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Introduction

No task facing the International Olympic Committee when it meets next at its headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland, is more controversial than the choice of host cities. Contestant cities campaign for years to attract the Summer or Winter Olympics. Some push the boundaries of propriety and legality, using bribery and other incentives to sway IOC members. Some of the best funded and most aggressive contests also are extremely controversial. Selecting hosts for 2030 and 2036 will be controversial. The choices could help restore international unity or they could worsen global divisions.



On Lake Geneva; Lausanne, Switzerland

When the process works well, it can unify. The 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics demonstrated the unifying nature of international sporting events alongside intense controversies

endemic to the negotiations involving the hosting, production, and execution of keystone international events. But the process also can divide the international community, as shown by the choice of China for 2022. Rather than face the expense and difficulty of hosting, many desirable cities refuse to be nominated, leaving less desirable options in front. After bidding scandals, human rights outrages, overburdened host cities, rampant cheating, a pandemic—and thrilling competitions—more and more critics wonder if the world had enough of the Olympics?¹



IOC headquarters: Lausanne, Switzerland

While those spectating from abroad enjoyed the intensity of international competition, the opening of the games in the midst of an upswing in COVID-19 cases within Japan incensed the Japanese populace against the government and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for hosting the games at all.² Though the games

¹ John Branch, '<u>Let the games ... be gone?</u>' *New York Times*, 17 July 2021; and Andrew Keh, '<u>Power game: Thomas Bach's iron grip on the Olympics</u>', *New York Times*, 20 July 2021.

² Ryall, J. (2021, July 22). COVID, Scandals and controversies taint Tokyo Olympics. Retrieved from Deutsche Welle: https://www.dw.com/en/covid-scandals-and-controversies-taint-tokyo-olympics/a-58589603





continued unabated, these controversies have become normalized as the IOC seemingly moves from issue to issue, attracting ire from some members of the international community and there is no issue capable of inducing ire quite like the selection process for the host of the next set of Olympic Games.

The selection process of the IOC for the next Olympic host has been mired in controversy ranging from bribery of IOC Officials and opaque processes to considerations of how developed the sporting community is within the cities considered for hosting duties.3 While these accusations are not isolated among the international sporting event organizations, the IOC has put forward some effort to reform the historic processes formerly used to select the host cities of the game. Particularly these reforms have increased the transparency of the selection IOC personnel assigned to access potential hosts moving through the bidding process while reforming the bidding process itself to be more flexible in nominating cities, regions of states, and opening the door for multiple states to host the games.4

While these reforms have in theory made the processes more transparent, they are incredibly new and untested, having only been implemented prior to the announcement of Brisbane for the 2032 Olympics. Many observers thought the IOC foisted the 2032 Summer Olympics upon Brisbane, Australia, even though there was not great enthusiasm

there. Can Brisbane afford the Olympics? Tokyo's original budget was \$7.4 billion. Its actual admitted cost was \$15.4 billion. But this is financial semantics. The numbers often do not include pre-Games construction or other major projects. No wonder Brisbane ran almost unopposed. With these considerations in mind, fewer cities are lining up to compete for future hosting, even the 2030 Winter and 2036 Summer Olympic Games. Given the historic controversies related to the selection process and the IOC in implementing the games there remains a need to determine which cities and states will host the

The IOC and the Selection Process

2030 and 2036 games.

The processes surrounding the selection process to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games has traditionally been somewhat opaque, with a bidding process that has continually elicited calls for reform prior to the reformations made in 2019. Though major reforms were instituted recently, historically there have been efforts to increase transparency of the old bidding system. While these reforms did lead to increased transparency, there is still much to be desired in terms of a truly open and transparent process.

process. Washington Post:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/olympics/20 21/07/21/brisbane-australia-2032-summer-olympics/ ⁶ Barry Svrluga, 'Fewer and fewer cities want to host the Olympics. That should tell the IOC something', Washington Post, 8 August 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/olympics/20 21/08/08/ioc-olympic-host-cities/

³ Stefan Szymanski, 'The Olympics have become unsustainable for cities', *Financial Times*, 29 July 2021, https://www.ft.com/content/05a3cee1-ee28-4e6b-b84e-747856a516d9

⁴ Lee, E. (2021, July 31). The Olympic Games: A Costly Opportunity. Harvard Political Review: https://harvardpolitics.com/the-olympic-games-a-costly-opportunity/

⁵ Wallace, A. (2021, July 21). IOC awards Brisbane the 2032 Summer Olympics under new selection





Summer Olympic Host Cities

Olympia	d Year	Host City	
I	1896	Athens, Greece	
II	1900	Paris, France	
III	1904	St Louis, USA	
IV	1908	London, UK	
V	1912	Stockholm, Sweden	
VI	<u>1916</u>	Berlin (not held)	
VII	1920	Antwerp, Belgium	
VIII	1924	Paris, France	
IX	1928	Amsterdam, Holland	
X	1932	Los Angeles, USA	
XI	1936	Berlin, Germany	
XII	<u>1940</u>	Tokyo (not held)	
XIII	<u>1944</u>	London (not held)	
XIV	1948	London, UK	
XV	1952	Helsinki, Finland	
XVI	1956	Melbourne, Australia	
XVII	1960	Rome, Italy	
XVIII	1964	<u>Tokyo</u> , Japan	
XIX	1968	Mexico City, Mexico	
XX	1972	Munich, Germany	
XXI	1976	Montreal, Canada	
XXII	1980	Moscow, USSR	
XXIII	1984	Los Angeles, USA	
XXIV	1988	Seoul, South Korea	
XXV	1992	Barcelona, Spain	
XXVI	1996	Atlanta, USA	
XXVII	2000	Sydney, Australia	
XXVIII	2004	Athens, Greece	
XXIX	2008	Beijing, China	
XXX	2012	London, UK	
XXXI	2016	Rio, Brazil	
XXXII	2021	<u>Tokyo</u> , Japan	
XXXIII	2024	Paris, France	
XXXIV	2028	Los Angeles, USA	

XXXV	2032	Brisbane, Australia
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Traditionally, the IOC engaged in a lengthy process to evaluate the cities offering their territory to host the Olympic Games several years in advance. The old system essentially amounted to a multi-step process of determining which cities is the best fit for hosting.

Once the IOC announced a search for new candidate cities to host the games the process to obtain a host would begin. Initially, the host city coordinates with their home country Olympic Committee to submit a bid to the IOC in order to make it known that there is an interest in pursuing hosting duties for the games for the first round of consideration. Bidding cities would then need to complete a series of questionnaires assessing the strengths and weaknesses of their cities to host, which are then evaluated by the IOC to determine if they could move on to the second round of bidding.

The second round of bidding yields intense scrutiny from the IOC through the IOC Evaluation Commission in order to examine revised and detailed hosting plans which are then evaluated through a long series of inspections of all relevant venues and themes. The thinking of the IOC Evaluation Commission is then codified into a special report on each of the cities that have moved into the second stage. These final reports are then considered in a special IOC session for the election of the next Olympic host through multiple rounds.

This traditional manner of selecting the Olympic host has been rife with controversy because of the potential for bribery at multiple points through the process in both the initial bidding state and the final evaluation. Furthermore, over time the process of nomination and actually hosting the games has become increasingly extravagant, with cities continually offering up monumentally expensive plans and constructing





brand new facilities for the Olympics. Coupled together, this has led to the Olympic Host Selection process being one mired in controversy and scandal because of the possibility of corruption influencing the process.

Introducing a New System

The high profile nature of the games has historically attracted high profile levels of corruption in the selection process, for instance Senate investigations in Brazil revealed the extent of former President Dilma Rousseff may have committed fraud in part to bribe Brazil's way forward in hosting the Olympic Games.⁷ Carlos Arthur Nuzman, Brazilian lawyer and Olympic volleyball player, and head of the Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games Rio 2016, was found guilty of bribery over the games after a trial that featured claims of rigged votes, gold bars and at least \$2 million in payoffs to top officials. 8 With the Olympic Games already usually experiencing controversy over doping and political roles of athletes, the IOC has moved forward with some reforms in order to create a more transparent process for the selection of Olympic and Paralympic hosts. Given the high stakes involved—billions of dollars in income these reforms are widely seen as too little.

While smaller reforms had taken place to increase the transparency of the host city selection process, one of the most significant pushes from the IOC has been to reform the selection process through a program called

Olympic Agenda 2020. Mainly comprising of a broad-spectrum analysis of areas to improve the selection process, the adoption of the Agenda began in the 134th IOC Session in 2019.⁹



Brazilian Olympics organizer, Carlos Arthur Nuzman, convicted of bribery in 2021

Essentially, these broad reforms change the process from a multi-step evaluation procedure into a continuous dialogue with potential host cities over time through two new Future Host Commissions for each set of games for independent evaluation. These Future Host Commissions will be made up of representatives from IOC nations and non-IOC nations in order

https://www.forbes.com/sites/leighsteinberg/2016/09/13/recent-concerns-over-the-olympic-bidding-process-are-not-justified/?sh=6c7f9a4b124c

https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/sports/olympics/rio-olympics-nuzman-diack-cabral.html

https://olympics.com/ioc/news/evolution-of-the-revolution-ioc-transforms-future-olympic-games-elections

⁷ Steinberg, L. (2016, September 13). *Recent Concerns Over the Olympic Bidding Process are not Justified*. Forbes:

⁸ Tariq Panja, 'Olympic official who delivered Rio Games sentenced to 30 years for bribery', *New York Times*, 26 November 2021,

⁹ IOC News. (2019, June 26). Evolution of the revolution: IOC transforms future Olympic Games elections. IOC:





to ensure a transparent process defined by flexibility and transparency.

Winter Olympics Host Cities 1960-2026

Year	Host city	Country	Dates
2026	Milan, Cortina	Italy	Feb 6–22
2022	Beijing	China	Feb 4-20
2018	PyeongChang	South Korea	Feb 9–25
2014	Sochi	Russia	Feb 7-23
2010	Vancouver	Canada	Feb 12-28
2006	<u>Torino</u>	Italy	Feb 10-26
2002	Salt Lake City	United States	Feb 8-24
1998	Nagano	Japan	Feb 7-22
1994	<u>Lillehammer</u>	Norway	Feb 12-27
1992	<u>Albertville</u>	France	Feb 8-23
1988	Calgary	Canada	Feb 13-28
1984	<u>Sarajevo</u>	Yugoslavia	Feb 8-19
1980	Lake Placid	United States	Feb 13-24
1976	<u>Innsbruck</u>	Austria	Feb 4-15
1972	<u>Sapporo</u>	Japan	Feb 3-13
1968	Grenoble	France	Feb 6-18
1964	Innsbruck	Austria	Jan 29- Feb 9
1960	Squaw Valley	United States	Feb 18-28

Furthermore, while keeping in mind the need to keep the discussion of hosting the games open and lessen the costs of developing a single city to host a variety of different programs, the IOC's reforms undertaken within the 134th Session consider the possibility of a host city being much broader than a single municipality and instead refer to multiple cities, a region within a country, or multiple countries presenting a unified bid to host. ¹⁰ While this system is certainly more transparent than the previous system, it still remains linked to the IOC through consultations from the Future Host Commissions to IOC members through presentations of information and briefings in order to ensure the IOC membership can play a role in the selection process.

This new system is more insulated from risks of bribery and other corrupt activity, but the chance remains for corruption to influence the Olympic host selection process despite efforts to continue the Olympic Agenda 2020 with the Olympic Agenda 2020+5 initiative.¹¹

Selecting a host for 2030 and 2036

The adoption of recommended reformation within the Olympic Agenda 2020 by the IOC earlier this year is indicative of the will to reform the system of host selection; however, since these changes have been implemented only Brisbane has been selected to host the 2032 Summer Olympics following an unopposed bidding process. ¹² This leaves the 2030 Winter and 2036 Summer Games up for decision among the IOC and the Future Host Commission.

The bidding and contestation surrounding the Winter 2030 games is still ongoing, with

wins its bid. NPR:

https://www.npr.org/sections/tokyo-olympics-live-updates/2021/07/21/1018699263/australia-to-host-the-olympics-for-the-third-time-in-2032-after-brisbane-wins-it

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ IOC. (2021). *Olympic Agenda 2020+5*. IOC: https://olympics.com/ioc/olympic-agenda-2020-plus-5

 $[\]frac{5}{12}$ Diaz, J. (2021, July 21). Australia to Host the Olympics for the Third Time in 2032 after Brisbane





multiple cities and regions pushing for the opportunity to host. Particularly, Sapporo, Japan; Salt Lake City, Utah; Vancouver, Canada; and Barcelona, Spain have each put forward bids and engaged in dialogue with the Future Host Commission. Of these four cities, three of the countries putting forth bids have recently hosted a set of games while Barcelona's bid is made up of a joint effort with the Spanish, Andorran, and French Olympic Committees presenting what amounts to a regionally propelled Games. With the announcement of a selection yet to come for another two years, there remains time to make bids for the games from other cities from around the world.

Likewise, the selection of the 2036 Summer games remains under consideration. While these games remain a long way off in the IOC scheduling considerations, over sixteen cities are currently putting forward some signs of interest in hosting with favorites including Jakarta, Indonesia; Vladivostok, Russia; London, United Kingdom; Istanbul, Turkey; Montreal and Toronto in Canada; Mexico City, Mexico; and at least twelve cities in China. 14 While there remains significant time for the consideration of the Future Hosts Commission in all of these locations, the sheer diversity of potential applicants opens the door for intense competition especially in the midst of a new decision-making process for the IOC to assess city capabilities in hosting.

Still, this new process for selecting hosts does not fully ameliorate controversies of problems of corruption. Following the death of a member of the Future Hosts Commission, difficulties emerged in attempting to replace the member. While no new process is without its stumbling blocks, this death coupled with signs of corruption in the selection of Japan as a host city for the 2020 Olympics are beginning to stress the possibility of corruption continuing to be a part of the Olympic host selection process despite the reforms undertaken by the IOC. These fears are especially concerning in light of the need to select two additional cities to host the 2030 and 2036 games.

Previous Actions

The IOC has acknowledged problems in determining the hosts of Olympic Games, and the reforms adopted from the Olympic Agenda 2020 report indicate the willingness to reform remains alive and well. However, given the track record of these reforms to impart meaningful change to completely eliminate corruption from the selection process these reforms have likely not been as effective as hoped.

Olympic Agenda 2020

The Olympic Agenda 2020 represented the most significant step forward in reforming the process surrounding the selection of host cities for the

https://www.si.com/olympics/2021/07/23/future-olympics-host-cities-where-are-next-games

¹³ Roche, L. R. (2021, July 28). 2030 or 2034 Winter Games? Utahns may soon know which Olympics they're bidding for. Desert News: https://www.deseret.com/utah/2021/7/27/22594493/utah-olympic-bid-2030-2034-winter-games-decision-coming; Gastelum, A. (2021, July 23). Future Olympics Host Cities: Where are the Next Games? Sports Illustrated:

¹⁴ Lloyd, O. (2021, August 15). Russia Preparing bid for 2036 Olympics with Saint Petersburg a frontrunner, says Foreign Minister. Inside the Games: https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1111651/russia-to-bid-for-2036-olympics

¹⁵ News, I. (2021, July 11). Death of IOC Honorary Member Gian-Franco Kasper. IOC: <u>https://olympics.com/ioc/news/death-of-ioc-honorary-member-gian-franco-kasper</u>





Olympic Games. ¹⁶ Begun in 2014, the reforms adopted by the IOC have largely focused on democratizing the process surrounding the process of putting in bids to the IOC to host the Olympics, necessitating a referendum be held and succeed in the city intending to host in order for a bid to be taken seriously. ¹⁷ Likewise, following critiques of the unnecessary and wasteful spending for the construction of venues in former hosts, provisions exist through the Olympic Agenda 2020 report to prioritize existing and temporary infrastructure rather than creating costly and potentially corruption-prone venue construction. ¹⁸

The New Norm

Operationalizing several aspects of the Olympic Agenda 2020, the New Norm outlines a variety of reforms to streamline critical processes within the Olympics, including selection procedures. Critically, the most important part of this process is in the altering of the candidate selection process into a continuous dialogue among interested cities and the IOC. ¹⁹ Importantly, these reforms include sending teams of IOC experts to assist in developing plans for the games in coordination with interested cities and developing a long-term legacy for the host in order to ensure the venues

¹⁶ IOC. (2021). *Olympic Agenda 2020*. International Olympic Committee:

https://olympics.com/ioc/olympic-agenda-2020

https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/olympics/201 9/06/26/ioc-to-change-process-of-olympic-bid-races-host-elections/39622985/; IOC. (2021). *Future Host Election*. International Olympic Committee: https://olympics.com/ioc/future-host-election¹⁸ Ibid. and other arenas continue to prosper long after the games have concluded.²⁰ Fundamentally, these transformations alongside increased IOC involvement and review have led to increased cost savings in the billions due to improved budgetary procedures.²¹ Overall, the New Normal reforms operationalize critical aspects of the Olympic Agenda 2020 report with an eye of making the Olympic budget thriftier.

Olympic 2000 Commission

Following a bout of significant scandal related to corruption, bribery, and kickbacks from the IOC in the selection process of Salt Lake City for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, the IOC adopted the Olympic 2000 Commission reforms which rewrote some of the legislative rules of the IOC.²² In particular, these reforms lowered the maximum age limit of IOC membership, expanded the Committee membership, and removed lifetime terms from delegates, radically transforming the body.²³ While not a blanket fix for accusations of corruption, these considerations marked a step forward in the process of host selection as it changed the makeup of the IOC itself, if only marginally.

Country and bloc positions

https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/general/ioc-publishes-final-reform-recommendations-741696.htm and Longman, J. (2000, July 21). Olympics; leaders of Salt Lake Olympic bid are indicted in bribery scandal. Retrieved from The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/21/sports/olympics-leaders-of-salt-lake-olympic-bid-are-indicted-in-bribery-scandal.html

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¹⁷ Associated Press. (2019, June 26). *IOC to Change Process of Olympic bid races, host elections*. USA Today:

¹⁹ IOC. (2018). *Olympic Agenda 2020: Olympic Games the New Norm.* PyeongChang: International Olympic Committee.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Associated Press. (2011, September 21). *IOC Publishes final reform recommendations*. Retrieved from The Independent:

²³ Ibid.





The greatest difference within the IOC is between countries favoring a less corrupt, more transparent selection process, those content with the current system, and those favoring two permanent sites for the Olympics.

China, Russia and the United States each seek to host the Olympic Games as an opportunity to showcase their power, wealth, and prowess on the global stage. With Beijing set to host the 2022 Winter Olympics, the twelve Chinese cities pushing for Olympic hosting duties focused on the Summer Games, whereas the American and Russian cities sought either games, with Los Angeles hosting the 2028 Summer games and the Russian 2014 Winter games still in recent memory.²⁴ Still, the experience of each of these countries in hosting the games and the desire to showcase more of their vast territories offers the chance for the IOC to ensure the games go off without a hitch and the potential for muted controversy.

France and Spain are attempting one of the first joint regional Olympic bids, with the hope of gaining the 2030 Winter Olympics for

Barcelona/the Pyrenees Mountains. ²⁵ Hosting the Winter Olympics would be a major boon for the region, highlighting the uniqueness of the Pyrenees; however, it does come with the added baggage of Catalonia's recent push for independence which serves to complicate matters for the Spanish Olympic Committee given Catalan political proclivities. ²⁶ Furthermore, the relative temporal distance between the Paris Summer Games and the 2030 winter games could become a major hurdle for a chance to showcase Andorra to the world.

Indonesia is eager to present their nation and culture on the world stage, especially after losing out on hosting the 2032 Olympics to Brisbane.²⁷ Coming off of hosting the 2018 Asian Games, Indonesia has argued the infrastructure is present to host and there remains a strong will to make the games happen for the country.²⁸ While relatively untested, hosting the games would be a first for the world's fourth largest country.

Turkey has a long history of failing to obtain a 21st century Olympic games. After coming up

https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1112667/put in-russia-bid-2036-olympics; Pavitt, M. (2020, November 29). Wei cools talk of Chengdu and Chongqing bid for 2032 Olympics. Inside the games: https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1101386/wei-chengdu-chongqing-2032-olympic-bid; Associated Press. (2020, February 12). Salt Lake City ponders 2034 Winter Olympics bid after news of Sapporo's interest in 2030 games. ESPN:

https://www.espn.com/olympics/story/_/id/28688033/salt-lake-city-ponders-2034-winter-olympics-bid-news-sapporo-interest-2030-games

²⁵ Livingstone, R. (2019, March 30). Barcelona Could Join France and Andorra for Pyrenees 2030 Olympic Winter Games Bid. Retrieved from GameBids.com: https://gamesbids.com/eng/winter- olympic-bids/future-winter-bids/barcelona-couldjoin-france-and-andorra-for-pyrenees-2030-olympicwinter-games-bid/

²⁶ Morgan, L. (2021, September 8). *Catalonian President claims region could be independent by 2030 Winter Olympics*. Inside the Games: https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1112754/catalonia-independent-by-2030-games

²⁷ Kyodo News. (2021, July 22). *Indonesia to bid for* 2036 *Olympics after* 2032 *failure*. yodo News: https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2021/07/5e743e6 https://english.kyodone

²⁸ Reuters. (2021, July 23). *Indonesia to launch new bid to host 2036 summer Olympics*. Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/indonesia-launch-new-bid-host-2036-summer-olympics-2021-07-23/

²⁴ Lloyd, O. (2021, September 6). *Vladivostok latest Russian city to enter 2036 Olympic bidding Putin Reveals*. Inside the Games:





second to Tokyo for hosting the 2020 games, Istanbul is undeterred from putting forth another bid.²⁹ With a myriad of other European and Asian cities putting forth their own bids, Turkey is likely to face fierce competition but are completely undeterred, maintaining the necessary infrastructure can and will be constructed as needed to host the games.³⁰

Ukraine is interested in holding a winter Olympics, with the city of Lviv as its central hub for winter sports. While Ukraine has put forth bids in the past for the 2022 games, the 2014 Ukrainian Crisis derailed any plans for being able to safely host. While the current bid is ambivalent about which upcoming Winter Games to host (with either 2030 or 2034 on the table), Ukraine is committed to moving through the process to eventually host a Winter Games.

Some Possible Proposals for Action

Putting together an Olympic Games is a multiyear process for the athletes and the host cities, yet there remain significant hurdles to overcome for cities, regions, and countries looking to host. These considerations have prompted new calls for action, and highlight the potential avenues for action the IOC could take. Here is a partial list of possibilities: Designate future host cities at this meeting, to end debate and control the process.

End the rotation of host cities. Designate one or a few permanent regional host cities. This would be popular with many who detest the current process, but would infuriate the many countries campaigning to attract the Olympics. It could lead countries to withdraw from the IOC. And host cities would have to be found and financed. Without financing, such a reform might not be feasible.

Reform the bidding process to make it more transparent. Elimination of the closed process would make it easier to understand and judge. It might deter some bribery and other incentives for votes. It is possible the process could be televised, with IOC Evaluation Commission visits around the world, for example. This will be resisted by many potential host countries, afraid it will make their campaigns more difficult.

Reform the Future Host Commission, making the body more transparent and accountable, possible larger, functioning more like a parliament. Alternatively, allow the IOC Secretary General to make emergency temporary appointments when posts become vacant.

Roll back the IOC's Olympic Agenda 2020 Reforms and return to the old procedure of selection. This would be especially popular with many would-be hosts in regions such as

²⁹ Tavsan, S. (2021, July 13). *Istanbul launches bid to host 2036 Summer Olympics*. Nikkei Asia: https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Sports/Istanbul-launches-bid-to-host-2036-Summer-Olympics
³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Associated Press. (2021, September 13). *Ukraine* wants to prepare a bid to host a Winter Olympics. Seattle Times:

https://www.seattletimes.com/sports/ukraine-wants-to-prepare-a-bid-to-host-a-winter-olympics/

³² OlympicTalk. (2021, September 13). *Ukraine says it is determined to host Winter Olympics, begins conversations with IOC*. Yahoo!Sports: <a href="https://sports.yahoo.com/ukraine-says-determined-host-winter-002002603.html?guccounter=1&guce referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce referrer_sig=AQAAAM14ILA70vgyE1FJiVkyQZd3G5GZwJ0OEJ5wilpkOXLmWegWRAZlHsoWhcYC3c-TPvZYOr15g7bid17ojfLNkNAcr-MCIBM2_E





the Middle East and East Asia, who want the Olympics and are willing to use their resources to attract them.

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