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**International intellectual exchanges, women and sports :
the International Association of Physical Education and sport for girls and women
between 1949 and the 1970s.**

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The International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) was created in the dynamic context following World War II, a time when many international organisations were founded in the hopes of further promoting international exchanges around the United Nations. These international organisations have often been described as closed structures, tools of the Cold War, but they were also places for international cooperation, particularly for sports, academics, and women's organisations. The IAPESGW is situated at the intersection of these three fields. The original idea for its creation came from an American woman, Dorothy Ainsworth, who first met with European women involved in physical education. After an initial period of American leadership (1953-1961), the association was then governed by Western Europeans: Marie-Thérèse Eyquem (France, 1961-1965) and then Liselott Diem (West Germany, 1965-1981). The IAPESGW was first mostly built around the Western bloc, promoting reconciliation between past enemies of World War II, and it then gradually opened up to other countries, newly independent or Eastern European. It was conceived and described as a place for exchanges and debates among countries having perhaps different conception of sports, physical education, and the role and place of women in sports and society.

Keywords: International relations, women's sports and physical education, cultural exchanges, Cold War, international sporting bodies.

Introduction

After 1945, international organisations began to proliferate, in large part driven by the United States.¹ These organisations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, all had different agendas, but most had the notable aim of building strong cultural bonds between countries that had been divided by war and ensuring a peaceful future. Generally associated with the United Nations, they therefore promoted cooperation and international exchanges, with a focus on a wide range of issues, including the social sciences and sports and physical education for women. The International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) was founded in this context. The original idea came from an American woman, Dorothy Ainsworth,² who had met with European women involved in physical

education. Soon after, in 1953 in Paris, the women-only association was officially created. After an initial period of American leadership (1953–1961), the association was then governed by Western Europeans: Marie-Thérèse Eyquem³ (France, 1961–1965) and then Liselott Diem (West Germany, 1965–1981).

These international organisations have often been described as closed structures and tools of the Western bloc against the Eastern bloc. Yet scholars have shown that the reality was not so simple, and that these organisations could also be places for countries of different blocs to create or recreate links, thereby throwing into question the idea of two strictly divided ‘blocs’, an idea that mostly arose after 1953 and Stalin's death. Some indeed have argued that these organisations were places for building cooperation and promoting intellectual exchanges.⁴ Collaborations continued between the blocs, particularly in sports, where international sporting institutions could display ‘sporting diplomacy’ or be used as tools of pacification.⁵ Academic organisations were also able to serve as links between countries, as international intellectual exchanges have always been a part of academic functioning. The role of women’s organisations in the Cold War has also been highlighted.

From this perspective, in fact, IAPESGW is at the intersection of these three areas: sports, academics, and women, as it has been particularly active and concerned with diplomacy, international cooperation, and peace-keeping. But what role did the association actually have in this period? It was defined by its members as a very open and peaceful organisation, conceived from the beginning to foster intellectual and cultural exchanges, but it also was mostly first built around the Western bloc, acting as a vehicle for reconciliation between past enemies of World War II. Then, the association gradually opened up to other countries, those newly independent in the 1960s, and later in the 1970s to the Eastern European countries in the context of ‘détente’. It was conceived and described as a place for exchanges, debates, and sharing influences among many countries, many of which were likely to have differing definitions of sports, physical education, and the role and place of women in sports and society.

Studying IAPESGW provides the opportunity to focus on physical education and sport in

the context of international cultural and intellectual exchanges (rather than during the course of major events and competitions). It is particularly interesting to explore the role and place of women in these exchanges at a time when women began to play a larger role in international politics. Although women's participation in international relations is a recent field of study, the work to date has shown that their role in the organisations around the UN was already expanding.⁶ The present study is mostly based on sources concerning the first three presidents of the association: the Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers of the Smith College Archives, the French National Archives file containing Eyquem's work at the Direction of Sports, and Liselott Diem's correspondence in the Carl and Liselott Diem Archives. Ainsworth and Eyquem died in the 1970s, and Diem's presidency ended in 1981, so these archives stop after the 1970s.

What kinds of intellectual cultural exchanges took place within IAPESGW, and what consequences did they have on building an international network? How did this international academic association for women, dedicated to physical education and sports, reflect, qualify, or contradict the Cold War? Was it truly a peaceful organisation or was it a soft power tool in the hands of Western countries? In this paper, I will analyse the international relations within IAPESGW and show that the association was centred on the Western bloc in the early years, with a focus on the United States and the French–German relationship and the purpose of achieving reconciliation. In the 1950s, it grew stronger and larger, mostly in the direction of US allies and areas of influence; from the 1960s onward, the association gradually began to open up to other, newly independent countries. This opening was confirmed in the 1970s with the inclusion of the Eastern European countries and seems to have been a reflection of the international context of ‘peaceful coexistence’ and ‘détente’.

Building the core: creating an international association on the ashes of the Second World War

In the post-war context, the nationalities of the first presidents were significant. After 1945, the US

put an end to its 'splendid isolation' and took part in the reconstruction and reconciliation of the Western European countries.⁷ The top priority was bringing the two enemies of old, France and (West) Germany, closer.⁸ In these early years, the relationship between these countries was very strategic and thus was supported by international institutions like the IOC or FIFA.⁹ Already involved in physical education and sports for women in their own countries, the first three leaders of IAPESGW became involved at an international scale after the war, showing a strong determination to bring their countries closer, both culturally and intellectually. IAPESGW was organised and founded by specialists, scholars, and teachers of physical education and sport for women, all with the desire to share with their international peers on these matters and promote the development of physical education and sports for girls and woman all around the world.¹⁰ D. Ainsworth provided the first impetus: as Helen Laville has shown, in the post-war period, American women took part in numerous international organisations. They espoused the idea that women all over the world have a common 'identity and experience' and were determined to 'claim and justify an international role for themselves' around an 'international sisterhood', thereby challenging the traditional image of the 'housewife'.¹¹ After a first attempt before 1945, D. Ainsworth came to France in 1947 and reached out to European women in charge of physical education.¹² She met with M.-T. Eyquem, who was a sports inspector. Together, with the founding members of the association, they organised the first congresses¹³ and later met L. Diem.

Dr Dorothy Sears Ainsworth (1894–1976) came from Smith College (Northampton, Massachusetts), one of the women-only 'seven sisters'¹⁴ colleges, where she had studied. After obtaining a doctorate in physical education from Columbia University, she became the director of physical education at Smith College in 1926. She was also president of the National Association of Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW, from 1937 to 1941). In 1947, this organisation decided to reach out to other countries and invite them to join in organising what became the first congress of IAPESGW.¹⁵

Marie-Thérèse Eyquem (1913-1978) had studied in French Catholic schools. She had been

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working for the Ministry of Sports since 1940 as a sports inspector, specialised in women's sports.¹⁶ In 1962, she also took over the leadership of a French feminist association, the Mouvement Démocratique Féminin (Feminine Democratic Movement, MDF). In the 1950s-1960s, her administration asked her to begin lecturing throughout Europe on women's sports and she officially represented France abroad on this topic. She spoke fluent English, Italian and Spanish.¹⁷

Liselott Diem (1906-1992) enrolled at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen (German University of Physical Training, Berlin) in 1924, just after this school began admitting women. She specialised in physical activities for women and was soon recruited as the director of women's courses. She married Carl Diem, rector of the same university. After the war, she followed him to the Deutsche Sporthochschule of Köln, where she became the head of women's teacher education. In 1965, she became a professor (chair in didactics and methodology of physical education) and ultimately the rector: like D. Ainsworth, she was a scholar, and like her two predecessors, she became involved in post-war international organisations, so IAPESGW was part of a large network.¹⁸

Two of the first presidents were scholars and this ensured links with major universities, whereas Eyquem was part of the central administration. Thus, Diem and Ainsworth were independent of their governments, but Eyquem was part of hers. Together, these three presidents built the core of the association and created links and exchanges between their countries at a time when reconciliation between the US, France and Germany was of great strategic importance. In her 1949 speech at the first 'International Congress on the Physical Education for Girls and Women', Ainsworth showed an acute awareness of the political issues and the aim of reconciliation: 'We have been kept apart all too long by the years of the war. Now, we are indeed happy to bring together the ideas from many countries'.¹⁹ Despite her independence as a private citizen following her own beliefs, she actually was espousing her government's agenda. This first congress was attended by 235 people from 24 countries,²⁰ which was indeed a success, and indicates that the organisation was a very large one from the beginning. But no one had yet attended from Germany, despite the

attempts of D. Ainsworth and the US Government to include Germany²¹: at this time, Germany was divided into zones controlled by the US, URSS, Great Britain and France. In 1949, two separate states were created: the German Federal Republic (GFR, West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany).

The goals of this first congress were '[to exchange] ideas, programmes, knowledge, and discussion on research, publications and exchanges of persons, etc....' and to 'broaden the horizons of Women'. It was therefore important that the founding members not impose a single method, but instead allow 'free discussion and knowledge of many different kinds of physical education' and that they analyse and discuss physical education in its 'broadest sense': gymnastics, games, dance, sports, corrective exercises, camping, and so on. The place of physical education in girls' education, its contribution to 'mental hygiene', professional training, health education and posture training were discussed.²² Ainsworth wanted to focus on the intellectual exchanges more than on demonstrations, because she thought that theory in this field had heretofore been a 'masculine privilege'.²³ This may explain why, from the beginning, the founders thought of and presented IAPESGW as an open association, not closed to a group of countries or opposed to different methods. On the contrary, they insisted on the importance of extending the existing methods and discovering new ones from a scientific viewpoint. They also thought deeply on the place of women in their field and in society in general.

In 1949, Eyquem was head of the French delegation and became a founding member of IAPESGW. L. Diem joined the association in 1952, after she met M.-T. Eyquem (1951) and D. Ainsworth (1952). It has already been shown that the Western Allies used physical education as a tool for rebuilding Germany as a peaceful democracy, and this may explain, for example, the creation of the Deutsche Sporthochschule of Köln in 1947. Allied countries brought experts to Germany to assist with the democratisation process.²⁴ The IAPESGW members took part in this dynamic: in 1951, Eyquem and the French athletics champion Micheline Ostermeyer went to West Germany for a series of conferences about women's sports. They visited Köln University, where

Eyquem met L. Diem and her husband.²⁵ This trip had been made at the request of the Direction of Cultural Relations of the city of Mayence and ‘thanks to the permission of the Director of Youth and Sports’, who had the same goal as the association: cultural exchange about sports and physical education. L. Diem later wrote that her ‘friendship’ with Eyquem may have been the first contact between France and Germany in the sports field after the war.²⁶ A year later, L. Diem went to the United States and visited many colleges, including Smith College, where she met Ainsworth.²⁷ Meetings were organised by local and national authorities, seemingly with the desire for reconciliation between France and Germany around women's sports. The French Ministry delegated Eyquem in 1951 and then agreed to host and fund the second international meeting of the association. She was later nominated as the official French delegate to IAPESGW.²⁸ Scholars have shown that sports can be used as a diplomatic tool and that governments can employ ‘sport people to amplify a diplomatic message’,²⁹ increasing coordination and reconciliation between old enemies in times of peace. Others have shown that international women’s organisations multiplied in the post-war years and, in an essentialist conception, considered themselves and were considered as particularly fit to be agents of cultural diplomacy and to promote peace in a Cold War world, within the UN and UNESCO.³⁰ In this sense, even though an association was not under the control of its government, it could be close enough to its agenda to be occasionally used as a ‘tool’. One might highlight here that Carl Diem, husband of L. Diem, was implicated in a Nazi sports organisation³¹ and Eyquem was in charge of women's sports under the Vichy government. The finding of at least one association member thus implicated during the war period can be explained by the assumption that the actors in war and in peace are often the same,³² and perhaps also by the observation that for the US and West European anti-communist actors, the enemy had changed.

In 1953, Eyquem was the ‘organising chairman’ of the congress and the French Ministry of Sports was its ‘sponsor’.³³ With Ainsworth, she agreed to give priority to women speakers and to debate about the papers.³⁴ Invitations were sent, including to Moscow, Peking, Prague, Warsaw, Budapest and Sofia, and to the president of the French commission at UNESCO,³⁵ but none of them

came. On this occasion, L. Diem invited Ainsworth to come to Köln after Paris.³⁶ After the congress, others were programmed to be held every four years, to last approximately one week, and to include conferences, demonstrations, projections, and even visits. In addition to the conferences, the organisation showed a determination to build links between the participants. For example, in Paris, after a reception at the Hôtel de Ville de Paris, demonstrations of synchronised swimming, traditional folk dance, mime and dramatic art, and dance and rhythmic gymnastics were organised, and visits were made to Versailles, the Racing Club de France, the National Institute of Sports, the École normale supérieure féminine d'Éducation physique (School of Women Physical Education Teachers), and the Opéra de Paris (with a special dance demonstration). At the conferences, Diem presented a paper on 'General physical education for girls', Eyquem on 'Women's participation in the Olympic Games', and Ainsworth on 'International exchanges'. Other presentations concerned modern dance and gymnastics, 'freedom by movement', and basketball, and the French tennis champion Simone Mathieu talked about the 'Individual and social results of major competitive events'.³⁷ Under Ainsworth's presidency, the members of the Executive Board were drawn from the Philippines, Argentina, West Germany, Australia, Canada and South Africa, indicating the pre-eminence of the US's closest allies in the organisation, clearly centred on the Western bloc in these years.

Thus, the association was built by specialists, experts and academics based on the idea that international intellectual exchanges are the privileged way to ensure scientific progress. These exchanges exemplified how international scientific organisations could be places for the wide dissemination of knowledge and possibly also of diplomacy.³⁸ In times of international tensions, the status of scholars, specialists and ministerial envoys facilitated the crossing of borders: these individuals had the language skills, motives, and most of the time, the funding, to travel abroad. They seemed mostly free to travel, if not encouraged by their governments, as experts, in a Cold War period where international scientific exchange could be problematic (or forbidden),³⁹ and this was particularly so for the hard sciences. In the social sciences⁴⁰ and among writers,⁴¹ international

exchanges were more likely to happen. Social scientists were even able to play a part in peace-keeping, using their international networks to rise above national boundaries.⁴² Universities, in particular, are known to have played a part in this. According to P. Gremion, US universities had drawn closer to the State Department (since the 1950s) and strengthened their universalistic orientation. These many trips, congresses and exchanges provided the opportunity to discover different cultures. As L. Diem wrote to Ainsworth: ‘After my trip to your country, I am so delighted about American life! All my life I’ve wished to work with people in freedom, to speak freely and openly with others’. This quote can be understood either as a scientific or a political reference: Diem seems to praise both US scientific methods and democracy. She discovered different working methods and warned Ainsworth that what she would discover next, coming to Germany, would not be as gratifying, and that she would see the effects of the war on her city, in contrast to the idyllic vision she had of the US: ‘the country round Cologne is wonderful – but the town is very much destroyed’.⁴³ Their status as scholars thus helped these women to travel and discover other countries and cultures, resulting potentially in a better understanding of other political and intellectual contexts and encouraging peace.

Nonetheless, in the first years of the association and despite the founders’ declarations of good will and the invitations sent to the East,⁴⁴ the association remained mostly directed by the Western bloc. It was thus initially shaped in the Western bloc image because of the international context, and it was a place of debate and exchange among these countries, strengthening their links. It was also occasionally used as a tool of soft power. The first members were experts, mostly scholars, and they were determined to achieve international understanding, which was typical of the international organisation members of this period.⁴⁵ Understanding was initially geared to the reconciliation between the US, France and Germany, with high hopes for this ‘triangular relation’.⁴⁶ At this point, the other countries were essentially the US’s traditional allies: Western Europe (UK, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, and Switzerland), Northern Europe (Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and the neutral Finland), North and South America (brought in by D. Ainsworth thanks to a Panamerican

congress),⁴⁷ Japan, Israel, and the Commonwealth (South Africa, Australia, New Zealand). A single Eastern European country was also present at the Paris congress in 1953 (the year of Stalin's death): Yugoslavia. Yet it should be remembered that this country had a singular place in international relations, as a communist but 'non-aligned' country. It is also known to have played the role of 'bridge between the two Europes' in UNESCO.⁴⁸

Strengthen the links and expand to new countries

The following years were years of expansion. The association approached other, more powerful international organisations, with the ambition of benefiting from them in terms of finances and influence. But they were also very cautious about their independence. Ainsworth and Eyquem took part in founding the International Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (ICHPER),⁴⁹ and the International Council of Sport and Physical Education (ICSPE).⁵⁰ The association was also linked to UNESCO; together, they organised conferences, internships, and research projects. The partnership began at least in 1953, with a common project on 'the effect of international competition on international relations', just after UNESCO began to show greater interest in sports and development in the context of the Helsinki Olympic Games, which were the first Games in which the USSR participated.⁵¹ Members of IAPESGW 'carefully investigate[d]' the possibility of affiliation with a bigger organisation, and voted in 1957 to become part of ICHPER. The association nevertheless officially remained 'a separate women's association' because it would 'not sacrifice its own identity'.⁵² Ainsworth campaigned against total integration again in 1961 and also refused affiliation with ICSPE because its leadership was male-only, concluding that 'the door is closed to women for effective work in that organisation'. She also refused to join the International Federation of Physical Education (FIEP), stating that IAPESGW members wanted to keep their 'specific' and valuable expertise.⁵³ They tried at least twice, but failed, to obtain consultative status as a non-governmental member of UNESCO: 'We were accepted as a member,

but not on a consultative basis; that is, without funds for our work'.⁵⁴ According to Ainsworth, they failed because of hostility from the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), which was a UNESCO member, and according to Eyquem, they also failed, as she had learned in a discussion with the assistant of UNESCO's Director-General, because UNESCO preferred organisations organised by profession, and the IAPESGW wasn't restricted to PE teachers.⁵⁵ It seems that at least Ainsworth also distrusted the male leaders of these organisations and was convinced of the need for a women-only organisation. On this point, even after the end of her presidency, the American influence prevailed: this 'separatist' development took its roots in the US tradition, where physical education for girls was developed independently, especially in women-only universities like Smith College, under the essentialist conviction that girls needed special physical education. Women educators knew what was best for 'their girls' and wanted to stay in control.⁵⁶ This 'separatist political strategy' in women's 'institution building' had also been operating outside the university, in all type of organisations, since the nineteenth century.⁵⁷

Between 1953 and 1957, the year of the third congress held in London, the number of member countries increased from 37 to 65.⁵⁸ The association began to be better known and to attract new countries, perhaps because of the success of its earlier conferences, the work of each member to extend the association, and the affiliation with a bigger and more influential organisation (ICHPER). It entered years of consolidation and expansion and stayed centred on the Western bloc, despite a few exceptions. The association was based on intellectual exchange: the members wrote and frequently sent each other books, articles,⁵⁹ conference reports, and recordings of demonstrations. Over time, bonds grew stronger between the founding members. In 1955, Ainsworth came to Paris to attend a symposium about physical activities for girls during puberty, organised by Eyquem.⁶⁰ In 1961, when Ainsworth turned over the presidency to Eyquem, she received the medal of the Ordre du Mérite sportif.⁶¹ International exchanges, meetings and dialogue were also stimulated among all the members of the association. The officers wrote to the

representatives of each country every year and ‘collected from them notices, news, and lists of summer courses and new publications’,⁶² so the intellectual and personal bonds continued to grow, as did the scientific exchanges, between the congresses.

The officers of the association travelled widely. In 1956, L. Diem asked for and received money from the Ministry to go to the US: the visits were sometimes sponsored by the states, and sometimes by the universities. Ainsworth travelled around the world, for example, from August 1956 to July 1957, stopping in Melbourne and Zagreb and ending in London for the third congress: ‘I hope to see many forms of physical education and to meet many people concerned with our work, and to learn about its place in the educational plan of each country’. She wanted to meet with more members so she could strengthen the organisation: ‘I met with the women of Mexico, as well as the women of Guatemala, so I think our association is strengthened’. She thought that the ‘greatest value’ of the congresses was the ‘face-to-face discussions and the friendships developed among the representatives of the various countries’. As she wrote to L. Diem: ‘It seems to me we have much to learn from you’.⁶³ In 1961, while organising the fourth congress in Washington, Ainsworth advised her fellow American delegates about how to host foreign delegates: ‘Be a good listener! Ask guests about programmes in their countries and let them tell you.’ She seemed to always encourage dialogue and friendship as a way of increasing and consolidating the organisation. This exchange had limits: she wanted the association to stay apolitical: ‘Avoid political discussions. People from other countries consider this out-of-place in professional gatherings’.⁶⁴ Writing to the NAPECW members to ask for funds, Ainsworth referred to ‘good and better international relations’ and ‘world understanding’, describing the congress as ‘an opportunity for the furthering of international good will’ and for showing that ‘the women in physical education are also aware of the deeper significance and importance of such an international gathering of women’.⁶⁵ So she argued in terms of international relations as a way of reaching the American audience and reaffirmed the goals of the organisation. She promoted political neutrality to avoid ideological conflicts, but encouraged another form of collective commitment for the development of physical education and sport for

girls and women.

The IAPESGW members were building an ‘international network of militants’⁶⁶ for women’s physical education. This network structured the association and was strengthened by cultural and intellectual dialogue, as well as personal inter-individual relationships. As has been written in a different context, this ‘constitution of relational networks’ and ‘personal diplomacy’ could be seen as a ‘feminine strategy of international friendships’ and an ‘inspiration for peaceful coexistence’.⁶⁷ Unlike other organisations, divided between Latin and Anglo-American countries, and rejecting Eastern Europeans, IAPESGW was built around a strong core of friends and colleagues and kept its doors open.⁶⁸

The exchanges took place in a general context of government and university support because they were considered good for diplomacy. For example, student exchanges were stimulated by the Fulbright programme. IAPESGW, as an intellectual organisation, has indeed also been involved in student exchange programmes, at least since 1953. Diem’s own daughter went to Smith College, where she met with students from South Africa, Brazil, and Greece.⁶⁹ The Fulbright sometimes helped them: established in 1946, this student exchange programme was sponsored by the US State Department and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The first Fulbright agreement was signed with China in 1947, and the second with France in 1948, and the budget was generous: ‘between 1949 and 1957, 1802 French students, 399 teachers, 80 lecturers, and 216 research scholars were provided with grants to study in the USA. During the same period, 173 American teachers, 116 lecturers, and 95 research scholars spent time in France.’⁷⁰ This can be understood in part as US cultural diplomacy, conceived, depending on its organisers, either as a tool for national propaganda or as a way to increase mutual understanding.⁷¹ Within IAPESGW, the second perspective prevailed, and student exchanges were seen as a privileged way to develop intellectual exchanges. In the Cold War context, women were also a ‘target’ of US propaganda, especially in the education field: the professional success of US women was supposed to be a showcase of US

democracy.⁷² Nevertheless, in 1961, an IAPESGW report highlighted that they were not really satisfied with their student and teacher exchanges as they were too limited to the more influential among them. They wanted to make it an even higher priority by making it more frequent.⁷³

The universities also played a part in the exchanges of scholars and experts, which helped expand the association. Smith College had had an exchange program since 1925.⁷⁴ Köln university, created with the help of the Allies in the hope of building democracy in Germany,⁷⁵ had a 'international summer course' that was used to meet members of the association or to recruit. For example, at the 1954 summer course, Liselott and Carl Diem hosted the heads of physical education from Spain, France, Italy, Belgium, Turkey, and Egypt, as well as some of the association members, including Eyquem. L. Diem asked the Egyptian and Turkish representatives for the 'best name' in their countries in physical education and sports for women and transmitted them to Ainsworth. Egypt and Turkey were added to the list of country members at least in 1956.⁷⁶ One more time, universities appeared as a way to facilitate these international exchanges. Kenya also joined around 1955 (it later became independent in 1963).

So these times were also times of expansion. Membership could be individual or national, as national 'representatives' or 'delegates', and fees were deliberately low.⁷⁷ The delegates could be appointed in different ways: by 'persons who had attended the congresses or were appointed or selected by official persons or associations in their own countries'.⁷⁸ In theory, following the constitution of the association, a 'representative' had only to be a woman qualified in physical education. In fact, D. Ainsworth was always searching for the 'top person', the most qualified, involved and influential in her country.⁷⁹ The recruitment was thus quite elitist, selecting the intellectual and cultural elites, in agreement with the goals of the association. New countries attended the third congress in London: 'We are hoping that those new nations represented at the London Congress will wish to join our Association. We had 43 members before the meeting, which was attended by 60 nations. Other letters are going out to the 17 delegates from new countries to ask them to join the association'.⁸⁰ Of the Eastern bloc countries, Yugoslavia was still present, having

joined in 1953. Moscow had been invited to the same congress, but did not even respond. In the late 1950s, new contacts were made by the USSR, which intensified its involvement in NGOs like UNESCO after 1956.⁸¹ In 1958, Marie-Thérèse Eyquem was scheduled to go to the USSR, but that project failed because of the Algerian War. She had been planning to go with a French delegation to attend a medical congress about physical education.⁸²

This expansion reflected the association's ambition and it was also justified by scientific motivations: members could learn from each other, and the broader their horizons were, the better they would represent the world of physical education. They took part in several UNESCO research projects, one in 1953 about 'the effect of international competition on international relations',⁸³ and in March 1956 they contributed to a 'comparative study' about physical education in the world.⁸⁴ They considered that the study was the more representative, because it was broader, thanks to them:⁸⁵ their efforts to broaden the membership was thus part of their scientific expertise. Yet this ambition of expansion and dialogue didn't always go as planned. In July 1956, Ainsworth planned on going to Yugoslavia for a Gymnastrada, an international gymnastics exhibition that takes place every four years. She delayed the trip and seemed scared that the Yugoslavian leaders were only interested in propaganda: 'I am not too pleased to see that the Partizans group had taken over the Gymnastrada – I did not even see Miss Sepa's name on the publicity. If it is all for propaganda I too am less interested in going to Zagreb.' She also seemed worried that the Yugoslavian representative, Milica Sepa, would only be a puppet manipulated by male communist leaders. Exchanges seemed even more complicated between Yugoslavia and West Germany: the Yugoslavian delegate couldn't come to West Germany in 1961, and when Ainsworth insisted that Diem come with her to Yugoslavia, L. Diem politely declined, telling her president that she was a 'lady of future thinking' and that she would like to come, but she was not sure she could leave the country, implicitly referring to a brighter future where she would be able to obtain a visa and travel easily through the Iron Curtain.⁸⁶ Exchanges were sometimes made more difficult for geopolitical reasons outside of the association: nevertheless, Milica Sepa seemed to have played a real part in the organisation.

The late 1950s were years of expansion and strengthening for the association, which wanted to gain influence and legitimacy by getting closer to other, bigger international organisations. The exchange programmes and travelling backed by governments and universities, as well as the correspondence and intellectual exchanges, strengthened the bonds among the members. The association began to open up, mostly to allied and Southern countries. After Stalin's death in 1953, and in an international context of 'peaceful coexistence', first contacts were made with the Eastern bloc, but they still had to face major difficulties. After this first limited opening during Ainsworth's presidency, it continued in the 1960s under the Western European leadership.

Broadening under Western European leadership

The 1960s were years of consolidation of the French–German relationship, which might have been worrying to the US and their sense of leadership:⁸⁷ on the contrary, within IAPESGW, Ainsworth voluntarily ceded her place to Europe.⁸⁸ In the Cold War context, the 1960s–1970s were years of 'peaceful coexistence' and 'détente'. IAPESGW opened itself further and became a place for exchanges to bring together countries once divided by colonial wars or the Cold War. In 1960, new countries joined the association: Nigeria (independent since 1960), Tanganyika (independent in 1961, became Tanzania in 1964) and Trinidad (independent in 1962). This evolution is quite similar to what was happening within UNESCO: at first mostly centred on the Western bloc, 'like most other UN institutions [it] became globalised when many newly independent African and Asian countries became members.'⁸⁹ Ainsworth received a letter from the Soviet vice-president of the Committee on Physical Education and Sports for Women. The Soviet delegate officially asked how she could join IAPESGW.⁹⁰ A new correspondence with the USSR was thus rekindled in 1961. According to D. Ainsworth, the Russians planned on coming to the congress and wanted to participate with two papers and a documentary film, but the program had already been finalised.⁹¹ The 1961 congress, held in Washington, was dedicated to the theme: 'Broadening horizons'.⁹²

Ainsworth renewed her wish for an open association, based on dialogue:

This group in Copenhagen had not come together to see the work of one school nor of one country. Instead the important thing for them was to hear of physical education in many countries and learn of different and varying ideas and ways of teaching so that they could learn the ideas and knowledge of others and discuss the reasons for their differences.⁹³

The international context was then in favour of an opening, which had always been the association's goal and was here reaffirmed by its president. She transferred the presidency to Europe, showing her willingness to cooperate and reconcile, rather than dominate. This transfer of power to Europe became a tool for even greater broadening.

The presidency passed to Eyquem and a long period of Western European leadership began, even though Ainsworth remained visible. Eyquem, like the other members, used her national contacts to strengthen the association.⁹⁴ In France, the political sporting context was to take a greater part in international sports.⁹⁵ Maurice Herzog, Secretary of State for Youth and Sports from 1958 to 1966, trusted Eyquem with diverse missions promoting this objective, like organising the celebrations for the anniversary of the birth of Pierre de Coubertin (to which Carl and Liselott Diem were also invited).⁹⁶ According to Marie-Thérèse Eyquem, in 1961, Herzog 'strictly swore' to help the association until the end of her presidency.⁹⁷ At the very beginning of her presidency, Eyquem invited Diem to discuss a four-year plan for the association in a meeting held at UNESCO, and announced that her stay would be offered.⁹⁸ Under her presidency, new members joined the Executive Board: Nigeria, Iran (which joined the Baghdad Pact in 1955 and the association in 1960, and was a close ally of the US before the 1979 revolution)⁹⁹ and Peru. Cuba, a communist country and a USSR ally, joined the association in 1961,¹⁰⁰ confirming a desire to 'broaden the horizon', perhaps helped by the change from a US president to a French one. UNESCO again asked for IAPESGW participation in a new international comparative study of women's sports in the East and West. In 1962, Eyquem founded and became president of the Mouvement démocratique féminin

(MDF), an early second-wave feminist women-only movement that advocated for birth control and professional equality.¹⁰¹ She seemed to have progressively withdrawn from the IAPESGW, too busy with her other commitments.¹⁰² Yet, during her presidency, she had the support of the French government, continued the Franco-German cooperation and initiated the broadening campaign later orchestrated by L. Diem.

1962 was a time of tension for the US, with the Cuban Missile Crisis, and for France, with the Algerian War. It is quite unusual to find direct mentions of the international context in Ainsworth's correspondence. Though she herself advised that members refrain from discussing politics, in 1962, Ainsworth introduced a letter to the delegates with a geopolitical reference:

In these years of great tensions and worry it is good to know that we in our Association have been and are able to work together for the better health and well-being of the girls and women of our various countries.¹⁰³

She chose to reaffirm once again the determination to work for unity and cooperation. But in her private correspondence, she expressed a personal opinion that was a lot less pacifist:

[T]here is a big movement over here to try to raise such hopes for peace that they might weaken our necessary preparedness for the protection of our people. Everyone wants peace but not weakness and I for one would NOT rather be Red than dead.¹⁰⁴

So it appears that, for the good of the association, she tried to put this opinion aside, but it may also explain in part the lack of Eastern European countries participating under her presidency, despite the association's public image of openness.

The fifth congress of the association was held in Köln in 1965 and organised by L. Diem, who became the third president on that occasion. Representatives from the university and members of the central or local administration were present: the university rector, the mayor of Köln, the

federal Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen, and a member of the Commission for Family and Youth Affairs of the Deutscher Bundestag attended and gave introduction speeches. The congress was dedicated to a special subject: 'The adolescents of today. Problems of physical education'. Diem gave a speech titled 'I am – I can – I will: experiences through movement'. Some of the delegates contributed with papers concerning the main theme on their continents (the Indian representative talked about Asia, the Peruvian representative covered America, and the Tunisia representative Africa). Movement, dance, fitness and competition were addressed, and discussion groups were organised by members from different continents, to encourage exchanges: B. Wiid (Union of South Africa) and M. Sepa talked about 'Self-testing fitness for girls', while J. Falize (Belgium) and H. Manley (USA) discussed the 'Possibilities of co-education in sporting youth-groups'. These types of intervention recall the objective set by Ainsworth: learn from each other by sharing. In other organisations, the intermediaries from the Southern countries were able to facilitate contacts between Eastern and Western Europe:¹⁰⁵ in IAPESGW, it was at least a first step. IAPESGW followed the international dynamics, led by Diem. As president, she prioritised recruiting new countries, especially from the Eastern Bloc:¹⁰⁶ West Germany, prompted by Diem, seems to have worked as an intermediary as well, mostly in the 1970s, in the context of the *Ostpolitik* of Willy Brandt from 1969. Broadening the association was thus an illustration of this policy, as were the 1972 Munich Olympics.¹⁰⁷ New countries were named to the Executive Board: Japan, Sweden, Finland, Brazil, Israel, and Czechoslovakia. Congresses were held in the allied countries (Japan, 1969), Commonwealth (South Africa, 1977), or Southern countries (Iran, 1973), rather than Europe and the US. Czechoslovakia joined the association in 1969 and joined the Executive Board in 1973. It was able to join despite a local context of renewed tensions: after the Prague Spring, international cooperation, including scientific exchanges with the West, were 'reduced to a minimum'.¹⁰⁸ As we saw with Germany, the association was here trying to re-establish contacts or maintain them despite the diplomatic tensions. And a space of 'détente' did open up: negotiations were opened between the US and the

USSR, and resulted in the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreements in 1972 and 1979, as well as cultural and commercial rapprochement. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe between the two blocs resulted in the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, concerning territorial integrity and respect for human rights. This context of détente was reflected in IAPESGW. In 1972, Diem went to Tehran to organise the next congress, and met with the association and government members, where American members were particularly enthusiastic.¹⁰⁹ In 1973, delegates from Poland, Romania and the USSR joined them, just before the decision to host the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow was taken, resulting in the development of USSR sporting contacts with the West.¹¹⁰ The overall theme was ‘Sport for all’, and the inaugural speech was given by ‘Her Imperial Majesty the Shahbanou of Iran’. Three members from Romania talked about ‘Selection and planning in the learning process of young girls for high-performance sport’, ‘Sport and recreation’ and general trends in physical education for the girls of their country; J. Kostkova from Czechoslovakia talked about general trends in sports for all; and L. Shapkova from the USSR about ‘The problem of coaching control of sportsmen’.¹¹¹

The idea, or ideal, of dialogue and unity was also present between races. A congress was organised in South Africa in 1977: IAPESGW stayed open to South Africa, even when the rest of the world boycotted it because of the apartheid legislation, which extended to sports and banned mixed-race events. The boycott, organised by African countries, resulted in the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympics Games from 1964 to 1988. In 1976, many African countries withdrew from the Montreal Olympics to protest the presence of New Zealand, which competed against South Africa despite the boycott.¹¹² The idea of an IAPESGW congress in South Africa in this context raised considerable debate and was only accepted because the president maintained that it was supposed to be a ‘model of cooperation among races, without any discrimination or prejudice’.¹¹³ At the Teheran congress, the South African delegation had already presented a dance demonstration of ‘mixed-race’ schoolgirls, and official promises of non-discrimination and total equality between the members of the association were made.¹¹⁴ For the South African delegate, it was also the

opportunity 'for the first time in the history of our women's Association [to] sit together round a table with a group of white and non-white members'.¹¹⁵ It seems that none of the Eastern countries came, with the exception of Poland, perhaps because of the boycott or because of financial issues.¹¹⁶ In the Cold War context, the boycott of South Africa was used as propaganda by the USSR against the US, to rally decolonised countries; and the US tried to fight this propaganda.¹¹⁷ Some representatives had travelled through Swaziland to enter South Africa as a way of bypassing their countries' organised boycott.¹¹⁸ The association collectively decided to bypass the boycott: should we interpret this as solidarity with a longstanding allied country, a lack of interest in racial discrimination or, at the opposite extreme, an idealistic belief that their presence would make a difference and challenge apartheid, at least more than by their absence?

In the 1960s, and even more in the 1970s, IAPESGW became more open to countries outside the traditional areas of US allies, going 'beyond the Cold War state of mind and promoting – sometimes – mutual transfer of knowledge'.¹¹⁹ This new broadening occurred under European leadership and mostly West German, as this country seemed to function as an intermediary between West and East. Newly or soon independent countries joined the association, as well as Eastern European countries. In these years of détente, UNESCO 'gradually consolidated its role as a reference point between East and West'¹²⁰ and IAPESGW played the same role at its own level. Yet, even if the number of member countries increased, we should note that the Executive Board did not have Board members from African countries apart from South Africa, and there were no members from Eastern European countries (only from Finland, a neutral country, since 1965) before Czechoslovakia in 1973.

Conclusion

In conclusion, IAPESGW provides an example of international intellectual cooperation around women's sports in the times of the Cold War. Since its earliest years, the association had presented

itself as an open pacifist organisation, but it failed to overcome the influence of the international context. Under the influence of governments and the public policies of the period, it first developed as an organisation centred on the reconciliation of France, Germany and the US. Conferences, travels, private correspondence, and exchanges of papers and points of view helped to create a network of experts devoted to the development of physical activities for women, sometimes in conjunction with other organisations like UNESCO; but at first this network only operated within the Western bloc, with few exceptions. As an association devoted to intellectual exchanges, its vocation was to broaden its horizons, but the first attempts failed and the expansion to the East only occurred in the 1970s, aided by the context of 'détente' and the transition to European leadership. So it seems to have been shaped first by a context of reconciliation within the Western bloc, and then by 'détente'. The failure to open up sooner, despite the peaceful intent to extend to the entire world, was due to the very significant international context of the Cold War, but it may also have been due to the occasional and external intervention of governments and probably also to the personal prejudices of its members, like the first president. When the Cold War context allowed it, the three areas of focus encompassed by this association facilitated international exchanges: the academic area helped to develop travelling with student exchanges, summer courses and grants. Through both academics and sports, UNESCO, for example, saw it as a privileged way to build peaceful exchanges and a range of international sports events (Gymnastrada, Olympics Games) to encouraged East–West contacts. Beyond ideological neutrality, which was an indispensable condition for developing exchanges through the Iron Curtain, the association also gave women the opportunity to commit to a common cause. As a women's organisation, it benefited from the increasing visibility of women involved in post-war international relations and, under an American influence, offered a common purpose, a subject of moderate claim for women all around the world.

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Table 1 Congresses, attendance, and countries on the Executive Board

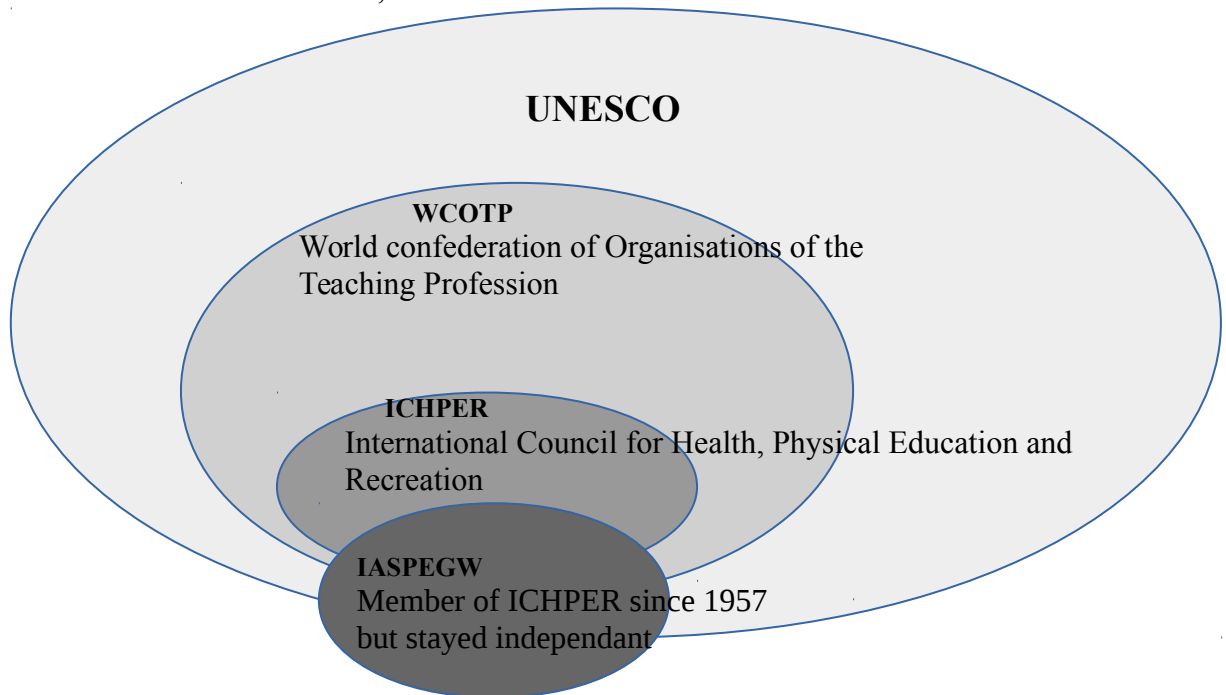
Congresses	Date	Number of countries	Number of delegates	Number of attendees	New countries on the Executive Board
Copenhagen, Denmark	1949	24-25	200	235	US Canada
Paris, France	1953	37	500	500	France
London, England	1957	60-65	400	420	UK Philippines Argentina FRG Australia South Africa
Washington, USA	1961	26	--	500 (300 from the USA)	Sweden Nigeria Iran Peru
Köln, Federal Republic of Germany	1965	40	600	--	Japan Finland
Tokyo, Japan	1969	26	300	600	Brazil Israel Austria
Tehran, Iran	1973	30	200	450	Czechoslovakia
Cape Town, South Africa	1977	35	--	500	Denmark Belgium

Source : Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*.

Table 2 Participation in international organisations

	D. Ainsworth (USA)	M.-T. Eyquem (France)	L. Diem (FRG)
IAPESGW			
Joins	1949	1949	1952
President	1953-1961	1961-1965	1965-1981
UNESCO	Yes	Yes	No
ICHPER			
Founding member (1959, Washington)	Yes	Yes	No
President	1959-1965	No	No
Executive Board	Yes since 1959	Yes since 1959	Yes 1965-1981
ICSPE			
Founding member	Yes	Yes	No
Executive Committee	Yes, left in 1959	Yes since 1959	Yes since 1960

Table 3 Affiliations of the IASPEGW: in 1957, the IAPESGW joined ICHPER, which was part of WCOTP, which was a member of UNESCO.



- ¹Jean-François Sirinelli and Georges-Henri Soutou, eds., *Culture et Guerre froide* (Paris: PUPS, 2008).
- ² Ann Hall and Gertrud Pfister, *Honoring the legacy. Fifty years of the International association of physical education and sport for girls and women* (Nanaimo: IAPESGW, 1999).
- ³ Florys Castan-Vicente, *Marie-Thérèse Eyquem. Du sport à la politique. Parcours d'une féministe* (Paris: OURS, 2009).
- ⁴ For example, Sandrine Kott, 'Par-delà la guerre froide. Les organisations internationales et les circulations Est-Ouest (1947-1973)', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 109 (2001): 142-54; Sari Autio-Sarasma and Katalin Miklóssy, eds., *Reassessing Cold War Europe* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- ⁵ Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, 'Mapping the relationship between international sport and diplomacy', *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 17, no. 9 (2013): 1098-1118.
- ⁶ François Doppler, 'Entre amitié et émancipation. Les militaires, les femmes et les principes démocratiques de la diplomatie culturelle américaine en France, 1944-1967', *Les cahiers Irice* 12, (2014): 119-34; Robert Frank, 'Penser historiquement les relations internationales', *Annuaire Français de Relations internationales* 4, (2003): 42-65. Quoted by Jean-Marc Delaunay and Yves Denégère, 'Introduction', in *Femmes et relations internationales au XX^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Marc Delaunay and Yves Denégère (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2006), 370; Melanie Ilic, 'Soviet women, cultural exchange and the Women's International Democratic Federation', in *Reassessing Cold War Europe*, ed. Autio-Sarasma and Miklóssy, 157-74.
- ⁷ Murielle Delaporte, *La Politique étrangère américaine depuis 1945. L'Amérique à la croisée de l'histoire* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 1996).
- ⁸ Corinne Defrance and Ulrich Pfeil, *Entre guerre froide et intégration européenne: reconstruction et rapprochement 1945-1963* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2012).
- ⁹ Luc Robène, ed., *Le Sport et la guerre: XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 15. Robène highlights the important role of these institutions during these times of 'restoration of inter-cultural links between nations'. Patrick Clastres, 'Paix par le sport et guerre froide: le neutralisme pro-occidental du comité international olympique', in *Culture et Guerre froide*, ed., Sirinelli and Soutou, 121-37; Cyril Polycarpe, 'Le Comité international olympique entre contraintes et enthousiasme (1939-1952)', in *Le Sport et la guerre*, ed. Robène: 455-63. Heather Dichter, 'Sporting Relations: Diplomacy, Small States, and Germany's Post-war Return to International Sport', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 2 (2016): 340-59. Nicola Sbeti, 'Giochi diplomatici. Sport e politica estera nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1943-53)', (PhD diss., University of Bologna, 2015).
- ¹⁰ Sandrine Kott, 'Les organisations internationales, terrains d'étude de la globalisation. Jalons pour une approche socio-historique', *Critique internationale* 52 (2001): 9-16. 'International organisations actors are recruited on the national stages, and lot of them comes from public service or are close to it': 14.
- ¹¹ Helen Laville, *Cold War women: the international activities of American women's organisations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 25-6.
- ¹² Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 2.
- ¹³ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives. Correspondence between Ainsworth and Eyquem.
- ¹⁴ Schwartz Paula, 'Women's studies, gender studies. Le contexte 'américain'', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 75, no. 3, (2002): 15-20.
- ¹⁵ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.
- ¹⁶ Marie-Thérèse Eyquem, *La Femme et le sport* (Paris: J. Susse, 1944).
- ¹⁷ Declaration of faith, legislative elections (1968), Teste-de-Buch Archives, file Marie-Thérèse Eyquem.
- ¹⁸ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 59, 62.
- ¹⁹ Dorothy Ainsworth, 'The Function and Purpose of the Congress', Report of the International Congress on the Physical Education of Girl and Women, 1950, Washington, DC, AAHPER, p. 25. Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 1.
- ²⁰ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 3.
- ²¹ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives. Correspondence between Ainsworth and the Office of Military Government for Germany (US), Education and religious affairs branch, February and November 1948. Quotes by Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 39. Both agreed that the presence of a German woman would be desirable, but neither had the funds to support it.
- ²² Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 3.
- ²³ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington. In this archive, they discussed previous congresses.
- ²⁴ Heather L. Dichter, 'Rebuilding physical education in the Western occupation zones of Germany, 1945-1949', *History of Education* 41, no. 6 (2012): 787-806. Daphne Bolz, 'Sports Policy, the Press and the Origins of the Cold War in Occupied Germany, 1945-51', *Sport in History* 35, no. 2 (2015): 195-216.
- ²⁵ Marie-Thérèse Eyquem, 'Souvenirs d'Allemagne', *Revue EPS*, 8 (1951), 20-1.
- ²⁶ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*. Actually, it was not: see Dichter, 'Rebuilding physical education'.
- ²⁷ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, Carl und Liselott Diem Archiv (CuLDA), Ainsworth to L. Diem, 12 November, 1952.
- ²⁸ Archives nationales (AN), 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des

Sports.

²⁹Murray and Pigman, 'Mapping the relationship'.

³⁰Laville, *Cold War women*. Delaunay and Denégère, ed., *Femmes et relations internationales*.

³¹At this point in my research, I found no proof that L. Diem was also directly linked to the Nazi politics.

³²Defrance and Pfeil, *Entre guerre froide et intégration européenne*.

³³L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA, 13 June, 1953.

³⁴Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives.

³⁵AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports.

³⁶L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA, 10 December, 1952.

³⁷AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports.

³⁸Johan Heilbron, 'Vers une histoire transnationale des sciences sociales', *Sociétés contemporaines* 73, no. 1 (2009) 121-45.

³⁹Hard sciences were more concerned by banned exchanges: Michel Pinault, 'Experts et/ou engagés ? Les scientifiques entre guerre et paix, de l'UNESCO à Pugwash', in *Culture et Guerre froide*, ed. Sirinelli and Soutou, 235-49.

⁴⁰Pierre Gremion, 'The Role of the Social Sciences in East-West Relations', *Technology in Society* 23, no. 3 (2001): 427-39.

⁴¹Nicole Racine, 'La COMES (1958-1969), une association d'écrivains dans la guerre froide', in *Culture et Guerre froide*, ed. Sirinelli and Soutou, 281-300.

⁴²Alexander Keynan, 'The Political Impact of Scientific Cooperation on Nations in Conflict: an overview' in *Scientific Cooperation, State Conflict. The Role of Scientists in Mitigating International Discord*, ed. Allison de Cerreno and Alexander Kennan (New York: Academy of Science, 1998).

⁴³L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. To Ainsworth, 24 March, 1953.

⁴⁴May be too soon: according to Jérôme Gyax, cultural exchanges officially began again only two years after Stalin's death. Jérôme Gyax, *Olympisme et Guerre froide culturelle. Le prix de la victoire américaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 48.

⁴⁵Kott, 'Les organisations internationales'.

⁴⁶Corine Defrance and Ulrich Pfeil, eds, *Le traité de l'Élysée et les relations franco-allemandes: 1945-1963-2003* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005), 12.

⁴⁷Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington. In 1950, she brought delegates from Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Chile. Argentina was present at the first meeting.

⁴⁸Chloe Maurel, 'UNESCO and Western Europe: From Cold War to Détente', in *Networks of Global Governance: International Organisations and European Integration in a Historical Perspective*, ed. Lorenzo Mechi, Guia Migani and Francesco Petrini, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014), 95-109.

⁴⁹D. Ainsworth was the first president in 1959. It was part of WCOTP, World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, which was a member of UNESCO.

⁵⁰More concentrated on sport and competition and less on teaching. Also close to the UNESCO.

⁵¹Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20 and 22, Smith College Archives; Pascal Charitas, 'La naissance d'une solidarité... Les conditions d'émergence de l'aide au développement sportif olympique (la commission d'aide internationale olympique, 1952-1964)', *Staps* 80, n°2 (2008): 28; AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. Eyquem to Ainsworth, 14 January, 1962.

⁵²Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.

⁵³Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives. From Ainsworth to Eyquem, 7 March, 1961. Quoted by Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 11.

⁵⁴Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 22, Smith College Archives. From Ainsworth to Eyquem, October 1957, 18 June 1958 and Box 20, Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington. Yet Eyquem did obtain a one-time grant from the UNESCO on a particular research project in 1961.

⁵⁵Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 22, Smith College Archives. From Ainsworth to Eyquem, 18 June, 1958. From Eyquem to Ainsworth, 10 July, 1958. Eyquem disagreed.

⁵⁶Nancy Struna, 'Beyond Mapping Experience: the Need for Understanding the History of American Sporting Women', *Journal of Sport History* 11, n°1 (1984):120-33.

⁵⁷Estelle Freedman, 'Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930', *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (1979): 513.

⁵⁸Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. 18 May, 1960.

⁵⁹L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. From Ainsworth, 29 September, 1953, 19 May, 1955. 18 March, 1955: Ainsworth congratulated L. Diem for her paper about basketball.

⁶⁰Note on Mademoiselle M.-Th. Eyquem, Inspectrice de la Jeunesse et des Sports, in Dossier des Renseignements généraux, Teste-de-Buch Archives, file Marie-Thérèse Eyquem.

⁶¹AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. M. Herzog to Ainsworth, 1961.

⁶²Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.

⁶³L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. From Ainsworth, 6 May, 1956, 16 November, 1955, and 11 June,

1953.

⁶⁴ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. 5 May, 1961.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 February 1960.

⁶⁶ Thierry Terret, 'From Alice Milliat to Marie-Thérèse Eyquem: Revisiting Women's Sport in France (1920s-1960s)', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 7, (2010): 1164.

⁶⁷ Annick Cizel, 'Une double minorité: les combats des femmes américaines pour les droits civiques des minorités ethniques sur la scène internationale (1945-1952)', in *Femmes et relations internationales*, ed. Delaunay and Denégère, 293, 299.

⁶⁸ Maurel, 'UNESCO and Western Europe'.

⁶⁹ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. 13 June, 14 May 1953 and 31 May, 1955.

⁷⁰ Giles Scott-Smith, 'The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in France During the Early Cold War', *Revue française d'études américaines* 1, no. 107, (2006): 47-60. Budget of \$1 million to run the programme in France.

⁷¹ Whitney Walton, 'National interests and cultural exchange in French and American educational travel, 1914-1970', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 13, no. 4 (2015): 344-57. Justine Faure, 'De la guerre psychologique à la diplomatie culturelle: les États-Unis et l'Europe centrale (années 1950)', in *Histoire culturelle des relations internationales*.

Carrefour méthodologique, ed., Denis Rolland, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004) 187-204. Whitney Walton, 'Sexe, genre et sociabilité', *CLIO. Histoire, femmes et sociétés*, 28 (2008): 145-58.

⁷² Scott-Smith, 'The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program'.

⁷³ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.

⁷⁴ Walton, 'Sexe, genre et sociabilité', 146.

⁷⁵ Dichter, 'Rebuilding physical education in the Western occupation zones of Germany'.

⁷⁶ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. 28 August, 27 September 1954, 13 February, 1956.

⁷⁷ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. 3 dollars for individual membership and 5 dollars for each nation (or representatives).

⁷⁸ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives.

⁷⁹ AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. Ainsworth to Eyquem, 25 March, 1962. She said she was looking for 'the top person' in Singapore, and needed a 'stronger person' in Egypt and the Netherlands.

⁸⁰ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives.

⁸¹ Celia Donert, 'Femmes, communisme et internationalisme. La Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes en Europe centrale (1945-1979)', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 126, no. 2 (2005): 122.

⁸² Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 22, Smith College Archives. From Eyquem to Ainsworth, 6 June 1958.

⁸³ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 22, Smith College Archives. From Ainsworth to all members, 13 November, 1953.

⁸⁴ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA, 20 March 1956.

⁸⁵ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.

⁸⁶ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. 14 May, 1 September and 24 May, 1956.

⁸⁷ Defrance and Pfeil, eds., *Le Traité de l'Élysée*.

⁸⁸ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*. AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports.

⁸⁹ Maurel, 'UNESCO and Western Europe', 104.

⁹⁰ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives. Correspondence between D. Ainsworth and A. Gorbatcheva, 28 December 1959 and 6 January 1960. A. Gorbatcheva would have discovered the association by its review. Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy* 11.

⁹¹ AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. 7 December, 1961.

⁹² Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. Report of the 4th congress, 1961, Washington.

⁹³ Dorothy Ainsworth Papers, Box 23, Smith College Archives. D. Ainsworth. 'Contribution of Women to New Programs of Physical Excellence in the International Field', 5 May 1961.

⁹⁴ One could highlight the support of Gaston Roux during the organisation of the Paris congress. Then, under Eyquem's presidency, the support of Maurice Herzog. AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports.

⁹⁵ Paul Dietsch and Patrick Clastres, *Sport, société et culture en France du XIX^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris, Hachette, 2006), 163.

⁹⁶ Fonds Geoffroy de Navacelle et Pierre de Coubertin, Archives d'histoire contemporaine du Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po.

⁹⁷ AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. 15 September, 1961.

⁹⁸ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. 27 September, 1961.

⁹⁹ H.E. Chehabi, 'Sport diplomacy between the United States and Iran', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12, no. 1 (2001), 89-106.

- ¹⁰⁰ AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports.
- ¹⁰¹ Sylvie Chaperon, *Les Années Beauvoir, 1945-1975* (Paris, Fayard, 2000); Sophie Pépin, 'Le Mouvement démocratique féminin: un mouvement de femmes avant le mouvement des femmes (1962-1971)' (master's thesis, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2008).
- ¹⁰² Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*.
- ¹⁰³ Dorothy Sears Ainsworth Papers, Box 20, Smith College Archives. 4 December, 1962.
- ¹⁰⁴ AN, 19780586, Versement du Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, Direction des Sports. Ainsworth to Eyquem, 30 January, 1962.
- ¹⁰⁵ Kim Christiaens, Goddeeris Idesbald and Goedertier Wouter, 'Inspirées par le Sud ? Les mobilisations transnationales Est-Ouest pendant la guerre froide', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 109 (2011), 155-68. Sandrine Kott and Justine Faure, 'Présentation', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 109 (2011), 2-10.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 24.
- ¹⁰⁷ Gygax, *Olympisme et Guerre froide culturelle*, 162.
- ¹⁰⁸ Riikka Nisonen-Trnka, 'Soft contacts through the Iron Curtain', in *Reassessing Cold War Europe*, ed. Autio-Sarasmo and Miklóssy, 100-18.
- ¹⁰⁹ L. Diem correspondence, Box 1, File 2, CuLDA. From Ainsworth, 8 May, 1972.
- ¹¹⁰ Evelyn Mertin, 'Participation is not enough'. The soviet union in the Olympic movement', *Stadion. Special Issue: Olympism and International Sport Relations*, 38/39 (2013): 149-58.
- ¹¹¹ [S. n.], *Sport for all. Seventh International Congress of the International Association of Physical Education & Sports for Girls & Women*, Tehran, 1973.
- ¹¹² Jenifer Parks, 'Welcoming the 'Third World': Soviet Sport Diplomacy, Developing Nations, and the Olympic Games', in *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945*, ed. Heather Dichter and Andrew John (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 85-114.
- ¹¹³ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 20, about L. Diem.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 20, quoting I. Nel, South African delegate.
- ¹¹⁶ Anita Wyznikiewicz-Nawracala and Zdzisława Wyznikiewicz-Kopp: 'Poland', in Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 96.
- ¹¹⁷ Cizel, 'Une double minorité', 291-301. Jenifer Parks, 'Welcoming the 'Third World''.
- ¹¹⁸ Hall and Pfister, *Honoring the legacy*, 21. Representatives from Egypt, India, New Zealand, and South Korea.
- ¹¹⁹ Katherine Verdery and Justine Faure, 'Les échanges universitaires, la logique de bloc et l'esprit de guerre froide', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 109, no. 1 (2011): 201.
- ¹²⁰ Maurel, 'UNESCO and Western Europe'.