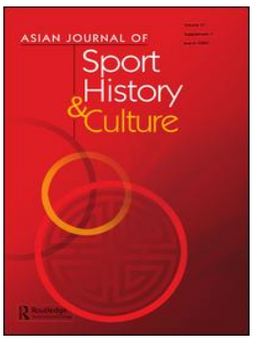

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Switzerland's Century-Long Rise as the Hub of Global Sport Administration

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ABSTRACT

When the International Olympic Committee (IOC) set up its headquarters in Lausanne, in 1915, it could not have imagined the impact its decision would have on the administration of world sport. Three-quarters of Olympic sport's world governing bodies have now followed the IOC's lead and based themselves in Switzerland, thereby making the country the hub of global sport administration. The process that gave rise to this situation can be divided into seven main stages. It was driven by a number of key figures, including IOC and international sport federation presidents and general secretaries, and facilitated by the attractive legal, economic, and socio-political environment sport organizations find in Switzerland. This process is on-going and continues to influence the world sports market.

KEYWORDS

Olympic; Lausanne; Avery Brundage; Pierre de Coubertin; Juan Antonio Samaranch

As home to three-quarters of Olympic summer and winter sport's world governing bodies and innumerable service organizations (Team Marketing, In-Front Sport and Media, Sportradar, etc.), Switzerland is incontestably the epicenter of global sport administration despite the fact that the global sports industry is often based elsewhere, in particular in global cities. However, the resulting ecosystem, referred to here as the 'Swiss Olympic hub' (or global sport administration hub), did not come into being overnight; it was the result of a century-long process, concomitant with Switzerland's development as a leading financial market and a major center for commodity trading, commercial arbitration, and international diplomacy. This process continues to the present day, in parallel with the gradual globalization of sport.

Switzerland's position as the Olympic hub is, however, a double-edged sword. Although it has brought inarguable economic benefits to this small country, where it provides around 3,000 well-paid jobs and a strong economic impact,[1] the innumerable scandals that have rocked international sport in the last few decades

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have tarnished Switzerland's international image and made the federal government unhappy.[2] This damage has been magnified by the fact that Switzerland hosts many of the most prominent sport governing bodies and service organizations affected by these scandals, including the IOC (in 1998–99), FIFA (in 2015 and before), the Fédération internationale de Volley-Ball (FIVB from 2002), the International Handball Federation (IHF in 2011), and International Sport and Leisure (ISL), whose collapse in 2001 led to Switzerland's second largest bankruptcy (after Swissair). For instance, FIFA's scandal in 2015 raised questions about why Switzerland had not investigated earlier.[3]

The process by which Switzerland became, over more than a century, the Olympic hub has never been described before.[4] It can be divided into seven stages, bracketed by the two world wars, the late-twentieth-century commercialization of sport, and the turbulence affecting world sport around the turn of the twenty-first century. These stages – each of which could be the focus of an article – also mirror the main periods in Olympic history and the succession of IOC presidents.[5] Findings provided by previous studies of specific periods in sports and Olympic history are combined with analyses of relevant Olympic documents and the author's personal observations of the phenomena involved, made since the 1980s while working with organizations within today's Swiss Olympic hub, in particular during the IOC presidency of Juan Antonio Samaranch and the expansion of the IOC administration and management in the 1990s.[6] This historical review aims to be an empirical contribution to Swiss sport history.[7] It offers clues to Switzerland's past and future as the epicenter of world sport administration, a position that has become important to the country's image, legal framework and economy, and that the country wishes to maintain and develop.[8]

Coubertin Discovers Switzerland: 1900–1918

Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the IOC in 1894 and instigator of the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, in 1896, was a Parisian who initially knew little about Switzerland. According to his *Mémoires Olympiques* he started taking an interest in the country, its institutions and its 'military machine' after watching army maneuvers near Fribourg in 1903 thanks to Colonel Robert-Ferdinand Treytorrens de Loÿs.[9] He also visited Switzerland on a number of occasions, both to find a boarding school for his son Jacques, who had an intellectual disability, and for holidays and cures.[10] In 1903 he wrote a series of six articles, called 'Across Modern Switzerland', in which he introduced readers of the French newspaper *Le Figaro* to Switzerland and its institutions, most of which had been founded 50 years earlier.[11]

He continued to be enamored with this tiny, central European country for the rest of his life. In 1906, on the recommendation of Dr. Jean Morax, a friend of his wife's family, he visited Morges, a small town 20 kilometers west of Lausanne (Vaud canton) that was interested in hosting a permanent headquarters for the Olympic games.[12] At this time, Greece felt that it should host every edition of the modern Olympics, an argument that was strengthened by last-minute withdrawals of some of the host cities chosen by the IOC (Chicago for 1904, Rome for 1908). 1906 also saw

the opening of the Simplon tunnel, between southern Switzerland and Italy, and the start of the 1906 Milan World's Fair, not far from the Italian entrance to the tunnel. Coubertin began using the tunnel for his trips to Italy, rather than travelling via Nice, as he had done in the past.[13] Finally that year, Coubertin wrote an article called 'Switzerland, Queen of Sports' for the IOC's official magazine, the *Olympic Review,* even though modern sport was only just starting to make inroads into Switzerland, thanks to British tourists, and gymnastics, inspired by the German *Turnen System*, which still reigned supreme.[14]

The *Olympic Review* was also the vehicle Coubertin used to launch, in 1909 and 1910, an architecture competition to design a 'modern Olympia on the shores of a Swiss lake,' which he had proposed in his 1906 *Olympic Review* article.[15] Two local architects, Eugène Monod and Alphonse Laverrière, won the competition with their 'Olympia on the right bank of Lake Geneva' project, the drawings for which are held in the Archives of Modern Building at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne (EPFL).[16] A display showing an Olympic stadium, designed as part of this project, won the gold medal at the first Olympic architecture competition, held in conjunction with the 1912 Stockholm Olympics.[17] The original plan was probably inspired by the world city project drawn up by the Belgian architects Paul Otlet and Henri-Marie La Fontaine in 1910, which included an 'Olympic Center' designed by the French architect Ernest Hébrard and the American architect-sculptor Hendrik Christian Andersen.[18]

In 1913 Coubertin organized a scientific conference in Lausanne, ostensibly to discuss sports psychology. For Coubertin, the conference, later renamed the 'fifth Olympic congress', was, in fact, a 'ploy' to win over the city of Lausanne, the Vaud canton and the University of Lausanne, whose professors presented a number of papers on sport, some of which were highly critical.[19] Camille Décoppet, a member of the Swiss Government, attended the conference's opening session, held in the university's main lecture theatre in the Palais de Rumine, where the grand plan for a modern Olympia was displayed.[20] Coubertin held several parties during the conference, while Baron Godefroy de Blonay, Switzerland's IOC member, hosted a ball, and the government of the Vaud canton gave a lunch at the Château de Chillon, a castle on the lake near Lausanne.

The end of July 1914 – just a month after the twentieth anniversary of the Sorbonne conference reviving the Olympic Games and the unveiling of Coubertin's designs for the interlaced rings and Olympic flag – saw the start of a conflict that would quickly escalate to become the First World War. The 51-year-old Coubertin tried to enlist, but he was ineligible for active service and was given a translating job and a vague educational mission that nevertheless allowed him to be photographed in uniform.[21] In 1916, with no end to the Great War in sight, he asked Baron de Blonay to become interim IOC president, informing the IOC's members that he felt it was inappropriate for a 'soldier' to preside over their committee. Although Coubertin was never likely to be involved in combat, his stance is consistent with the IOC's longstanding pacifist leanings.[22] Indeed, even before the 1894 conference that revived the games, Coubertin responded to criticism that he was merely trying to reconstruct the ancient games by saying: 'We want to restore just one thing from Antiquity, the

truce, the holy truce,' that is, the truce announced before the ancient Olympic games to keep participants safe from the incessant wars between Greece's city states.[23] However, a modern Olympic truce was not established until almost a century later, in 1993, when it was introduced by one of Coubertin's distant successors as IOC president.[24]

Although Blonay lived in Paris, where he studied Egyptology, he was a Swiss nobleman from an old Vaud family. Coubertin took him into his confidence and appointed him the first IOC member for Switzerland in 1899. Ten years later Blonay took over from France's Ernest Callot as the IOC's 'treasurer'. In 1912 Coubertin encouraged Blonay and another of his Swiss friends, Francis-Marius Messerli, to found the Swiss Olympic Committee (COS) in Lausanne. Messerli became the COS's first secretary general.[25] Coubertin also spoke with Blonay about his project for a modern Olympia on the northern (Swiss) shore of Lake Geneva and invited him to the small opening ceremony for the IOC's move to Lausanne, held on April 10, 1915, following a council meeting at Lausanne city hall.[26] Switzerland's president marked the occasion by sending a telegram welcoming the IOC to Switzerland, but the Vaud state councilor (member of the canton's government) who had been invited decided not to attend. Despite what the council meeting minutes say, Coubertin's, and therefore the IOC's, archives were stored at the Château de Grandson (Blonay's home), not in Lausanne.[27]

Coubertin refrained from consulting the other IOC members before establishing the committee's seat in Lausanne because he knew they would have objected. The French members would have been particularly aggrieved at losing the Paris headquarters, even though it was merely an office in Coubertin's home. Coubertin felt he had achieved a 'mini coup d'état,' so he waited until 1922 to ask the IOC's members, meeting in Paris, to ratify his decision.[28] He had chosen Lausanne as the IOC's new base for several reasons: the city's location on the Swiss shore of Lake Geneva, where he hoped to build a modern Olympia; its distance from Paris, where Coubertin had been widely criticized; and his admiration for Switzerland, which had recently confirmed its neutrality in a Europe that was otherwise at war.[29] Moreover, giving the IOC a permanent headquarters preempted a move to Berlin, the intended host city for the 1916 Olympics (cancelled because of the war) but also the enemy's capital. Although the IOC's rule that its headquarters should move to the next Olympic games host city had not been applied for many years, establishing a permanent headquarters for the IOC enabled Coubertin to prevent Germany insisting on this right.

As soon as the IOC had moved to Lausanne, Coubertin founded the Lausanne Olympic Institute (IOL) in order to revive the 'ancient gymnasium', a municipal center for physical and intellectual activities that was open to all. He hoped Lausanne's gymnasium would be a prototype for similar centers that would be established throughout the world in order to promote sporting and cultural education. Between 1917 and the spring of 1919, the IOL also organized activity weeks for French and Belgian prisoners of war interned in neutral Switzerland.[30] The IOL's activities not only increased the cantonal and federal authorities' awareness of the IOC, they allowed it, as a local voluntary organization, to take up premises in the

former Casino de Montbenon, which the city had recently bought.[31] These premises were presented as the IOC's first offices, but it was not until 1922 that the city of Lausanne granted the IOC exclusive use of several rooms in a villa called Mon Repos, which became the IOC's first true headquarters and remained so until 1968. In fact, the IOC did not need much office space at first, as Coubertin was the only person to work there. During his visits to Lausanne, he stayed in a small apartment at the Hôtel Mirabeau or Hôtel Beau-Séjour, near the station.[32]

Hence, it was Coubertin who chose Switzerland as a permanent base for the IOC, a decision that was not ratified by his colleagues until seven years after the fact. However, his other Swiss initiatives (Modern Olympia, IOL) did not take off. Although the Great War almost ruined Coubertin, who had financed the IOC from his personal fortune, the post-war years saw the beginnings of a process that would make Lausanne the center of a Swiss Olympic hub that would also include Geneva, Zurich, and Bern before World War II.

The Inter-War Years: 1918–1936

As soon as the First World War ended in November 2018, Coubertin – who had been reelected for ten years in 1917 following a proposition from Blonay – took steps to restart the IOC and Olympic games, and to overcome potential competitors such as the Inter-Allied Games (Paris, 1919), International Women's Games (Monte Carlo, 1921), International Workers' Games (Prague, 1921), and World Student Games (Paris, 1923).[33] After a failed attempt to relaunch the 'modern Olympia' in 1918, in Dorigny, near Lausanne, Coubertin and the IOC urgently needed to award the 1920 and subsequent Olympic Games.[34] To this end, he called a meeting of the IOC in Lausanne in April 1919, barely six months after the armistice. This meeting, which coincided with the 25th anniversary of the revival of the Olympics and whose opening was attended, albeit reluctantly, by Switzerland's president, Gustave Ador, awarded the 1920 Olympics to Antwerp, in recognition of Belgium's martyrdom during the conflict.[35] A few months after the Antwerp Olympics, the Swiss government begrudgingly awarded a small subsidy to the COS, which had been set up to send Swiss teams to the games.[36]

Further competition for 'the IOC's bourgeois Games' came from the Lucerne Sports International, so named because it was founded in Lucerne, Switzerland in September 1920, on the remains of the old International Socialist Association for Physical Education (ASIEP).[37] Later rebaptized as the Socialist Workers' Sport International (*Sozialistische Arbeitersport Internationale*, SASI), it organized three very successful Workers' Olympiads (Frankfurt 1925, Vienna 1931, and Antwerp 1937) and two Workers' Winter Olympiads (in 1925 and 1931) before being replaced by the Communist Sports International, which organized the Spartakiads and was supported by the Soviet Union.[38]

At the end of 1919, the Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to the Swiss writer Carl Spitteler, most notably for his epic poem *Olympischer Frühling* (Olympic Spring). Coubertin would undoubtedly have been aware of this poem, even if he never mentioned it in his writings. What is more, the slaughter of the Great War had

led to a resurgence of pacifist ideas, embodied by the Geneva-based League of Nations, which had been created in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles with the idealistic vision of abolishing war by introducing a new mechanism for regulating all international relations, including sporting relations. In fact, much to Coubertin's and Lausanne's dismay, there was talk of creating a League of Nations of sport.[39] Moreover, the international sport federations (IFs) that had recently emerged, mainly before the Great War, began demanding greater control over Olympic competitions.[40] They persuaded the IOC to hold a congress after the Antwerp Olympics to draw up universal rules for future Olympic games. The IFs used this congress, held in Lausanne in May-June 1921, to create a 'permanent bureau of international sport federations', based in Paris.[41] Although the bureau disappeared during World War II, it showed the IFs desire to keep their distance from the IOC and from Switzerland, where the IOC was based.

The Lausanne congress also provided an opportunity for representatives of horse-riding organizations to come together at a 'consultative conference for equestrian sports', which agreed to create an International Equestrian Federation (FEI). The new federation chose Paris for its headquarters, primarily because its first president was French.[42] It relocated in Lausanne in 1991. Similarly, the International Roller Sports Federation, created in 1924, was initially based in Montreux, Switzerland, the home of its first president, Fred Renkewitz.[43] Now known as World Skate, the federation has changed its name and headquarters several times over the years, but it has been based in Lausanne since 2016. It is the governing body for skateboarding, which was added to the Olympic program for the first time for Tokyo 2020. 1924 was also the year in which the International Rowing Federation (FISA) – founded in 1892 – elected its first president, Switzerland's Eugène Baud.[44] For the next 90 years, all of Baud's successors were Swiss and the federation continued to be based in its president's or general secretary's home until 1996, when it opened a permanent office in Lausanne.

The IOC's – which at this time meant Coubertin's – relations with Lausanne cooled in 1920, especially when the city council attempted to determine an official status for the IOC. Acting on legal advice, the city asked the IOC to register with the Vaud company register which shows who is authorized to sign contracts. Coubertin refused categorically, arguing that the IOC could not be likened to a vulgar commercial enterprise, and the issue of the IOC's status remained unresolved until 1981.[45] Nevertheless, relations with the IOC improved following the election of a new city council government. Seeing the large number of people who came to Lausanne for the IOC's spring 1921 congress, the city began to realize the value of hosting the organization. In addition, Lausanne was considering bidding for the Olympics – initially for 1924, then for 1928, and finally for 1936. The authorities confirmed their more 'benevolent' attitude in 1922 by providing the IOC with office space in a villa called Mon Repos, which it had just bought.[46]

That same year, Coubertin sold his home in Paris, on Rue Oudinot, and moved his family to Lausanne, taking a third-floor apartment at Mon Repos. In 1924 the IOC was allocated another two rooms in the villa to house the first Olympic Museum. Coubertin stepped down as IOC president a year later and was replaced by

Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, from Belgium. Blonay had originally been Coubertin's preferred successor, but the two men had fallen out, seemingly over certain reforms Blonay was proposing. Coubertin continued to oversee the new museum and launched several other projects, such as the Universal Pedagogical Union and the International Bureau of Sports Pedagogy, but he also kept meddling in the IOC's affairs. Baillet-Latour became so frustrated with Coubertin's interference, he briefly considered moving the IOC's headquarters to his hometown of Brussels. In fact, at this time the IOC's administration consisted of just two people, both based in Lausanne. They were the secretary of the executive committee, lieutenant-colonel André Berdez, whom the new president recruited in 1925, and his part-time assistant Lydie (Lydia) Zanchi, who was recruited in 1929. Zanchi took over as secretary in 1940 when Berdez died and continued working for the IOC until 1966.[47]

During the early 1930s, several IFs followed the lead set by the IOC in 1915 and established themselves in Switzerland. The International Basketball Federation, which quickly changed its name to the International Amateur Basketball Federation (FIBA) in order to facilitate the sport's inclusion in the Olympic programme in 1936, was founded in Geneva in June 1932. Although the driving force behind the new federation was the Geneva representative of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), which wanted to popularize this new sport in Europe, its first president was a 'gymnastics inspector' from Geneva called Léon Bouffard. Bouffard ran the federation from his Geneva home until 1956, when its headquarters moved to Munich. Almost 50 years later, in 2002, FIBA returned to Geneva and then settled in the nearby town of Mies (Vaud canton) at the instigation of its Swiss secretary general Patrick Baumann.[48]

In October 1932, FIFA, which had gone bankrupt as a result of its Dutch secretary general mixing his personal accounts with those of the federation, moved from Amsterdam to Zurich. FIFA's French president, Jules Rimet, would have liked the federation to return to Paris, but the new general secretary, Germany's Ivo Schricker, who wanted to live in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, prevailed. Zurich turned out to be a felicitous choice, as being based in Switzerland, rather than Nazi-occupied France, allowed FIFA to continue operating throughout World War II. FIFA even drew up contingency plans to move its offices to the Rigi area, in the heart of the Swiss Alps, in case Switzerland was invaded by Nazi Germany.[49] Ninety years after its foundation, FIFA is still in Zurich, despite at one point considering moving back to Paris and having branches in several countries.[50] In the same way, the International Climbing and Mountaineering Federation (UIAA) has had its headquarters in Bern (Switzerland's capital) ever since it was founded in August 1932, at the third international mountaineering congress in Chamonix, France. It now represents 89 mountaineering associations and federations from 66 countries. Its first president, Count Charles Egmond d'Arcis, from Geneva, kept his position until 1964.[51]

In the autumn of 1934, following persistent disagreements with his wife who felt he had squandered their wealth, Coubertin moved to a Geneva guesthouse that was also the European head office of the Alliance of YMCA's, an American organization with whom he had many contacts after the First World War. He died of a heart

attack on September 2, 1937, while walking in the nearby La Grange Park, and is buried in Lausanne in the cemetery designed by Alphonse Laverrière who had helped design the 'modern Olympia'.

Thus, the inter-war period saw Switzerland consolidate its position as the hub of the nascent administration of global sport. The movement had begun on the cusp of World War I, when Coubertin decided to base the IOC in Lausanne, and continued through 1932 with the installation of FIBA in Geneva, of FIFA in Zurich, and of the UIAA in Bern. However, this position was still extremely fragile due to a lack of commitment from the public authorities, especially the federal government, and threatened by the Nazi regime's desire to take over the Olympic movement.

The Nazi Threat: 1936–1944

In 1936, the Nazi regime hosted both the winter and summer Olympics, held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, in February, and in Berlin, in August. After the Berlin Olympics, which had surpassed all previous editions of the games, the event's sports director, Germany's Werner Klingenberg, was recruited by the IOC as a technical advisor and then as deputy secretary responsible for advising future host cities (Tokyo and Sapporo, then Helsinki).[52] Klingenberg was also expected to take over from the IOC's secretary André Berdez, who was very ill (Berdez died in 1940). Carl Diem, the general secretary of the Berlin games organizing committee and a key figure in Nazi Germany's sports system and in the Olympic system, met with both Coubertin, in Geneva before the war, and Baillet-Latour, in Brussels, following Germany's invasion of Belgium.[53] In fact, in 1938 Diem had persuaded Germany's interior ministry to fund an international Olympic institute, in Berlin, under his management. With the IOC in Lausanne no longer able to publish the *Olympic Review*, the new institute took over the magazine, publishing it in German, English, and French, and allocating just a few pages to the IOC in which to report its news.[54]

The Nazis, however, had more grandiose plans. They wanted to bring international sport organizations, and other international bodies, such as Interpol, to Berlin and to reorganize world sport by injecting younger blood into the IOC and by forcing it to accept members designated by the authoritarian regimes that had seized power in countries such as Italy, Japan, and Spain, as well as Germany. A delegation comprising Germany's sports minister, Germany's IOC executive board member, and Carl Diem negotiated with the IOC's president in newly occupied Brussels in July 1940, but Baillet-Latour died in January 1942, before any conclusions were reached.[55] The IOC's Swedish vice-president, Sigfrid Edström, who took over as IOC interim president, was much more circumspect. For example, rather than letting Werner Klingenberg – whom he considered a spy – replace André Berdez as IOC secretary, he appointed Lydia Zanchi as interim secretary.[56]

Working from Lausanne, Zanchi was able to keep in touch with the IOC's members throughout World War II, thanks to Switzerland's and Sweden's (where Sigfrid Edström lived) neutrality. The IOC even managed to stage an 'Olympic Jubilee' in Lausanne in 1944, in order to mark the organization's fiftieth anniversary. Similarly, FIFA, based in Zurich, remained sufficiently active to be able to relaunch

the Football World Cup in time to hold the first post-war tournament in 1950, in Brazil.[57] FIBA moved to Bern during the war, but the Swiss authorities viewed its activism with disapproval (FIBA's English general secretary had moved from Rome to Switzerland to join his Swiss wife).[58]

Post-War Growth of the Swiss Olympic Hub: 1944–1964

The Olympic Jubilee in June 1944, held as World War II was entering its final phase, was a success, despite the enforced absence of most of the IOC's members, including its interim president. Although Lausanne used the occasion to stage a series of sports events aimed at showing it was ready to host future Olympic games, its bids for the 1948, 1952, and 1960 Olympics were all unsuccessful. Lausanne's best chance of obtaining the summer games was probably 1952, but it had to withdraw its bid before the final vote because the city's new Olympic stadium, then under construction, would not have been ready in time.[59] The event was finally awarded to Helsinki. St. Moritz (Grisons canton) is still the only Swiss city to have hosted the traditional Olympics, having staged the 1928 and 1948 winter games.

Lausanne's Olympic stadium, in the Pontaise district, was finally inaugurated in 1954, allowing it to host five matches during that year's Football World Cup. Switzerland had been awarded the event partly because it was one of the few countries in Europe whose infrastructure was intact. Partly for this reason, several IFs moved their headquarters to Switzerland after the war, although these decisions were also influenced by the federations in question having Swiss presidents and general secretaries. This was the case for the International Handball Federation (IHF: Hans Baumann and Albert Wagner), which moved to Basel in 1946; the International Skating Union (ISU: James Koch and Georg Hassler), which moved to Davos in 1947; and the International Ski Federation (FIS: Marc Hodler and Arnold Käch), which moved to Bern in 1951. In addition, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), with a Swiss general secretary, Kurt Gassmann, set up its headquarters in Bern in 1959. UEFA's first president was Danish, but he was succeeded by Switzerland's Gustav Wiederkehr in 1962. The International University Sports Federation (FISU), which had been founded in Zurich in 1949 after being hosted by the university's sports department, had its headquarters in Zurich until 1955, when its Swiss secretary general, Carl Schneiter, proposed moving to another country to reduce its administration costs.[60] Brussels, close to the home of its Luxembourger president, was chosen. FISU moved back to Lausanne in 2012.

During these post-war years, Otto Mayer from Lausanne, whom Edström had appointed in 1946 with the title of chancellor to manage the IOC's administration, and his brother Albert Mayer, Switzerland's IOC member since 1946, had enormous influence over Olympic affairs.[61] For example, they had frequent dealings with the Swiss foreign office over diplomatic issues affecting athletes' participation in the Olympic games.[62] Otto was closely involved in negotiations aimed at bringing the two Germanys (East and West), two Koreas (North and South), and two Chinas (Beijing and Taipei) back into the Olympic fold.[63] As the owners of Omega watch franchises, the Mayers also tried to help Switzerland's watchmaking industry maintain

its virtual monopoly over sports timing, including for the Olympic games. Otto resigned from the IOC in 1964 following a series of disagreements with Avery Brundage, who had been elected IOC president in 1952.[64] Even after his election, Brundage continued to live in Chicago and only rarely visited Lausanne, instead relying on assistance from Switzerland's Frederick Rügesegger, whom he paid out of his own pocket. Albert Mayer died suddenly in 1968.

During the years following World War II, Switzerland quickly regained its place at the heart of international sport administration. Lausanne remained the hub of the Olympic world, supported by several other Swiss cities, including Basel, Davos, Bern, and especially Zurich, which had been home to FIFA since 1932. Nevertheless, Geneva lost FIBA's official head office in 1956, even though several UN organizations, following in the footsteps of the pre-war League of Nations and International Labour Organization, set up their headquarters in Geneva, which in 1966 became the European seat of the United Nations.

Difficult Years for the Swiss Olympic Hub: 1964–1980

Choosing Otto Mayer's successor was a delicate matter. Because the Mayers had started rumours in the local press that Brundage was having an affair with Myriam Meuwly, an IOC employee, Brundage no longer wanted the IOC's administration to be run by someone from Switzerland.[65] Nevertheless, during the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, Brundage reluctantly appointed Eric Jonas, a Swiss who was also the secretary of the Swiss Watchmakers' Federation. The appointment was short lived as the two men did not get along, and Brundage soon asked Jonas to resign. He replaced him with Johann Westerhoff, a retired Dutch industrialist, who was given the title general secretary (rather than chancellor). During his three years as general secretary, Westerhoff proposed, unsuccessfully, moving the IOC's administration to Saint-Gall, which was closer to a major airport – and his home. Westerhoff resigned in 1969, again over differences with Brundage. Monique Berlioux, who had been recruited as the IOC's press and public relations manager, took on the role of Brundage's number two in 1971, under the title of IOC director. For a time she was assisted by a 'technical director', Artur Takac, from Yugoslavia, who left in 1973 to join the organizing committee for the 1976 Montreal Olympic games.[66]

Westerhoff's short tenure coincided with the creation of the General Assembly of International Sport Federations (GAISF, now Global Association of International Sport Federations), in 1967 in Lausanne. The GAISF elected Thomas Keller, the Swiss-German president of the International Rowing Federation (FISA), as its second president. Although FISA was based in Montreux at the home of its Swiss secretary-treasurer, Charles Riolo, Keller underlined the GAISF's independence from the IOC by setting up its headquarters in Monte Carlo.[67] In fact, the IFs saw themselves as being in competition with the IOC, a position Keller supported, with the result that he was never coopted into the IOC. Instead, in 1969, the IOC coopted Raymond Gafner, the COS's Lausanne-based president (1968–1988), thereby reestablishing the 'Romandie seat', which had been occupied by Albert Mayer until his death in 1968. GAISF's director was the Swiss national Luc Niggli until 1982.[68]

In 1972 Omega and Longines decided to end their battle for supremacy in sports timing, which had at one time also involved another Swiss watchmaker Tag Heuer, the official timekeeper for Paris 1924, by combining their expertise within an incorporated company called Swiss Timing. Keller was appointed the new company's first president. Future FIFA president Sepp Blatter headed its public relations department. Swiss Timing was intended to win back the virtual monopoly over Olympic timekeeping that Swiss watchmakers had enjoyed since Los Angeles 1932, but which was increasingly being threatened by foreign competitors such as Seiko, which had won the timekeeping contracts for Tokyo 1964 and Sapporo 1972, Lip (Grenoble 1968), and Junghans (Munich 1972).[69] Swiss Timing quickly achieved its objective and has been the official timekeeper for all Olympic games since Montréal 1976, apart from Barcelona 1992 which was sponsored by Seiko. Moreover, Omega/Swatch has been a member of the IOC's The Olympic Partners (TOP) international sponsorship program since Atlanta 1996, with the current contract running until 2032.[70]

During this same period, the IOC's rapidly growing earnings from the sale of broadcasting rights to major television networks and syndicates resulted in ever-more questions being asked about the organization's legal status. An IOC commission, chaired by the Bern lawyer and IOC member Marc Hodler, concluded that the committee could be considered a nonprofit association, defined by articles 60 and subsequent of the Swiss Civil Code. Rather than stating this in black and white, the 1975 Olympic statutes described the IOC as 'a body corporate by international law having juridical status and perpetual succession. Its headquarters are in Switzerland. It is not formed for profit' (rule 11).[71] This was the first time the Olympic rules had said anything about the IOC's status. The 1991 edition of the IOC's statutes, now known as the Olympic Charter, stated that the IOC's 'domicile is in Lausanne, Switzerland' (rule 19).[72] Under article 60, paragraph 1 of the Swiss Civil Code, the IOC's declaration makes it a nonprofit association (NGO) under Swiss law.[73]

Behind the Charter's words lay the IOC's desire to obtain the international status it believed its role in the world deserved. Switzerland's initial reluctance to provide a better status than that of a nonprofit association led the IOC to consider several invitations to move to other cities during the 1970s. However, the Swiss government finally accorded the IOC a certain international status in 1981 and the IOC definitively decided to remain in Lausanne. The IOC's strained relations with Lausanne city council improved in 1974, following the election of a new mayor, Jean-Pascal Delamuraz, who quickly began working with the cantonal and, most importantly, federal authorities in order to improve the IOC's status. How best to protect the five interlaced rings, used since 1914, and other Olympic designations (e.g., 'Olympiad') and properties (e.g., Olympic torches and posters) was another problem that was only gradually resolved, initially with the national Olympic committees (NOCs) and then, in 1993, with the introduction of a new Swiss law protecting service trademarks.[74]

The Golden Age: 1980–2001

After being led by two anglophone presidents during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (the American Avery Brundage and the Irishman Lord Killanin), for the next 21 years the

IOC's top position was occupied by just one man, Spain's Juan Antonio Samaranch (1980–2001). At the same time, several IFs were presided over by men from other 'Latin' countries, including Brazil's João Havelange at FIFA (1974–1998), Italy's Primo Nebiolo at the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), from 1981 to 1999), Mexico's Ruben Acosta at the International Volleyball Federation (FIVB) (1984–2008), and Italy's Bruno Grandi at the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG, from 1996 to 2019). Samaranch's presidency coincided with a golden age for the Swiss Olympic hub, in which the IOC gained the international status it had been seeking, many IFs and other international sport organizations based themselves in Switzerland, especially the Vaud canton, and several global sport institutions were set up in Lausanne. Most of these bodies were quite modest when they arrived in Switzerland, but they grew quickly, in parallel with the commercialization of sport, and by the turn of the twenty-first century they employed more than 3,000 people. They also generated a substantial amount of business tourism through officials visiting their head offices.[75]

In September 1981, despite resistance from the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Swiss government 'decided to grant your committee [the IOC] a particular status that takes into account its universal activities and its specific character as an international institution'.[76] This unilateral decree made it easier for the IOC to obtain work permits for foreign staff, although it promised to recruit Swiss people whenever possible, and confirmed its longstanding exemption from income and wealth taxes. An agreement between the Swiss government and the IOC, signed in November 2000 and published in Switzerland's official register of legislation online (*Fedlex*), further improved the IOC's position by reiterating the abovementioned privileges (taxes and work permits) and clarifying a number of smaller issues such as military service for Swiss IOC employees, identity cards and fast-track customs procedures.[77] However, the IOC still did not benefit from the type of headquarters agreement that would have given it similar diplomatic privileges to those enjoyed by some Geneva-based nongovernmental organizations. In 2008 the Vaud canton signed a convention confirming the exemption from income and wealth taxes enjoyed by IOC-recognized IFs whether or not their sports were on the Olympic programme.[78] The IOC pays other taxes such as municipal entertainment tax, federal customs duties, taxes on the profits and wealth of the companies it owns, and value-added tax (VAT), introduced in Switzerland on January 1, 1995.[79] Its employees pay income and wealth taxes. In 1999 the IOC withdrew its request to be exempted from VAT. After obtaining its 'particular status' in 1981, the IOC decided to build a new headquarters in Lausanne, to the east of the Château de Vidy, where it had been based since 1968, and a true Olympic museum, which had been discussed since the days of Coubertin. The new head office opened in 1986 and the museum in 1993. FIFA followed in the IOC's footsteps, building a vast headquarters complex (inaugurated in 2005) and opening a World Football Museum (inaugurated in 2016), both in Zurich.

Inspired by the IOC and its president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, several IFs moved their headquarters to Switzerland during the 1980s and 1990s. The most important were, in chronological order: the FIVB, in 1985; International Swimming

Federation (FINA)in 1986; International Equestrian Federation (FEI) in 1991; International Cycling Union (UCI) in 1992; International Baseball Federation (IBAF) in 1994; International Motorcycling Federation (FIM) in 1996; World Rowing formerly Fédération international des sociétés d'aviron (FISA) in 1996; World Archery formerly Fédération international de tir à l'arc (FITA, in 1996), International Fencing Federation (FIE) in 1997; International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) in 1998; World Air Sports Federation (FAI) in 1998; International Motorsport Federation (FIA) in 1999; and International Basketball Federation (FIBA) in 2000.[80] Apart from the FIA, FIM, and FIBA, which chose Geneva, all of these federations based themselves in or close to Lausanne. The FIM and FIBA built head offices at Mies (Vaud canton), just outside Geneva. In 1995, UEFA moved from Bern to Nyon (Vaud canton), on the shores of Lake Geneva, where it inaugurated a new head office in 1999. In addition, several IFs that had long been established in Switzerland renovated their existing offices or built new headquarters. For example, the FIS, which had been based in Bern since 1953, moved into new premises in Oberhofen-am-Thurnersee (Bern canton) in 2000. The UCI opened its World Cycling Center (offices and a training velodrome) in Aigle (Vaud canton) in 2002, after its initial project in Lausanne was rejected by a municipal referendum in 1997.[81] The International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF), presided over by Switzerland's René Fasel, left Vienna and moved into a renovated mansion in Zurich in 2002.

The golden age of the 1980s and 1990s also saw the creation of a number of bodies linked to the IOC, most notably the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) founded in 1984, and the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF) founded in 1983, which naturally set up their head offices in Lausanne. Several sports marketing companies, including International Sport and Leisure (ISL), based in Zug from 1982 until its bankruptcy, and Team Marketing and TSE Consulting, based in Lausanne since 1999, followed in the wake of these Olympic organizations and set up offices in Switzerland. In addition, more than 100 world championships were held in Switzerland from 1995 to 2009, mostly in Lausanne, Bern, and the Grisons canton.[82]

In 1993, on the eve of its centenary, the IOC acknowledged Lausanne's central place in international sport administration by awarding the city the unique title of Olympic Capital.[83] The title Olympic City, usually reserved for Olympic games host cities, had been conferred on Lausanne in 1982, following the Swiss government's decision to accord the IOC particular status. These titles were a marketing boon for Lausanne, especially as they allowed the city to use, for non-commercial purposes, the world's most widely recognized symbol: the Olympic rings.

A conference on doping in sport, held in Lausanne in February 1999, led to the creation of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), which was set up at the end of 1999 as a Swiss foundation, provisionally based in Lausanne. WADA's Foundation Board finally decided, by a one-vote majority, to accept a proposal from Quebec to base the new body in Montreal rather than Lausanne, which is still home to WADA's European office.[84] The only other setback to Switzerland's emergence as the uncontested Olympic hub during this golden age was Sion's (Valais canton) failure to obtain the 2006 Olympic Winter Games as some people were starting to feel that Switzerland had been sufficiently 'spoilt'.[85]

Consolidation: 2001–2021

Samaranch was succeeded at the top of the IOC by Belgium's Jacques Rogge, who served two terms as president (2001–2013) before handing the reins to Germany's Thomas Bach (2013–2025). Concerns that Samaranch's departure as IOC president, in July 2001, would herald the end of the Swiss Olympic hub's golden age led to the formation of a taskforce, called the Reflection Group for Lausanne as Olympic Capital (in French GRELCO), to consider ways of preventing such a decline.[86] In addition, several members of the Swiss parliament had begun questioning the government on the tax status of IFs based in Switzerland.[87] Although Jacques Rogge was less attached than Samaranch to Lausanne, the Vaud canton, and Switzerland – Rogge never met the Swiss president or paid official visits to Switzerland's cantons, as Samaranch had done – the feared decline did not occur.[88] When Swiss lawyer François Carrard retired as IOC director general in 2003 he was replaced by a Swiss military man, Urs Lacotte who resigned for health reasons in 2011 to be replaced by Belgian jurist Christophe de Kepper.[89] Nevertheless, on several occasions towards the end of his presidency, Rogge felt the need to paraphrase US president John F. Kennedy and declare to local audiences: 'Ich bin ein Lausanner' (I am a Lausanner).[90]

Numerous, but mostly small, IFs and international sport organizations continued to gravitate towards Lausanne and Switzerland during Rogge's presidency, drawn by the critical mass that had built up in the preceding decades and the proactive measures Lausanne and the Vaud canton had introduced to attract them.[91] The most important of these organizations were the International University Sports Federation (FISU), which moved to Lausanne from Brussels in 2011,[92] the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC), and the Global Association of International Sport Federations (known at the time as SportAccord). These latter two bodies moved to Lausanne, in 2009 and 2010, respectively, even though they had been created to counter the IOC's power and had set up their respective headquarters in Mexico City and Monte Carlo in the 1970s. In 2002 Lausanne and Athens created the World Union of Olympic Cities (based in Lausanne) in order to promote dialogue between former and future Olympic games host cities and share the latest developments, via an annual conference, in staging major sports events. The only relatively large IF to leave Switzerland during this period was the International Badminton Federation (IBF) based in Lausanne from 2008 to 2012, now known as Badminton World Federation, which moved to Kuala Lumpur where it obtained a tax exemption.[93] In 2016 the Swiss lawyer Olivier Niggli, son of AGFIS' Luc Niggli, became WADA's third director general.

The IOC once again developed a much closer relationship with the Swiss authorities when Thomas Bach was elected to IOC president in 2013. Bach quickly invited Switzerland's president to the IOC's headquarters to discuss possible improvements to the IOC's status in Switzerland.[94] Despite the introduction of a new law in 2007 which allowed the Swiss government to give the IOC the statute of 'international organization', no significant advances were made.[95] Switzerland's president was also a guest of honor at the IOC's annual meeting in December 2014, which adopted Thomas Bach's strategic roadmap for his presidency, called Olympic

Agenda 2020 (20 + 20 recommendations). The IOC also approved plans to build a new headquarters in Lausanne that would be large enough to accommodate all the IOC's staff. The existing building, which the IOC had occupied since 1986, was so small that its staff had been split between offices scattered across the city. The new headquarters was inaugurated on June 23, 2019, the IOC's 125th anniversary, on a site beside the Château de Vidy to which the city granted the IOC a right of superficies for 100 years. This ultra-modern building for 500 employees, which has won several sustainability prizes, cost approximately CHF200 million, entirely financed by the IOC.[96]

Lausanne's crowning achievement during the first two decades of the twenty-first century was staging the Winter Youth Olympic Games in January 2020, a new Olympic event created by Jacques Rogge.[97] The event was so successful with local people that it may inspire Lausanne to once again bid to host the traditional winter Olympics – a bid for the 1994 Olympics having been abandoned following a negative referendum in 1988.

The Future of the Swiss Olympic Hub

In 2020, three-quarters of the international governing bodies for Olympic summer and winter sports had their headquarters in Switzerland.[98] The only 'major' IFs not currently based in Switzerland are the International Association of Athletics Federations, now called World Athletics (IAAF-WA, in Monaco), International Tennis Federation (ITF, in London), and International Rugby Board (IRB, in Dublin).[99] The IAAF moved from London to Monaco in 1993 distancing itself from Switzerland and the IOC's scope of influence, among other reasons.[100] Other Olympic sports governing bodies not based in Switzerland are much smaller, such as the International Biathlon Union, located in Salzburg, Austria, or the Union internationale de pentathlon moderne, in Monaco. The International Paralympic Committee is based in Bonn, Germany, although it is growing ever closer to the IOC since 2000.

Switzerland's Olympic hub emerged for three main reasons. The first was the will of two IOC presidents – Pierre de Coubertin (1896–1925) and Juan-Antonio Samaranch (1980–2001) – who strongly promoted Lausanne and Switzerland, and of the Swiss presidents and/or general secretaries of many IFs. The second reason was the IOC's gravitational pull, which increased greatly during the 1980s as the Olympic Games grew in importance and the IOC began redistributing a large proportion of its now substantial revenues to the Olympic movement. For example, in 2019 the IOC redistributed $215 million to IFs of Olympic winter sports and $7.5 million to the CAS, among others.[101] The final reason was Switzerland's geographical, political, and social characteristics, especially its status as a neutral country in the heart of Europe, its unexacting legislation for associations, its low taxes for residents, and its pleasant quality of life, despite the high cost of living.[102]

Nevertheless, the Swiss Olympic hub has experienced a series of highs and lows since the IOC moved to Switzerland in 1915 due to periods of strained or even antagonistic relations between the IOC/international sport organizations and, initially,

Lausanne city council and then the cantonal authorities and the Swiss government. As the IOC's former director general, François Carrard, stated, it has been an 'on-off relationship' for almost a century.[103] However, the Swiss government acknowledged the importance of sport organizations to the country during the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, when it agreed to finance half of the IOC's CHF150 million loan scheme for IFs based in Switzerland (except FIFA and UEFA). The IOC also agreed to advance the $63 million that the IFs would have received in 2020 if the Tokyo Olympics had not been postponed. Around a dozen IFs based in Switzerland have requested this funding.[104] The Covid-19 pandemic has of course dealt a severe blow to the Swiss hotel sector in 2020, particularly in the cities.[105]

At this moment at the beginnings of the twenty-first century, Switzerland appears well-situated to remain the hub of the Olympic world administration, but this position remains fragile and some IFs, including the BWF (badminton), WS (Sailing), WSF (squash), JJFI (ju-jitsu), IJF (judo), and ITTF (table tennis), have moved their headquarters from Switzerland. The IOC will undoubtedly stay in its new head office, opened in 2019, in Lausanne for many years, but it would like the Swiss government to offer it a more advantageous legal status. It has based two of its subsidiaries (Olympic Broadcasting Services SL, which produces broadcast images of the games, and Olympic Channel SL, which broadcasts programmes relating to the Olympics and many IF competitions on the internet, and therefore their associated jobs, in Madrid. FIFA is also considering moving some of its subsidiaries.[106] Switzerland's attorney general had to resign in 2020 because meetings he had with the current FIFA President about ongoing investigations begun when FIFA's previous president, Sepp Blatter, was forced to resign. The future of the Olympic hub will depend, at least in part, on the post-Covid-19 development of virtual meetings and on the emergence of a new generation of Swiss administrators prepared to take up senior positions in world sport, as did their countrymen Sepp Blatter (replaced in 2016 by the Swiss-Italian Gianni Infantino), Gian-Franco Kasper (at the FIS until 2021 (Kasper's predecessor, Marc Hodler, was also Swiss), and René Fasel (at the IIHF until 2021).

Notes

1. Several studies have shown the economic impact on cities, cantons and country of the international sport organisations based in Switzerland. See for instance Rütter + Partner, *The Economic Importance of International Sports Organisations in Switzerland*, Rüschlikon, November 2013, www.icsspe.org/system/files/The%20economic%20importance%20of%20international%20sports%20organisations%20in%20Switzerland%20-%20Report.pdf (accessed March 7, 2021). This report contains a list of the sports organisations headquartered in Switzerland in 2013.
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City Bid Scandal (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press: 2011); Jens Sejer Andersen, 'Playing by the Rules: Financial Fair Play and the Fight against Corruption in Sport', *Play The Game Website*, December 19, 2012, www.playthegame.org/news/news-articles/2012/playing-by-the-rules-financial-fair-play-and-the-fight-against-corruption-in-sport (accessed March 7, 2021); Duncan Mackay, 'International Handball Federation Chief Facing Corruption and Bribery Allegations', *Inside the Games*, November 15, 2011; Alan Tomlinson, 'The Making of the Global Sports Economy: ISL, Adidas and the Rise of the Corporate Player in World Sport', in *Sport and corporate nationalisms*, ed. Michael L. Silk, David L. Andrews, and Cheryl L. Cole (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2005), 35–65; Imogen Foulkes, 'Fifa Scandal: What Took Switzerland So Long to Investigate?' *BBC News*, May 28, 2015, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-32912533 (accessed March 7, 2021).

4. Notable exceptions are Gilliéron's book for the beginning of the twentieth century and Morath's book for the second part of the century. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne: IOC, 1993); Pierre Morath, *Le C.I.O. à Lausanne 1939-1999* (Yens: Cabédita, 2000).
5. See for instance Alan Guttmann, *The Games Must Go on* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Jean-Loup Chappelet, 'From Barcelona to the World: The Life of Juan Antonio Samaranch', in *Global Sport Leaders*, ed. Emmanuel Bayle and Patrick Clastres (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 191–216.
6. Jean-Loup Chappelet, 'From Barcelona to the World: The Life of Juan Antonio Samaranch'; John J. MacAloon, '"Legacy" as Managerial/Magical Discourse in Contemporary Olympic Affairs', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 14 (2008): 2060–2071.
7. Grégory Quin, 'Writing Swiss Sport History: A Quest for Original Archives', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 34, nos. 5-6 (2017): 432–36.
8. Michaël Mrkonjic, 'The Swiss Regulatory Framework and International Sports Organisations', in *Action for Good Governance in International Sports Organisations*, ed. Jens Alm (Copenhagen: Play The Game, 2005), 128–32; Confédération suisse, *Stratégie de communication internationale 2016-2019* (Berne: n.d. [2015]).
9. Pierre de Coubertin, *Mémoires Olympiques* (Lausanne: BISP, 1931, facsimile by Editions de la Revue EPS, 1996): 128–9.
10. Patrick Clastres, 'Pierre de Coubertin et la Suisse', in *Le Système Olympique: Passé, Présent et Futur,* ed. Emmanuel Bayle (Lausanne: PPUR, 2019), 25–39.
11. Ibid., 26
12. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 39.
13. Louis Callebat, *Pierre de Coubertin* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 12.
14. Pierre de Coubertin, 'La Suisse, reine des sports', *Revue Olympique,* no. 11 (1906): 163–5; Christian Koller, 'Sport Transfer over the Channel: Elitist Migration and the Advent of Football and Ice Hockey in Switzerland', *Sport in Society* 20, no. 10 (2017): 1390–404.
15. Pierre de Coubertin, 'Programme du concours international d'architecture pour une Olympie moderne', in *Textes choisis de Pierre de Coubertin, tome II Olympisme*, ed. Norbert Müller (Zurich: Weidmann, 1986), 54–71.
16. Pierre A. Frey, 'Brève chronique illustrée des velléités d'érection d'un monument aux muscles à Lausanne, 1911-1944', *Faces,* no. 11 (1989): 56–61.
17. Erik Bergvall, ed., *Officiell redogörelse för olympiska spelen I Stockholm 1912* (Stockholm: Organisationskomittén för Olimpiska Spelen Stockolm 1912, 1913). An English translation is available in the LA84 Foundation's LA84 Digital Library: https://digital.la84.org.
18. Henri-Marie La Fontaine was an honorary member of the1894 Congress for Reviving the Olympic Games and president of the International Peace Bureau from 1907 to 1943.

He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1913. Hendrik Christian Andersen and Ernest Hébrard, *A World Centre, Industry, Science, Peace, Fine Arts, Religion, Commerce*, pamphlet published in Brussels, 1910.

19. See Archibald Reiss's presentation 'Le Sport et le Crime', now held in the University of Lausanne's criminal anthropology archives, no. 29 (1914), reference provided by Olivier Ribaux, head of UNIL's School of Criminal Justice; Pierre de Coubertin, *Mémoires Olympiques* (Lausanne: BISP, 1931, facsimile by Editions de la Revue EPS, 1996): 129.
20. Jean-Loup Chappelet, *Dans les pas de Coubertin à Lausanne*, brochure published by the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee (CIPC), 2013.
21. This photo can be seen in, for example, Geoffroy de Navacelle, *Pierre de Coubertin, sa Vie par l'Image* (Zurich: Weidmann, nd [1986]), 58.
22. John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (London: Routledge, 2008). Also, Dietrich R. Quanz, 'Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee', *Olympika, The International Journal of Olympic Studies* II (1993): 1–23; Patrick Clastres, 'La renaissance des Jeux Olympiques, une invention diplomatique', *Outre-terre* 3, no. 8 (2004): 281–29.
23. Pierre de Coubertin, 'Le rétablissement des Jeux olympiques', *La Revue de Paris*, no. 2 (May-June 1894): 170–84.
24. Gary Juneau and Neil Robin, 'The Olympic Truce: Sport Promoting Peace, Development and International Cooperation', *Psychology International*, October 2012, www.apa.org/international/pi/2012/10/un-matters (accessed March 7, 2021).
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26. Pierre de Coubertin, *Mémoires Olympiques* (Lausanne: BISP, 1931, facsimile by Editions de la Revue EPS, 1996), 149.
27. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 55.
28. Ibid., 178.
29. Via the 1907 Hague Convention: Respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in Case of War on Land', which was ratified by Switzerland and came into force in 1910. Coubertin, who kept abreast of international affairs, was undoubtedly aware of the convention.
30. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 59–76.
31. Ibid., 89–94.
32. Louis Polla, 'Pierre de Coubertin', in *Rues de Lausanne* (Lausanne: Editions 24 Heures, 1981), 185, cited by Christian Gillieron, *Les relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement olympique à l'époque de Pierre de Coubertin* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 59.
33. Thierry Terret, *Les Jeux interalliés de 1919, sport, guerre et relations internationales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).
34. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 77–80.
35. Ibid., 85–9.
36. Ibid., 82.
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politique de l'apolitisme, sur l'autonomisation du champ sportif', *Politix* 50 (2000): 22–3.

40. For example, the International Cycling Union (UCI, 1900), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA, 1904), International Weightlifting Federation (IWF, 1905), International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF, 1908), International Amateur Swimming Federation (FINA, 1908) International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF, 1912, today World Athletics), etc. The International Gymnastics Federation (FIG, 1881), International Rowing Federation (FISA, 1892) and International Skating Union (ISU, 1892) predate the IOC.
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45. Christian Gilliéron, *Les Relations de Lausanne et du Mouvement Olympique à l'Époque de Pierre de Coubertin 1894-1939* (Lausanne. IOC, 1993), 93.
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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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