

AN OLYMPIAN SANCTUARY

THE QUEST TO PERMANENTLY HOST THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN GREECE

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Since the first edition of the Modern Olympic Games celebrated in Athens in 1896, the great festivals, both summer and winter, have travelled the world, staged on different continents, in various countries, and cities and winter resort areas. Such an "ambulatory" status has undoubtedly given the Olympic Festival an international dimension that has contributed significantly to greater mass participation by both male and female athletes from every part of the world, facilitated its appeal to a mass media audience, and transformed it into the greatest cultural event on this planet. Given these facts, could anyone ever imagine that the modern Olympic Games could possibly be held at a static, permanent site, similar to the Olympic Games of Greek antiquity? And yet, political-economic events of the past century translated into attempts from time to time to bring about exactly that set of circumstances, at least for the Summer Games. Yes indeed, Summer Olympic Games staged every four years permanently in the precinct of their celebration in ancient times.

The purpose of this study was to examine the idea and prospect of locating the Modern Olympic Games in a permanent site, specifically, in the country of their grandfather consequence in antiquity, Greece. Our examination focuses on the various political-economic platforms and background events embedded in such a prospect. Finally, we present our conclusions as to why "the great Greek crusade" was, in the end, consigned to the dustbin of history

In the Beginning - Athens 1896

When Baron Pierre de COUBERTIN launched events at the Sorbonne in June 1894 which culminated in the re-establishment of the Olympic Games there were two pillars in his mind as to what the character of such Games would reflect. Though the idea for Modern Olympic Games, of course, sprang from their noted

antecedent in antiquity, in Coubertin's mind "his Olympic Games" must be modern in character with respect to the nature of the athletic competitions; and secondly, they must be international in terms of the athlete participants and the cities awarded the distinction of being named host. In other words, the Games were to be "ambulatory." COUBERTIN firmly believed that the universal mission of the Games was better served by holding them in different cities of the world rather than in one permanent site. At the Sorbonne Congress in 1894, it was decided that the first Olympics be held in Athens, the second

in Paris, and after that, "*dans d'autres villes du monde*".¹ According to COUBERTIN, the

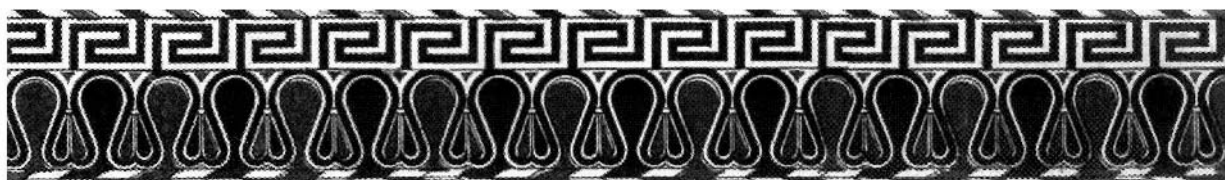
idea of holding the Games in different countries "*was accepted without too many objections being raised. It was essential in fact.*

Otherwise no country would have been willing to accept the expense of such an undertaking."² The ambulatory principle was also discussed at the 2nd International Olympic Committee (IOC) Session held in Athens in 1896.

There, it was decided, in accordance with suggestions received, to put New York, Berlin and Stockholm to a vote by its members for the celebration of the 1904 Olympic Games.³ Problems regarding the ambulatory plan for circulating the Games, however, were apparent from the start; in fact, they arose at the very first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. First, the whole of Greece became enthused over the Games. At the end of the great celebratory festival, King GEORGE staged a grand banquet at the palace for some 250 guests. Embedded in his remarks, rendered first in French and then in Greek, were his congratulations and appreciation extended to the organizers and athletes, both Greek and foreign. "I am sure" said the King,

"that the champions from abroad when they leave Greece will make known the progress of our country and the great works which were carried out in a relatively short space of time so as to assure the





*success of the Games. Mother and nurse of athletic Games in antiquity, having undertaken to celebrate them again today under the eyes of Europe and the new world, their success has exceeded all expectations. Greece," he concluded, "can justly hope that the foreigners who have honoured her with their presence will point to our country as the peaceful rendezvous of the nations, as the stable and permanent seat of the Olympic Games."*⁴

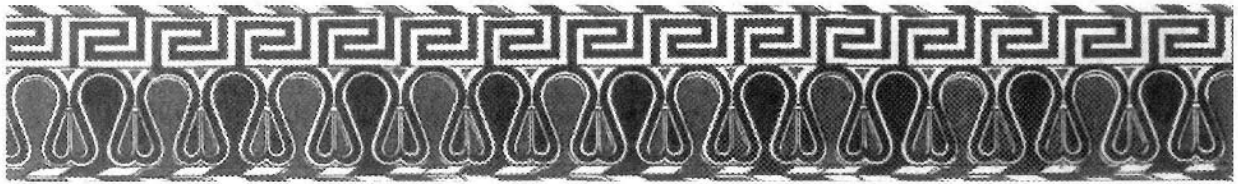
And so, an idea was born!⁵

The King's impassioned statement was a logical extension of Greece's successful organization of history's first Modern Games.⁶ The Greeks had indeed taken up the challenge and succeeded. As a result of Greece's highly successful celebration of the 1896 Games, King GEORGE, not really Greek, but rather a Dane imported from northern Europe, found that his popularity among the Greek people was enhanced considerably. He perceived, also, that something else had evolved from the hugely successful enterprise - a new vision for the nation in the modern world. To preserve and enhance the birthplace of the Olympic Games by establishing permanent and well-organized Modern Olympic Games in Greece embraced the prospect of elevating the Royal family's domestic power and influence.⁷

Though the King's banquet words were applauded with enthusiasm, COUBERTIN himself ignored the speech.⁸ Anything even hinting at the possibility of dissolving the ambulatory model established for the Games was, of course, repugnant to the Baron. Others, however, did not ignore the gist of the Greek King's unofficial proposal. Both Greek and international newspapers liked the idea.⁹ So, too, did the entire American team at the Athens Games in 1896. In a letter to the King's oldest son, Crown Prince CONSTANTINE, written shortly after the Games had been concluded, the Americans expressed their appreciation of the warm hospitality they had received and declared that *"these Games should never be removed from their native soil."*¹⁰ Hungarian athletes joined the Americans in their support of Greece permanently hosting the Olympic Games.¹¹

The Baron Pierre de COUBERTIN, too, sent the King a polite letter thanking him, as well as the city of Athens and all the Greek people.¹² The Baron made no reference to the issue regarding a permanent Greek hosting of the Olympic Games.

Almost simultaneously, however, a compromising idea evolved, indeed, a vision for Pan-Hellenic Games that would be intercalated or set between the four year Olympic cycle.¹³ According to Charles WALDSTEIN, noted Slade Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge at the time of the 1896 Games, a confidante of the Greek Royal Family, and an on-site Olympic spectator in Athens, it was he, WALDSTEIN, who brokered the agreement between the Baron and Prince CONSTANTINE for Intercalary Games to occur. In any event, COUBERTIN was adamant: Such Games should not be called "Olympic."¹⁴ The idea that the Greeks might assume permanent custody of the Modern Olympic Games dismayed COUBERTIN. In fact, his entire stay in Greece for the first Games was at times both awkward and embarrassing. He sent a letter to Demetrius VIKELAS, the first President of the IOC, in which he expressed his disappointment that his personal contribution to the revival of the Olympic Games had not been recognized in Greece as much as it should have been.¹⁵ He also dispatched a letter to the *New York Times* protesting about its published false report that all future Olympic Games would be held in Greece. *"Nothing could be further from the truth,"* he railed. *"The Olympic Games will move about the globe, as was decided at the International congress held at the Sorbonne two years ago."*¹⁶ That aside, VIKELAS, in a spirit of compromise, stressed that the best solution would be to organize interim Olympic Games *"every four years, but half time in the four-year period when the International Olympiads are held in the different cities world wide."*¹⁷ VIKELAS'S compromising stance was censured by both Greek colleagues and the Athenian press. Popular Greek feeling rejected a continuation of "their Olympic Games" with the hint that they would bear the mantle of being intercalary, or interim, or intermediate, or substitute. No, the Olympic Games themselves should return to Greece for all time. Faced with criticism in the Greek press,¹⁸ VIKELAS, in his usual diplomatic and collegial way, sent a lengthy message to all members of the International Committee, apprising them of both the intentions of the Greeks (the celebration of the real Olympic Games every four years) and his own personal views (intercalated Games). Replies from IOC members, apart from COUBERTIN'S response, were generally in agreement with VIKELAS'S view supporting the intercalated Games approach.¹⁹ VIKELAS also requested



that the IOC organize an Olympic Congress, one matter of business of which might be to officially establish interim Greek Games. This Congress actually took place in Le Havre, France, in July 1897. Unfortunately, due to the outbreak of renewed Greek-Turkish hostility, VIKELAS could not be present. Despite letters from VIKELAS to COUBERTIN requesting that the Baron and the IOC address the matter, VIKELAS'S proposal was never raised as part of the business of the Congress.²⁰

In Greece, throughout much of 1896, the Athenian press portrayed COUBERTIN as a villain. The Baron received insulting letters inferring that he was "a thief, trying to rob Greece of one of its historic jewels."²¹ Theodoros DELIGIANNIS, Greece's Prime Minister, influenced by public opinion aroused by systematic coverage of the issue in the Greek press, submitted a bill to the Greek parliament "regarding the development of gymnastics in Greece and the permanent hosting of the Olympic Games in Athens."²² Nothing of consequence resulted. The issue was again raised in 1899, when the so-called BXKA law was introduced by Athanasios EUTAXIAS, Minister of Education. This law, in part, decreed "the permanent holding of the Olympic Games in Athens every four years." It also made reference to the re-organization of the *International Olympic Committee*.²³ Again, nothing of any Olympic consequence resulted. COUBERTIN'S opposition to these Greek efforts was pronounced and energetic. He was aided,

of course, by the fact that the Greek government was wracked by economic turmoil and ongoing diplomatic and military conflict with Turkey, all of which negated the possibility of staging Olympic Games in Athens in

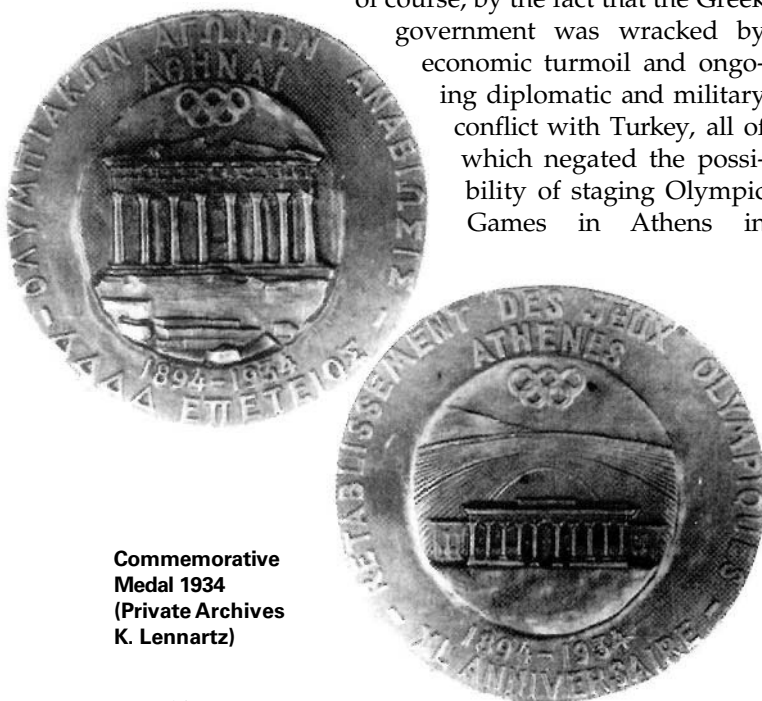
1900.²⁴ For the moment, COUBERTIN had triumphed. The prospect of Greece staging permanent Olympic Games, or even intercalary festivals, declined. The power of COUBERTIN and the IOC to dictate where the Games would be celebrated rose. All in all, these first Greek proposals for a permanent site in Greece for the so-called Olympic Games resulted in an Intercalary Games experiment in 1906.

That the so-called Greek Intercalary Olympic Games celebrated in Athens in 1906 were a significant achievement is beyond question. In fact, they approximated the original 1896 grand extravaganza of the Greeks. Sadly, few serious and thoroughly research examination of the 1906 Games in Athens, in any language, have yet to be published. A few pieces of limited examination exist in German. Thorough examinations in English, too, are scarce. An exception is Bill MALLON'S work.²⁵ Of less distinction are two others, the December 2006 special issue of the *Journal of Olympic History*, presenting a collection of vignette essays on the athletes of various countries participating in the Intercalary Games;²⁶ and Christina KOULOURI (ed.), *Athens, Olympic City, 1896-1906*, a collection of small chapters treating the 1896 and 1906 festivals.²⁷

From their glorious success in 1906, there was much to expect in the way of future Intercalary Greek Olympic Games. Unfortunately, not another single Greek intercalary attempt came about. Persistent economic uncertainty, off and on political and military problems with Turkey, two World Wars, a severe world-wide economic depression, and a lack of strong and creative leadership in the *Hellenic Olympic Committee*, all conspired to quell both thought and action in reviving the intercalary Games concept. The hosting of Olympic Games resided in the minds of others in the world, but not in Greek minds.

World Political Events and New Greek Proposals in the 1970s

Following the first Modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, of course, a succession of cities in various countries on different continents hosted editions of the Modern Olympic Games. Whether circulation of the Games world-wide automatically promoted an internationally fraternal character and ecumenical spirit as originally planned, remains open to debate. The Games scheduled for 1916, 1940 and 1944 were cancelled due to World



Commemorative
Medal 1934
(Private Archives
K. Lennartz)



The participants of the 80th IOC Sessions 1978 during a trip to the International Olympic Academy in Ancient Olympia. The topic of Permanently Staging the Olympic Games in Greece was not part of the agenda (from: IOC (ed.), *Le Comité international Olympique*, Lausanne 1990, p. 124)

Wars I and II, wars in which IOC members and Olympic athletes ended up in trenches and fox-holes fighting against each other, or in Prisoner-of-War camps on both sides of the Atlantic. The post-World War II period, featuring the collapse of colonial empires, the Cold War schism between "East" and "West," fracture of countries into two or more new states, racial and religious unrest, terrorism uncertain economic times, and geopolitically-induced boycotts of the Olympic Games by scores of countries, spelled trouble in one form or another for almost every Olympic host city between 1948 and 2000. The Olympic Games of Munich in 1972, in particular, convinced many that the Olympic Games had become a dangerous political platform for international conflicts. The disastrous political and financial consequences of the 1976 Montreal Games prompted Americans, for instance, to question the feasibility of their continued participation in the Games.²⁸ The dilemma of "two Koreas," "two Germanys," "two Chinas," South African apartheid, Olympic boycotts, Olympic terrorism, rising Olympic commercialism, athlete doping, and other serious problems raised world anxieties about the future of the Olympic Games to new levels.²⁹

The matrix of problems noted above, together with rapidly accelerating costs associated with bidding for and staging the Games, provided fertile

ground for revisiting the idea of a permanent site for the Olympic Games. Among the first to explore the possibility in the face of a new world order and atmosphere was Lance CROSS, IOC member in New Zealand. On the eve of the Montreal Games, CROSS declared that he was "ready to support the idea to return the Olympic Games to their birthplace, Olympia."³⁰ More specifically, CROSS believed that a permanent site for the Olympics would solve many problems facing the Olympic movement, on the condition that such a site would be a neutral place, similar to the seat of *United Nations*.³¹ Also on the eve of the Montreal Games, American Senator Bill BRADLEY, himself an Olympian of note, wrote an article for the *New York Times* in which he forwarded five ideas concerning a reformation agenda for the Olympic Games. One of his ideas concerned the issue of a permanent Olympic site. "The Olympics," wrote BRADLEY,

*"should be situated permanently in Greece, the country of their origin. All nations which compete in the Games should help underwrite the expense of a permanent facility that ultimately might become self-sustaining. Every four years the world's youth would return to Olympia in a spirit of friendship to compete in the finest athletic installation in the world."*³²

Concerned about the political and economic disasters that hounded the Montreal Games, the Prime Minister of Greece, Constantine KARAMANLIS, wrote officially to IOC President Michael MORRIS, the Lord KILLANIN, to submit an idea for a permanent site in Greece for the celebration of the Olympic Games. *"These conclusions, which are not only mine but spring from the special sensitivity of the Greek People toward the Olympic Ideal,"* wrote KARAMANLIS, *"have led me to the decision to propose to you that Greece be designated as permanent seat for the holding of the Olympic Games."*³³ The idea of a permanent Olympic site in Greece forwarded to KILLANIN on the eve of the Montreal Games did not originate with KARAMANLIS. According to *Hellenic Olympic Committees Minutes*, George ATHANASIADIS, the chargé d'affaires of the Greek Olympic team at the Montreal Games, was the original conceiver of the idea. ATHANASIADIS, following discussions with future Greek IOC member, Epaminondas PETRALIAS, notified the Under-Secretary to the Government, Achilleas KARAMANLIS, of the proposal, who, in turn, informed the Prime Minister.³⁴ In his response, written to Constantine KARAMANLIS on 1 August 1976, KILLANIN assured the Greek Prime Minister that his proposal would be taken into consideration *"if there will exist any change in the long run policy of IOC."*³⁵

Though the proposal by KARAMANLIS was received without apparent enthusiasm by President KILLANIN, as reported in the Greek press, it was given favourable attention in such European newspapers as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and the *Times of London*.³⁶ It would appear that KARAMANLIS'S proposal arrived on KILLANIN'S desk with abrupt presence. There appears to have been no innuendo or even preliminary discussion with the IOC prior to KARAMANLIS'S letter to KILLANIN on the matter.³⁷ The Greek proposal was finally discussed by the IOC members at their 79th Session held in Prague in 1977. According to the minutes: *"From the members replies to the circular letter it appeared that the general consensus of opinion was in favor of circulating the Games."* Despite such general consensus, the IOC mandated the following: *"The IOC members in Greece and the Hellenic NOC [are] to study the proposal in cooperation with the Commission for the IOA (International Olympic Academy) and to report [at the] next session."*³⁸ In the end, a Greek committee consisting of Mohamed MZALI, Pyrros LAPPAS, PETRALIAS, Georgio di STEPHANO, and Alesandru SIPERKO was appointed to examine the issue.³⁹

Most everyone concerned expected a relevant discussion to take place at the 80th IOC Session scheduled for Athens in May 1978. However, the Greek proposal was not included in the IOC's agenda of business for the Athens Session.⁴⁰ It became

obvious that the IOC was stalling. The Greek proposal was withdrawn following the untimely death in November 1977 of Epaminondas PETRALIAS. PETRALIAS, a recently co-opted IOC member, was former president of the *International Olympic Academy*. Not all the fault for the initiative to fall apart at this point can be laid at the feet of the IOC. The Greek government had failed to present specific suggestions on how the permanent site would work, despite the requests of Mohamed MZALI, president of the Committee appointed by Lord KILLANIN to study the proposal.⁴¹ The initial Karamanlis proposal for the Olympic Games to be permanently staged in Greece thus passed into oblivion.

Geopolitics and Continued Greek Proposals

During the run-up to the Olympic Games scheduled for Moscow in the summer of 1980, the subject of a permanent site for the Games in Greece was raised once again in the consciousness of Olympic officials. Rising concerns in the West on the subject of Olympic Games hosted in a communist state, once again prompted outcries. An article contributed to the *New York Times*, published in August 1979 by Helen VLACHOS, editor and publisher of the Athenian daily newspaper, *Kathimerini*, reminded American readers of the Greek idea raised by KARAMANLIS three years previous. In the view of VLACHOS,

*"At present, the Games are nearer to suicide than death by imperial execution or war. They have taken on such monstrous proportions, have become so expensive, that even the super-rich superpowers can barely afford them."*⁴²

VLACHOS stated that the most appropriate seat for the Games was the valley of ancient Olympia and that rich Greeks as well as citizens and foundations of the world could undertake to create a New Olympia. Scarcely four months later political events made Helen VLACHOS'S remarks seem entirely appropriate.

The invasion of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in late December 1979 prompted great anger in both the *White House* and the Halls of the United States Congress. On 17 January 1980 the Senate passed a unanimous resolution with respect to relocating the site of the upcoming Summer Olympic Games. Not to be upstaged, the *House of Representatives* called on the President to

*"take substantive action to express United States concern over this aggression, including encouraging the removal of the Olympic Games from Moscow and urge[s] the International Olympic Committee and the United States Olympic Committee to seek an alternative site for the Olympic Games scheduled for this summer which would more accurately reflect the spirit of the Olympics."*⁴³



Thus began the first step in a quest to relocate the site of 1980 Games. Embracing the Greek initiative for a counter location to Moscow, Senator Edward DERWINSKI stated that there was no possibility such a transfer scheme might succeed *"unless the Greek government offers to stage a symbolic Olympic event in the land that fathered the Olympic spectacle."*⁴⁴ An aroused American president, Jimmy CARTER, carried the matter even further. He supported not only boycotting the Olympic Games if they were eventually staged in Moscow, but also the return of the Games to Greece as well. Declared CARTER:

*"I would personally favor the establishment of a permanent Olympic site for both the Summer and Winter Games. In my opinion, the most appropriate permanent site for the Summer Games would be Greece. This will be my own position, and I have asked the US Olympic Committee to take this position to the International Olympic Committee, and I would hope that as many nations as possible would support this basic position."*⁴⁵

During Senate debates on President CARTER'S position, Senator Robert BYRD submitted a modified proposal to his Senate colleagues for a permanent site of the Games: *"Some have suggested that the Games be permanently located in Greece, where such competition originated,"* declared BYRD. *"If the Olympics are to be continued, this would seem to be the wisest course. Another possibility would be to hold various segments of the competition - swimming, track and field, gymnastics, etc. - at different venues. Perhaps that could be done this year as an alternative to the Moscow site,"* concluded BYRD.⁴⁶ A few days later, President CARTER'S envoy to Greece, Anne WEXLER, assured the Greek Prime Minister that the USA was determined to support the KARAMANLIS proposal for the permanent holding of the Olympic Games in Greece.⁴⁷ The clear support of the United States Government in this regard may have been prompted to assuage the anguishing dilemma faced by American athletes (to say nothing of athletes world-wide), that being, they well might have to "miss" an Olympic Games, unless they were held elsewhere. In light of that thought, there appeared in some American newspapers the possibility that the U.S. might even be willing to relinquish Los Angeles as the site for the 1984 Summer Games in favour of Greece, action that *"would allow the U.S. to operate from a posture of moral detachment."*⁴⁸ Roughly the

same idea was expressed by a Republican candidate for president in the upcoming election of November 1984, a chap by the name of Ronald REAGAN.⁴⁹

The Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm FRASER, who met with CARTER in Washington on 31 January 1980, called for boycott of the Moscow Olympics. FRASER was also in favour of organizing the Olympic Games in Greece. He sent a letter on 22 January 1980 to Sydney GRANGE, President of *Australian Olympic Committee*, to advise him officially of the Australian Government's views on holding the Games of the XXIIInd Olympiad in Moscow. Said FRASER:

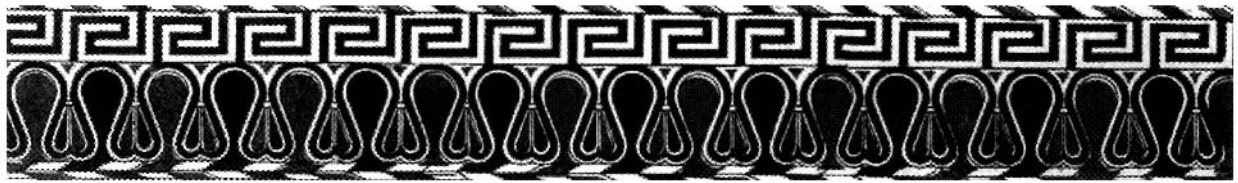
*"One option, particularly for the longer term, would be a permanent site in Greece for the Olympic Games. If that were the desired outcome this Government would support it, together with an appropriate financial contribution. Greece proposes to simplify the solution of these problems by offering - and on the actual site of Ancient Olympia - a suitable sports venue for the permanent celebration of the Games. This site could be declared neutral territory on the basis of an international agreement, which would guarantee the rights regarding the installations and the inviolability of the place and which would recognize the decisive role of the Olympic Committee in the world of sport."*⁵⁰

The attitude of Australia clearly demonstrated its close relationship with the USA during that period, including similar thinking on Olympic matters.

One of the most ardent supporters of the proposal for a permanent Olympic site in Greece was the previously mentioned Bill BRADLEY, Senator from New Jersey, former Rhodes Scholar, and Olympic gold medal winner in basketball at the Tokyo Games in 1964. Appearing at a hearing before the *House of Representatives*, BRADLEY argued for an amendment to CARTER'S plan for reforming the Olympics:

"The way to end this kind of quadrennial nationalistic expression is to give the Games a permanent home in the country of their origin, Greece, where, according to an expanded concept of them, the worlds' youth would return every 4 years for a 2- or 3- month period in which they could really focus on the ideals upon which the Olympics are founded."

BRADLEY'S amendment was given unanimous endorsement.⁵¹



Renewed Energy by Constantine Karamanlis in the Early 1980s

As the decade of the 1980s opened the IOC faced torturous times. The Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan prompted the United States to consider a boycott of the Moscow Games set for the summer of 1980. The bristling attitude of America and Australia in support of such a boycott threatened to lead "western-disposed" nations the world over towards joining them. These tumultuous times energized Constantine KARAMANLIS to renew his efforts to convince the IOC to adopt his plan for a permanent Olympic site in Greece. Indeed, he pursued a more formal and intricate approach. On 29 January 1980 Greece offered the IOC a plan and site for staging the Olympic Games permanently in Greece, a plan delineated from those previously presented by dint of such a permanent site being referred to as "neutral in character." KARAMANLIS's message to KILLANIN and the IOC was clear:

"Greece proposes to simplify the solution of these problems by offering - and near the actual site of ancient Olympia - a suitable sports venue for the permanent celebration of the Games. This site would be declared neutral territory on the basis of an international agreement, which would guarantee the rights regarding the installations and the inviolability of the place and which would recognize the decisive role of the Olympic Committee in the world of sport. Greece, in any case, is ready to discuss any arrangements that your Committee might consider necessary in this respect."⁵²

More specifically, the Greek Government offered 1250 acres of government-owned land southwest of the ancient precinct of Olympia. The permanent site was designed to become a neutral territory under the jurisdiction of the *International Olympic Committee*.⁵³ The neutral distinction would guarantee the right of inviolability of the place.⁵⁴ The New Olympia would eventually be developed with permanent facilities and services. The sites proposed were the northwestern Peloponnesian areas of Cylene, Katakolo, and Kayafa. The selection of any one of the three would make it possible to "contribute to the best possible continuation of the institution of the Olympic Games, in the service of world peace and the high ideals of mankind."⁵⁵

Most Greeks were delighted at the prospect.

The pro-government press and the state mass media presented the proposal as "a great idea which should be supported by everyone, the Greek people and all political parties."⁵⁶ Only the Communist newspaper *Rizospastis* registered disagreements on the possibility.⁵⁷ The protest of *Rizospastis* can be seen in the light that any matter that smacked of "western influence" was suspect. Greece, of course, was part of the so-called Western Bloc, a member of NATO, and further, had aspirations for joining the *European Economic Community*; at the time only Western European nations were members.⁵⁸ The general flavour of *Rizospastis*'s posture on the matter was reflected in the words of its reporter, Alexes OICONOMIDES: "the permanent staging of the Olympic Games in Greece would be tantamount to NATO's owning an institution belonging to all peoples, which promotes their overall interest in peace."⁵⁹ It is obvious that *Rizospastis* could not fathom a military alliance as an instrument of peace and harmony.

The general Greek reaction aside, generally favourable comment gained momentum in the International Press.⁶⁰ On occasion, however, more cautious articles were published. In a relevant article published in *Time Magazine*, journalist Lance MORROW presented the thought that "the Greek record of political stability is troubling." Further, MORROW suggested other countries as permanent homes for the Games, such as Switzerland and/or Sweden.⁶¹ An ardent supporter of the Greek proposal was the well known French author and member of the *European Union Parliament*, Maurice DRUON, who submitted to the *European Council* a suggestion for establishing a permanent site in Olympia for celebration of the Olympics.⁶² His suggestion was eventually adopted in September 1980 by the Educational European Committee of the *European Council*.⁶³ The president of the *French Olympic Committee*, Claude COLLART, also expressed his support of the Greek proposal.⁶⁴ The European Liberal Democrats adopted a resolution which called for the creation of a permanent site in Greece for the Olympic Games.⁶⁵ Simone VEIL, President of the *European Parliament*, declared that she was in favour of eventually transferring the summer Olympic Games to Greece.⁶⁶ Finally, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich GENSCHER also expressed his support for the Greek proposal.⁶⁷

Apart from the Greek idea, there was also a permanent site plan advanced by John LUCAS, ar-

guably the doyen of Olympic historians. LUCAS, a professor of sport science at *Venn State University* in America, suggested that both the Summer and Winter Games be held in one central European location on a permanent basis. According to the "Lucas Plan," a permanent Olympic Games centre should be built in either central Switzerland, Helsinki, or Athens.⁶⁸ Another plan was that of Harry SALTZMANN, Canadian-born film producer. Concerned about the political instability in Greece, SALTZMANN proposed a permanent "Olympic City" in the United States, a 50,000 acre enclave on Florida's Gulf Coast.⁶⁹

As political and economic infringements on the Olympic Games rose following the Montreal Games, for the first time in the recent history of the permanent site issue the IOC appeared to take the matter seriously. At the 82nd IOC Session held in Lake Placid in February 1980, the Greek proposal was discussed by the IOC membership. In the solemn opening ceremony of the Session, American Vice-President, Walter MONDALE, remarked that his Government supported *"the establishment of permanent homes for the summer and winter Olympics."*⁷⁰ The letter from Prime Minister KARAMANLIS to KILLANIN, containing the permanent Greek site plan had been distributed to all IOC members for discussion in Lake Placid. Greek IOC member Nikolaos NISSIOTIS presented the "renewed" proposal and stressed that this suggestion was not in any way submitted for political reasons. KILLANIN personally voiced that great care should be taken in the examination of the proposal and that a decision should not be made hastily. With President KILLANIN'S words freshly in mind, the General Session decided that the idea should be studied by a special commission. KILLANIN appointed Louis GUIRANDOU-N'DIAYE as chairman.⁷¹ Other members of the Commission were appointed by the IOC Executive Committee later in 1980.⁷² They were: Nikolaos NISSIOTIS, James WORRALL, and Pedro RAMIREZ VAZQUEZ.⁷³ The Commission's mandate was to study the principle for the permanent site and the legal liability of such an action.⁷⁴

Louis GUIRANDOU-N'DIAYE visited Greece on 25 April 1980. Together with Prime Minister KARAMANLIS, he inspected the sites proposed to the International Olympic Committee. From a hovering military helicopter, the party surveyed the three sites recommended: Cylene, Katakolo and Kayafa. Upon his return, GUIRANDOU-N'DIAYE prepared a preliminary report of his visit, which he presented at the next General Session held in Moscow in the summer of 1980.⁷⁵ He explained to his IOC colleagues, that he was *"engaged in exploratory work, not with riddle-solving, and not yet in a position to answer questions on all aspects of the problem."* Some

IOC members warned their colleagues not to rush the matter, arguing that it should be studied with great care. Another alarm surfaced - if a permanent home was given to the Games, there were dangers for the Modern Olympic Movement as a whole, as well as for the IOC and its constituent NOCs.⁷⁶ Before the IOC Session convened in Moscow, testy correspondence from KARAMANLIS to KILLANIN took place. A frustrated and angered KARAMANLIS believed that his proposal had entered a phase of stagnation in the halls of IOC decision-making.⁷⁷ Lord KILLANIN, in turn, assured KARAMANLIS that his proposal would be discussed thoroughly in Moscow. *"Your proposal,"* wrote KILLANIN,

*"has had widespread general support from the public and I discussed it with President Carter when I was in Washington. There is also of course opposition to a permanent site and it is for that reason I am anxious that the Commission should be very fully briefed and of course it affects especially the International [Sport] Federations and the National Olympic Committees whom we recognize."*⁷⁸

Enter Juan Antonio Samaranch

At the Moscow Session of the IOC, Juan Antonio SAMARANCH was elected President of the world's most august International sports organization. At his first Executive Board meeting in October 1980, SAMARANCH reconfirmed the establishment of the "Permanent Site Commission," but with an adjusted membership. Louis GUIRANDOU-N'DIAYE from the Ivory Coast remained as chairman. Sylvio de MAGALHAES PADILHA of Brazil and Nikos FILARETOS of Greece joined incumbents James WORRALL of Canada and Pedro RAMIREZ VAZQUEZ of Mexico to comprise the remaining membership.⁷⁹ One month later, in November 1980, the Commission members journeyed to Greece for a first-hand look at the Greek-proposed permanent sites. Only PADILHA was absent. NISSIOTIS replaced his Greek IOC colleague, an indisposed FILARETOS. They flew across southern Greece by helicopter to examine the three sites. According to WORRALL'S memoirs, the Greeks set out the proposed terms of agreement in great detail. Greece would cede the land to the IOC, which would, in turn, build all the facilities for use every four years. It was immediately obvious to the members of the IOC Commission that a great number of serious questions underscored the endeavour, not the least of which concerned the legal status of the area, security, inherent costs, etc.⁸⁰

Quick to act in his new job, SAMARANCH, *"the great consensus builder,"* sought the opinion of IOC members on the proposal for a permanent site. Queries were sent to all members. Fifty-eight responses were

received back. Samaranch, in a letter dated 14 August 1980, summarized the results: 3 members were in favour of a permanent site, 19 were opposed, 13 considered that the idea was interesting but impractical, and 23 others believed that the proposal should be given further study.⁸¹ SAMARANCH also sought advice from the NOCs and ISFs; the latter unanimously declared they were opposed to the idea of organizing the Games on a permanent basis in Greece. Among National Olympic Committees, the Greek proposal produced 5 positive replies, 86 negative, and 14 abstentions.⁸² The five positive replies were from Mozambique, Malta, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, and, as one might imagine, Greece. Somewhat perplexing was the reaction of Cyprus, an island nation with a majority Cypriot-Greek population. Cyprus was one of the 14 abstainers.

By then, Constantine KARAMANLIS had vacated his duties as Prime Minister of Greece and was now President of the Hellenic Republic. As President, he sent a new letter to SAMARANCH requesting that fresh and serious consideration be given to the Greek proposal.⁸³ SAMARANCH, in one of his earliest incidents of "globetrotting," visited Greece and met with KARAMANLIS. Regarding the Greek proposal, SAMARANCH stated: *"the proposal will keep on being studied with every discretion and honesty, before reaching a direct decision stating the adoption or not of the proposal."*⁸⁴ In his memoirs, SAMARANCH recounted that during his visit to Greece he tried to change KARAMANLIS'S mind on a permanent site, but without success.⁸⁵

At the XIth Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden in 1981, one of the agenda themes of which was *The Future of the Olympic Games*, both SAMARANCH and KILLANIN, in their speeches, alluded to the "gener-

ous proposal" of Greece. Following his kind words on behalf of Greece, however, Lord KILLANIN had the following to say:

*"You will be discussing, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Organization of Future Olympics, including the possibilities of a permanent site, whether in Greece or elsewhere. I do not wish to pre-empt this discussion, not having had all the reports from the Committee or being absolutely up to date, but I do not believe this will solve the political problems, and could lead to very large logistical problems. It may be that the Games will have to circulate on different continents in semi-permanent sites but this is something, Ladies and Gentlemen, for you to advise on for the future."*⁸⁶

Despite KILLANIN'S comment on "pre-empting discussion," prolonged debate on the matter never materialized. The final declaration of the Congress contained a statement to the effect that *"Olympic Games should continue to be able to be held anywhere in the world."*⁸⁷ A few days following, at its 84th Session in Baden-Baden, the IOC adopted a draft response for transmission to the Greek government.⁸⁸ In essence, the IOC expressed its deep gratitude to Greece, underscoring that it was forced to take into account a wide range of factors, including the point that the Games had already been awarded to Los Angeles for 1984 and Seoul for 1988. Then, too, many cities around the world had already indicated an interest in presenting their candidatures for 1992.⁸⁹ Finally, in view of the importance of the offer by Greece, the IOC stated that it would - if necessary - make a more in-depth study in due time.⁹⁰ All this rhetoric,

of course, was simply pacification to Greece and its dedicated quest to provide a permanent site for the Summer Games in a world rife with political upheaval, economic uncertainty, and terrorist violence.

The permanent site issue was at the time an attractive topic for academic research. One of the more scholarly studies on the "Legal Regime for a Permanent Olympic Site" was published in the *Journal of International Law and Politics* in the fall of 1982. It revealed that

*"the narrowly-defined autonomy which is required could be achieved by the imaginative use of a combination of traditional public and private international tools."*⁹¹

Countries	Permanently in Greece	In favour with Circulating	I don't Know
Greece	91	8	1
Great Britain	52	41	7
Holland	45	45	10
Australia	41	43	6
Belgium	37	42	21
USA	37	54	9
West Germany	37	61	2
Norwegian	34	52	14
Switzerland	33	50	17
Japan	31	66	3
Italy	27	62	11
Canada	26	65	9
Austria	25	61	14
France	23	66	11
Turkey	2	95	3

Table 1. Gallup-Poll in 15 Countries on the Subject of a Permanent Site



Finale

In Los Angeles in the summer of 1984, the Greek proposal once again was raised from the ashes of its apparent dismissal some three years previous. Once again, international conflicts prompted re-consideration. The Soviet Union and all but one of its Warsaw Pact allies (Romania) boycotted the Games. In the face of that disturbing consequence, President Karamanlis publicly reminded the world of his proposal.⁹² In France, the European Parliament called for the establishment of a permanent Olympic site in Greece.⁹³ In the United States, a concurrent resolution was adopted expressing the sense of the Congress that there should be established in Greece a permanent site for the summer Olympic Games.⁹⁴ Bill BRADLEY, for the last time, reiterated his endorsement of the permanent site plan.⁹⁵ The issue became polarized throughout the world. Scores of newspaper articles addressed the issue, many of them in favour,⁹⁶ and many against.⁹⁷

According to a week-long Gallup Poll (25 June-2 July 1982), conducted in fifteen countries on the eve of the opening of the 1984 Los Angeles Games, only Greece and Great Britain weighed in positively on the idea of establishing a permanent site in Greece for future Olympic Games.⁹⁸

Once again, KARAMANLIS sent a letter to SAMARANCH repeating his offer.⁹⁹ Waffling on the matter in its usual manner, the IOC replied that it would be prepared to study the proposal further provided a complete and detailed file was prepared concerning juridical, economical and technical aspects of the entire plan.¹⁰⁰ To date, Greece has never registered a "complete and detailed" study with the IOC for its consideration.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, during times of political and economic instability that infringed on the safety and well-being of the Modern Olympic Games, times, in effect, that threatened the celebration of Olympic Games at all, plans for their removal to "safe" areas of the world garnered popularity from time to time among certain parties. In general, these parties included politicians, Olympic scholars, media folks, and, of course, officials from certain countries that considered their nation as a permanent salvation-sanctuary for saving the Games. Of these, Greece was the most vigorous and persistent suitor. But, despite all the arguments and persuasion

that Greece mustered on its permanent site quest, the greater world was not sympathetic. Each of the fundamental Olympic Family constituents was against a permanent site situation for the Olympic Games. This included the IOC itself, the National Olympic Committees world-wide, the International Sports Federations, as well as the entities most concerned—prospective Olympic Games host cities of the world. COUBERTIN'S original ambulatory plan for the Games remained intact, less because of the dictum that the travelling nature of the Games preserved its international character, but more certainly due to the political dispositions, nationalistic fervour, commercial zealotry, and staunchly-held personal views held by decision-maker powerbrokers, mainly in the form of IOC members.

Notes

- 1 See, *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux* (July 1894)1, p. 4 (Article XIII -Les Jeux Olympiques). See also, CHRYSAFIS, Ioannis, *Modern International Olympic Games*, Athens 1930, p. 196.
- 2 MÜLLER, Norbert (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin. Olympism-Selected Writings*, Lausanne 2000, pp. 320 and 362.
- 3 *Comité International des Jeux Olympiques. Session d' Avril 1896 à Athenes. Protocole des décisions adoptées par le Comité*. See also, Müller, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 362; and COUBERTIN, Pierre de, "The Olympic Games of 1896", in: *The Century Magazine* (November 1896), p. 50.
- 4 SMITH, Michael Llewelyn, *Olympics in Athens, 1896*, London 2004, p. 200. See also, GEORGIADIS, Konstantinos, *Olympic Revival. The Revival of the Olympic Games in Modern Times*, Athens 2003, p. 200.
- 5 The idea of permanent Olympic Games in Greece was not really new to 1896 Athenian Greeks. William Penny BROOKES, the English physician who established the Much Wenlock Olympian Festival in Britain in 1850, was the first to envision, indeed argue, for international Olympic Games, celebrated every four years in Greece, and, in fact, permanently in Athens. For more on this, see YOUNG, David C., *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Survival*, Baltimore 1996.
- 6 The majority of the members of the Hellenic Olympic Games Organizing Committee were firmly in agreement with the context of the King's remarks. An exception was the young Alexandros MERKATIS. See GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, p. 201.
- 7 For this idea, see MANDELL, Richard, *The First Modern Olympics*, Berkeley 1976, pp. 153-154. See also, LOUVI, Lina, "The Dynasty at the First Olympic Games", in: KOU-LOURI, Christina (ed.), *Athens, the City of Olympic Games of 1896*, Athens 2004, p. 122.
- 8 MÜLLER, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 332.
- 9 *Acropolis* (1 April 1896); *Asty* (5 April 1896); and *Acropolis* (30 April 1896). For references to reactions published in the British press, see *Acropolis* (2 May 1896).
- 10 See *New York Times* (3 May 1896). See also, SMITH, *Olympics*, p. 202.
- 11 CHRYSAFIS, *Games*, p. 352.



- 12 MÜLLER, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 349.
- 13 MÜLLER, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 349. SMITH, *Olympics*, p. 204.
- 14 For the reactions to this proposal published in the Greek Press, see GEORGIADIS, *Revival* pp. 200-201. For WALDSTEIN'S description of two meetings he attended on the afternoon of 14 April 1896, one with Prince CONSTANTINE and the other with Pierre de COUBERTIN, both on the matter of intercalated Games, see *The Diary of Charles Waldstein*, Charles Waldstein Papers, IOC Archives, Lausanne. For more on WALDSTEIN and this matter, see BARNEY, Robert K., "Review of David C. Young's *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival*" (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), in: *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, 6(1997), pp. 126-127.
- 15 GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, p. 201.
- 16 *New York Times* (30 April 1896), p. 12. See also, MÜLLER, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 363; and SMITH, *Olympics*, p. 204.
- 17 *Hestia* (6 April 1896). See also, GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, p. 201; and LINARDOS, Petros, *From Vision to the Reality*. Dimitrios Vikelas, Athens 1996, p. 151.
- 18 Particularly strident in its attack on VIKELAS'S views, was the Greek newspaper *Kairoi*. See *Kairoi* (10 April 1896). See also, GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, p. 202, n. 29.
- 19 GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, p. 204.
- 20 For more details regarding the Second Olympic Congress at Le Havre, see GEORGIADIS, *Revival*, pp. 204-205; and LINARDOS, *Vision*, pp. 151-152.
- 21 MÜLLER, *Coubertin/Olympism*, p. 349.
- 22 See CHRYSAFIS, *Games*, p. 352.
- 23 See Law: BXKA, 1896, articles 37-39. See also, CHRYSAFIS, *Games*, p. 355.
- 24 MANDELL, *Games*, pp. 154-155.
- 25 See Bill MALLON. *The 1906 Olympic Games: Results for All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999).
- 26 *Journal of Olympic History* 14(December 2006)3.
- 27 KOULOURI, Christina (ed.), *Athens, Olympic City, 1896-1906*, Athens 2004.
- 28 See *Congressional Record* (29 January 1980).
- 29 SENN, Alfred, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events and Controversies that Shaped the Games*, Champaign 1999, pp. 165-166.
- 30 See *Associated Press* (20 July 1976). CROSS stated that a permanent site of the Olympics, similar to the site of the *United Nations*, would solve many problems faced by the Olympic movement, including offering a new vision for celebrating Olympic Games isolated from international political and racial conflicts. An angered and frustrated CROSS, of course, was himself embroiled in his country's role resulting in the boycott of twenty-eight African nations from the Montreal Games.
- 31 YOUNG, Temple, "The Olympic Games should return to its birthplace forever", in: *TA NEA* (26 July 1976), p. 14. *Constantine Karamanlis Archives*, Athens.
- 32 *New York Times* (21 July 1976).
- 33 KARAMANLIS'S letter to KILLANIN can be found in KARAMANLIS, Constantine, "Restoration of Democracy 1974-1977", in: *Constantine Karamanlis Archive, Athens, Historical Events and Texts*, vol. 9, 1999, pp. 269-270. For the English translation of the text see *Session-Prague*, 15/18-6-1977, James Worrall Papers, International Centre for Olympic Studies, (henceforth ICOS), University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. See also, WORRALL, James, *My Olympic Journey*, Toronto 2000, p. 150.
- 34 *Minutes of the Hellenic Committee of the Olympic Games*, 10th Session-Athens, 2/7/1981, pp. 273-274.
- 35 KILLANIN'S letter to KARAMANLIS is cited in PANOUSAKIS, Gianna, "The dream of C. Karamanlis to revive Olympic ideals: A proposal for the permanent realization of the Olympic Games in Greece", in: *Exercise and Society* 14(1996), p. 23.
- 36 See "Favourable reception internationally of the Karamanlis proposal", in: *Kathimerini* (3 August 1976), p. 2. Constantine Karamanlis Archive, Athens.
- 37 See, for instance, LESLY, F., "Many favour the return of the Olympics to their homeland", in: *Kathimerini* (14 August 1976), p. 3.
- 38 *IOC General Session Minutes*, 79th IOC Session, Prague, 1977 (condensed and annotated by Wolf LYBERG), vol. IV, 1956-1988, p. 246. Parentheses ours. Brackets ours.
- 39 *Minutes of the Hellenic Olympic Committee*, 10th Session-Athens, 2/7/1981, p. 274.
- 40 *IOC General Session Minutes*, 80th IOC Session-Athens, 1978, vol. IV (Lyberg), 1956-1988, pp. 253-259.
- 41 For more on this scenario, see SKIADAS, Eleftherios, *100 Years of Modern Greek Olympic History*, Athens 1996, p. 453. See also, *Minutes of the Hellenic Olympic Committee*, 10th Session-Athens, 2/7/1981, p. 274.
- 42 See VLACHOS, Helen, "Return the Olympics to Greece Permanently. They started there", in: *New York Times* (12 August 1979), p. 21E.
- 43 *House of Representatives, Congressional Record* (HRCR), Proceedings and Debates of the 96th Congress, 2nd Session (17 January 1980), H.13. For two other resolutions with similar content, see HRCR 333 (22 January 1980), S.38; and HRCR 334 (22 January 1980), S.56. Brackets ours.
- 44 See the statement of Congressman Edward DERWINSKI, HRCG Resolution (22 January 1980), S.41.
- 45 *Associated Press* (21 January 1980). See also, "The War of the Games", in: *New York Times* (28 March 1980).
- 46 See the statement of Robert C. BYRD, HRCG (22 January 1980), S.58.
- 47 *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* (29 January 1980).
- 48 See MORROW, Lance, "The Boycott that Might Rescue the Games", in: *Time* 115(11 February 1980)6, p. 48. See also, "The War of the Games", in: *New York Times* (28 March 1980), p. 34A.
- 49 "What's News", in: *Wall Street Journal* (4 April 1980), p. 4.
- 50 See *Session-Lake-Placid*, 10/12-2-1980. James Worrall Papers, ICOS. See also the *Associated Press* interview of Malcolm FRASER, "Joins in Call for Olympic Boycott", in: *Associated Press* (31 January 1980).
- 51 HRCR, 96th Congress, 2nd Session (29 January 1980), Amendment 1640, S.500.
- 52 Message from the Greek Prime Minister, Constantine KARAMANLIS, forwarded by the *Hellenic Olympic Committee* to the IOC, 29 January 1980. The Greek version can be found in the Constantine Karamanlis Archives, Athens, and in the *Minutes of the Hellenic Olympic Committee*, 10th Session, 2/7/1981, p. 275. For the English translation, see *IOC Session-Lake Placid*, 10-12/2/1980. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 53 As described in "Back to Olympia", in: *The Economist* (23 February 1980), p. 54.

- 54 *IOC General Session Minutes*, 82nd Session-Lake Placid, 1980, vol. IV (Lyberg), 1956-1988, p. 278.
- 55 *New Olympia*, Ministry to the Prime Minister, Government of Greece. Hellenic Olympic Committee (unpaginated). Constantine Karamanlis Archives, Athens.
- 56 See, for instance, *Nea Poreia* (3 February 1980), p. 1.
- 57 OICONOMEDES, Alexes, "Greece and the Olympic Games: The new great idea?", in: *Rizospastis* (7 February 1980), p. 3.
- 58 For more on this, see LEIGHTON, Martin, "Marina Adams, Greece's Olympic Gift Horse - Can the Games go home again?" *World Press Review* 24(July 1980), p. 62.
- 59 OICONOMEDES, Alexes, "Greece and the Olympic Games: What kind of neutrality can it offer?", in: *Rizospastis* (7 February 1980), p. 3.
- 60 See, for instance, "Olympics' Original Site in Greece Offered as the Permanent Home", in: *New York Times* (3 February 1980), p. 10; "Back to Olympia", in: *The Economist* (23 February 1980), pp. 54-55; and "The War of the Games", in: *New York Times* (28 March 1980), p. 34A.
- 61 MORROW, Lance, "The Boycott that might Rescue the Games", in: *Time* 115(11 February 1980)6, pp. 47-48.
- 62 *Dernières Nouvelles* (30 January 1980).
- 63 "Europe in favour for the return of Olympics in Greece", in: *Kathimerini* (25 September 1980).
- 64 KARAMANLIS, C, "Greece in Europe, 1977-1980", in: *Historical Events and Texts Archive* 11(1997) Athens, 1997, pp. 378, 380-382.
- 65 "European Liberal Democratic Parties Oppose Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan", in: *The Xinhua General Overseas News Service* (17 February 1980).
- 66 "European Parliaments Urge Cancellation of Olympic Games", in: *The Xinhua General Overseas News Service* (13 February 1980).
- 67 *Bild Zeitung* (14 February 1980).
- 68 LUCAS, John A., *Future of the Olympic Games*, Champaign 1992, p. 59-60, n. 25. Later, however, LUCAS expressed the idea that Switzerland afforded the best solution. See LUCAS, John, "Let Olympics play at a permanent site", in: *USA Today* (16 September 1988); and LUCAS, John, "Pick a Neutral Site", in: *US News and World Report* 96(28 May 1984).
- 69 See WORRALL, *Journey*, p. 196.
- 70 *Remarks of the Vice-President before the Solemn Opening of the 82nd IOC Session*, Session-Lake Placid, 10/12-2-1980. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 71 *IOC General Session Minutes*, 82nd IOC Session, Lake Placid 1980, vol. IV (Lyberg), 1956-1988, p. 278.
- 72 *IOC Executive Committee Minutes*, vol. III (Lyberg), 1969-1981, p. 277.
- 73 See, Vazquez to Killanin (2 July 1980), Session-Lake Placid, 10/12-2-1980, James Worrall Papers, ICOS. VASQUEZ'S personal opinion, according to the letter cited above, was the following: "I think we may consider Greece as an alternative that allows us to maintain the Olympic Games, since we would therefore have the certainty that they would take place, either in any cities to be designated, or in Greece, in the case there is any difficulty."
- 74 See *IOC Executive Committee Minutes*, vol. III (Lyberg), 1969-1981, p. 277.
- 75 "Report by Mr. Louis Guirandou - N. Diaye, Chairman of the Commission established to study the Greek Proposal," Session-Moscow, 15/18-7-1980/14M. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 76 *IOC General Session Minutes*, 83rd IOC Session, Moscow 1980, vol. IV (Lyberg), 1956-1988, p. 288.
- 77 KARAMANLIS to Lord KILLANIN (5 July 1980). Karamanlis Archives, Athens.
- 78 Lord KILLANIN to KARAMANLIS (7 July 1980) Session-Moscow, 15/18-7-1980. James Worrall Papers, ICOS. Brackets ours.
- 79 See WORRALL, *Journey*, p. 195.
- 80 WORRALL, *Journey*, pp. 195-196.
- 81 "A synthesis of the replies by members of the IOC to the president's letter dated 14 August 1980," Session-Baden-Baden, 29-9/2-10-1981, 12E. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 82 "Result of the Enquiry Carried out Amongst National Olympic Committees on the Permanent Site for the Olympic Games, Session-Baden-Baden, 29-9/2-10-1981, 12E. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 83 Letter from C. KARAMANLIS to J. SAMARANCH (19 August 1981), Session Baden Baden, 29-9/2-10-1981, 12E. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 84 *Minutes of the 8th Session of the Hellenic Olympic Committee* (26 May 1981), σελ. p. 177.
- 85 SAMARANCH, Juan Antonio, *21 Years in the Presidency of the International Olympic Committee*, Athens 2002, pp. 31-33.
- 86 KILLANIN, Lord, "The Olympic Movement since Varna", in: *Proceedings: 11th Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden 1981*, vol. 1, pp. 40-44.
- 87 *Report of the XIth Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden*, vol. 1, Lausanne 1982, p. 109.
- 88 *Minutes of the 84th Session of the IOC, Baden-Baden*, September 29-October 2 1981, p. 28. Session: Baden-Baden, 29-9/2-10-1981, 12E. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 89 It is somewhat incredulous that the IOC advanced the idea to the Greeks that well before the success of the Los Angeles Games of 1984, many cities around the world were indicating an interest in bidding for the Olympic Games of 1992. In fact, quite the opposite was the case. There were no suitors.
- 90 See also, "The Resolution concerning the Greek Proposal", in: *Olympic Review* 169(November 1981), p. 641.
- 91 Frederic RICH, C, "The Legal Regime for a Permanent Olympic Site", in: *Journal of International Law and Politics* 15(Fall 1982)1, pp. 3-53.
- 92 *Associated Press* (9 May 1984).
- 93 *Wall Street Journal* (25 May 1984).
- 94 *The Library of Congress* <http://thomas.loc.gov>
- 95 "Bradley Seeks Permanent Olympic Site," *New York Times* (12 August 1984).
- 96 For instance, see "IOC Warms to Greek Plan to Give Games Home", in: *The Guardian* (16 August 1984). See also, *New York Times* (9 May 1984; 16 May 1984; 29 May 1984).
- 97 See *Associated Press* (23 July 1984). See also, *States News Service* (August 1984).
- 98 See *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (28 July 1984); and *New York Times* (3 August 1984).
- 99 Session-Los Angeles, 25/26 -7-1984. James Worrall Papers, ICOS.
- 100 *IOC General Sessions Minutes*, 87th IOC Session, Los Angeles 1984, vol. IV (Lyberg), 1956-1988, p. 333. The IOC's response prompted a comment from the Communist newspaper, *Rizospastis*, which snidely reported that it was against the idea from the beginning. See *Rizospastis* (24 July 1984), p. 8.