was demanded from the Organising Committee, when from the very start, beginning with the candidature drafts, all four languages were there and we used the four languages at Helsinki as the point of reference, which were English, French, Finnish and Swedish.

J. A. S.: The IOC had no problem at all with that. No-one ever said no to me about languages, flags, etc.

P. M.: No, no. The problems were here. But they were gradually sorted out very well. Except for the day the Stadium was opened.

J. M. A.: A number of factors and problems came together at the same time: protocol, delays, the state of the works, unusually heavy rain and organised disturbance.

P. M.: There were other highly tense moments. On the day of the opening, five minutes before starting, you (referring to Samaranch), the President of the Government of Spain, the President of the Government of Catalonia and I were there, when Josep Miquel came up to us and said: "There are a couple of blokes, some of the extras, who are going to streak across the stadium!"

J. M. A.: They were bearing an inscription (he points to his body).

P. M.: And he asked us: "Shall we strip them all naked?" No, don't do that. Finally, the group leader asked for decorum and everything was sorted out fine. So, in the end, there wasn't any streaking.

Assessment of success

J. A. S.: There is something I always say: the success of the Games, besides the organisation (which was excellent), was due to the participation of the Spanish team. Because, with an average or middling participation of the Spanish team, the Games wouldn't have been as successful as they were. Winning 13 gold medals, more than in Spain's whole Olympic history, was an extraordinary feat.

P. M.: The atmosphere, the public [...]. The climax was the 1,500 metres.

J. M. A.: In any event, the huge effort to organise the Games, which requires years and years of investment and thousands of committed people, has a bit of a mean streak thrown into the mix, because everything is at stake over the final 16 days. And, of these 16 days, almost everything is at stake in the first four hours: if the opening ceremony is seen to be a huge success across the globe, and Barcelona's certainly was, something really serious needs to go wrong to change that first impression. The legacy is something else, but the image [...]. It doesn't matter if the organisation is a bit shaky so long as everything turns out fine, because that's what remains; if the organisation is perfect but things don't turn out that well, that's the image that remains.

J. A. S.: Participation, winning medals, is really important for success. All you have to do is remember the 1982 World Cup. The organisation was very good, the stadium was great, but the team was a disaster, and that was the negative image that remained, no-one even noticed the organisation. But the success of a Games is due to organisation and participation together.

P. M.: There are two things I'd like to say. First about the opening; the team who designed it was important: in it there was Pepo Sol (Goodness! Quite a few of them are no longer with us, are they? It was a huge effort, and by that I don't mean that that's why a few of them are no longer with us, but [...]), Ovídeo, Bigas, Lluís Bassat, Manuel Huerga. We brought them together and they produced a splendid opening.

J. A. S.: And Casanovas, who has good ideas. I loved the giant flag above the athletes.

P. M.: Then there's something else I'd like to say. There's always a huge crisis in these kinds of project, but there wasn't in this one because we knew how to resist, because there was a time when we began to get a lot of pressure put on us to change direction. But here we dug our heels in. And that was the success. If we'd made the mistake of changing the scheme of things, we would've put everything at stake. They were very tough moments, with institutions having doubts about things from the sidelines. I think it was here where Josep Miquel played an absolutely decisive role. I trusted in him and got it absolutely right.

J. A. S.: Before the Barcelona Games, the IOC resolved the South African problem. Even though there wasn't any political solution, we sent a commission and sorted out the potential participation of South Africa. So the IOC was the first to ban South Africa because of the system of apartheid and the first to open the doors to it again. President Mandela, who at that time was not yet President of the country, came to see me in Lausanne, alone. And he said to me: "Listen, I'm very grateful for everything you've done, but we still need to take a step forward. All the athletes who can come to the Games are white." "How many athletes will you send?" "About 40", he said. I told him: "We can invite about 30 young black athletes to take part in the parade." And so, in the South African parade, there were white and black athletes. And they stayed at the Olympic Village.

J. M. A.: And they eventually took part. The President of the South African Olympic Committee didn't stop asking for accreditations for male and female athletes. Though yes, they eventually did take part in some sports, in a testimonial yet very active way.

Security

P. M.: Security issues were the ones of greatest concern at a particular time. In 1986, a police officer was killed in Plaça d'Espanya, when we were in Los Angeles, and we had to come back. That concern was a constant one. One of the monitoring visits by the IOC Security Commission was made on a Friday, and its members had to go to Paris the following day, on Sunday. We persuaded them to delay their arrival in Paris by two hours, and to go via Madrid first, to be greeted by President González. We hired a private plane and went to Madrid, to the Moncloa¹⁵. Felipe was very convincing, great, as he was on the Lausanne day. He told them that, as Prime Minister, he took responsibility, that they didn't have to be at all concerned, that he had the most trustworthy people (Rafael Vera and company, whose conduct was admirable). And they left completely convinced.

J. A. S.: It should be said that the security issue was perfect. Not only during the Barcelona Games, which lasted for less than a month. But also during the Seville Expo. For six months, there were no terrorist attacks in Spain. If during the Barcelona Games a bomb had been placed in Lleida, which had nothing to do with the Games, it would have seriously jeopardised them. But absolutely nothing happened. I was at the Security Centre led by Vera and it was one of the things that served as a point of reference for future Games. Security must be led by one person. The police, the army, all the security forces must be under the orders of just one person. Otherwise it's a mess.

J. M. A.: Here a commission was set up, which was chaired by Secretary of State Rafael Vera, with the Catalan Minister for Governance, who, at that time was Gomis, the Deputy Mayor of Barcelona, that was me, and every fortnight we held a meeting.

The urban model

J. M. A.: In my opinion, the best move of the Barcelona Games, and of all the cities that have since used this model in general, was that of using the huge force or tremendous leverage of the Games to stir up aspirations and generate resources that can be put to use for the city, and not the other way round. That was the great strategy. Because many cities who did the opposite, like Montreal or Mexico, had many problems because, among other reasons, a whole series of investments that did not respond to the logic of the city and of permanent use, but rather to a major yet one-off demand, obviously ended up not being used. The great strategic decision was that Games were for the city and, from there, a city model was outlined, which is what it is now.

J. A. S.: The most important thing for me is that the city managed to reclaim the sea, don't you think?

P. M.: Yes, it reclaimed the sea, reclaimed Poblenou, built the bypasses, which had been on the back burner since 1936.

J. M. A.: That's the physical legacy. But there's also the non-physical legacy, which is that Barcelona got its morale back. And that is possibly one of the most important legacies. And that's intangible yet priceless.

J. A. S.: That's what I always say. That people became much more positive, much more optimistic, much more enterprising.

P. M.: The success was so great that, since then, it's been very hard to make any comparisons. That's why it's so tough for the Fòrum¹⁶. I think it will be a success, but it's going to be tough, because it's not that well known. I'm telling you: the Games were much easier from a strictly organisational perspective, because we have the Olympic Charter, President Samaranch, the rules and regulations that need to be observed. The Fòrum needs to be invented, a Fòrum 'Olympic' Charter needs to be devised.

15. Translator's note: Official residence of the President of the Government of Spain.

16. Translator's note: Universal Forum of Cultures, held in Barcelona in 2004.

The Paralympics

J. A. S.: Barcelona was the beginning of a new era for the Paralympics. Until reaching a complete solution: today, the Paralympic Games officially form part of the Olympic Games. The host city of the Olympic Games, the organising committee itself, is bound to offer the Paralympic Games.

J. M. A.: The immediate point of reference for Barcelona was Seoul, which also offered the Paralympic Games.

J. A. S.: And they did it really well.

J. M. A.: They did do it well, though there wasn't that much publicity. The Paralympic athletes themselves were very dissatisfied because they got the feeling that they were being hidden from view.

J. A. S.: We granted them the use of the name 'Olympics' because it's a very deserving endeavour. But Barcelona was the major deployment of the Paralympics. And, to be fair, it should be said that ONCE¹⁷ was the driving force.

P. M.: Without ONCE, there would not have been a top-rate Paralympics.

J. M. A.: ONCE was a COOB'92 partner and contributed 2.5 billion Pesetas at the time.

P. M.: And the surprising thing was that they had so many spectators, the venues were full to the brim every day.

The volunteers

J. A. S.: Barcelona significantly raised the bar of the Games. In subsequent ceremonies, based on Barcelona's innovations, the influence can be clearly seen. But, before finishing, we ought to talk about the volunteers.

J. M. A.: We registered applications from 110,000 people who wanted to become volunteers in 1986. And we did an audit to check that it wasn't false, that it wasn't the phone directory. We submitted the audited list to Lausanne to show that it was true. Then 35,000 volunteers were selected and trained.

P. M.: Some of the people that we should not forget about are the Queen¹⁸ and Bibi Samaranch, who were the only two people smiling in the tribune. The others, if you watch the films, have a stressed look on their faces. We were hoping that nothing would go wrong. Until the arrow. Then we started to breathe again.

After the conversation, former President Samaranch invited the whole group to go upstairs to his office. The whole of Barcelona can be seen, the Palau Sant Jordi seems to mark a line of continuity with the Olympic Village. Further beyond, the Diagonal prolongation works and the Fòrum 2004. From this perspective, the legacy of the Games is even clearer.

17. Translator's note: National organisation of blind people in Spain, which raises funds for social work and projects.

18. Translator's note: Queen of Spain.