

The european hegemony on International Olympic Committee

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Abstract

Although the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has existed for more than a century, it has only had nine presidents in its history. The founder of the IOC Baron Pierre de Coubertin had proposed the internationalization of the entity. This has always been the discourse of the Committee, but little has been done to change the composition of its leadership. Historically there has been a predominance of European leaders and members. The proposal of this article is to make a comparative analysis of the official biographies of IOC presidents available on IOC website with the official documents of the IOC (the Olympic Bulletin and the official website), as well as newspapers of that time (Folha da Manhã, Folha de S. Paulo and O Estado de S. Paulo). In summary we have identified other significant elements of each president's management criticism in newspapers different from the perfect image built by official discourse.

KEYWORDS: Olympic Movement; Presidents; Biographies; Olympic Games.

Introduction

There is a direct link between the Olympic Games and its founder, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. His political articulation skills made the renewal of the old Olympic Games a secular event that occupies a prominent position in the modern sports calendar. Even after his death, in 1937, Olympism continued to exist. Since he argued that "History allows you to place your idea in the historical scenario and make it succeed"¹ (p. 26), the purpose of this article was to make a comparative analysis of the biographies of IOC presidents made available on the official homepage of the institution, where there is information on each president's administration, along with other documentary sources that presented the same biographies or references to the moment in which these presidents were in office. The intention is to show the gap between the official stance that followed the presidents' administrations, allowing a different image to be solidified from the actions taken by these presidents.

Throughout its 120 years of existence the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has only had nine presidents. The idealized Olympic Movement solidified as an integral part of the European context, a fact that can be observed in the predominance of the presidents of that continent (eight Europeans and

only one North American), of the members of the organization (Europeans have always been a majority) and in the cities that were chosen to host the Summer Olympics (50% were European cities; 23% American, 20% Asian and 7% Oceanic).

This prevalence points to the political path of the Olympic Movement as well as to the commercial issues that have gained a new dimension with the professionalization of the Olympic Games, especially since the 80s.

Although DAMO² analyzes football directors, his observations serve, by extension, to understand the power dynamics involving Olympic officials, since the logic that prevails in the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) is the same for other sports at different levels. The author states that these leaders are, for the most part, recruited within the middle classes and the social elite. Rarely do they have a previous relationship with the sport but, rather, answering to other agendas, they occupy strategic managerial positions, becoming part of the power network that allows them to determine the fate of the sport they control.

Many IOC members have been Olympic athletes and were involved with federations of some kind in their countries. These aspects make

the nine presidents of the IOC fit that profile and, according to the constitution of representations that are forged in their biographies, they hold a number of capitals (symbolic, political, cultural and economic), to put it in Bourdieu's terms³, that provide them with the credibility and the certification to occupy this position. This capital allows the leaders to consolidate their network of agents and, through them, remain in power. According to BOURDIEU³ (p. 137), one of the essential tasks of the social history of sport is to study its own foundation as a way to understand the genealogy and therefore the "appearance of its object as a **specific reality**, impossible to be reduced into any other" (emphasis by the author).

The purpose of this article is to present the official

biographies of the IOC presidents, according to official Committee documents, pointing out the political context to which the presidents belonged. This investigation reveals the composition of the IOC, relating its leaders by continent, thus allowing for the understanding of the dynamics in the field of Olympic sports and, consequently, the several disruptions that have occurred during the last century in order to indicate the potential paths for the Olympic sport and for the Olympic Movement. The support of this small group of presidents from Europe becomes understandable when an analysis of the origins of the IOC members at each historical moment is made by shedding light on the circularity of power within the Olympic Movement.

Method

This research is the fruit of a historical investigation of the biographies of former IOC presidents. The source for the data used in this study is the documentary information⁴ contained in the Olympic Bulletins and the Olympic Games reports, in addition to biographies provided by IOC's website, both official publications of the organization. As these sources recurrently brought positive views on the history of presidents, in order to provide an opposition to this view solidified through official IOC's, academic studies that addressed the organization presidents and also journalistic sources were consulted (*Folha da Manhã*, *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo*) through two specific filters: the year in which the presidents of the IOC left office and the year of death of the president in case this condition was true. This focus was established by the fact that at such times, newspapers often summarized the biography of the presidents. One limitation of the study was the lack of biographical information of some IOC presidents (Vikelas, Latour and Edström) in the Brazilian newspapers consulted.

Through this documentation it is clear that both the biography portrayed in the official documents and the opinions expressed by the newspapers indicate the truth accepted by their narrator/information vehicle and the body of this article reveals how each one analyzed the facts and told its own truth, and does not aim to validate the truth regarding some fact or another.

The documents and newspapers were used as testimonies, always considering the observation

made by BLOCH⁵ (p. 142) when he states that "the vocabulary of documents is nothing but a precious testimony among all others, undoubtedly; but, as all testimonies, it is imperfect; therefore, subject to criticism". It should be noted that official bulletins and newspapers may contain errors, inaccuracies or omissions. Regarding the documents LE GOFF⁶ (p. 109) goes on to say that "[...] a 'false' document is a historical document and can be a valuable testimony of the time it was forged and the period during which it was considered authentic and, as such, used".

The researcher should know to question 3, but this exercise will only be possible if you have access to documents and/or interviews that allow for questioning and interaction with the research. Based on Michel de Certeau, LE GOFF⁶ (p. 109) states that it is necessary to question the gaps of historical documentation. In this sense, the official biographies present the IOC presidents under the perspective of success and achievements in favor of the Olympic Movement. This appreciation of the role played by their presidents causes the IOC to produce a partial and often uncritical view of these characters. Therefore, documentary analysis was based on the definition proposed by AROSTEGUI⁴ (p. 508) as "[...] the set of principles and technical operations for establishing the reliability and relevance of certain types of information for the study and explanation of a particular historical process".

As a support to the entire argument and analysis of European hegemony in the IOC, we used the periodization proposed by RUBIO⁷ with a minor change for each period defined by the

author as the dates of the Olympic Games, in order to broaden each phase as to contemplate the decisions of the IOC taken before some

edition of the Olympic Games and not only the period referring to the event itself. As a result, the periods were extended.

Results and discussion

The IOC and its presidents: european hegemony

In 1892, Pierre de Coubertin used a survey to analyze if there would be adhesion for the formation of an International Olympic Committee rather than just a British one⁸. As his idea was quickly accepted in June 1894, the International Conference was held at the Sorbonne University in Paris, when the rules of amateur sport internationally were evened out in order to promote the celebration of the modern Olympic Games⁹. According to RUBIO¹⁰, about two thousand people were in attendance of this event - 79 of them representing sports societies and universities from 13 nations.

Although the first Congress discussed the uniformization of rules for the development of the modern Olympic Games, it represented a milestone in the history of sport because the IOC was created at that time. From a symbolic point of view, therefore, Congresses go way beyond merely setting rules for the IOC. It is a policy-defining space for the organization, in which the Olympic Charter - the document that guides Olympism and the Olympic Games to this day - was created, where codes are revised, new rules that intend to update the Olympic norms to the current social movement are established and policies such as Agenda 21, that proposed sports should contribute to sustainable development, and the quota policy for the participation of women in managerial positions are adopted.

Although Pierre de Coubertin is IOC's number one member, the first president of the organization was the Greek Demetrius Vikelas (member number

three), because Pierre de Coubertin stipulated that the president of the IOC should be from the host country of the Olympic Games¹¹. Although Coubertin wanted Paris to be the first city to host the Games, for political and ideological reasons (both with regard to the appeal to tradition and his particular interest in Ancient and Modern Greece) it was decided that the first edition would take place in Athens in a Tribute to the Olympic Games of Antiquity. At that time, the Olympic Games involved many institutional interests, since the realization of the competition depended directly on the support of the country that would host the event, regardless of the will of the idealizers of Olympism.

The appointment of Vikelas as president of the organization must be seen in this light. Indicated by Joannis Fokianos, president of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastics Society, an active participant in the first IOC Congress, Vikelas was confirmed as president when Athens won the right to host the first edition of the modern Olympic Games and should, therefore, follow the rule created by Coubertin¹².

In his official biography, the IOC indicates that his first relationship with the sport was, at the Congress held in Paris (1894), the representative of Greece of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastics Club. He was one of the people responsible for convincing the Committee to hold the first edition in Athens (1896) and not in Paris (1900) as planned. But since the IOC was still budding at the time and Vikelas was not part of the sporting world, information about him is scarce. After his brief passage in the IOC presidency stopped being a member in 1899 and in 1905 he attended the Olympic Congress in Brussels. Below follows the list of all IOC presidents (TABLE 1):

TABLE 1 - IOC Presidents

*Served as vice president of 1942-1946.
 **At the end of the initial eight years can be renewed for another four years.
 Source: Updated, expanded and adapted KRUGER⁸ (p. 5).

Name	Country of origin	Life span	Member of the IOC since	Period in office	Years in office
Demetrius Vikelas	Greece	1835-1908	1894	1894-1896	2 years
Pierre de Coubertin	France	1860-1937	1894	1896-1925	29 years
Henri de Baillet-Latour	Belgium	1876-1942	1903	1925-1942	17 years
Johannes Sigfried Edström	Sweden	1870-1964	1921	(1942*) 1946-1952	10 years
Avery Brundage	U.S.	1887-1975	1936	1952-1972	20 years
Lord Killanin	Ireland	1914-1999	1952	1972-1980	8 years
Juan Antonio de Samaranch	Spain	1920-2010	1966	1980-2001	21 years
Jacques Rogge	Belgium	1942	1991	2001-2013	12 years
Thomas Bach	Germany	1953	1991	2013-2021**	8 years

Pierre de Coubertin was the second president of the IOC and was in office for the longest time of all, remaining in power for 29 years. During the period in which he led the organization, he sought to give the Olympic Games its own identity, since some of the first editions of the competition took place as an appendage to the Universal Exhibitions (Paris, 1900 and Saint Louis, 1904).

Following what he had established at the end of the Olympic Games of 1896, the president of the IOC was supposed to be from the host country and, because of this, Coubertin took office at the Paris Olympics in 1900. One of his greatest achievements was to internationalize the new sports so they could make the Olympic program and increase the number of IOC members entitled to follow and disseminate the goals and philosophy of Olympism regarding educational sports¹³. The independence and autonomy of the Olympic Movement was a central theme of Coubertin's effort to form the representative group. Therefore, he devised a system of organization and management in which IOC members were invited to the Committee by the elders and senior members¹⁴. Underlying this was the need to organize an influential group, composed of rich members from different nations, especially from Europe, so that it could ensure the holding of the Olympic Games¹⁵.

The exaltation of his ideas and his role of great craftsman of the Games can be seen in the official biography by highlighting his achievements and adjectives to qualify his actions. So the IOC website refers to the great idealizer of the Games:

It is also to him that we owe the whole organization of the Olympic Games, which have benefited from his methodical and precise mind, and from

his broad understanding of the aspirations and needs of young people. The Olympic Charter and Protocol, as well as the oath of the athletes are their work, along with the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games. In addition, until 1925 he personally presided over the International Olympic Committee. The Honorary President of the Olympic title was awarded to him in 1925 until his death in 1937. It was decided that no other President would ever be granted this honor again. The revival of the Olympic Games represents only a small part of the work of Baron de Coubertin. In addition to numerous publications devoted to the technique and teaching of sports, he was the author of important historical, political and sociological studies. His works total more than 60,000 pages. He died on September 2, 1937 in Geneva (Switzerland) after having invested all his fortune in his ideals. He is considered one of the great men of the twentieth century. According to his last wishes, his heart was buried in Olympia (Greece), in the marble monument commemorating the revival of the Olympic Games¹¹.

One of the problems that the Olympic Movement has faced and still faces in its more than 100 years of existence concerns the participation of athletes in the Olympic competitions. Coubertin valued the participation of the individual, regardless of their country of origin¹⁵. This was because he understood that political relations would define the members of the IOC and also the choice of future Olympic venues. Hence the representative system of its leaders is called "Reverse Representation," meaning that IOC members are ambassadors of Olympism in their countries of origin and not representatives

of their countries in the IOC¹⁶.

In addition to the president, the IOC has members who make up the Executive Committee and it is the decisions of this group that set the guidelines for Olympic sports in the world. TAVARES¹⁶ (p. 34) states that the organization “was structured by its founder upon formally non-democratic bases, which always set a focus of tension, criticism and controversy”, in order to preserve its values and ideals. The IOC Executive Committee was created by Pierre de Coubertin in 1921 during the 19th session of the IOC and was composed of Europeans exclusively (the first Executive Committee was composed of Godefroy de Blonay - Switzerland, Jiri Guth-Jarkowsky - Bohemia, Count Baillet-Latour - Belgium, J. Sigfrid Edström - Sweden and Marquis Polignac Melchior - France)¹⁷.

It should be noted that the non-democratic bases indicated by TAVARES¹⁶ can be perceived as such by those who did not participate in this process, because according to Coubertin himself, the initial choice of IOC members had no restrictions. He only indicated that members were close and shared his project, even in the absence of most of them in the conference at which it was decided re-establishment of the Olympic Games¹⁸.

Tavares' argument¹⁶ that the IOC is an undemocratic body works when we think of the structure created from the outside in. If the majority of the members of the IOC were European (12 of the 15 members came from Europe), one can speak, as the author states, of a non-democratic and Eurocentric organization, although it was responsible for controlling sports issues worldwide. However, when analyzing Coubertin's discourse on the organization of power at the IOC, his understanding of the process was based on a democratic principle (“there were no restrictions”), since there were no questions or reservations regarding its nominated members. On the contrary, this measure restricted the participation of those who were not considered supporters of the Olympic Movement ideals.

During Coubertin's presidency, six Olympic Congresses were held (1897-1921). If the first one, in 1894, the great articulator for the formation of the IOC, is added to this total, more than 50% of the Congresses, which aimed to discuss the direction of the Olympic Movement, were influenced by Coubertin's thinking. According to MÜLLER¹⁹, the Congress' main function was to promote the Olympic ideals. On the occasion of his death, his role as an educator was emphasized, exalting his

actions in sports and education. The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* reproduced a telegraphic note coming from Bern, Switzerland:

Thus, the figure of the greatest projection of the world in modern sport disappears, and will always be remembered as that of an educator who formulated and succeeded in realizing, at least in part, the noblest ideas not only about physical education, but also general education²⁰.

Belgian Henri Baillet-Latour was the third president of the IOC (37th IOC member) and during his presidency there was only one Olympic Congress in 1925. He was the founder of the Olympic Committee of Belgium, organized the Congress of Brussels in 1905 and the participation the country at the 1908 Games and 1912¹⁵. In 1922, the Latin American Games took place in Rio de Janeiro. Although Latour was a critic of the event in Brazil, he recognized that Latin America represented an interesting space for the dissemination of Olympic principles²¹.

Being Coubertin's successor, Latour not only took the lead of the IOC but also had to enforce his own style, distinct from the idealizer of the modern Olympic Games. According to KRÜGER⁸, his administration was characterized by moderation and the division of tasks, while his predecessor led the Olympic Movement in a personal way. Certainly, because of this, his profile presented by the IOC highlights these qualities and his noble character as a form of distinction:

[...] he devoted himself tirelessly to maintaining the Olympic ideals and goals. He continually strove to keep sports free from marketing, and to preserve their nobility and beauty, their ‘raison d'être’. He intended to acquire an informed personal opinion on all the difficult issues and traveled extensively throughout the world in order to achieve this goal. [...] A worthy successor to Baron de Coubertin, he will be remembered as a man of noble character, wholeheartedly devoted to the Olympic cause¹¹.

Despite the appreciation of his achievements, this official biography does not reveal that it was during his presidency that the IOC and FIFA diverged regarding amateurism, which caused football to leave the Olympic program in 1932⁷. During his tenure, the Berlin Olympic Games were held in 1936, and the Hitler's intention to use the Olympics to publicize the Nazis forced Latour to hold his ground, demonstrating great skill in negotiations with the dictator¹²⁻²².

The fourth president of the IOC was the Swedish Johannes Sigfrid Edström (99th IOC member). His administration lasted 10 years (four of them as vice president). The beginning of his mandate occurred

in the middle of World War II, when the Olympic Games were suspended. With the end of the War, he acted in the accomplishment and organization of Olympic Games of London in 1948.

In the international field, he was one of the organizers of the Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912 and also participated in the Games of 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932 and 1936 as the head of the Swedish delegation. At the Olympic Games in 1912 he took the lead in founding the International Amateur Athletics Federation and was elected its first president (1913), a position he held until 1946. In 1920 he was elected a member of the International Olympic Committee in Sweden. A year later, he was elected by the IOC Executive Board and later as Vice President (1931-1946). In his capacity as vice president he became head of the International Olympic Committee in 1946, with the death of the president, the Baillet-Latour of Conde^{11,23}.

The presence of Edström represents a counterpoint to Coubertin and Latour. As he was the president of the International Federation of Amateur Athletics - having been an athlete in his youth - he was responsible for turning it into the most important federation in cooperation with the IOC¹⁵. Because of this, his position put him at odds with the thinking of the founder of the Olympic Games, who years earlier had rated the Federations as a "leprosy of sport"⁸. Coubertin formed this opinion when he realized strength of sports that were structured in International Federations in comparison to those that did not have such an organization²⁴.

On the political front, Edström took advantage of the moment when his country, Sweden, remained neutral in the Second World War, which allowed him to move freely in Germany and in the United States during this period. According to SENN²², this president understood that sports could offer the world a new and better moral code.

The first and only non-European president of the IOC was the American Avery Brundage (IOC's 172nd member). He participated in the Olympic Games of 1912 and among the numerous positive mentions made in IOC's website, his involvement with sports administration was notable. He was president of the American Amateur Athletic Union (seven terms), president of the US Olympic Committee for 25 years (1929-1953), president of the Organization of the Pan American Games (PASO)¹¹.

To SENN²², the "Brundage Era" began 20 years before his assuming the presidency of the IOC, when

he became an IOC member, while preparing for the Berlin Olympics, in 1936. At the time, he received the invitation to join the IOC after being considered a key figure in the participation of Americans despite the imminence of a boycott. Brundage was then president of the United States Olympic Committee, a position he held between 1929 and 1953.

In the IOC he held important positions: from 1940 he presided over the organization of the Pan American Games; was vice president (1946-1952) and assumed the presidency from 1952 to 1972, when he became honorary president for life (1972-1975). After 20 years in power Brundage's departure from the presidency was expected to represent "[...] a more flexible attitude to the issue of professionalism"²⁵. That because, Brundage was a staunch defender of amateurism²⁶ and contrary to the realization of the Olympic Winter Games²⁷.

In his two decades leading the IOC, Brundage had to manage a series of conflicts. He dealt with the Cold War developments especially since 1952, when disputes between the United States and the Soviet Union entered the sporting competitions; the Hungarian boycott, followed by other countries, of the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, after being invaded by the Soviet Union; the Black Panthers protest in the Mexico Games, in 1968 and the attack in Munich in 1972²⁸. After all this time in power, the reference left by Brundage was of a dictator: "[...] the brand that the former president made a point of leaving in his twenty years of performance and that sometimes earned him the qualification dictator: a deep aversion to professionalism in sport"²⁹. According to SENN²², Brundage critics considered him outdated, especially regarding the issue of amateurism, because, while he opposed any kind of financial gain by athletes, the IOC began to raise money through the sale of television rights relating to Olympic Games.

In the middle of Brundage's term there was a change in membership of the IOC. Until 1966 they were elected members for life and could, if other members accepted, become honorary members, but without the right to vote. After 1966, members could only remain in this condition until the age of 72. The president remained for an eight-year term with the possibility of being re-elected for another four years³⁰.

Upon leaving presidency, he declared that the Olympic ideals would die and, as proof of this, he pointed out that the IOC was against him when Rhodesia was disqualified (Rhodesian citizens were supposed to compete as citizens under the protection of the British crown, but as they did not present

passports British they were expelled). Sports and politics could not be seen as something separate and the IOC president who did not heed this condition would have problems in his administration.

[...] Africa's victory over Rhodesia represents at the same time the defeat of the old man who heads the IOC. For 20 years he fought against the politicization of Olympic ideals. After his defeat, perhaps the bitterest of his administration should be virtually 'impossible to continue maintaining the fiction of an immaculate Olympic ideal'³¹.

With Brundage's leaving, Michael Morris - or Lord Killanin - who had been his vice president, assumed the presidency of the IOC in 1972 for an eight - year term³²⁻³³. However, before becoming IOC president, Killanin had been elected president of the Irish Olympic Committee in 1950 and two years later became a member of the IOC (230th IOC member).

"Known for his liberal tendencies, the new president of the International Olympic Committee is an 58 years old Irish nobleman, journalist, author, film producer and entrepreneur with banking and oil interests"³⁴. In addition, during university he devoted himself to boxing, rowing and riding. That was the summary of his personal story published in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, and it emphasized that he was noble and therefore carried the elements expected to take up the leadership of the IOC. Another highlight was the mention of being considered a liberal in clear opposition to his predecessor who was seen as a conservative.

Despite being the second president ahead of the IOC for the shortest time (Vikelas being the president who was in office for the shortest time - just two years), his eight years were intense: "an extremely difficult period"¹¹. He dealt with the consequences of the murder of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Games a few days before the presidency transition, since he had not yet taken over the IOC presidency, albeit having been elected. Moreover, in the Montreal Games in 1976 he had to manage the boycott by several African countries athletes because of apartheid and the boycott led by the United States at the Moscow Games in 1980. He did not run for re-election because he believed that eight years was long enough a time to be president³⁵ and joked that his ulcer also helped him decide³⁶.

From the creation of the IOC in 1894 to 1930 there were nine Olympic Congress and the tradition was resumed only in 1973. The justification of IOC's president Lord Killanin for this long interstitium was the outbreak of war. The theme of the Congress was the future of the Olympic Movement since in the

early 1970s the grandeur of the Games and the need to reduce them, as well as the interference of political events in the competition, were the major concerns of Olympism's representatives.

In addition to these items that were on the IOC agenda, Killanin pointed out that after these 43 years since the completion of the last Congress some significant changes had occurred in the IOC. National Olympic Committees have increased from 53 in 1930 to 131 in 1973. In this expansion, for example, the Brazilian Olympic Committee (COB) in 1935 was created³⁷. There was also an increase in the number of 18 in 1928 sports to 21 in 1972. Finally, he stressed that this Congress was a great opportunity for the IOC to look at themselves, to be able to modify, adapt and improve³⁸.

In a speech, Killanin stressed the importance of the IOC and the National Olympic Committees and International Federations, however, the question of amateurism remained a key point to solve in the near future. This is because at various times the IOC asked for help to the National Olympic Committees and International Federations for Olympic rules were met on the restriction to professional athletes to participate in the Olympic Games. At the end of his term he said that athletes were remembered only when they climbed the podium and that many were gradually becoming victims of commercial and political exploitation. It was also one of the few presidents who said there is a link between sports and politics, but stressed that it was necessary to protect the sport of political exploitation³⁹.

The seventh president of the IOC was the Spaniard Juan Antonio Samaranch (273th IOC member)⁴⁰. The IOC website points as an extremely competent person who could circulate through various committees and thus understand the logic of the Olympic Movement. He joined the IOC in 1966 and two years later became head of protocol. From there he went to the Executive Board (1970) and the vice-presidency of the party (1974-1978). In 1977, when Spain restored diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Samaranch became ambassador to Moscow (1977-1980). He was elected IOC president at the 83rd session held authority before the start of the Moscow Games⁴¹⁻⁴². During the 21 years of his presidency, Samaranch was consolidated as a person who changed the course of the Olympic Movement.

From the moment he took office, he tried to give a new direction to the Olympic Movement, which was seriously affected by the political difficulties of the XXII Olympiad, and embarked on a long journey around the world to establish numerous

contacts with Heads of State and sports leaders, and to defend the Olympic cause. He assured the IOC status as an international non-governmental organization and restructured finances (television rights, sponsorship programs). He kept alive the Olympic flame during the years of crisis boycotts (Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984). It was through his efforts that the Olympic Museum was built in Lausanne (1993). When the IOC was in crisis because of breaches of trust by some of its members, he undertook major reforms in the institution's structure¹¹.

Among the changes promoted by Samaranch, emphasizes the opening to professionalism, a significant change to the IOC structure. This changed not only an order of nearly 100 years that prevented the participation of professional athletes in the Olympic Games, but also the commercialization of the Games with the opening to the investments in a highly profitable show⁴³⁻⁴⁴.

For SIMSON and JENNINGS⁴⁵ (p. 83), there is a contradiction in Samaranch figure. While it is acclaimed as a great transforming the Olympic Games, his life story departs from the Olympic ideals that are against discrimination and detachment of politics in sports. That's because for 40 years he was a supporter of the ideals of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, and "[...] fascist member of the City Council in Barcelona, Catalan President of the Regional Council and, for some time, minister of fascist sports".

Following the line of Killanin, not downplayed the relationship between sport and politics, to Samaranch "Sports and politics are linked and so the Olympic philosophy should serve from politics and not become in his instrument"⁴⁶.

This use of the policy was perceived by Samaranch when he faced the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Games and this time asked "[...] the rulers of the world to fight against the interference of politics in sport"⁴⁷. However, SIMSON and JENNINGS⁴⁵ indicate that Samaranch was used that relationship just as an instrument of his actions as president of the IOC.

During the management of Samaranch in 1998 was the exclusion of seven members and four who resigned after allegations of corruption at the headquarters of the choice of the 2002 Winter Olympics would happen in the US city of Salt Lake⁴⁸.

Jacques Rogge (IOC member 385) was the eighth president of the IOC⁴⁰. As sailing athlete competed in the Olympic Games 1968, 1972 and 1976. He was president of the Olympic Committee of Belgium (1989-1992), IOC member in 1991 and a member

of the Executive Committee in 1998. His official biography also contains personal information that suggests the idea of being a person of "good family", as is married and has two children¹¹.

The shift of power from the hands of Samaranch to Rogge made more than 30 committees and permanent groups of the Spanish president time work were, according CHAPPELET and KÜBLER-MABBOTT⁴⁹ (p. 24), reduced to about 25^{49,a}. In its management the central issue fell on the concern to promote sports practice and this created the Youth Games, competition that seeks attract young athletes with skills to be Olympic. Another neuralgic issue of Rogge management was the increased commitment of the countries with the Olympic Games, taking this model almost to exhaustion.

The ninth president of the IOC is also European. Thomas Bach (IOC member 387) was elected at the 125th session of the organization for an eight year term with the possibility of renewal for four more years¹¹. Within the IOC went through various positions for 13 years and was vice president⁵⁰⁻⁵¹. His official biography transitions from personal aspects, the athlete's time and professionals in sport management:

Married and a lawyer by profession, he had a successful career in sport and beyond. He became an Olympic champion in fencing in the XXI Olympic Games in Montreal in 1976 and in 2006 was appointed as the founding president of the German Olympic Sports Confederation (DOSB). Thomas Bach was representative in the XI Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden (1981) and a founding member of the Committee on the IOC Athletes. He became an IOC member in 1991, was elected as a member of the IOC Executive Board in 1996 and served as vice president of the IOC for more than 10 years. He also chaired several committees of the IOC³.

In his inaugural address he said his motto at the IOC driving will be "unity in diversity"^b. Still in his first year in office, concerned about the impracticability of the structure of the Olympic Games, search dialog to change the current model of competition, without even knowing for sure which direction the discussion will take^c.

According to MACDONALD⁵², over the years the IOC has become a rich organization, composed of influential members and with great international recognition, either through its symbols (Olympic rings)^d, the frequency of the event that made it possible to attract the interest of television and the large number of affiliates.

IOC members

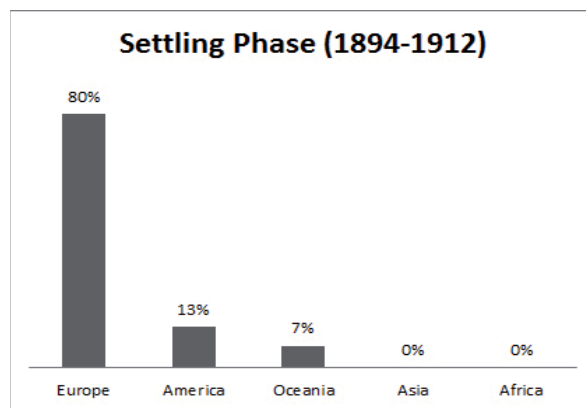
Since its formation, from the continent survey to which they belong and belonged to the members of the IOC, it can be said that the IOC is an organization formed mainly by European members. Therefore, we outlined an intersection between the information about the origin of the members from the historical periodization proposal of the Olympic Movement made by RUBIO⁷, where the Olympic Games of the modern era were originally divided into establishment phase (Athens 1896 and Stockholm 1912); Affirmation

Phase (Antwerp 1920 to Berlin 1936); conflict phase (London 1948 Los Angeles 1984) and professional stage (Seoul 1988 to the present day) (FIGURES 1 to 4).

This proposal change the periodization proposed by RUBIO⁷ in one aspect: expanded year covering each of the four phases by the fact that we included the period of internal settings of the IOC and we have not delimited only a year of each edition.

Through periodization proposal is possible to analyze the power relations established from the distribution of the IOC members. Thus, by continent, it has the following configuration:

FIGURE 1 - Settling phase - members of the IOC (1894-1912).

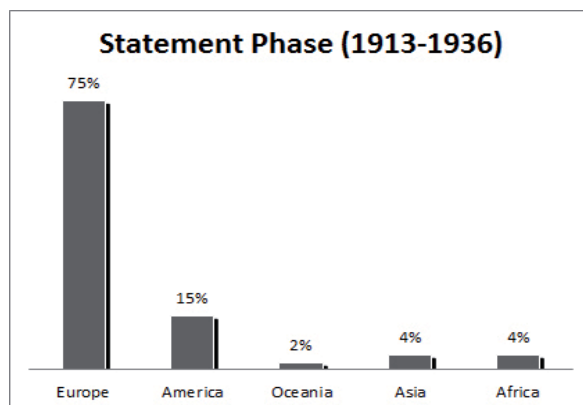


The 13% for the countries of America are distributed into the United States (from 1894), Argentina (1894), Mexico (1901), Peru (1903), Canada (1911) and Chile (1912).

Although for RUBIO⁷, by referring only to the Olympic Games put the second phase from

1920, the data below show the IOC members from 1913. During the period of the First World War (1914-1918) Table IOC decreased from 53 to 48 members, from the first to the second year of conflict, remaining virtually stable until the end of the war.

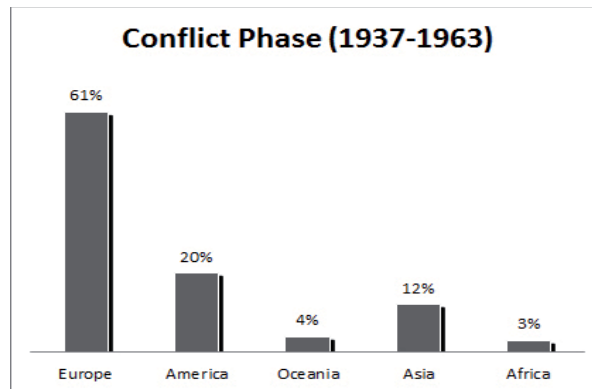
FIGURE 2 - Statement phase - members of the IOC (1913-1936).



In this period, there was an increased participation of America in the IOC. The following countries became part of the Committee: Brazil (1913), with Raul from Rio Branco (82th IOC member from 1913 to 1938)⁵³, Cuba (1913), Ecuador (1920), Uruguay (1921).

The third phase proposed by RUBIO⁷ is the conflict that includes the London Games in 1948 to a year before the 1984 Los Angeles Games. For assembly of the graph and table below were considered the year in which the Games were interrupted by the Second World War.

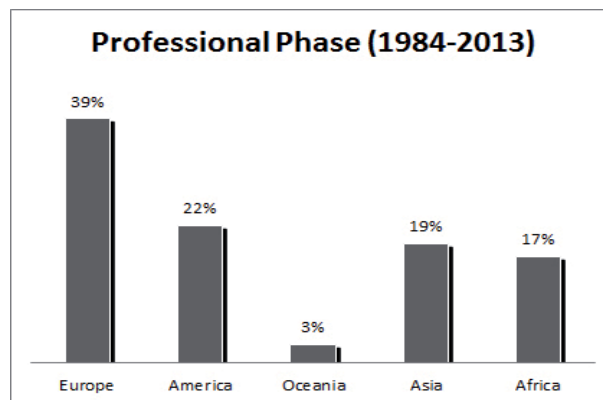
FIGURE 3 - Conflict phase - members of the IOC (1937-1983).



The last phase described by RUBIO⁷ is the professionalism that begins in 1988 and remains to this day. Although the author has considered only the Olympic Games, the period in question was expanded by considering each issue functions

as a central element of the decisions taken during the previous years in the meetings of the IOC. The Los Angeles Games were moved into this stage due to the entry of professional athletes in football⁵⁴.

FIGURE 4 - Professional phase - IOC members (1984-2013).



The information on which continent belong to the members of the IOC are significant when they show that the organization has been and continues to be mostly European. Despite the figures presented in the four graphs (FIGURES 2 to 4) indicate a fall in relation to the percentage of the number of European members, which means the increased presence of

other continents, such as Asia, there has always been a European majority and even with the decrease never been below a third of the members.

By analyzing this situation, it is not surprising that the 30 Olympic editions (counting Rio de Janeiro 2016 and Tokyo 2020 and the Athens Games Intermediaries 1906) have had 15 host cities in Europe; 7 in America

(with a large advantage in favor of the United States, with four editions, 1 for Canada, Mexico and Brazil, and this uneven distribution is also found through the national members of the organization); 6 from Asia and 2 from Oceania. That is, the cities chosen to host the event is not only the European predominance found both in the presidency and in the origin of the IOC members, but also that the circular relationship that power allowed this European dominance. No support other offices, the idea of turnover not materialize. A first look at the first three figures may suggest that European majority did not need the support of members from other countries, it held more than 50% of the members. But do this analysis of data without investigating the specific contexts is a risk, after all, this configuration has changed with each application, because more than one European country can apply to host. In this case, the support achieved by particular city could represent the victory in the final race. For example, for the Games 1936 two European cities have signed up in the dispute: Berlin and Barcelona, with the German city chosen by 43 votes against 16 for the Spanish city. Or in other cases, as in the bid to host the 1956 Games, when none of the nine cities were from Europe (Melbourne won Buenos Aires, Los Angeles, Detroit, Mexico City, Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and San Francisco).

In this power game to exchange vows grants the right to host the Olympic Games and reveals what FOUCAULT⁵⁵(p. 51) called theory of domination established by power relations. This theory is fundamental to understand how happened relations between the members of the entities to set the vote each. In this case, be subject to a dominating condition proved be a strategy, over the years, get a larger number of members representing their country That is, this subordination to accept the domination condition functioned as a dynamic whole body system, because only through it is that members of the peripheral countries could gain some position of power within the structure. In exchange for the support by voting in favor of the powers, the peripheral countries of the sports scene had the promise that at some point would have more representatives and with it the right to host major sporting events. So FOUCAULT⁵⁶ reinforces that power only works in jail and is in circulation causing people to exercise this power and also being affected by it.

The fact is that to reconstruct the genealogy of IOC presidents could understand one aspect of how to set up the formation of the organization and, therefore, the sports field³ IOC. The periodization

proposed by RUBIO⁷, and extended to our analysis, worked as a pillar for the production of inferences regarding the phase that every president has been in office. However, we must emphasize that to map out the IOC members at each stage allows us to look and analyze the Olympic Movement in a macro way, but these numbers, while indicating a European superiority in the composition of its members does not infer, micro way, as the possible differences within the majority group, for example, thus losing the relationships and decisions that were built from ruptures and continuities.

European dominance in this IOC eventually establish a position of dominance over the other members of the organization. This domination is not made only by the existence of the president, but the relations between the members themselves. It is this relationship between the members of the president's power is legitimized, since the discussions and proposals are taken within a collective structure where the other members legitimize those decisions.

Before the establishment of the IOC members of the framework over time, where the majority of the votes come from representatives of European countries, it is not surprising that the political role of the members of the entities becomes the first action to raise support for the future host country or city. In addition to the small number of elected presidents, the majority presence of European reveals who commanded and controls the sport worldwide. But a new sports world order leads to the empowerment of the countries of the periphery of the past, such as South America, Africa and Asia, making the votes of those continents essential for the election of new presidents.

In this structure of the IOC, the votes are held by members of the organization. Although there are currently members of all continents, along the Olympic history there has never been a numerical equality between the members of each country or continent. This inequality generates a concentration of power among the members with the highest number of representatives and this condition causes various alliances are established in order to get more votes for a particular representative.

From this perspective of the alliances of the presidents and members can make an analogy of the IOC structure with a toy called the Magic Cube popularly also known as Rubik's cube⁵⁶. In this toy, a square with six faces of different colors (yellow, blue, white, orange, red and green) the objective is that at the same time each side has only one color. In this analogy with the IOC we can characterize the five continents

with a color and the rest represent the IOC. Since the goal is to there is only one color per face, it is possible consider the actions of moving the small squares to represent the internal and external relations of each continent. When moving a piece changes directly to setting the busy face - incase, a continent - and can affect other cheek, so other continents.

The actions are never isolated, simply because the parts (continents) belong to the same structure (IOC). The movements of the parts, causing the colors to mix, represent the joints of the IOC members for support for certain applications. The definition of choice happens when each of the faces is with only its color. Established the order of the colors, the toy is ready to be restarted and, if so, is the beginning of a new bid to host the Olympic Games.

Through this analogy with the Magic Cube it is possible to understand that the IOC members have access to power flow that is established every

bid to host the Games, besides knowing the number of members who could vote and who they traditionally would support along the years. This structural dynamics of the IOC supported the ideals of nobility and general principles channeled through discourse around the "Olympic spirit" has allowed a number of actions that facilitate corporate corruption in sport⁵⁷.

Or in the words of FOUCAULT⁵⁵ it is necessary to understand the workings of power and not only look at the power at its center. Thus, if power flows in different instances associated with the fact that there are a small number of voting members is that there is the formation of a series of alliances and favors exchanges distancing the system the first *raison d'être* of Olympism aimed at a "lifestyle based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles"⁵⁸ (p. 8).

Notes

- a. Divided into: "Juridical Affairs, Athletes, Nominations, Co-ordination of the Games (a separate commission for each of the coming three or four editions), Culture and Education, Television rights and New Media, Ethics, Women and Sport, Finance, Marketing, Medicine, Philately and Memorabilia, Press, Programme of the Olympic Games, Radio and Television, International Relations, Sport and Law, Sport and Environment, Olympic Solidarity and Sport for all. The chairs of the various commissions - all entrusted to an IOC member - are highly sought after since they enhance that member's profile. The chairpersons of the most important commissions (Juridical Affairs, Finance, Marketing, Olympic Solidarity) are often members of the Executive Board".
- b. Thomas Bach's speech following his election as IOC President. [cited 2014 Nov 29]. Available from: http://www.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_Executive_Boards_and_Sessions/IOC_Sessions/125_Session_Buenos_Aires_2013/President_election_Thomas_Bach_speech.pdf.
- c. This issue was being debated at the time this article was being written. Although the results of this meeting are not yet available, it is important to note that this topic is among the IOC's concerns. [cited 2014 Dec 1]. Available from http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Olympic_Agenda_2020/Olympic_Agenda_2020-20-20_Recommendations-ENG.pdf.
- d. Although the author points only to the Olympic rings, we can include the pyre, the torch, the mascots, the opening and closing ceremonies on this list. From a commercial point of view, all these symbols are likely to be marketed and therefore are treated as trademarks.

Resumo

A hegemonia europeia no Comitê Olímpico Internacional

Ao longo de mais de um século de existência o Comitê Olímpico Internacional (COI) teve apenas nove presidentes em sua história. Embora o fundador do COI, o barão Pierre de Coubertin, tenha procurado internacionalizar a entidade o Movimento Olímpico historicamente apresentou um predomínio europeu na gestão do esporte olímpico. A proposta desse artigo é fazer uma análise comparativa das biografias oficiais dos presidentes do COI disponibilizadas no site da instituição com os documentos oficiais do COI (o Boletim Olímpico e o site oficial) e os jornais de época (Folha da Manhã, Folha de S. Paulo e O Estado de S. Paulo). Por meio da análise dessas diferentes fontes identificamos críticas da gestão de cada presidente para além das imagens construídas pelo discurso oficial.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Movimento olímpico; Presidentes; Biografias; Jogos olímpicos.

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