

“The Tokyo Olympic Games will and must go on”

By Volker Kluge



Meiji Shrine Games 1933 in the Meiji Jingu Stadium. “Sport in the group and no individualism” – such was the demand of the Japanese Education Minister. Adjacent: IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour in confidential conversation with Japanese IOC Member Jigorō Kanō.

In June 1930 a Japanese athletics team travelled to Europe to take part in the World Student Games in Darmstadt. The delegation was led by Prof. Dr. Tadaoki Yamamoto¹. On his return he made a proposal to the Mayor of Tokyo Hidejiro Nagata that the city should host the Games of the XIIth Olympiad in 1940. This would also celebrate 2600 years of the imperial dynasties.

Even before the 1932 Games in Los Angeles, where Japan had a large team, the project gained impetus. At the request of IOC President Count Henry Baillet-Latour, the Japanese IOC Members Professor Jigorō Kanō² and Dr. Seiichi Kishi³ made an official invitation for 1940 in the name of their government.

Shortly afterwards Japan found itself in a difficult political situation. After the occupation of Manchuria, it was at war with China. When on 25th February 1933, the League of Nations condemned Japan as an aggressor, her government responded by resigning from the organisation.

In the following period, the Olympic candidature for 1940 and the organisation of a Grand International Exposition in the same year gained prominence, as the Japanese government promised to put an end

to international isolation and hoped for a greater influence in a global sphere hitherto dominated by the West.

In this Tokyo focussed especially on Fascist Italy, where in 1935 the diplomat Yotaro Sugimura served as Ambassador. Two years before, he had been co-opted to the IOC.

Before the Session in Oslo, where the decision about the host city of the 1940 Games was to be taken, Sugimura and Count Michimasa Soyeshima met Benito Mussolini, in order to persuade Rome, another candidate city, to withdraw. As a quid pro quo there was the prospect of support for a Roman bid in 1944.⁴

Sugimura also promised that the European NOCs would have their travel costs reimbursed. He discussed matters with the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, following which the USSR government undertook not to cause any difficulties in the use of the Trans-Siberian railway.⁵

There were greater doubts as to whether Japan would be in a position to make use of its option to stage the Winter Games as well. If that were to prove not to be the case the Italian Count Bonacossa and the Finn Ernst Krogius offered their countries as alternatives.

The IOC was about to proceed to the vote on 1st March 1935 when Bonacossa withdrew Rome's application. In order to give other interested parties time to consider a bid, Baillet-Latour postponed the decision until the following year. Besides Tokyo and Rome he had on his list Athens, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Dublin, Helsinki and Lausanne.⁶

A 'Technical Adviser' as a Condition

On 18th December 1935 at the residence of the Japanese Prime Minister, an "Invitation Committee for the XIIth Olympiad" had been constituted under the chairmanship of Prince Iyesato Tokugawa⁷. Baillet-Latour, who probably had little confidence in Asiatic organisational abilities, decided to see the Far East for himself. He arrived in Yokohama on 19th March 1936 for a 'private' visit.⁸ In the three weeks of his stay he was received by Emperor Hirohito, met a number of key personalities and visited possible sports facilities.

Among the authorities with whom he spoke was the Honorary Secretary of the YMCA, Russell Durgin⁹, who strengthened Baillet-Latour in his resolve to give the Japanese the assistance of an IOC adviser in the event of a decision in their favour.¹⁰ In fact this idea stemmed from Carl Diem, who wished to secure long term German influence. Diem envisaged his faithful adjutant Werner Klingeberg for this task. Even during the 1936 Winter Games Diem noted:

5.2.1936 Garmisch

*Had lunch in the Alpenhof with Lewald and Baillet-Latour plus Klingeberg. Took the opportunity to present Klingeberg for his work in Japan. Baillet-Latour is prepared to impose the condition on the Japanese that they engage one of my colleagues for the organisation of the Games. I am to work out a document for him to say what demands are to be placed on the Japanese.*¹¹

When the IOC Executive Committee met in Stockholm in early June 1936, the number of Olympic candidates had been reduced to three. Tokyo and Helsinki were still present, and new to the game was London. This came as a surprise to Soyeshima and Kanō who only learnt about it after their arrival in Berlin, where the next Session was due to take place before 1936 Games. To their great relief, their British colleague Lord Aberdare declared himself ready to withdraw the London application, as it had been made very late on. As a precautionary measure he made an advance claim for 1944.¹²

At the same meeting Baillet-Latour described his travel impressions. He praised the "purely unselfish sporting spirit" of Japanese youth, and he stressed the willingness of the organisers to employ a "technical adviser" and a "sufficient number of interpreter

attachés".¹³ Most IOC Members took his report as a recommendation, so that they voted the next day for Tokyo – however the result of the vote was not announced.¹⁴

On 14th December 1936 the Olympic Organising Committee for the XIIth Olympia Tokyo 1940 (OOC) was constituted with Prince Tokugawa as President. The Prince had taken the place of Sugimura as IOC Member at the Berlin Session. At its 13th meeting on 16th March 1937 the OOC officially accepted Baillet-Latour's condition to 'invite' Klingeberg to Tokyo.¹⁵ His employment began on 1st April 1937 as "Technical Adviser of the IOC". This also meant that for the first time, the IOC had a full time employee. The annual salary – demanded by Klingeberg and paid by the IOC – was set at 1200 pounds.¹⁶

It was agreed with Baillet-Latour that he would begin his work on 1st November 1937. Klingeberg had only visited Japan once before, whilst returning to Europe from the USA in 1934. But as early as 8th June, he made a report on Tokyo's preparations at the IOC Session in Warsaw. This he had formulated on the basis of conversations with Japanese NOC representatives. It was yet to be decided exactly when the Games would take place, and Klingeberg presented three variants: 1st last week August/first week September; 2nd 10–25th September; 3rd first two weeks of October. At the vote the first variant received the most votes.¹⁷ However one year later, the decision was taken to go for the period from 21st September to 6th October 1940.¹⁸

The second important point was the Winter Games, for which the Japanese offered Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido. This was questioned by some Europeans. Just in case the Norwegian Thomas Fearnley announced the interest of Oslo, whereupon Baillet-Latour postponed discussion of this subject for a year to await developments.¹⁹

Special thanks to ISOH member Bernd Wagner, who placed the photos and documents from the estate of Werner Klingeberg at our disposal for this article.

The arrival of Werner Klingeberg in Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido, where the Vth Winter Games were due to take place in 1940. Yet by the end of 1937 an Organising Committee had not even been formed.



Sent into the desert: General Secretary Nagai in Gizeh. Right: In the summer-house of German Ambassador Eugen Ott, Klingeberg's secretary Susi Knoller and the journalist Dr. Richard Sorge had a good time. In his photo album Klingeberg later scribbled the word 'Spion' (Spy) after learning that Sorge executed in 1944, had been head of the Soviet cell "Ramsay". Moscow had learned through him on 20th May 1941 that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union on 22th June with at least 150 divisions, but Stalin refused to believe it. But another piece of news was decisive for the war: despite the Three Power Pact, said the radio, Japan would not attack the USSR, so that a war of two fronts was avoided.



To impose 'Quarantine' on the Aggressors

While Klingeberg was preparing for his departure, the second Chinese–Japanese war began on 2nd July 1937 after a clash on the Marco–Polo Bridge. The war was fought with great brutality. It reached its tragic climax at the end of the year with the Nanking massacre, during which at least 200,000 Chinese civilians and prisoners of war were murdered. Without explicitly naming the states of Germany, Japan and Italy, allied in the Anti-Comintern Pact, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had already demanded that other nations impose a 'Quarantine' on the aggressors.²⁰

Ignoring that, the Japanese stuck to their plan to host the 1940 Games. They saw in them not just "a simple international sports competition, but as an event to improve our nation's physical strength and to foment nationalism".²¹ This also was stated by the Education Minister: "We must strive to improve our mental discipline and physical strength by exerting our best efforts to cultivate the spirit that would die for the group and would extinguish the individual."²²

Despite this unmistakable effort to misuse the Games as a vehicle of Japanese nationalism, the IOC continued to assume that the Games would still take place in 1940 in the land of the Rising Sun. By then, it was widely believed

that the war would be over. These were also Klingeberg's instructions when he met IOC Secretary André G. Berdez in Lausanne and then visited Honorary President Pierre de Coubertin in Geneva before his departure. The handwritten letter that he requested on this occasion was intended as a message for the Japanese.²³

Like Diem, his pupil Klingeberg, infected early by Nazism, kept a diary. Regrettably only two books in his estate for the years 1935 to 1937 can be found.²⁴ Although they only provide fragmentary memories, these are still authentic documents from which one can learn much about the background as to why the 1940 Games were cancelled. Accordingly extracts from these diaries, much reduced, but only marginally edited, are quoted as an appendix to this introduction.

The Games ultimately planned for Helsinki did not take place because of the war. Military events ultimately proved decisive in causing the cancellation of the Tokyo Games but they were not the only reason. Before that decision was finally taken, the great inexperience and lack of unity of the prospective 1940 Olympic hosts, showed that the IOC had not made a good choice. All the greater was the contrast to 1964, when Tokyo, elected as hosts for the second time, carried out excellent Games. They set standards which should be a good omen for Tokyo Olympic Games in 2020.

Klingeberg's "Travel Impressions"

21st July 1937

At great speed the light express takes me to Lausanne. [...] Only once does the train stop, in Berne, otherwise it races through the Swiss Alpine foothills to the banks of Lake Geneva. [...] Here Berdez²⁵ meets me, and in his aged (10 years old) Fiat we go to Lausanne. I stay in the Hotel 'Mirabeau', in a quiet little square near the station. Then we go straight to 'Mon Repos', but I am unlucky! Everything is packed! Central heating is being installed, and so nothing can be seen!

To all my requests to see Coubertin's publications, good old Berdez shrugs his shoulders! He himself has certainly not worked much in the not exactly systematically ordered papers and collections. Above all, oh, poor German, pre-loaded with all thinkable conceptions, with the 'Diem School', with ideals of a world-encompassing Olympic Movement, screw back the measure of your expectations!!²⁶

In the picturesque calm of Lausanne, far from the bustle and thus the critical eye of the big wide world, slumbers the headquarters of the IOC! If the Olympic idea was not stimulated anew every four years, Lausanne would let it fall asleep.

Berdez shows and tells me what would be possible, but then he refers me again to Coubertin. The old gentleman lives in Geneva, I will visit him there. I am warned about his wife, who is said to make his life hell. Never mind, I can cope with that.

In the afternoon we discuss the points I have noted in Berdez' apartment. I can sort out everything more or less. The meetings with Müllegg²⁷ and Huguenin²⁸ are

agreed, and leaving Berdez alone with his dog, after his charming young wife on a visit from Milan had taken her leave, I go down to the lake. A swim in one of the great beach bathing resorts refreshes me! Not so much the pretty girls, for they are missing. As Dr. Messerli²⁹, similar to Dodi Schmidt³⁰ in his activity, tells me in the evening, a new swimming pool is being built. As for mountains, lake, climate, Lausanne is blessed, also there is said to be more life in winter than now. [...]

Messerli complains to me, that he was not elected as President of the Swiss NOC as the new member of the IOC in Switzerland really upsets him. He has worked for 25 years, others have always taken the fruits of his labours, now he wants to give up his friendship with the Olympic idea.

I hear the same reproaches against the IOC, as I have heard them at home. Both sides have one thing in common, which is all too human: offended vanity!

But he will come to Tokyo, and on the evening steamer trip by moonlight over Lake Geneva new plans will be forged. Messerli will organise a great study trip with the League of Nations and the Japanese government (will both of them be found again?) for doctors, engineers and academics, for the Olympic sportsmen and women are too stupid, too one-sided, as he has established in his 25 years as General Secretary of the Swiss NOC.

25th July 1937

The success of the nice evening chez Berdez has results! The first train to Geneva which I intended to take, I missed by oversleeping. Ah well, the journey is not so far, and there is a second train which will get me there early enough. My first path led to Coubertin; he lives somewhat outside the centre in the small boarding house 'Melrose', prettily hidden in a garden. How will

Werner Klingeberg

Born in 1910 in Hanover; he studied at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen (DHfL) in Berlin from 1929 to 1932. This was an institution where Carl Diem was principal. By 1930, Klingeberg had already joined the NSDAP and the SA flying corps. As masseur of the German NOC he travelled to the Olympic Games of Los Angeles in 1932 and for the next 18 months he studied at the University of California. For the Berlin Games he led the sports department of the Organising Committee.

In the three years after these Games from he served as IOC Technical Adviser



first in Tokyo and then Helsinki. From May 1940 to the end of the war, he served in the German News Service (DNB) as branch director of the radio listening service for transmissions abroad in Paris.

When the war was over, Klingeberg became a textile salesman and on the recommendation of Avery Brundage and Bill Henry, translator for the American and British occupying powers in Germany. He also became as well as director of publishing. In 1952 he entered diplomatic circles, among other things as press attaché and as an Olympic and sports consultant. From 1963 to 1966 he was on the staff of the German Embassy in Washington, D.C. Over the next eight years he was posted to Gabon as Ambassador and later served in Trinidad and Barbados. Klingeberg died in 1982 in Itzehoe, Germany.

A week before his death, Pierre de Coubertin is pictured with his friend Dr. Francis Messerli.



he receive me? I wait tensely in what seems to be the best room in the boarding house – here he comes! With a somewhat halting gait after his heart attack the 74 year old enters the room. He greets me in a friendly way, he knows already what my plans are. He enquires in an interested way about everything to do with his Olympic Movement.

Again and again he returns to Germany and the Berlin Games, and again and again he emphasises that only Germany has properly understood his ideas!

He enquires about CD³¹, about Tschammer³², of whom he has an especially good opinion and about whose hidden desire to join the IOC he knows about. While speaking his temperament comes to light – remarkable the relatively large, snowy-white head on the small body! His eyes lively, but now and again somewhat tired.

He has no faith in Italy for his Olympic Movement, no faith in England and at the moment just as little for his France. As for the Tokyo Games he has, which surprises me, certain reservations about, whether they will understand modern Olympism. He is disappointed about Kanō's behaviour. He fears a too nationalistic course of the Games.

He enquires in an interested way about everything, he freely gives his opinion about the development of the IOC, whereby he regards Baillet as too 'British' for his idea. The time passes very quickly, and after more than an hour I take my leave. As I leave he gives me an edition of his memoirs with a friendly dedication.³³ He also asks to be informed confidentially about Japan, and I leave him with his best wishes for my tasks in Tokyo.

Will I see him again? In contrast to Berdez' and Messerli's opinion I found him very fresh and very interested in all questions about this great movement which he called into life.[...]

The day of my visit to Coubertin with the unforgettable impression of this man was not yet over. Hardly had I arrived in Lausanne than Messerli fetches me, touchingly concerned, from the hotel. It is to be a nice and interesting evening on the terrace of Messerli's house, where Berdez later joins us. Doctor, architect, engineer with exams, diplomas and honours of all sorts, the good Messerli can still not forget that after 25 years of activity

for the Olympic Movement, the IOC has elected not him, but a general as Blonay's successor.³⁴

And although he knows in what capacity I am here, he cannot stop talking about his services and the failings of others. Perhaps he forgets too much that this presentation of himself alienates the others too much.

Berdez thinks in stoic calm: "Tout s'arrangera"³⁵ – I too listen to everything, see the villa 'Helios' which is interesting with its six-cornered plan with main frontage and seven balconies facing the sun and overlooking the lake, and ask myself, why is this all needed? What others have too little of, he has too much in his busyness.

His library is interesting and contains exceptionally valuable editions. But everything is built up on French influence. In this connection his openly expressed enthusiasm for the Soviets has much damaged him.

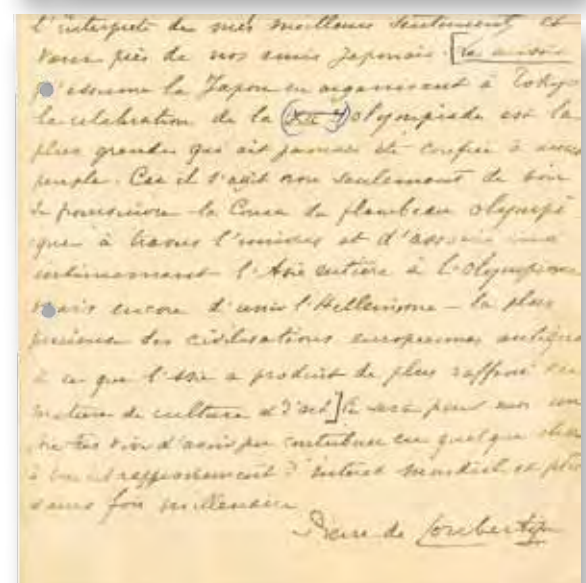
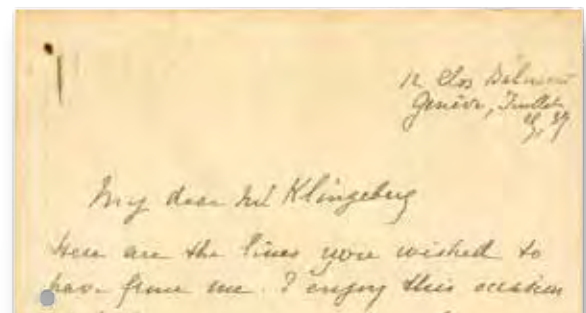
Whatever happened, it was again late when Berdez with his dog 'Gips' and his old Fiat unloads me in front of the hotel. I say farewell to the General Secretary of the IOC, whom I have got to know well in these days before we work together in Tokyo. [...]

19th August 1937

The day for a new start in the world came quickly nearer. I had covered 7000 km all over Europe and all in all collected considerable material to prepare for the Tokyo Games.

Coubertin's message to the Japanese people, which he sent to Klingeberg after their meeting. The document is dated 29th July 1937.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



It still looked as if the war in the Far East would soon end, after Japan reached its objective, the dominance over North China as military flank security and basis to attack Russia as well as raw material sources and economic area on the other hand. But things were to turn out differently, for the newspapers are already reporting incursions by Japan into Shanghai and the Chinese interior. I hope that Tokyo does not become impossible as the site of the Olympic Games!

My date of departure is in any case fixed, come what may! [...] Suddenly there came yesterday a call [from Reichssportführer Tschammer], inviting me to breakfast and then a conversation! At breakfast in honour of the Chief Scout of the Japanese Scouts, Count Futara³⁶ and his twelve boy scouts, Hal³⁷ and CD were invited: Tschammer was once again bewitchingly polite and very interested, by which means he certainly wins many friends abroad. [...] Our discussion went better than I had supposed. Tschammer laid his cards openly on the table, but not without leaving himself an exit route.

I told him that I 'have not yet had the advantage of working with his trust', but as far as my international task permitted would willingly represent the interests of German sport. On this basis we agreed. [...]

4th September 1937

Riverton Farm. Two days of New York were enough – in addition nothing but disturbing news:

1. Japan intends to cancel the Olympic Games because of the war! I think of my task, my contracts and become an optimist again.

2. My ship from San Francisco, the 'Asama Maru', is stranded in the typhoon near Hongkong. I hope for another ship and remain optimistic

3. By chance I read, besides the many war reports from Spain and the Far East, that Coubertin has died, and the thought shoots through my head, how good he was, that I spoke quite freely with him, and silently hope that the Olympic Insitute now becomes a reality.

Then his last message to the Japanese occurs to me, until then well protected. At this moment I think it important to send it direct to Tokyo. The Domei News Agency is called, and soon the message is wired to Tokyo. Will it stir up the minds there to think of something else other than war? [...]

8th September 1937

The days passed far too quickly, but I must return to New York, as I only have two days left there. New York had cooled down somewhat in the meantime, despite which it was still hot enough in this incubator of skyscrapers. [...]

Mr. Hargawa³⁸ of the Domei Agency tells me that my Coubertin message arrived in Tokyo just when the OOC was about to meet – then it was definitely decided to

continue to prepare for the Games. Both of us think the war will be over by Christmas. Besides I heard that Mr. Naga³⁹, the former Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, has been named as the new General Secretary. Even if he has no idea about sport, one can at least speak 'German' with him! [...]



14th September 1937

Chicago. Another day has passed, and in a few hours my night train leaves to take me back to Toronto. With Brundage⁴⁰ I have been able to discuss all points I wanted to. He has come back somewhat tired and seemingly disappointed from New York, so that at present there is no point in putting pressure on him. In November is the deciding session of the American Olympic Association, and there the new committees for the next Games will be chosen. At this meeting they will try to kick out Mahoney⁴¹!

The situation in American sport looks at the moment very dismal. The prohibition on German athletes has provoked energetic protests from the international association, and the USA has made a serious blunder. The London congress of the IAAF will deal with the matter!

In the meantime the influence of Mahoney is growing, and Mrs. Brundage told me that most people now are suddenly deserting Avery Brundage and are trying to feather their own nest with Mahoney's political trajectory. How strong on the one hand Mahoney's influence is and how little he cares about sport, I heard at a luncheon that Brundage gave me in the Chicago Athletic Club. Here too was again the unlimited recognition of the Berlin Games and of CD, who is well known to everybody. [...]

In the following days Klingeberg travelled to Vancouver and from there via Seattle to Berkeley, where he had studied for a year and a half. In Los Angeles he met Bill

Professor Jigorō Kanō (second from left) and Avery Brundage, much later IOC President. The American who had no faith in the Japanese organisers and pleaded early on for a postponement of the 1940 Games.

The Olympic Organising Committee for Tokyo 1940. In the front row, fourth from right, the Technical Adviser of the IOC, Werner Klingeberg. Next to him his two German secretaries A. Hartmann and Susi Knoller.



Henry, who led the sports section of the Organizing Committee at the 1932 Los Angeles Games. The pair had become friends. He also visited IOC Member William May Garland, who in 1932 had been President of the Organising Committee and was considered an influential supporter of the Games in Tokyo.⁴² On the 20th October 1937 the eight-day long crossing to Japan at last began. At around the same time two German secretaries, Miss A. Hartmann and Miss Susie Knoller, started their journey to the Far East to support Klingeberg in his office work.

29th October 1937

Arrival in Yokohama. Reception by Ri⁴³, Takashima⁴⁴ and other representatives. Travel to Tokyo, then visit in the OOC to Dr. Nagai. He proposes that I should spend a few weeks acclimatising. Only one room is at my disposal as an office.

In the forenoon visit Professor Kanō, Count Soyeshima, the Deputy Mayor Minabe, Iwahara (Physical department of the Education Ministry) and Prince Tokugawa.

30th October 1937

Forenoon in the OOC discussion with Nagai. He informs me that he would be going on a lecture tour for eight days and proposes to wait for his return before I begin my work. To my request to give me a list of visits, he says that is unnecessary as 'Japan is not so conventional' as Europe. In the week of his absence Ri is to help us.

Noon lunch with Soyeshima, Nagai and Ri in the Tokyo Club. Discussion about the international situation. I emphasise that I essentially build up my work with international cooperation, without any interference in national issues. I give a report about the international situation in respect of the Winter Games. [...]

31st October 1937

Noon visit to the Meiji Shrine Stadium. Presentation by Prince Chichibu⁴⁵ and Prince Kaya⁴⁶. Prince Chichibu shows great interest in the 1940 Olympic Games and enquires in detail about the international situation and whether in the light of the warlike developments a boycott movement is to be expected.

I reply that from the point of view of the IOC no boycott movement would be expected, as long as OOC keeps to its undertakings to the IOC and that on the other hand President Baillet-Latour would see it as a sign of Japanese weakness to cancel the Games

1st November 1937

Visit to the German Embassy. Ambassadorial adviser Noebel⁴⁷ informs me that to his knowledge of the situation the rumours about the cancellation of the Games by Japan only resulted from an uncontrolled message of the ***⁴⁸. After Japan has now got more than a million soldiers ready for action it is the wish of the military to increase national enthusiasm and initially suppress all international matters.

Noebel also informs me that the embassy some time ago sent a long report about the technical difficulties to Germany, which would result in a big expedition of visitors. [...]

2nd November 1937

Durgin visits me in the OOC and informs me that the latter is at present in a serious financial position. The OOC had received undertakings from the state and from the city which however were not adhered to. At the start of the works a series of colleagues was employed and the office opened, but when the cash did not arrive some of the employees had to be dismissed.

Durgin has the impression that at the moment everything is quiet. He further informs me that Kubota⁴⁹ had turned to him in April to help him with the international correspondence. With the deterioration of the financial position he was again dismissed. Letters which Durgin had started to answer had not been sent even now.

2nd Visit: Architect Petzold⁵⁰, who has lived for 20 years in Japan and knows especially the relationships in the field of building technology. He informs me that until now there has only been talking but no worked-out plans put on paper. Besides at the moment all building activity has stopped, as the architects are only allowed to have a maximum of 50 tons of iron.

The military are trying to end the war quickly by making very great sacrifices. That is why there is concentration only on the war and armaments. [...]

3rd Visit: St. Ekstrand, special correspondent of Swedish newspapers with special task of reporting on preparation for the Olympic Games. From him I hear that he is receiving no support from Nagai and gets no chance to visit the sports arenas to be used for the Games. Until now he has been unable to discover any enthusiasm for the Olympic Games. [...]

3rd November 1937

Visit to the Meiji Games: archery, fighting with sticks wrestling, gymnastics. From the Japanese sports there is a good programme with musical accompaniment.

Short visit to the stadium. The condition of the facility and the track is lamentable. Despite little use of the streets the traffic conditions are bad. [...]

4th November 1937

[...] Discussion with Durgin, who gives a picture of the developments which led to the present conditions.

1st The basis (visit by Baillet-Latour in spring 1936) on which Japan was entrusted with the Olympic Games, is already buried). [...]

2nd The assurances which Count Soyeshima had given at the Warsaw Session do not correspond to the actual views, rather are they regarded by wide circles as being of a private nature. The fact is that a year has gone by without any progress on the basic project.

3rd The reasons for Kubota's resignation are unknown. One assumes that he was not recognised by the sports federations and thus forced to resign. [...]

4th The simplest bases of office work are missing. [...] Letters are neither answered nor registered. [...] It would be necessary to look through all the international correspondence since the handover of the Games to Japan. As nobody dared to show himself responsible, no correspondence until now has taken place.

5th Of Soyeshima's private correspondence with the IOC nothing is known. A very serious letter from Brundage

to the OOC three months ago was handed over to Soyeshima after a long time. Then nothing more was heard of it.

6th Through personal friction of a political nature between Soyeshima and Kanō, there has been no cooperation between them.

7th The new Mayor of Tokyo shows in no way a similar interest in the Games as his predecessor. [...]

9th It is advisable to make Prince Tokugawa quite clear [literally, 'pour out very clear wine'] about the situation. A decision about the participation must follow at the Session in Cairo.

10th [...] The press service was taken over by the Japan Board of Tourist Industry without cooperation with the OOC. [...] After long difficulties it has only now become at all possible to link this position and the OOC.

11th The sport department is in the General Secretariat. The leader, Dr. Goh, is in a responsible position in an insurance company and has little time to concern himself with the activity of his employees [in the OOC].

12th The office of the General Secretary is composed of a series of young employees, of whom very few speak English. Work will hardly be done by these employees.

13th Dr. Takashima, who has excellent knowledge of Japanese sport, has after the death of Dr. Kishi opened his own legal practice and thus has little time to look after the demands of the OOC.

14th The greatest difficulties are at the moment financial. Dr. Nagai is trying to bridge these, but all his actions are influenced by his political training.

15th There is no clear answer to be had about the stadium. It is probable that a compromise will be reached between the Interior Ministry and the OOC. As a number of years ago it was officially announced to the spirit of the Emperor Meiji that the works in Meiji Parc were finished, people thought impossible to transmit new plans to the spirit of the Emperor!

Modest work conditions: Klingeberg and his colleagues were only allocated a single room in the Mantetsu Building in Tokyo.



The compromise is probably that reconstruction in the stadium will be undertaken to increase the capacity to 75,000 seats. However the Interior Ministry has demanded that these works be carried out under his leadership and to the exclusion of the OOC. But that is impossible, as the OOC must possess a voice in the erection of the facilities.[...]



Christmas 1937: skiing on the Shiga Heights near Sapporo, which experienced Olympic Winter Games only 32 years later.

16th When the news of the withdrawal of the government grant for the Games reached the press through the Cabinet Secretary, Soyeshima went the next day to the Prime Minister to cause him to take a final position. This step followed without the knowledge of Prince Tokugawa, who the next day came to the Prime Minister. While much was reported about Soyeshima's visit, there was no announcement of that of Tokugawa. People say that Tokugawa is offended by the arbitrary step.

There are various rumours about Dr. Nagai's takeover of the office of General Secretary. People say that he took it on at the personal request of. They say further that Soyeshima had pushed himself forward to go to Warsaw and that he was allowed to go under the condition that he would never again appear as IOC representative for Japan. In favour of that is his message to me that he will not go to Cairo for health reasons.

A proof of the [bad] cooperation between the individual gentlemen is that Dr. Nagai was named General Secretary in August, but only got in touch with Soyeshima, who after all had led the entire pre-discussions for the Games, two days before my arrival. According to Durgin Nagai has so far not succeeded in working his way into the pre-history of the Games.

Visit Weise, representative of the German news agency. Weise has been in Japan for ten years and knows the Japanese press relatively well. He informs me that the situation seen internationally is very difficult. A great part of the international journalists only get

their information from the American press, because they are by reason of language difficulties seriously handicapped. As anyone can express themselves in the Japanese press without any ado, the picture often appears as if the Japanese are completely disunited about serious problems. The international press – sports specialists are not here – is not interested in Olympic questions, and publish only announcements taken from the daily papers. [...] Thus the notice spread by United Press and Associated Press about the withdrawal from the Olympic Games by Japan. [...]

Weise's opinion about the present political situation is serious, as the Japanese forces have ventured far into the Chinese interior and are fighting under the greatest difficulties. The victory celebrations of recent days about a capture of Shanghai are far ahead of the facts, as Japan (though with enormous losses) is only in process of surrounding Shanghai, and is being held up by a second strong line of defence.

The advance is being held up on all fronts – not least due to the German advisers who for twelve years have been working in the Chinese military service. The military attachés of the foreign powers and their press very often emphasise the two-sided picture: Japan's army fights supported by the German military attaché in Tokyo General Ott⁵¹, against China's forces, whose tactical and strategic leadership is in the hands of General Falkenhausen⁵² and his German colleagues in Nanking [...] The fact that the German economy is delivering weapons to China and [Hitler] at the same time is striving for an alliance with Japan is in foreign circles of diplomacy and economy regarded with extreme disapproval. [...]

5th November 1937

In the morning visit to Prince Tokugawa. In a short, around 20 minutes long discussion the Prince informs me that the Organising Committee continues to insist on the dates for the 1940 Olympic Games [...] He would on no account follow the political wishes of some nations to cancel the Olympic Games for Japan.

I report to the Prince that his participation in the Session in Cairo is absolutely necessary. The way the conversation went proved that Prince Tokugawa with the best will in the world is not at all aware of the actual situation or of his tasks as President of the OOC. [...] In general goodwill is to be expected from Prince Tokugawa, who speaks very good English. To what extent this goodwill can be transformed into actual work, to ensure a successful execution of the Games, the future must decide.[...]

Visit from Buckberrough, Canpag⁵³, who was informed from his HQ in Montreal. B.B. describes as a [Japanese] characteristic their enormous slowness and sluggishness. He informs me that in his view

Japan at the moment is not all all suitable to execute a large international event, as in all areas slow work, indecisiveness and great financial difficulties are to be expected. [...]

7th November 1937

Afternoon visit to the tennis matches, which were conducted in a friendly mood under the impression of the concluded Italian-Japanese Komintern Pact. The Italian Ambassador as well as the doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, the Belgian Ambassador, were present. The courts were good, on the contrary very bad traffic organisation. The only possibility with these narrow streets to achieve a smooth flow of traffic is the ruthless creation of one-way streets, which must be in place after a definite principle far in advance of the competition site.

In the evening reception with Dr. Noebel. General Ott informs me briefly that he will place his entire influence at my disposal to ensure the participation of the Wehrmacht [in the Games]. He believes that even in the present circumstances of the Wehrmacht it is possible to nominate a capable General Staff officer for the tasks of the OOC.[...]

8th November 1937

At 17.00 meeting with Dr. Donat⁵⁴ of the German-Japanese Cultural Institute. He gives me, from his many years of experience, his impressions of the way of working of the Japanese. He advises me to go, when important decisions are to be made, not directly to the gentlemen with the titles, but always to use the third line in preparation, e.g. 1st line: Tokugawa, 2nd line: Nagai, 3rd line: Goh. This organisation in three lines would always be the case. [...]

Donat also informs me that he will get me a link with the German-Japanese Comradeship and its leader Matsumoto Tokumei⁵⁵. This society was founded after the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact and is friendly to Germans. Tokumei himself is a red-hot supporter of the Third Reich. In this comradeship a large part of very active elements are united, at at the moment it is unclear to what extent these will be used in the event of a regime change, which is expected after the return of the troops from China. About the general situation Donat informs me that Japan is very close to becoming a totalitarian state, however because of its inner structure will never follow the 'Führerprinzip' but always have a group economy

Discussion with Major Scholl⁵⁶. The assistant to General Ott advises me to learn only the very simplest bases of the Japanese language, as it would be an unnecessary load. He himself had for three years only followed Japanese language studies and was, just like the Japanese today not yet in a position to conduct an

important discussion purely in Japanese. The Japanese themselves had always to write the characters on their hands with difficult technical expressions, before they could understand them.

About the general situation Scholl informs me that until now he was convinced that Japan would carry out the Olympic Games. Meantime however a new, very interesting current has spread: the Ei-KOKU UNO – the Patriotic Front, which has a strongly nationalistic political programme and rejects the Olympic Games as an international event.[...]

9th November 1937

Noon: discussion with Natori⁵⁷, who informs me that propaganda money in Japan is to be found in the Transport Ministry, Foreign Ministry and Army. The responsible propaganda office of the Army, which is to be regarded as decisive for future development and as a secret cell of the Propaganda Ministry, is an office that is under the direct control of Prime Minister Konoe⁵⁸.

Natori informs me that the only place that would be decisive for the Olympic Games is the Army. It works very closely with the office mentioned above. [...] The following three facts are known to this place:

1st That Japan cannot allow the chance of the Olympic Games to escape for political and national reasons;

2nd that the present condition of the Organising Committee is not at all satisfactory for the demands for a smooth execution of the Games;

3rd that the advertising measures of the Organising Committee, which at present are handled by the Japan Tourist Bureau, are unsatisfactory and that there is a lack of personalities who would suffice in this as in other areas.[...]



Two Olympic generals: Carl Diem, who after the Berlin Summer Games also directed the preparations 1940 Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, which the IOC had removed from St. Moritz at short notice in 1939. These were later cancelled. Left: Matsuzo Nagai, from 1933 to 1934 Japanese Ambassador to Germany.

10th November 1937

First discussion with General Secretary Nagai, who gives me a report on the situation which I already knew. New to me is that Nagai – as he stresses – through his knowledge and experience as Ambassador in various foreign postings through the mediation of Dr. Kanō by the Foreign Ministry, has been asked to take over the General Secretariat.

The rumours about a cancellation of the Games were resolved by a visit by Count Soyeshima to the Prime Minister, whom he knows well. The press notice about the intended withdrawal of government support came from Cabinet Secretary Kasami.



IOC Session in 1938 on the Nile: the Technical Adviser makes his report. Left next to Klingeberg IOC President Count de Baillet-Latour.

[...] A few days later President with the members of the Executive Committee and the General Secretary and Mayor Kobashi⁵⁹ officially visited the Prime Minister. At the meeting the Prime Minister had explained that the Olympic Games were not being handed over to the government, so that the government could not withdraw. Taking back the state support would however not be intended.

As far as the financial position of the OOC was concerned, Nagai informed me that parliament had voted in the previous year 750,000 Yen essentially for the buildings. Only a little of this sum could be used for the ongoing work.

Additionally an ongoing grant from the city of Tokyo was agreed, which however through the illness of the Mayor and the delayed (for that reason) calling of the city council could not be paid in full. However the OOC received regular monthly payments. The financial basis was secure, even if in short supply. [...]

Nagai explains to me the organisation of the OOC, which has a whole series of committees. I tell him that on the basis of my Olympic and his diplomatic experiences these committees must be able to work together, but that the active work and initiative must also start from the responsible leaders. I express just as openly my doubts about the leadership of the sports department.

Nagai shares these doubts, but at the same time emphasises that his plans up to now for reorganisation of the office have failed because of the lack of resources. He has given Goh the job of presenting him with a plan how to use the workers they have and share out the work. He is also informed about the momentary insufficiency of the office work. [...]

In the afternoon tea with the office employees to get to know each other. My impression: nice, willing, but for the tasks which they will be expected to do, not at all capable. I had given Nagai to understand in the afternoon that he does not need an office with 15 employees, but that the ongoing work at the moment can be done with three capable heads and three secretaries.

11th November 1937

Forenoon discussion with Nagai. I inform him about the report [of the IOC Session] in Warsaw, which he already knew. I inform him that it is high time to tackle the necessary tasks and set up a sports committee. But Dr. Goh and Takashima are occupied for five days so there will be further delay. [...]

In the afternoon discussion with Kodaira, Sport Editor of the 'Japan Advertiser', who informs me of his view of the activity of the OOC.

At the moment a decision is being taken about the Meiji Stadium as the main site of the Olympic Games. Also the rowing course is being chosen, whose laying out is in the hands of the city administration of Yokohama and the Japan Yachting Club. To build the regatta course Dr. Kobayashi was added as technical adviser – he has invented a special construction to break the waves.

About the role of the [previous] General Secretary Kodaira informed me that Kubota as President of the Ice-Skating Association has been asked by the sports associations to take over the position. Not much later he was however forced by them to resign, because he would not work with them. [...]

Responsibility for mail had not yet happened, because in the office there were no linguistically capable secretaries or translators. English-speaking journalists and foreigners who by chance called in were asked to translate the mail that had arrived. [...]

The fact that Soyeshima has demanded an additional five million Yen for the Olympic budget without discussing it with Tokugawa and Kanō and the reasoning that prices had risen because of the war, of course aroused discontent nationally and in the government. The sports associations and the press do not trust Soyeshima. His arbitrary actions and his standpoint that he is the only competent representative in the IOC have undermined his position of trust in Japanese sport.

"Constructive work is necessary" is the last entry in a diary that Klingeberg ended with a Japanese proverb. Adapting John Muir one might translate it thus: "Climb the Mountains and get their good tidings".

Yet although Klingeberg regularly spoke in his reports to Baillet-Latour about progress that the OOC was allegedly making, his optimism gradually diminished. This was just as in February 1938 Soyeshima had for the first time hinted at handing back the Games in a confidential letter to the IOC President.⁶⁰ A few days later, questioned by journalists about the growth of a boycott movement the IOC President responded: "The Tokyo Olympic Games will and must go on."⁶¹

It was a game of hide-and-seek, which continued at the IOC Session, which opened in mid-March 1938 in the Cairo opera house. Neither Soyeshima nor Tokugawa took part, so that the responsibility remained with the 77 year old Kanō alone, who in answer to the IOC President's question as to the state of affairs answered, according to the Minutes: "Mr. Kanō sees no reason why Japan should not organise the Games or the nations refuse to participate."⁶²

At the start of the discussions, which took place during a Nile boat trip from Luxor to Cairo, Klingeberg experienced an unexpected promotion, when he together with Diem, who had joined the party as IOI director, was nominated as representative of Berdez who was ill. He reported to the Session not just about the state of affairs in Japan, but also took the Minutes. Scholars Garth Paton and Robert Barney have assessed Klingeberg's progress "Diem's young protégé was 'moving up' in the hierarchy of IOC 'power' positions".⁶³ The OOC General Secretary Nagai suffered by comparison with this eloquent and energetic 28 year old.

Above all, it was the Winter Games that brought on stomach pains after the International Ski Federation (FIS) had decided to permit ski instructors who had been regarded as professionals to compete. The IOC now had three courses of action open to them: 1 To give up the Winter Games; 2 To keep them, but to cancel them for 1940; 3 To conduct the Vth Winter Games without skiing events. They decided on option three.

To the question whether Sapporo, whose Organising Committee until then had not contacted either the NOCs or the International Sports Federations and not appointed a General Secretary, could carry out the Winter Games under these conditions, Kanō again agreed.⁶⁴ Three weeks later on 4th May 1938 he died of a lung inflammation on the ship that was taking him from Greece to Japan.

Before the IOC dispersed after their meetings in Cairo, Baillet-Latour had in a "message to the Japanese people" appealed to them under any circumstances to

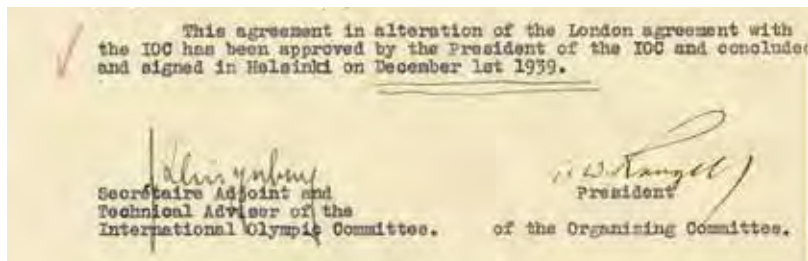
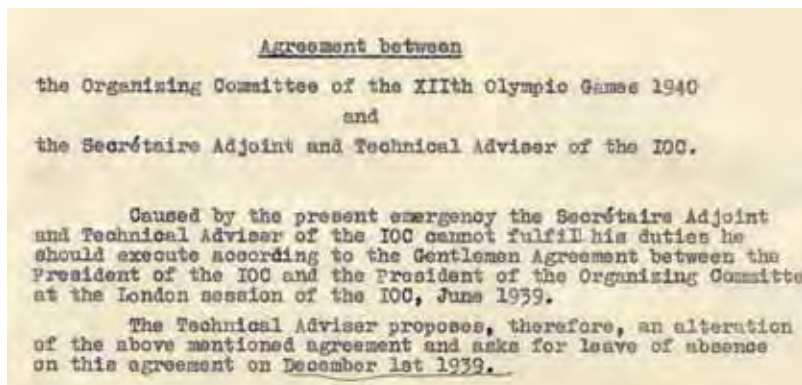
execute the Olympic Games. Otherwise the Organising Committee would bear "the entire responsibility for the fact that thousands of young people, who had been preparing since Berlin and in part have the only opportunity in their lives to take part in the Olympic Games, would be robbed of it".⁶⁵

Yet Baillet-Latour was mistaken in his confidence that Japan would recognise its duty. On 23rd June 1938 Prime Minister Konoe announced a "New Austerity Plan", in consequence of which the Finance Ministry was reducing the Olympia budget by 30 to 40 and the amount for the steel needed for the buildings by 30 per cent. On 14th July the Grand Exposition planned for 1940 was cancelled, and the next morning the cabinet decided to withdraw from hosting the Olympic Games.⁶⁶

The following day Baillet-Latour asked his Finnish colleague Krogus for an alternative plan. He did not have to wait long. On 19th July 1938 he was able to inform the IOC that Helsinki would take over the Summer Games and Oslo the Winter Games. However Klingeberg's mission was not yet over. After his return from Japan in September 1938, he accompanied the film director Leni Riefenstahl on her ten week journey through the USA to market the two 1936 Olympia films. The journey was made on behalf of Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels but failed due to the boycott of the cinema proprietors.⁶⁷ After that Klingeberg moved to Helsinki to advise the Organising Committee there. On 31st August 1940 his contract expired – one year before, the Second World War had broken out. ■



Olympic Jiu-Jitsu:
Judo inventor Jigoro
Kanō versus decathlete
Karl Ritter von Halt.
Shortly afterwards
Kanō died on the
return trip from
Greece to Japan.



Klingeberg's contract with the Helsinki Organising Committee. The start date was fixed as 1st December 1939. In May 1940 his work was already over.

- 1 Yamamoto (1881–1951) was Professor at the Waseda University and member of the Japanese NOC. In the Organising Committee for the 1940 Games he was President of the Commission for the Building of the Stadium.
- 2 Kanō (1860–1938) was co-opted by Coubertin in 1909 as the first Asian in to IOC. In 1911 he founded the Japan Amateur Sports Association, which de facto represented the NOC.
- 3 Kishi (1867–1933) was in 1921 Kanō's successor as President of the Japanese Olympic Committee (JOC) and in 1924 second IOC Member in Japan.
- 4 Cf. Sandra Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games. The Missing Olympics. Japan, the Asian Olympics and the Olympic Movement*, Routledge, London and New York 2007, p. 59–60
- 5 Minutes, IOC Session Oslo, 26th February 1935, p. 1–2, IOC/OSC. The journey on the 'Transsib' from Moscow to Vladivostok lasted around four weeks. Today the journey of 9288 km only takes seven days. Various shipping companies also offered journeys from Europe to Japan in 17 days.
- 6 Ibid, p. 17.
- 7 Prince Tokugawa (1863–1940), known in Japan as the 'Last Shogun', President of the House of Peers from 1903–1930. At the age of almost 73 he was elected to the IOC at the 1936 Session in Berlin, and remained a member till 1939. After the foundation of the IOC he served as President.
- 8 Cp. Collins, p. 67. The travel costs were however borne by the Japanese.
- 9 Russell Luther Durgin (1891–1956) worked a total of 33 years for the YMCA in Japan, where he had lived since 1919. In 1942 he was evacuated to New York. After the Second World War he served as a civilian employee in the Army of occupation on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur. In 1946 he became President of the Committee of the American School in Tokyo.
- 10 Durgin, Draft of a summary of conversations with Count Baillet-Latour during his visit to Tokyo, 24th March 1936, IOC/OSC.
- 11 Carl Diem, *Diaries*, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 5th February 1936, Vol. 9, p. 49.
- 12 Minutes, IOC Session Berlin, 30th July 1936, p. 2–3, IOC/OSC.
- 13 *Report of the Organizing Committee on its Work for the XIIth Olympic Games of 1940 in Tokyo until the Relinquishment*, The Organizing Committee of the XIIth Olympiad, Tokyo 1940, p. 8.
- 14 Cp. Collins, p. 74. Allegedly Tokyo received 37 of 66 votes, in regard to which the author relies on a publication of *Asahi* of 1st August 1936. However at that time the IOC had only 65 members, of whom only 47 were present. As Collins describes the result of the vote as close, the statement is doubtful.
- 15 Report 1940, p. 24–25.
- 16 Federal Archive Berlin (Barch), former BDC, Military Government of Germany, questionnaire, 20th May 1946. Converted this corresponds to 12,000 Reichsmark – an unusually high demand for those days, which Klingeberg justifies by saying he would have a better offer as a diplomat.
- 17 CIO Session de 1937 Varsovie, *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, No. 35, July 1937, p. 10.
- 18 Minutes, IOC Session Cairo, 15th March 1938, in: *Olympische Rundschau*, No. 2, July 1938, p. 48. The choice was between the periods from 24th August to 8th September and from 21st September to 6th October. After Klingeberg had recommended the later date because of the danger of typhoons, the IOC voted 17:8 for this period.
- 19 Minutes, IOC Session 1937, p. 11.
- 20 Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*, Oxford University Press, New York 1995, p. 152.
- 21 Quoted from Collins, p. 99: "Establishing the Guiding Principles, Impression for the First Year of Preparing for the Tokyo Games", in: *Asahi Supōtsu*, 1st January 1937, p. 6–7.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 The letter to Klingeberg, to which was added the words of greeting for the Japanese Olympic organisers, bears the date of 29th July 1937. It was probably one of the last letters Coubertin ever wrote, if not the very last. It was published after Coubertin's death in the Olympic edition of *Japan Magazine* and later – in 1940 – in the report of the Organising Committee about the preparation of the then abandoned Games. Cp. Also Rüdiger Fritz/Volker Kluge, PdC. *Pierre de Coubertin und die Olympia-Philatelie*, Alpheios Publications, Halle/Saale, p. 253.
- 24 The first volume contains the notes of a journey to Greece (4–24 September 1935) which was used to establish the route of the first Olympic torch relay, as well as the period from 15th July 1937 (Klingeberg's 28th birthday) to 20th September 1937. The second volume begins – not very logically – on 15th June and ends on 11th November 1937. Klingeberg probably reworked his diary entries and typed them up later. The notes published here had to be abbreviated for reasons of space. In a few rare cases, where Klingeberg only jotted down a few notes, they were expanded. The endnotes, which give more details, will make the text more understandable. Wrongly written names and figures have been corrected by the author of this article.
- 25 André G. Berdez (1888–1940), Swiss artillery Lieutenant-Colonel and Honorary Secretary of the IOC since 1925. Berdez fell seriously ill in 1939, when his duties were taken on by his designated successor Werner Klingeberg. The administration in Lausanne was kept going by the secretary Lydie Zanchi (1905–1993), who worked by on an hourly basis. The workload of the IOC Secretariat was still relatively light at the time
- 26 Klingeberg's journey obviously served the aim of having a good look on behalf of Diem over Coubertin's written estate. This was to be passed to passed to the International Olympic Institute (IOI) in Berlin. Coubertin had set down the instructions in a letter of 16th March 1937 to the German Consul-General in Geneva. The Institute was founded on 9th February 1938 under the presidency of the Reichssportführer and with Diem as director. It was from this office that the *Olympische Rundschau* was published as the official IOC bulletin. The headquarters of the IOI was at the Berlin Reichssportfeld. It was struck by a bomb during an allied raid on 3–4 September 1943. Much of the Coubertin archive was destroyed.
- 27 Gaston Müllegg (1890–1958), 1926–1928 and in 1949 Vice-President, 1928–1949 General Secretary and from 1949 to 1958 President of the International Rowing Association (FISA).
- 28 Alphonse Huguenin, 1932–1949 President of the Technical Committee (Men) of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG).
- 29 Dr. Francis Messerli (1888–1975), doctor, director of the health office and founder of the medical faculty in the University of Lausanne, founder of the Swiss NOC and General Secretary from 1917 to 1954, director of the Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportives from 1920 to 1936 and thus Diem's opponent in the question of the IOI and the Coubertin estate.
- 30 Dr. Theodor Schmidt (1891–1973), known as 'Dodi'. from 1928 until the 'Anschluss' with Nazi Germany, he was IOC Member in Austria. After this Schmidt's status was seen as extinguished as his country no longer existed. Ignoring that, Baillet-Latour sought a solution to keep Schmidt in the IOC. At the meeting of the IOC Executive



Farewell dinner for Werner Klingeberg in Tokyo. Opposite him sits the German Ambassador General Ott, who used inadvertently used Dr. Richard Sorge as an informant and was for that reason was recalled in 1942, after the "Ramsay" group had been unmasked.

Committee before the start of the Session in Cairo he proposed to nominate Schmidt as Honorary Chancellor for the duration of the illness of IOC Secretary Berdez, which was agreed. But at the next Session this decision was not mentioned. Obviously it conflicted with the interests of the Nazi regime, which had intended Klingeberg as the successor to Berdez. In addition Schmidt was Jewish, and – to escape persecution – he had every reason after his return from Egypt and Greece to go to Italy would later emigrate to the USA.

31 Abbreviation for Carl Diem, used by his intimates.

32 Hans von Tschammer und Osten (1887–1943), 1933–1943 Reichssportführer, President of the German NOC, from 1937 SA-Oberrgruppenführer.

33 German edition of the *Olympic Memoirs* from 1936. The book was offered a few years ago at the auction of 'Olympic Memorabilia' by Ingrid O'Neil for 1250 USD.

34 The reference is to General Henri Guisan (1874–1960), co-opted to the IOC at the Session in 1937 in Warsaw. He resigned from the IOC in November 1939 following his nomination as General Commander in Chief of the Swiss Army at the start of the Second World War..

35 "Everything will work."

36 Count Yoshinori Futara (1886–1967), 1922 Co-Founder of the Boy-Scouts of Japan and thereafter Chief-Scout, 1931–1939 member of the World Scout Committee, President of the Cycling Federation of Japan.

37 Dr. Karl Ritter von Halt (1891–1964), 1929–1964 IOC Member in Germany, 1932–1946 member of the IAAF Council.

38 Probably Chuzo Hagiwara (1901–?), chief of the Domei News Agency in New York.

39 Matsuzo Nagai (1877–1957), 1925–1930 Japanese Ambassador in Sweden and Finland as well as from 1933 to 1934 in Berlin, 1936 Minister of Transportation, 1920 member of the Japanese delegation to the League of Nations.

40 Avery Brundage (1887–1976), 1929–1954 President of the American Olympic Committee, 1936–1972 IOC Member, 1952–1972 IOC President.

41 Jeremiah T. Mahoney (1875–1970), 1925–1928 Judge in the New York Supreme Court, 1933–1937 President of the American Athletic Union, leading boycott advocate and Roman Catholic.

42 William M. Garland, Oakland Speech, 17th June 1938, Avery Brundage Collection, Box 56.

43 Sōhaku Ri, companion of Count Soyeshima at the IOC Session 1937 in Warsaw.

44 Probably Dr. Choji Takashima, who had been referee in the 1936 Olympic basketball tournament in the game Switzerland–Germany.

45 Prince Yasuhito Chichibu (1902–1953), second son of Tennō Taishō and brother of Emperor Hirohito.

46 Prince Tsunenori Kaya, former Deputy Minister of Finance.

47 Willy Noebel (1887–1965), German ambassadorial adviser and in 1938 for a short time Ambassador.

48 Anonymous or secret person.

49 Keiichi Kubota (1881–?), former General Secretary of the OOC, President of the Japanese Ice-Skating Federation. Vice-Minister of Railways and member of the House of Peers.

50 Arnulf H. Petzold (1905–1985), Architect of Buddhist temples.

51 Eugen Ott (1889–1977), from 1934 as a Colonel military attaché in Tokyo, in 1937 Major-general, from 1938–42 German Ambassador in Japan and recalled after the capture of the Soviet spying group 'Ramsay' around Richard Sorge.

52 Alexander von Falkenhausen (1878–1966), Lieutenant-general and from April 1934 military adviser in China to Chiang Kai-Shek in the struggle against the Japanese. From 1940–44 military commander in Belgium, where in 1951 he was sentenced to twelve years hard labour for war crimes. However after only three weeks he was deported to the Federal Republic of Germany.

53 W. Buckberrough, Canadian Pacific Agent in Tokyo.

54 Prof. Dr. Walter Donat, Director of a German Reich foundation for Länderkunde.

55 Dr. Tokumei, Director of the German–Japanese Camaraderie; was in 1932 given a doctorate by the University of Bonn.

56 Major Friedrich-Wilhelm Scholl (1898–1981), Assistant to General Ott and involuntary source of the Soviet spy Richard Sorge; in 1942 Colonel and military attaché in Bangkok.

57 This is probably Tadayoshi Natori (1866–?), member of the House of Peers.

58 In fact Prince Konoë Fumimaro (1891–1945), Prime Minister from 1937 to 1939 and 1940 to 1941. committed suicide on 16th December 1945 to avoid being charged with war crimes.

59 Ichita Kobashi, Vice-President of the OOC and former Minister of Education.

60 Letter Soyeshima to Baillet-Latour, 2nd February 1938, IOC/OSC.

61 "If War Continues, England Won't Participate", *Asahi*, 12nd February 1938.

62 *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique*, Vol. 13, No. 37, April 1938, in: *Olympische Rundschau*, No. 2, July 1938, p. 35.

63 Garth Paton/Robert K. Barney, "Adolf Hitler, Carl Diem, Werner Klingeberg, and the Thousand Year Reich", in: *Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ICOS, London, Ontario, October 2002, p. 95.

64 Minutes, IOC Session Cairo, 16th March 1938, p. 2, IOC/OSC.

65 Bulletin CIO, April 1938, p. 40.

66 Report 1940, p. 119–121.

67 The journey lasted from 4th November 1938 to 15th January 1939. Because of the protests against the Nazi regime the films could only be shown twice at private events: At the house of Avery Brundage in Chicago and in Los Angeles on 21st December 1938 – an event to which William M. Garland had invited 140 guests.