

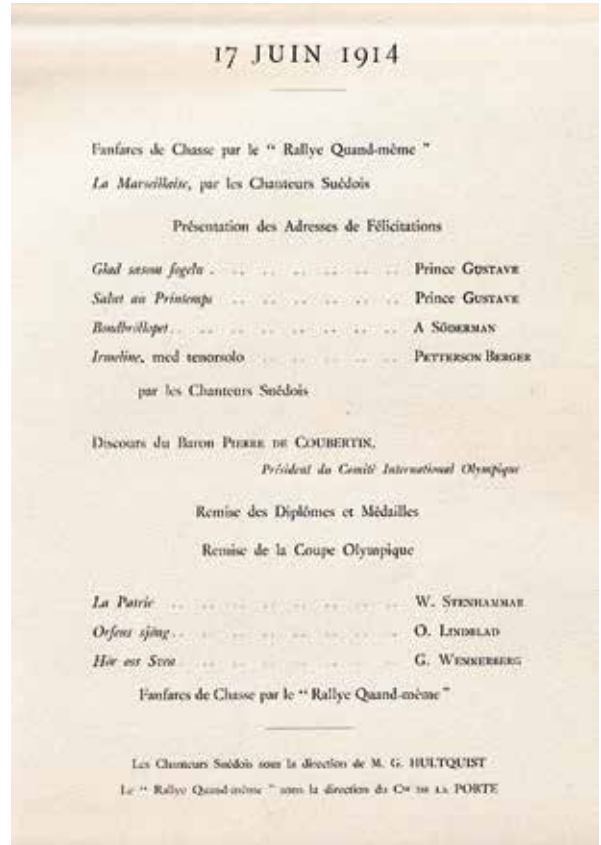
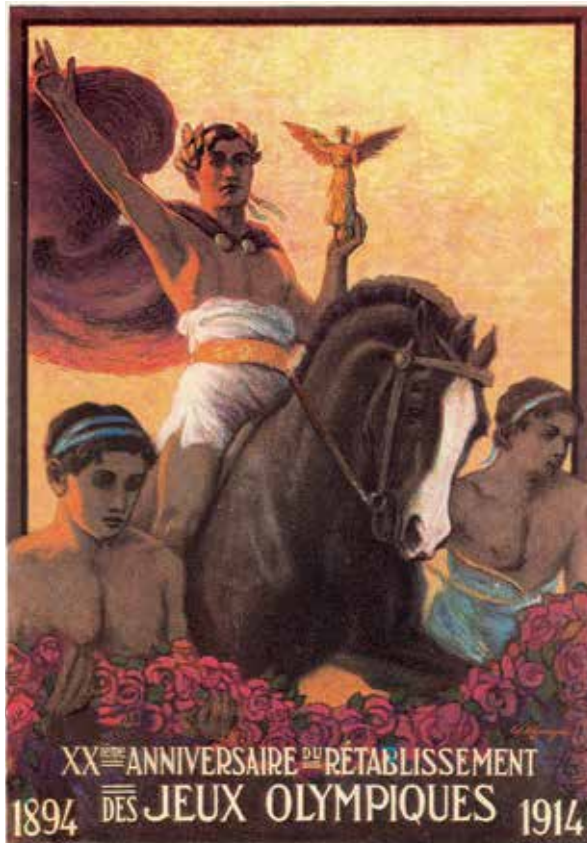
Modest Festivals in Difficult Times

Commemorating Olympic Anniversaries 1914–1969

By Thomas Lippert and Volker Kluge

Left: Poster celebrating the 20th anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games. The design, by Swiss artist Édouard Elzingre, was also used as a template for a postcard and label. Next to it: the event programme at the Sorbonne on 17th June 1914.

Photos: Collection Christian Kunz, Volker Kluge Archive



Pierre de Coubertin spent much of his time polishing the image of the Olympic Games and presenting the IOC he had founded in a light that was fit for its significance. His memoirs often suggest the impression that the setting – the embellishment, the ceremonies, the celebrations and receptions – was often more important to him than the actual sporting event.

When making plans, Coubertin also liked to draw on the ideas of others, such as the political economist John Ruskin, who was regarded as the driving force of the English Arts and Crafts movement. In 1911, Coubertin dedicated a four-part essay to Ruskin in the *Revue Olympique*. It was on the topic of sporting “Ruskianism” and ended with the statement: “Sport, which must bring joy, can do so only when it wears festive clothing.”¹

Sometimes impetus came from the outside. So it was in 1914, when the 20th anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games, was celebrated in Paris with a week-long Olympic Congress. The springboard was a document

that Coubertin had been shown in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs back in 1910. Across the cover, an unidentified official had written the words: “The French government does not recognise the Olympic Games.”

This episode is recounted in Coubertin's memoirs: “Oh!” I said to myself, “just wait! You'll soon see whether the French Government recognises the Olympic Games or not!” From that moment on, I was determined to make the celebration of the 20th anniversary of their revival in June 1914 so remarkable that the cream of officialdom and fashionable Paris society would be unanimous in its homage to the revived institution.²

The formal decision was taken at the 1911 IOC Session in Budapest and published in the June issue of the *Revue Olympique*. For the first time, representatives of the National Olympic Committees (NOC) and International Sports Federations (IF) were invited to an Olympic

Congress, and, after the successful 1912 Games in Stockholm, they showed an increasing interest in shaping the future programme of the competition and uniform rules.³

The extensive programme included 14 joint meetings, which, with one exception, were presided over by Coubertin. The festive framing of it all consisted of no fewer than 17 events. The highlight was the memorial celebration on 17th June 1914, which took place at the very

location where the revival of the Olympic Games had been announced 20 years earlier.

As famous Swedish singers intoned the *Marseillaise*, French President Raymond Poincaré entered the auditorium of the Sorbonne silently in the dark, so as not to disturb the “eurythmics” or atmosphere that Coubertin was so keen to achieve. Ambassadors from every country had turned up, and during the course of the event, so Coubertin tells us “over one hundred addresses or telegrams from sovereigns, crown princes, governments, universities and societies were read out.”⁴

For the first time, the Olympic flag also flew in public. It had been designed specially for the occasion by Coubertin. He wrote: “At that time, I did not feel that war was imminent or even inevitable.”⁵

An aircraft squadron as a “Silver Wedding” gift

On 10th April 1915, Coubertin officially relocated the headquarters of the IOC from Paris to Lausanne. War had come and as Coubertin, by now 52, had joined the French army, he wanted the IOC President to be neutral. He asked his colleague Godefroy de Blonay to take over the IOC leadership for the duration of the war. From 1st January 1916, The Swiss Baron acted as President ad interim.

In 1907, Coubertin had been re-elected president at the Olympic Congress in The Hague. This was to be for a ten-year term. But before this second term came to an end, de Blonay had made contact with as many members as he could, to obtain tacit approval to extend Coubertin’s presidency for another ten years.⁶

In Coubertin sent a circular which thanked the IOC Members for his re-election. At the same time, he issued an invitation to a session in Lausanne which he wanted to combine with the 25th anniversary of the IOC and use to review and pay tribute to a quarter of a century’s work. He did not go into details. Instead, he made reference to the 100 published issues of the *Revue Olympique*.⁷



Programme for a boat party in June 1914: the Olympic flag, designed by Coubertin, flew at the top of the mast for the first time.

Photo: Karl Lennartz Archive



Left: The French pilots and mechanics who flew to Lausanne in 1919 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the IOC. The flight of 14 planes had been authorised by French Prime Minister Clemenceau. The SPA 95 squadron was commanded by noted fighter pilot Marcel Hugues (in the middle wearing the lighter uniform). To his right was Lieutenant de Fleurieu, who flew in aircraft no. 4 (photo right). Photos: Collection Thomas Lippert



Olympic commemorative medal for the 25th anniversary of the IOC in Lausanne, 1919.

The Games of the VI Olympiad were to be celebrated in Berlin in 1916 but had to be cancelled due to the war. These were mentioned by Coubertin only in passing. He wanted them to be marked with a “bloody cross”.⁸ He looked ahead and pinned his hopes on the Games of 1920, which, in his mind, he had long since awarded to Antwerp.⁹

At that point in time, however, the future of the Olympic Movement was still uncertain. This was also clear from

the low turnout for the session of 1919. It was attended by only eight of the 38 IOC Members.¹⁰ The burdens of the war so recently ended, still weighed heavily on many countries. In addition, a Spanish flu epidemic claimed the lives of at least 25 million (some put the figure as high as 50 million) between 1918 and 1920.¹¹ This was more than had died in the entire First World War. A third wave, which turned out to be somewhat milder than the previous one, reached Switzerland in January 1919.

Despite these limitations, a small team led by Dr. Francis-Marius Messerli, Chief Physician of the Lausanne Health Service since 1917, succeeded in organising a worthy “Silver Wedding”, as Coubertin named the Olympic event.¹² The festivities took place on the morning of 5th April 1919 in the auditorium of the University and were presided over by no less a figure than Gustave Ador, who had become president of the Swiss Confederation in 1917 and had chaired the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) since 1910.

Since the IOC had lost the last of its money during the war and was funded by Coubertin alone, it was dependent on donations. These came from the French President and the Council of State of the Canton of Vaud.

In his opening speech of the session, Coubertin spoke

about the global political upheavals without specifically mentioning the revolutions in Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary. In order to ensure social peace, he said, not only would fairer distribution of goods and free access to education be required, but also the opening up of sport to the masses. “That is the complete and democratic Olympism of which we are today laying the foundation stone.”¹³

The awarding of the 1920 Olympics to Antwerp, which had repeated its application of 1914, was viewed by Coubertin as a “victory of patriotic feelings, but also as a victory of sports education.”¹⁴ He was unhappy that outside the Olympic walls, with Paris at its centre, “a scheming and, in its methods, not all too loyal opposition to Antwerp’s 1920 Games was spreading,” as the later IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer wrote.¹⁵

The “Manifestations Olympiques”, as the celebrations were called, included the landing of 14 French military aircraft. There was a letter to Coubertin from French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, who since 1917 had also been minister for war. In it, he stated that, with the permission of the Swiss federal government, he had sent the air squadron in order to express his “high esteem” for the IOC and its work “on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games”.

It remains unclear who was behind this initiative. According to Coubertin, the squadron accepted an invitation from the Lausanne School of Civil Aviation. According to other sources, it was Coubertin himself who had requested the squadron in March 1919. Perhaps this was also a gesture to put the Supreme Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, General John J. Pershing, in his place. With the support of the French press, Pershing had been the force behind the Inter-Allied Games planned for July 1919 in Paris, and had intended to style them as an “Olympic” event.

Whether it was military officers, workers, women or religions, Coubertin vehemently resisted any attempt to infringe upon the distinguishing characteristic of the Olympic Games. In his memoirs, he wrote:

Left: Souvenir envelope for the “Manifestations Olympiques”.

Right: gymnastics performances by young people from Lausanne on the shores of Lake Geneva.



Photo: Collection Thomas Lippert



On 30 May 1934, IOC Members gathered at the marble stele in Ancient Olympia to mark the 40th anniversary of the IOC. This had been erected in 1927 by the Hellenic Olympic Committee to mark Coubertin's re-establishment of the Olympic Games. In those days, the column was still within the Altis.

Hellenic Olympic Committee

In this way, the discontented were invited to keep quiet but even so they continued for a long time to grumble and show their ill will in many ways. What exactly did they want? Nothing very precise.¹⁶

The deployment of the squadron by President Clemenceau was considered so important by Coubertin that he even mentioned the gesture in his speech on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Olympic Movement.¹⁷ However, the memorial event held on 23rd June 1934 in the auditorium of the University of Lausanne took place without the IOC, whose members had met five weeks earlier in Athens for the 32nd session. During an excursion to Olympia, they gathered at a marble stele endowed by the Greek government in 1927, which recalled the revival of the Olympic Games by Coubertin.

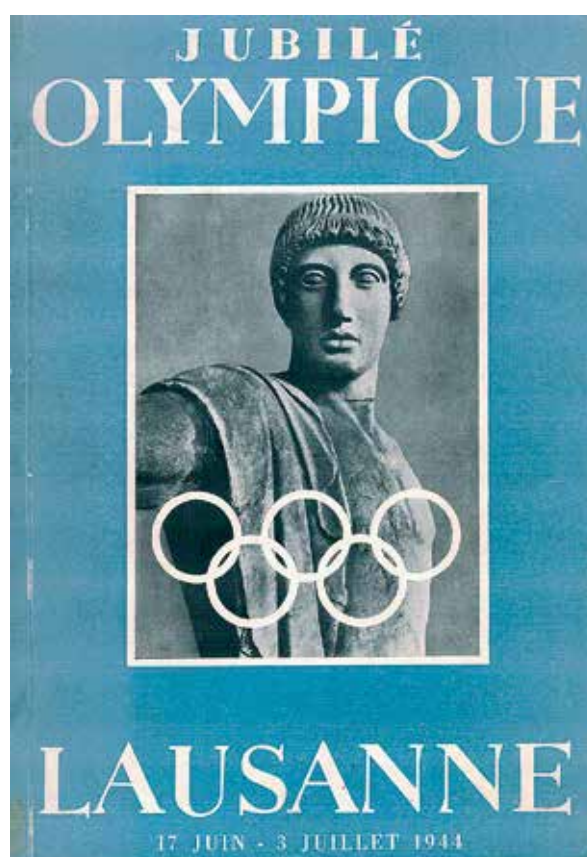
Was Coubertin invited? It seems certain that he was not, because it was commonly known that after his resignation in 1925, he never again attended IOC events and avoided anything that might suggest that he was interfering in their affairs.

Furthermore, he was much happier in Lausanne, especially since Messerli, as president of the Society for Greek–Swiss Friendship, had thrown him an unforgettable dinner at the Hotel Royal with around 1500 guests from Greece and Switzerland – mostly cruise participants.

Lausanne was also to atone for St. Moritz

In his 1934 speech in Lausanne, Coubertin spoke of strange coincidences that linked the revival of the Olympic Games with tragedies. He recalled French President Carnot, who was murdered on the final day

of the 1894 Founding Congress. And no sooner had the participants of the 20-year celebrations of 1914 parted when the assassination of Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo triggered the First World War. But since Olympism had survived this terrible conflict unscathed, he looked optimistically to the future. Would he have still held the same view at the height of the Second World War in 1944?



Jubilé Olympique 1944: Cover of the Golden Book of Olympism.

Photo: Collection Thomas Lippert



The memorial badge and 1944 commemorative medal, created by Swedish sculptor Tore Strindberg, features a portrait of Coubertin on the front and the Doryphoros of Polykleitos on the reverse. Photos: IOC/OSC Archive



By then, Coubertin had died. When the IOC assembled for the last time before the next war, two years after Coubertin's death, air-raid shelters were being built in London's Hyde Park. At night, sirens wailed, at this time only a drill. "There is no war," General Walter von Reichenau reassured his German colleagues, against his better judgement.¹⁸ Only after the eventual destruction of the Nazi regime did it become known that two weeks before the 1939 session, Hitler had informed his army leaders that he would attack Poland "at the first suitable opportunity" and that, in the event of a "war on two fronts," England would be the main enemy.¹⁹

The IOC, on the other hand, found itself involved in a bloodless "war" that revolved around the 1940 Winter Olympics, originally scheduled to take place in Sapporo. In 1938 the Japanese admitted they would be unable to stage them so St. Moritz had stepped in. So far, so good.

Yet at the same time, the IOC was also involved in a dispute with the International Ski Federation (FIS). The argument concerned the participation of ski instructors, who were considered professionals. Since no agreement was reached, all ski competitions were cancelled by the IOC. Instead, ski demonstrations were incorporated into the programme, but the Swiss were unwilling to organise them.

At the session of 1939 there was considerable unrest over the matter. IOC President Henry de Baillet-Latour sent an ultimatum by telegram to the absent Swiss member Colonel Henri Guisan, giving him two days to respond. However, Guisan had been given the job of securing the country's borders by his government, due to the impending war.

It fell to NOC President Marcel Henninger to reply on his behalf, though 24 hours too late. Since he was not ready to satisfy the demands, an angry IOC decided to with-

Ceremony in the auditorium of the University of Lausanne. At the lectern: Commander Albert Mayer, who read a speech on behalf of the IOC Vice-President, J. Sigfrid Edström.





Dr. Paul Martin, Switzerland's Olympic 800 m silver medalist in 1924, gave a lecture on "De Coubertin and Sports" at the Sports Pedagogy Congress on the occasion of the IOC anniversary. Far left: Among those present: the 82-year-old widow of Coubertin. Beside her: General Henri Guisan.

Photos: IOC/OSC Archive

draw the Winter Games from St. Moritz and award them to Garmisch-Partenkirchen once again.²⁰

After the Summer Games of 1936, Carl Diem had now also been designated chief organiser of the 1940 Winter Olympics. He noted in his diary:

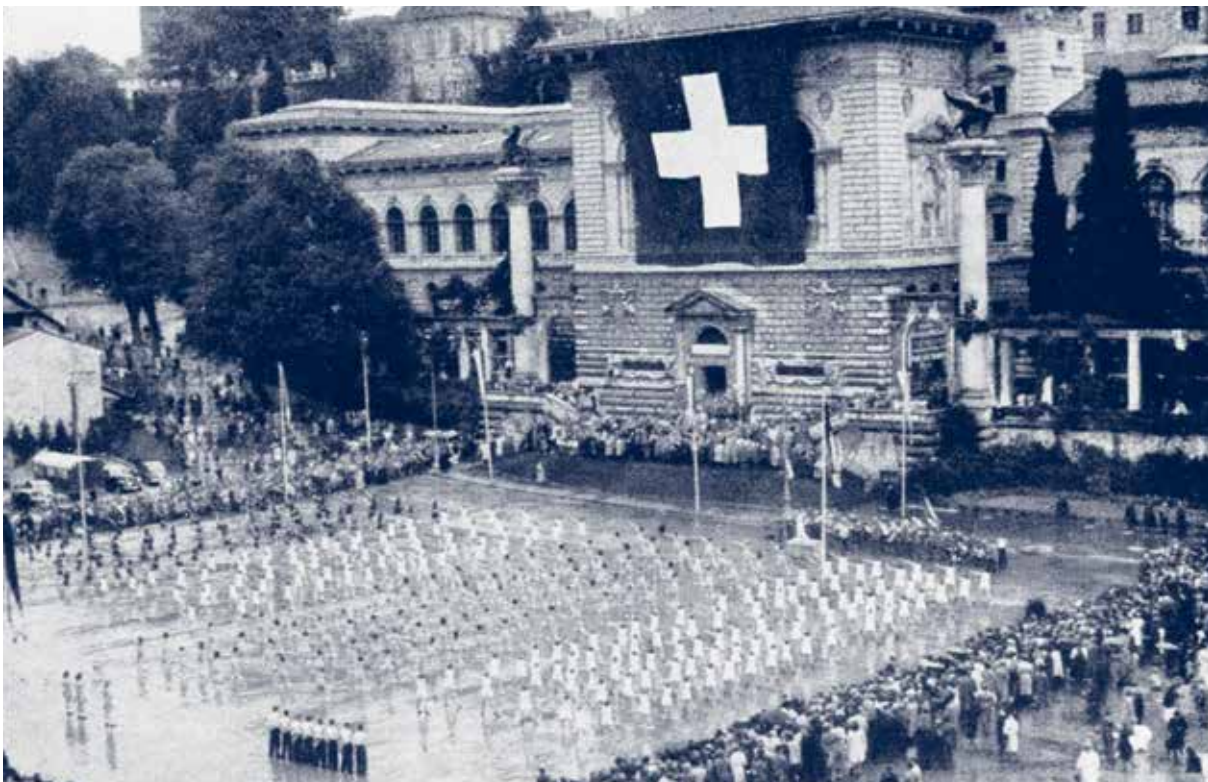
*If the men had anticipated that the Führer would have by now banned the Czechs from starting as an Olympic team, not only would no-one have voted for Garmisch, we would have had to walk out of the room. Von Reichenau now wants to negotiate, directly after returning, first of all probably with Lammers or Ribbentrop.*²¹

Lausanne was also "punished". It was a city where Coubertin would have liked to have seen the Summer Olympics. When it now applied for 1944, it received only one vote. Although London was chosen with a majority of 20 votes, the Games did not take place. The 1940 Games of Helsinki had suffered the same fate.

Clear rejection of Halt as IOC representative

At the London session, de Baillet-Latour had warned Lausanne that there would be consequences over the Swiss attitude, but at the same time had assured Mayor Jules-Henri Addor that the 50th anniversary was definitely to be celebrated at the IOC headquarters.²² By 1944, Baillet Latour had also died. In office in his place was Vice-President J. Sigfrid Edström from Sweden. During the war he did his best to maintain contact with the other members by means of circular letters.

Despite the war, Edström asked the Swiss NOC and the City of Lausanne to prepare the way for a celebration of the golden jubilee. He himself commissioned a fellow countryman, sculptor Tore Strindberg, to create a commemorative medal to mark the occasion. It depicts Coubertin in profile and is inscribed with the historic date of "23rd June 1894 Sorbonne" on the obverse. For the



Performances by Lausanne school children on Place de la Riponne on 17 June 1944.

Photos: ATP Bilderdienst Zürich, IOC/OSC Archive



Commemorative stamps for the 1944 IOC anniversary. The stamps featured an image of Apollo viewed from the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia.

reverse, he chose the image of an ancient spear-carrier by Polykleitos.

Even given Switzerland's neutrality and hospitality, it was amazing how much effort the Lausanne preparatory committee was able to put in during the fourth year of the war. The city administration hosted the anniversary with a programme lasting two and a half weeks. This ran from 17th June to 3rd July 1944. Together with the Association of Hoteliers it published a *Golden Book of Olympism*.

The Swiss postal administration did its part. It approved three commemorative stamps depicting the Apollo from the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Ancient Olympia. This was an image also used on the cover of the commemorative book. In addition to the postage stamps, three postcards were offered, each in a limited edition of 1,000. Two of them were designed by artists who had previously won medals in the Olympic Art competitions: 1928 silver medallist Carl Moos and 1936 gold winner Alex Walter Diggelmann.

The fact that the Swiss would largely stick together at this anniversary celebration was foreseeable in the

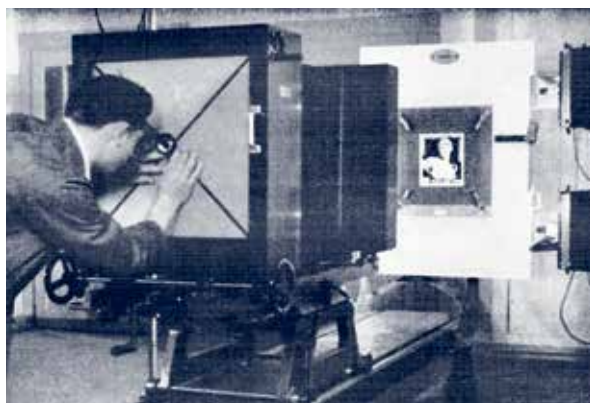
face of the catastrophe that had befallen humanity. The situation had even intensified in recent days, after allied troops had landed in Normandy on 6th June 1944 with 6,000 ships and 150,000 soldiers. On 22nd June, the Red Army began its summer offensive, advancing more than 300 kilometres westward within a few days. On the other hand, there were rumours of "miracle weapons" with which the Germans would soon lay waste to London, as Diem would have it. In his diary, he noted: "v. Halt reports interestingly of three instructions."²³ However he remained silent as to what those were.

The Germans sent half a dozen guests, the largest group. However, the Swiss reserved the right to let who they wanted into the country. Until the early 1940s, Werner Klingeberg, had been considered the designated successor to the late IOC Secretary Albert Berdez. Yet he made it no further than the border near Basel, where Klingeberg was denied a visa. Diem described this as the "doing of Edström at a distance," because he had expressly rejected an invitation from Klingeberg.²⁴

Edström himself refused to participate. The official reason was "ill-health".²⁵ He did however send a speech, which was read out by Albert Mayer at the official ceremony on the afternoon of 17th June 1944 at the University of Lausanne. The reigning IOC President had appointed him *chargé d'affaires* in Lausanne until the end of the war.²⁶ However, the Swiss Army Major served full-time as an *aide-de-camp* of General Guisan,²⁷ who did not leave the side of Coubertin's widow at the event, which was to be seen as a clear snub to Karl Ritter von Halt.

As Guisan had resigned from the IOC in 1939, Halt and the Bulgarian Stephan Tchaprachikov were the only IOC Members among those present, and the organisers had good reasons not to offer them a platform. Halt was a Brigadeführer in the SA, a paramilitary organisation of the Nazi Party. It may also have leaked out that, as director of Deutsche Bank, he was amongst the "circle of friends" of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler.²⁸ Tchaprachikov, in turn, was Bulgaria's ambassador to Berlin. It was no secret that he had made an open pact with the Nazi regime.

Left: Production of the template for the commemorative stamps. Right: the mobile post office in which the postcards and letters were franked with the special stamp.



Photos: Collection Thomas Lippert



Apart from these people, international sport had only a few representatives. These were either Swiss or lived in the Confederation, such as the first Secretary General of the International Amateur Basketball Association, the British official R. William Jones, or the German Dr. Ivo Schricker, who had been General Secretary of the International Football Association (FIFA) since 1932.

From Germany came two presidents of International Federations. They were Georg Evers (field hockey) and Dr. Max W. Eckert (canoeing). Hungary was the only NOC represented. It sent the well-known athletics coach Dr. Ottó Misángyi and NOC Secretary Dr. Emil Ferenczy. Lacking visas and foreign currency, both reached Lausanne only after the official ceremony.²⁹

Small Olympiad of Escaped Prisoners of War

As more and more peoples in Europe celebrated their liberation from fascism, an apocalyptic mood of final days spread among the Germans and their allies. Despite this, Diem painted a strained picture of sporting idyll in the *Olympische Rundschau*, which was being published for the final time.³⁰ The actual state of his mood can be gleaned from his diary. Here, he thinks of his family, and notes with relief that they are “now far away from endangered Berlin.”³¹

In his records, Diem described Lausanne as a “paradise” whose advantages he enjoyed to the fullest. His welcome was only conditional, even from the 82-year-old Baroness de Coubertin, who greeted him merely with “Bonjour Monsieur”, as brief as it was cool, at the wreath-laying at her husband’s grave (quote: “Old Coubertin conducted the whole thing”). In response to which, Diem limited his conversation to “Madame”. When the pair came into contact again at a Swiss NOC lunch the following day, Diem wrote: “Mrs. Coubertin was silent once more, and I no less so.”

In his report, Diem mentions “sportsmen from all over the world” who insisted on “bearing witness to

their allegiance to the Olympic idea.”³² In speaking of 33 nations, he was factually correct, but he omitted the fact that most of the participants were interned soldiers, including many wounded who had fled from the henchmen of Hitler and Mussolini.

One of them was 24-year-old Croatian student Artur Takac, who had fought in the Yugoslav army against the Germans and Italians. With the help of forged papers, Takac had succeeded in battling his way through to Italy in 1942, where he got to know the local athletics elite after a short internment in Milan. When Mussolini was deposed by his own people after the Allied landing in Sicily, he established the Republic of Salò in northern Italy with German support and Takac fled across the Swiss border near Lake Lugano. He was arrested but not sent back. Instead, he and other Yugoslavs went to a camp near Yverdon.

It was good fortune for him because Yverdon was only 30 kilometres north of the epicentre of the Olympic Movement. Takac was among the more than 200 candidates selected by ICRC representatives for courses to train sports instructors. The figure later rose to 400. The courses were held from June to August 1944 in Lausanne’s Stade de Vidy, on the shores of Lake Geneva, opposite the Château de Vidy. In his autobiography, Takac describes the friendly atmosphere in which these courses were held and how internees from France, Great Britain, Greece, Poland, the USA and Yugoslavia, as well as refugees from Belgium and the Netherlands, came together.³³ Every day began with the raising of the Olympic flag. Representatives of each nation took turns to do this and each also sang their national anthem. Then it was time for training in athletics, swimming or games. The afternoons were reserved for theory.

The man behind these activities was Dr. Messerli, who had founded the Swiss NOC in 1912 with Godefroy de Blonay. In 1928 together with Coubertin, he set up the International Bureau of Sporting Pedagogy and the Olympic Institute of Lausanne. This was an

Left: Postcard from FIFA Secretary-General Ivo Schricker to his Swedish colleague Anton Johnson.
Right: On the back, the signatures of Baroness de Coubertin, Elisabeth de Blonay, General Guisan, Albert Mayer, Carl Diem and IOC Members Karl Ritter von Halt and Stephan Tchaprachikov can be seen.

Photos: Collection Thomas Lippert, collection Christian Kunz

Participants in the Small Olympiad of Escaped Prisoners of War, among them Croatian Artur Takac (circled).

Photo: Artur Takac, *Sixty Olympic Years*, p. 62



establishment which Diem hoped to eclipse with the International Olympic Institute, founded in Berlin in 1938.³⁴

Messerli's closest associate was Dr. Paul Martin, who had become a Swiss sporting legend. As a 19-year-old Lausanne medical student, he took part in the 1920 Olympics, and he was only narrowly defeated by the Briton Douglas Lowe in the 800 m final at the 1924 Games in Paris. At the 1928 Olympics, he finished sixth in both the 800 m and 1500 m. He earned his doctorate and at the age of almost 35, he participated for the last time at the 1936 Games.

Messerli and Martin organised two congresses in connection with the Olympic anniversary. On 16th June, a sports psychology conference took place the day before the official opening of the events. After the festivities, on 19th June, the theme was sports education.

In all there were 40 speakers. Among them was the Yugoslavian javelin record holder Jelica Stanojević, on women's sports.³⁵ After the Olympics of 1936, where the Serb had come in twelfth, she was stricken by polio. Although confined to a wheelchair, she managed to escape to Switzerland, where she was interned.

So, despite the long shadow cast by the war, it was not a quiet 50th anniversary celebration, thanks to the organisers, who had thought of everything. They included culture, Olympic rituals (including torchbearers) and practical sport. Internees from six countries were also involved and competed in six sports in a "Small Olympiad of Escaped Prisoners of War."³⁶ Takac won the 400 m and 1500 m, but there were neither medals nor ringing fanfares for him. A sincere handshake from Messerli and his comrades-in-arms sufficed.

The third jubilee was celebrated with great modesty

In 1944, no-one would have predicted that by the time of the 75th anniversary, Takac would have become Technical Director of the IOC.³⁷ And nobody was yet thinking about relocating the IOC headquarters from the Villa Mon Repos to the Château de Vidy.

The problems that lay in store for what was then a still modest IOC administration after the Olympic Games of 1968, ultimately precipitated the resignation of Secretary-General Johan Westerhoff.³⁸ For this reason, it was clear that IOC President Avery Brundage was visibly grateful to Poland's Włodzimierz Reczek. During the 1968 session in Mexico, Reczek proposed combining the next meeting in Warsaw in 1969 with the 50th anniversary of the founding of its NOC and the IOC jubilee celebrations.

Everyone was in agreement. The only thing rejected was the striking of a commemorative medal. This was done for economic reasons. The IOC's financial position was bad, meaning the running costs could scarcely be paid. The IOC was even forced to increase the annual contribution of its members from 150 to 300 Swiss francs from 1969 onwards.³⁹

In the end, a medal was created after all. The Polish NOC had it minted at its own expense. The obverse depicted the Mermaid of Warsaw (Syrenka) with sword, shield and fishtail, with IOC symbols on the reverse.⁴⁰

A third IOC jubilee was also celebrated in Lausanne although this was somewhat delayed, on 4th and 5th July 1969. As tradition demanded, a wreath was laid down on Coubertin's grave. Afterwards, Monique Berlioux received 60 guests in the new headquarters. Once

again only two IOC Members were present. These were the French Vice-President Count de Beaumont and the newly elected Swiss member Raymond Gafner.

The idea of glittering festivals celebrating IOC anniversaries and commemorative years remains legendary. Fortunately, the tragedies that Coubertin had spoken of were also kept within limits. ■

- 1 Pierre de Coubertin, "Décoration, Pyrotechnie, Harmonies, Cortèges. Essai de Ruskinianisme sportif", in: *Revue Olympique*, April 1911, pp. 54–59; July, pp. 106–110; August, pp. 122–124; October, pp. 149–153.
- 2 Pierre de Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, IOC, Lausanne 1997, p. 155.
- 3 Norbert Müller, *Von Paris bis Baden-Baden. The Olympischen Kongresse 1894–1981 (From Paris to Baden-Baden. The Olympic Congresses 1894–1981)*, Schors-Verlag, Niedernhausen 1981, pp. 75–83. At the time of the Olympic Congress, there were already 32 recognised NOCs, who were each able to send between two and ten delegates, depending on their importance and size. Countries without a recognised NOC were able to send three representatives as proposed by their foreign ministers.
- 4 *Memoirs*, p. 160.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 6 Circular letter from Godefroy de Blonay to the IOC Members, February 1917, Olympic Studies Centre (OSC), Lausanne.
- 7 Letter to the IOC Members, Lausanne, January 1919, OSC.
- 8 Pierre de Coubertin, *Almanach Olympique pour 1920*, Lausanne 1919, p. 1.
- 9 Of the cities that had been interested in staging the 1920 Games, only Lyons remained. Its mayor, Édouard Herriot, signed an agreement on 5th September 1915 in which he undertook to postpone his city's application in favour of Antwerp, in the event that Belgium would be in a position to organise the Games after the war.
- 10 Minutes, IOC Session 1919, OSC. In his study of the IOC Sessions, Vol. 1, p. 90, Wolf Lyberg erroneously cites the number of members present as 38. In the official IOC history, published in 1994, author Yves-Pierre Boulouge works with the number nine. Apparently, he counted Baron Sven Hermelin as one of the IOC Members. In fact, he was also present but he participated as a representative of the Swedish NOC and had brought some of the Challenge Cups to Lausanne. At the outbreak of the war, the IOC still had 49 members. The representatives from the defeated powers had been quietly deleted by Coubertin in 1919.
- 11 *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 76, No. 1, 2002, pp. 105–115.
- 12 Pierre de Coubertin, "Les noces d'argent de l'Olympisme", in: *Pages de Critique et d'Histoire*, 1919.
- 13 XXV Anniversaire des Jeux Olympiques. Discours prononcé par le Président du Comité International Olympique à la Cérémonie commémorative, Lausanne, avril 1919, in: Carl-Diem-Institut (Ed.), *L'Idee Olympique. Discours et Essais*, Schorndorf 1966, p. 74.
- 14 *Almanach Olympique pour 1920*.
- 15 Otto Mayer, *A travers les anneaux olympiques*, Cailler, Geneva 1960, p. 84.
- 16 *Memoirs*, p. 178–179.
- 17 Célébration du 40^e Anniversaire du Rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques, in: *Sport Suisse*, June 1934, p. 16.
- 18 Carl Diem, *Ein Leben für den Sport*, Henn Verlag, Ratingen (1970), p. 202.
- 19 Trial by the International Tribunal of Hermann Goering, Nuremberg, Document No. L 79, Report on a Secret Discussion with Hitler, 23rd May 1939.
- 20 Swiss Olympic Committee, memorandum on the circumstances under which Switzerland was deprived of the 1940 Winter Games, Volker Kluge Archive.
- 21 Diem, Diary, 9th June 1939, Vol. 12, p. 21. Hitler took the view that the Czech Republic, which had been occupied in 1939 and was now considered a protectorate, should from now on, as a matter of principle, only be represented by the German Reich. However, due to diplomatic considerations, he then agreed that an independent team should participate at the Winter Games under the name Bohemia and

Moravia. On 22nd November 1939, the Organising Committee, chaired by Ritter von Halt and led by Diem, anticipated a decision by the IOC and cancelled the Winter Games. The aforementioned Hans Heinrich Lammers was chief of Hitler's Reich Chancellery; Joachim von Ribbentrop, sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946, Reich Foreign Minister.

- 22 Minutes, 38th IOC Session London 1939, pp. 6–7.
- 23 Carl Diem, Diary, Vol. 16, Lausanne, 15 June 1944, Carl und Liselott Diem-Archiv (CuLDA), Cologne, p. 40. Perhaps Diem had heard this from Goebbels. He was present at a speech by Goebbels on 8th June 1944 in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, according to his diary.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 *Olympische Rundschau*, Vol. 7, No. 24, 1944, pp. 16–24.
- 26 Mayer (1890–1968) became an IOC Member in 1946. In the same year, the IOC appointed his brother Otto as Honorary Chancellor.
- 27 The Swiss Federal Assembly had elected General Guisan on 30th August 1939, two days before the beginning of the Second World War. Guisan thus became the highest-ranking soldier in the Confederation.
- 28 From the end of August 1943, Himmler had also held the office of Reich Minister of the Interior and appointed Ritter von Halt the last Reich Sports Leader of the Nazi regime on 1st October 1944.
- 29 Hungarian State Archives, Minutes of the Council of Ministers 1867–1944, K2719440712111–2.
- 30 After the Second World War, from 1951, Diem attempted a revival of the title, this time as the magazine of the German Olympic Society, founded that same year. After two years, the publication was renamed the *Olympisches Feuer* (Olympic Fire)..
- 31 Diem, Diary, Vol. 16, p. 41–42.
- 32 *Olympische Rundschau*, p. 20.
- 33 Artur Takac, *Sixty Olympic Years*, Lausanne 2001, pp. 59–63.
- 34 At the founding of the International Olympic Institute, based in Berlin, which required Hitler's approval, Diem made reference to a letter from Coubertin dated 16th March 1937 and the fact that the latter had bequeathed the as yet unpublished legacy of his pedagogical-philosophical writings to the Institute. He took on the publication of the *Olympische Rundschau*, which was to be understood as a continuation of the *Revue Olympique*.
- 35 Jelena Stanojević, "Le sport et la femme", in: *Olympische Rundschau*, 1944, No. 24, pp. 25–27.
- 36 *Sixty Olympic Years*, p. 62.
- 37 Minutes of the EC Meeting, 22nd March 1969, p. 2, OSC. At the same meeting, Monique Berlioux was given responsibility for the administration of the office and the relations with the press. Takac (1918–2005) later served IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch as his personal adviser.
- 38 Westerhoff (1916–1994) was hired as IOC Secretary-General in 1965. He had been an equestrian and continued to run an extensive horse breeding farm in Appenzell. His working style soon came under fire. He officially informed the IOC on 20th January 1969 that he was no longer available due to "other commitments".
- 39 Minutes, 67th IOC Session Mexico City 1968, p. 15–16, OSC.
- 40 IOC, *Newsletter*, No. 20–21, May–June 1969, p. 253.



The medal for the 68th IOC Session held in Warsaw in 1969 commemorated two anniversaries: on the front the foundation of the Polish NOC in 1919; on the reverse the 75th anniversary of the IOC. Photos: IOC/IOC Archive