

# The Bobsled Controversy and Squaw Valley's Olympic Winter Games

Wanda Wakefield — USA

On February 15, 1959, Art Tyler piloted a four-man bobsled team from the United States to a World Championship at St. Moritz.<sup>1</sup> Yet even as Tyler, the 1956 Olympic bronze medalist,<sup>2</sup> celebrated his great victory with his teammates, he and they must surely have lamented the serious blow that the American bobsled program—and indeed the whole of sliding sports—had already suffered due to the decision by the Organizing Committee for the 1960 Olympic Winter Games at Squaw Valley not to build a bobsled run. Despite the promises proponents of the Squaw Valley Games made in 1955 to provide competition in each of the four major winter sports,<sup>3</sup> in September, 1957, organizers asked for, and received, permission from the International Olympic Committee to abandon their plans to build a run. In doing so they set back the development of the sliding sports in the United States by two decades, and failed to take advantage of a growing desire by budding athletes to explore new sports. As John Morgan, Executive Producer for FIBT-TV, recently explained, “[having a bobsled track in California would have] launched the sport to those crazy Californians who were then surfing along with inventing skateboarding and in general, the first of extreme sports themes.”<sup>4</sup>

That the sport of bobsled in the United States was specifically damaged by the failure to construct a new track in California for 1960, can be demonstrated by examining the American sliders' results in the years before the Squaw Valley Games and after. For example, bobsledders from the United States had medaled numerous times in previous Olympics, including the 1956 Games at Cortina d'Ampezzo. No American bobsledders would win Olympic medals again until the 2002 Olympic Winter Games at Salt Lake City. Moreover, after the 1961 World Bobsled Championships, held at Lake Placid, only three other American bobsled teams would win medals in international competition again until 1996. That lack of international success cannot, of course, be attributed solely to the fact that no bobsled run was built on the West Coast. Bobsled and other sports, such as the sliding sport of luge, were also disadvantaged in international competition by the lack of financial and practical support from their American governing body, the AAU. Indeed, the lack of success of American athletes due to ongoing feuds between the NCAA and AAU over control of sports in the United States ultimately led to the enactment of the Amateur Sports Act of 1978, which required each individual sport to have its own, governing body.<sup>5</sup>

In any event, the international bobsledding community protested the Squaw Valley decision in the strongest possible terms, and in a variety of venues, and fought for a year to have bobsled competitions restored to the 1960 Olympic program. Then, when that failed, they supported the effort by the village

of Lake Placid, which had a working bobsled run dating from the 1932 Olympics, to move the bobsled races to New York state. The IOC also rejected that idea and bobsledders remain bitter about the 1960 situation to this day.<sup>6</sup>

In 1957, the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee (SVOC) asked to eliminate bobsled due to what it said was the expense of construction and the likelihood that too few nations would enter sleds in the competition to justify the cost. The International Olympic Committee, headed by its President, Avery Brundage, and Chancellor, Otto Mayer, clearly accepted these arguments. They also, in the years between 1957 and 1960, refused to entertain ideas for alternative venues in which the competitions might have been held. Why did they do so? Was there something specific about bobsled that earned their scorn? Was there something about the winter sports in general to which Brundage and Mayer objected? And would the decision to eliminate bobsled races at the 1960 Olympic Winter Games have been different if the bob run had been another field on which to fight the Cold War? The purpose of this paper is to suggest answers to these questions.

In the spring of 1955, Squaw Valley was awarded the 1960 Olympic Winter Games by a 32-30 vote over a strong bid from Innsbruck, Austria.<sup>7</sup> At that time, the SVOC pledged that they would be able to build up their proposed venue from a "picnic ground" to a world-class sports destination, which would provide facilities for the four major winter sports on time and within their proposed budget.<sup>8</sup> In later years, bobsled supporters involved with the IOC would argue that they would never have supported the California bid without the assurance that sliding would be included on the program. And, indeed, at first no one had any reason to doubt that that would be so. On October 4, 1955, Alexander Cushing, who shortly would be forced out of his position as head of the Squaw Valley organizing committee, advised IOC President Brundage that preliminary plans for the bobsled track had already been approved by the Fédération Internationale de Bobsleigh et Tobogganing (FIBT).<sup>9</sup> And at the end of the year, in an article in the *Nevada State-Journal* describing the state of Olympic Planning, IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer explained that the French designer, Louis Saint-Cailbre had been contacted to draw up plans for the bobsled track.<sup>10</sup>

The following year most of those interested in the sliding sports would have continued to believe that they were going to have an opportunity for world-class competition at Squaw Valley. On February 3, 1956, Avery Brundage wrote to Count Rene de Fregeoliere, President of the International Bobsled Federation, about various technical specifications for the bob run.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, the new head of the Squaw Valley committee, Prentis Hale, advised Otto Mayer that Saint-Cailbre was proceeding with his designs.<sup>12</sup> Finally, in October, 1956, both Count de Fregeoliere and Albert Mayer, Vice President of the FIBT, were invited to join the leaders of other international sports organizations to tour the Squaw Valley site.<sup>13</sup>

The following year Squaw Valley planners continued to prepare for bobsled competitions. With regard to the dates for the 1960 Olympic Winter Games, Alan Bartholemy, Secretary of the SVOC, wrote to Marc Hodler of the FIS, that starting later in February, 1960 would be better for the proposed refrigerated bob track.<sup>14</sup> And, on March 19, 1957, apparently anticipating no change in plans, Otto Mayer assured Bartholemy that representatives from Squaw Valley did not need to attend the upcoming IOC meetings in Sofia, Bulgaria.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, there are indications that bobsled was already being considered for elimination from the program by the IOC. In 1954, the IOC voted to replace skeleton (which had been contested only at St. Moritz) with luge as an Olympic sport. Luge then split from FIBT with the establishment of a new

governing body, the Fédération Internationale de Luge de Course (FIL).<sup>16</sup> Apparently, Otto Mayer and Avery Brundage began to wonder about the inclusion of luge in the 1960 program almost immediately thereafter. In a series of letters from Mayer to Brundage in April, 1957, Mayer described the large number of Europeans participating in luge, emphasized the amateur status of those athletes and suggested the addition of luge.<sup>17</sup> Although, in those letters, Mayer never suggested that bobsled be replaced by luge, his emphasis on the large number of competitive luge athletes must surely have been intended to catch Brundage's attention, as during the subsequent fight with bobsled over its exclusion from the Olympic program, Brundage consistently argued that there were simply too few bobsledders in the world to justify the sport's continuation as an Olympic sport.

On June 17, 1957, Otto Mayer contacted Alan Bartholmey, and, despite his earlier advice, now urged that Bartholmey or another Squaw Valley representative make the trip to Sofia.<sup>18</sup> Bartholmey responded that there was no money in the budget for such a trip. Two weeks later, on July 1, 1957 Bartholmey provided the proposed 1960 competition schedule to Count de Fregeolière.<sup>19</sup> As of August 13, 1957, a tentative program for Squaw Valley also included the dates for bobsled racing.

Then, with no apparent advance notice,<sup>20</sup> during the IOC meetings at Sofia from September 23 to September 28, the Squaw Valley committee received the IOC's permission to abandon their plans to build a bobsled run. The minutes of that Sofia meeting show that the IOC considered a number of matters relevant to the upcoming Olympic Winter Games. They gave provisional permission to participation by athletes from North Korea, so long as they competed as part of a joint Korean team—a plan similar to that followed with regard to German Olympic athletes who competed as part of a unified team until 1968.<sup>21</sup> The IOC also accepted the promise by the United States government that athletes and officials from every nation would be admitted to the country in February, 1960, even if they represented a country with which the United States had no diplomatic relations. Furthermore, those athletes and officials would be exempted from any fingerprinting requirements.<sup>22</sup>

The IOC members then proceeded to consider the elimination or addition of sports in future Olympic games. They accepted the request by the Italian Olympic Committee to eliminate running deer from shooting competitions for the Summer Games scheduled for Rome in 1960. And "on the recommendation of the Organizing Committee and in agreement with Mr. Albert Mayer, Vice-President of the Bobsleigh International Federation" they decided to exclude bobsled while reserving the right to reconsider the matter should 12 national federations advise the Olympic organizers that they would like to race at Squaw Valley.<sup>23</sup>

During the discussion about eliminating certain sports, Avery Brundage explained his own feelings about the matter. According to Brundage, since sports such as football, cycling, basketball and water polo did not follow the rules of amateurism they should be removed from the summer games. Similarly, in his view, figure skating was irreparably tarnished with professionalism and should be eliminated. Brundage also said that a sport that has been consistently mismanaged should be considered for elimination. Significantly, at Sofia, in explaining why he believed certain sports should be removed from the Olympic program, and immediately following the decision to exclude bobsled, Brundage did not cite the reasons for not providing a bobsled competition—that building the track would be too expensive, and that few countries proposed to send sleds—in explaining why he believed certain sports should be taken off the Olympic program.<sup>24</sup>

In subsequent months, representatives of the FIBT, trying to restore the bobsled competition, struggled to counter the constantly shifting justifications for the Sofia decision, while responding to Brundage's concerns about professionalism and mismanagement in Olympic sports.

When the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee approached the IOC in September, 1957, asking that their obligation to build a bobsled track be waived, they cited the results of a survey allegedly sent to the National Olympic committees of those countries in the past, which had participated in bobsled competitions. They reported to the IOC that of those countries surveyed, only two, the United States and Romania, had said that they would definitely participate in 1960.<sup>25</sup> Almost immediately representatives of bobsledding interests in various European nations began to counter the idea that they were not planning to send sleds to the Olympics. As Otto Mayer reported to Prentis Hale in October, the Italian, Swiss and German Olympic committees were all quite angry at the decision.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, on October 9, 1957, Giordano B. Fabjan, of the Italian Olympic Committee wrote to Prentis Hale that Italy had totally misunderstood the significance of the survey—which he admitted they had received. Fabjan asserted that in responding to the Squaw Valley questionnaire, they had assumed that Squaw Valley merely wanted to know the number of sleds that would be entered in the competition, not whether Italy would participate at all. Since the Italians did not know for sure in 1957 whether they would be entering only one or two sleds in both the two and four man bob races, they had answered only that they would “probably” be racing in 1960.<sup>27</sup>

Certainly, the Squaw Valley organizers had an interest in knowing how many sleds any individual country might send as they were in the process of deciding how large to make the sled storage shed. However, it was not at all clear at the time what the Olympic rules required in terms of country/team participation for an event to go forward—nor was it clear that the rules applying to the summer sports should apply to the Winter Games. The IOC had established a Rule 30, which required a minimum number of 12 participants, but that rule had not been followed in Melbourne—or, for that matter, at Cortina where neither hockey nor figure skating met the minimum number of participating countries required of bobsled.<sup>28</sup> Because the Rule was apparently not working to define an appropriate level of entrants to any competition, the IOC Executive Board at its June, 1957 meeting in Evian, France, discussed revising the rule while maintaining its purpose.<sup>29</sup> As revised, that rule limited inclusion in the Olympics to only those sports “widely practiced” in 25 or more countries.<sup>30</sup> Even assuming “wide practice” or a “minimum of 12 countries” was necessary for competition in an individual sport to be held at the Olympics, as Godfrey Dewey, President of the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, noted, team sports had never been required to meet that number. And bobsled was certainly a team sport. Moreover, as Dewey reminded Brundage, “The arbitrary requirement of virtual commitments from 12 nations two years in advance of the Games as a condition for requiring the Organizing Committee to keep faith seems to me to be totally unrealistic as well as unreasonable.”<sup>31</sup>

As various European bobsledders fought the Sofia decision, the AAU, governing body for bobsled in the United States, also began to look for ways to ensure the presence of the sliding sports on the 1960 program. The AAU's secretary, Dan Ferris, first asked Otto Mayer to consider moving the races to Lake Placid. He also asked whether the 12 nation standard applied to bobsledding because it was a team sport. Mayer replied that there would be no bobsledding in New York in 1960, and that the IOC's Sofia decision required the participation of 12 countries, not teams.<sup>32</sup> However, Ferris was apparently convinced that if the FIBT could provide Squaw Valley with the names of twelve nations sworn to compete,

the organizers would still be able to build a bobsled run before the Games began. Douglas F. Roby, Vice President of the U.S. Olympic committee, also spoke out, advising Alan Bartholemy in December of 1957 not to consider the matter closed just yet.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the arguments of both Ferris and Roby were rejected by Brundage who wrote Roby at the end of the year that there simply were not enough bobsledders in the world to make bobsledding an Olympic sport. Brundage also rejected the complaints by Count de Fregeolière that there was something “underhanded” in the relationship between the IOC and Squaw Valley concerning the bobsled situation.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile the FIBT prepared for its annual meeting in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, scheduled for January, 1958. At that point the Federation knew that construction on the bobsled run had not begun. They also knew that the IOC had imposed a requirement that they get assurances from 12 countries that they would definitely come to Squaw Valley. During the meeting, the FIBT and John E. Morgan, from the AAU bobsled committee, determined that at least 10 countries wished to participate, including the traditional powers Italy, Switzerland, Austria and Germany. The FIBT also decided at that meeting to help the Squaw Valley committee reduce the cost of construction by agreeing that the Olympic races could be conducted at night, eliminating the need to refrigerate the track.<sup>35</sup> Apparently, Alan Bartholemy was pleased with the FIBT's offer to hold night races because he wrote to Louis Saint-Cailbre in March that he would need to make modifications in his plans to allow for an unrefrigerated track.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, the FIBT also asked national Olympic organizing committees to let Squaw Valley know that they intended to come to the Games. The Italians did so in October, 1957, and were joined by the Swiss and the Germans by the middle of April the following year.<sup>37</sup> The British, too, sent a letter to the organizers explaining that they could not say for certain that they would send sleds, but only because the committee governing the 1960 British Olympic teams would not be established until 1959.<sup>38</sup> However, Belgium formally said they would not participate, and Brundage reported to Prentis Hale in April that he had heard the Canadians would not be sliding.<sup>39</sup>

At their Tokyo meeting, in May of 1958, the IOC honored their 1957 Sofia agreement to revisit their decision to exclude bobsled. A Squaw Valley representative reported, once more, that too few nations had replied positively to their query to justify the construction of the bob run. But at that meeting the French delegate announced that he had been authorized by his national committee to say that France, as well, wanted to compete in bobsled.<sup>40</sup> That would have meant that at least six nations were positively on board for the Games, with Britain most likely to compete. But clearly the FIBT had not been able to find 12 nations willing to formally commit to bobsledding in 1960, and referring back to the old Rule 30, the IOC confirmed its Sofia decision.

After that vote there was virtually no chance that Squaw Valley could host an Olympic bobsled competition in 1960, but the argument about who was responsible for that result continued. Count de Fregeolière wrote Brundage on June 3, 1958, reminding him of how the FIBT had agreed at Garmisch to forgo a pre-Olympic test event and to have the races at night on an unrefrigerated track. Given that unprecedented willingness to cooperate with the organizing committee's need to limit costs, the Count wondered why bobsled alone had to meet standards that other Olympic sports did not.<sup>41</sup> Later in 1958 he wrote Brundage that he and the FIBT would certainly never have supported Squaw Valley's bid had they not had assurance that there would be bobsledding in 1960. And the Count challenged Brundage to explain why he had acquiesced in the matter at Sofia—was he merely a “servile factotum” for the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee?<sup>42</sup> Certainly Brundage rejected the notion that he was a servile

factotum. He also suggested to the Count that all of his complaints were without merit given the fact that the FIBT's own Vice President, Albert Mayer, had been at Sofia and had supported the decision.<sup>43</sup> After that particular exchange of letters the Count de Fregeolière apparently left further negotiations about Olympic bobsled in the hands of others.

One group still trying to provide for bobsledding in 1960 was located in Lake Placid. Under the leadership of Godfrey Dewey they reminded Brundage that they had a perfectly good bob run in use since World War II—at least once for a World Championships. The former bobsledding World Champion Stanley Benham queried the bobsledding nations if they would come to Lake Placid in 1960 to race if they were assured those races would count as “Olympic.” Benham announced in March, 1959, that he had obtained promises from nine nations that they would come to Lake Placid under those circumstances, and five other countries were likely to send sleds.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Brundage remained firm in his opinion that there was simply too little support for bobsled in the United States and around the world for its inclusion on the 1960 program. Furthermore, Otto Mayer argued that despite the fact that in 1956 the equestrian events had been held in Stockholm, Sweden, rather than Melbourne, Australia, no precedent was created for dividing responsibility for conducting Olympic competitions among two or more cities. Nor had the recent decision to move the 1960 yachting events from Rome to Naples changed his mind. Rather both Brundage and Mayer believed that these exceptions did not alter the basic rule that all events in any Olympiad must be conducted within the bid winning community.<sup>45</sup>

So, there was to be no bobsled in 1960. But why? Clearly the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee remained committed to its theory that the cost would be prohibitive and that too few nations would be likely to compete were a bob run to be constructed. Yet asking the IOC at Sofia to cancel the competition based on that explanation seems inadequate.<sup>46</sup> Were there other factors that played into the IOC's decision? Apparently so.

As Avery Brundage was quick to point out on many occasions, the Olympic Winter Games themselves had been almost an afterthought, which had never had the support of the Count Pierre de Coubertin.<sup>47</sup> As Brundage noted, de Coubertin's Olympic vision presupposed competitions in sports that were—or had the potential to be—widely practiced. Moreover, de Coubertin consistently supported the idea that Olympians should be strictly amateurs—a principle to which Brundage adhered until the end of his life. Therefore, as Brundage argued as early as 1936, including “professional” figure skaters on an Olympic program violated the basic ideals of the Movement. Brundage even argued that Sonia Henie should be barred from competition at Garmisch because it was “well-known” that she was supporting her parents with her skating—and this before Henie went to Hollywood to begin a prosperous film career.<sup>48</sup> Brundage continued to fight the presence of professional athletes in the Olympic Winter Games until 1972, supporting the decision to ban the Austrian skier Karl Schranz from the Games at Sapporo for accepting sponsorship money from the manufacturer of his skis.<sup>49</sup> Since Brundage was convinced that the four major winter sports of the 1950s (bobsled, skating, skiing and hockey) were in violation of the amateur rules, then it seems possible that he and Chancellor Mayer seized on the chance to eliminate the least professionalized winter sport from the program as a means toward eliminating the Olympic Winter Games altogether. As Marc Hodler, President of the FIS, told the Zurich newspaper, *Sport*, he had been told by Otto Mayer that if the international winter sports federations were to ask for the abolition of the Olympic Winter Games, the IOC would be “delighted.”<sup>50</sup> Later, Brundage expressed the hope that the 1972 Games in Sapporo would be the last as with regard to the Olympic Winter Games,

"I doubt very much that they will remain."<sup>51</sup> Finally, Brundage agreed with David, Marquess of Exeter, in his 1971 assessment that bobsled at the very least should be an optional part of the Olympic program because bobsled "clearly cannot claim to rank as an Olympic event... I should have thought that the guillotine would have fallen on it in any event under our latest change of rules."<sup>52</sup>

Beyond the IOC's desire to destroy the Olympic Winter Games, international bobsled officials had a special political challenge to face in 1960. Since the return of the Soviet Union to Olympic competition in 1952, the success of their athletes had been pointed to as proof of the superiority of their system. With the Cold War growing ever more intense during the decade, the United States and its allies also began to see athletic success as one key to winning the hearts and minds of the people of countries, which had not yet chosen a side in the ongoing conflict. In other words, the Olympic Games became another zone where the conflict could be fought in relative peace. Thus, Hungarian anger and frustration at the Soviets for putting down their 1956 rebellion was expressed in the water polo pool in Melbourne after it was no longer safe to do so on the streets of Budapest. Similarly, the Soviet hockey team's success at Cortina provided another indication that the Communist state was capable of producing a strong set of players in a very short time should they choose to do so.<sup>53</sup>

In the years leading up to Squaw Valley, the organizers struggled to accommodate the demands of U.S. foreign policy with their responsibility to open Olympic competition to everyone. Alexander Cushing had promised during the 1955 bid process that all athletes, whether or not they came from a country with which the United States had diplomatic relations, would be welcomed onto American shores. His successors on the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee reiterated that pledge and used their political influence to gain the State Department's agreement to facilitate the visa process in 1960.<sup>54</sup> And when the Games ended, most Americans saw the U.S. hockey team's victory over the favored Soviets as evidence that their country was number one.

The political problem for bobsled in this Cold War climate was that the Soviet Union had yet to develop a sliding sports program. Indeed, the USSR Bobsledding Federation would not be created until 1969.<sup>55</sup> With no Soviet bobsled team in the picture, the Cold War might still have been significant had the two Germanies been competing separately. However, both the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic of Germany were committed to sending a joint team to Squaw Valley.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, when the Germans advised that they would like to compete in the bobsled in 1960, there was no chance that a German success could be construed as evidence of the excellence of the GDR's system. In other words, when the IOC decided to eliminate bobsled there was no effort by the Eastern Bloc states to change that decision because they simply had no reason to care. On the other hand, had Squaw Valley tried to eliminate the new sport of biathlon from the program there would surely have been major complaints and serious political pressure exerted by the Soviet Union and its allies to prevent that as they expected to do well on the skiing and shooting range in 1960.

Although only nine countries sent competitors to the 1960 Olympic biathlon competition, biathlon was safe from Olympic elimination because the Soviet Union would never have chosen to give up the chance for Olympic medals.<sup>57</sup> Although other Olympic sports had in the past had fewer than 12 nations competing they, too, were safe in 1960 from being removed from the program. In the end only bobsled was charged with being too costly and having too few athletes to justify its inclusion on the Olympic program. Constructing a bobsled run in Squaw Valley might have seemed to be too expensive in 1960, but the long-term costs to the sliding sports are incalculable. Had the FIBT been able to change the Sofia de-

cision to eliminate the sport surely more athletes and more money would have been invested in bobsled. But the FIBT was unable to do so because of the long-running desire by Avery Brundage to eliminate the Olympic Winter Games altogether and because, when the IOC made its decision, the FIBT was unable to rely on the Cold War support of the Soviet bloc.

## Endnotes

- 1 Robert Daley, "Tyler Pilots U.S. Four-Man Bobsled to Victory in World Title Competition," *New York Times*, (1857-Current file), February 16, 1959, 36, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, The New York Times (1851-2003). Tyler became the first American driver to win a World Championship in bobsled since Stanley Benham in 1950.
- 2 <http://www.olympic.org/uk/athletes/results/search-r-uk.asp>, July 13, 2006
- 3 For purposes of the 1960 Olympic Winter Games the four major sports were bobsledding, skating (figure and speed), skiing (Nordic and Alpine), and hockey. In 1960, biathlon would make its first appearance on the Olympic program, which would grow over the years with the addition of sports such as snowboarding and curling.
- 4 E-mail from John F. Morgan to Wanda Ellen Wakefield, June 5, 2006.
- 5 For an extended discussion of the role athletes from the sliding sports played in generating support for the Amateur Sports Act, see Wanda Ellen Wakefield, "All Downhill From Here: Sliding Sports and the Amateur Sports Act of 1978," presented at The North American Society for Sport History Conference, Green Bay, WI, 2005.
- 6 As John F. Morgan put it, "it was the biggest detriment to the sport of the 20th century."
- 7 Minutes, Meetings, IOC, 50th Session, Paris, 4/13-18,55, Record Series 26/20/37, Box 77, Avery Brundage Collection (hereafter ABC), University of Illinois Archives, 40.
- 8 The phrase "picnic ground" was used by Avery Brundage in a letter to Alexander Cushing, October 20, 1955, where he expressed the concern that the Squaw Valley situation would be similar to that of Melbourne, where a year out from the Games, all was in chaos according to Brundage. Avery Brundage to Alexander C. Cushing, October 20, 1955, Folder "VIII Winter Games—Squaw Valley, 1960, General 1956-1957" Record Series 26/20/27, Box 106, ABC.
- 9 FIBT = Fédération Internationale de Bobsleigh et Toboggan.
- 10 "Austria Hopes Dashed During IOC Interview," *Nevada State Journal*, December 24, 1955, "Newspaper Clippings Envelopes #1," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 11 Avery Brundage to Count Rene de Fregeolière, February 3, 1956, Folder "Fédération Internationale de luge (tobogganing) 1957-1960, 1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 12 Prentis Hale to Otto Mayer, July 12, 1956, Folder "VIII Winter Olympics Squaw Valley, 1960, Organizing Committee, 1955-1956," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 13 Prentis Hale to Count Rene de Fregeoliere, August 15, 1956, Folder, "VIII Winter Olympics Squaw Valley, 1960, Organizing Committee, 1955-1956," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 14 Alan Bartholmey to Marc Hodler, February 14, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 Organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.

- 15 Otto Mayer to Alan Barthlemy, March 19, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 16 Otto Mayer to Avery Brundage, April 5, 1957, Folder "Fédération Internationale de luge (tobagging) 1957-1960, 1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 17 Otto Mayer to Avery Brundage, April 3, 1957, Folder "Fédération Internationale de luge (tobagging) 1957-1960, 1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 18 Otto Mayer to Alan Bartholemy, June 17, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 19 Alan Bartholemy to Otto Mayer, June 26, 1957, Folder, "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC. See also Alan Bartholemy to Count Rene de Fregeolière, July 1, 1957.
- 20 There is a gap in the record in Avery Brundage's papers from August 13 to September 23, leaving the question of what role Brundage played in the matter obscure. However, Godfrey Dewey apparently believed that the IOC had been unfair to the FIBT by not giving them advance notice of the plan to ask for the elimination of bobsled at Sofia. See Godfrey Dewey to Avery Brundage, January 10, 1958, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1958," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 21 Minutes of the 53rd Session International Olympic Committee, Sofia-Hotel Balkan, September 23 to September 28, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 78, ABC, 4.
- 22 "Minutes," 5.
- 23 "Minutes," 6.
- 24 "Minutes," 7.
- 25 See undated document, "Bobsled Participation, VI, VII, VIII Olympic Winter games," "Folder VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 26 Otto Mayer to Prentis Hale, October 7, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 27 Giordano B. Fabjan to Prentis Hale, October 9, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 - Organizing Committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 28 Count Rene de Frageolière to Brundage, July 29, 1958, Folder "Federation Internationale de Luge & Tobagging 1957-1960 – 1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 29 "Minutes Conference of the Executive Board of the IOC, June 3rd & 4th, 1957, Evian," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 91, ABC, 1.
- 30 Brundage himself backed away from the 25 nation rule with regard to the Winter sports, writing to Godfrey Dewey on February 8, 1958, that "even so, the bobsled sport is in a very weak position." Avery Brundage to Godfrey Dewey, February 8, 1958, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1958," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 31 Godfrey Dewey to Avery Brundage, September 8, 1958, Folder "Fédération Internationale de luge (tobagging) 1957-1960-1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC,
- 32 Otto Mayer to Daniel Ferris, October 25, 1957, Folder " VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 - Organizing Committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 33 Douglas F. Roby to Avery Brundage, December 20, 1957, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 - Organizing committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.

- 34 Avery Brundage to Douglas F. Roby, December 31, 1957, "Folder, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1957," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 35 Prentis Hale to Robert L. King, General Secretary of the Squaw Valley Organizing Committee, February 6, 1958, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1958," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 36 Alan Bartholemy to Louis Saint-Cailbre, March 1, 1958, Folder "VIII Winter Games, Squaw Valley, 1960 - Organizing Committee, 1958," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 37 See letter from British Olympic Committee, April 2, 1958 saying they would probably compete, from Swiss Olympic Committee, April 3, 1958, confirming their plans to compete in the 2 and 4 man bobsled events, undated letter from German Olympic Committee saying they would compete and letter from Belgian Olympic Committee, April 3, 1958, saying they would not be sending sleds to Squaw Valley. Folder "VIII Winter Games Squaw Valley, 1960 – Organizing Committee, 1958," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC.
- 38 Letter, Great Britain Olympic Committee, April 2, 1958, Folder "Fédération Internationale de luge (tobag-ganing) 1957-1960, 1965-69," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 39 There was no copy of the communication to Brundage from the Canadians that would confirm this.
- 40 Minutes of the 54th Session of the International Olympic Committee and of the Meeting of the Executive Board of the IOC with the Delegates of the National Olympic Committees, Tokyo, May 14-16, 1958, Record Series 26/20/37, Box 91, ABC.
- 41 Count Rene de Fregeolière to Avery Brundage, June 3, 1958, Folder "Fédération Internationale de Bob-sleigh et de Tobannanning [sic], 1946, 1953-1955," Record Series, 26/20/37/ Box 211, ABC.
- 42 Count Rene de Fregeolière to Avery Brundage, September 5, 1958, Folder "Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobannanning [sic], 1946, 1953-1955," Record Series, 26/20/37/ Box 211, ABC.
- 43 Avery Brundage to Count Rene de Fregeoliere, December 31, 1957, Folder "Fédération Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobannanning [sic], 1946, 1953-1955," Record Series, 26/20/37/ Box 211, ABC.
- 44 "14 Nations to Enter 1960 Bobsledding if Lake Placid Gets Olympic Approval," *New York Times* (1857-Current file), March 5, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers *The New York Times* (1851 - ), 42.
- 45 See letters from Otto Mayer to Count Rene de Fregeolière, February 24, 1959 and June 9, 1959, Folder "Fédération Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobannanning [sic], 1946, 1953-1955," Record Series, 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 46 Squaw Valley budget figures show, for example, that projected salaries for a track crew at bobsled would, at \$18,000, be exactly the same as the salaries for a track crew at the slalom and giant slalom venues. "Operational Expense Account – Estimated Operational Budget Detail [Expenses]" Squaw Valley Organizing Committee, March 7, 1957, Record Series 26/20/37, Box 166, ABC. Moreover the project construction cost of the bob run (\$489,000) was not out of line with the projections for construction at the ice arena.
- 47 For a lengthy discussion of de Coubertin's decision ultimately to support the Olympic Winter Games, see Larry R. Gerlach, "Introduction," in *The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City*, Larry R. Gerlach (ed.), (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004), pp. 2-3.
- 48 Avery Brundage to Ulrich Salchow, President ISU, March 19, 1936, Folder "IV Winter Games, 1936 Gar-misch-Partenkirchen – General," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 152, ABC.
- 49 For a further discussion, see Roland Rensen, "The Cool Games," in *The Winter Olympics*, pp. 58-62.
- 50 Marc Hodler, *Sport*, no month or day, 1959, Folder, "Winter Games," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 114, ABC.

*The Bobsled Controversy and Squaw Valley's Olympic Winter Games*

- 51 Interview with Avery Brundage, marked "Received April 17, 1972," Folder " Winter Games," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 114, ABC.
- 52 David, Marquess of Exeter, to Avery Brundage, October 11, 1971, Folder "Bobsleigh & Tobogganing, 1970-1972," Record Series 26/20/37, Box 211, ABC.
- 53 Rensen, "The Cool Games," p. 55.
- 54 See, for example, Marguerite Higgins, "Red Ban Menaces Winter Olympics at California Site, Brundage Says," *Chicago SunTimes*, July 3, 1957, "U.S. Waives Restrictions on Olympians," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1957, in "Newspaper Clippings Envelope #1," Record Series 26/20/37. Box 166, ABC.
- 55 Victor Khotinsky, "USSR Fields a Bobsledding Team," *Soviet Life* (December 1970), pp. 64-65.
- 56 See "Germans Get Along," *New York Times (1857- Current files)* Feb. 28, 1960, ProQuest Historical Newspapers *The New York Times* (1857-2003), p. 52.
- 57 *VIII Olympic Winter Games, Squaw Valley California, 1960, Final Report*, Robert Rubin, editor (No City: California Olympic Commission, 1961), p. 118.