Sport in Soviet society:
development and problems.

James Riordan.

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VII RESTORATION AND CONSOLIDATION, 1945-1958: AIMING FOR WORLD SUPREMACY IN SPORT

1. Background

Although the war had brought German invasion and extensive damage to the Soviet Union, it also brought Soviet power and influence into the heart of Europe - a source of seemingly interminable friction with the Western Powers. In these conditions of international conflict and economic devastation, the Soviet people had to turn to the task of reconstruction, which, once again, had to be accomplished largely from the country's own resources. Peace, in fact, brought no relenting in either economic tempos or political pressures.

Within the new boundaries of the USSR, the urban share of the population increased from 31.6 per cent in 1940 to 38.4 per cent in 1950 and to 46.9 per cent in 1958 (see Appendix XI) — a tremendous demographic shift, despite the war. By 1958, five years after the death of Stalin and two years after Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Congress, the Soviet Union was on the verge of becoming a more leisure- and consumer-orientated society, and was not far off having a predominantly urban population for the first time in its history. Already, at the end of 1958, there were 151 cities (an increase of 52 since 1939 - see Appendix XI) with a population of over 50,000. All this, inevitably, was to have its effect on social policies and social life[1], not least of all on Soviet sport.

2. The Control of Sport

With the conclusion of the war and the setting of a new national target - to catch up and overtake the most advanced industrial powers (and that included catching up and overtaking in sport - see below, p.311) - the pre-war pyramidal structure of sports-administration had to be re-established and refashioned to suit the new circumstances. As in other spheres, the incentive to produce top results was to be 'material

[1] For an economic overview of this period, see Dobb, M., Soviet Economic Development since 1917, Routledge, 1966, Chap. 13.

interestedness', the awarding of cash prizes and priorities in the allocation of apartments and scarce commodities for setting records and winning championships. This the government officially encouraged (or at least tried to control via a 'white market') by a decree issued in October, 1945, establishing a cash-bonus system; the decree read in part: "To stimulate greater sports proficiency, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR has permitted the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs to award monetary prizes for outstanding sports results. An award ranging from 15,000 to 25,000 rubles will be given for setting an All-Union record that betters the world record, and from 5,000 to 15,000 rubles will be given for setting an All-Union record; 1,000 to 3,000 (in the form of valuable gifts) for setting an All-Union junior record. Those who come first, second or third in USSR championships will be awarded prizes to the value of from 2,000 to 5,000 rubles."[2] All athletes also received salaries and bonuses according to their sports ranking, thus further encouraging the formation of an élite of sports stars. The above-mentioned decree also announced the setting up "of 80 sports schools for young people. These schools are to train top-class athletes without interference with their everyday jobs."[3] It soon became clear that, officially, a blind eye was to be turned to the non-observance of this last aspect (of the decree (of athletes not letting their sports training and participation interfere with their normal jobs) and the body of professional sportsmen quickly grew to quite large proportions.

(a) Joining international federations, 'Shamateurism' and the target of world supremacy

It became evident that, if the USSR were to compete internationally, it would have to join existing international federations and comply with

[2] Pravda, 22 October, 1945, p. 1.

[3] Idem.

their regulations. Since most of these bodies had been established for amateur sportsmen at the end of the nineteenth century and their definitions and rules reflected in sport the social distinctions then current in society, they laid down quite stringent rules about remuneration of competitors in each amateur sport and the maximum amount of time they were to devote to that pursuit. Despite the Soviet distaste for the kind of social privilege reflected in bourgeois 'amateur' status, Soviet sportsmen had to play the game according to these rules if they were going to play at all against the world's best athletes. The appearance, at least, then, had to be given that they complied with the definition of an 'amateur'.[4] In July, 1947, the USSR Council of Ministers issued a special resolution "On Remuneration of the Sporting Attainments of Soviet Sportsmen" in which it reversed its earlier prescription of monetary rewards and now declared that the only awards to be made for All-Union and world records were to be gold and silver medals and silver and bronze badges.[5]

[4] Rule 26 of the International Olympic Committee defines an amateur as "one who participates and always has participated in sport without material gain." To qualify as an amateur, it is necessary to comply with the following conditions:-
(a) to have a normal occupation destined to insure one's present and future livelihood;
(b) never to have received any payment for taking part in any sports competition;
(c) to comply with the rules of the International Federation concerned;
(d) to comply with the official interpretation of this regulation.
(See I.O.C. Bulletin, 1961, p. 7.)
An official interpretation was given in September, 1962. It forbade ten different practices: "money prizes, employment or promotion by reason of sporting performances rather than ability, employment as a cover for excessive training or competition, advertising, the intention to become a professional, payment for teaching or coaching, demanding money for a friend, excessive expenses and the interruption of studies or employment for special training in a camp for more than three weeks." The memorandum giving this interpretation added: "So far as the Olympic Games are concerned, these rules must be complied with, even if they appear to conflict with the rules of any other body." (I.O.C. Bulletin, 1962, pp. 11-12)

[5] Chudinov, I.D. (ed.), Osnovnye postanovleniya, prikazy i instruktsii po voprosam fizicheskoi kul'tury i sporta, 1917-1957, Moscow, 1959, p. 189.

Having solved the problem of remuneration to the apparent satisfaction of international federations, there remained the problem of classifying athletes according to some kind of occupation so as to retain their amateur status. Henceforth it was asserted that there were no professional entertainers in Soviet sport in the sense that there were strong social and official sanctions which prevented sport from interfering with an athlete's all-round development and his success in a non-sporting profession. There had always been, it was pointed out, an elaborate apparatus for facilitating the physical and talent development of every sports enthusiast (for example, all competitors, if qualifying, got expenses and leave).

It transpired that normally, in fact, proficient sportsmen and sportswomen would be following one of three occupations: student, serviceman or P.E. instructor, under the sponsorship of a trade-union or other (such as Dinamo or army) sports society. A master-sportsman (i.e., one who more or less devotes all his time to training for and playing a sport during his active career as a sportsman[6]) is paid by his sports society - according to his ranking, results and several other factors - so that he can devote much time to sport (unencumbered by a job of work outside sport, but not free from academic studies) and be coached under the auspices of and using the facilities of the society. In the case of the country's two best-endowed sports societies, Dinamo and the Central Army Sports Club, the person would normally hold a commission but not be expected to undergo any form of military service or even wear a uniform.

[6] Officially, the person would be said to devote this time to 'teaching' and 'organising'.

The system which was reinforced after the war was obviously open to abuse. In November, 1950, the All-Union Committee had passed a resolution "On Rules Regulating the Transfer of Sportsmen from One Society to Another." [7] It had stressed that sports activity should be based on the production principle and that, therefore, the basis on which an athlete belonged to one or another sports group must be his regular place of work, study or service in the armed forces. This did not go to the root of the problem, however, since units and enterprises were retaining people on their pay-rolls at the request of societies because of their sports ability. Given the circumstances of the 'world-supremacy' policy and the prestige that top-flight sportsmen could bring to the sports societies, towns, national groups and factories, it was perhaps irevitable that the official directives should fall on deaf ears; it may even have been so intended.

Another problem resulting from the amateur-professional distinction has been the creation of a double moral standard in sport -- one for 'stars' and one for the rest -- as a result of the granting of material benefits and high status to outstanding individual players. Certain of the latter have abused (and today continue to abuse) their position and violated the Soviet code of morality, as a consequence of which they have been censured officially and sometimes even barred from competition.[8]

[7] Chudinov, op.cit., p.183.

[8] Players of Moscow Spartak, for example, are generally known to receive bonus-payments for winning matches from such organisations as the Moscow City Soviet, whose employees are members of the Spartak trade-union sports society. The biggest bonuses are said to be received by footballers in the Dinamo and army teams (personal communication).

These problems were exacerbated by the official decision to aim for world titles in all the major sports in the Olympic programme. In order to try to contain the worst of these abuses and balance up the movement by giving priority encouragement to mass participation, certain modifications were made to the organisation and structure of sport.

If the Soviet Union were to achieve its aim of world dominance in sport, intensive, as opposed to extensive, application to sports would have to be encouraged - i.e., participants would have to concentrate on a few sports or even a single sport rather than become all-round athletes (which the pre-war system had favoured). In 1946, therefore, the G.T.O. programme was simplified: the number of B.G.T.O. norms was cut to seven (from 16), G.T.O. Stage 1 - to nine (from 15), and Stage 2 - to nine (from 22).[9] This made the programme more accessible and gave a boost to the number of badge-holders:

Table 18: G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. Badge-Holders, 1945 and 1949 (no.)

YEAR	B.G.T.O.	G.T.O. (Stages 1 and 2)
1945	470,000	936,900
1949	1,433,000	2,624,900

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 32.

The stage was now set to qualify for international contests and to take on the best in the world. In December, 1948, the Party Central Committee set the targets in a resolution "On the Work of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sports Affairs in Implementing the Directives of the Party and Government on the Development of the Mass

[9] Entsiklopedichesky slovar' po fizicheskoi kul'ture i sportu, Vol. I, Moscow, 1961, p. 183.

Sports Movement in the Country and in Improving the Skill of Soviet Athletes."[10] Once again, the Party made it clear that improved proficiency could and should be based on mass participation; it called on all interested parties - sports committees, the Komsomol, trade unions and Party organisations everywhere - "to spread physical culture and sport to every corner of the land, and to raise the level of skill, so that Soviet sportsmen might win world supremacy in the major sports in the immediate future" [11] [my italics - JWR].

The 'world supremacy' target was something new to the sports movement and flatly contradicted the condemnation of 'record-mania' that the Party had made in its 1929 resolution (see p.213 above). But it reflected the social trends in the country and the popular mood after the war, and was not greatly dissimilar from the contemporary aims - though these were not always so explicitly stated - of other great sporting nations, particularly since the Cold War was increasingly dividing the world into two opposing camps, vying for influence over the rest of humanity.

The Party resolution outlined a specific programme for attaining the targets it had set; it entailed reinforcing the organisation of sports-collectives; ensuring the all-round expansion of all sports but with particular attention given to sports that featured prominently in the Olympic Games - athletics, cycling, gymnastics, skiing, speed-skating and swimming; improving the sports-amenities available to collectives and societies; coordinating the activities of all voluntary sports-societies and trade-union committees at all levels; bringing Master's and ranking standards into line with All-Union and international records; heightening the responsibility of coaches and instructors for the performances of their charges (by awarding them bonuses for high attainments by their athletes); and extensively utilising the press, radio and cinema for popularising sport among the public.

[10] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 195.

, 11 January, 1949, p. 3.

(b) Purges of Sportsmen

Apparently to bring greater discipline to the All-Union Committee and more drive to the reorganisation campaign, a new chairman was appointed to succeed Nikolai Romanov, who had acceeded to the post in 1945. Significantly, given the leading rôle of Dinamo, the purge of sportsmen that now began and the entry of Soviet sportsmen into the world sports arena, the new chairman, who assumed office in May, 1948, was Colonel Appolonov, an officer in the security forces who had previously commanded the frontier guards. He remained as chairman for five years (until Stalin's death in 1953) when he was replaced by his vice-chairman, the previous incumbent, Romanov.

Two features of the immediate post-war 'national chauvinism' were

(a) a purge of famous sportsmen who had had contact with foreigners prior to the war, and

(b) an attempt to 'Russify' sports-terminology.

Purges were not new to the sports movement; indeed, practically the whole sports administration had disappeared in the purges of the latter part of the 1930's. But attacks on Soviet players for "counter-revolutionary activities" were novel. The four footballing Starostyn brothers, Nikolai, Alexander, Andrei and Pyotr, for example, who were household names before the war, were arrested immediately after it and all received between eight and ten years in labour-camps because, it is alleged, "they had all been abroad and told friends about foreign life."[12] Their time spent abroad had, in fact, been with Soviet football-teams playing against foreign opposition. The second brother, Alexander, is reported to have told a fellow-inmate of his at the labour camp in Kotlas on the Northern Dvina that the NKVD (security police) had been "most interested in his sweaters, suits and hats bought abroad."[13] Nearly thirty years later, when he published his autobiography, Andrei Starostyn was still only able to make a veiled reference to the 'missing' decade: "People's destinies were varied

[12] Ekart, A., Vanished Without Trace, Max Parish, London, 1954, p. 188.

[13] Ibid.

and difficult in the war years. Life took its toll. But when I returned to Moscow in 1954 after several years beyond the Arctic Circle, the capital was already constructing a new life"[14] [my italics - JWR].

These arrests paralleled those of people tainted with foreign associations in other spheres; they included a number of Jews (accused of 'cosmopolitanism'), foreign residents living in the USSR, Soviet ex-prisoners-of-war and Soviet officers who had, in their course of wartime duty, come into contact with their allied colleagues. The purges of well-known sportsmen served warning on Soviet athletes about to compete on a wide scale with foreigners that they needed to be careful about nurturing personal contacts abroad or spreading tales at home about the foreign way of life. Victory in sport abroad was to be regarded as propaganda in favour of the Soviet system both for foreign and domestic consumption. As a former medical adviser to the pre-war All-Union Physical Culture Council, Dr. Matveyev, is reported as saying (while in a labour-camp): "Sport in the Soviet Union has two objectives: propaganda for abroad, and the physical training of the Red Army and the NKVD. . . Professionals have privileges only as long as they win, especially abroad, like racehorses. The victories abroad make excellent domestic propaganda. People have little to be proud of otherwise. . The average Russian thinks 'If Dinamo can beat a French team, obviously the French have even less bread and meat than we do.' This is exactly what the Soviets wish people to think, as a sort of justification for their hunger and a consolation for the evils of the system."[15]

(c) Russification of sporting terms

For sports terminology—much of which was largely English—new, Russian terms were recommended, "Russian being a language rich enough to express the appropriate concepts."[16]

[14] Starostyn, An., Povest' o futbole, Moscow, 1973, p. 168.

[15] Ekart, op. cit., p. 207.

[16] Sovetsky sport, 20 July, 1948, p. 2.

This occurred in the context of a general atmosphere of Great-Russian chauvinism then prevailing. Thus, as regards football terminology, 'futbol' was to become 'nozhnoi myach', 'ofsaid' - 'vne igry', 'gol'kiper' - 'vratar'', 'korner' - 'uglovoi', 'pass' - 'podacha', 'forvard' - 'napadayushchii', 'butsy' - 'botinki', 'shorty' - 'trusiki' and, ironically enough, 'penal'ti' - 'shtrafnoi' (actually from the German 'straf'!). It is interesting to note that, at a Soviet football match today, one can hear a mixture of all these terms (often used by the same person), although 'nozhnoi myach' never caught on (unlike 'ruchnoi myach' which competes equally for modern usage with 'gandbol').

3. Restructuring the Sports Administration

Both the Komsomol and the trade unions had, of course, to respond to Party calls for action. At its Eleventh Congress, in 1949, the Komsomol called on its members to organise sports groups and bring more young people into the movement. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions responded (at its Tenth Congress in 1949) by creating sports committees as branches of the All-Union Council at Republican, territorial and regional levels.

After Stalin's death, a general consolidation of ministries took place which swallowed up the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sports Affairs. On 15th March, 1953, its functions were taken over by the Ministry of Health, in the shape of a Main Board of Physical Culture and Sport. The new centralised structure soon proved unwieldy, however, and the crisis concentrating authority came to a natural end. So the old Committee reappeared on 11th February, 1954, with enhanced powers, as did its committees at all levels. Thus it was to continue until its dissolution in 1959.

To conform with the decentralisation of the economic administration and its reorganisation along territorial lines initiated by Khrushchev in 1957, the sports administrative structure was similarly reorganised - a far more radical change than had occurred for many years. According to the

plan which went into effect in July, 1957, 27 central industrial ministries were abolished in favour of 105 Regional Economic Councils (SNKh) which were put in charge of the large economic regions into which the USSR was divided.

With the industrial ministries disbanded, there was no longer any administrative reason for having sports societies organised along industrial lines. It was therefore decided to adopt a new pattern of trade-union sports-societies organised on a territorial basis. At the end of 1957, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions resolved to dissolve its 99 sports societies and unite them into a single society for all workers and employees in industry and construction for each of the fifteen Republics, regardless of union affiliation - i.e., on a territorial basis. Within each Republic, the Republican Council of Trade Unions had to choose the name of its society: in the Russian Republic, it was Trud, in the Ukraine, it was Avangard, in Latvia - Daugava, in Georgia - Gantiadi, and so on. Appendix V gives a full list of the 36 voluntary sports societies (and their relative contribution in number of collectives, Masters, 1st-Rank athletes and registered members) - 34 of which are run by the trade unions, including 15 urban Republican, 15 rural Republican and four All-Union (Spartak, Burevestnik, Vodnik and Lokomotiv); two non-trade-union societies were Dinamo and Trudovye rezervy (Labour Reserves). The only sports organisation that did not come within this category of voluntary sports society were the army sports clubs, DOSAAF, the Hunters' Society (Obshchestvo okhotnikov) and the Ministry of Education Children's Sports Schools (Detskie sportivnye shkoly).

At the time of the reorganisation in 1957, two All-Union trade-union sports societies, because of the nature of their membership and work and to match surviving ministerial structures, were left intact: Lokomotiv for all railway workers, and Vodnik for river and canal transport employees. Further, an All-Union students' sports society was set up in 1957 - Burevestnik (unrelated to the industrial sports society of the same name which had been swallowed up in the reorganisation). Three years later, Spartak came under

trade-union authority and became a fourth All-Union sports society - representing people employed in communications, road-transport, health, the civil service, trade, food, culture, building, education and local industry. Prior to 1960, it had represented Producers' Cooperatives, which were at this time absorbed into the state system.[17]

To coordinate the activity of all the trade-union sports societies, an All-Union Council of Trade-Union Voluntary Sports Societies was formed. The new administrative structure of the trade-union sports societies is shown in Figure 1; with only slight modifications, it has remained in this form up to the present day.

Although the new organisation of trade-union sports societies created substantial problems, it did bring a more rational deployment of existing physical amenities, finance and coaches and the encouragement of wider participation. Previously, members of the smaller unions had suffered from a paucity of amenities and lack of opportunities for competition; now a union-member had gratuitous use of any of the facilities in his area, previously available only to members of one sports-collective. Nevertheless, by far the best-endowed and most successful sports organisations remained those outside union control - Dinamo and the army clubs.

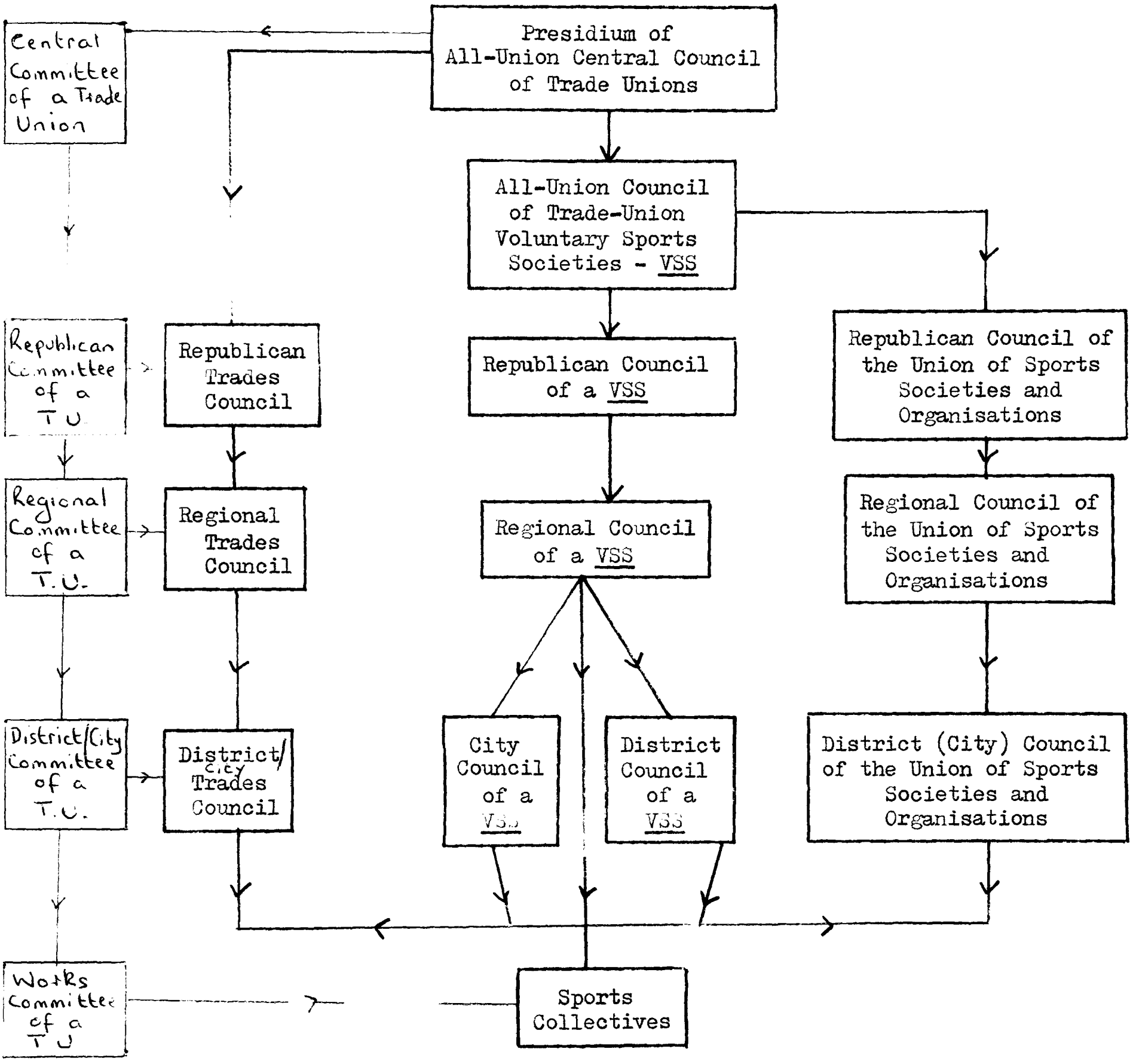
4. Improving Sports Qualifications

(a) New honours

After the war, the government for the first time introduced honorary awards for coaches and instructors. On 26th June, 1945, it passed a

17 Despite the changes over the years, Spartak is still popularly referred to as 'lavochniki' (the 'shopkeepers'), Dinamo players and teams - as 'gorodoviki' ('policemen' - pre-revolutionary ones), and army players as 'konyushnye' ('stable-men'). As a translator in Moscow, the present writer was eligible to join Spartak - and did so, on payment of 2 rubles 30 kopecks per annum, which gave access to the club's facilities and team-membership; he subsequently became a member of the Moscow Spartak badminton team.

Figure 1 Administrative Structure of Trade-Union Sports Societies (VSS)



resolution "On Instituting the Badge 'For Outstanding Service to Physical Culture' (Otlichnik fizicheskoi kul'tury)", intended for people who promoted sport and assisted with the training of outstanding athletes;[18] this award was supplemented in March, 1956, by the institution of the higher title 'Merited Trainer of the USSR'.[19] This was now the highest institutionalised status to which a Soviet coach could aspire: he could gain the title by training Masters of Sport, champions and record-holders at All-Union, European and world levels. This was a further encouragement to concentrate on top-class athletes and, at the same time, recognition of the efforts of the country's best coaches in producing a pleiade of world-class athletes.

(b) The reorganisation of the G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. programmes and tests

As before the war, sports activity in most schools and colleges, the armed forces and primary collectives was directed to preparing people to take the G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. programme and tests. With the onset of the 1950's, every year millions of people were gaining their badges. In 1957, for example, 2,567,700 people were said to have met the standards for G.T.O. Stage 1, 445,000 for Stage 2 and 1,498,000 for B.G.T.O.[20]

Nonetheless, since the end of the war, there had been increasing criticism of the G.T.O. programme and the way it operated. It had been revised in 1946 and the number of sports in a test reduced (see p.310 above). Although the reduced number of obligatory tests made the G.T.O. more accessible, the tests were now criticised for being of uneven quality in the individual optional sports and for taking no account of age. It was apparent, too, that the programme was not producing as many active sportsmen as had been hoped and that those produced were not of a high enough level of skill. Again the norms were modified (in 1955) and, this time, the optional sports were eliminated and uniform compulsory standards were once more established

[18] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 181.

[19] Ibid., p. 243.

[20] Samoukov, op. cit., p. 332.

for all candidates: 10 for B.G.T.O., 12 for G.T.O. Stage 1 and 11 for Stage 2.[21] Once again, however, the results did not come up to expectations. The schools were particularly critical that, although they were called upon to prepare their pupils for the B.G.T.O. and G.T.O. tests, the latter did not coincide with the physical-training syllabus laid down by the Ministry of Education, nor was there enough time to combine the two.

One distinct advantage of the programme inaugurated in 1955, however, was that it did take some account of age-differentials: the B.G.T.O. was specified for schoolchildren aged 14-15, the G.T.O. Stage 1 for young men and women of 16-18, and Stage 2 for the over-18's.

The response of young people and the levels of skill attained, however, were not in accordance with the targets set by the All-Union Sports Committee. Many sports-collectives were once more accused of ignoring the mass of members, of allowing the ranked athletes to monopolise available physical facilities and instructors, and of concentrating on a narrow group of sportsmen. It was not that they showed a decrease in G.T.O. badge-holders, but they often, it was said, bent the rules to get their quota of G.T.O. passes (a perennial problem in all plan-fulfilment campaigns); in many cases, it was apparent that those awarded their badges had not actually fulfilled their sports-norms. All this led to a fall in the popularity of the G.T.O. programme among young people and provoked further changes. A new (third) G.T.O. programme was drawn up during 1958 and came into operation on 1st January, 1959.[22]

(c) The reorganisation of the rankings system

The classification system was also brought up-to-date periodically. With the entry of the Soviet Union into international 'bourgeois' sport

[21] Entsiklopedichesky slovar'..., Vol. I, op. cit., p. 183.

[22] Ibid., p. 184.

soon after the war, it was found necessary to revise the sports-classification system regularly so as to adjust to rapidly-improving world standards. Qualification-standards for each of the four rankings and for the Master of Sport title were all raised in 1947 and again in 1949 (in response to the December, 1948, Party appeal for greater excellence and world sporting supremacy /see p.311 above/). The new targets affected all sports in the rankings system. Henceforth, the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport ruled, the standards would be revised every four years in accordance with prevailing world standards.[23]

In 1957, rankings existed for a total of 47 sports - a big increase over previous years and an indication that there were now Soviet candidates of reasonable standard in most of the world's organised sports. In some sports - athletics, swimming, cycling and rowing - standards were raised substantially. Despite regularly revised standards, the numbers of ranked athletes increased rapidly, as the following table shows.

Table 19: Ranked Sportsmen, by Quartennia, 1937-1960

Period	Ranked sportsmen (thous.)	(index: 1945-48 = 100)
1937-40	102	8
1941-44	...	...
1945-48	1,273	100
1949-52	3,725	293
1953-56	3,711	292
1957-60	6,154	483

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 35; Stolbov, V.V., Chudinov, I.G., Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1970, p. 191.

[23] Ibid., p. 182.

The slight fall in numbers between 1949-52 and 1953-56 was due to the quite severe alteration in ranking-norms instituted after the Soviet début at the Olympic Games (in Helsinki) in 1952.

The percentage of ranked sportsmen among all sports-participants was steadily rising. While ranked athletes, in 1940, constituted only 1.8 per cent of all sportsmen, in 1948, they made up 5.8 per cent of the total and in 1958 -- as much as 13.9 per cent.

If account is taken of the heightened proficiency-norms, the overall improvement in skills is even more significant. Thus, if we select from amongst the results achieved in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1957 those in which the norms for a Master of Sport rating had not been changed in the immediate future (1961-64), it would appear that Master of Sport standard was achieved

by one athlete in 1948

by 27 athletes in 1952

by 51 athletes in 1956 and

by 377 athletes in 1957

One reason for the evident rise in skill may, of course, be that these particular norms were too low. Yet, other comparisons provide evidence of improvement in skill - not least of all, the performance by Soviet athletes in the Olympic Games and other international sporting events.

(d) A comparison of world and Soviet records

A comparison of Soviet records in athletic events with existing world records makes clear the obvious improvement in skill between 1945 and 1967 (See Table 20).

While track and field athletics (particularly the former) have tended to be the weakest of all Soviet sports internationally (along with swimming), the comparison of records set in 1945 and 1967 shows a very distinct improvement; in some events (men's high jump, women's discus, javelin and shot) Soviet athletes actually held the world records in 1967. There was practically no event in which it might be said that, in 1967, Soviet athletes lagged far behind the best foreign opponents.

The rising proficiency-standards after the war had, then, in the main, led to the desired results in international contests, though by no means in all sports. An attempt was made to cultivate all the sports in the Olympic programme (with the exception, until the late 1960's, of field hockey) in the decade after the war. Some sports, like weightlifting, wrestling, speed-skating, gymnastics and chess - in which Soviet sportsmen had established world dominance by the early 1950's - were based on long-standing traditions in that particular sport and top achievements were attained mostly on the basis of the desired mass participation. Some sports, like athletics and the team-games of football, basketball and volleyball, were of more recent vintage in organised form and to some extent depend on sophisticated equipment and regular top-class competition; nevertheless, they seem to have had quite a wide basis and, despite the handicaps, Soviet athletes performed remarkably well in their initial international contests - mostly on a par with the leading players of other nations. In

Table 20: Comparison of World and Soviet Records in Athletics, 1945

Event	MEN				WOMEN			
	1945		1967		1945		1967	
	World record	Soviet record	World record	Soviet record	World record	Soviet record	World record	Soviet record
100 m. (secs.)	10.2	10.6	10.0	10.2	11.5	12.0	11.1	11.3
200 m. (secs.)	20.7	21.6	20.0	20.6	22.7	25.2	22.7	23.3
400 m. (secs.)	46.0	48.6	44.5	46.0	56.8	57.7	51.9	52.9
800 m. (mins./secs.)	1/46.6	1/52.4	1/44.2	1/46.9	2/12.0	2/12.0	1/58.0	2/03.7
1,500 m. (mins./secs.)	3/43.0	3/53.2	3/35.6	3/38.7	-	-	-	-
5,000 m. (mins./secs.)	13/58.2	14/37.0	13/16.6	13/35.0	-	-	-	-
10,000 m. (mins./secs.)	29/35.4	30/55.2	27/39.6	28/18.2	-	-	-	-
110 m. hurdles (secs.)	13.7	14.6	13.2	13.7	-	-	-	-
400 m. hurdles (secs.)	50.6	55.1	49.1	49.5	-	-	-	-
3,000 m. steeplechase (mins./secs.)	8/59.6	9/13.0	8/26.2	8/26.6	-	-	-	-
High jump (cm.)	211	201	228	228	171	158	191	178
Long jump (cm.)	813	746	835	831	625	580	676	673
Discus (m.)	53.34	50.74	66.07	61.64	49.88	49.88	59.70	59.70
Javelin (m.)	78.70	69.65	91.72	86.56	47.24	45.88	62.40	62.40
Shot (m.)	19.64	17.40	21.51	19.46	14.38	13.62	18.59	18.59

N.B. The underlined figures mark Soviet world records in the years concerned.

Source: Tarabrin, I.A. (ed.), Pyat'desyat shagov sportivnoi Rossii, Moscow, 1967, pp. 179, 183.

sports without much national tradition and mass support which required intensive training with relatively modern and complex installations or equipment - motor-racing, tennis, swimming, ski-jumping, slalom, cycling and yachting - Soviet sportsmen either refrained from international competition altogether during the 1950's or performed very moderately. Some sports, though new, could be based on traditional and popular sports. Thus, although ice-hockey (as played with a puck) was only started after the war, it was sufficiently close to the popular Russian ice-hockey or bandy (played with a ball) to enable the Soviet ice-hockey team to win the world championship at its first attempt in 1954, and to retain it up to 1972 (when the USSR lost the title for a year to Czechoslovakia).

5. Sports and Sports-Events

The biggest domestic sporting event of the 1950's was the First Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR (Spartakiada narodov SSSR) whose final was held in Moscow between 6th and 16th August, 1956. The decision to hold the games had been made in January the year before by the USSR Council of Ministers (which awarded the main prizes).[24] It instructed every sports-collective in the country, every district, regional, town, village and Republican sports organisation to prepare for the event, hold qualifying contests, construct the requisite amenities and make the forthcoming games the biggest and most widely publicised sports occasion in the country's history. It was to be, too, the forerunner of regular sports-festivals to be held every four years in the year preceding the Olympic Games; it was also a much-publicised demonstration of the mass (and especially the multi-national) nature and the excellent performance of the Soviet sports movement.

It is claimed that as many as 23 million people took part in the competitions leading up to the First Spartakiad finals. During the period

[24] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 237.

of preparation for the finals, some 1,500 sportsmen won their Master of Sport title, 26,000 - the first ranking, 150,000 - the second, and more than 700,000 - the third. Moreover, 415 All-Union records were set - of which 142 surpassed world records.[25] As a means of popularising sport and organising tests of skill, the games certainly did their job.

The finals were held in the newly-opened Lenin Stadium in Luzhniki, on the banks of the Moscow River at the foot of Lenin Hills, with seating in the main stadium for 104,000 spectators. The importance of the occasion was marked by the presence of all prominent Party leaders and a number of eminent foreign guests, including the presidents of many international federations and the president of the Olympic Committee (then Avery Brundage).

Over a period of ten days, a total of 9,244 participants representing the 15 Republics and the cities of Leningrad and Moscow competed in 20 sports (the Olympic programme except for field-hockey). In the team scorechart, Moscow came first, followed by the Russian team and Leningrad.[26] This underlined the supremacy of Russians and of the country's traditional sporting centres - the places of maximum concentration of urban population.

As an event, the Spartakiad was certainly unsurpassed in the history of Soviet sport. It was intended to be precisely that: an event of political and social significance in the lives of Soviet people. It was not merely a taking-stock of Soviet sports-achievements and a launching-pad for the coming Olympic Games, it was also meant to be a culturally unifying force; the authorities relied on the popularity of sport to bring representatives and ordinary people from all sections of Soviet society together in a festive, patriotic mood on a great occasion organised by Party and State. It was to bind together in friendly contest the forty nationalities represented in the finals, on a larger scale than ever before, as the ancient and modern Olympic Games had been intended to do, and to encourage more extensive involvement in sport throughout the country.

[25] Samoukov, op. cit., pp. 344-346.

[26] Idem.

The former IOC President, Avery Brundage, has described the scene at a similar massive sports event, not dissimilar to the First Spartakiad. His description, here quoted at length, helps one to understand the importance given at these events to their functions as a nationally unifying force, as ritualised political campaigns and as artistic spectacles.

"The Sports Parade I was invited to see was fantastic. It wasn't a parade at all. It was a huge demonstration of physical culture and gymnastics. I have seen many such things in various parts of the world, but never anything that would even approach this one, either in magnitude or in beauty. The participants were brought from all over the Soviet Union. There were Uzbeks and Tadzhiks and Cossacks and Armenians and Georgians and Kirghiz. They came from Karelia, Moldavia, Azerbaidzhan and other remote places. . . Each delegation included from 400 to 3,000 boys and girls. They told me there were altogether 34,000 participants. First, they paraded around the stadium; then, the field was turned over to the delegations one at a time and they gave mass demonstrations. . . One delegation brought collapsible gymnastic apparatus and erected 70 to 80 horizontal bars on which, in a trice, were 70 to 80 gymnasts doing giant swings together to classical music. Another erected a framework 30 to 40 feet high, and participants draped themselves on it with differed coloured costumes like a huge living bouquet of beautiful flowers. It went on for five hours like clockwork. How they organised this event with such mechanical precision, with delegations coming from the Ural Mountains, the deserts of Central Asia, the Arctic Provinces, and the remote interior of Siberia, I do not know. It was amazing. Worked into the displays by the various groups were slogans, very cleverly designed to bind the young people to the regime, which were spelled out on the field by the performers: READY FOR LABOUR AND DEFENCE; GLORY TO THE FATHERLAND; HAIL LENIN AND STALIN; THREE MILLION BALES OF COTTON FOR THE NATION; SUCCESS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY; PEACE-PEACE-PEACE."[27]

[27] From a speech to the Economic Club of Detroit on 7th February, 1955; quoted in Morton, H.W., Soviet Sport, Collier Books, New York, 1963, pp. 61-62.

Despite the great increase in the range of sports practised and the attention devoted to international sport in the period 1945-1958, one glimpse of the Party's view of sport in its scale of priorities may be gained by noting the fact that it provided no greatly increased financial backing: although budgetary expenditure on physical culture rose absolutely between 1946 and 1958 from 20 million to 50 million rubles, its share in total budgetary expenditure actually fell - from 0.07% to 0.06% in the same period. It remained at this level until the end of the 1950's (see Appendix X).

6. Physical Education

The immediate need, on the conclusion of hostilities, was to adjust the school P.E. syllabus to peace-time conditions and to utilise it as far as possible, given continuing food-shortages, to fortify the health of children deprived and weakened during the war.

(a) New sports-curricula

In the new syllabus scheduled for 1947,[28] therefore, the stated aim was to improve children's health. Back came the classification by motor skills rather than by sport and the virtual elimination of team-games. Nonetheless, this somewhat conflicted with the requirement of schools to adapt their P.E. lessons to the B.G.T.O. programme and to gain as many passes as possible. All P.E. instructors received detailed instructions on how to conduct each lesson, their attention being drawn to the biological and psychological requirements of children, particularly the physically weak. Yet the amount of time allotted in school hours was small: 33 hours a year for forms 1 and 2 and 8 and 10, and 66 hours for forms 3-7.[29]

The Party decision of 1948 to campaign for improved skill in all sports and the earlier decision to compete on a wide scale in international sport were bound to affect school sport and physical education. A radically new

[28] Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 9, p. 7.

[29] Idem.

syllabus was drawn up for 1954 which again changed the orientation from basic motor skills (running, climbing, throwing, and so on) to competitive sports, and instructed schools to "teach the basic skills in gymnastics, sports and team-games."[30] For the first time since the 1937-41 P.E. syllabus, physical education in schools was to be centred around gymnastics, organised sports and team-games. The instructions included material on specific sports and games. The new P.E. syllabus, in conjunction with all other school sport activities, was based on the G.T.O. programme and it was intended that each pupil completing the seventh form (at the age of 14 or 15) would gain his B.G.T.O. badge, and each pupil completing the tenth form (at the age of 17) would gain his G.T.O. Stage 1 badge.

At colleges and universities, the compulsory physical education in the first two years of the students' courses (instituted in 1929)[31] was, from 1947/48, made subject to an examination which, if failed, might hold the student back a year. In 1956, the P.E. course was made more flexible and students could choose a sport in which to specialise.

(b) Sport in schools and colleges

The school P.E. syllabus was, clearly, a highly ambitious programme - possibly unrealistically so - but the targets had been set and the schools played a vital part in developing young talent, as the following table shows. Between 1949 and 1958, some 42 per cent of the country's registered sportsmen were schoolchildren and, by 1958, nearly half of all G.T.O. and all B.G.T.O. badge-holders were in school. Over a quarter of all ranked sportsmen, including 23 per cent of the third-ranked and 14 per cent of the second-ranked sportsmen were school-pupils.

Many of the achievements shown in the table were not due to the efforts of school P.E. instructors, but to the extra-curricular children's sports organisations, to sports-clubs in the Young Pioneer Palaces and Houses,

30 Idem.

31 Entsiklopedichesky slovar'..., Vol. III, p. 241.

Table 21: Sports-Participation in Schools, 1949 and 1958

Indicator	1949	1958
A. Sports-collectives in schools (thous.)	56.180	77.301
(% of all sports-collectives)	34.9	40.6
(% of all schools)	28.0	38.7
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	137.6
B_1. School-pupil sportsmen (mln.)	4.875	8.435
(% of all sportsmen)	43.7	41.7
(% of all school-pupils)	14.7	28.5
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	173.0
B_2. School-pupil G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. badge-holders (mln.)	1.695	1.955
(% of all badge-holders)	41.8	48.7
(% of all school-pupils)	5.1	6.6
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	115.3
B_3. School-pupil ranked sportsmen (thous.)	103.307	432.329
(% of all ranked sportsmen)	18.0	26.4
(% of all school-pupils)	0.3	1.5
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	418.5
of total B_3, with:		
First ranking (thous.)	0.209	1.922
(% of all First-rankers)	2.3	6.0
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	919.6
Second ranking (thous.)	4.433	22.248
(% of all Second-rankers)	7.3	14.1
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	500.2
Third ranking (thous.)	37.297	169.900
(% of all Third-rankers)	12.1	23.0
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	452.8
Junior ranking (thous.)	61.398	238.259
(% of all Junior-rankers)	50.2	62.4
(index: 1949 = 100)	100	388.1

Sources: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p.80; Kul'turnoye stroitel'stvo, 1956, pp.76-77, 80-81; Narodnoye obrazovanie, nauka i kul'tura, "Statistika", 1971, pp.44-45, 121.

Pioneer camps and sports-societies. By a special government decree in 1952, all sports-organisations in the country were obliged to allow school-children free use of their amenities during the daytime.[32] This was to compensate for the lack of sports-facilities in the schools (virtually all schools still had no gymnasium or sports-ground) and, since many schools still worked on a shift system, to provide a socially beneficial - or, at least, harmless - occupation for children in out-of-school time. Nevertheless, many subsequent complaints in the press made it clear that many sports-organisations refused to permit children access to their facilities, primarily out of fear that the children might damage their scarce resources.

(c) Expansion of children's sports schools

In a number of sports, excellence can only be achieved today by intensive training at an early age. Swimmers, for example, as a rule reach their peak in their teens, and sprinters and gymnasts - in their late teens and early twenties. In these and several other sports for which amenities were few and for which intensive training is necessary at an early age (like tennis), there was the problem of identifying and creaming-off as expeditiously as possible the potential talent early and developing it intensively, using such facilities as were available. For these purposes, it was decided to expand widely the network of children's sports schools (detskie sportivnye shkoly). These are select sports-clubs which promising children can attend after the normal daily school-lessons are over. The first such schools had been set up in 1934 in Moscow and Tbilisi under the auspices of the Ministry of Education (see p.286 above). Their growth had been quite slow, since finances and physical amenities were not made available on a large scale; the Ministry of Education had more urgent priorities in its expenditure. By 1940, the number of such schools had, then, risen to 262; these were mostly concentrated in the central, more industrially

[32] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 222.

developed areas of the country. Turkmenia and Kazakhstan, for instance, had no more than one school each, as the table below shows.

Table 22: Children's Sports-Schools and Membership, by Republic, 1940, 1948 and 1958

Republic	Children's sports-schools (no.)			Total membership (no.)		
	1940	1948	1958	1940	1948	1958+
USSR	262	512*	1,086	46,570	110,040	290,900
of which:						
Russia	133	313	583	23,852	71,650	151,700
Ukraine	37	43	153	5,910	8,932	51,900
Belorussia	21	17	51	2,986	2,878	12,300
Uzbekistan	11	13	17	2,027	1,910	1,900
Kazakhstan	1	...	30	400	263	5,800
Georgia	32	54	57	8,482	9,212	16,900
Azerbaidjan	8	13	21	348	4,164	4,400
Lithuania	0	0	20	0	0	4,400
Moldavia	1	1	13	176	140	4,900
Latvia	0	2	30	0	512	6,000
Kirgizia	0	7	10	0	1,625	4,400
Tadjikistan	2	2	22	95	366	5,400
Armenia	15	29	29	1,693	5,408	7,900
Turkmenia	1	10	22	601	881	4,600
Estonia	0	7	28	0	2,099	8,400

* Assuming total for Kazakhstan to have been 1.

+ Data rounded in original.

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp. 82-85.

After the war, particularly after the government's call for excellence in 1948, they received somewhat greater financial support and - although their organisation remained largely in the hands and at the whim of Republican educational bodies - the trade-union sports-societies were also ordered to establish junior sports-schools in many of their bigger collectives - or at least to establish junior sections. By 1958, as the table shows, the number of such schools had expanded to over a thousand and their membership had increased six-fold compared with the pre-war figure. Their average size rose from 179 pupils in 1940 to 229 in 1948 and 260 in 1958; they had varying numbers of sports-groups: in some areas, they concentrated on a particular sport (e.g., swimming — where a good swimming-pool or the sea was to hand). The sports most commonly pursued in the schools were gymnastics and athletics, followed by basketball, volleyball, skiing, swimming, fencing, football and speed-skating.

After 1954, the time devoted to P.E. in schools was increased to 66 hours p.a. for all forms. Altogether, this meant two P.E. lessons per week of 45 minutes each, plus a daily 15-20 minute period of setting-up exercises before classes, six days a week.[33] As an American physical educationalist has noted: "If the times for morning exercises and physical-education lessons are considered, this equals 200 minutes, which is more than the time allotted in most American schools."[34]

(d) Spartakiads for children and students

Nationwide competitions and tournaments were initiated for school-children in 1954, when a first children's spartakiad was held in Leningrad; for the next six years, such an event was held annually.

Students had had their All-Union spartakiad from as early as 1951. In 1947, they had made their international début at the first post-war

[33] Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 9, p. 9.

[34] Esslinger, A., "Health, Physical Education and Recreational Programmes in the USSR", in Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, September, 1958, p. 28.

Student Games in Paris, and again competed in 1949 and 1951 when the Games were given an explicitly political slant by being combined with World Youth Festivals. A split then occurred in international student ranks with the International Federation of University Sport breaking off contact with the student sports-organisations of the socialist states. Soviet students gained their own voluntary sports society, Burevestnik, in 1957 (see Appendix V); it soon became one of the most powerful societies in the country. This was hardly surprising, since a large number of more or less full-time athletes were combining their training and competition with study or research at physical-training institutes.

(e) Graduations in physical culture

Training of P.E. instructors, athletes, coaches and sports-officials continued as before and, although the number of qualified instructors greatly increased in the decade and a half following the war, it by no means satisfied the demand in schools and elsewhere. By 1958, courses of four or five years' training were available at 16 physical-culture institutes, in physical-culture faculties at 42 colleges of education (pedagogicheskie instituty) and universities and at technical colleges (tekhnikums) and schools for coaches. Further, many more qualified instructors were trained by correspondence-courses and evening-classes; special 6-month courses were also arranged through the trade unions. The growth in numbers and their distribution among the various establishments is shown in Table 23.

The table shows that, after 1956, the number of part-timers with only a secondary special education qualification (line 4) actually started to decline, while the number with higher education was continuing to increase. This was in line with the requirement of 1957 that instructors engaged in coaching schoolchildren and working in junior sections of the sports societies should have higher educational qualifications.[39]

[39] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 250.

Table 23: Graduations from Higher and Secondary Physical-Culture Establishments, Selected Years, 1947-1958

Type of educational establishment from which graduating	1947	1950	1956	1958
Graduations from all establishments (number)	1,780	4,576	8,108	6,887
of total, from:				
1. Physical-culture institutes (number)	539	1,185	1,625	1,949
(% of total)	30.3	25.7	20.4	28.3
2. Physical-culture faculties of higher educational establishments (number)	-	106	1,225	1,821
(% of total)	-	2.1	15.1	26.4
3. Correspondence-courses and evening-classes (number)	-	119	621	1,208
(% of total)	-	2.4	7.6	17.5
of total 3, from:				
a. physical-culture institutes (number)	-	119	608	836
b. Other secondary educational establishments (number)	-	-	13	372
4. Physical-culture technical colleges (number)	1,096	2,943	4,352	1,571
(% of total)	61.5	64.1	53.6	22.8
5. Schools for coaches (number)	145	223	285	438
(% of total)	8.2	5.7	3.3	5.0

Source: Lakartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p.93.

It should be noted that government control in the USSR implies a standardisation of curriculum, teaching, staff and facilities for teachers of physical education (as for other specialities) which is quite unlike the situation in most Western states.

7. Summary

(i) As in the pre-war years, after the war, the big industrial effort and its concomitant rigid centralisation were accompanied by intellectual and cultural constraints and massive repression. These were the years of the Iron Curtain and the Cold War, when xenophobia characterised many pronouncements, when something very like Great-Russian chauvinism was practised (if not overtly preached as such). These aberrations emanated from several sources: the fear of attack from the Western powers, the Western monopoly of atomic weapons, the weakened state of the Soviet Union following the war and the personal power and attitudes of Stalin. Stalin felt he could not relax the tempo of development. The tension gradually subsided, however, after the death of Stalin in March, 1953, as the most pressing shortages were overcome and as Soviet authority and prestige in the world (to which sporting success abroad made some modest contribution) grew.

(2) The Soviet régime, having proved itself militarily at enormous cost in World War II, now felt the need to prove itself in non-military spheres -- which it was becoming capable of doing. Given the limited opportunities elsewhere, sport seemed to offer a suitable medium for pursuing this goal: sport is widely followed; it can excite strong feelings; it arouses sentiments of national pride and a keen sense of satisfaction when one's side wins. This was an area in which the U.S.S.R. did not have to take second place to the West. The Soviet citizen was therefore encouraged to identify team-loyalty with state-loyalty; sport acted as a force tending to legitimate the Soviet system in the eyes of the citizen. Of course, this policy presupposed a level of skill in a wide range of sports superior to that existing in the leading bourgeois states. On the eve of war, as we have seen, Soviet sport was approaching this level in several sports; in some, it had actually reached it. This trend was strengthened after the war by mobilising the total (if limited) resources of the entire sports-system, by creating full-time, well-remunerated sportsmen and teams, and by concentrating resources on them -- if to the detriment

of more casual sportsmen). Such sport was quite frankly coopted to serving international political goals at the same time as the Party continued to pay lip-service to its original, more egalitarian, principles of providing sporting opportunities for all.[36]

(3) During the war. Stalin and the Soviet leadership had played down class conflict and proletarian internationalism (the mass of the German working-class self-evidently backing Hitler) and had played up, in the interests of national unity, the old glories of the Russian heroic past and the virtues of the Russian people. The leaders seem to have passed from a lack of faith in foreign communists to being affected by feelings of xenophobia; they certainly objectively encouraged Great Russian chauvinist sentiments among the public by their denigration of and attempts at eliminating things 'tainted' by foreign influence - by measures such as (in relation to sport) the 'purification' of terminology (see pp. 313-314 above). Sport was a means of continuing the war peacefully - now against the remaining enemy, the bourgeois-democratic states of the world, utilising the sentiments aroused during the recent 'hot' war against the bourgeois-fascist states - aggressiveness, intense patriotism, partisan attachment to 'one's own side' (Stalin, Party, USSR, Dinamo F.C., etc.)

(4) For those Soviet citizens whose military service had taken them outside their country during the war and who had seen for themselves that life had not everywhere been as black as it had been painted by Soviet propaganda, sports success abroad was intended to be a morale-booster to assuage doubts about the superiority of the Soviet system, to provide a justification for all the efforts and sacrifice made to attain a strong state and higher standard of living. At home, the pomp of sports festivals like the 1956 Spartakiad and the competitive excitement of the burgeoning sports contests helped to obscure memories of foreign life and divert or diminish

36 The employment of sport as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy is examined below in a separate chapter (see p. 592 et seq.)

any yearning for a more liberal, relaxed and consumer-orientated society to be introduced into the post-war USSR. The faith in national success and belief in national superiority so created were thus conducive to strengthening group identification and constituted a compensation for frustrated aspirations in other areas. At the same time, particularly in the period up to Stalin's death in 1953, by strict control of the sports-movement through functionaries of the security forces and by the latter's timely warnings that players, too, were subject to the insistence on active political conformity and to coercion, any dangerous aspirations to cultivate friendships with foreign sportsmen, to communicate information about foreign societies, gathered during a sports trip, to Soviet citizens or to treat international sports-contests as apolitical games were effectively extinguished.

VIII THE LATER POST-WAR YEARS, 1959-1974: URBAN LIFE AND LEISURE

Part I

1. Background

Since the late 1950's, there has been a fairly steady increase in public and personal prosperity, a marked growth in the range and quantity of consumer goods available, a reduction in working time (with the introduction of the five-day week in 1967 for the bulk of the urban population) and a continuing shift in population-balance in favour of the towns (the urban population first exceeded the rural in 1961); moreover, the Five-Year Plan for 1971-75 for the first time projected a greater rise in the production of consumer goods than of producer goods. All these factors are having a qualitative effect on the pattern of recreation which, in turn, is having social and political consequences for society as a whole. These changes are examined in the first part of this chapter; the second part deals with some particular social aspects of Soviet sport today and their implications.

(a) Increasing prosperity

Since the end of World War II, the urban way of life in the USSR has altered remarkably. Figures published in the USSR indicate that both national income and consumption have more than doubled in the period we are now considering. (See Table 24).

Although the rate of growth of national income in the decade 1960-70 was somewhat slower than in the previous decade, the absolute increments were, of course, greater, and the population was growing less quickly. Data on real incomes per capita also show substantial increases in the last fifteen years (see Table 25).

In the current Five-Year Plan (1971-75), the minimum wage for state-employed personnel has risen to 70 roubles a month, their average monthly wage was to rise to 146-149 roubles by 1975, while the average earnings of collective farmers were to rise to 98 roubles a month (for average monthly earnings in

Table 24: Soviet Data on National Income, 1958-1972

Indicator	1958	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972 ~~
I. Total National Income as produced (mlrd. rub.)**	127.7	145.0	193.5	207.4	225.5	244.1	261.9	289.9	305.0	313.2 ●
(index: 1958 = 100*)	100	114	152	162	177	191	205	227	239	245 ●
(index: 1958 = 100+)	100	116	159	172	186	202	211	231	244	254
of total I:										
1. going to consumption (mlrd. rub.*)	92.1	104.5	140.3	150.0	162.1	174.8	187.3	201.3	213.0	224.3
(index: 1958=100*)	100	113	152	163	176	190	203	219	231	244
(rub. per capita)	445	488	608	642	687	733	779	829	869	906
of total 1:										
a) going to personal consumption (mlrd. rub.*)	84.0	93.9	124.9	133.2	144.0	155.2	166.1	177.9	187.8	197.0
(index: 1958 = 100*)	100	112	149	159	171	185	198	212	224	19.1
(% of total 1)	91	90	89	89	89	89	89	88	88	88
b) outlays‡ on institutions serving the public ## (mlrd. rub.*)	6.4	8.2	11.2	12.2	13.1	14.1	15.2	16.6	17.8	29.1
(index: 1958=100*)	100	128	175	191	205	220	238	259	278	298
(% of total 1)	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9

Key

~~ Preliminary data

* At prices of given years (milliard = a thousand million)

● The revised total for 1972 is 313.6 mlrd. rub. (index 246) and the preliminary total for 1973 - 337.8 mlrd. rub. (index 265)

‡ Excluding wages and salaries

Excluding scientific institutions and administration

\+ In comparable prices

Sources:

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1965 g., Moscow, 1966, pp. 589, 592.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, pp. 533, 535.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972 gg., Moscow, 1972, pp. 359, 361.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp.531, 533

SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.175

Table 25: Soviet Data on the Real Incomes of the Public, 1958-1973

Indicator	1958	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Real per capita incomes of whole population (1958 = 100)	100	108	129	137	140	154	163	172	180	187	196

Sources:

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1960 g., Moscow, 1961, p. 160.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1965 g., Moscow, 1966, p. 593.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, p. 537.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972 gg., Moscow, 1972, pp. 56, 363.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp. 58,535

SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.22.

1971 and 1972 for various categories of employee, see p.410a below. The projected rise in real incomes by 1975 was 30 per cent .[1] A new feature of the 1971-75 Plan was the relationship between the planned rise of consumer-goods output and that of producer goods, the ratio between the two being 46:43;[2] this was, as we have said, the first time the former has had preference in a Five-Year Plan.

Part of the increased personal income is undoubtedly being spent on recreation, on the pursuit of a growing variety of sports, particularly outdoor ones, and on personal sporting durables such as skis, skates, tennis- and badminton-rackets, fishing-tackle, tents and, to a lesser extent, on motor-cycles, canoes, dingies, yachts and cars. This would clearly seem to be a long-term trend.

Higher national income has also resulted in more substantial government allocations to leisure and sporting facilities, and the development of a number of sports, particularly outdoor, that presuppose a certain level of industrial development and economic surplus — for example, motor-racing and rallying, yachting, other types of boating, karting, various winter sports (tobogganing, bobsleighing, slaloming, ski-jumping), water-skiing, aqualung-diving, mountain-climbing, fishing, shooting and the complex of activities that come under the rubric of 'tourism' in the USSR (see p.347). All these sports showed appreciable growth in the 1960's; some, in fact, have only begun seriously in the last few years. Karting began in 1960 in Tallinn; water-skiing began in 1959 and its first national championships were held only in 1965; motor-car racing and rallying only seriously began in the mid-1960's — yet, in 1971, Soviet cars competed in 60 Soviet and 20 foreign rallies;[3] it was

[1] Brezhnev, L.I., Otchyot Tsentral'novo Komiteta KPSS XXIV s"ezdu Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskovo Soyuza, Moscow, 1971, p. 51.

[2] Pravda, 15 February, 1971, p. 1.

[3] Sport v SSSR, 1971, No. 2, p. 30.

only in 1969 that the first luge-toboggan runs were constructed near Leningrad and Riga --yet, by 1970, Soviet industry had not produced any toboggans (except for children) and followers of the sport had had to make their own.[4] Some sports which had been played spasmodically earlier in the Soviet Union received a new lease of life in the 1960's when industry was able to produce equipment for them-as, for example, in the cases of rugby, archery and field hockey.[5]

State capital-investment for the construction of sports-facilities grew considerably during the 1960's: while the government spent an average of 16 million rubles per annum between 1953 and 1964 on new sports-facilities and installations, it spent as much as 40 million rubles for the purposes in 1965 alone.[6] Furthermore, after the August 1966 government resolutions on sport (see p. 386), a big spending-programme was drawn up, so that, in the following year, some republics increased their expenditure on sport by as much as 6-7 times. In the Russian Republic, the 1967 expenditure on sport was over twice the amount spent in all the preceding post-war years put together.[7] As a result of this campaign, between 1966 and 1970, the country gained 319 new sports-centres, 185 indoor swimming pools, 31 indoor athletics stadiums and 16 artificial ice-rinks.[8]

[4] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 2, p. 80.

[5] A Rugby Federation was formed in 1967 and the first All-Union championships were held in 1968; archery appeared in Moscow in 1957 and a federation was formed in 1968 (it is noteworthy that archery was included in the Olympic Games in 1972 for the first time for fifty years); the first field-hockey championships were held in 1969 with the intention of sending a Soviet team to the 1972 Olympic Games (field-hockey being the only event the Soviet Union had not contested in previous Olympics); the USSR did not, however, get through the pre-Olympic qualifying matches.

[6] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1966, No. 7, p. 43.

[7] Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1968, No. 19 (23 May), p. 18.

[8] Sovetsky sport, 13 July, 1971, p. 2.

(b) Increasing free time

The relationship of work and leisure altered radically in the decade up to 1970. In 1956, the standard (six-day) week in Soviet industry was of 46 hours; by 1961, it had declined to 41 hours --still in a six-day week -- i.e., most workers had five 7-hour days and one 6-hour day each week. In 1970, the average working week in industry was 40.7 hours and, in state employment in general, 39.4 hours in a five-day week.[9] As the tables below indicate, the number of public holidays and days off for industrial manual workers increased by 36.1 days between 1960 and 1972; time actually worked declined by 33.9 days in the same period (see Table 26). For manual and office workers together, average prescribed annual holidays increased by two-and-a-half days between 1958 and 1968, and some 60 per cent of all workers enjoyed 18 or more days' holiday in 1968 --by comparison with 45 per cent in 1958 (see Table 27).

Not merely has there been an increase in the amount of leisure but, of course, the relationship of work to leisure has shifted. Today's Soviet workers have more potential physical and mental energy for their leisure. They therefore provide a large force which may be and, to some extent, is being recruited to games and sports which were previously beyond their physical and emotional resources. The reduction in the workday has resulted in workers spending less time than previously in a well-defined institutional setting --the workplace. As an American social scientist has concluded, "the general decline in compulsion has led to a measure of independence or separation from institutional environments, such as those provided by various political and public organisations. We may be witnessing the beginning of a shift in the expenditure of time from the public realm, which includes work, to the private one."[10]

[9] Azar, V.I., Otdykh trudyashchikhsya SSSR, Moscow, 1972, p. 6.

[10] Hollander, P., "Leisure: the Unity of Pleasure and Purpose", in Kassof, A., (ed.), Prospects for Soviet Society, Pall Mall Press, 1968, p. 149.

Table 26: Utilisation of Calendar Time by Manual Workers* in Industry, Selected Years, 1928-1972 (Days)

Components of Calendar Time	1928	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972+
Total calendar days	366	366	365	365	366	365	365	365	366	365	365	365	366
of which:													
A. Public holidays and days off	62.3	64.0	55.5	55.5	59.3	60.0	64.2	78.4	96.3	95.7	93.2	92.4	95.4
B. Working days	303.7	302.0	308.5	309.5	306.7	305.0	300.8	286.6	269.7	269.3	271.8	272.6	270.6
of total B:													
i) regular leaves[x]	14.2	13.0	14.9	16.0	17.4	17.5	17.1	16.8	16.9	16.9	17.2	17.9	18.5
ii) time off for sickness and childbirth[ø]	15.2	13.9	13.4	13.7	16.6[I]	15.2	14.5	14.3	13.3	14.0	14.7	13.9	13.5
iii) time off for doing state and public duties and other time off authorised by law and with management permission	3.6	3.6	4.0	5.6	5.1	5.1	5.2	5.1	4.7	4.9	5.0	5.0	4.9
iv) time off for other reasons and holdups lasting a whole shift	7.7	1.7	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7
v) time actually worked	263.0	269.8	276.3	273.3	266.9	266.4	263.1	249.6	234.0	232.6	234.1	235.1	233.0

* Average per manual worker

+ In Building, public holidays and days off in 1972 totalled (in working days) 99.6
regular leaves 15.3
sickness and childbirth 10.9
state and public duties, etc. 4.5
other 2.3
actually worked 233.4

x Average working days' paid leave per worker (permanent, seasonal and temporary workers counted) incl. days due to workers leaving work before getting their leave and receiving money compensation in lieu.

ø Days paid from Social Insurance funds

I Pregnancy and childbirth leave was increased from 77 to 112 calendar days from 1st April, 1956.

Sources:

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1962 g., Moscow, 1963, p. 131.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1965 g., Moscow, 1966, p. 142.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1967 g., Moscow, 1968, p. 209.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1968 g., Moscow, 1969, p. 207.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 g., Moscow, 1970, p. 167.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, p. 159.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp. 182, 497.

Table 27: Length of Prescribed Leave for Permanent Adult Manual and Office Workers●

Indicator	1958[x]	1964[+]	1967[ǂ]	1968[x]
Average prescribed leave (working days)	18.5	19.3	19.9	20.9
with 12-27+working days' leave (% of all manual and office workers)	100	100	100	100
of whom with:				
twelve (%)	42.3	36.6	31.1	...ø
fifteen‡ (%)	12.7	10.8	9.3	40.0ø
eighteen‡ (%)	11.1	14.2	17.2	17.5
twenty-one‡ (%)	3.0	4.8	5.3	5.3
twenty-four‡ (%)	19.2	20.1	23.2	23.3
more than 24 (%)	11.7	13.5	13.9	13.9
incl.				
twenty-seven (%)	4.6	5.5	...	...
more than 27 (%)	7.1	8.0	...	...

● Excl. seasonal and temporary employees and juniors (under-18's get one calendar month's leave). Included are supplementary leaves prescribed by law and embodied in collective agreements for certain categories of employees (for working conditions harmful to health, for un-normed working day, for continuous service in one enterprise, for work in special climatic conditions, etc.) but excluded are study-leaves for taking examinations by part-time students, leaves for sickness, pregnancy and childbirth, supplementary leaves for blood-donors and unpaid leaves.

[x] 1 April

[+] 31 March

[ǂ] Official estimate, end of year.

[x] 30 April.

ø The minimum leave was raised to 15 working days (from 1 January, 1968) in September, 1967.

‡ Incl. a few with leaves of 16,17,19,20,22 and 23 working days (in nearest category)

Sources:

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1967 g., Moscow, 1968, p. 662.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1968 g., Moscow, 1969, p. 558.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 g., Moscow, 1970, p. 549.

Another factor of importance for sport is the distribution of leisure. The number of hours in the working day has diminished, leaving more free time and energy available for leisure pursuits in the evenings. More significant has been the increase in the number of whole days on which no work is done. Altogether (as we saw above), Soviet industrial manual workers had 95.4 days off during 1972, including annual paid holidays of fifteen days for most workers (from 1st January, 1968).[11]

An idea of time-use by workers in eight different Soviet towns may be obtained from the next table (Table 28).

The breakthrough that signals the greatest revolution in sports-participation, just as / in other advanced industrial countries, and in the pattern of recreation was the introduction of the long weekend. In March, 1967, the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a resolution 'On the Transfer of Industrial and Office Workers to a Five-Day Working Week with Two Consecutive Free Days'.[12] For the first time in Soviet history, the bulk of industrial workers had their weekends free. Holidays with pay and long weekends enable men and women to pursue sports which cannot be enjoyed in an evening or even in a half-day's holiday. It is this pattern of leisure that has made possible in Western Europe and America the great growth in sports and pastimes which take place far from the city streets and office blocks. A similar trend seems to be taking place in the USSR --a minor instance of convergence of the socialist and capitalist systems. The chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade-Union Sports Societies, G.I. Yeliseyev, has said that "whereas recreational activities used to take place in urban sports-centres, many have now been transferred to out-of-town sports-amenities, recreation-camps and parks."[13] As a consequence, the unions have had to "refit and adapt

[11] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 3, p. 4.

[12] Pravda, 23 March, 1967, p. 1.

[13] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 2, p. 45.

Table 28: Time-Use by Urban Manual and Office Workers in Some Soviet Cities, 1963 and 1968

(hours and minutes per week)

Time-use category	Ivanovo (1963)		Gor'ky (1963)		Rostov (1963)		Sverdlovsk (1963)		Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozh'ye, Odessa and Kostroma (1968)	
	hrs.-min.	%	hrs.-min.	%	hrs.-min.	%	hrs.-min.	%	hrs.-min.	%
Total time	168-00	100	168-00	100	168-00	100	168-00	100	168-00	100
of which:										
Actual working time[x]	41-00	24.4	39-30	23.5	37.50	22.5	39-50	23.7	39-50	23.7
non-working time related to the job[+]	8-50	5.3	10-50	6.4	10-10	6.1	10-10	6.1	11-10	6.2
household duties[ø]	22-00	13.1	22-30	13.4	22-40	13.5	23-30	14.0	24-30	14.4
eating, sleeping and personal care	68-50	41.0	66-00	39.3	67-50	40.4	66-30	39.6	63-40	37.5
free time[‡]	27-20	16.3	29-10	17.4	29-30	17.6	28-00	16.7	30-30	18.2

[x] Total time for which the worker is paid.

[+] Chiefly travel to and from work

[ø] Shopping, cooking, cleaning, sewing, care of children.

[‡] Major components are studying, reading, watching TV, visiting the cinema, theatre and sports-spectacles, visiting friends, and sports activities.

Source: Gordon, L.A., Klopov, E.V.., Chelovek posle raboty: sotsial'nye problemy byta i vnerabochevo vremeni, Moscow, 1972, p. 28.

Although it would be wise not to read too much into the changes between 1963 and 1968 -- in view of the different nature of the towns (e.g., Ivanovo has a high proportion of women in the labour-force) and the unknown quality of the statistical techniques used -- the table does reveal a fairly consistent pattern of time-use for all eight cities and an increase in free-time (of at least one hour per week) between 1963 and 1968. It would appear that workers had about 30 hours a week at their disposal as free time. It is how much of that which they devote to sport that concerns us and which is examined below.

various buildings, old passenger railway-compartments and river-steamers, landing-craft, barges, etc., and construct rudimentary recreational areas."[14] As an example of the impact of the long weekend, Yeliseyev quotes figures for sports-participation at several factories. At the Zaporozhstal' Works, which operated a five-day week as early as in 1966, every employee is said to have spent on average three hours 27 minutes on sport and physical culture every week during 1967 while, at similar factories working a six-day week, the average was only two hours 14 minutes. With general conversion to the five-day week, sports-participation usually increased --in some areas, very greatly. For example, in the Perm' Oblast', the number of sports-participants is said virtually to have trebled.[15]

The boom in camping, fishing and hunting and, to a lesser extent, in mountaineering, pot-holing, water-skiing, motoring and boating, is partly accounted for by longer holidays with pay and partly by the developing cult of the weekend. The Soviet Union is, in fact, rapidly developing a 'weekend' pattern of behaviour, not greatly dissimilar to that followed in most advanced Western countries - if, as yet, with far less use of motor-cars (see p. 358, below).

Nothing is more indicative of the changing recreational pattern than the rapidly-mounting popularity of 'tourism'.[16] In 1955, it was 14th among all sporting pursuits in numbers of participants, in 1960 --11th, in 1965 --

[14] Idem, p. 47.

[15] Idem, p. 48.

[16] 'Tourism' is a loosely-defined term, as the following description indicates only too clearly: "Tourism includes more or less lengthy journeys with the aim of active rest and better health, tempering the organism, acquiring new knowledge and experience, and performing, on the way, socially useful work. An important part of tourist activity is moving about on foot, skis, bicycle or boat and overcoming natural obstacles, often in extremely difficult climatic conditions and even in dangerous situations, e.g., mountaineering or rock-climbing. . . Many tourist journeys involve self-service, such as arranging a camp, camp-fire, food and washing. . . Tourism comprises rambling (progulki), excursions and tourist journeys (pokhody). Sporting tourism, however, also includes mountaineering and orienteering. . . The Uniform All-Union Sports Classification details the complexity of routes, the number of journeys and the length of the journeys, and the difficulty of natural obstacles that the tourist has to negotiate in order to attain a ranking." (Kharabuga, G.D., Teoriya i metodika fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1969, pp. 69-71.)

4th, and in 1970 --2nd after athletics (see Table 28 below). Immediately after the war, there were only 15 recognised tourist routes in the USSR; by

Table 29: Sixteen Sports by Order of Number of Participants, Selected Years, 1940-70

Sport	1940	1945	1955	1960	1965	1970
1 Athletics	3	3	1	1	1	1
2 Tourism	14[X]	18[X]	14	11	4	2
3 Volleyball	5	6	2	3	2	3
4 Skiing	2	1	3	2	3	4
5 Pistol-shooting	6	7	5	6	5	5
6 Football	7	9	7	8	7	6
7 Basketball	11	12	9	7	8	7
8 Chess	1	2	4	4	6	8
9 Draughts	-	4	6	5	9	9
10 Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	10
11 Table-Tennis	-	-	12	10	10	11
12 Shooting (game)	-	-	-	-	-	12
13 Swimming	8	8	11	13	11	13
14 Cycling	9	10	10	12	12	14
15 Gymnastics[+]	4	5	8	9	13	15
16 Speed-skating	10	11	13	14	14	16

[X] In 1940, the missing numbers (12 and 13) represent sports not here listed (ice-hockey and fencing respectively); in 1945, the missing numbers (13 and 14)) represent wrestling and ice-hockey.

[+] Gymnastics (sportivnaya gimnastika) does not include here calisthenics (khudozhestvennaya gimnastika), or body-building (atleticheskaya gimnastika) or keep-fit exercises at work (proizvodstvennaya gimnastika). (Dobrov, A.A. [ed.], Vsyo o sporte, Moscow, 1972, p. 176.)

Sources: Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp. 54, 72, 93; Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, P.A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 87; Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, P.A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1969, p. 62.

1968, there were over 900 and, in 1970, more than 1,000. In 1970, some 50 million people (i.e., over one-fifth of the population) took part in camping or excursions around the country.[17] In 1972, the number had increased to 74 million (nearly one-third of the population).[18] Several factories have their own recreation 'tourist' camps. The big VEF engineering works in Riga, for example, has its own camp between the rivers Gauya and Vausozer, which 6,000 of its employees and their family-members visited during 1967. Most of the cost is borne by the factory, the employees contributing 1 ruble a day for their three meals, use of sports-equipment, and accommodation.[19] During 1970, 50 tourist passes were available for issue for every 1,000 workers (as compared to 11 per 1,000 in 1965).[20] As a step to encourage tourism --and also to control it and the way people spend their free time --the Party, government and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions jointly issued a decree in 1969 "On Measures for the Further Development of Tourism and Excursions within the Country." The decree noted that "tourism and excursions, besides being forms of recreation, are becoming important means of raising the cultural level and of ideological-political education."[21] The rôle that the decree ascribed to tourism was distinctly a functional one: "to improve health, inculcate patriotism, develop greater knowledge of one's country and popularise the

[17] Rakhmanov, P.A. (ed.), Turistskie marshruty, 1970, Moscow, 1970, p. 151.

[18] Sport v SSSR, 1973, No. 6, p. 21.

[19] Sport v SSSR, 1968, No. 7, pp. 3-8.

[20] Rakhmanov, op. cit., p. 156. Both as a student and as a Soviet employee, the present writer was able to take advantage of these facilities; in the former case, the recreational centre was a delightful camp in the pine woods on the edge of a forest lake about 20 miles from Moscow; food and accommodation cost no more than one ruble a day.

[21] Materialy XVI s"yezda VLKSM, Moscow, 1970, p. 194.

revolutionary, military and labour attainments of our people." [22]

The small scale of foreign tourism (i.e., holidaying abroad) -- due almost entirely to state restrictions on foreign travel -- is a factor to be noted as influencing the increased numbers of Soviet 'tourists' within the USSR. As Table 30 shows, the number of Soviet citizens travelling abroad, especially to the West, is very low. Since the statistics include persons travelling abroad to attend international conferences and business negotiations, the numbers of genuine 'tourists' -- i.e., holidaymakers -- are likely to be considerably lower than the 600,000 shown for visiting the west in 1970.

Table 30: Soviet Citizens Travelling Abroad, 1956-1970 (thous.)

Indicator	1956	1960	1965	1967	1970
Soviet citizens going abroad	560	730	1,150	1,550	1,850
of them:					
to other socialist countries	450	500	630	830	1,250
to non-socialist states	110	230	520	720	600

Source: Azar, V.I., Otdykh trudyashchikhsya SSSR, Moscow, 1972, p.41.

Fishing and shooting have both greatly increased their following and relative position of popularity (see Table 29 above). In 1961, a total of 1,856,800 engaged in fishing and shooting; in 1968, the following of these was 5,324,300, and they had moved up to tenth and twelfth places respectively from seventeenth and twenty third in 1961. During 1968, a total of 3,181,700 people are said to have engaged in fishing and 2,142,600 in shooting.[23]

[22] Ibid., p.195.

[23] Dobrov, A., God sportivny, Moscow, 1969, p.143.

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Other outdoor sports have increased their following and their position of popularity in the list of participant sports (whereas indoor pursuits like chess, draughts, gymnastics and table-tennis have declined relatively). It would seem that the increase in leisure is resulting in a change in the pattern of Soviet sport towards non-urban outdoor recreation.

It has been argued by some that the increase in leisure and prosperity in the Soviet Union has parallelled the consolidation of a Soviet élite.[24] It is true that, although some facilities may be had free of charge or hired at very low cost through a club at one's workplace or place of residence and although trade unions do grant special subsidised passes for visits to well-equipped out-of-town recreational sites, it is the richer and more influential members of the community who are increasingly able to afford such pleasures (and even acquire their own facilities -- e.g., a motor car, a motor cycle, a boat or camping equipment). There are indications that the social stratification of Soviet society finds expression in recreation. Members of élite groups at present noticeably tend (as we shall see below) to be concentrated in the three largest cities, Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, even though the trend appears to be away from such concentration. Furthermore, to the extent that functional 'importance' is reflected in greater remuneration, a high income gives some groups access to certain opportunities not / available

[24] The one-time Vice-President of Yugoslavia, Milovan Djilas, sees this as a ruling élite, "a new class ... made up of those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they hold." (See Djilas, M., The New Class, Unwin, London, 1966, p.49.) Earlier, Trotsky, while maintaining that the Soviet Union was still a workers' state (in terms of Marxist class-analysis), had cited such priviliges and élitist tendencies in support of his analysis of the USSR as a degenerate workers' state with bureaucratic distortions. (See Trotsky, L.D., The Revolution Betrayed, London, Plough Press, 1957.)

to the masses: country houses (dachas), cars, boats, larger apartments and travel --even abroad.[25] It is, in fact, admitted that "certain free-time activities require considerable expenditure on special equipment and clothing, payment for transport and services. Of course, our widespread use of public forms of leisure-organisation and the extensive use of workplace and trade-union funds substantially equalise the opportunities of different income-groups. Nonetheless, there still remains a certain differentiation in opportunities."[26] The same authors found that, with the change-over from the six- to the five-day week, the lowest-paid workers tended to spend even less time "on reading, visiting the cinema or stadiums, pursuing a sport, self-improvement and out-of-town recreation" --the reason being that they spent part of the weekend earning extra cash by doing work at home (dress-making, furniture-and handicrafts-making) doing odd jobs, etc. [27]. Not everyone, therefore, is in a financial position to take advantage of the extra free time and leisure-facilities available.

It is also true, however, that, for members of the élite, time for recreation may be a problem, since they are more involved with their occupation and greater demands are made upon them. This is, in particular, the case for urban intellectuals. Furthermore, there are several distinctions to be made between the social differentiation in sport that exists in the Soviet Union and that in some Western societies. First, because Soviet sport in general has hardly been commercialised, no particular sport can be

[25] In his travels in the Soviet Union, the present writer noted an extravagantly-equipped billiard-room at the home of a high Party official in a southern republic, a spacious table-tennis room in the apartment of a high-ranking army officer in Moscow, a private swimming pool at the dacha of a Soviet journalist just outside Moscow, a car and river-yacht belonging to a professor at a Moscow Institute and lavish gambling on horses at the Moscow Hippodrome racecourse by army officers --all in striking contrast to the modest living-space and material facilities available to the bulk of the population.

[26] Gordon, L.A., Rimashevska, N.M., Pyatidnevnaya rabochaya nedelya i svobodnoye vremya trudyashchikhsya, Moscow, 1972, p. 65.

[27] Ibid., p. 64.

exploited without control, or turned virtually into the preserve of particular income- and social-status groups, as has happened with such sports as polo, squash, yachting and tennis in Britain, and golf in the USA. Second, Soviet leisure-patterns probably reflect income-differentials to a much lesser extent than in most Western industrial societies; the greater social mobility and the existence of wider educational and sporting opportunities have kept open the channels to sports. Certainly, there are sports which are preferred by certain groups more than others --e.g., rural Russians enjoy gorodki and lapta more than their urban counterparts, the Estonians have access to water and a tradition of yachting and have the grass for lawn tennis, while the Kirgiz and the Bashkirs have the horses and conditions for equestrian sports. All the same, sport seems to have spread far and wide among all sections of the population, and chess, football, skating, skiing, fishing, gymnastics and volleyball appear to be popular with old and young, worker and intellectual, townsman and countryman. It is, moreover, the declared aim of the Party and government --and their desire is for greater social control through mass sport --to involve the whole population in sport. In a recent (1972) statement, Sergei Pavlov, Chairman of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, said: "We make no secret of the fact that mass participation in sport is of obvious advantage both to every citizen and to society as a whole. Sport is a vital tonic, is uplifting and increases one's capacity for work, and this, in turn, has a beneficial effect on the results of that work."[28]

(c) Increasing urbanisation

Over half the Soviet population now lives in a relatively modern, urban, industrial society, a human condition which, in itself, regardless of the character of the polity, promotes and predisposes people to certain kinds of leisure-time activities.

The rate of population-shift from the rural localities to the cities reflects the general course of industrialisation. Since Russia was an agrarian

[28] Pavlov, S., "Glavnaya nasha zadacha", in Nemeshayev, N.A. (ed.), Glavny
Moscow, 1972, p. 9.

country before the 1917 revolutions, the level of its urbanisation was very low: only eleven per cent of the population lived in the towns in 1870 and only 18 per cent in 1913 and 1926, as Appendix XI shows. The table below shows the changing urban-rural population balance for the period 1958-1974.

Table 31: Urban and Rural Population[a], Selected Years, 1958-1974

Year	Total population		of which: Urban		Rural	
	mln.	%	mln.	%	mln.	%
1958	204.9	100.0	95.6	47	109.3	53
1959	208.8	100	100.0	48	108.8	52
1960	212.4	100	103.6	49	108.8	51
1965	229.6	100	120.7	53	108.9	47
1970	241.7	100	136.0	56	105.7	44
1971	243.9	100	139.0	57	104.9	43
1972	246.3	100	142.5	58	103.8	42
1973	248.6	100	146.1	59	102.5	41
1974	250.9	100	149.6	60	101.3	40

[a] Beginning of year; territory of given year

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.7;
SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.7.

By 1974, the number of town-dwellers was nearly 150 million persons -- i.e., three-fifths of a population exceeding a quarter of a billion.[29] But the industrialisation policy has had even more serious consequences than these figures indicate. Whereas, by the end of 1973, 40 per cent of the population was described as rural, only 18.7 per cent were collective-farm peasants (and this figure includes all cooperative handicraftsmen); thus, the remaining

[29] SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.7.

21 per cent or so (more than half the rural population) belonged to the state-employed category of 'manual and office workers' -- whose share had risen sharply from 68.3 per cent of the population in 1959 to 81.3 per cent in 1973.[30] A more-than-halving of the weight of the kolkhoz class in the population since the war is a major development of the post-war years.

Furthermore, the USSR by the end of 1973 had eleven cities with a population exceeding one million: Moscow (7.5 mln.), Leningrad (4.2 mln.), Kiev (1.9 mln.), Tashkent (1.6 mln.), Baku (1.4 mln.), Khar'kov (1.3 mln.), Gor'ky (1.3 mln.), Novosibirsk (1.2 mln.), Kuibyshev (1.1 mln.), Sverdlovsk (1.1 mln.) and Minsk (1.1 mln.). [31] There were 35 cities with a population of over half a million with an aggregate total population of 42.8 million.[32] The biggest city, Moscow, had an estimated population in January 1974 of 7,528,000. By comparison, it had had a population of 1.854 mln. in 1917, 2.080 mln. in 1926 , 4.542 mln. in 1939 and 6.044 mln. in 1959.[33] Greater Moscow now occupies about 875 square kilometres and stretches 35 kilometres from West to East and 40 kiloretres from North to South.[34]

At the same time as people have migrated into the towns, the government has followed a policy of high-density building in multi-storey blocks of flats. Despite the fact that town-planning tends to allow for sizeable courtyard facilities for each block of flats and now for a certain minimum of sports amenities for urban residents (a norm of one sports-centre, one gymnasium

[30] Ibid., p.17.

[31] Ibid., p.13.

[32] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[33] Ibid., p.13.

[34] Dvinsky, Em., Moskva:kratky putevoditel', Moscow, 1971, p.7.

and one indoor swimming-pool for every 50,000 people in 1970 [35]), the problem of providing adequate outdoor amenities for games and sports is becoming ever greater in the most densely-settled urban areas. In Moscow, for example, it was reported in 1971 that its districts were grossly under-provided with sports amenities: Krasnaya Presnya, where 213,000 people

35 Shmidt, H.E., Poleyev, A.S., Sportivnye sooruzheniya v SSSR, Moscow, 1970, p. 71. More specifically, in accordance with a Party Central Committee resolution of 1966, Gosstroi of the USSR approved a list of sports-amenities whose provision was "compulsory for all neighbourhood units (mikroraiony) and groups of blocks of flats (gruppy zhilykh domov), in the building or reconstruction of residential districts (zhilye raiony), small towns and factory settlements (promyshlennye posyolki) " (Gosstroi Order No. 65, issued on 28 April, 1967). (A zhiloi raion is defined as an area of up to 250 hectares with a population of 30-50,000; these are divided into mikroraiony which have an area of 50 hectares and a population of up to 20,000 and which, in turn, are divided into gruppy zhilykh domov which each have a population of 2-3,000.) The optimum allocation of sports-facilities was defined in 1968 by the Central Research Institute of Model and Experimental Design of Entertainment, Sports and Administrative Buildings and Installations of the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture attached to Gosstroi of the USSR. The desired norm is for sports-facilities for daily use to be situated within 5-7 minutes' walk of home - i.e., within a radius of 250-700 metres. For regular use, the facilities should be within 15-20 minutes by foot or transport - i.e., within a radius of 2.5-7.5 kilometres. Amenities for daily use include an area of 1,200 square metres with equipment for gymnastics, athletics, basketball, volleyball and table-tennis; in winter, the same area is to be used for ice-skating, figure-skating, ice-hockey and providing a ski-track. Amenities for regular (but not necessarily daily) use by adults, individually or in sports-sections, should include a sports-ground with facilities for football, volleyball, basketball, tennis, badminton and gorodki, gymnasiums for gymnastics and games, indoor and outdoor swimming-pools, shooting-ranges and service facilities (cafeteria, changing-rooms, etc.). A third type of sports-complex covers organised games and training and includes a football-ground surrounded by athletics and speed-skating tracks, skating-rinks, an indoor athletics stadium, indoor swimming-bath and artificial ice-rink. A fourth category is designed for sportsmen with a first ranking, masters of a particular sport and sportsmen who pursue certain other sports (wrestling, boxing and weightlifting). This last amenity should be within a distance of 30 minutes' travel; it is also recommended that a children's sports school should be formed using these facilities. Beyond this 30-minute-travel limit are big stadiums, 'palaces of sport', artificial ice-rinks and indoor swimming-baths for public use (Shmidt, Poleyev, pp. 20-24).

resided, should have had 68 hectares of sports facilities according to prescribed standards, but, in fact, had only ten hectares — one-seventh of the prescribed standard; Krasnogvardeisky district, with 160,000 residents, had only 4.5 hectares of facilities instead of 51 hectares; Gagarin district, with 250,000 residents, had only two hectares instead of 80 hectares. Despite an order by the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet to prevent any new district being commissioned without the requisite sports amenities, the city as a whole had only a quarter of the sports-amenities it should have had (one-ninth and only of the prescribed facilities in the new [constructed since 1960] districts). In the period 1966-71, some 2,250 sports-grounds should have been built, but only 250 (11%) were actually constructed.[36]

As the Moscow example would indicate, while the already established multi-sport centre fills the needs of some, it is becoming increasingly difficult to accommodate the casual as well as the serious participant in sport. There simply are not enough sports-facilities and parks in the towns to go round.

In the complex pattern of sport in modern urban, industrialised Soviet society, two features are readily discernible. First is the radical change that has taken place since 1960: the complexity is now very much greater than hitherto. Second is the increase in the number of sports which people pursue. The trend now appears (as mentioned above) to be towards a proliferation of sporting activities and, in particular, of outdoor non-urban recreation. The present pattern of sport is not easy to delineate;

36 Sovetsky sport, 8 January, 1971, p. 2. The problem would seem to be common to other towns: a lack of coordination in financing and building sports amenities (they are mostly financed from non-centralised sources--trade unions, ministerial departments, factories, offices and farms) and a low priority accorded to them by the city Soviet: "The Soviets as a rule act as passive onlookers instead of following a concerted policy in building sports facilities corresponding to the needs of town-planning " (Shmidt, Poleyev, op. cit., p. 29.).

it is even more difficult to estimate how far the pattern satisfies the needs and aspirations of the people. Facilities and opportunities, and their limitations, determine to a great degree not only what Soviet citizens actually do with their leisure, but also their aspirations. In developed Western countries, for example, the motor-car has had a considerable impact on the way families spend their leisure-time. Since the output of passenger cars was 344,000 in 1970 and only 3 million over the 15 years 1955-70, it would obviously be idle for the average Soviet family to crave yet for a Sunday motor-car ride in the country. It is planned, however, to increase car-production to 1.2-1.3 million by 1975 (the 1973 output was 916,700) --a four-fold increase over 1970.[37] Nonetheless, the production of passenger cars in the USSR will still not have reached the 1960 British absolute production-level with over four times the population and 100 times or more the length of highways It is estimated that, by 1980-85, the USSR will have some 15-20 million passenger cars — i.e., approximately one for every 4-5 families.[38] Moscow planners are basing their forward plans for street-construction and garage-building on about 700,000 private cars in the city by 1990-95 and a million some time in the 21st century.[39] For the moment, at any rate, what is envisaged is not making the car accessible to every family but providing an adequate supply for minority groups whose leisure-pattern will obviously be altered by this increase in car-production. How great an impact the car will have on Soviet leisure-patterns is already being forecast by some Soviet sociologists; thus "like the television set, the appearance of the family motor-car will stimulate the emergence and development of a whole number of activities, will lead to a change in habits and traditions and, ultimately, will transform the psychology of millions of people. When the car becomes

37 Kosygin, A.N., Direktivy XXIV s"ezda po pyatiletnemu planu razvitiya narodnovo khozyaistva SSSR na 1971-1975 gody, Moscow, 1971, p. 35; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p. 93.

38 Gordon, L.A., Klopov, E.V., Chelovek posle raboty, Moscow, 1972, p. 273.

39 Moskovskaya pravda, 5 December, 1971, p. 4.

part of everyday life, it is no longer simply a 'means of transport'; it becomes a means of transforming everyday life, a weapon in the domestic revolution."[40]

Rising personal prosperity, an increasing amount of free time, particularly the long weekend, and the pressures of an urban-industrial environment have certain implications for sport. For example, people tend to form smaller (often family) groups for recreation and holidays (going on family, rather than individual subsidised-ticket [putyovka], trips). There appears to be an increasing desire to "get away from it all" rather than to "get together". On the whole, the government has, in the past, endeavoured to see to it that the facilities available to the population at large predispose them toward some form of public, collective recreation --mainly through the sports-club, workplace, trade union, public park or play-centre behind a block of flats. In a survey in Lithuania, undertaken in 1966, to discover where sports-participants practised their sport, it was found that 55.6 per cent of the men and 48.4 per cent of the women mainly used the facilities provided at their places of work. Of the schoolchildren studied, 70 per cent said they practised their sport mainly using facilities at school.[41]

But this pattern is largely due to the location of sports-amenities at work- or study-places: "the overwhelming majority of urban clubs and most sports-groups are today associated with workplaces and are orientated primarily on serving their needs."[42] Now that most workers have a long weekend away from work, these production-based facilities no longer suit

[40] Gordon, op. cit., pp. 275-276.

[41] Stakioniene, V., Dulinskas, S., "Nekotorye rezul'taty razvitiya fizicheskoi kul'tury v bytu shkol'nikov i trudyashchikhsya Litovskoi SSR," in Solov'ov, Lazauskas, J., Yankova, Z. (eds.), Problemy byta, braka i sem'i, Vilnius, 1970, p. 217.

[42] Gordon, L.A., Rimashevskaya, N.M., Pyatidnevnaya rabochaya nedelya i svobodnoye vremya trudyashchikhsya, Moscow, 1972, p. 115.

them because the clubs are "ill-adapted to family forms of free-time activity or to the active leisure activities of a small group linked by personal-and-friendly rather than formal relations."[43] There is clearly a trend away from "public and mass" leisure-activities towards "individual, domestic, family and passive"[44] leisure - especially watching television. 'Televiewing' has become the most important single time-consuming leisure-activity: "the amount of time spent on watching television in an urban worker's family exceeds the combined time spent on reading and visiting places of public entertainment, and comprises a third of all time spent on culture outside work."[45]

It is an oft-stated desire that sport should be organised and integrated with other 'socially-useful activities'. One illustrative example in recent years is the elaborate government attempt to control the development of tourism by arranging set routes, qualifying norms and tasks for 1st, 2nd and 3rd rankings and even Master of Sport. One of the socially-useful facets of tourism, it is claimed, is that 'tourists' are able "on the way to hold talks and reading sessions on topical political, economic and other themes, organise artistic displays and take part in agricultural work."[46] At the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1971, its

[43] Idem.

[44] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[45] Gordon, Klopov, op. cit., pp. 160-161. In the surveys whose results are presented in the two above-mentioned books (based on five industrial centres: Dnepropetrovsk, Kostroma, Odessa, Zaporozh'ye and Taganrog), it was found that 75 per cent of the men and 64 per cent of the women had watched TV at some time during the three-day survey; two-thirds of all workers in the survey had TV sets; furthermore, men watched TV on average 8-9 hours a week, women — 3-4 hours (Gordon, Klopov, pp. 159-160); in Taganrog, adults spent a weekly average of 6-7 hours watching TV (Gordon, Rimashevskaya, p. 76). In the space of less than 15 years, 1960-73, the USSR has moved from a national average of 22 television-sets to 195 sets per 1000 population, from 8% to 67% of family ownership (SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.192).

[46] Kharabuga, G.D. (ed.), Teoriya i metodika fizicheskovo vospitaniya, Moscow, 1969, p. 68.

General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, singled out tourism as particularly useful in developing patriotism among the young: "Initiatives by our young people, such as mass tours of places of revolutionary, military and labour glory merit approval "[47]; just as important was the use of sport for military training: "great importance attaches to the work that is being done by the Komsomol, DOSAAF and other organisations and sports societies to train young people to defend their country."[48] The stereotyped tone of these pronouncements underlines the inspirational intent but probably less than realisable aim of the Party leadership to mobilise young people through sport for ideological purposes; some curious young people would, in all probability, prefer to interpret 'tourism' as foreign travel .

It is felt officially that the social controls within the working collective are more effective than those embodied in formal institutions, and that conformity to social norms can therefore more readily be exacted through the collective. Collectivised sporting activities are seen as discouraging excessive individualism, introspection leading to doubt, and the development of tastes for privacy that might interfere with loyalties towards the collective. Sport has a further function in regard to young people. To the extent that, in every society, the young --particularly adolescents -- are more concerned with sport than adults, the authorities are interested in using and guiding their leisure-time (through sport) --especially in view of the rebellious, deviant and anomic tendencies sometimes observable among some Soviet youth. The above-mentioned Lithuanian survey maintained that "sociological studies reveal the rôle of sport and regular physical education in the fight against juvenile delinquency. According to the headmaster of secondary school No. 7 in Kaunas, for the last five years none of the members of the school or town teams has been brought before the

[47] Brezhnev, op. cit., p. 98.

[48] Ibid., p. 99.

juvenile commission of the Town Executive Committee or sent to a reform school. Schoolchildren who regularly pursue a sport much more rarely have bad marks for behaviour. Only 0.6 per cent of the members of the sports-group have low marks for discipline. The picture is the same in most other schools in the republic."[49] Apparently, some potential delinquents have a penchant for combat which, so it is said --and organisers of boys' clubs in Britain would probably agree --can be used to draw them into sport and away from crime: "Physical culture has great importance in combatting hooliganism, drunkenness and other vices. On the initiative of the Komsomol, physical-culture work has recently been carried out with young people who have violated public order. Experience has shown that these young people display great interest in football, wrestling, boxing and acrobatics. It is no secret that they often take up sport initially, especially boxing and wrestling, to fortify themselves and be a menace to others. But many subsequently become real sportsmen and some take an active part in maintaining public order."[50] It is noteworthy that, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party launched a special campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism in June, 1972, it gave special mention in its resolution ("On Measures for Intensifying the Fight against Drunkenness and Alcoholism") to the need for providing more and better sports-facilities; "We must increase the number of out-of-town recreational centres, using, in particular, the premises of Pioneer camps when the children are not occupying them; we must build in these recreational areas more ski-centres, ice-rinks, pavilions and boating lakes, hire-points for sports and tourist equipment; we must increase the number of sports-grounds, tennis-courts, ice-rinks, etc., on collective and state farms, in urban residential districts and in workers' settlements."[51] Sport, as much subsequent press and official comment has shown, was to be a

[49] Stakioniene et al, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

[50] Kharabuga, G.D., Sovetskaya sistema fizicheskovo vospitaniya, Leningrad, 1970, p. 13.

[51] Sovetsky sport, 17 July, 1972, p. 1.

principal diversion from vodka-drinking, especially on weekends and holidays. It was considered that youth, in particular, needs the challenge and adventure of sport, that competitiveness--or conflict --in sport provides an outlet for young people. Using sport as an antidote to deviance among young people is illustrated by two sports sections in Moscow, set up exclusively for juvenile delinquents --the Olympiya ice-hockey club[52] and the Burevestnik special combat young people's sports-school.[53] The latter has 240 children enrolled in its boxing and wrestling groups (one of whom won a gold medal in wrestling at the 1973 European Championships).

Another aim of the authorities has been to see that sporting activities and free time generally are used in a rational way, that sport should be socially functional. The prevailing functionalised conception of sport stresses not so much the needs of the individual as those of society: "The unique feature of physical culture and sport as social factors is that they serve society by ensuring the development of man's physical abilities."[54] Well-spent time on sporting activities is held to be important because of the contribution it makes to production and the smooth functioning of society in general. It should enrich the individual so that he may enrich society. Only under socialism, it is argued, is this possible: "Various systems of exercises for strengthening the body and mind have existed through the ages, but they have all been based on the narrow interests of exploiting classes, aimed at limited groups of people and have not envisaged the harmonious development of every person. Our country was the first to elaborate a system of physical education and sport embracing the whole of a person's life, from early childhood to old age, a system noble in its aims --to improve people's health, physique and labour performance."[55]

[52] Sovetsky sport, 22 March, 1973, p. 4.

[53] Sovetsky sport, 11 July, 1973, p. 3.

[54] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 7, p.2.

[55] Bugrov, N.N. (ed.), Fizkul'tura i podgotovka molodyozhi k trudu, Moscow, 1963, p. 3.

Nonetheless, a number of games exist that clearly are at odds with notions of rationality - horseracing (as a spectator sport for gamblers), dominoes, lotto (bingo) and many card-games. That they are tolerated is an indication that the authorities are willing to compromise with the strong personal desires of sections of the public on such matters --perhaps in order to gain compliance or at least the absence of active resistance in other, more important spheres. They are the equivalent in sport of such semi-tolerated or tolerated but non-approved actions as vodka-drinking, tipping, religious observance—and even anti-semitic anecdote-telling. The position of dominoes is particularly illustrative of the ambivalent status of such games. Some say "dominoes is a serious game, interesting, useful, intellectual. It has 'won its spurs' among such games as chess and draughts. . ."[56] Others maintain that "the domino cult deals a blow at real mass physical-culture work. . . It is not necessary to encourage an increase in the ranks of domino-bangers; it is a notoriously irrational game."[57] Academician Strumilin, on the other hand, was more tolerant: "No one will object to a game of cards or dominoes [in Communist society] . Nor will anyone interfere with a person who wastes his leisure or kills time, as they say. Such a person, however, might meet with the censure of his friends."[58]

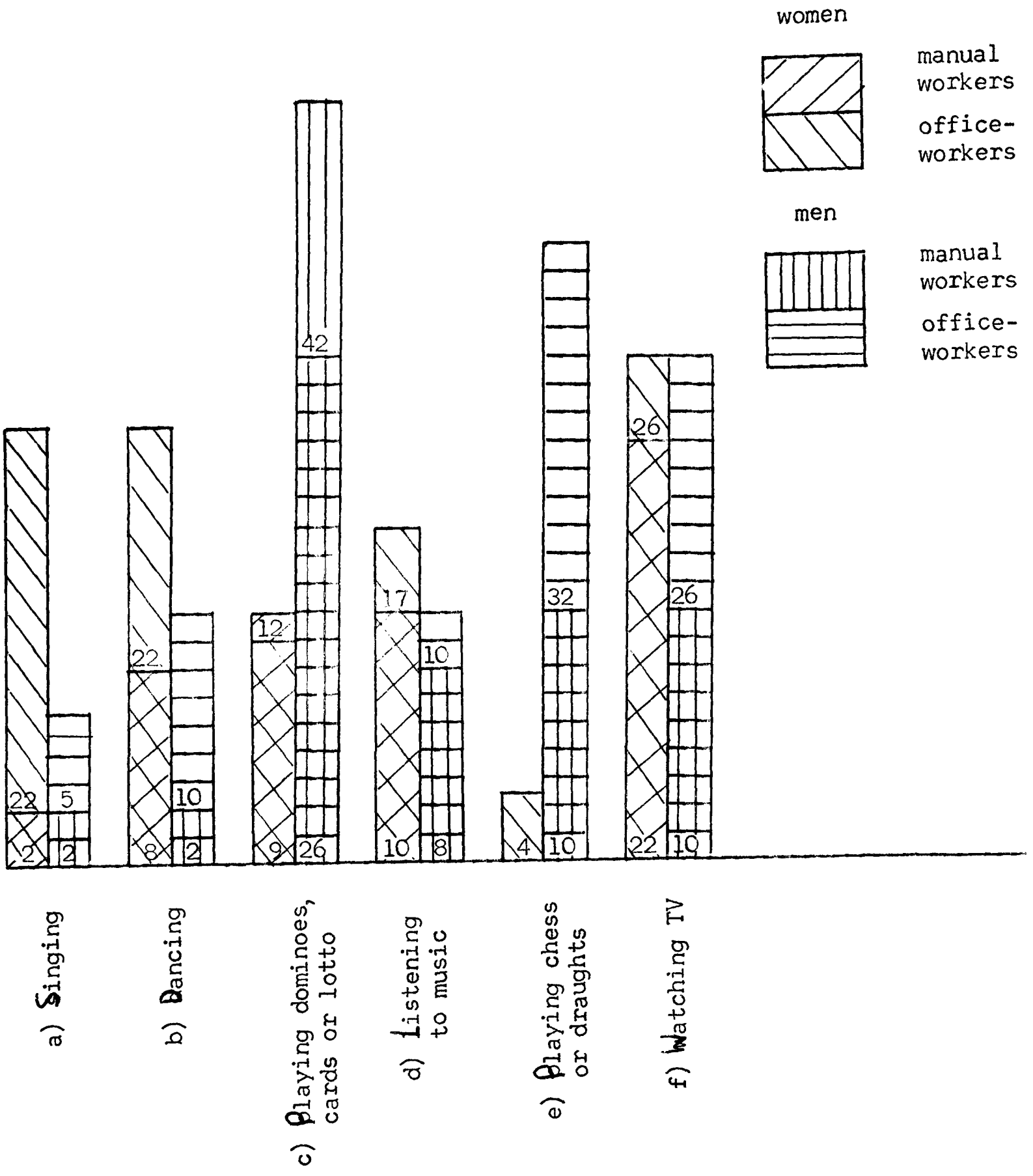
Just how popular are such games as dominoes, cards and 'lotto' may be judged from the analysis of what people do in their spare time when "they go visiting" (see Fig. x).

[56] Sovetsky sport, 12 May, 1971, p. 2.

[57] Idem.

[58] Strumilin, S.G., Your Questions on Communism, Moscow, 1964, p. 13.

Fig. x: Reported Activities of Manual and Office Workers in Taganrog when Visiting Friends (%)



The figures indicate the percentage of respondents who declared the given activity as what they normally did when visiting friends.

Source: Gordon, L.A., Klopov, E.V., Chelovek posle raboty:sotsial'nye problemy byta i vnerabochevo vremeni, Moscow, 1972, p. 149.

The survey further revealed that as many as 40 per cent of the men had played dominoes, cards or 'lotto' during four days of the time-budget study; the greatest enthusiasts were young married men who devoted, on average, one hour 20 minutes to such pastimes every week. It would therefore appear that such games hold first place among the pastimes of workingmen when visiting friends, and equal second place (with televiewing, behind chess and draughts) among office-workers. They also figure highly among women's pastimes. It is interesting, too, that no manual women-workers give chess or draughts as a pastime when with friends, and only 4 per cent of non-manual women employees do.

The authors of the survey believe that such seemingly wasteful and irrational games as cards and dominoes in fact are an important part of urban life and that official sanctions will not stop people from playing them: "before campaigning against such non-sporting games, people ought to realise that neither the cinema, books, nor even television, can 'defeat' dominoes, because they all fulfil different leisure-functions. Neither propaganda, nor ridicule, nor administrative sanctions would have any effect."[59] The authors do not specify these functions, but one may assume them to include compensation for the lack of outlet for such motivations as love of chance and successes speculation and a response to the needs of the less cultured. One may further assume that Soviet society, like all cultures, has and plays a large number of games of different kinds, not all of which confirm or reinforce established values --rather, which contradict and flout them, thus representing compensations or safety-valves for Soviet citizens. As the French sociologist, Roger Caillois, wrote in regard to national lotteries:

[59] Gordon, Klopov, op. cit., p. 145.

they may "go against the professional idea. Nevertheless, they play a significant, perhaps indispensable, rôle in that they offer an aleatory counterpart for the recompense that --in principle --work and merit alone can provide."[60]

Other Soviet social scientists, however, believe that leisure is well spent only when it is 'rationally' used, according to criteria that do not necessarily include the degree of personal satisfaction experienced. "The decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union oblige us to intensify our concern over further improvement in the régime of work and rest of Soviet people, over the rational use of free time for their all-round mental and physical development. For most Soviet people, free time is already filled with a rich content. It is time used for active and multifarious social activities, political, educational and professional studies, a tireless perfection of special knowledge needed in highly productive labour, active involvement in physical culture and sport. Philistine notions of leisure as an idle, pointless pastime are alien to a politically-conscious Soviet person. The spending of free hours in an empty way that is sometimes useless and even harmful to one's health and intellect contradicts the whole spirit of our society and causes serious harm to the person concerned. We cannot remain indifferent to this facet of people's lives, which some people are still inclined to regard as purely personal."[61]

This was an elaboration of pronouncements on free time by Party Secretary Brezhnev, who had made it clear that, in his opinion, "what people do with their non-working time is not simply their own affair. Free time is not time free from responsibility to society." And, further,

[60] Caillois, R., Man, Play and Games, Thames and Hudson, London, 1962, p. 89.

[61] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 7, p. 2.

"In socialist society, time free from work is a measure of public wealth. But free time can only be considered genuine public wealth when it is used in the interests of the all-round development of the individual, of his capabilities, and, thereby, for an even greater increase in the material and spiritual potential of our society."[62]

A number of sports or games have been attacked for their allegedly exhibitionist nature or for the fact that they lend themselves to commercial exploitation (even within the Soviet Union), thereby detracting from the sporting element --as it is understood in the Soviet sports-system. Such games include women's football, unarmed combat (sambo) (see p.543, below) and male body-building. By a resolution adopted by the USSR Sports Committee in January, 1973 ("On Certain Facts Concerning the Incorrect Development of Some Physical Exercises and Sports"), sports organisations were instructed to disband sections practising women's football, body-building, hatha-yoga, karate and bridge.[63]

An activity with an undoubtedly large following among men is body-building, which has been difficult to keep within state-desired limits. The state has been concerned that 'athletic gymnastics' should not step over the border into 'culturism'. With an eye to the 'excesses' that exist in the West, the authorities fear it will become an excuse for exhibitionism and narcissism: "egotistic love and dandified culture of the body and one-sided, unhealthy development of the organism are alien to the Soviet system of physical culture."[64] The sport has not been banned, but all the various "Gerkules", "Atlant", "Atlet" and "Ant eus" studios up and down the country, from Lvov in the Ukraine to Tyumen' in Siberia, from Tallinn in Estonia to Alma Ata in Kazakhstan, have been officially warned (1970 and 1973) to

[62] Komsomol'skaya pravda, 21 March, 1972, p. 3.

[63] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 10, p. 62.

[64] Sovetsky sport, 25 January, 1973, p. 3.

keep their activities "strictly in accordance with scientific, medical, and hygienic recommendations, thus precluding all manner of contests and exhibitions that include posing and the judging of the body."[65]

Another reason for attacking certain activities is that they are said to be associated with a philosophy that is alien to that of Soviet society. This applies to such oriental pursuits as hatha-yoga and karate. Yoga had become quite popular, particularly among intellectuals, in the early 1970's and had received some official encouragement --including two films shown on television. During 1973, however, it was roundly condemned as being potentially injurious to health, but particularly for two ideological reasons: first, "yoga does not involve team-work; it encourages individualism and advocates that 'yogis' should lead a closed, ascetic life outside of society and even of the family"[66]; second, it is "based on idealist philosophy and mysticism"[67]. The latter accusation was also levelled at karate.

Card-games have regularly been condemned throughout Soviet history as empty, time-wasting activities often associated with gambling and luck (rather than skill), so it was no surprise to see bridge condemned in 1973 as a 'perversion' of sporting activities. It was revealed that bridge-schools had existed in places as far apart as Leningrad, Vilnius, Tallinn, Kiev, Tbilisi, Lvov, Riga and Moscow; Estonia and Lithuania had even had their own bridge federations and, for several years, had held inter-city and Republican bridge-tournaments.[68] The official reasons for condemning bridge were not

[65] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 10, p. 63.

[66] Sovetsky sport, 25 January, 1973, p. 3.

[67] Idem.

[68] Idem.

given, but one may surmise that the game was regarded as a potential menace to productivity, as an 'irrational' use of free time and as a game partly based on chance.

All the above-mentioned 'sporting activities' had gained a hold, the January 1973 resolution stated, "due to the connivance, acquiescence and unprincipled position of certain sports-administrators. Instead of determined and daily work in introducing the new G.T.O. complex or using sport as an effective and necessary means for organising the free time of the workers and for training top-class sportsmen, they became involved in charlatanism and roguery, helping to implant and popularise all manner of 'fashionable' exercises designed to excite people and to encourage a spirit of profit that is detrimental to the health of participants and also, to some extent, to Soviet society."[69]

The emphasis on the special interdependence of work and games stems from the paramount importance attributed to work and from the claim that, in socialist society, it has acquired a uniquely satisfactory character owing to the absence of exploitation and alienation. Yet, as with other media of recreation and leisure --e.g., television and the cinema --the official descriptions must be understood as arising largely from a desire to educate the population in the broad sense of the word and to prevent the wasteful dissipation of energy and time. As the American sociologist, Paul Hollander, has put it, "The Soviet policies toward leisure, like the Soviet system as a whole (and many of its totalitarian chacteristics), can be viewed as responses to backwardness and not merely as logical extensions of the desire to control."[70]

At the same time, with more money, more free time and a wider range of recreation to choose from, Soviet people are increasingly able to select

[69] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 10, pp. 63-64.

[70] Hollander, op. cit., p. 429.

the recreational activity that most accords with their personal desire and aspiration. With improved facilities and opportunities, participation in sport is becoming less ruled by the official utilitarian-instrumental approach --despite official attempts to regulate the use of increasing leisure (as, for example, in tourism) --and more governed by the idea that a game, a sport or outdoor activity of any kind is desirable in itself, for its own sake.

(d) Improving health

The link between sport and better health has been noted throughout this work, particularly the Party's desire to use sport for inculcating habits of hygiene and health in a culturally backward population and for improving physical fitness. It is, in fact, inscribed in the Fundamental Law of the USSR on Public Health (Article 49) that "State bodies, trade unions, the Komsomol, sports societies, factories and offices must promote physical education and fitness programmes, sport and tourism, they must set up and constantly improve sports-groups, tourist clubs and arrange production-gymnastics."[71] There have been many factors behind the all-round improvement in Soviet vital statistics (and, too, the advances in sport), but the interaction between sport and health can certainly be said to have been mutually beneficial. The improvements in vital statistics and health generally in the Soviet Union have been particularly marked since the end of the last war; these have certain implications for sport that will be discussed after a description of the changes themselves.

In 1913, in the Russian Empire, both the birth-rate and the death-rate were extremely high: births were 45.5 per 1,000 inhabitants, deaths were 29.1 (infantile mortality was as high as 269 per 1,000) --within the present territory of the USSR. The natural yearly population-increase was, therefore,

[71] Pavlov, op. cit., p. 7. See Art. 82 of RSFSR Law of 29th July, 1971 on Health-Protection (published by "Izvestiya," Moscow, 1971, pp.3?-3?).

16.4 per 1000. What is particularly interesting is that, in 1940, on the eve of the German invasion of the USSR and 23 years after the revolution, the situation was not very greatly different from that of 1913: by 1940, births had dropped to 31.2; deaths to 18.0 and the natural net increase to 13.3; infantile mortality had fallen from 269 to 182: an unquestionable progress, but by no means sensational. [72] The decisive turn has come since the war.

Table 72: Birth- and Death-Rates, Selected Years, 1958-1973

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Infantile Mortality *
1958	25.3	7.2	18.1	41
1959	25.0	7.6	17.4	41
1960	24.9	7.1	17.8	35.3
1965	18.4	7.3	11.1	27.2
1966	18.2	7.3	10.9	26.1
1967	17.3	7.6	9.7	26.0
1968	17.2	7.7	9.5	26.4
1969	17.0	8.1	8.9	25.8
1970	17.4	8.2	9.2	24.7
1971	17.8	8.2	9.6	22.9
1972	17.8	8.5	9.3	24.7
1973	17.6	8.6	9.0	26

* Deaths up to age 1 per 1000 live births

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972 gg., Moscow, 1972, p.40;
SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.18.

[72] SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.18. See Appendix

It is noteworthy that the Soviet statistics for the 1960's are quite close to those for the advanced countries of Europe. Thus, taking the years 1960, 1965 and 1970, the figures for the USSR, France and England are:

Table 33: Vital Statistics, 1960, 1965 and 1970: USSR, France and United Kingdom

Indicator	1960			1965			1970		
	USSR	France	U.K.	USSR	France	U.K.	USSR	France	U.K.
Birth-rate	24.9	17.9	17.5	18.4	17.8	18.3	17.4	16.7	16.2
Death-rate	7.1	11.4	11.5	7.3	11.2	11.5	8.2	10.7	11.7
Natural-increase	17.8	6.5	6.0	11.1	6.6	6.8	9.2	6.0	4.5
Infantile mortality	35.3	27.4	22.5	27.2	21.9	19.6	24.7	18.2	18.4

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp. 123-125; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, pp. 18, 59;
U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1970, pp. 371-377;
U.N. Demographic Yearbook, 1968, pp.371,373;
Social Trends, 1974, H.M.S.O., 1974, pp.208-209.

The Soviet trends are very interesting: the death-rate has remained almost stationary at around 7-8 per 1000, the birth-rate has been sharply declining and the rate of natural increase has halved. Infantile mortality has dropped from 35 to around 25. If, compared with those for 1913, the figures for 1940 are not spectacular (the infantile mortality rate in 1940 was still only one-third less than in 1913), those for 1970 represent a considerable improvement.[73]

The lower birth-rate and smaller family mean more leisure-time available for parents; they are no longer so tied to the home and can

[73] SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.18.

travel and afford equipment, such as skis and camping equipment (some even a car) and the time to use them. The lower death-rate and high life-expectancy (in 1971/72, it was 64 for men and 74 for women) mean that more middle-aged and older people can go in for sport. It is a particular feature of Soviet sport and physical education that so many older people are preoccupied (even obsessed) with keeping fit. The Bodrost' i zdorov'ye ('Fitness and Health') groups for older people that have mushroomed since about 1956 are just one example of this. Some 5,000 people over 35 (women) and 40 (men) are said to belong to such groups attached to the Lenin Stadium in Moscow: they pay five rubles a month and may attend three times a week for two-hour sessions.[74] Since 1966, tests and norms have existed on a parallel with the G.T.O. system for the Bodrost' i Zdorov'ye badge (see below, p. 391).

The reduction in infantile mortality and general improvement in children's health are results of many factors --not least of all state care for the health and fitness of children. Some measure of the improvement in the physical development of children is given below in Table 34.

A Lithuanian study covering the period 1958-1966 shows that children in some age-groups were, in 1966, taller by 3-4 cm. and heavier by 2-3 kg. than in 1958. They could jump higher and farther, run faster and were generally stronger. Nonetheless, the study sounded a warning note familiar to health authorities in other developed urban communities: "there

[74] During the present writer's stay in Moscow (October 1970 - March 1971), he joined just such a Bodrost' i zdorov'ye group at the Lenin Stadium, attending two mornings a week; there were said to be up to 4,000 registered members attending keep-fit classes in the stadium every week, although the Tuesday and Thursday morning classes averaged about 25-30 people (with an average age of about 50). Most had been recommended by their doctors to attend, although it was remarkable that, while being keen on exercise, hardly anyone observed a diet; indeed, immediately most after the sessions, we would retire to the canteen where the women (rather buxom) in particular would consume several buns with their glasses of cocoa!

Table 34: Physical Development of Working 15-Year-Old Boys and Girls, Moscow, 1923 - 1960

Year	Height (cm.)		Weight (kg.)		Chest measurement (cm.)	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
1923	152.2	150.4	43.1	45.1	75.3	73.9
1933	154.4	154.6	46.1	47.9	76.5	77.0
1938	158.5	155.2	48.2	50.3	76.8	78.9
1960	163.9	157.8	53.7	52.7	80.0	81.7

Source: Entsiklopedichesky slovar' po fizicheskoi kul'ture i sportu, Vol. III, Moscow, 1963, p. 245.

is a tendency towards excess weight which makes for passivity, inhibits movement and is detrimental to character-formation and aesthetic views "[75] (the study does not explain why).

There have, of course, been many factors (living-standards, hygiene-levels, medical provisions, etc.) behind the overall improvement in vital statistics and the Soviet advances in international sport, but the effect of the practice of sport on health has certainly had a part to play both in improving people's health and the quality and achievement in sport. About that, Soviet political leaders have no doubt, as Brezhnev has more than once stated: "We want to see our young people healthy, tempered, physically tough as well as widely educated and cultured. . . We must continue to raise the international class of our sport, but the main thing is the health of the

[75] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 6, p. 6.

millions in the sports movement, the development of physical culture embracing all young people, the tempering of their will-power, the physical preparation of young people for work and defence."[76]

This introduction has gone into some detail here to describe the main processes which have influenced the Soviet sports-movement in the years since the beginning of the 1960's and the resultant tensions they have brought between official and personal desires in recreation, because they are central to an understanding of Soviet sport today. These processes lie behind many of the changes in structure and aims which the next section examines.

2. Organisation

At the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party in 1959, the then First Secretary of the Party, N.S. Khrushchov, declared that the Soviet Union was entering the period of full-scale construction of communism, that it was in the final stages of socialism --the transitional period between capitalism and communism --and could begin seriously to build the foundations of complete communist society (such claims, of course, form part of the legitimising ideology of the Soviet system). One feature of this development, in fulfilment of Marx's and Engels's forecast many years earlier, was to be the 'withering away of the state' --i.e., the transfer of duties, previously undertaken by paid state functionaries, to voluntary unpaid popular bodies. One of the first indications of the new policy, consequent on Khrushchov's dictum, was seen in the form of a new administrative structure for sport.[77]

76 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 5, p. 55; the quotation is taken from a speech Brezhnev made at the opening of the plenary meeting of the Komsomol Central Committee in 1969.

77 Other innovations of the time, as part of the 'withering away of the state', were, in non-sporting spheres, the comradely courts and the druzhiny (unpaid volunteers who help to keep public order and control traffic).

(a) Union of Sports Societies and Organisations Established

In a government resolution of 9th January, 1959, "On the Administration of Physical Culture and Sport in the Country", it was proclaimed that, "at the present stage of communist construction, when the rôle of mass workers' organisations --especially of the unions and the Komsomol --is acquiring growing importance in tackling state affairs, there is no longer a need to concentrate the administration of physical culture and sport in the hands of government agencies; there exists every opportunity for the sports-movement to be completely based on broad democratic principles and for its administration to be undertaken by an elected popular organisation."[78]

Further elucidation of this reorganisation was provided in the Party Programme adopted at the Twenty-Second Party Congress in October, 1961: "What we have to do is to reduce the state salaried apparatus, to get more and more people to acquire the habits of administration and to ensure that the work in this apparatus gradually stops being a special profession."[79]

As a consequence, the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs was dissolved, along with all its local committees. In its place "had been found a more expedient form of organisation of sport in which the dominant rôle would be played by the popular organisations that participate in the sports-movement. A Union of Sports Societies and Organisations of the USSR would be set up, which would be a public --not a state --agency."[80]

In theory, at any rate, the new public organisations were to be much more democratic than their predecessors; they would be based on direct popular administration and encourage popular initiative and self-government. In practice, the 'withering away' of the sports administrative apparatus appears to have been somewhat premature and no fundamental changes occurred, apart

[78] Fizkul'tura, sport i turizm, Moscow, 1963, p. 5.

[79] Materialy XXII s"yezda KPSS, Moscow, 1961, p. 399.

[80] Khrushchov, N.S., O kontrol'nykh tsifrakh razvitiya narodnovo khozyaistva SSSR na 1959-65 gg., Moscow, 1959, p. 120.

from a degree of reduction in central control and the replacement of some coercion by greater incentives and public discussion. Romanov continued until 1962 as the person chiefly responsible for sports-administration and was then replaced by Yury Mashin, a relatively young Party worker who appeared to have no previous experience in this field. Romanov became Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.[81]

On 19th February, 1959, draft statutes for the new Union were presented for public discussion. The 46 articles defined the proposed organisational structure, which somewhat resembled that of other Soviet administrative bodies --i.e., in following the principle of 'democratic centralism', whereby the lower-level organs formally elect delegates to those on the next higher level, ranging upwards from the sports collectives and clubs through city, raion (district), oblast' (regional), krai (territorial) and Republican levels to an 'executive' Central Council and a 'legislative' All-Union Congress. This Congress, like Party, Komsomol and trade-union congresses, was to be a 'supreme organ' and was to meet once every four years. Between meetings, the Central Council, convening twice a year, was to implement the directives of Congresses. Day-to-day administration was to be carried on by a Presidium of the Council.[82] The organisational structure of the All-Union Football Federation within the Soviet sports-movement as a whole is described in Figure II.

The 1961 Party Congress formulated a new (third) Party Programme intended to be relevant to the new period of "construction of the material and technological base of full-scale communist society"; it also endorsed the reorganisation of sports administration which had taken place. As before, sport was to be a means of raising productivity: recreation, properly organised, and physical

[81] Pravda, 31 March, 1962.

[82] Sovetsky sport, 19 February, 1959, p. 1.

exercises during the working day were seen as helping to restore energy and as powerful factors making for higher labour-productivity. Furthermore, sport was to help combat the physical and mental inertness and lethargy that, it was averred, had been attendant upon higher standards of living in other societies. Now that sport was to be self-administered, the new organisational structure was supposed to inject new vitality into the sports-movement at all levels, not least in the factory.

A new dimension was given to sport: a character-training appropriate to the construction and nature of communist society. The Congress emphasised a previously neglected aspect of the functions of Soviet sport for the immediate future: the "all-round development of the personality".[83] This notion implied that there was more to sport than mere recreation; no person could consider himself properly developed if he neglected the physical side of his education. In the new period of a final transition to communism, there was to be every opportunity "for educating a new person who would harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique."[84] The official desire was to make sport as common a part of everyday life as eating or teeth-cleaning. As the new Party Programme put it: "People will increasingly devote their leisure to public pursuits, cultural intercourse, intellectual and physical development, scientific, technical and artistic creative endeavour. Physical culture and sport will become part and parcel of everyday life".[85]

The official insistence at this time on the proximity of the full-scale communist social order therefore had important implications for the new interest in sport. 'Rationally-utilised' recreation was said to go to meet

[83] Materialy XXII s"yezda KPSS, p. 211.

[84] Ibid., p. 408.

[85] Ibid., p. 412.

the need for the ever-higher level of productivity and efficiency associated with complete communism and to contribute to the full development of the New Soviet Man. Thus, the prerequisites of Communist society included both changed values, or complete development of the New Soviet Man, and an economy of abundance to provide for his material and cultural needs. It must be added that the strong utopian elements in the Party Programme and Soviet ideology, particularly during the Khrushchov era (Khrushchov had, for instance, predicted the creation of the "material basis" of communism by 1980 [86]), have since been toned down and some have been dropped altogether (such as the predicted early arrival of communism); their use in appealing to an expectant audience virtually dictated that some account be given of what, besides material abundance and freedom from fatiguing toil, would comprise the 'good life' of the future.

The reorganisation of sport was to give added impetus to the campaign to draw more people into sport. This was not a new policy. But it was now presented as a feasible reality for the mass of the population: "The Party considers it of fundamental importance to ensure the education, from a very early age, of a physically-strong younger generation which harmoniously combines physical and spiritual forces. This necessitates the extensive encouragement of all forms of mass sport and physical culture, including in the schools, and the involvement in the sports-movement of increasingly wider sections of the population, especially young people."[87]

There was, therefore, an intention to make sport part of everyday life. Partly to this end, the first conference of the new Union set its sights on a total of 50 million regular and active sportsmen by the end of 1965. At the same time, sporting proficiency was not neglected: by the end of 1965,

[86] Pravda, 6 March, 1962, p. 2.

[87] Materialy XXII sʺezda KPSS, p. 393.

there were to be 17 million ranked athletes, including 400,000 in the first ranking and 30,000 Masters of Sport.[88] These targets, which were virtually double the figures for 1959, were, it was claimed, achieved (see Appendix XI). Subsequently, the target was to be 60 million by 1970 and, then, the less ambitious figure of 60-65 by 1980[89] -- perhaps indicating that the earlier targets had been downwards fulfilled on paper only. In fact, the figures and targets were revised in 1969-1970 in view of the blatant falsifying of figures that was widespread. A more precise definition of a fizkul'turnik[90] or sports-participant was given, a new and revised G.T.O. programme was introduced (with warnings to all that it was to be treated seriously and that no-one was to be awarded a badge without meeting all the requisite standards -- (see p.390 below) and more realistic targets were set. Thus, in 1972, it was claimed that 45 million people regularly pursued a sport[91] — almost the same number claimed for 1965.

(b) All-Union Federations for Individual Sports

Another new organisational step taken in 1959 was the setting up of All-Union Federations for individual sports.[92] By 1970, there were 56 of these.[93] In tune with the new appeal for voluntary work and local initiative, the Federations were to be backed up in the localities by individual sports-sections attached to the krai (territorial), oblast' (regional), city and raion (district) councils and run by local sports-enthusiasts rather than

88 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1960, No. 3, p. 3.

89 Sovetsky sport, 29 June, 1971, p. 1.

90 A 'fizkul'turnik' was now defined as "a member of a physical culture collective who engages in physical exercise ar sport in a section, group or team under the supervision of a full-time or part-time coach not less than twice a week (including participation in sports-competitions) over a period of six months" (my italics - JWR). (Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p. 6.)

91 Narodnoye Khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p. 693.

92 Sovetsky sport, 27 February, 1959.

93 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 1 , p. 2.

by full-time functionaries (see Figure II). In this way, more than three million 'volunteers' were drawn into the sports administration.[94] Throughout the sports-movement, the trend was towards the encouragement of public support on a voluntary unpaid basis, whether as referees, coaches, instructors or as sports administrators. It is regarded as the duty of many athletes and coaches, particularly Masters of Sport, to make their voluntary and unpaid contribution to society by giving coaching lessons, instructing in schools and clubs (see below, p.466). This trend away from direct state forms of administration to "popular" forms of self-government was said to signify the beginnings of a new, communist relationship of people to matters of state importance.

3. 1966 Resolutions on Sport

Despite the reorganisation, whose affects do not appear to have been very great, the level of participation and performance in sport did not come up to expectations --even though the paper targets for numbers of 'sportsmen' were claimed to be fulfilled. How real the changes were is hard to assess, but the Party leadership remained unhappy about the persistent imbalance in participation.

(a)Defects in participation

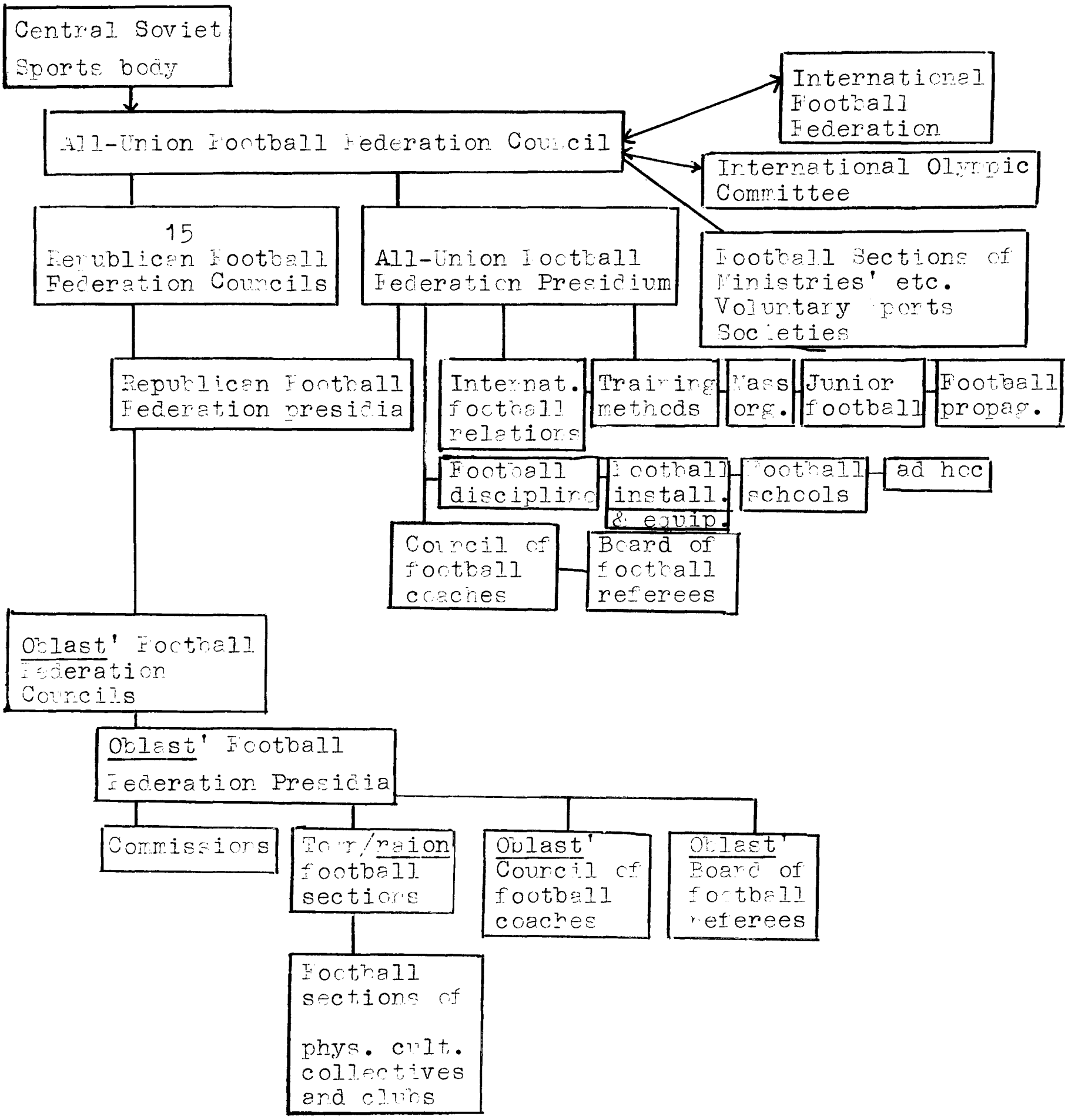
The provinces and rural areas, as well as the casual athletes in the cities, were still being largely ignored in the desire to concentrate efforts and facilities on potential stars. Facilities and qualified staff were still extremely limited in the schools and colleges. At least two-thirds of all teachers taking P.E. lessons in schools in 1965 were unqualified.[95] Of the 663 colleges and universities, only 45 (less than 7 per cent) were considered to have 'adequate' sports facilities.[96] Not enough attention was being paid

[94] Samoukov, F.I. (ed.), Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1964, p. 357.

[95] Mikhailov, V., Sovetskaya fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport na novom etape, Moscow, 1967, p. 12.

[96] Ibid., p. 18.

Figure II: Structure of the All-Union Football Federation Council



to the lower and upper reaches of the population --all those outside the 19-35 age range. Yet the nature of contemporary industry and the increasing leisure-time made it essential greatly to extend the facilities available for recreation, particularly for older workers. In the countryside and generally, in certain less industrially-advanced republics, the lack of both physical facilities and qualified personnel was hampering sports development. Consequently, the gap between town and village, metropolis and outlying areas was increasing rather than diminishing. Another under-represented group was women. On 1st January, 1966, of the 46 million sports-participants, fewer than 16 million (i.e., 34 per cent) were women. Whereas 20 per cent of the total population regularly engaged in sport, only 13 per cent of the female population did so. Moreover, of the 4,678 Master of Sport titles awarded during 1965, only 1,052 went to women --i.e., less than a quarter (see Appendix XI). This was despite the fact that, as a result of the war, there were far more women (54 per cent) than men (46 per cent) in the 1966 population[97] (see pp534-546 below for a fuller discussion of women in sport).

With the dismissal of Khrushchov in October, 1964, the policy of the gradual extension of the transfer of state functions to activists and the handing over of local full-time agencies to voluntary unpaid and untrained bodies was largely discontinued. Although the structure of the sports administration was in the main permitted to stand until 1968, the encouragement of voluntary unpaid bodies was tacitly dropped.

It would seem that one result of the encouragement of greater 'popular initiative' and self-administration was a shift from mass to individual recreation. (This was also due, no doubt, to the higher personal incomes obtaining at this time.) Clubs concentrated on the business

97 SSSR v tsifrakh v 1966 godu, Moscow, 1967, p. 43.

of winning cups and medals, and the masses, released from the pressures for public sport-participation, either took up more individual pursuits (tourism, boating, fishing --see the popularity chart on p. 348 above) or 'dropped out' altogether. As the future chairman of the supreme sports authority, Sergei Pavlov, was later to put it: "By the mid-1960's . . . many undertakings had forgotten that the main index of success of the primary sports group was not countless certificates and cups, but the wide involvement in regular sport of all who can play volleyball and table-tennis, ski and skate. In many sports-organisations, sport, competition and training were used not for educational work, propaganda was low, there were not enough sports-centres and facilities. Many young people had a poor idea of the rôle of sport and regular participation in raising productivity, fortifying health and broadening their range of interests and recreation."[98]

What worried the authorities was, perhaps, not so much the lack of mass participation as the fact that the general decline in administrative and other pressures had led to a measure of individual independence or separation from institutional and public organisations. The use of sport as an agent of social control through the Komsomol and trade unions had weakened and this important link had to be reforged. Party concern with the free time of individuals has always been more consistent with a centrally-directed model of social organisation. The effort to regulate recreation, and not merely to provide facilities for its use plus a modicum of guidance, is part of the desire to control a large segment of the life of the citizen and use it for his or her moral education (vospitanie).

To remedy this situation, the Party and government sent out directives to "Party Central Committees and Republican Councils of Ministers, Party committees and Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Komsomol Central Committee

[98] Pavlov, S.P., "Novaya stupen'", in Ivonin, V.A. (ed.), Velenie vremeni, Moscow, 1969, p. 11.

and to all sports-organisations."[99] The subsequent resolution (of 11th August, 1966) "On Measures to Promote Physical Culture and Sport" obliged them "to improve administration of the sports movement as an important part of educative work among the population, to set out definite measures for developing physical culture so that it might become a more active means by which society would influence the formation of Soviet people's moral and spiritual outlook, would encourage their all-round harmonious development and highly productive labour, would help them stay healthy and creatively active until old age, and would prepare them for defending their Motherland."[100]

Not since the 1925 Party resolution had the utilitarian and social functions of Soviet sport been spelled out so forcibly; for several years to come, hardly any official article on sport would go into print without due acknowledgement of the 'August Resolutions' of 1966, as they became known. The resolutions were strong meat and put sport on the agenda, for the first time, of many Party-Committee meetings: "Between 1966 and 1968, the Communist Parties of Latvia, Armenia and Tadzhikistan <u>for the first time ever</u> examined problems of sport at meetings of Republican Party organisations... In 1969, the Uzbek and Georgian Supreme Soviets ratified legislation on measures to improve mass sport [my italics - JWR]".[101]

The highlight of the resolutions was the desire to make sport universal: "The Soviet physical-culture movement must be universal (<u>obshchenarodny</u>) and be founded on a scientifically-based system of physical education which consistently embraces all groups in the population from a very early age."[102]

[99] <u>Pravda</u>, 11 August, 1966, p. 1.

[100] <u>Pravda</u>, 25 August, 1966, p. 2.

[101] Pavlov, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 12.

[102] <u>Pravda</u>, 25 August, 1966, p. 2.

(b) Establishment of an All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport

Two years later, on 17th October, 1968, the sports movement was once again taken under direct government control with the creation of an All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR.[103] The now defunct Union, being a 'social' organisation, was said to have had insufficient power to implement the 1966 resolutions. The new Committee's resolutions and instructions on sport were to be binding on all ministries, departments and public organisations. Similar government committees were set up in all Union Republics. The new Chairman taking over from Yuri Mashin was Sergei Pavlov, who had been Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol from 1959 to 1968. (See Appendix I for a list of sports leaders, brief biographies and a note on their selection). Apparently as a result of the Committee's proposals, three important steps were taken. First, real efforts were made to provide the countryside with more facilities and qualified instructors, and producers were instructed to facilitate the achievement of this goal: the amended Collective-Farm Regulations ratified at the 3rd All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers in 1969, for example, included the following passage: "the collective farm shall take steps to improve the cultural and everyday living-conditions of collective farmers, shall display daily care for their health and the physical education of members of the collective farm and their families . . . shall build and equip . . . sports installations, and promote physical culture and sport."[104]

Second, in late 1969, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law "On the Ratification of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union-

[103] Pravda, 21 October, 1968, p. 3.

[104] Sovetsky sport, 5 November, 1969, p. 3.

Republics on Health." Article 49 of the Law lays down detailed obligations and rights in regard to the organisation of physical culture, sport and tourism,[105]

Third, the government itself carried out a drive to increase and improve sports facilities; in May, 1969, it passed a resolution "On Increasing the Production, Assortment and Quality of Sports- and Tourist Equipment."[106] How effective the campaign was is still too early to say, but the pages that follow give some ideas of the quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place in Soviet sport since the 1966 resolutions.

4. Revision of the classification systems

(a) "Ready For Labour and Defence": Revisions (c.f. pp. 318-319)

To cover a wider segment of the population, the G.T.O. programme was in 1966 to embrace all age-groups from 14 to 60 and to consist of five stages for men and four for women:

(i) a category for boys and girls of 14-15 (B.G.T.O.);

(ii) one for juniors aged 16-17;

(iii) a new category for (male) pre-conscripts called 'Ready for Defence of the Motherland' (Gotov k zashchite rodiny --G.Z.R.);

(iv) one for the age-group 19-39 for men and 18-34 for women; and

(v) a 'Fitness and Health' category (Bodrost' i zdorov'ye --B.Z.) for males over 40 and females over 35.[107]

In the armed forces, the G.T.O. programme was replaced from 1966 by one with a greater military bias: the Military-Sports Programme; a corresponding badge 'Soldier-Sportsman' (Voin-Sportsmen --V.S.) was awarded

[105] Sovetsky sport, 3 December, 1969, p. 3.

[106] Sovetsky sport, 23 May, 1969, p. 1.

[107] Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 8.

at three levels. Parallelly, special sports-rankings were instituted for servicemen and they no longer followed the general classification system.[108]

Each stage of the new G.T.O. system necessitated a certain minimum performance in gymnastics, running, jumping, throwing, swimming, shooting (except in the B.G.T.O. programme) and skiing (the 'Fitness and Health' group had its own less vigorous programme). A points-system was used to estimate performance. Each event had a minimum pass-mark and, the better the performance, the more points earned. To gain a badge, every event had to be performed and it was not enough to achieve a bare minimum qualifying mark in each event; a certain number of points above the overall minimum had to be reached. On this basis, a competitor was awarded either a 'pass' or an 'excellent' mark. One year was allowed for the 'pass' qualification and two years for the 'excellent'.

As an example of qualifying marks in the G.T.O. standards chart (for 1964), men in the 19-39 age-group had to climb 4 m. up a rope or pole, run 100 m. in 14 seconds and 1,500 m. in 5 minutes 30 seconds, long jump 4.3 m., hurl a 700 gm. grenade (unfused!) 35 m., swim 100 m. in 2 minutes 20 seconds, ski 10 km. in one hour five minutes and score a certain number of points firing a small-bore rifle at 50 m. In addition, they had to perform satisfactorily eight morning exercises, and answer questions on first aid, sport and hygiene.[109]

G.T.O. planning-quotas were set every region, club, society and collective, and tests were held throughout the year under the supervision of ad hoc commissions --primarily to prevent collectives falsifying results to fulfil or overfulfil their set targets. The main concern of most sports-collectives is, in fact, to see that their members obtain their G.T.O.

[108] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 2, p. 6.

[109] Makartsev, N.A., Organizatsiya raboty fizkul'turnova kollektiva, Moscow, 1964, pp. 84-85.

badges. There is competition among the various collectives and all other levels, including Republics, to attain the highest number of badges or proportion of badges in relation to total work-force or population. Seventy million people had qualified for badges by 1961 in the thirty years since their inception in 1931. In the next nine years, 1962-1970, another 86 million qualified --an average of some 10 million a year[110] -- i.e., nearly five per cent of the population (see Appendix III).

A revised All-Union Physical Culture 'Ready for Labour and Defence of the USSR' programme came into effect from 1st March, 1972;[111] the new requirements and qualifying-standards had been drawn up jointly by the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Komsomol. The official reasons for the overhaul of the system just six years after the last change were given by Sergei Pavlov, the All-Union Committee's Chairman: "We have to admit that the opportunities offered by the G.T.O. system have, on the whole, been poorly used for improving the vocational and applied military training of young people. At many establishments they no longer concern themselves with workers' physical education. The means of physical culture and sport have been used in an extremely limited way in organising workers' labour and leisure scientifically, in improving workers' health and preventing industrial diseases, in combatting bad habits, in tightening up labour and social discipline, and in improving educative work with young people."[112] Yet another campaign was therefore launched, in a great blare of publicity, to keep sports officials and factory managers on their toes and to attract more people to regular exercise. The changes entailed the following:

110 Sovetsky sport, 27 February, 1972, p. 2.

111 Sovetsky sport, 25 February, 1972, pp. 2-3, gives full details of the new Statute.

112 Sovetsky sport, 27 February, 1972, p. 2.

lowering the age-limit to cover the range 10-60 instead of 14-60, dispensing with the B.G.T.O., introducing names for each of the five stages, establishing an All-Union G.T.O. Council to coordinate activities and supervise the qualifying for and awarding of G.T.O. badges, increasing the military content, and going over to qualifying standards through competition rather than a points system (which, it was alleged, had been open to abuse). Inasmuch as it is through the G.T.O. that most Soviet people are involved in organised sport and as it is regarded as the foundation of the Soviet system of physical education and sport, a detailed description of the new stages, requirements and qualifying standards is given in the chart below on pp.392-395. There are now, as before, five stages, but for different age-groups:

(i) a category for girls and boys of 10-13, called Smelye i lovkie ("Bold and Skilful");

(ii) one for 14-15-year olds, called Sportivnaya smena ("Sporting Reserve");

(iii) one for 16-18-year olds, called Sila i muzhestvo ("Strength and Courage");

(iv) one for men, 19-34, and women, 19-39, called Fizicheskoye sovershenstvo ("Physical Perfection"); and

(v) a Bodrost' i zdorov'ye ("Fitness and Health") category, as before, for men 40-60 and women 35-55; older people can compete only with their doctors' permission.

The first four stages all award either a Gold or a Silver Badge, the fourth (basic) stage having an additional mark - a Gold Badge with Distinction. The fifth stage has only a Gold Badge.

The motives for the modification of the G.T.O. may be assessed as follows:

(1) to attract children to sport at an early age: this is desired firstly because it is felt that the earlier they become engaged in physical

The All-Union Physical Culture System "Ready for Labour and Defence of the USSR" (V.F.K.O.)
(Revised with effect from 1st March, 1972)

Requirements and Qualifying Standards

STAGE 1 - "Smelye i lovkie" ("Bold and Skilful")
(for boys and girls, 10-13)

Academic Requirements (to be examined)

1. To have a knowledge of the subject "Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR".
2. To know and use the basic rules of hygiene and keeping fit.
3. To know the basic rules of civil defence and to wear a gas-mask for 30 minutes.
4. To understand the importance of morning exercises and to be able to perform a set of exercises.

Physical Exercises Qualifying Standards

Type of Exercise	BOYS				GIRLS			
	10-11		12-13		10-11		12-13	
	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge
1. Run 30 m. (sec.)	5.8	5.2	-	-	6.0	5.4	-	-
60 m. (sec.)	-	-	10.0	9.2	-	-	10.2	9.6
2. Long jump (cm.)	310	340	340	380	260	300	300	350
3. High jump (cm.)	95	105	105	115	85	95	100	110
4. Throw a tennis ball (m.)	30	35	35	40	20	23	23	26
5. Swim (untimed, m.)	25	-	50	-	25	-	50	-
50 m. (min. sec.)	-	1.20	-	1.05	-	1.30	-	1.15
6. Ski 1 km. (min. sec.)	8.00	7.30	-	-	8.30	8.00	-	-
Ski 2 km. (min. sec.)	-	-	14.00	13.00	-	-	16.30	15.30
In snow-free regions:								
Cycle 5 km. (min.)	16	15	15	14	19	18	18	17
or								
Run cross-country (m.)	500	1,000	1,000	1,500	300	500	500	1,000
7. Pull-ups	3	5	5	7	-	-	-	-
Climb a rope using one's legs (m. cm.)	-	-	-	-	2.50	2.80	2.80	3.50

Note: for the Gold Badge, one must attain not less than five qualifying standards at Gold-Badge level plus two standards at Silver-Badge level.

Events to be selected by Gold-Badge candidates
(any two events for 10-11's, any three for 12-13's)

1. Obstacle course 80 m.	-	4 obts.	-	5 obts.	-	3 obts.	-	4 obts.
2. Gymnastics	-	3 exs.	-	4 exs.	-	2 exs.	-	3 exs.
3. Tourist hike with test of tourist knowledge	-	5-6 km.	-	fulfil requirements for the 'Young Tourist' badge	-	-	-	fulfil requirements for the 'Young Tourist' badge
4. Shooting	-	-	-	fulfil requirements for the 'Young Marksman' badge	-	-	-	fulfil requirements for the 'Young Marksman' badge
5. Speed skating 100 m. (sec.)	-	20	-	18	-	22	-	20
6. Take part in team-game competitions (no. of games)	-	5	-	8	-	5	-	8

Note: To obtain a Gold Badge, in addition to obtaining the five qualifying standards at Gold-Badge level and two at Silver-Badge level, one must pass in two or three of the above Events.

STAGE 2 - "Sportivnaya smena" ("Sporting Reserve")
(for boys and girls 14-15)

Academic Requirements (to be examined)

1. To have a knowledge of the subject "Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR."

2. To know and carry out the rules for personal and public hygiene.

3. To know the basic rules of civil defence and to wear a gas-mask for 30 minutes.

4. To be able to explain the importance of and perform a set of morning exercises.

Physical Exercises Qualifying Standards

Type of Exercise	Boys		Girls	
	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge
1. Run 60 m. (sec.)	9.2	8.4	10.0	9.4
2. Run 300 m. (min. sec.)	-	-	1.00	0.55
500 m. (min. sec.)	1.45	1.30	-	-
or				
Skate 300 m. (min. sec.)	0.58	0.50	1.05	1.00
3. Long jump (cm.)	390	450	310	360
or high jump (cm.)	120	130	105	110
4. Throw a tennis ball (m.)	38	46	25	30
5. Ski 2 km. (min.)	-	-	15	14
3 km. (min. sec.)	17.30	16.30	-	-
In snow-free regions:				
Run cross-country 1 km. (min. sec.)	-	-	5.20	5.00
2 km. (min. sec.)	10	9	-	-
or				
Cycle 5 km. (min.)	-	-	15	14
10 km. (min.)	28	26	-	-
6. Swim 50 m. (min. sec.)	1.00	0.50	1.10	1.00
7. Do pull-ups or press-ups	-	-	8	10
8. Tourist hike with test of tourist knowledge (km.)	12	16	12	16
9. Obtain a sports ranking (in any sport)	-	Junior II-III	-	Junior II-III

Note: for the Gold Badge, one must attain not less than six qualifying standards at Gold-Badge level plus two standards at Silver-Badge

STAGE 3 - "Sila i muzhestve" ("Strength and Courage")
(for boys and girls 16-18)

Academic Requirements (to be examined)

1. To have a knowledge of the subject "Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR".

2. To know and carry out the rules for personal and public hygiene.

3. To master the programme for initial military training (including the section on protection from weapons of mass destruction) and to wear a gas-mask for 1 hour, or undergo specialist training in a DOSAAF organisation, or obtain an applied technical speciality (for boys). Girls should know the basic rules of civil defence and wear a gas-mask for one hour.

4. To be able to explain the importance of and perform a set of morning exercises.

Physical Exercises and Qualifying Standards

Type of Exercise	Boys		Girls	
	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge
1. Run 100 m. (sec.)	14.2	13.5	16.2	15.4
2. Run 500 m. (min. sec.)	-	-	2.00	1.50
1,000 m. (min. sec.)	3.30	3.20	-	-
or				
Skate 500 m. (min. sec.)	1.25	1.15	1.30	1.20
3. Long jump (cm.)	440	480	340	375
or				
High jump (cm.)	125	135	105	115
4. Hurl a hand-grenade of 500 gm. (m.)	-	-	21	25
700 gm. (m.)	35	40	-	-
or putt the shot of				
4 kg. (m. cm.)	-	-	6.00	6.80
5 kg. (m.)	8	10	-	-
5. Ski 3 km. (min.)	-	-	20	18
5 km. (min.)	27	25	-	-
or 10 km. (min.)	57	52	-	-
In snow-free regions:				
Run cross-country 3 km. (min.)	-	-	20	18
6 km. (min.)	35	32	-	-
or cycle cross-country 10 km. (min.)	-	-	30	27
20 km. (min.)	50	46	-	-
6. Swim 100 m. (min. sec.)	2.00	1.45	2.15	2.00
7. Press-ups	8	12	-	-
Pull-ups	-	-	10	12
8. Fire a small-bore rifle at 25 m. (points)	33	40	30	37
or at 50 m. (points)	30	37	27	34
or				
Fire a heavy weapon according to the initial military training programme	satis-factory	well	satis-factory	well
9. Tourist hike with test of tourist knowledge and orienteering	1 hike of 20 km. or 2 hikes of 12 km.	1 hike of 25 km. or 2 hikes of 15 km.	1 hike of 20 km. or 2 hikes of 12 km.	1 hike of 25 km. or 2 hikes of 15 km.
10. Obtain a sports-ranking in:				
a) motor-car, motor-boat, motor-cycle, gliding, parachuting, aeroplane, helicopter, sub-aqua or water sports, biathlon, pentathlon, pistol-shooting, radio sport, orienteering, wrestling or boxing;	-	III	-	III
b) any other sport	-	II	-	II

Note: for the Gold Badge, one must complete not less than 7 qualifying standards at Gold-Badge level and 2 standards at Silver-Badge level (except item 10). Girls who have completed a first-aid training course may forgo item 10 for their Gold Badge.

STAGE 4 - "Fizicheskoye sovershenstvo" ("Physical Perfection")
(for men 19-39 and women 19-34)

Academic Requirements (to be examined)

1. To have a knowledge of the subject "Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR".
2. To know and carry out the rules for personal and public hygiene.
3. To know the basic rules of civil defence and to wear a gas-mask for 1 hour.
4. To be able to explain the importance of and to perform a set of morning exercises.

Physical Exercises Qualifying Standards

Type of Exercise	Men				Women			
	19-28		29-39		19-28		29-34	
	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge	Silver Badge	Gold Badge
1. Run 100 m. (sec.)	14.0	13.0	15.0	14.0	16.0	15.2	17.0	16.0
2. Run 500 m. (min. sec.)	-	-	-	-	2.00	1.45	2.10	2.00
or 1,000 m. (min. sec.)	3.20	3.10	3.45	3.30	4.30	4.10	5.00	4.30
or 3,000 m. (min. sec.)	11.00	10.30	11.30	11.00	-	-	-	-
3. High jump (cm.)	130	145	125	130	110	120	105	110
or long jump (cm.)	460	500	400	460	350	380	320	350
4. Hurl a hand-grenade of								
500 gm. (m.)	-	-	-	-	23	27	20	23
700 gm. (m.)	40	47	35	40	-	-	-	-
or putt the shot of								
4 kg. (m. cm.)	-	-	-	-	6.50	7.50	6.20	6.50
7.257 kg. (m. cm.)	7.50	9.00	6.50	7.50	-	-	-	-
5. Ski 3 km. (min.)	-	-	-	-	19	17	21	19
or 5 km. (min.)	25	24	30	26	35	33	38	35
or 10 km. (min.)	54	50	-	-	-	-	-	-
In snow-free regions:								
Run cross-country 3 km. (min.)	-	-	-	-	19	17	21	19
6 km. (min.)	36	33	38	36	-	-	-	-
or cycle cross-country								
10 km. (min.)	-	-	-	-	28	25	30	27
20 km. (min.)	46	43	48	46	-	-	-	-
6. Swim 100 m. (min. sec.)	2.05	1.50	2.15	2.05	2.20	2.00	2.30	2.20
7. Pull-ups:								
one's own weight up to 70 kg.	9	13	6	9	-	-	-	-
one's own weight of 70 kg. and over	7	11	4	7	-	-	-	-
or lift weights above one's head (as a % of own weight)								
own weight up to 70 kg.	55	75	50	55	-	-	-	-
own weight of 70 kg. and over	65	85	60	65	-	-	-	-
or press-ups	-	-	12	14	12	14	8	10
or raising and lowering the trunk in a lying position, hands behind head, and feet held	-	-	-	-	40	50	30	40
8. Fire a small-bore rifle at 25 m. (points)	37	43	35	37	37	43	35	37
or at 50 m. (points)	34	40	34	40	-	-	-	-
Fire a heavy weapon at 100 m. (points)	70	75	60	65	-	-	-	-
9. Tourist hike with test of tourist knowledge	1 hike of 25 km. or 2 hikes of 15 km.	1 hike of 30 km. or 2 hikes of 20 km.	1 hike of 20 km. or 2 hikes of 12 km.	1 hike of 25 km. or 2 hikes of 15 km.	the same as for men			
10. Obtain a sports-ranking at any sport	-	II	-	-	-	II	-	-

Note: for the Gold Badge, one must attain not less than 7 qualifying standards at Gold-Badge level plus 2 at Silver-Badge level (except item 10). To obtain a Gold Badge with Distinction one must complete all the requirements and qualifying standards for the Gold Badge and obtain one first sports-ranking or two second rankings.

STAGE 5 - "Bodrost' i zdorov'ye" ("Fitness and Health")
(for men 40-60, women 35-55)

Academic Requirements (to be examined)

1. To have a knowledge of the subject "Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR".
2. To know and carry out the rules for personal and public hygiene.
3. To know the basic rules of civil defence and to wear a gas-mask for 30 minutes.
4. To be able to explain the importance of and to perform a set of morning exercises.

Physical Exercises — Qualifying Standards

Type of Exercise	Men		Women	
	40-49 Gold Badge	50-60 Gold Badge	35-44 Gold Badge	45-55 Gold Badge
1. Run 60 m. (sec.)	12.0	-	12.8	-
Jogging 200 m. (min. sec.)	-	-	-	1.20
400 m. (min. sec.)	-	2.50	-	-
2. Run 300 m. (min. sec.)	-	-	1.25	-
800 m. (min. sec.)	3.15	-	-	-
or Jogging (min.)	20	15	10	8
3. Standard long jump (cm.)	190	170	150	130
4. Hurl a hand-grenade of				
500 gm. (m.)	-	-	18	-
700 gm. (m.)	32	-	-	-
or putt the shot of				
4 kg. (m. cm.)	-	-	5.50	-
7.257 kg. (m. cm.)	6.20	-	-	-
Throw a medicine ball of				
2 kg. (m.)	-	8	-	6
5. Ski 2 km. (min.)	-	-	18	without time-check
5 km. (min.)	35	without time-check	-	-
In snow-free regions:				
Jogging 3 km. (min.)	-	-	25	without time-check
5 km. (min.)	40	without time-check	-	-
or Cycle 5 km. (min.)	-	-	20	-
10 km. (min.)	40	-	-	-
6. Swim, time-free (m.)	100	50	100	50
7. Press-ups	10	8	6	4
8. Fire from a small-bore rifle at 25 m. (points)	34	-	-	-
9. Tourist hike (km.)	20	10	20	10

Note: Gold Badge only (no Silver) is awarded; candidates must complete all exercises at the standards indicated.

Source: Sovetsky sport, 25 February, 1972, pp. 2-3.

fitness and sport, the more likelihood there is of them taking part in regular sporting activity later; secondly, because there are now more facilities for children to pursue a sport and keep fit - and children are maturing earlier to use them (the minimum age-limit had been 14 since the B.G.T.O. was introduced in 1934); and, thirdly, because, to achieve success in many international sports, it is increasingly necessary to spot talent and develop it at an early age.[113]

(2) to use the G.T.O. more for direct military training than it has been used in the past; a civil defence test and gas-mask training are now found at each stage, and rifle-firing at three stages (instead of one as before). The element of military preparation is especially evident for the 16-18 age group. Efforts are now to be made to extend this form of military training to the public at large and also to see that the army gets suitably-trained conscripts: "Our clubs and sports-federations will make every effort to see that most young people of conscription age obtain a good training and enter the armed services with their G.T.O."[114]

(3) to draw more people into the fitness campaign with a view to cutting down absenteeism from work through illness, making workers physically and mentally more alert (through sport) to cope with the changing techniques of industry --and thus raising productivity. It may also be seen as another attempt to rationalise the use of the increasing free time that people have — or at least to see that it is spent in relatively healthy and officially-approved ways, as Pavlov indicated in his speech quoted above.

[113] Moreover, the average age of international champions in some sports is declining --e.g., in the 1972 Olympic Games, the winners of most gold medals among women were the 17-year-old Soviet gymnast, Olga Korbut (3 gold medals) and the 16-year-old Australian swimmer, Shane Gould (3 gold medals).

[114] Sovetsky sport, 4 March, 1972, p. 3 (interview given by General A.I. Pokryshkin, Chairman of the Central Committee of DOSAAF).

(4) to keep organised sport and the fitness-campaign in the limelight --and officials on their toes. It is noteworthy that such revisions and campaigns have occurred at frequent intervals: 1939, 1941, 1947, 1955, 1959, 1966 and 1972 --every five years on the average. (This sort of regular campaign is, of course, a feature of other spheres of Soviet life too.) There has undoubtedly been concern, however, that the G.T.O. badge was "becoming tarnished",[115] that people no longer took it seriously and that officials simply falsified G.T.O. statistics and handed badges out to people who had not qualified for them: "Exaggerated G.T.O. lists, badges awarded to those who have not met all the standards . . . formalism and, simply, going through the motions (*paradnost'*)",[116] were some of the sins of which organisations were accused. To try to prevent this sort of thing happening in future, a special All-Union G.T.O. Council was set up (headed by the cosmonaut, A.A. Leonov), involving representatives of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committees of the Komsomol and DOSAAF, and of a number of government ministries and departments. The Council was to be responsible for qualifying competitions[117] (no longer can organisations hold unsupervised G.T.O.-qualifying contests or award points to candidates, since the points-system has also been dispensed with). In other words, it was admitted that too many people had been 'cooking the books' so as to meet desirable targets and that the G.T.O. was beginning to lose its meaning. It was hoped the new measures would put "the golden and silver shine" back on the badges. In the meantime, the press spot-

115 This was the title of an article on the new G.T.O. in *Sovetsky sport*, 27 February, 1972, p. 2.

116 *Idem*.

117 It was interesting that, when the present writer attended a football-match at the Kirov Stadium in Leningrad in July, 1972, the match was preceded by a G.T.O. athletics qualifying-contest in which several hundred young people took part. The giant slogans round the stadium urged people to obtain their G.T.O. badge.

lighted continuing malpractices: Samarkand Region (oblast'), for example, had handed out over 63,000 G.T.O. badges in 1972, yet two-thirds of recipients had not met the qualifying standards;[118] there had been widespread "ochkovtiratel'stvo" ("blinding with science") in Kirghizia (it provoked an order of the USSR Sports Committee "On Serious Deficiencies in the G.T.O. Work in Sports-Groups in Kirghizia");[119] and "businessmen" had been selling badges of the G.T.O. and of Awards: a Merited Master of Sport badge had sold for 35 rubles, a Master of Sport for 20 rubles and a G.T.O. badge for 10 rubles.[120] Nonetheless, there seems little doubt that a great many people did and do qualify for their badges fairly and are caught up in the fitness campaign.

The following description of the new rankings system gives some idea of the qualifying obligations for each standard and age-group.

(b) The sports-ranking system: revisions

While emphasising the primacy of mass participation, the 1966 resolutions by no means played down the importance of sporting proficiency. In the previous year, 1965, two new sports rankings had been introduced:

(i) Master of Sport of the USSR, International Class, and

(ii) Candidate Master of Sport.

At the same time, all rankings-requirements for new candidates were revised to bring them into line with current world achievements and records.

The principal aims of the rankings system are stated in the book of rankings that is periodically published whenever the system is revised, giving qualifying standards for all recognised sports. In the edition -- Uniform All-Union Sports Classification, 1969-72 --these aims were stated to be:

118 Sovetsky sport, 8 May, 1973, p. 2.

119 Sovetsky sport, 7 July, 1973, p. 2.

120 Sovetsky sport, 14 February, 1973, p. 2.

(i) to establish uniform principles for the award of sports rankings and titles in order to promote the mass development of sport, the all-round training of Soviet athletes, the improvement of their health and their skill;

(ii) to help promote better educational work with athletes, aimed at improving their health, all-round physical development, mental and physical abilities, and their education in the spirit of the principles of the Moral Code of the Builder of Communism and of sporting ethics;

(iii) to help train young athletes capable of winning Soviet and international tournaments and of establishing records.[121]

[121] Yedinaya vsesoyuznaya sportivnaya klassifikatsiya, 1969-1972, Moscow, 1969, p. 4.; the new rankings were ratified in a resolution of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport of 26 February, 1969. The 'Moral Code of the Builders of Communism', referred to in the aims, was included in the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, launched at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party in 1961. Since the Moral Code gives a clear picture of the official Soviet view on what the good citizen should be, it is, perhaps, worth reproducing here in full:

1. Devotion to the communist cause; love of the socialist motherland and of the other socialist countries;

2. Conscientious labour for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat;

3. Concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth;

4. A high sense of public duty; intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest;

5. Collectivism and comradely mutual assistance; one for all and all for one;

6. Humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother;

7. Honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, and unpretentiousness in social and private life;

8. Mutual respect in the family and concern for the upbringing of children;

9. An uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing;

10. Friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR; intolerance of national and racial hatred;

11. An uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations;

12. Fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples. (Put' k kommunizmu: sbornik materialov XXII s"yezda Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskovo Soyuza, Moscow, 1961, p. 566.)

The range of sports to be included in the classification was very broad and covers both the type of sport that has a fairly extensive popular following in the USSR and sports for which there exists official backing with a view to successful participation in international events. The Committee on Physical Culture and Sport established and ratified standards for the following 50 sports (1969-72):

Acrobatics
Archery
Athletics
Badminton
Bandy
Basketball
Boxing
Calisthenics
Canoeing
Chess
Cycling (road and cross-country racing)
Cycling (track racing)
Diving
Draughts
Equestrian events
Fencing
Field-Hockey
Figure-Skating
Firemen's Sports[122]
Fishing
Football
Gorodki
Gymnastics
Handball
Ice-Boating
Ice-Hockey

122 Firemen's sports (pozharno-prikladnoi sport) were launched in 1937, when contests were held at all levels; three sports-rankings and Master of Sport were introduced in 1959. The sports-programme consists of events and exercises intended to train firemen for fire-fighting; the programme comprises:

(i) a 100-m. hurdle dash;

(ii) relay hurdle-race (4 x 100 m.);

(iii) climbing a fireman's ladder to a fourth-floor window of a training tower;

(iv) raising a fireman's ladder and climbing up it to a third-floor window of a training tower;

(v) putting out a fire; (vi) combined exercise: (i) and (iii).

All exercises have to be completed in fireman's uniform and equipment.

Judo	Sub-Aqua sport
Modern Pentathlon (and triathlon and quadrathlon)	Swimming
Motor-Racing	Table-Tennis
Mountaineering	Tennis
Pistol-Shooting	Tobogganing
Rifle-Shooting	Trampoline
Rowing	Volleyball
Rugby	Water-Polo
Skiing (racing, biathlon and junior-combined skiing events)	Water-Skiing
Skiing (ski-jumping and biathlon)	Weightlifting
Skiing (slalom, giant slalom, downhill, Nordic skiing)	Wrestling (free-style, Graeco-Roman and sambo)
Speed-Skating	Yachting

By arrangement with the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, certain other organisations are permitted to set norms for other sports within their special range of interest. These are as follows:

(a) Republican Sports Committees --for a variety of folk games and sports;

(b) the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions --for orienteering, pot-holing and tourism;

(c) the Sports Committee of the Ministry of Defence --for sports with a military bias that are performed by athletes in uniform or carrying equipment: cross-country driving, decathlon, athletics, skiing, parachuting, swimming, shooting, weightlifting, forced marching and certain initiative tests;

(d) the Central Committee of DOSAAF - model-aeroplane flying, automobile sport, model-car-racing, helicopter sport, motor-boating, combined sea-sports, motorball,[123] motor-cycling, parachuting (sky-diving), gliding, sub-aqua sport, radio sport, aeroplane sport, and model-boat racing.

For all the above sports --however esoteric they may sound --whole complexes of qualifying standards, rankings and titles have been worked out in the Uniform All-Union Classification system.

At the top of the ranking system are two sports titles:

Master of Sport of the USSR, International Class

and Master of Sport of the USSR.

Then come the following sports-rankings:

Candidate Master of Sport

First-Rank Sportsman

Second-Rank Sportsman

Third-Rank Sportsman

First-Rank Junior Sportsman

Second-Rank Junior Sportsman

and Third-Rank Junior Sportsman.

In chess and draughts, the title Grandmaster of the USSR is the equivalent of Master of Sport of the USSR, International Class for other sports. Chess also has a fourth ranking. The only other exception to the above rankings is in folk games in which, instead of the above titles, the title Master of (the appropriate folk sport) of the Republic is awarded, since these sports do not feature in international competition.

123 A game rather like football except that the players (six in each team) ride motorbikes, and try to kick or push a large ball into the opponents' goal; this Soviet-invented game is played on virtually any surface at any time of the year.

The two titles are honorary titles for life. The only higher award to which an outstanding and internationally successful athlete may aspire is:

Merited Master of Sport of the USSR

but this is a state honorific decoration outside the classification-system.

The Master of Sport of the USSR, International Class is awarded for international success either in sports in the Olympic programme, World or European championships, or (in certain sports) in other important international championships. The title of Master of Sport is awarded for international success or for exceptional results in a particular sport. In order to earn either title, an athlete must first meet all the ranking standards for the specific sport.

Sports-rankings 1-4 are awarded on the basis of results achieved in official competition and are valid for two years only, after which time they either lapse or have to be renewed --or, of course, the athlete may try for a higher ranking. To obtain a second or third ranking, he must also have satisfied the requirements of the G.T.O. programme for his particular age-category. Junior rankings are awarded to athletes between 15 and 18 years of age, who have also met the qualifying standards of the appropriate G.T.O. programme for their age.

The physical token of having gained one of the rankings is a badge and a certificate awarded by the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport. Ranked sportsmen receive a badge from the primary sports collective or club to which they belong. Councils of sports collectives, school head-teachers and college principals have the right to present the badges.

Titled or ranked athletes have the right to take part in official competitions and to receive preference in admission to sports-schools and physical-education colleges and faculties (after passing the entrance examinations). Along with these rights, however, go certain prescribed duties:

a) to conduct oneself in accordance with the Moral Code of the Builder of Communism and the requirements of sporting ethics;

b) constantly to improve one's political and cultural standards, physical accomplishments and sporting skill;

c) to be a member of a sports-collective and actively take part in contests on behalf of one's collective;

d) to observe a sporting régime and good health standards, to fortify one's health and constantly to be under medical supervision;

e) to take part regularly in the Soviet sports-movement and to pass on to others one's experience and expertise.[124]

Any violation of these obligations may result in deprivation of the ranking or title --a not infrequent occurrence.

The qualifying standards for each category are high and are regularly revised to keep pace with changing world standards. In some sports, the athlete competes against the clock. In athletics, for example, the 1969-72 standards for the men's 100 m. and the high jump were as shown in Table 35. (For comparison, 1970 world-record figures were : 100 m. — 9.9 seconds; high-jump — 2.28 metres).[125]

Table 35: Ranking-Standards in Two Athletics Events, 1969-72

Event	Unit of Measure	Requirement for award of:								
		Title			Ranking					
		Master of Sport, International Class	Master of Sport of USSR	Candidate Master of Sport	1st	2nd	3rd	1st Jr.	2nd Jr.	3rd Jr.
100 m.	seconds (max.)	10.0	10.3	10.5	11.0	11.5	12.3	12.6	13.0	13.5
High-jump	metres (min.)	2.20	2.08	2.02	1.90	1.75	1.55	1.50	1.35	1.25

Source: Yedinaya vsesoyuznaya sportivnaya klassifikatsiya, 1969-72, Moscow, 1969, pp. 107-109.

124 Yedinaya vsesoyuznaya sportivnaya klassifikatsiya, 1969-72, pp. 14-15.

125 World Sports, March, 1970, p. 37.

In other sports, the rankings may depend on the number of victories in contests with athletes of equivalent or higher ranking. In tennis, for example, the top title is awarded to a player who reaches the quarterfinals of the singles or doubles at Wimbledon, or who wins or is runner-up in the European-zone matches of the Davis Cup, or who takesfirst or second place in singles or doubles at a major world tournament, or who wins two matches in the course of two years in singles against players seeded in the world top ten, or three victories over opponents seeded in the European top ten players.[126]

In team games, victories in regular league and cup games and in international matches count. For example, each member of the Soviet ice-hockey team was awarded the first-ever Master of Sport, International Class title after the retention, in 1965, of the world championships.[127] Again, for example, for the third basketball ranking, a player must be present in a team that has won no less than seven matches during a year over teams of any qualification, as long as the player has made at least 14 appearances for the team.[128]

The two systems, the G.T.O. system and the rankings-system, are intended to operate together so that (a) general public interest in sport is sustained from school onwards and (b) as little potential talent as possible is lost. In a country as vast as the Soviet Union, they are means of establishing uniformity and a yardstick for measuring progress in the proficient and deficient areas of the Soviet sports-movement. Combined, they form an instrument that, despite the paucity of sports-equipment and amenities, has enabled the Soviet Union to sift out its most promising performers and

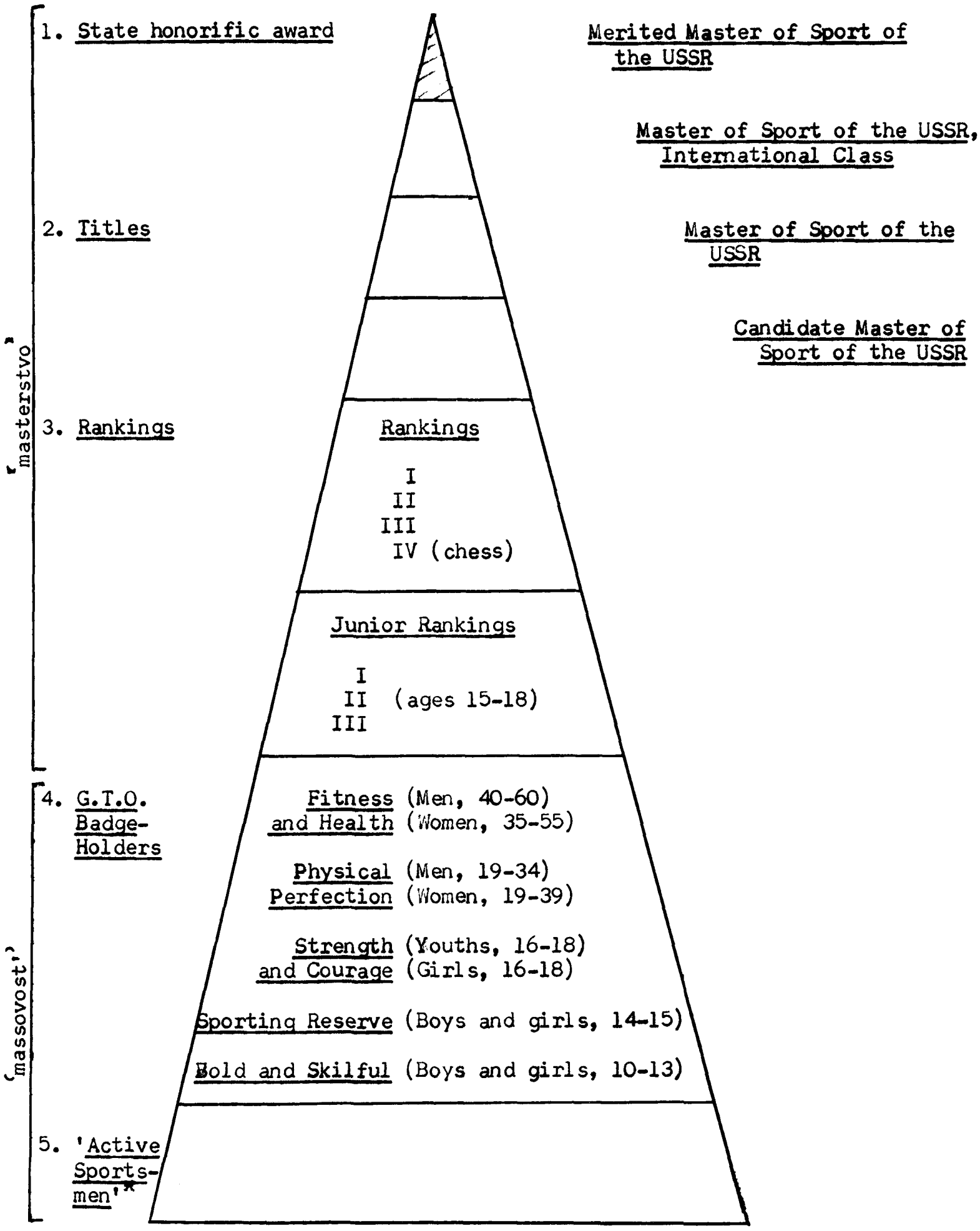
[126] Yedinaya vsesoyuznaya sportivnaya klassifikatsiya, p. 182.

[127] Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 48.

[128] Yedinaya vsesoyuznaya sportivnaya klassifikatsiya, p. 29.

nurture them to world-class attainments and international competition in a relatively short time (see Figure III).

Figure III: The USSR Sports Pyramid, 1974



* Active sportsmen are now officially defined as members of sports groups who engage in physical exercise of sport under the supervision of an instructor not less than twice a week over a minimum period of six months (see Note 90, p. 381, above). In 1973, the number was put by Sergei Pavlov, Chairman of the Sports Committee, at 50 million people - i.e., one-fifth of the population (see Soviet Weekly, 24 November, 1973, p. 16). By contrast to this 'global' figure, the micro-sociological surveys quoted in the text indicate one-tenth of the population as a more realistic figure.

(c) Massovost' and masterstvo

In theory, at least, this instrument can from massovost' hatch masterstvo. The long-lived Soviet President, Mikhail Kalinin, once said: "In our country, physical culture means sport for the whole people; in our country, millions participate in the physical-culture movement. And it is obvious that talented athletes will sooner be found among those millions than among thousands, and that it is easier to find talented athletes among thousands than among hundreds."[129] That the Party and government so frequently stress massovost' is not mere lip-service to ideology, but a sincere attempt to put pressure on societies, clubs and coaches to pay more attention to the ordinary public. Since the war, when the accent has been on producing champions who would help to establish and maintain Soviet supremacy in world sport, the twin aims have tended to interfere with rather than to supplement one another. With the increasing complexity of the sports-movement, "today it is clear that an increase in the former ['massovost' - JMR] does not automatically guarantee an increase in the latter. The connection between them presupposes a high degree of organisation by sports societies, departments, physical-culture collectives and clubs, the presence of qualified instructors, the rational foundation of sports training and so on."[130] The trend is towards an administrative separation and funding of sport with the serious sportsman who shows talent being channelled at an early age into a privileged environment of qualified trainers, good facilities and intensive training, and the casual sportsman independently following his inclination in a more or less unsupervised way. This separation was indicated quite clearly by the head of the department of Forecasting and Planning of Physical-Culture Development at the All-Union

[129] Kalinin, M.I., O voprosakh sotsialisticheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1938, p. 132.

[130] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 8, p. 3.

Physical Culture Research Institute: "A tendency is already evident in the sports movement today towards a differentiation of big-time sport from mass physical culture. This process will be even more marked in the future. Sport will develop principally through specialised sports organisations like the children's and youth sports schools, schools of higher sports skill, sports boarding schools, etc... Mass participation will develop largely through independent forms of physical culture."[131] If, however, this bias is too blatant, it can evoke unfavourable comment, as occurred in relation to the Georgian sports authorities in 1973 -- who were accused of being "only interested in a specially-selected band of athletes in sports schools, specialised sports boarding schools, local and Republican teams -- from which swift and high results are expected. They are not interested in mass sport."[132]

A number of studies present quite a different picture of mass sports participation to that given in the statistics produced by various sports organisations and released by the Central Statistical Board. In fact, an official check was put on inflated figures from 1968. The following table shows the estimated inflation of statistics in the latter part of the 1960's.

Table 36: Estimated Inflation of Data on the Number of Active Sports-Participants, 1965-1969

Indicator	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
"Physical culturists"								
A. Series as published (mln.)	46.3	50.5	54.1	54.2	45.3	43.6	45.1	46.0
(% of previous year)	...	109.1	107.1	100.2	83.6	96.2	103.4	102.0
B. Linear regression of '70-'72 on '65-'69 (mln.)[b]	37.7	38.9	40.1	41.3	42.5	43.6	45.1	46.0
(% of previous year)	...	103.2	103.1	103.0	102.9	102.6	103.4	102.0
C. Estimated inflation[a] (mln.)	8.6	11.6	14.0	12.9	2.8	-	-	-
(% of B)	22.8	29.8	34.9	31.2	6.6	-	-	-

[a] A-B; assumes that 1970-72 data are accurate and that there has been no substantial change in the rate of increase of real numbers over the whole period 1965-72.

[b] i.e., hypothetical values of what would have been reported had present criteria been applied.

[131] Pereverzin, op.cit., p.26

[132] Sovetsky sport, 12 January, 1973, p.2.

Notes: (i) The rate of inc ease of over-reporting seems to have been faster than that of the increase of real numbers and the fiction was therefore becoming increasingly apparent.(The inflation-rate was evidently just under ¼ in 1965 but more than 1/3 by 1967.)

(ii) Some kind of check appears to have been applied as early as 1968; 1967 was the peak year for inflation.

(iii) The 1969 cutback was apparently only partial and the operation was only fully implemented in 1970.

The Secretary of the Komsomol, S.Arutyunyan, speaking in 1972 at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Komsomol Central Committee, confirmed the 'more realistic' figures and the relatively low participation-figure for young people. In a check on 175 Komsomol organisations, it was discovered that "only 1 in 10 young workers and farmers engaged in sport regularly."[133] A number of recent sociological surveys have also given data at variance with earlier published figures. Thus, "according to Taganrog city organisations, the city had 30,000 sportsmen in 1966 and even 40,000 in 1970 -- i.e., some 27 per cent of the entire employed population. But these figures (and, incidentally, it would seem, those for the country as a whole) include every single person who, just once during the year, took part in some sports activity; moreover, the same people were double-counted if they participated in more than one contest."[134] This survey showed that "regular sports activity -- and that determines the real level of physical culture -- is undertaken by only five per cent of the manual workers and eight per cent of the office-workers. Evidently, the main body of the 40,000 sports-participants in the city comprise people who engage in sport only now and again. 80 per cent of the manual workers and 70 per cent of the employees revealed that they have absolutely nothing

[133] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No.4, p.5.

[134] Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op.cit., p.61.

to do with physical culture and sport (my italics --JWR). Even among young people, not more than 10 per cent take a regular and active part in sport."[135] The table below confirms this picture. It also reveals other trends affecting sport: first, almost three times more men engage in sport than women, both regularly and occasionally --though the sex-discrepancy is not so great in regard to out-of-town recreation --indicating, perhaps, that this tends to be undertaken by families rather than individuals. Second, the change-over from the 6- to 5-day week has not appreciably affected sports-participation -- though it has boosted out-of-town recreation for men and women. At the same time, it has evidently given greater scope to family cultural activities, like theatre- and cinema-going, while resulting in far less time being spent on such workplace-organised and non-family events as attending lectures; similarly, going to football-matches (usually only a male pastime) has not seen any significant increase.

For those who do make sport a career, sport can be an attractive, relatively non-political sphere of activity. It can also be materially worthwhile. As the cancer-stricken young girl in Solzhenitsyn's Cancer Ward says: "Anyone can be a sportsman. You've only got to train a lot. And it pays! You travel for nothing. You get thirty rubles a day for food, and free hotels, and bonuses on top! And think of the places you see!"[136] Poor Asya could boast she had been to Leningrad and Voronezh, but others can travel to Los Angeles, Mexico City and London. In a comparatively 'closed' society like the Soviet Union, whose leaders prevent the vast mass of its citizens from travelling abroad, foreign travel can be a particularly attractive inducement among other attractions that can include high monetary rewards and a large flat in the big city for successful sportsmen. Sport

[135] Ibid., p. 62.

[136] Solzhenitsyn, A., Cancer Ward, Penguin, London, 1971, p. 142.

Table 37: Use of Free-time among Industrial Manual Workers in Taganrog, 1968 (%)[Ø]

Free-time activity	Of all persons surveyed:			Of men surveyed:			Of women surveyed:		
	Working new 5-day week	Working old 6-day week	per cent "difference"	Working new 5-day week	Working old 6-day week	per cent "difference"	Working new 5-day week	Working old 6-day week	per cent "difference"
Reading newspapers regularly	79	75	+4	89	81	+8	72	69	+3
Reading books[*]	53	52	+1	56	55	+1	51	49	+2
Going to the cinema[*]	64	59	+5	70	60	+10	59	57	+2
of whom:									
four or more times per month[*]	27	19	+8	33	20	+13	22	17	+5
Going to the theatre[+]	54	44	+10	51	46	+5	57	42	+15
Studying independently --									
regularly	3	1	+2	4	-	+4	2	1	+1
occasionally	5	2	+3	6	1	+5	4	4	0
Attending sports spectacles[*]	16	14	+2	30	28	+2	5	-	+5
Taking part in sport --									
regularly	5	4	+1	7	5	+2	2	2	0
occasionally	15	14	+1	22	21	+1	9	9	0
Enjoying out-of-town recreation[*]	51	45	+6	54	49	+5	47	38	+9
of whom:									
four or more times per month[*]	13	13	0	15	16	-1	11	7	+4

Ø The survey was undertaken in the fairly 'typical' industrial centre of Taganrog shortly after the transfer of most of the workers to a 5-day working week. Some 600 manual workers on a 5-day week, and 350 on a 6-day week completed questionnaires.

[*] During the month prior to the survey

[+] During the previous year

Source: Gordon, L.A., Rimashevskaya, N.M., Pyatidnevnaya rabochaya nedelya i svobodnoye vremiya trudyashchikhsya. Moscow, 1972, p. 48.

can, therefore, be a remunerative and attractive career for successful athletes. Moreover, since trainers and club-administrators can also share in this affluence and bask in the reflected glory, there is an understandable inclination to ignore the non-proficient athlete --the one who is not likely to win medals and earn perquisites for the club --and concentrate on the proficient. However, so as not to appear biased towards the latter, not to receive official cautions (not to fail to meet sports-participation norms), clubs may be tempted to put forward even grossly inflated registration- and participation-figures to the Central Statistical Board. Hence the over-high figures given for mass participation in sport.

5. Abuses of sports regulations

The pressures on clubs and players to be successful have built up in recent years. Training-schedules have been intensified, previously weak teams beyond the capital --especially in non-Russian areas - have risen to prominence and problems typical of 'professional' sports (particularly football and ice-hockey) in the West --e.g., unruly crowd behaviour, rough play and the 'procuring' of players --have grown more acute. The apparent increase in violent behaviour, especially on the part of spectators, may also be attributed to the decline in official coercion and strong social discipline that were such prominent facets of the 'Stalin era' and tended to discourage overt anti-social activities. Official concern about the seamier side of Soviet big-time sport stems from a number of factors. There have always been abuses of official regulations and prescriptions for the organisation and functioning of Soviet sport --as this study has revealed in previous chapters. After all, competition, conflict and the outbreak of violence are not the preserve of Western societies; they are features of social life in the Soviet Union, too, and the field of sports is no exception. Fights among players, illegal yet widely acknowledged privileged treatment of players and riotous behaviour on the part of spectators have accompanied Soviet

sport at least since the organisation of club-competitions in 1924. Official strictures against such practices have come at regular intervals but little would appear to have been done to enforce the rules. In recent years, however, there have been marked attempts to see that the rules and the 'norms of Soviet living' are abided by, particularly in the most popular of all Soviet spectator-sports --football. Examples of malpractices have received wide publicity in the press, as the illustrations that follow show; they are described at some length because, first, they reveal the type of behaviour that exists behind the idealised picture that the Soviet press is more prone to project; second, they appear to parallel some of the problems facing sport in the West today and, third, they contain certain elements that are new to the Soviet sports-movement.

(a) Scandals in football

136a

The extremes to which the undercover-bonus system in football can lead were revealed in an article in Komsomol'skaya pravda in 1971. It came to light when two members of the Odessa Chernomorets football team were involved in a car crash --one fatally. Both were drunk and accompanied by their girl-friends; the footballer who survived, Victor Lysenko, had evidently knocked down a pedestrian a year before and had had his licence suspended for a year --but the local militia-chief had 'reviewed' the case and let him off. Lysenko is said to have been a habitual debauchee and frequently to have gone on drinking bouts with four of his team-mates, after which they would roar around the town in their private cars. The Assistant Manager of the Odessa Steamship Line explained, "Of course, Lysenko should have been punished. . . But we have to consider the interests of the team. . . Thousands of people, the whole town, support it. And what don't these footballers have? We invite them here from other towns and give them all they need." The Steamship Line had paid for a million-ruble training camp out of town, with three football pitches, steam baths, a luxury hostel and garages for the players' cars. It was now adding an indoor stadium, swimming-pool and giant aquarium. As an incentive to players,

136a As an example of the financial arrangements for top footballers (though these are never published), a player in the top national league

[Note cont.]

Table 37a: Average Monthly Earnings of Various Categories of Employee, 1971 and 1972 (rubles)

Category of Employee	1971	1972
All manual and office workers	125.90	130.20
Industrial workers	135.40	140.10
Industrial engineering and technical personnel	181.60	182.50
Building workers	153.60	159.30
Building engineering and technical personnel	201.20	200.50
All state-employed agricultural personnel	106.30	111.70
Farm manual agricultural workers	103.60	109.30
Farm engineering and technical personnel	178.40	175.90
Health, physical-culture and social-security personnel	92.90	95.50
Education and culture personnel	107.40	112.70

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972, Moscow, pp. 350-351.

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp. 515-517.

(in 1972) received a basic salary from his sports society (for one of whose teams he plays) of about 180 rubles a month -- information on this was obtained through personal communication. Table 37a shows the average earnings, for comparison, in other occupations. If the player had a Master of Sport ranking or had represented his country, he would receive another 30 or 40 rubles respectively, paid to him by the All-Union Committee on Physical Education and Sport. Additionally, he would probably get unofficial payments from various organisations associated with his sports society as bonuses for team-success and playing extra matches outside the normal league programme. Players of Moscow Spartak, for example, receive bonus-payments for winning matches from such organisations as the Moscow City Soviet, whose employees are members of the Spartak trade-union sports society. The biggest bonuses are said to be received by footballers in the Dinamo and army teams. A player's 'utility'-value may also secure him certain other perquisites, such as a spacious apartment and a foreign car.

the Line had paid out 2,000-3,000 rubles each to five Chernomorets players over a few months. The Ilychevsky Port Authority had paid out 50,000 rubles as 'financial stimulus' to the team over a brief span of time. The team's benefactors not only came from the docks; the Odessa Stroigidravlik Factory had been paying 100 rubles every month to a Chernomorets player and double that amount to the chief trainer.

The club itself had provided well-furnished flats, cars and 'pocket money' as inducements to attract the best footballers to the club; sometimes players would arrive, accept the flat and the car and then move to another club (Shakhtyor was cited) where they would get another flat and car, while retaining the old ones.

Several state organisations had apparently turned a blind eye to the misdemeanors. The city militia-chief, Major Marushchenko, disclaimed all knowledge of Lysenko's motoring offences; the Chief Auditor of the Odessa Regional Auditing Board of the Ukrainian Ministry of Finance reported that the documents showing evidence of illegal payments to players had been taken from him; the Chernomorets team's Komsomol secretary denied all knowledge of the restaurant 'debauchery' and drunkenness and claimed that the political and educational work in the team was "on a high ideological level".

While the one Odessa 'professional' football team and its players had everything they needed in the way of facilities and material benefits, the public had extremely limited facilities for sport: junior football practically did not exist in any organised form and Chernomorets had completely neglected all the mass sport-sections that came under the club's tutelage. The town did not have a single swimming pool, because no Odessa organisation was prepared to contribute funds towards building one. The article's author concluded by asking the pertinent questions: "So, why does Odessa need a football team of masters? In order to propagandise sport among thousands of people --or to maintain dubious sporting prestige?"[137]

[137] Komsomol'skaya pravda, 20 July, 1971.

Similar 'scandals' have been exposed in regard to the Azerbaidzhan football team Neftchi, whose players had been involved in drunken brawls in public and misbehaviour on the field. During a match against a Rostov army team in 1971, the Neftchi goalkeeper, Kramarenko, 'after letting in a second goal, attacked the referee with his fists, punched him twice, knocking him to the ground. . . After the match the referee required urgent medical attention.' In the same match, another Neftchi player, Mirzoyan, "spat in a linesman's face", the captain, Banishevsky (who had previously been banned from football for life by the USSR Football Federation for his part in a drunken brawl at Baku airport --but who had subsequently been reinstated by the Azerbaidzhan Sports Committee and made captain of Neftchi!) ordered his players to leave the field in protest at the referee's decisions, and another player, Kuliev, "demonstratively kicked the ball high onto the terraces after a decision had been given against him." The response of the Azerbaidzhan Sports Committee to all this was to hand out a 'token' punishment of a three-match ban on Kramarenko and an admonition to the other members of the team. The USSR Football Federation took a much more serious view and proposed to the Board of the USSR Sports Committee that Neftchi be suspended from the league until the end of the season (three games, in effect), that Kramarenko be banned from football for three years "for an offence of hooliganism unprecedented in our major league", that Kuliev be banned for a year, that Banishevsky be relieved of the captaincy, and that the team be reformed.[138] Although these proposals were ratified, the Neftchi team in the following season (1972) contained roughly the same players excluding Kramarenko but including Kuliev, Mirzoyan and Banishevsky.[139]

[138] Sovetsky sport, 22, 26 and 30, October, 1971.

[139] See Sovetsky sport, 21 September, 1972, p. 3.

As the Chernomorets and Neftchi investigations revealed, football clubs are 'supported' by wealthy patrons, referred to as 'Mycaenases' who grant players financial inducements for winning. There also exists a group of 'football merchants' who work independently or for a club, scouting for talent and enticing players from other clubs. The newspaper Sovetsky sport has reported on the shady dealings of these 'merchants' who "buy up talented youngsters with big money offers",[140] or who "pester players while they are training or even in their private lives".[141] Both the Komsomol and trade-union leaders have spoken out against these and other malpractices. The Komsomol secretary, S. Arutyunyan, has said that "buying up players, enticing them to other clubs, infringements of financial regulations, non-observance of training régimes and an atmosphere of all-forgiving toleration can be found in some teams."[142] He warned, too, that many players were spoilt (he cited several by name) and that trainers spent all their money and time pandering to the whims of the masters and did nothing at all for younger players.

The Presidium of the All-Union Council of Sports Societies put out a statement in 1972 condemning sports societies and administrators who turned a blind eye on these nefarious activities because they wanted to see their club or society win at all cost: "Some leading sports administrators want to have their team succeed at any cost and therefore ignore serious breaches of discipline and immoral acts on the part of players."[143] Football-clubs such as Neftchi, Kairat (Alma Ata, Kazakhstan) and Karpaty (Lvov, Ukraine) were cited as persistent offenders. "Labour-hirers journey from town to town offering blandishments to players. . . It is intolerable that many councils of voluntary sports societies do not pay proper attention to the development

[140] Sovetsky sport, 5 December, 1971, p. 3.

[141] Sovetsky sport, 15 July, 1972, p. 3.

[142] Sovetsky sport, 2 April, 1972, p. 1.

[143] Sovetsky sport, 6 July, 1972, p. 3.

of football, even connive with trainers and team-managers in their unprincipled attempts to get players developed by other clubs, seducing them by financial offers paid for out of state and public funds."[144] After meting out a long gaol sentence on the ex-manager of the Torpedo Football Team in Togliatti for misappropriating club funds, a warning was issued to "the administrators of sports-work at big new construction-sites. It is no secret that crooks, including sports-businessmen, go there in search of a 'long ruble'."[145] Rather than seek success, some club-organisers are evidently willing to 'throw' a match if the price is right --although no evidence has been published on this in regard to major clubs. In 1972, however, a case was reported in the press of teams in the Dnepropetrovsky Regional Kolos league (including the Progress kolkhoz team) being ordered to lose by their managers. The results were "prearranged by interested parties." Surprisingly, official reaction was extremely light: all the 'fixed' results were annulled and the guilty parties --including a referee, trainers and a league official --were merely reprimanded.[146]

144 Idem.

145 Sovetsky sport, 14 December, 1972, p. 2. To curb this practice, the transfer-regulations were tightened up on 5 October, 1972, when the USSR Sports Committee issued new "Regulations for Player-Transfers in Master Football Teams from one Physical-Culture Organisation to Another". Accordingly, transfers henceforth were to be : (i) only permitted from lower divisions upward ("to prevent lovers of an easy life in football moving from team to team, avoiding training by going to lower divisions"); (ii) only permitted for First and Second Division clubs which could take on three new players each year (Third and other Division teams have to consist entirely of local players); (iii) only permitted to the extent of three players per club annually; and (iv) considered by the Sports Committee only from 5 to 30 November. (Sovetsky sport, 12 January, 1973, p. 2.)

146 Sovetsky sport, 13 December, 1972, p. 2.

(b) Rough play and unruly crowds

The 'dirty' play of footballers and the unruly behaviour of spectators have been further causes of lively comment and official action in recent years. The first-ever conference concerned with the problem of rough play was held in April, 1972 with the participation of sports, trade-union and Komsomol officials in addition to players and trainers from all leading clubs. New measures were forthcoming, including the ruling that a player was to miss a match automatically after being sent off or 'booked' twice; 4 'bookings' --or 1 sending-off plus 2 'bookings' --were to result in the player being banned from football until the end of the season.[147] There were reported to be two players banned until the end of the season during 1972.[148]

There have been a number of incidents reported about unruly crowd behaviour at football matches which tend to suggest that Soviet football spectators are no less prone to misbehaviour than their counterparts in England[149] -- although they do not seem to have reached the stage of whirling rattles, shaking flags, singing abusive songs, throwing stones, bottles, darts and beer cans at opposing players or fans --actions which, needless to say, would be very much discouraged by the Soviet authorities. Soviet football-grounds (where spectators sit and soldiers ring the pitch between

147 Sovetsky sport, 5 March, 1972, p. 3.

148 Sovetsky sport, 25 July, 1972, p. 3. On the whole, Soviet football would appear to be less 'violent' than football in 'the West'; in the Soviet Union, 20 players were sent off in first-class matches in 1970, 11 sent off and 163 'booked' in 1971, and 7 sent off and 77 'booked' during over 300 first-class and reserve matches in the six divisions in 1972. On the other hand, a record total of 105 footballers were sent off during English League matches in 1972-73 season.

149 Sovetsky sport, 25 November, 1971, p. 3.; 25 July, 1972, p. 3. During the 1972-73 English Football League season, a total of 276 fans were arrested at the Sheffield United ground and 250 at Manchester United F.C. No Soviet statistics on arrests are available but it is the researcher's observation from watching many Soviet and English football matches that Soviet football-fans are generally much better behaved.

spectators and players, thus presenting less opportunity for 'hooliganism') have, nonetheless, come, over the years, to enjoy a reputation as locations for drunken festivities; for some Soviet fans, getting drunk is part of the natural ritual of watching a football match. During a campaign against drunkenness, launched in 1972, a special drive was made at all football-grounds to prevent the sale of liquor and to see that no bottles were brought into the ground. Nonetheless, drunkenness and violence continue: a football fan was sentenced to death for fatally stabbing a youth during a match in Kiev in 1973.[150] After a match in the Ukraine, "a hooligan hit a Lipetsk player over the head with a hard object wrapped in paper."[151] But it is not only players and 'fans' who lose control of themselves. Club trainers and managers are accused of encouraging infringement of soccer's written and unwritten code of conduct. Some even show the way: "the senior trainer of Avtomobilist, I. Livshits, ran onto the pitch during the match, harangued the referee and, despite the requests of officials and his own players, for a long time refused to leave the field. Unfortunately, some Zhitomir players followed his example and acted like hooligans. . . The referee had to abandon the match."[152]

The increasing official concern with these and other irregularities in Soviet football may be attributed to the following factors.

First, the rough play, crowd hooliganism and malpractices are officially considered to be against Soviet morality. The 'victory at all costs' mentality is said to be contrary to Soviet ethics and presents a bad example to young people and a bad image to world opinion: "Of course, one has to strive for victory, give all one's skill, energy and enthusiasm. But 'victory at all costs' is spoiling our sport; it perverts supporters, not educates them."[153]

150 Sovetsky sport, 23 September, 1973, p. 2.

151 Idem.

152 Sovetsky sport, 3 October, 1972, p. 3.

153 Sovetsky sport, 13 May, 1971, p. 3.

It is recalled that the old English residents' club in St. Petersburg, Victoria, had as its motto "Lose With Honour"[154] and that the English footballer, Stanley Matthews, had not had one booking in his long career;[155] these were the models to follow.

Second, the rough play and resultant injuries and official bans, the 'spoiling' of so many leading footballers, have reduced the chances of Soviet teams winning against foreign clubs. It is recorded that the Soviet national team lost five of its leading players through injury on the eve of an important match.[156] In a discussion over several months during 1972 on the pages of Sovetsky sport about the reasons for the relative lack of success of Soviet football against foreign teams, several leading players and officials pointed to "the interference of all manner of 'patrons' which often leads to the corruption of players."[157] Misconduct in international matches is also bad for the Soviet 'image' abroad. Thus, the Georgian Sports Committee warned at the start of the 1974 football season that "footballers who dressed untidily, had long hair and wore charms would not be permitted to play in international matches in future."[158]

Third, the increasing preoccupation --even obsession --on the part of spectators with their favourite clubs and, on the part of sports clubs, with achieving success in their footballing activities have exacerbated the perennial problem of clubs tending to direct all their attention and resources towards 'professional' sport --at the expense of the mass of casual

154 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 6, p. 12. This motto was referred to after it was reported that the Pakhtakov (Tashkent, Uzbekistan) football-club captain did not thank a linesman at the end of a game.

155 Sovetsky sport, 29 December, 1971, p. 3.

156 Idem.

157 Sovetsky sport, 3 March, 1972, p. 3.

158 Sovetsky sport, 8 February, 1974, p. 2.

players. If priority in the Soviet sports-movement is to be for mass, even universal, participation, then sports societies and football-clubs must do less for their professionals and more for the community at large: "If we consider how much energy and effort is expended by some officials of regional and Republican sports organisations on long journeys with their teams of masters and their constant concern over whether or not their footballers will gain an extra point, we unwittingly come to the conclusion that it would be more sensible and more fruitful to direct their efforts and energy into developing mass football, into creating good conditions for young players in town, region and Republic to enjoy the sport."[159]

6. Falling Match-Attendances and Changing Tastes

An examination of statistics on attendance at football matches during the 1972 season provides a fuller picture of Soviet sports-spectators and some pointers to comparisons with the West. The following information was culled from Sovetsky sport during the 1972 season. (See Tables 38, 39 and 40)

Tables 38 and 39 reveal a correlation between high attendance at football matches and success in the league; there would appear to be other contributory factors, however, since those clubs whose average home 'gates' were above the league average were Zenit, Leningrad (7th), Dinamo, Kiev (2nd), Zarya, Voroshilovgrad (1st), Dnepr, Dnepropetrovsk (6th), Ararat, Yerevan (4th), Dinamo, Minsk (8th) and Karpaty, Lvov (14th). Thus Karpaty, although finishing third from bottom, had a better average attendance than Dinamo, Tbilisi (3rd) and all five Moscow clubs. The two best-supported clubs were clearly Zenit and Dinamo, Kiev --both of them having 7 times obtained home attendances over 50,000 (see Table 39). The success of the Leningrad club is remarkable in that, despite the city's size (3.5 million people), the team has generally performed poorly in Soviet football. Lack of alternative

159 Idem.

Table 38: First-Division Football-League Attendances, 1972

Football Club*	Aggregate Attendance (thous.)	Highest (thous.)	Lowest (thous.)	Average (thous.)
1. Zarya Voroshilovgrad	554+	40	10	34.6
2. Dinamo Kiev	598	70	13	39.9
3. Dinamo Tbilisi	410	50	10	27.3
4. Ararat Yerevan	449	45	16	29.9
5. Central Army Sports Club (TsSKA)	288	40	2	19.2
6. Dnepr Dnepropetrovsk	460	36	20	30.7
7. Zenit Leningrad	618	90	7	41.2
8. Dinamo Minsk	448	44	15	29.9
9. Torpedo Moscow	288	68	0.8	19.2
10. Dinamo Moscow	311	35	8	20.7
11. Spartak Moscow	288	49	2	20.6
12. Army Sports Club Rostov	246	30	2	16.4
13. Kairat Alma-Ata	236	30	8	15.7
14. Karpaty L'vov	443	39	14	29.5
15. Lokomotiv Moscow	171	31	0.2Ø	11.4
16. Neftchi Baku	234	35	3x	15.6
Total (240 matches)	6,041	90,000	200	29.3

* Clubs are listed in final league positions. Attendance-figures relate to home matches only.

+ Zarya played 16 home matches, one more than other clubs.

Ø This match was watched by the lowest crowd in Soviet First Division history; however, the temperature was -10°C (November 3), Lokomotiv had already been relegated (and lost 1-6) and it was the last match of the season.

x Played in Dnepropetrovsk.

Table 39: First Division Matches Attended by 50,000 or More Spectators, 1972

1.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Army Sports Club Rostov	(90,000)
2.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Zarya Voroshilovgrad	(80,000)
3.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Dnepr Dnepropetrovsk	(70,000)
4.	Torpedo Moscow	v.	Spartak Moscow	(68,000)
5.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Neftchi Baku	(65,000)
6.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Torpedo Moscow	(65,000)
7.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Dinamo Tbilisi	(60,000)
8.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Dinamo Moscow	(55,000)
9.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Ararat Yerevan	(55,000)
10.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Spartak Moscow	(55,000)
11.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Central Army Sports Club	(55,000)
12.	Dinamo Tbilisi	v.	Ararat Yerevan	(50,000)
13.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Central Army Sports Club	(50,000)
14.	Dinamo Kiev	v.	Zarya Voroshilovgrad	(50,000)
15.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Kairat Alma-Ata	(50,000)
16.	Zenit Leningrad	v.	Dinamo Kiev	(50,000)

Table 40: Second-Division Average Football-League Attendances, 1972

Club	Average Attendance*	Final League Position
1. Chernomorets Odessa	22,888+	3rd
2. Shinnik Yaroslavl	20,526	7th
3. Shakhtyor Donetsk	19,555+	2nd
4. Torpedo Kutaisi	17,000	5th
5. Pakhtakor Tashkent	15,667+	1st
6. Zvezda Perm	15,632	6th
7. Krylya Sovetov Kuibyshev	13,816	4th
8. Spartak Ordzhonikidze	13,222+	9th
9. Avtomobilist Nalchik	11,631	15th
10. Krivbas Krivoi Rog	10,767	19th
11. Pamir Dushanbe	10,118++	8th
12. Shakhtyor Karaganda	9,895	10th
13. Alga Frunze	9,833+	11th
14. Tekstil'shchik Ivanovo	9,632	13th
15. Nistry Kishinyov	9,167+	12th
16. Metallurg Zaporozh'e	7,026	14th
17. Stroitel' Ashkhabad	5,737	17th
18. Uralmash Sverdlovsk	4,879	18th
19. Metallist Khar'kov	4,174	16th
20. Dinamo Leningrad[Ø]	2,895	20th
Average (372 matches)[x]	11,427	-

*Home matches only; (by each team) 20 home matches are played in Division Two

+ Figures unavailable for 1 match

++ Figures unavailable for 2 matches

x Figures available only for 372 of the 380 matches played; total league attendance: 4,250,600

Ø Played at Dinamo Stadium, Leningrad

themselves against other 'national' teams --by comparison with Ararat, (Armenia), Neftchi, (Azerbaidzhan), Dinamo Kiev, (Ukraine), Dinamo Tbilisi, (Georgia), Dinamo Minsk, (Byelorussia) or Karpaty L'vov, (Western Ukraine). Fourth, Moscow possesses many alternative recreational facilities which constantly impinge upon football's traditional claim to mass audiences. These alternative facilities, both for active and passive recreation, are not so highly developed in 'provincial' towns like L'vov or Alma-Ata.

During 1972, a number of articles in the Soviet sporting press complained of falling attendances at football-matches.[160] Among the reasons voiced were:

(i) the unattractive style of much modern play (few goals, 'defensive' football, increasing violence); (there does seem to be a link between unattractive play and unattracted crowds. Spectators are not prepared to pay to watch mediocre games with few goals and in which foul play is the norm);

(ii) the lack of international success for Soviet teams;

(iii) the counter-attractions of other forms of entertainment --notably the television; and

(iv) the surfeit of football matches.[161]

Falling attendances are an international phenomenon: in Britain, football crowds in 1972-73 were 10% down on the previous season and, elsewhere, "the gigantic stadium which Real Madrid, the great Spanish club, built itself, is three-quarters empty these days. In Germany, which is enjoying a well-deserved success in international football, the crowds were down by over a million last season on the previous year. Even in Italy . . . the game has become

160 See Sovetsky sport, 4 October, 1972, pp. 2-3 (Moscow clubs); Sovetsky sport, 14 December, 1972, p. 2. (Ararat Yerevan).

161 Up to six years ago, the football season traditionally began in Moscow on May 2nd. During 1972, over 100 league and cup matches had taken place before that date. During the long season (April-November), clubs normally now play an average of two matches a week. The change is primarily due to the entry of Soviet football teams into all the major European competitions, thus obliging Soviet clubs to play within the season of teams from warmer countries (the West-European football season lasts from August to May, but international club competitions are not normally held between November and April).

football entertainment is, however, a probable factor in Zenit's success: the only other Leningrad club, Dinamo, finished bottom of Division Two and recorded the worst 'gates' (an average of 2,895) of all 36 clubs in the First and Second Divisions of the Soviet League (see Table 40).

It is revealing that, of the 16 matches listed in Table 39, only one was recorded in Moscow (with a population of over 7 million). Despite the fact that all five Moscow clubs had a disappointing season in terms of results, it is doubtful if this alone kept attendances down. Seventy-four League matches played in the capital drew a total of 1,245,850 spectators (an average of 16,836 per match), a figure well below the national average for a First Division match in 1972. As Moscow had five teams in Division One in 1972, there were no fewer than 20 'derby' matches between these local rivals. The list of individual club-attendance statistics reveals that, apart from TsSKA, the Moscow clubs recorded their best attendance of the season in a match against another club from the capital. Nonetheless, as many as six of the 20 fixtures were watched by fewer than 10,000 people. As if to highlight the comparatively low attractive power of Moscow clubs, Lokomotiv recorded the First Division's lowest-ever attendance figure (200). Despite the extenuating circumstances, it is doubtful whether, in similar conditions, an English First Division match would attract such a remarkably poor attendance. One may speculate on the reasons behind Moscow's comparatively low football attendance-figures. First, it often happens that Moscow clubs have to fulfil fixtures on the same day, hence reducing the overall spectator-potential at any one match. Second, identification with a team is probably stronger in a small or medium-sized provincial town with one major club than in a metropolis like Moscow --where, moreover, the football clubs are not associated with clear-cut geographical areas (as opposed to London clubs, for example) but with state institutions, enterprises and trade unions which are city-wide. Third, there is no easily identifiable one Russian team (Spartak comes closest) with which Russians as a national group can associate

enmeshed in a negative style of play."[162] The British situation is blamed on a surfeit of football. What most observers, both in and outside the USSR, fail to remark upon is the generally changing pattern of leisure in modern urban-industrial societies. The need apparently felt by industrial workers at an early stage of industrialisation to identify themselves with their relatively new town or factory environment through a football team is no longer so great. With rising living-standards, less time worked, the 'long weekend', a family car, television, and a wide range of 'newer', more individual or 'small-group' sports (boating, hiking, horse-riding, badminton, tennis), people are turning to more individualistic or small-group leisure activities centred on the home, the family or a group of friends, rather than pursuing public, mass activities centred on workplace or public entertainment. To give one example: people still watch football, but they do so on the television in their home rather than in a stadium: "In essence, time is used here on the same spectacles, but in a passive --i.e., a family and domestic (and not a public and mass) --form."[163]

Table 41: Central Television-Time Devoted to Sporting Transmissions, 1966-70

Indicator	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total (hours per annum)	357	467	500	>500	>500
(index: 1966=100)	100	131	140	>140	>140
(% of all central T.V. time)	...	6.8	...	...	...

Source: Ivonin, V.A., Sputnik fizkul'turnovo rabotnika, Moscow, 1972, p. 278.

The increasing demand for sports-televiewing has been matched by an increase in the hours given over to sports on television—roughly 1 hour 25 minutes every day in 1970 (see Table 41).

[162] The Times, 14 October, 1972.

[163] Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op. cit., p. 39.

The provision of television-sets has increased greatly in the last two decades and by 1980 virtually every family will probably have one or more T.V. sets: at the end of 1950, the USSR had 15,000 sets (12,000 of which were manufactured during 1950); in 1960, it had 4.8 million or 22 sets per 1,000 people; in 1973, there were 195 sets per 1,000 people or one for two families out of three[164] (see Table 42).

In the above-mentioned Taganrog survey (p.346), it was found that adult manual workers watched television on average 6-7 hours per week[165]. In another survey, men were said to watch T.V. 8-9 hours a week on average and women -- 3-4 hours[166]. The widespread and increasing televiewing is obviously having a big impact on the pattern of sport.

The authors of the Taganrog survey make the point that "most town-clubs and sports-groups are ill-adapted for family recreation"[167]. They suggest, therefore, that boating 'firms', riding-schools and out-of-town recreation centres should be set up -- all open to the general public[168].

These changes in leisure-patterns are affecting attendances at the more traditional sports like football. Their effect (on attendances at football matches, for example) seems to have been felt first and foremost in Moscow, where the populace tends to have a greater than average access to a variety of consumer durables.

164 Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1961, Moscow, 1966, pp. 138-139, 518;
SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.192.

165 Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op.cit., p.76.

166 Gordon, Klopov, op.cit., p.103.

167 Ibid., p.115.

168 Ibid., p.118.

Table 42: Dissemination of T.V. among the Population, Selected Years, 1940 - 1973

Indicator	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972	1973
All T.V.-sets (mln.)	0.0004	0.015	0.823	4.788	15.693	34.836	39.3	45.4	49.1
(index: 1960=100)	0.008	0.3	17	100	328	728	821	948	1028
(sets per 1,000 population)	0.002	0.08	4	22	68	143	160	182	195
(sets per 100 families)	...	...	...	8	24	51	57	63	67
of total:									
(a) urban (mln.)	0.0004	0.015	0.763	4.415	12.988	25.410	...	...	...
(index: 1960=100)	0.009	0.3	17	100	294	576	...	...	...
(sets per 1,000 population)	0.006	0.2	9	41	105	183	...	...	...
(b) rural (mln.)	...	...	0.060	0.373	2.705	9.426	...	...	...
(index: 1960=100)	...	...	16	100	725	2527	...	...	...
(sets per 1,000 population)	...	...	1	3	25	90	...	...	...

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp. 7, 9, 462, 558;
Transport i svyaz' SSSR, Moscow, 1972, p. 292;
SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, pp. 11, 140, 192.

If this hypothesis is correct (and it applies even more to Western industrial societies), one might expect a further reduction in football-match attendances as living standards rise still further.

7. Clubs and Competition

(a) Sports-Clubs

In 1960, the All-Union Central Council of Trade-Union Voluntary Sports Societies created the honorary title of Sports-Club for conferment on the best-equipped and most successful sports-collectives at factories and other urban workplaces.[169] The calendar of competitions was becoming overcrowded, with a multiplicity of collectives of varying ability taking part. With the best collectives made into sports-clubs, therefore, a separate channel for superior competition could be devised, running parallel to that of the sports societies (of which there were 29 with over 25 million members in 1972) of which the collectives were members. Furthermore, employees of factories with their own club would be more likely to identify themselves with such a club of their own --having its own emblem, name, uniform and newspaper --than with the much bigger and more impersonal sports society. The right of clubs to take part in All-Union and international tournaments might encourage factory-managements to meet the qualifying standards for club-status by boosting the sports budget and encouraging more workers to take part in sport or even to gain a ranking.

According to the regulations for awarding the title of Club, a sports-collective must have at least 40 per cent of the labour-force of its work-place pursuing a sport regularly, it must engage in no less than 12 sports and these must include athletics, gymnastics, swimming, cycling, weightlifting, and certain winter sports (where climatic conditions permit); it must have a permanent group of referees responsible for all its competitions and at least

169 Sovetsky sport, 7 May, 1960, p. 1.

one part-time coach for every 12-15 athletes who compete in one of its teams; it must do its best to see that a certain proportion of its members become Masters of Sport and must every year gain rankings for 5-6 per cent of its employees; it must run a children's and youth sports-school; no less than 80 per cent of its employees must take part in daily physical exercises at their workplace; it must have at its disposal good sports facilities and a training-camp, and finally, it must act as patron of one or more rural sports collectives.[170]

Running a club is the joint responsibility of the factory trade-union committee and the council of the parent sports society with assistance from the Komsomol. On an executive level, the club's affairs are run by a collegiate board consisting of the senior and assistant trainers (starshy i mladshy trenery), manager (nachal'nik), team captain (kapitan) and Komsomol organiser (Komsorg). The most important person here is usually the starshy trener and he it is who is held responsible for the club's success or failure; in some clubs, one dominant personality as starshy trener can dictate the club's policy - as long as it and he are successful.[171]

By the end of 1961, more than 50 workplace collectives had become sports clubs; by 1965, there were 360[172] and, by 1972, 540 (of which 282 were at factories, 236 at specialised secondary schools and 22 at collective and state farms).[173] Clubs' rights include participation in All-Union championships

170 Makartsev, N.A., Organizatsiya raboty fizkul'turnovo kollektiva, Moscow, 1964, pp. 134-136.

171 If the club fails to do well, the senior trainer's fate is usually that of a football-team manager in the West - he gets the sack. Thus, at the end of the 1972-73 football season, the senior trainers of Torpedo Moscow, Lokomotiv Moscow and Dinamo Kiev were all peremptorily dismissed. Although the USSR Sports Committee condemned the "gross violation of sporting ethics" by the Moscow and Ukrainian Sports Committees, nothing was done to reinstate the trainers. (See Sovetsky sport, 28 October, 1973, p. 3.) At the end of 1973-74 season, the senior trainers of Dinamo Tbilisi, Zarya and Shakhtyor were also sacked because of their clubs' lack of success.

172 Samoukov, op. cit., p. 360; Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 10.

173 Ivonin, V.A. (ed.), Sputnik fizkul'turnovo rabotnika, Moscow, 1972, p. 56.

and international friendly matches. A club also has the right "to provide full-time training for up to 12 days prior to a Republican, All-Union or international contest.[174] Here is official sanctioning of 'professional' sportsmen, for if an important (Republican or All-Union) match takes place weekly, then players are able to train continually throughout the season without breaking the 12-day rule (before each match). A number of clubs really concentrate on a single sport; for example, the Riga TTT (Tramvaino-trolleibusny trest) women's basketball team had, by 1970, been All-Union champions eight years in succession; the Moscow Aviation Institute Club is noted for rugby (of the 20 league teams in 1970, as many as 15 were student sports clubs); the Alma-Ata Stroitel' ('Construction-Worker') club is the most successful team in the country in women's volleyball, and so on.

As an example of club administration and functions, the Pervoural'sk Pipe Plant club receives 400,000 rubles annually from trade-union and factory funds; plant facilities in 1970 included an indoor stadium (cost: over a million rubles), two football-pitches-cum-ice rinks, three gymnasiums, an indoor swimming-pool, a ski-centre, a slalom course and a mountain hostel. Forty full-time trainers administered 34 sports sections in which 10,000 employees (one-third of the total labour-force) were registered.[175] As another illustration, the staff of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev have their own sports club, Nauka, which, in 1966, ran sports-groups in 49 research institutes in the city and involved half the total staff. The club had 29 Masters of Sport and had at its disposal an aquatic centre, two recreation-camps and several sports-grounds.[176]

In 1965, the right to form sports clubs was extended to secondary schools and rural sports-collectives. A school may call its sports section

[174] Ibid., p. 57.

[175] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 1, pp. 4-9.

[176] Lyubomirov, N., Sobolyov, P., Na pyati kontinentakh, Moscow, 1967, p. 14.

a club if over 75 per cent of its pupils over the age of ten take a regular part in sport, physical education and tourism, if no less than 50 per cent of its 15-18-year-olds annually gain a junior ranking, if at least 90 per cent of its school-leavers have G.T.O. badges, and if it has fully qualified instructors, a permanent pool of referees and adequate amenities.[177]

The club innovation has undoubtedly encouraged workplaces and educational establishments to draw more participants into sport, but it has also had the (at times contradictory) effect of encouraging the largest workplaces to concentrate their resources on producing masters and full-time professional teams.

(b) The structure of sporting competitions

An extensive network of competition is seen as the most effective "means of involving many millions of people in sports-participation, of consistently improving the attainments of Soviet athletes and as a means of taking stock of the quality of the work being done in the various sports organisations."[178]

Two distinguishing features of the Soviet programme or 'calendar' of tournaments are:

(a) consistent planning —from the lowest level of the sports-collective up to All-Union championships —and

(b) the extensive opportunities available for collectives, teams and individual sportsmen to take part at some stage in All-Union tournaments.

Indeed, everything possible is done to use the attraction of competition to sustain interest and draw people into both regular training and sport.

Annual and long-term plans are drawn up by the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport and these provide the guidelines for the principal sports and the coordination of the activities of all sports-organisations in the

[177] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 1, p. 43.

[178] Makartsev, op. cit., p. 191.

country. When the calendar is drawn up, the Committee takes into consideration coming international contests: World and European Championships, the Olympic Games, USSR v. USA Athletics Match, and so on, so that athletes for a particular event may be brought to the peak of their training at the right moments for the major international event through domestic competition. International competition always has priority. The following scheme illustrates the three-channel pattern of planned competition in use today:

Scheme for Conducting Sports Competitions

Level	Branch (vedomstvenny) competitions	Territorial Competitions	VSS, club and sports-collective competitions
1. All-Union	All-Union contests and spartakiads (e.g., Railwaymen v. Builders)	All-Union championships and spartakiads (e.g., Moscow v. Leningrad)	All-Union tournaments (e.g., Uralmash v. ZIL)
2. Republican	Republican tournaments	Republican championships	Republican tournaments
3. Territory, region and Autonomous Republic	Territorial and regional tournaments	Championships of territories regions and Autonomous Republics	Territorial and regional tournaments
4. City	City tournaments	City championships	City tournaments
5. District	District tournaments	District championships	District tournaments
6. City-District	—	Tournaments in residential districts	—
7. Primary	Tournaments in primary organisations (schools, military units, colleges and universities)	Tournaments within sports collectives	Tournaments within sports-collectives

Source: Nikiforov, I.I., Pol'shansky, V.S. (eds.), Organizatsiya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1965, p. 194.

The first column is for competitions on the basis of place of work or study --e.g., a schoolchild may work up from his local school competition through town, regional and republican tournaments eventually to the annual schoolchildren's spartakiad.

The second column shows the organisation of tournaments on a residential or territorial, as opposed to workplace, basis. Here an athlete may represent his local residential sports collective, or his town, or Republic right up to the All-Union championships and become a champion of each in turn. In the third channel of competition, the competitor is organised by sports society (VSS), irrespective of his place of residence or his workplace.

This structure of competition exists both for multi-sport tournaments and for individual-sport championships. The competitions also provide a useful medium whereby a number of sportsmen are able to receive or improve their rankings.

(c) Spartakiads

The greatest multi-sport competition is the Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR, largely patterned on the official programme of sports of the Olympic Games. In recent years, the word 'spartakiad' has taken on a broader meaning and now spartakiads are held for trade unions, collective farms, schools, Pioneer champs and even backyard teams. But the big event still is the Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR --held in two seasons, summer and winter, now every four years, normally in the year preceding the Olympic Games. These games have now become so massive, with so many participants in the qualifying tournaments, that the Fifth Spartakiad, in 1971, was held in four parts: the first two being mass tournaments in individual sports, taking place in the various sports-collectives and including district and city championships. The third stage comprised competitions for regions, territories, Autonomous Republics, the 15 Union Republics, Moscow and Leningrad. The fourth and final stage was the Finals which took place from 4th to 31st July, 1971, simultaneously in Moscow, Riga, Ufa, Voronezh, Kiev and L'vov.[179]

[179] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 3, p. 30.

Table 42a: Participation in Summer Spartakiads of the Peoples of the USSR, 1956-71

Spartakiad	Year	Sports contested (no.)	Participants (mln.)	Finalists (thous.)
First	1956	21	23	9
Second	1959	22	40[a]	8½
Third	1963	...	66[a]	>10
Fourth	1966/67	26	57½[ab]	>11
Fifth	1970/71	...	44	>10

[a] Figures probably inflated

[b] One report claimed 80 mln. -- Makartsev and Sobolev, op.cit. (1968), pp.80-81.

Sources: Samoukov, op.cit., pp.358,380
Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No.9, p.3
Sport v SSSR, 1971, No.1, p.3
Sovetsky sport, 6 July, 1971, p.1.

How important this sports festival is for popularising sport may be judged from the numbers of people said to take part (see Table 42a). Some 23 million took part in the First Summer Spartakiad in 1956, with over 9,000 competing in the finals in 21 sports. Some 40 million took part in the Second Spartakiad in 1959, with nearly 8,500 athletes representing 43 nationalities competing in the finals, ranging in age from 12-year-old Leila Balaisheite of Lithuania in table-tennis to 77-year-old V.I. Lapchinsky from Riga in pistol-shooting. The programme closely followed the Olympic Games in featuring 22 sports.[180]

As many as 66 million people are said to have participated at some stage of the Third Summer Spartakiad during 1963 --more than a quarter of the Soviet population at that time, and three million more than the first two Spartakiads put together. Over 10,000 competed in the finals. During the qualifying rounds, 9,574 new sports collectives and over 5 million new registered sports-section members were recorded.[181]

The Fourth Summer Spartakiad was held in 1966 and 1967, dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union. Figures for participation vary from a reported 57.5 million to 80 million;[182] over 11,000 people contested 26 sports in the finals held in Moscow during August, 1967. Simultaneously, the All-Union Schoolchildren's Spartakiad was held with 20 million schoolchildren participating and 5,222 contesting the finals.[183]

The Fifth Summer Spartakiad was held during 1970 and 1971, the finals taking place in July, 1971. Figures for participation were lower (but

[180] Samoukov, op. cit., p. 358.

[181] Ibid., p. 380.

[182] The second figure was quoted in Makartsev, N.A. Sobolyev, P.A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, pp. 80-81; the first (revised) figure was given three years later in Sport v SSSR, 1971, No. 1, p. 3.

[183] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 9, p. 3.

probably more realistic) than at the two previous Spartakiads: 44 million. Over 10,000 contested the finals. As a spur to proficiency, it is noteworthy that 4,000 became Masters of Sport for the first time and 186 All-Union records were set during the preliminaries; in the finals, 237 Republican records, 31 All-Union, 19 European and 18 world records were broken.[184]

But the Spartakiads are not simply a means of drawing people into sport and preparing athletes for international success. The Chairman of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, Sergei Pavlov, highlighted another aspect of the festival in his speech at the opening ceremony of the 1971 finals: "The Spartakiad is a true festival of fraternal friendship of the peoples of our multinational country. In that sense, it acquires special significance as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The Spartakiad reflects a major component of our Leninist nationality policy --the coming together of the levels of culture of all our peoples."[185] As Table 66 on pp. 522-523, showing the number of points attained by the 15 Union Republics and teams from Moscow and Leningrad, would indicate, the Spartakiads have tended to be dominated by the European centres like Moscow and Leningrad, the Ukraine and Byelorussia; nonetheless, there is a noticeable shift in sports success over the last decade in the direction of a levelling-up of sports performance for all republics (see below, pp. 524-525).

184 Sovetsky sport, 6 July, 1971, p. 1. How reliable these and former data on the spartakiads are is hard to say, but if the highest figure for participants, 80 million in the Fourth Spartakiad, is correct, it means that well over half the population between the ages of 15 and 60 participated (estimating the over-60's at some 34 million and under-15's at some 45 million, making a total of nearly 80 million non-eligibles out of a population of 220 million in 1967). Bearing in mind that rural and female sports-participation is not very high, the claim that over half of all eligible men, women and young people took part seems dubious in the extreme.

185 Sovetsky sport, 9 July, 1971, p. 1.

Another distinct function of the Spartakiads is to demonstrate patriotic feelings through festive parades and mass displays. A conscious attempt is made to simulate the sports ceremonies and rituals of the Ancient Greek Games that were held quadrennially at the foot of Mount Olympus between 776 BC and AD 395.[186] Torch-bearers run single-kilometre laps, starting in Moscow from the tomb of the unknown warrior in the Alexandrovsky Gardens alongside the Kremlin Wall, through the streets to the Lenin Stadium in the south-west of the city. As the official programme explicitly states, "Following the Olympic tradition, born in ancient Hellas, sports-contests should be embellished by creative contests and the winners should receive medals, prizes and diplomas."[187]

Attempts are made in the Spartakiad to present sport as something ennobling, a cultural force that enriches man's experiences. Emphasis is put on the pageantry, the mass gymnastics and formation-displays as art-forms. The aesthetic element in sports-parades and the Spartakiads --and in sport in general --is deliberately highlighted. In 1971, for example, the finals of the Spartakiad were accompanied by a giant cultural festival that linked sport with the arts. Throughout July, Moscow staged three special exhibitions; first, the 'Third All-Union Exhibition of Physical Culture and Sport in the Arts' held in the Central Exhibition Hall (the Manezh) displayed over a thousand paintings, sculptures, graphics and various applied-art exhibits (cups, vases, plaques); second, a 'Sport and Philately' exhibition contained

186 The ancient Olympic Games were part of a religious festival in honour of Zeus. Their five-day programme included sacrifices and religious rituals, races, wrestling and the arts. Belief in mimetic magic credited the victors with power to bring fertility and growth to crops and stock. Today, sacrifices and athletic contests have been replaced as agricultural aids, yet there exists a curious echo in primitive beliefs in the strivings of nations to demonstrate their virility through success in international sport. How keen the Soviet authorities are to reproduce and retain rituals in sport is evident in the Spartakiads.

187 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 5, p. 4.

more than 250 display-stands of stamps on sporting themes; and, third, an exhibition entitled 'Books and Sport in the USSR' had on show over a thousand books and other publications, including 400 from other socialist countries, on sport.[188] At the same time, Moscow was host to a festival of sports films and other artistic events which included a display of sports photographs and of sports goods.

One other aspect of the Spartakiads is of note here, since it is relevant to other features of Soviet sport and competitions in general -- that is, the ritualistic paraphernalia of parades, mass displays, flag- and banner-waving, and the fanfares preceding events. Although the direct influence of religion on Russian sport ended with the October 1917 Revolution, the supposed need for ritual has continued to be indulged; in fact, the injection of elements of ritual into sport seems to have been elevated in Soviet times to the plane of official policy. In the absence of religious occasions and vehicles for experiencing, in relation to central established beliefs, common, shared feelings of awe and the 'mystical' sense of social identity, sport (with its long-established and possibly inherent concern for ritual) has provided a socially and politically acceptable partial alternative to aspects of the activity of the Church. The modern Olympic Games, with their torch-bearers' relay, the unfurling of flags, victory-celebrations, national anthems, contingent-marching and the like, have been reproduced in a whole host of Soviet competitions, sports-displays and events.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet Union has always resisted attempts to downgrade or abolish ritual in the Olympic Games. In an editorial comment on an interview with Avery Brundage, criticising his attempts to 'cosmopolitanise' the Olympics by banning the raising of flags and the playing of anthems for winners, Sovetsky sport wrote; "One can only hope that certain

188 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 7, p. 25; Sovetsky sport, 10 July, 1971, p. 4.

people, including, incidentally, certain circles in West Germany [the 1972 Olympic Games were held in Munich --JWR], will fail in their attempts to revise the Olympic ritual which vividly illustrates the Olympic oath obliging an athlete to fight on behalf of his country's honour."[189] The 16th Komsomol Congress emphasised the importance of ritual at even the lowest levels of the Soviet sports movement: "We must constantly promote the best traditions of sports-groups and see that each of them has its own emblem, pennant, badge, uniform, ceremonial and festive ritual for accepting new members and farewell ceremonies for graduates and veterans."[190] And elsewhere: "The observance of rituals that accompany competitions is just as important as graciousness, respect, fair play and respect for opponents."[191]

Nearly all Soviet stadiums are flag-bedecked, garlanded with banners and pictures and decorated in the imagined style of their ancient Greek counterparts. Spectators sit for the performance, which is often preluded by musical fanfares and a martial sports tune; the contestants then emerge together and engage in an elaborate opening ceremony before play commences. In the case of a football-match, the sides may first emerge for a 'warm-up' and then leave the field in order to reappear in the orderly and ceremonious fashion that ritual decorum demands.

The vivid mass sports displays that accompany major Soviet festivals like May Day and 7th November perform the same ritualistic function. The timetable of events immediately after the military parade through Moscow's Red Square on 1st May, 1971 ran as follows:

10.20 — 800 Labour Reserves gymnasts give a display;

10.25 — members of the Trud Society give a mass display of exercises;

10.27 — a mass military-gymnastics display by young members of the DOSAAF, Young Sailor and Cosmonaut societies;

189 Sovetsky sport, 22 July, 1971, p. 3.

190 Materialy XVI s"yezda VLKSM, Moscow, 1970, p. 198.

191 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 6, p. 13.

10.32 - 100 athletes march through Red Square carrying the banners of all the voluntary sports societies, culminating in the flag and emblem of the Olympic Games;

10.33 - motorcycles bear through the Square the flag and emblem of the Fifth Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR, followed by a procession of the country's champions;

10.37 - 800 young athletes give a gymnastics display;

10.45 - 5,000 athletes of the Labour Reserves Society parade through the Square.[192]

Certainly, the concepts of empathy and catharsis[193] that Aristotle identified in the rituals of the Greek theatre are just as relevant to Soviet sports-arenas and parades. For newly-urbanised people who spend much of their time in a colourless industrial setting, the cathartic experience of the sports ritual may be a welcome diversion both from the workplace and the cramped residential environment. At the same time, the authorities value the integrative and patriotic significance of sports-pageant and ritualistic competition, especially in such grand festivals as the Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR.

8. Finance

The financing of the Soviet sports-movement is effected by various means — from state-budget allocations to state lotteries. Although it is recognised

192 Sovetsky sport, 2 May, 1971, p. 1.

193 See Aristotle, Politics, Book VIII, Heron Books, London, 1970, p. 232. In his discourse on musical education, he writes "We find that such [emotional --JMR] persons are affected by religious melodies: when they hear those which fill the soul with religious excitement they are brought back to normal as if they had received medical treatment and catharsis. Men who are subject to pity or fear, and indeed all emotional people, experience the same kind of effects; and so, indeed, do we all in proportion as we are susceptible of feeling." (Idem.)

as an important ingredient in the Soviet way of life, sport comes relatively low on the list of priorities.

All state-run organisations connected with sport receive money from the state budget to spend on sport and physical education. This government expenditure is intended to cover the expenses that the physical culture and sports committees bear in maintaining their councils, in arranging international sports contacts and conducting training sessions, competitions and mass sports activity in the country. To cover the costs of training instructors, the physical culture and sports committees are granted funds for financing the work of physical education institutes, and for the construction of sports installations and establishments under the auspices of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport. Besides finance from the Budget, the Committee obtains capital from the profits of Glavsportprom, the Sovetsky sport Publishers, various commercial enterprises and other sources.

The principal sources of finance are:

(a) The State Budget

These resources are allocated to the committees on physical culture and sport and to various ministries and departments for financing work connected with sport —e.g., the maintenance of institutes of physical culture, the staging of competitions and the building of sports-amenities. In 1968, some 8,100 million rubles in the state budget were allocated to health and physical culture; this increased to 8,400 million rubles the next year,[194] and to 9,300 million in 1971.[195] Between 1960 and 1970, state budgetary allocations to physical culture actually decreased both absolutely (from 52 million to 47 million rubles) and relatively (from 0.07 to 0.03 per cent). It is an interesting note on the parsimonious government attitude to sport that the relative share of physical culture in state budgetary expenditure in 1970

[194] O gosudarstvennom byudzhete SSSR na 1969 god, Moscow, 1970, p. 19.

[195] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 9, p. 3.

was exactly the same (0.03%) as it was in 1924 (when the government had far more pressing priorities for expenditure) (see Appendix XI). In the period (1960-1970), the share of government budgetary expenditure going to all social and cultural purposes increased: from 17.2 to 36 per cent, including from 11.7% to 12% for Education, from 4.5% to 6% for Health, and from 0.9% to 8.0% for Labour-Protection and Social Security. Physical culture alone of social expenditures has not improved its relative share in the budget. At the same time, the government has tried to find other means of financing sport — such, for example, as recourse to state 'sport' lotteries.

(b) State social insurance

All organisations, both state and public, which employ hired labour contribute to the state social insurance fund in the proportion of 4 to 9 per cent of their wage-funds, depending on the branch of industry.[196] The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, by permission of the government, is entitled to distribute the social insurance fund as it sees fit, subject to legal requirements. Part of this money goes on the payment of benefits and allowances for sickness, industrial injury and for health treatment in sanatoria and holiday-camps. Part also is allotted to sport and recreation — e.g., the construction of student recreation-centres, partial financing of sports schools, development of tourism, mountaineering and other outdoor recreation. It is reported that over half (56 per cent) of the sports amenities that were being constructed during 1969 were being financed out of the funds of enterprises and government departments, 20 per cent from local Soviets, 18 per cent from trade unions and 6 per cent from the voluntary sports societies.[197]

196 Nikiforov, I.I., Pol'shansky, V.S., Organizatsiya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1965, p. 284.

197 Yasny, G.V., "Arkhitektory - sportu", in Ivonin, V.A. (ed.), Velenie vremeni, Moscow, 1969, p. 288.

(c) Trade union and cooperative allocations

The trade unions and cooperatives (collective farms, fishery collectives, consumer cooperatives) assign sums of money to their sports sections. The trade-union budget is made up of membership-dues[198] and income from various undertakings. Part of this money is earmarked for the trade-union voluntary sports societies. Ekonomicheskaya gazeta reported in 1967 that trade unions spend 10-13 per cent of their funds on sport;[199] that means that approximately 307 million and 367 million rubles were assigned from the trade-union budget in 1969 and 1970 respectively;[200] 403 million rubles were allotted to sport in 1971.[201]

All enterprises of industry, transport, communications, agriculture, construction, service industries, retail and wholesale trade and public catering allocate 0.15 per cent of their wages-fund to their local trade-union committees for entertainment and recreation. The factory works-committee includes this money in its annual estimate and determines what proportion of the total will be spent on recreation.[202]

If an enterprise does well and makes an excess profit for over-fulfilling its plan, it may dispose of the accumulated funds as the management and trade-union committee think fit: part will be ploughed back into production and part will go to recreation and other cultural requirements (including - and probably with high priority - sport).

Collective farms, fisheries and cooperatives help to finance the work of the rural sports societies by means of an annual contribution. The exact amount is specified in the regulations of each rural sports society. The

198 At the present writer's place of employment, in Moscow, dues amounted to 3 per cent of each person's pay.

199 Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1967, No. 34, p. 5.

200 Sport v SSSR, 1971, No. 3, p. 15.

201 Sovetsky sport, 19 March, 1972, p. 2.

202 Nikiforov, op. cit., p. 287.

rural sports societies Urozhai in the Russian Republic, Urozhai in Byelorussia, Varpa in Latvia and Kairat in Kazakhstan, besides membership-dues, farm contributions and other income, receive money from the trade unions, insofar as they are known as trade-union cooperatives. The Russian Urozhai, for example, received three million rubles from the trade-union budget in 1966 and eight million in 1970; in the same years, it received 2.8 million and 6.5 million rubles respectively from membership-dues and farm contributions.

(d) Commercial income

Sports committees, societies and clubs receive income from renting out and using sports facilities, making, lending and selling equipment. The Ukrainian Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, for example, has at its disposal in Kiev, the Ukrainian capital; the Kiev Central Stadium, Kiev Palace of Sport, the Palace of Physical Culture and a rowing and aquatic centre. All these amenities may be let out to various organisations and the money the latter pay for the hiring goes into the committee's coffers. A local sports-collective is in the same position: it can let out its amenities and equipment, make a profit from using them itself (from spectators' entrance-fees), lease out equipment, boats and other property. All the income it gets is tax-free. By a law passed in March, 1957, sports-amenities are free of contributions to the state budget in the form of deductions from profits or tax on the profits made from utilising sports amenities. Moreover, by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in April, 1962, all sports centres, stadiums and other sports amenities became exempt from entertainments tax.[203] This enabled the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations in 1966 to finance the whole of its sports activities out of the money it received from utilising sports amenities,

[203] Sovetsky sport, 8 April, 1962, p. 1.

conducting contests, profits from industrial firms, publishing houses and market sales.

(e) Income from sports tournaments and displays

Sports organisations conduct a number of sports contests, displays, social gatherings and other ventures for which admission fees are charged. The money raised is entirely at the disposal of the organisation that controls the premises and that runs the function. The only exception is profit from selling tickets for the major league football matches (in the two premier leagues), where there is a special arrangement whereby the proceeds are distributed among a number of bodies, including the clubs that take part.

(f) Membership-dues and entrance-fees received by VSS's and membership-dues of corporate members of the rural VSS's

Each society establishes its own entrance-fees and membership-dues (which are very small). Spartak and other trade-union sports societies, for example, have no admission-fees to the society but stipulate that each member of the society pay a yearly subscription of 30 kopecks. The Labour Reserves Sports Society and Dinamo require new members to pay 20 kopecks admission-fee and a contribution of 40 kopecks per annum. For members at school and college, the entrance fee and the annual contribution are both 10 kopecks.

The contributions of corporate members of the rural sports society Kolgospnik (in the Ukraine) vary according to the financial position of the rural establishment. For instance, a collective farm that is a member of Kolgospnik pays an annual membership due of 0.1 per cent of its cash-profits, but not more than 600 rubles a year. Rural cooperatives pay between 50 and 100 rubles a year, unions of rural retail cooperatives between 100 and 200 rubles a year, state farms - 300 rubles a year, Repair and Equipment Stations — 100 rubles a year, inter-collective-farm building-organisations — 200 rubles a year, and other rural organisations and retail cooperatives that employ over 100 people — 50 rubles a year. Individual members of Kolgospnik pay a yearly fee of 30 kopecks. As an example of the budget of a republican rural sports

society, Kiud -- the Estonian VSS -- with a membership of 751 sports collectives with 59,000 members, produced the following accounts in 1968:

Kiud Rural Sports Society Statement of Accounts, 1968

Revenue	rub.[a]	%	Expenditure	rub.[a]	%
Corporate membership dues	734,400	14	Holding contests, training, publications, advertising	434,000[c]	38
Collective farms	(385,500)	(34)	Building	388,000[c]	34
State farms	(181,100)	(16)	Wages of service personnel	274,000[c]	24
Retail cooperatives	(90,000)	(8)	Salaries of full-time staff	46,000[c]	4
Other organisations	(77,800)	(7)			
Trade-Union allocations	180,000	16			
Other revenue[b]	228,200	20			
Total	1142,600	100	Total	1142,600	100

[a]Rounded data

[b]Lettings, competitions, etc.

[c]Approximation

Source: Sport v SSSR, 1969, No.9, p.11

In all cases the contributions of members of sports-collectives, clubs and societies are altogether nominal and do not prohibit anyone from joining the organisations and having the right to use its facilities.

(g) Lotteries

One means by which the government can raise money for sport is by running special lotteries. This began as a means of helping to finance the Soviet Olympic team to go to the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964 and again to Mexico in 1968. In 1970, the government announced that, henceforth, it intended to run monthly 'sport lotos' in order to obtain money to spend mainly on more sports amenities.

In the second 'Olympic lottery' held in 1968, a total of 50 million tickets were issued at 1 ruble each. Prizes to the value of 30 million rubles were presented to 3,415,000 winners. The prizes included 50 Volga cars, 500 Moskvich cars, 1,250 Zaporozhets cars, 1,500 motorcycles, 300 tickets for international sports events in Eastern Europe (or their monetary equivalent), 6,150 double tickets for an 18-day trip on the Black Sea, a 20-day trip on the Volga, a 22-day tour of Central Asia and Lake Baikal and a 20-day coach tour of Transcaucasia, and a large variety of sports goods — e.g., imported Neptune canoes, inflatable dinghies, sleeping-bags, transistor radios, skis and skates plus money prizes ranging from 3 to 25 rubles.[206]

Part of the proceeds of the 1964 lottery went to building a new Palace of Sport in Leningrad, a lift for the El'brus' ski-jump, new wings for the Moscow Central State Institute of Physical Culture, the reconstruction of the Kiev Central Stadium, new sports-goods factories, and for training the Soviet Olympic team. Of the 8 million rubles obtained for sport from lotteries in the 18 months from 1970 to mid-1971, part went to building a 'tartan' running track in the Lenin Stadium (Moscow), a bobsleigh run at Bratsk in Siberia, a winter sports' resort and sports' school in the Khibin Mountains, a sports centre at Kalinin and an artificial ski-run in Kavgolov.[207]

The idea of sport-lotos is not new. Some Eastern European countries had been running them long before 1970 to raise money for building sports-amenities. In the Soviet Union, the tickets for the monthly sports-loto cost 30 kopecks each; the draw takes place three times a month. On each ticket there are six numbers; when the draw is made, if the holder of a ticket has on his ticket three or more of the six numbers drawn, he stands to win up to 5,000 rubles.

In the 14th draw, on 25th May, 1971, the first prize (six numbers correct) was 5,000 rubles to the single winner, the second prize —4,438 rubles (for

[206] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1967, No. 12, p. 11.

[207] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 3, p. 31.

five correct numbers), the third prize — 115 rubles (for four correct numbers), the fourth prize — 8 rubles (for three correct numbers). Over three million tickets were sold in eight cities during the first lottery draw. Half of the receipts from each draw is given back in prizes; the other half if spent on improving sport.[208]

No reference is made in Soviet publications of any ethical principles possibly being involved in the holding of lotteries, despite the fact that it is a principle of socialist development in the Soviet Union that rewards should be "according to the quality and quantity of work done." The criterion of justice is work performed, by which the society is said both partially to satisfy the principles of equity, and to stimulate — by making attractive to the individual the most rational and efficient utilisation of abilities and skills possible the accelerated production of goods and services.

Lotteries, purists might argue, however, are a striking form of injustice, of gratuitous and undeserved favour, a mockery of work, of patient and persevering labour, of saving, of willingly sacrificing for the future — in sum, a negation of all the virtues needed in a society dedicated to the principle of payment according to work. If the Soviet authorities are aware of this apparent contradiction between socialist principles and the practice of lotteries, they fail to show it in any official pronouncements.

(h) Shortfall

The fact that sport is largely state-controlled certainly does not mean that it has access to unlimited funds, as both the small budgetary allocations and the recourse to state lotteries show. Sports-officials have to compete with other interests for priority in their demands for more money. Some republican ministries and organisations are more sympathetic than others to the needs of sport, particularly for improved facilities. For example, while, in 1967, Georgia, with a population of 4.6 million, had 97 sports-centres, 708 gymnasiums, 48 swimming-pools and

208 Sovetsky sport, 25 May, 1971, p. 3.

spent 1.8 million rubles on sport, another Transcaucasian republic, Azerbaidzhan (admittedly poorer than Georgia) with approximately the same population (4.8 million), had only 35 sports-centres, 512 gymnasiums, 20 swimming-pools and spent only 1.2 million rubles on sport.[209] At the Fourth All-Union Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR, held that same year, Georgia came fifth and Azerbaidzhan —11th.

The large scale on which capital sums were allocated after the 1966 resolutions and strong criticisms of the country's inadequate facilities may be judged from the fact that as much as 100 million rubles was earmarked in 1967 for construction of sports-amenities over the next five years by the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Labour Reserves. Altogether, taking into account all sources of finance, the planned sum of capital investment in sport (1967-71) was 300 million rubles.[210]

9. Facilities

The major purpose of the 1966 resolutions on sport was to announce a concerted effort on all sides radically to improve the quality and quantity of amenities for sport and recreation in the country. It was all very well aiming for an ever-greater number of sportsmen and for increasing leisure-time but, without the recreational facilities with which to enjoy sport and games, increased participation could only result in frustration and overcrowding. Apart from the need to build the more traditional amenities —e.g., stadiums, gymnasiums, swimming-pools, skating-rinks —there grew, throughout the 1960's, a demand for a greater variety of recreational facilities and for special amenities and equipment for the newer sports (e.g., for ski-runs, slalom-, bobsleigh-and toboggan-courses; for equipment for racing-cars and tracks;

209 Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1968, No. 19, p. 7.

210 Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 57.

for sophisticated equipment for aquatic sports — water-skiing, boating, skin-diving and fishing; for ice-rinks for figure-skating, hockey and speed-skating). Furthermore, with the transition to a five-day week and a rising standard of living, more families were eager to pursue outdoor sports and games at the weekend and to go camping, touring, hiking and even rock-climbing and mountaineering. With the rise in world standards and the increasing utilisation of technically sophisticated equipment and modern training-methods throughout the world, the Soviet sports-authorities had the problem of matching the best facilities that other advanced industrial nations were currently producing. Hence, particularly in the late 1960's, there was a big effort to produce more indoor athletics stadiums, swimming-pools, tartan tracks (or something similar, like bituminous surfaces), fibre-glass poles and mountain-training camps and to create training-centres (for football, boating and athletics) that could be used all the year round.

This has entailed an extensive campaign to build enough facilities to meet the growing demand. Although overall allocations to sport in the latter part of the 1960's greatly exceeded the sums spent in all preceding periods, there was still much criticism of the poor quality, the inadequacy and the bad planning of sports facilities.

It has to be remembered that, like the country's industrialisation in general, facilities for sport were only recently at an extremely low and primitive level — and that many of those that did exist in the 1930's had been destroyed in the war. Some indication of the improvement in sports facilities over the years is provided in Appendix IX, which shows, in particular, the very big increase in amenities during the 1960's. In about ten years (1960-70), the number of stadiums, football-pitches, gymnasiums and tennis-courts roughly trebled; the number of indoor swimming-pools, ski-jumps, indoor athletics stadiums grew from virtually nothing to over a thousand, nearly 100 and 50 respectively. In 1967 alone, a further 195 swimming-pools (including 60 indoor), 13 indoor athletics stadiums, 52 artificial ice-rinks

(including 10 indoor), 332 stadiums (with seating for a minimum of 1,500 spectators) and 3,493 gymnasiums were opened to the public.[211] This 'great leap forward' in construction of facilities was matched by the production of equipment and the construction of tourist-camps. In 1964, Soviet tourist-camps could accommodate a little over 1,500,000 people; by 1970, they had room for 8,200,000 people,[212] and, by 1971, for 12.6 million.[213]

(a) Production of sports-amenities and sportswear

Even this pace of construction was considered insufficient by the government; in May, 1969, the USSR Council of Ministers issued a resolution "On Increasing the Current Assortment and Quality of Sports and Tourist Equipment", setting out new targets.[214] The resolution also voiced a note of alarm at the 'mad rush' to put up slapdash facilities without regard for safety standards, quality and assortment. In fact, a number of newly-opened installations were closed down after a government inspection-commission had announced that they did not meet the requisite standards.

The manufacturers of equipment are today particularly the victims of attack in the sporting press both because of poor quality and because the industry rarely meets its production-quotas. Thus, Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, criticising the poor quality and insufficiency of sports equipment, reports that the annual output of boxing-gloves is only 40-45 per cent of requirements. It says the planning of the distribution of goods is bad; some sports societies get far more equipment than others.[215] Another issue the newspaper

[211] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 9, p. 6.

[212] Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, P.A., op. cit., p. 188.

[213] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 6, p. 9.

[214] Sovetsky sport, 7 May, 1969, p. 1.

[215] Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1967, No. 41, p. 14.

criticised was the poor quality of equipment and the poor supply; although top athletes received all the equipment they wanted, the sporting public had to go without.[216] A letter from the capital of Estonia, Tallinn, in another issue the same year, added to the criticism, citing, in particular, the poor quality of skis.[217] An official publication setting out the 1966 resolutions had made the same points: "Today, the sports-movement is still being starved of several sports-goods, despite the measures that are being taken to raise production. Light-industrial firms bring little joy to athletes with their new clothes and sportswear. Not enough is being done to produce leather of the right quality for footwear and balls. The manufacture of sports-goods from new materials is badly organised."[218] In 1972, only 40 per cent of the demand for footballs and volleyballs was being met and less than 50 per cent of that for rucksacks and hockey-sticks.[219]

To tackle this situation, the government had decided, in 1966, to rationalise production of sports-goods in order to raise efficiency and improve quality. It therefore set up a new government agency, Glavsportprom, to take charge of all production of sports goods, to set production-norms and to supervise the quality of goods. The Central Design Office was transformed into the All-Union Technical Design and Experimental Institute for Sporting and Recreational Goods, and a Technical Council for Sports Equipment was set up; henceforth, no piece of equipment or installation could be sold or used without the Council's stamp of approval. In 1972, six years later, it was rejecting almost a quarter of all standard items it inspected.[220]

216 Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1967, No. 21, p. 22.

217 Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1967, No. 28, p. 25.

218 Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 60.

219 Sovetsky sport, 18 August, 1972, p. 2.

220 Idem.

The volume of production of sporting goods in recent years is shown below.

Table 43: Production of Sports Equipment, Selected Years, 1958-70

Sporting commodity	1958	1964	1966	1968	1970
Skis (thous. pairs)	4,723	5,755	6,616	7,370	10,143
Skates (thous. pairs)	1,185	3,362	4,477	6,289	8,327
Leather balls and coverings (thous.)	1,741	3,234	4,392	5,876	7,988
Hockey-sticks (thous.)	610	1,852	3,345	4,881	6,101
Track-suits (thous.)	...	...	30,155	...	51,333
Leather sports footwear (pairs)	...	...	800,000	...	960,000

Sources: Mikhailov, V.D., Sovetskaya fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport na novom etape, Moscow, 1967, p. 60; Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 117; Makartsev, N.A., Sobolyev, P.A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 97; Sovetsky sport, 5 May, 1971, p. 3; Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p. 46.

The inadequate supply and quality of sportswear and equipment, and of facilities in general, despite the big attempts in recent years to equate supply with demand, continue to give more concern to the sports authorities than any other single feature of the sports movement. The following table reveals the gap between supply and demand of some commodities. (See Table 44).

(b) Sports-centres

In regard to the construction of facilities, much depends, as always, on local initiative, particularly that of the Komsomol, and the ability and inclination of factories, farms and city councils to allocate money for sports purposes. As a result, some factories, schools, towns and republics are much better equipped than others.

Table 44: Satisfaction of Demand for Sportswear[a], 1970

Item	Demand per 100 of population[c]		of which:			
			satisfied[b]		unsatisfied	
	units	%	units	%	units	%
Leather sports-boots (prs.)	28.6	100	20.8	73	7.8	27
Plimsolls (prs.)	45.3	100	36.2	80	9.1	20
Sports anoraks (no.)	49.2	100	25.6	52	23.6	48
Ski-suits (no.)	44.3	100	24.5	55	19.8	45
Track-suits (no.)	53.1	100	39.3	74	13.8	26

[a] All-Union Institute for Market Research (VNIIKS) survey-results

[b] i.e., supply

[c] 'Demand' here is assumed to mean what people would buy if the goods were in the shops at existing prices

Source: Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p.47

Three cities have central stadiums that can (and often do) seat over 100,000 spectators -- Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. The Moscow Lenin Stadium in Luzhniki, built in 1956, stands at the foot of the Lenin Hills on the North bank of the Moscow River in the South-West of the city. The whole sports-complex covers an area of 180 hectares and includes as many as 140 separate sports-installations where 26 sports can be pursued simultaneously, watched by a maximum of 160,000 spectators. Besides its Central Lenin Stadium with seating for 104,000 spectators, the Luzhniki sports-centre has a 'Palace of Sport' which can accommodate 13,000 spectators and an outdoor swimming-pool for 12,000 spectators. The many sports pursued in the sports-centre range from shooting, field-hockey and archery to show-jumping, tennis and gorodki. It is estimated that 10,000 people between 18 and 70 pursue a sport in the Luzhniki sports-centre every day [221]. The average attendance at a first-division >

[221] Zholdak, V.I., Stranitsy moskovskovo sporta, Moscow, 1969, p.7.

league-match in the 1971 season inside the Lenin Stadium was 30,000.[222]

The Baku Neftyanik ('Oilman') Stadium is much older, dating back to 1926, when it was a dirt football-pitch surrounded by several rows of wooden benches for spectators. The whole sports-centre covers an area of nine hectares and the central stadium has accommodation for 10,000 spectators; in addition, it has a three-storey pavillion with three halls and stands for 7,000 spectators, a junior stadium, a sports-hall for other sports, a training area, a swimming-pool, several pitches and courts, a hotel for visiting athletes, a clinic and a research-laboratory.[223]

A number of cities are particularly well-endowed with sports-facilities and actually show a high rate of sports-participation. In the town of Severodonetsk, for example, it is claimed that one out of two men, women and children regularly follow a sport. It has one stadium for every 3,500 people, a gymnasium for every 3,000, a basketball-or volleyball-court for every 967 people.[224] The new town of Salavat in Bashkiria also claims a sports-participation rate of 1 in 2 citizens. In fact, the chairman of the town's Soviet claimed, in 1970, that as many as 90 per cent of the townspeople go in for sport regularly. It should, however, be pointed out that the town is very young (effectively dating from 1953), that the average age of the population there is young (24.3 in 1970) and that it has an experienced sports-

222 In addition to the Luzhniki sports centre, Moscow had, on 1st January, 1971, 70 stadiums, 228 football-pitches, 964 gymnasiums, 21 swimming-pools, 1,500 volleyball courts, 830 basketball-courts, 240 tennis-courts, 23 swimming-pools, 27 rowing-bases, seven artificial ice-rinks, two cycle-tracks and one horse-race-track (Zholdak, op. cit., p. 73). It is claimed that more than two million of the capital's seven million population regularly pursue a sport. The Moscow City Soviet ruled in 1967 that, henceforth, any sports-facility, irrespective of the organisation to which it belonged, could be used free of charge by anyone residing in the district in which it was situated. It has, not surprisingly, been extremely difficult to advertise the free availability of facilities and to get sports organisations to comply with the order.

223 Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 114.

224 Rodichenko, V.S., Rekordy, sobytiya, lyudi—1969, Moscow, 1970, p. 48.

administrator (Husain Fatkullin) as chairman of the town Soviet. Though small, the town has three stadiums, 26 gymnasiums, 21 tennis-courts, 18 ice-hockey rinks, 85 skating-rinks and over 300 sports and outdoor-recreation areas. Every school has its own gymnasium.[225]

More typical is the old city of Rostov-on-Don. Before the 1917 Revolution, it had two yacht-clubs, two tennis-courts and a multi-purpose 'hippodrome' (mainly for horse-racing and cycling). In 1967, with a population of over a million, the city had six stadiums, six gymnasiums (excluding those of educational establishments), two indoor swimming-baths, seven aquatic centres and 400 sports-grounds.[226]

Other towns, however, present a different picture: Dnepropetrovsk, for example, was reported as having only one tennis-court for its one million inhabitants.[227] And empirical studies that rely less on official statistics and more on sociological on-the-spot investigations tell quite a different story. The Taganrog survey of 1969, mentioned above, made the point that "the situation in the city is hardly different from the average for the country as a whole . . . the town has only 10 football-pitches, 117 sports-grounds, 36 gymnasiums (1 hall per 6,000 people over 15 years of age), most of which belong to schools and colleges; in effect, only 6 gymnasiums are generally open to the public."[228] The Taganrog figures revealed in the survey and official data on sports amenities for the USSR as a whole are compared in Table 45.

If, as the authors maintain, Taganrog is fairly typical of Soviet towns in its provision of sports facilities, then, once again, a substantial

[225] Narusova, N., Salavat vykhodit na start, Moscow, 1971, pp. 46-58.

[226] Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1967, No. 21, p. 17.

[227] Sovetsky sport, 19 January, 1973, p. 2.

[228] Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op. cit., p. 114.

Table 45: Reported Sporting Amenities in Taganrog and the USSR as a Whole Compared, 1969[a]

Amenity	Taganrog	USSR		
	survey-results	Ts.S.U. data[b]	Taganrog provision extrapolated	Estimated inflation of Ts.S.U. data (times)
Football pitches :				
(no.)	10	89,100	9,549	9.3
(per 1000 popn.)	0.04	0.37	0.04	9.3
(per 1000 males aged 10+)	0.11	1.01	0.11	9.3
Courts for basketball, volleyball and tennis:				
(no.)	117	383,000	111,798	3.4
(per 1000 popn.)	0.46	1.59	0.46	3.4
Gymnasiums:				
(no.)	36	42,200	34,378	1.2
(per 1000 popn.)	0.14	0.17	0.14	1.2

[a] End of year [b] Rounded

Sources: Gordon & Rimashevskaya, op.cit.,pp. 113-114;
Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971,p.14.

discrepancy between official sports statistics and information obtained from empirical studies is revealed. Other reports in the press and the researcher's own investigations within the USSR tend to confirm the latter type of data.

A number of large factories have ample sports facilities. It is a feature of Soviet sport in general that workplaces are expected to regard the health and recreation of their employees as an essential part of the responsibility both of management and the trade union. Much sport, in fact, as noted earlier from a Lithuanian survey (see p.359 above), is practised using factory-facilities, and, as we have seen, a large number of factories have earned the title of club for their sportsmen and the right to take part in major leagues and competitions. One such factory club, at the Uralmashzavod (the Urals Heavy Engineering Works in Sverdlovsk), has four football-pitches, a stadium, four basketball- and five volleyball-courts, two handball-courts, three gorodki squares, two ice-hockey rinks, two gymnasiums (20 m. x 40 m.), a wrestling- and boxing-hall, a weightlifting-hall, an indoor swimming bath, a camping-

site, three holiday recreational centres and fishing and hunting lodges. The factory itself pays for the equipment and its maintenance: between 1960 and 1966, it spent nearly 600,000 rubles on acquiring and constructing new facilities. In skiing alone, 1,200 of the factory's employees and their families pursue the sport regularly; the factory sports-club has over 1,000 pairs each of skis and boots for hire and has a 3-km. floodlit ski-track. The factory regularly engages in inter- and intra-factory contests; in 1967, some 3,500 employees took part in the skiing, skating, swimming, rowing, volleyball and athletics contests.[229]

Such well-equipped factories are, of course, in the minority. But it is clearly in the interest of the sports authorities and of many factory-managers to develop facilities at workplaces, not only as a means of providing recreation for their employees and encouraging integration — i.e., by evoking feelings of togetherness around the factory and pride in the factory's achievements — but also as an important means of raising productivity. This latter aim takes on new significance as leisure-time increases and new methods have to be found of increasing production largely by means of greater productivity. In a study carried out at Uralmashzavod in 1967 into the number of days lost through illness, it was found that, among active sportsmen, only 300 days per 100 workers every year were lost through illness; among non-sportsmen, on the other hand, 950 days were lost per 100 men during the year. It was further estimated that sportsmen had 50-55 rubles less spent on them in a year than other workers; from this, the factory management concluded that it would gain by spending more money on sports-equipment and facilities.[230] In another study, the All-Union Research Institute for Physical Education found that, taking the average

[229] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 10, pp. 66-67.

[230] Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, 1968, No. 19, p. 13.

monthly norm-fulfillment as 100, the average for sportsmen at the Moscow GPZ-1 Factory was 103.4, at the Kazan' Spartak Footwear Trust —104.3, at Kazan' Lenin Linen Mills — 105.8, at the Taganrog Krasny Kotel'nik ('Red Boilerman') —106.3, and at Uralmashzavod —109.8.[231]

Attention to sport at workplaces is not, therefore, devoid of utilitarian interest. Moreover, factory-managers are undoubtedly under trade-union and popular pressure to provide recreational facilities. The provision of such facilities would probably loom quite high in the priorities of ambitious managers courting popularity.

10. Sports Personnel

(a) Breakdown of personnel

People working in the sports movement may be engaged full-time or part-time (referees, instructors and voluntary workers, who give up some of their spare time to sport). Of the full-time sports personnel, there are those directly employed in physical education and sport (coaches, P.E.-instructors at schools and workplaces and sports specialists) and those responsible for sports-administration and the construction of sports-amenities. Table 46 shows a breakdown of full-time personnel.

Over half the personnel (58.2%), as the table reveals, are teachers in full-time education; this figure is actually larger (67.8%) if one includes teachers, coaches and administrators working in sports schools, which operate mainly in the evenings (with the exception of the sports boarding-schools). The seemingly high figure of 13.7% for production-gymnastics specialists (metodisty po gimnastike v rezhime truda) gives an idea of the number of people employed by workplaces principally to organise physical exercises during the working day. It is also interesting that the number of coaches is only about two-thirds that of the number of people employed in the administration of sport. Below we examine two of the full-time

231 Idem.

Table 46: Full-Time Sports-Personnel, 1969

Category of employee	Number	% of the total
Personnel of sports committees	6,937	3.2
Personnel of ministries, government departments and voluntary sports societies	10,667	4.9
Personnel of sports schools (CYPSSs, SPSs, HSPSs and sports boarding-schools)	20,932	9.6
Specialists in production-gymnastics	29,827	13.7
P.E.-teachers in primary and secondary schools	103,204	47.5
P.E.-teachers in secondary specialised schools	9,519	4.4
P.E.-teachers in higher education	13,705	6.3
Coaches	14,531	6.7
Total	217,335	100.0

Source: Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p. 29.

categories (P.E.-instructors and coaches) and a part-time group — that of referees.

(b) P.E.-instructors

As the survey of shortcomings in the sports movement, made public in the 1966 resolutions, demonstrated, one of the most intractable of all problems was the position of the school P.E.-instructor, particularly in rural schools. School sports-staff, the report stated, were often treated as second-rate members of the teaching profession and their subject not infrequently came last in the school list of priorities and was trespassed upon by more 'important' subjects. One reason for this was that marks in P.E. were not considered as important as those in other subjects, so that children could never be kept down at the end of the year if they received 'unsatisfactory' (2 out of 5 or less) marks for P.E. in the end-of-year

percentage of unqualified instructors had fallen from 49 in 1958 to 40 in 1969. In 1972, it was reported that this percentage has now fallen to 32.[236] Despite the marked improvement in the supply of qualified instructors, the problem of inducing trained P.E. graduates to return to teach in schools, particularly in the countryside and outlying republics, remains. Despite the 'posting' system, whereby graduates are normally assigned to a specific job for a minimum of two years, the demands and pressures for qualified instructors appear to be great enough (or the students are astute enough to take advantage of their great utility) to prevent an adequate number getting sent to the countryside. Between 1950 and 1965, for instance, only half of the P.E. graduates returned to schools as P.E.-instructors; the others went largely into the sports societies and into college teaching and training.[237] Several central institutes of physical culture every year fail to meet their quota of specialists to be sent to Central Asia.[238]

Table 47: Graduations from Higher and Secondary Special Physical-Culture Education Establishments, 1958 and 1965

Educational establishment	1958	1965
1. Physical-culture institutes	1,949	1,905
2. Physical-culture faculties of higher education establishments	1,821	2,542
3. Correspondence-courses and evening-classes:	3,217	3,880
of which, run by:		
a) Physical-culture institutes	836	1,187
b) Other (secondary) education establishments	372	945
c) Physical-culture technical colleges	1,571	1,198
d) Schools for coaches	438	550
Total	6,887	8,327

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 93. (The table is a continuation of that on p. 5 above).

236 Sovetsky sport, 25 July, 1973, p. 1.

237 Makartsev, op. cit., p. 94.

The only remarkable change since 1958 was the (small) decline in the number of graduations from physical-culture institutes; all other graduations increased, though not spectacularly. What the figures mean in terms of the proportion of sports-personnel to active sportsmen may be judged from Table 68 on pp. 526-527 below: the ratio of qualified personnel to every 10,000 athletes greatly varies in the republics from a high 57.7 per 10,000 in Georgia to a low 15.1 in Kazakhstan. It was reported in 1973 that 55 per cent of P.E.-instructors in Kazakhstan were still unqualified.[239]

Because of the reluctance of sports personnel to go to teach in the countryside and outlying republics where sporting facilities (among other things) are not so sophisticated, the government and sports organisations have taken a number of measures since 1966 to try to right the situation. Crash-courses (of from three to nine months) were instituted specially for rural P.E.-instructors and a large number of trained sports-instructors were drafted into the villages immediately after the 1966 resolutions so that whereas, for example, on 1st January, 1966, only 822 sports-specialists (metodisty) were operating in the rural areas, by 1st January, 1967, the number had risen to 9,162, while the number of full-time instructors in rural sports-societies had doubled.[240] By 1973, seven institutes of physical culture had special preparatory departments for collective and state farmers. The Armenian Minister of Education explained the situation as follows: "I am not revealing a major secret if I say that a section of our graduates are not very keen on working in the countryside. Therefore, we have acted thus: when we receive applications [to colleges and departments of physical education — JMR] from the villages, we give them priority-entrance on condition that, on graduation, they return to work in their own village."[241] This is a measure

[239] Ibid., p. 7.

[240] Makartsev and Sobolev, op. cit., p. 86.

[241] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 3, p. 2.

that has been adopted elsewhere, alongwith the special sports-centres in the countryside. This seems to show government concern that material facilities and sports personnel be distributed in as balanced a way as possible as between urban and rural areas. The reasons for this concern are discussed below (see, in particular, the section on rural sport on pp.497- 515 below). Suffice it to mention here the Party's desire to control (through its sports personnel) and institutionalise rural sport and sportsmen.

(ii) Coaches

The position of the professional coach is likely to be materially better than that of the P.E.-instructor, though the former's tenure may well be more precarious and his salary may well depend on the performance of his charges. Many leading coaches are, naturally, former athletes themselves. The former gymnast, Larissa Latynina, for example, became senior trainer of the Soviet women's gymnastics team, and Gavriil Korobkov, for long the senior trainer of the Soviet athletics team, is a former Soviet decathlon champion. The majority of professional coaches have had special training, either in higher education or on special courses, some at schools for coaches.

In 1967, as many as 65 per cent of all professional coaches were academically qualified: 42 per cent had higher-education diplomas and 24 per cent had secondary-special diplomas. This is a considerable number and indicates the importance the authorities attach to the qualifications of coaches; thus, over two-fifths of all professional coaches had passed through a five-year higher-educational course by 1967.[242]

Throughout the 1960's, there was a big drive to increase the number of trained coaches in the country, many of whom would be able to work with leading athletes and at the best sports schools and sports-clubs. This was particularly necessary to meet the growing demand for specialists in a range of 'newer' sports in which the USSR had little international or even domestic experience. Much of the coaching at a lower level, at factory and farm

[242] Makartsev and Sobolev, op. cit., p. 93.

sports-collectives, is undertaken by part-time and voluntary coaches. At the beginning of 1967, there were 42,310 professional (full- and part-time) coaches in the country, a seven-fold increase since early 1963. How well the country's leading athletes (in the range of Olympic sports) were served with expert guidance may be seen in the table below.

Table 48: Number of Paid Coaches in Olympic Sports,* 1965 and 1966

Sport	Number of paid coaches		Candidate Masters of Sport and 1st.-Rank Athletes per paid coach
	1965	1966	1966
Athletics	4,413	4,902	2
Basketball	2,975	3,339	6
Boxing	1,450	1,612	5
Canoeing	614	737	4-5
Cycling	1,398	1,581	6
Diving	208	222	1-2
Fencing	567	630	4
Figure-skating	495	531	1
Football	3,451	3,351	13
Gymnastics	3,498	3,787	3
Ice-hockey	666	766	10
Modern Pentathlon	170	198	2
Pistol-shooting	823	938	13-14
Rifle-shooting	76	102	15
Rowing	380	346	6
Show-jumping	224	238	3
Skiing	2,649	2,875	13
Speed-skating	814	900	2-3
Swimming	1,747	1,835	2
Volleyball	3,007	3,471	9
Water-polo	206	186	4
Weightlifting	1,219	1,345	4
Wrestling, free-style	953	1,098	6
Wrestling, Graeco-Roman	1,179	1,243	6
Yachting	135	136	13
Total	32,127	36,269	6-7

* The list does not include sports that are normally not included in the Olympic Games — e.g., acrobatics, rock-climbing, badminton, water-skiing, calisthenics, gorodki, rugby, handball, archery, tennis, table-tennis, chess and draughts.

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, F.A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 92.

In 1966, in no Olympic sport was the ratio of coaches to Candidate Masters of Sport and 1st-Rank athletes greater than 15:1; in most, it was lower than 7:1 and, in some sports (gymnastics, show-jumping, speed-skating, athletics, swimming, diving, modern pentathlon and figure-skating), it was 3:1 or even less. It is noteworthy that, in those sports in which the USSR was making a big effort to excel internationally — gymnastics, show-jumping, speed-skating, athletics, swimming, diving and figure-skating — the athletes were well served by coaches.

For the country's top coaches, the rewards can be high. In 1956, the title of 'Merited Trainer of the USSR' was instituted — to be awarded to coaches responsible for "training Masters of Sport, champions and record-breakers at Soviet, European, world and Olympic levels, and also for popularising new training- and instruction-methods."[244] A little later, another honorary title was introduced: 'Merited Trainer of the Republic', to be awarded by Republican Councils of the Union of Sports Societies (now Committees on Physical Culture and Sport) for outstanding successes with Republican sportsmen. At the same time, the basis of remuneration was altered so as to be based on the coach's status, length of service, honorary title and the success-rates of his charges. In 1967, the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations of the USSR introduced gold medals and bonuses for coaches who had trained athletes winning international honours.[245] The first beneficiaries were the two coaches of the Soviet ice-hockey team, Arkady Chernyshev and Anatol' Tarasov — the Soviet ice-hockey team having won the world and Olympic titles consistently since 1954. The penalty for failure, on the other hand, as elsewhere in the world, is normally the sack — as successive trainers of the USSR football team have discovered.

[244] Makartsev, op. cit., p. 99.

[245] Makartsev and Sobolev, op. cit., p. 87.

Professional coaches may be engaged on a full-time basis and receive a more or less fixed salary, or they may be employed on a part-time basis and paid according to the amount of time they spend with their charges. The part-timers make up nearly two-thirds of the total professional coaching personnel (63 per cent or 26,799 in 1967). Over half had attended special coaching schools or colleges. In 1967, 11,114 had a higher educational qualification, and a further 6,358 had attended special courses — i.e., 17,472 / or 65% of the total 26,799 were fully qualified.[246]

Apart from these professional coaches, there are many coaches working on a voluntary, unpaid basis at factories, farms, offices and sports societies. They may be concerned with coaching in a particular sport, instruction in general sports and games, or responsible for physical exercises at work- and study-places. No payment is officially given for this type of work, but a great variety of token badges, certificates and banners may be won, up to the lapel badge 'Voluntary Instructor' (for all part-time coaches who have worked two years or more in a sports-collective and who have a good record) and the top award, 'Outstanding Worker in Physical Culture' (Otlichnik fizicheskoi kul'tury). Part-time instructors are encouraged to obtain some coaching qualifications, and are given time off from work with pay to attend 20-day intensive courses. Further, all graduates of children's and young people's sports schools (CYPSSs) are automatically qualified for the job of part-time sports-instructors.[247]

In 1967, there were over three million (3,038,700) such part-time coaches and instructors, which meant an average of one part-time instructor to every 19 sports-participants in the country as a whole.[248] As with other personnel, their distribution varied greatly by republic (one part-time instructor to every 12 sports-participants in Estonia, 1:13 in Georgia, 1:14 in Belorussia,

[246] Ibid., p. 93.

[247] Nikiforov and Pol'shansky, op. cit., p. 174.

[248] Makartsev, op. cit., p. 103.

but 1:22 in the Russian Republic and in Uzbekistan, and 1:25 in Tadzhikistan); by the trade-union sports society — 1:10 in Burevestnik (the Students' society), 1:16 in Spartak and Trud (Russian Republic), but 1:20 in Yenbek (Kazakhstan) and 1:40 in Tadzhikistan (the Tadzhik sports society); and by rural sports society — 1:9 in Eėud (Estonia), 1:13 in Kairat (Kazakhstan) and Varpa (Latvia), but 1:24 in Kolgospnik (Ukraine) and 1:44 in Khosilot (Tadzhikistan).[249] In both the urban and the rural sports societies, Tadzhikistan lagged a long way behind the other societies — just as it tends to come bottom on other cultural indicators.

As far as individual sports are concerned, the ratio of part-time instructors to reported participants may be seen below in Table 49.

Table 49: Ratio of Part-Time Instructors to Reported Participants, 1967

Sport	Sports-participants per part-time instructor
Sambo	9
Graeco-Roman wrestling	11
Free-Style wrestling	12
Yachting	12
Weightlifting	13
Fencing	13
Rifle-shooting	14
Canoeing	15
Rowing	16
Boxing	16
Basketball	20
Volleyball	21
Football	23
Cycling	24
Athletics	24
Pistol-shooting	28
Skiing	28
Speed-skating	29
Diving	29
Swimming	32

Source: Makartsev, N.A., op.cit., p. 105.

[249] Ibid., p. 104.

The target set by the second conference of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations in 1966 was one part-time instructor for every 10-15 sports-participants. In most sports, as Table 49 shows, the target was not formally met. It is interesting that the best provided-for sports-participants are those in sports that have the closest association with military training, viz., the combat sports, fencing, shooting and weightlifting (seven of the top ten sports in the table). It is likely that many of the part-time instructors in these sports are servicemen or ex-servicemen working in the army societies or Dinamo.

(iii) Referees and sports organisers

Since the present supply of trained sports-personnel cannot keep pace with the rapidly-growing sports-movement at all levels, a great deal of responsibility is laid on the people who undertake such work on a voluntary, unpaid and part-time basis. The public-spiritedness involved in this form of work is just the kind of popular participation that the Party and government wish to encourage as a sign of a developing 'communist' outlook of Soviet citizens. A vast amount of administrative and other sports work is carried out on this voluntary basis. Thus, for example, there existed in 1972 over three million (3,243,000) referees —all part-timers.[250] They, too, are said to be given time off from their workplace for attending training-courses and for taking charge of tournaments. Referees are, as in most occupations, given a formalised structure by being placed by degree of experience and qualification into various categories: All-Union, Republican, First, Second and Third Categories, with the remainder simply bearing the title 'Referee' (by individual sport). Every sports-collective is intended to have its own groups of referees (sudeiskie gruppy) responsible for conducting tournaments and arranging the training of new referees or judges. The title All-Union Referee is now awarded by the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport; over a quarter of all referees had this title in 1967. Those with 25 years' experience are awarded the 'Honorary Jubilee'

250 Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 9, p. 174.

Badge, and referees with international experience are given an 'International' title.[251]

Another two million voluntary part-time workers are engaged in the activities of the councils of sports collectives, as physical-culture organisers (fizorgy) and members of various councils and audit-commissions of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport.[252]

11. Professional Training

One of the requirements for active athletes is that, at the same time as they train and engage in competition at home and abroad, they should improve their theoretical knowledge by studying. In fact, a large proportion of leading Soviet athletes, mostly Masters, are provided with the relative security of a studentship or postgraduate scholarship at one of the country's institutes of physical culture. A number of top-flight sportsmen spend as much as 10 or 15 years at these educational establishments — as long, in fact, as they remain active and successful in their sport. This is, of course, a system of 'sports scholarships' not uncommon in the USA. Unlike the American system of mostly spurious scholarships for sports-stars, however, it would seem that, for many Soviet Masters, academic work is an integral and important part of their training and is taken seriously.[253] It is felt that this is one way of preparing a sportsman for a future career once his

251 Makartsev, op. cit., p. 111.

252 Ibid., p. 103.

253 In early 1971, the present writer accompanied a Soviet friend (who is an international footballer) to the Central State Institute of Physical Culture in Moscow — his alma mater. During the tour of the institute, it became quite evident that he had actually studied there for five years. He also said that nobody is permitted to play in league football without completing ten years of schooling. Moreover, of the 27 footballers attached to the permanent staff of Moscow Spartak, 24 were studying or had studied in a higher educational establishment. On our way out of the institute, we met a group of footballers (from three other Moscow clubs) who were just arriving for evening classes.

short-lived active participation is over. Among Soviet boxers, for example — a sporting profession by repute not generally noted in the West for the high intelligence of its practitioners — former USSR champion, Konstantin Gradopol, is now a university professor, former Olympic champion, Gennady Shatkov, is rector of Leningrad University, one former Olympic champion, Boris Lagutin, is now a practising lawyer and another, Valery Popenchenko, (holder of the Barker Trophy as best boxer at the 1964 Olympic Games) was awarded in 1968 a Ph.D. (kandidat teknicheskikh nauk) for his research.[254]

(a) Types of education establishment providing physical education

The secondary and higher education establishments teach a large number of students who become instructors, coaches and officials in schools, colleges, sports-societies, clubs, factories and farms. The range of physical-education teaching and research establishments is as follows (figures for 1st January, 1972).[255]

Table 50: Physical Education Establishments, 1972

Type of Educational Establishment	Number
1. Institutes of physical culture (instituty fizkul'tury)	20
2. Physical-education faculties at higher education establishments (fakul'tety fizicheskovo vospitaniya)	78
3. Secondary special physical-culture education establishments (tekhnikumy fizkul'tury)	25
4. Secondary special colleges of education specialising in physical education (pedagogicheskie uchilishcha fizkul'turnovo profilya)	33
5. Schools for coaches attached to physical-culture institutes or secondary special education establishments (shkoly trenerov pri institutakh, tekhnikumakh fizicheskoi kul'tury)	18
6. Physical-culture research institutes (nauchno-issledovatel'skie instituty fizkul'tury)	4

254 Sport v SSSR, 1968, No. 7, p. 23. This was confirmed by the writer's own meetings with two of the boxers named, Popenchenko and Lagutin.

255 Sovetsky sport, 15 August, 1972, p. 1; Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 9, p. 2.

Authority over the Institutes of Physical Culture is shared by the All-Union and Republican Committees on Physical Culture and Sport, on the one hand, and Republican educational ministries, on the other. Students are normally accepted for one of two degree-courses: Education or Sport.[256]

(i) Education Degree-Course

On graduation after a 5-year course, students become 'teachers of physical culture and sport' with the right to work in schools and colleges, sports-societies or urban and rural sports-collectives. The curriculum includes four disciplines which all students must take, plus a special course of seminars and an optional course:

A. Compulsory Subjects

(i) 'Social Sciences', comprising History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Philosophy, Political Economy, Scientific Communism and Scientific Atheism;

(ii) Education, comprising Psychology and Sports Psychology, Educational Theory and History of Education, History of Physical Culture, Organisation of Physical Education, Theory and Methodology of Physical Education and a Foreign Language;

(iii) Medicine and Biology, comprising Anatomy and Biomechanics, Biochemistry and Organic and Inorganic Chemistry, Physiology, Medical Supervision and Therapeutic Physical Training, Hygiene of Physical Culture, Hygiene and Sports Amenities;

(iv) Sport, comprising Athletics and Teaching Methods, Gymnastics and Teaching-Methods, Team and Outdoor Games and Teaching-Methods, Skiing and Teaching-Methods, Swimming and Teaching-Methods, Speed-skating and Teaching-Methods, Weightlifting, Boxing, Wrestling and Teaching-Methods (for men students only), and Tourism. This course covers the theory, methodology and technique of teaching these sports;

256 The information that follows is largely derived from Nikiforov, I.I., Pol'shansky, V.S., Organizatsiya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1965, pp. 160-172

B. Special Seminar and Optional Course

(i) Students may choose from a variety of seminar courses, all of which are designed to enhance knowledge of research-methods used in sport; the courses include Statistics, Cybernetics and Electronics;

(ii) In the second year, a student may take options either in the History of Physical Culture or in Educational Theory; a third-year student may take either Theory and Methodology of Physical Culture or Physiology; and a fourth-year student must choose as a speciality either a particular sport, or production gymnastics or therapeutic physical training.

During his or her course, the student is also obliged to spend 30 weeks in practice, both educational practice at a school and organisational practice in a factory or farm sports-collective.

In addition, there are a number of general non-examinable courses (such as Aesthetics, Soviet Literature and a variety of other sports) which the student may choose to attend voluntarily. Moreover, all students must retake their 4th Stage G.T.O. test, obtain a Second Sports-Ranking in their chosen sport, obtain at least a Third Sports-Ranking in two (optional) sports and the title of Referee, Third Category in two sports.

Undergraduates who have passed all their term-tests and sessional examinations, fulfilled all their practical norms and completed the five-year course are admitted to State Finals in the following three subjects:

Scientific Communism

Physiology

Theory and Methodology of Physical Education.

This course for the Educational Faculty is more or less uniform for all institutes of physical culture with the exception of the country's two major institutes – the State Central Order of Lenin Institute of Physical Culture (GTsOLIFK) in Moscow, and the Lesgaft Institute of Physical Culture in

Leningrad. The former accepts only first-rank sportsmen-students and has a more intensive course; students also receive higher grants than elsewhere. In September, 1967, by order of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations 'On Changing the Degree Courses and Structure of GTsOLIFK', the Education degree-course was abolished and work was concentrated on the Sports degree-course. In view of the fact that 95 per cent of the graduates from the now defunct Education degree-course had gone into coaching, the motivation for change was said to be to use the Institute almost wholly as a training-school for active sportsmen – a kind of élite establishment for potential international contestants. This was enhanced by a decision to turn the Sports degree-course, from the 1968-69 academic year, into degree-courses for individual sports, team-games, winter and technical sports. Nonetheless, the newly-formed Committee on Physical Culture and Sport invited suggestions from the Institute for a new Education degree-course to be set up in June, 1969; it was to train, first, teachers of physical education and sport for higher and secondary special educational establishments and, second, teachers, organisers and administrators for sports work in committees, departments, societies and sports clubs.[257]

(ii) Sports Degree-Course

For this degree-course, which unofficially carries a higher status, the student specialises in a particular sport and receives the qualification of 'Instructor-Coach' with the right to work in any sports organisation, from a local collective or sports-club to a city, regional, republican or sports-society representative team.

His course is basically the same as that for the Education degree-course. The 'Social Sciences' remain the same; the only difference in the Education subjects being the inclusion of Coaching; in the Medicine and Biology section, the student studies Biomechanics and the Sports Technology as a separate

[257] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 6, p. 5.

subject, and Medical Supervision and Therapeutic Physical Training replace Sports Medicine. The sports section is dominated by the particular sport the student has chosen as his speciality but, in addition, he has to study athletics, gymnastics, team-games, swimming, skiing and weightlifting and their teaching-methods.

The length of educational practice is the same, teaching-practice being spent in a secondary school, sports-school, sports-club or sports-society, and organisational practice in a sports-collective.

The special seminar course is identical to that for the Education degree-course, but the optional course-work is monopolised by the student's chosen sport. Where facilities allow, a student may conduct research-work in his sport instead of completing some of the normal course-work.

Stage 4 of the G.T.O. programme has to be retaken and, in addition, the student must gain a First Ranking in his chosen sport, at least a Third Ranking in two other sports and a referee's certificate in the chosen sport.

The Finals consist of:

Scientific Communism

Physiology

Special subject

If a student has written an adequate dissertation (diplomnaya rabota) on his chosen sport, he is excused examination in his special subject.

Most institutes of physical culture have correspondence and evening courses. Identical degrees may be obtained by this method, but the length of study is extended to six years.

The two oldest and most famous institutes are the two already mentioned in Moscow and Leningrad; the other eighteen were spread among the Republics with the exception of Estonia, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia. (See Table 69, p.528 below).

(iii) The physical-education faculties at higher educational establishments come under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialised

Secondary Education and the corresponding Republican ministries. Graduates normally become P.E.-instructors in secondary schools. The courses last five years and closely follow the curricula of the institutes of physical culture. Additional subjects in the course are Calisthenics and Outdoor Games, but boxing, weightlifting and a specialised sport are excluded. Teaching-practice is normally spent partly in a secondary school, partly (in the third year) in a Pioneer camp (three weeks) and partly in charge of a tourist excursion (a fortnight). Final examinations are in:

Scientific Communism

Physiology

Theory and Methodology of Physical Education.

Postgraduate work may be conducted for a period not exceeding three years for full-time students, and four years for external students.

(iv) The Physical-Culture tekhnikums come under the auspices of both the Committees on Physical Culture and Sport and the various Republican education ministries. They train P.E.-instructors for schools and coaches in individual sports for urban and rural sports-collectives. Most of the entrants are accepted at the age of 15 or 16 straight from general secondary school and undergo a course of between four and five years; evening and correspondence-course students do an extra year. The course is generally broader and less intensive than that in higher education, but final examinations consist of similar subjects — with the exception of 'Social Science' subjects. The reason for that exclusion may be that graduates are not expected to take up a job requiring such a degree of political awareness and responsibility as graduates from institutes, some of whom are likely to travel abroad. Finals, then, consist of:

Physiology

Theory and Practice of Physical Education

Chosen Sport.

Students must do teaching-practice in schools, sports-collectives and at Pioneer camps and meet the following standards in the sports programme and rankings: G.T.O. Stage 4, the equivalent or near-equivalent of the Second Sports-Ranking, a Third Ranking in one sport featured in the curriculum, and Third-Class Referee Category.

(v) The secondary special colleges of education specialising in physical education fulfil more or less the same function as the tekhnikums in training P.E.-instructors for secondary schools. The study-course is shorter (usually three years) than that in the tekhnikums, and the teaching less intensive. Their immediate authority is the Republican ministry of education and the Republican Committee on Physical Culture and Sport. Normally, entrants are taken at the age of 15, having completed eight years of general education.

Their number dwindled from 64 in 1955 to only 5 in 1960, with the campaign to get more pupils to stay on at school until 17 and to ensure that all potential P.E.-instructors should take a higher course at a tekhnikum or higher educational establishment. In recent years, these colleges have again increased in number (to 33 in 1970) - mainly through the drive to overcome the shortage of P.E.-schoolteachers in rural areas.[258] Thus, one-year courses were begun for rural P.E.-instructors in 1969, with special six-month courses available, too, for people wishing to do sports work in the countryside.

(vi) Schools for Coaches are normally attached either to an institute of physical culture or to a tekhnikum. Although they do take students at the age of 15 or 16 from secondary school, they are chiefly concerned with evening and correspondence courses for experienced sportsmen who wish to gain a coaching certificate during their sports-career. Courses last approximately four years for internal students plus a year extra for external students. All

[258] Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1970, No. 10, p. 29.

entrants for the full-time courses must take an entrance-examination in Russian Language, Chemistry and Physics, hold not less than a Second Sports-Ranking in one sport and have at least eight years of schooling.

The course, which is neither as long nor as academic as those for coaches at the institutes of physical culture, consists of the following disciplines:

(i) General subjects, comprising History of the USSR, Social Studies, Economic Geography, Literature, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and a foreign language;

(ii) Educational subjects, comprising Theory of Education, Psychology, Theory and Methddology of Physical Education, History and Organisation of Physical Culture;

(iii) Medical and Biological subjects, comprising Anatomy, Physiology and Biochemistry, Hygiene, Medical Supervision, Sports Injuries and Massage;

(iv) Sports subjects, comprising specialisation in one main sport and in a subsidiary sport (chosen from Gymnastics, Athletics, Team-games, Skiing and Swimming).

In addition to the above subjects, a further 105 hours have to be devoted to auxiliary material in Russian Language, Refereeing, Photography and proficiency in the chosen speciality.

Since part of the entrance-requirements is for students to hold a high sports-ranking, no additional demands are made during the course as regards sports-practice and rankings.

Finals consist of:

Physiology

Social Studies

Chosen Sport.

In the system of training personnel, the tendency has been to increase the number graduating from the higher-education courses at the expense of those from the secondary specialised education courses. This trend is clearly discernible in the tables on pp.458 and 460 above. After 1956, the number of specialists attending secondary-special college courses (tekhnikums) diminished, while the students at higher-education establishments (internal and external) increased. This is part of the desired trend in the direction of raising the qualifications of P.E.-instructors, coaches and sports-officials.

(b) Research

Research into physical education and sport is an integral part of the Soviet sports-movement. It is conducted at a large number of higher-education establishments (including all the institutes of physical culture and the physical-education faculties), at medical colleges, polytechnics, at the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR (most important of all, at one of the latter's institutes the Research Institute of Physiology and Physical Education) and at four separate physical-culture research-institutes. A special library of books, periodicals and films concerned exclusively with sport and physical education is situated in Minsk, capital of Belorussia.[259]

As may be gathered from the description above of the various educational courses, a scientific and technological study of sport and its related sciences is regarded as vital to a real understanding of the significance of sport in everyday life and work and (as) the basis for improved performance. Such subjects as biomechanics, cybernetics and electronics may appear to some as irrelevant to the subject of sport, but the specifically Russian and Soviet preoccupation with the technical side of sport is a continuation of the tradition of such Russian scientists as Sechyonov, Pavlov and Lesgaft.

259 Sovetsky sport, 5 January, 1972, p. 4.

In the early 1970's, research was also being pursued into the sociology of sport — an area hitherto largely unexplored in the Soviet Union and still circumscribed by rather narrow ideological boundaries. Thus, the first Soviet book dealing with the social rôle and functions of sport[260] came out in 1972 - but in a very small printing of only 500 copies.

The extensive research into the technical aspects of sport testifies to the careful preparation that goes into sports-performance and the seriousness with which the authorities take success in international competitions. Moreover, it provides an insight into the official concern with what, it is believed, are the main functions of sport: to help improve productivity, maintain a physically-fit nation ready for military action, to advertise the communist system through international sporting success and to contribute to a 'fuller life' for all citizens. Indicative of the utilitarian functions assigned to sport are the quotations from Lenin inscribed on plaques in tall letters inside the foyer of the Central State Institute of Physical Culture in Moscow. Three inscriptions, stressing both patriotism and productivity, perhaps sum up official thinking about the ideas that should underlie P.E. training:

"A nation will never be conquered if the bulk of workers and peasants recognise, sense and see that they are safeguarding their Soviet power — the working people's power."

"Labour productivity is, in the last resort, decisive for the victory of the new social system ."

"Our socialist republic of Soviets will stand firm like a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the working masses."

As in other research spheres, money bonuses and gold medals are awarded for outstanding research: in 1973, the USSR Sports Committee made seven such awards for three types of research: (i) for theoretical and sociological

260 Stepovoi, P.S., Sport i obshchestvo, Tartu, 1972.

problems of physical culture and sport; (ii) for research into training and teaching; and (iii) for medical-biological work into physical education and coaching.[261]

12. Publications

Inasmuch as the mass media are seen largely as a means of education and political socialisation, rather than mainly as entertainment or even sources of information, their rôle in Soviet society is particularly important to the Party: "The Congress [24th] attaches great importance to improvement of the press, radio and television. Party-organisations must be able skilfully to use the mass media as propaganda, to ensure their effective use and improve the political maturity and skill of journalists and propagandists."[262] The sporting press is no exception. Sport is, after all, not a recreational pursuit that people can take or leave as they see fit; it is officially regarded as a valuable, indeed necessary, component of everyday life — and the mass media are required to propagandise sport and the benefits that are supposed to accrue from participation in it. M. Shishigin, deputy chairman of the USSR Sports-Writers Federation, has stated: "It is the task of Soviet sports-writers to reveal the purpose and functions of physical culture, its rôle as an active means of shaping people physically and culturally."[263] Moreover, sport — and the sporting press — by virtue of its popular nature, is regarded as a convenient vehicle for carrying overt political propaganda: "Sporting contests for prizes commemorating outstanding athletes and war-heroes are particularly important as propaganda both for the participants and for the spectators. . . Similarly, cross-country runs and events in honour of Party and Komsomol congresses and other political occasions have great political significance."[264]

261 Sovetsky sport, 28 July, 1973, p. 1.

262 24th Congress of the CPSU, APN, Moscow, 1971, p. 7.

263 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 7, p. 20.

264 Kharabuga, G.D., Sovetskaya sistema fizicheskovo vospitaniya, Leningrad, 1970. p. 13.

Sports periodicals, like other specialised journals, frequently carry important general political speeches in leading articles or editorials, (e.g., Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No.6, had a leading article, seven pages long, in bold type, devoted to the 24th Party Congress with no mention at all of physical culture or sport). During 1972, Sovetsky Sport devoted its front page to a variety of non-sporting causes, ranging from the full text of a Party resolution on preparations for marking the 50th anniversary of the USSR (22nd February) to the campaign to gather the harvest (1st October); on December 22nd, the whole issue was devoted to Brezhnev's speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR. It is also usual for leading politicians to attend big sporting events — possibly to demonstrate their identity of interests with the populace, but also to receive the acclaim of sports-fans and, sometimes, to make speeches — as Khrushchov often did, and as Kosygin did at the opening of the 1971 Finals in Moscow of the Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR.

In 1973, there were 31 sports periodicals with a circulation of eight million. Of the total, 14 were published in Moscow by central agencies, such as the USSR Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, the Central All-Union Council of Trade Unions, USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture. The rest (17) were published in various republics and in Moscow and Leningrad specifically for the local population. The two tables below give an idea of the major publications and their circulation.

It is interesting to note that the only periodical to suffer a reduction in circulation between 1962 and 1973 was Sport za rubezhom (Sport Abroad). The position of this monthly journal, run by the Sports Committee, seems always to have been precarious because of official concern to control the flow of news from outside the Soviet Union (for the journal's difficult history, see p.180 above). After its reappearance in 1960 with a comparatively large circulation of 50,000, it reached a circulation-peak of 60,000 in 1970, which has been halved since. Unless demand has fallen greatly or the original circulation-figures were over-ambitious (which seems

unlikely, in view of the increase from 50,000 to 60,000 between 1965 and 1970), the only rational explanation for the fall is a deliberate decision to check the flow of material which might lead to 'over-preoccupation' with sport abroad. In other sports-periodicals, news of sport in the non-socialist world is normally given scant attention except when highlighting tours by Soviet athletes or the seamier side of foreign sport – such as the violence in American football and the soccer bribery scandals in West Germany in 1972.

Partly due to the serious tone of the rest of the press, sports-periodicals are extremely popular and always in great demand; unless a person has a subscription to such newspapers as Sovetsky Sport or Futbol-Khokkei, he is unlikely to obtain a copy (from a newspaper-kiosk). It is not unknown for news-sellers to sell less popular newspapers as a 'package deal' with a sports paper.[265] Until about 1966 (the year of the important Party resolution on physical culture and sport), the supply of sports-papers was kept down far below the demand – perhaps for fear of people reading exclusively the less political sports-media. In the last decade, however, the Party-leadership has made a concession to popular demand (no doubt also with a view to increasing participation in sport and playing up Soviet success against foreign 'bourgeois' opposition) by allowing such papers to boost circulation, sometimes considerably. As Table 51 reveals, the circulation of the 14 central sports periodicals more than trebled between 1962 and 1973; subscriptions to the two most popular sports papers, Sovetsky Sport and Futbol-Khokkei, even quadrupled. It is true that the circulation of most periodicals has risen substantially since 1962, but it by no means matches that of sports papers (see below).

Most of the Republican and local sports-periodicals shown in Table 52 are run jointly by the corresponding sports committee and DOSAAF.

265 On more than one occasion in Moscow, the writer asked for Sovetsky sport at a newspaper-kiosk, and either had it offered at over 6 times its normal price (at 15 kopeks) or on condition another newspaper was bought with it. This would appear to be not unusual, as Soviet colleagues have confirmed.

Table 51: Circulation of Central Sports Periodicals, Selected Years, 1962-1973 (thous.)

Title	Periodicity	Year founded	1962	1965	1970	1972	1973	Growth, 1962-73	
								(thous.)	(%)
Sovetsky sport[1]	Daily	1924	900	1600	3150	3450	3600	2700	400
Futbol-Khokkei[1]	Weekly	1960	286	1000	1500	1000	1100	814	385
Fizkul'tura i sport	Monthly	1922	200	250	420	420	425	225	213
Turist	Monthly	1966	-	-	200	213	220	220	—
Sportivnye igry	Monthly	1955	83.5	104	250	250	170	86.5	204
Lyogkhaya atletika	Monthly	1955	33.5	52.5	100	100	150	116.5	448
Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole	Monthly	1930	43.9	58.6	100	108	117	73.1	267
Sport v SSSR[2]	Monthly	1963	-	54	100	100	100	100	—
64 (chess)	Monthly	1968	-	-	45	80	80	80	—
Shakhmaty v SSSR	Monthly	1921	30	33	45	45	50	20	67
Konevodstvo i konnyi sport	Monthly	1960	10	10	15	30	30	20	300
Sport za rubezhom	Monthly	1960	50	50	60	30	30	-20	60
Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury	Monthly	1925	9.5	9.3	16	17.3	18.5	9	195
Shakhmatny byulleten'	Monthly	1955	7.3	8.8	13.7	16	17.5	10.2	240
Total circulation of all central sports periodicals			1653.7	3230.2	6012.7	5858.3	6107.0	4453.3	369
Index (1962=100)			100	195.3	363.6	354.3	369.3	—	—

[1] Both newspapers; the remainder are journals. Futbol-Khokkei is a weekly supplement to Sovetsky Sport.

[2] Monthly supplement to Sovetsky Soyuz.

Source: Shishigin, M.V., "Sportivnaya pechat' - aktivnoye sredstvo propagandy fizicheskoi kul'tury i sporta," Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 5, p. 10.

Table 52: Circulation of Sports Periodicals in Republics, Moscow and Leningrad, Selected Years, 1962 and 1973 (thous.)

Title	Place of publication and language	Periodicity	1962	1973	Growth 1962-1973 (thous.)	Growth 1962-1973 (%)
Fizkul'turnik Armenii	Armenia/Armenian	Daily	18	120	102	667
Fizkul'turnik Azerbaidzhana	Azerbaidzhan/Azerbaidzhanian	Daily	15	100	85	667
Sportivnaya gazeta	Ukraine/Ukrainian	Daily	50	300	250	600
Sport	Kazakhstan/Russian	Daily	69	360	291	522
Fizkul'turnik Uzbekistana	Uzbekistan/Russian	Daily	25	101	76	404
Fizkul'turnik Belorussii	Belorussia/Belorussian	Daily	30	100	70	333
Lelo	Georgia/Georgian	Daily	35	115	80	329
Sportas	Lithuania/Lithuanian	Daily	28	87	59	309
Shashki	Latvia/Latvian	Weekly	8	19	11	231
Sports	Latvia/Latvian	Daily	30	68	38	227
Start	Ukraine/Ukrainian	Monthly	30	68	38	227
Shakmaty	Latvia/Latvian	Monthly	15	29	14	194
Sportdilecht	Estonia/Estonian	Daily	31	50	19	161
Sportivnaya zhizn' Rossii	Russia/Russian	Monthly	130	200	70	154
Kechakul'tura	Estonia/Estonian	Monthly	10	13	3	130
Sportivnaya nedelya Leningrada	Leningrad/Russian	Weekly	25	27	2	108
Moskovskaya sportivnaya nedelya	Moscow/Russian	Weekly	60	50	-10	-83
Total circulation (thous.)	All/all		609	1807	1198	295

Source: Shishigin, op. cit., p. 12.

Table 52 reveals that, while some republics are well served with sports periodicals of their own, others have none at all. The pattern would appear to follow the degree of interest within that particular area: Latvia possesses three journals and Estonia two — these being republics with long sporting traditions; Russia has three and the Ukraine two — by virtue of their large populations; and four republics (Kirghizia, Moldavia, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia) do not have their local sports press — probably due to the comparatively low public interest in sport in these areas. Kazakhstan (a republic in which Kazakhs form a minority of the population) has a sports-daily in Russian mainly to serve the non-Kazakh residents of the republic. It is noteworthy that the single most popular sport in terms of the number of periodicals devoted to it and of circulation is chess (four) — an indication probably not so much of the popularity of the game as of the official promotion of it as a cerebral pursuit befitting a socialist society. Such evidently more popular sports as football, athletics and ice-hockey have only one journal each specifically dealing with their sport among both central and local periodicals, while volleyball, basketball and skiing have none. Another sport officially supported (for its aesthetic qualities) is gymnastics, for which a special 50-odd page journal (not shown in the table above) was first published twice yearly in 1973. As well as the magazines mentioned above, most of the major sports (including fishing and hunting, tennis, sub-aqua sport, cycling, speed-skating, rowing, swimming, skiing, boxing, wrestling and weightlifting) similarly have periodicals that come out only once or twice a year.

Comparatively, the sports periodicals do rather well. Thus, in 1972, Sovetsky sport was seventh in circulation of all Soviet newspapers, standing above the teachers' and servicemen's professional newspapers (Uchitel'skaya gazeta and Krasnaya zvezda respectively).

Table 53: Circulation of the Eight Main Soviet Newspapers, 1972

Newspaper	Circulation
Pionerskaya pravda	9,700,000
Pravda	9,200,000
Izvestiya	8,600,000
Komsomol'skaya pravda	7,900,000
Sel'skaya zhizn'	7,000,000
Trud	4,900,000
Sovetsky sport	3,450,000
Uchitel'skaya gazeta	1,385,000

Source: Europa Year Book, 1973, Vol. 1, London, pp. 1336-1337

As already mentioned, and as shown below in Table 54, the comparative position of sports periodicals has especially improved in the last twenty years.

In the number of newspapers published, sport was sixth among different types of newspaper in 1967, but was fourth in size of circulation — a substantial comparative and absolute increase over its position (seventh) in 1950. Since 1967, the relative standing of sports periodicals has risen even more. While the average increase in circulation of central newspapers was 9.2% p.a. between 1966 and 1970, that of Sovetsky sport was 19.4% p.a.. Moreover, while the average increase in circulation of Republican newspapers was 6.2% p.a. between 1966 and 1970, that of the 17 Republican and local sports papers was 10.4% p.a. between 1962 and 1973.[266]

[266] Shishigin, M., "Sportivnaya pechat' - aktivnoye svedstvo propagandy fizicheskoi kul'tury i sporta," Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 5, p. 11.

Table 54: Numbers and Circulations of Specialised Newspapers, by Type, 1950, 1960, 1967 and 1972

Type of Newspaper	Year/period	Number (units)	Circulation	
			total (thous.)	average annual increase between yrs. shown (%)
Industry and construction [a]	1950	2	50	—
	1960	6	605	28.3
	1967	5	1102	8.9
	1972	5	2159	14.4
	1950-72	+3	+2109	18.7
Sport [b]	1950	5	180	—
	1960	12	1101	19.9
	1967	14	3326	17.1
	1971	14	4754	7.4
	1950-72	+9	+4574	16.0
Agricultural	1950	8	836	—
	1960	7	1153	3.3
	1967	6	7723	31.2
	1972	6	8510	2.0
	1950-72	-2	+7674	11.1
Pioneer	1950	21	2154	—
	1960	23	7494	13.3
	1967	27	17118	12.5
	1972	28	18952	2.1
	1950-72	+7	+16798	10.4
Komsomol	1950	72	2698	—
	1960	117	7718	11.4
	1967	129	13175	7.9
	1972	131	17909	6.3
	1950-72	+59	+15281	9.1
Teaching	1950	10	399	—
	1960	15	1081	10.5
	1967	15	1819	7.7
	1972	15	2129	3.2
	1950-72	+5	+1730	7.9
Literature, art and culture	1950	11	652	—
	1960	16	1242	6.7
	1967	17	1479	2.5
	1972	17	2508	11.1
	1950-72	+6	+1856	6.3
Transport	1950	105	377	—
	1960	71	952	9.7
	1967	34	887	-1.0
	1972	19	902	0.3
	1950-72	-86	+525	4.0

The major sports periodicals are as follows:

(i) Sovetsky sport (Soviet Sport), published since 1924 and currently the organ of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport attached to the USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers. It is a popular four-page newspaper (price 2 kopeks) that comes out daily except Mondays, containing information on the performance of teams and sportsmen at home and abroad, political news and any resolutions on sport, criticisms, readers' letters and the results of sudden 'spot checks' ('raids') on sports organisations in any part of the country. On 1st January, 1974, it was published in 33 Soviet cities and, in 1973, had a daily circulation of 3,600,000. It has a Sunday supplement (sold separately) called Futbol (Khokkei in winter) with a circulation of over a million.

(ii) Fizkul'tura i sport (Physical Culture and Sport) is a popular well-illustrated monthly sports magazine, founded in 1922, and today one of the organs of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport (see above). It costs 30 kopeks, contains an average of 4 -50 pages and was published in a monthly printing of 425,000 in 1973.

(iii) Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury (The Theory and Practice of Physical Culture) is a theoretical and technical monthly journal published by the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport. It costs 40 kopeks, had a monthly circulation of 18,500 copies in 1973 and averages 80 pages. As its name implies, it is a serious journal averaging 30 articles an issue, and contains much interesting material and research-data of value to coaches, sportsmen, P.E.-instructors and sociologists. Normally, the journal consists of the following sections:

1. General introductory articles — often political or historical;
2. Training, techniques and tactics;
3. Physiology and sports medicine;
4. Sport and young people;
5. Sport in everyday life — articles of mainly sociological interest;
6. Physical education among students;

7. 'Consultation' — detailed and often authoritative technical surveys in the form of replies to readers' questions;

8. Sport abroad;

9. Reviews.

(iv) Sport v SSSR (Sport in the USSR) is a monthly illustrated popular and informative magazine, begun in 1963 and mainly printed for foreign consumption as a supplement to the general magazine Sovetsky soyuz (Soviet Union). It comes out in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Hungarian, averages 30 pages and costs 30 kopeks.

(v) Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole (Physical Culture in the School) is a monthly illustrated journal published by the USSR Ministry of Education since 1930 and intended primarily for P.E.-teachers. In view of the fact that about one-third of such teachers are unqualified, its rôle is particularly important. It costs 30 kopeks, averages 50 pages and had a circulation of 117,000 copies in 1973.

(vi) Sportivnye igry (Sporting Games) deals with such games as football, hockey, handball, water-polo, tennis and badminton. It costs 30 kopeks and had a circulation of 170,000 copies in 1973. Apart from Sport za rubezhom, this is the only journal to have undergone a fall in circulation after 1972.

In addition to these multi-sport journals, there are several periodicals for individual sports and recreational activities, such as the chess weekly 64 and two monthlies, Shakhmaty v SSSR (Chess in the USSR) and Shakhmatnyi byulleten' (Chess Bulletin) (the two journals being for different levels of chess ability); Lyogkaya atletika (Athletics), Futbol-Khokkei (Football-Ice-Hockey) and Turist (The Tourist).

Of course, all national, republican, regional and local daily and weekly papers also carry some sports-news (rarely more than half a page).

(b) Books

The sports administration has its own publishing-house in Moscow, Fizkul'tura i Sport — reputedly the biggest in the world — which, in 1972, accounted for half the total production of sports literature: 141 publications

(books, manuals, albums and brochures) with a total print of 8,230,000 copies. Even so, this is estimated to be far below the demand: "Fizkul'tura i sport Publishers meet the orders of book-trading organisations for sports literature only by 40-50 per cent and, in some areas, only by 15-20 per cent."[267] As the following table shows, the number of sports publications has actually fallen since 1960 and, as a percentage of total book-production in the country, is lower than it was in 1938-40.

Though sports-periodicals occupied a relatively important place among all Soviet periodicals, the same cannot be said for books on sport. As Table 55 shows, in 1971, the share of sports-literature was only 0.8 per cent of the total number of titles published, 0.8 per cent of the total print and 0.5 per cent of the actual volume printed matter produced. This was "ridiculously small by comparison with other types of literature and does not correspond to the popular nature of physical culture and sport."[268] While willing to provide funds to meet popular demands on the sporting press, the Soviet authorities would appear to be much more parsimonious as far as methodological manuals, sports biographies, histories and suchlike are concerned. This (seems to constitute, then, further (relatively) financial) evidence of a low priority being given by the state to aspects of sport other than that of its 'bread-and-circuses' rôle.

[267] Shishigin, loc. cit., p. 14.

[268] Idem.

Table 55: Publications of Books and Pamphlets on Sport, by Period, 1918-1971

Period	Titles (no.)	Titles (% of total[a])	Print (mln. copies)	Print (% of total[a])	Volume (mln. pr. sheets)	Volume (% of total[a])
1918-71: total	23204	1.0	295.9	0.8	1478.9	0.5
1918-71: annual average	430	1.0	5.5	0.8	27.4	0.5
of which:						
1918-28	80	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.2
1929-32	422	0.7	3.7	0.5	9.9	0.3
1933-37	283	0.7	2.0	0.4	7.3	0.2
1938-40	447	1.0	2.6	0.4	8.2	0.2
1941-45	193	0.9	2.6	0.8	2.7	0.2
1946-50	366	1.0	4.8	0.8	15.5	0.3
1951-55	611	1.3	7.0	0.8	36.3	0.4
1956-60	866	1.3	10.6	1.0	57.0	0.5
1961-65	716	0.9	10.6	0.9	64.1	0.5
1966-70	651	0.9	13.2	1.0	78.8	0.6
1971	665	0.8	12.6	0.8	82.5	0.5

[a] i.e., of Soviet publishing on all subjects

Sources: Shishigin, op.cit., p.13;
Pechat' SSSR v 1971 godu, Moscow, 1972, pp.4, 15-16.

Part II

13. Sport and the Services

Dinamo (the sports club of the security forces) and the army clubs play a special rôle in the Soviet sports-movement, therefore meriting special attention here.

(a) Dinamo. The All-Union Physical Culture and Sports (Order of Lenin) Society Dinamo was the very first of the great sports-societies, having been founded back in 1923 (see above, p.214) as the sports club (and physical-training centre) of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (the Cheka) - the body then responsible for internal security. Dinamo has always held a rather unique position within the sports-movement in that it has never come under trade-union supervision (unlike 34 of the 36 sports-societies) and has been the largest and richest of the sports-societies. Its measure of independence has reflected that of its parent-body - the security organs.[1] Although virtually no mention of the fact is now made in Soviet publications, Dinamo is still today "under the control of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Committee of State Security attached to

[1] The security organs have been known under different names at different periods (Cheka; G.P.U.; O.G.P.U.; N.K.V.D.; N.K.G.B.; M.V.D.; M.G.B., K.G.B.). At first subordinate to the Party, they grew in importance when Stalin began to use them against his opponents within the Party, until at the time of the Great Purge in the latter part of the 1930's, they assumed the highest position in the apparatus of power, above the Party leadership itself and subordinate only to Stalin personally. During Beria's command of the security organs, their vast apparatus consolidated its position as the most powerful, privileged and non-accountable section of society; in such a situation it was not surprising that immediately after Stalin's death in 1953, Beria should have tried to seize supreme power in the state; and his failure was followed by a drastic curtailment of the powers of the security organs and their subordination once again to Party control. (For an American account of the history of the security organs, see Fainsod, M., How Russia is Ruled, London, 1963.)

Yuny dinamovets ("Young Dinamo") and Dinamo is the largest sports club in most East European states (see p. 641, below, in Chapter IX).

(b) Army sports clubs. The Central Army Sports Club (Tsentral'ny sportivny klub armii - TsSKA) was formed in 1953 on the basis of the sports section of the Central House of the Red Army; it was called (until 1 January, 1960) the Central Sports Club of the Ministry of Defence . It is the largest of the sports-organisations run by the armed services, which have a sports club (sportivny klub armii - SKA) in every military district. It also has links with DOSAAF (Dobrovol'noye obshchestvo sodeistviya armii, aviatsii i flotu); how close DOSAAF's involvement in sport is may be judged by the very high proportion (70 per cent) of its members' subscriptions that it channels into sport.[6] Like Dinamo, the army clubs provide facilities both for servicemen (as part of compulsory military training) and for the general public. Because a sportsman is a member of an army sports club (or of Dinamo), it does not follow that he is a member of the forces. For example, the famous goalkeeper, Lev Yashin, played for the Moscow Dinamo football team for many years while being attached (probably nominally) to an Institute of Physical Culture. Most gymnasts and figure skaters are members of either Dinamo or the army clubs because of the large and expensive amenities needed to practice these sports; they include the gymnasts Ludmilla Turishcheva (Dinamo) and Olga Korbut (army) and the figure skaters, Rodnina and Ul'yanov (army). Nevertheless, in a recent book on the history of TsSKA,[7] several well-known male sportsmen were pictured in uniform; they included the weightlifters Vlasov (p.81) and Zhabotinsky (p. 95),

[6] The resolution passed at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the DOSAAF Central Committee on 25 May, 1971, aptly sums up its aims: "Widely to propagandise among the public, especially young people, military knowledge and the heroic traditions of the Soviet people; to improve the quality of training of young people for service in the Armed Forces, and further to develop military-technical sports." (Sovetsky sport, 26 May, 1971)

[7] Gavrilin, V. M. et alia (eds.), S emblemoi TsSKA, Moscow, 1973.

the footballers Shesternyov (p. 137) and Fedotov (p. 135), the ice-hockey player Firsov (p. 132), and the chief ice-hockey coach Tarasov (p. 120).

It will be gathered that, since these two sports-organisations can call on the substantial material resources of their parent organisations, they are far richer than any other sports-club or societies and, consequently, command more facilities, consistently train more Masters of Sport and win more prizes. Table 56 below gives some idea of their relative importance in training Masters of Sport. From 1949 to 1952, they accounted for just under half of all Masters in the country; from then on, though their share has diminished (in line with the curtailment in the political powers of the security organs and the army), they have still provided well over a quarter of the country's Masters. In number of Masters, the army has had the edge over Dinamo, but, while the former was losing ground relatively over the whole period, Dinamo, after dropping its share of Masters trained from 17.8% in 1949-52 to 11% in 1953-56 and then to 11.5% in 1957-60, managed to increase its share again in 1961-64 to 12.7%. When, in 1966, the Soviet government awarded the highest state award, the Order of Lenin, to 37 of the top sportsmen, Dinamo members had 10 and army clubs 7 in the list; the nearest other sports societies were Spartak (4) and Iskra (4).[8]

[8] Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 51.

Table 56: Training of Masters, by Sports-Organisation, 1949-64

Organisation	1949-52		1953-56		1957-60		1961-64	
	Total trained		Total trained		Total trained		Total trained	
	(number)	(%)	(number)	(%)	(number)	(%)	(number)	(%)
Trade-Union Voluntary Sports-Societies	1,221	40.2	1,580	45.4	5,594	47.4	11,131*	47.2
Army Sports Clubs	709	28.3	598	17.2	1,684	14.3	3,294	14.0
Dinamo	542	17.8	407	11.7	1,350	11.5	2,986	12.7
Spartak	223	7.3	400	11.5	1,222	10.4	2,576	10.9
DOSAAF	215	7.1	284	8.2	1,089	9.2	1,670	7.1
Labour Reserves	114	3.8	123	3.5	452	3.8	671	2.8
Rural Sports Societies of Republics	13	0.5	50	1.4	290	2.5	801	3.4
Hunters' Society	-	-	31	0.9	43	0.4	61	0.3
Sports Schools	-	-	8	0.2	60	0.5	399	1.7
TOTAL+	3,037	100	3,481	100	11,784	100	23,789	100
index	100	—	115	—	388	—	783	—

* Not including Spartak and those rural sports societies (Baku, Urozhai and Kairat) which joined the trade-union sports societies after 1960

\+ Students belonging to Burevestnik, formed in 1957, are not included in the table. In 1959, they trained 467 Masters of Sport.

Source: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p.46.

Another sign of the importance of Dinamo and the army sports clubs is the representation and success of their teams and members in competition. Of the sixteen football-teams in the top division of the Soviet league in 1973, four were Dinamo and two were army teams.[9] In ice-hockey, the Central Army Sports Club had, in 1970, won the first division title for the past seventeen seasons - ever since the league was started up in 1954; and thirteen of the nineteen players in the ice-hockey squad at the 1972 Sapporo Winter Olympics were army players. Of the 213 gold medals won by Soviet sportsmen in world championships in 1965, 1966 and 1967, as many as 101 were won by army club members alone.[10] Dinamo members made up one-third of the Soviet Olympic team in the 1972 Summer Games and collected 44.75 points and seven medals - the nearest other sports-society was Burevestnik with 24.25 points and four medals.[11] In both the 1971 Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR and European championships in the first half of 1972 (the allocation of points is shown in Table 57 below), Dinamo and the armed forces amassed about half the total points-score. Moreover, in all Soviet championships in 1966, most medals were won by the Armed Forces (241 gold, 145 silver and 103 bronze), followed by Dinamo (103 gold, 119 silver and 176 bronze) and then Spartak (56 gold, 80 silver and 65 bronze).

[9] This is significantly more than in the late 1930's, when (in 1938) there were 5 Dinamo teams and 1 army club team out of 26 in Division 1 (see p.). When this division was reduced in 1939, 4 Dinamo teams and 1 army team remained out of 14.

[10] Moskalev, V. M., Spassky, O. D., Sport i vek, Moscow, 1968, p. 138.

[11] Sovetsky sport, 15 December, 1972, p. 2.

Finally, Table 58 shows the preponderance of these sportsmen among Soviet record-holders and the sports in which they are particularly successful. It is noticeable that they do especially well at rifle-shooting, weightlifting, horse-riding and clay-pigeon shooting - sports which are most closely associated with the military art and with military training.

Table 57: Points Won by Sports-Society Members at the 1971 Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR, and in European Championships in the First Half of 1972

Sports-Societies	Points	
	Spartakiad	European Championships
Dinamo	2,940	65
Armed Forces	2,741	82
Burevestnik	1,407	36
Spartak	1,233	32
Trud	909	42
Avangard	479	1
Lokomotiv	434	7
Labour Reserves	421	0
Rural Voluntary Sports-Societies	418	0
Zenit	334	18
Zhalgiris	170	0
Gantiadi	146	7
Daugava	138	0
Vodnik	126	0

Other Republican societies gained fewer than a hundred points each in the Spartakiad. Points were awarded according to the unofficial Olympic system - viz., 7 for first place, 5 for second, 4 for third, and so on down to 1 point for sixth place.

Sources: Sovetsky sport, 31 July, 1971, p. 1; 4 August, 1972, p. 2

Both Dinamo and the Armed Forces are well served by facilities. In 1967, Dinamo had 136 sports-councils and over 3,000 collectives with 100 or more members, some 600 sports installations, including 62 sports-centres (with full athletics facilities), 277 gymnasiums, 25 aquatic centres, 90 shooting-ranges and five cycling-tracks.[12] It is said, unofficially, that Dinamo team-members receive higher remuneration than other organisation members - although they are, as a rule, subject to stricter discipline.

Table 58: Soviet Record-Holders, by Sport and Sports-Organisation, 1967

Organisation	Yachting	Cycling	Motor-Boat Racing	Gorodki	Horse-Riding	Speed-Skating	Athletics	Swimming	Rifle-Shooting	Clay-Pigeon Shooting	Archery	Weightlifting	TOTAL
Armed Forces	2	7	14	-	4	4	19	4	12	5	-	17	88
Dinamo	-	3	-	3	2	9	7	19	15	-	3	3	64
Republican trade-union VSSs	1	5	7	4	1	2	8	-	-	2	-	7	37
Burevestnik	-	5	-	-	-	7	19	13	2	-	-	1	34
Spartak	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	10	-	1	-	1	17
DOSAAF	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	15
Labour Reserves	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	9
Rural VSSs	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	5
Lokomotiv	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	5
Total Listed	3	24	35	7	8	24	45	46	39	8	3	32	274
Soviet teams (not distinguished by organisation)	-	2	-	-	-	-	7	9	12	3	-	-	33
Grand Total	3	26	35	7	8	24	52	55	51	11	3	32	307

Sources: Makartsev, N. A., Sobolev, P. A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 65.

[12] Moskalev, Spassky, op cit., p. 273.

Physical culture plays a big part in army training; thus, in 1969 and 1970, "virtually all conscripts obtained their GZR (Ready for the Defence of the Homeland) badge".[13] It is certainly true that "physical culture and sport have become an integral part of military training" and that "sport and the army are indivisible".[14]

In the Soviet Union, it is an important function of the sports-movement to see that as many people as possible are physically fit, mentally alert and possess the qualities (patriotism, will-power, stamina and ingenuity) that are of particular value for military and paramilitary purposes. In return, the army and Dinamo provide many of the funds and facilities which enable so many people to take up and pursue a sport.

14. Sport and the Peasants

Attaining the goal of universal sports-participation has always been hampered in the villages by the problems of generating enthusiasm for and organising rural sport - and the rural population, up to 1961, constituted the majority of the population.

In societies other than the USSR, where an organised sports-movement has come into being, sports have predominantly been cultivated to meet the needs of a growing urban populace. It was thought, and this was to a large degree borne out in practice, that peasant-farmers, by the very nature of their lives and work - undifferentiated and lonely - would not take part in many organised sports - which seem generally to have reflected the demands and requirements of newly-urban communities. A study of Anatolian peasants indicated "that these highly tradition-bound people cannot grasp the abstractness of modern sports. They lack

[13] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No. 4, p. 6.

[14] Sovetsky sport, 23 February, 1972, p. 1.

the enterprise, in their fatalistic village cultures, to see why people want to knock themselves out for sportsmanship's remote ideals; they cannot link such rituals, even by remote analogy, with their own."[15] In England, the organised sports-movement had grown up around the industrial cities in step with the industrial revolution. Rural sport was largely a movement distinct and apart from that pursued in the developing urban areas; it was largely centred on the sporting squire or gentleman whose interest was 'casual and sportsmanlike' as the American sociologist David Riesman has put it.[15a] Where peasants had time for sports, they mainly enjoyed traditional folk-games and competed in tests of strength, often only performed seriously at annual fairs or village festivals.

The problems of recreation in the countryside are, of course, not peculiarly Soviet, but universal characteristics of economic under-development or backwardness. On the whole, the existing Soviet rural and, to some extent, even the urban, sport-situation is the product of an uneven modernisation which has undermined traditional forms of peasant recreation, yet not enough so as to provide the substitutes found in the major cities.

In other industrialising countries, village sport was left mainly to go its own way and was neglected by both government and commercial sports organisations. In the USSR, however, the declared aim of mass - and, after 1966, universal - participation could not start to be achieved if the peasant-farmers were ignored, since they made up about half the population. Furthermore, rural sport was said to be a means of assisting the gradual erosion of fundamental differences between town and country: "all-round development in socialist society is not

15 Pitt Rivers, J., "Honour and Social Status," in Peristiany, J.G. (ed.), Honour and Shame, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1965, p. 127.

15a Riesman, D., Denney, R., "Football in America: A Study in Culture-Diffusion", in Dunning, E. (ed.), The Sociology of Sport, Cass, 1972, p. 154.

the exclusive privilege of the townsman".[16] Sport was to help inculcate desired urban values (team and community spirit, rationality, discipline) and draw the farmer into the mainstream of 'socialist culture'. Nor was it lost on government and Party officials that sport could serve as a bond between the collectivised farmers and the industrial workers; it could provide a link between the village and wider units - region, republic and country and help link the mass with the state. The peasant-farmer might be encouraged to take an interest in the performance of his village or kolkhoz team, his fellow farmer-sportsmen - and thence to support the performance of his Republican team and ultimately the All-Union Soviet team against outsiders.

Nonetheless, there were immense obstacles to be overcome if rural interest was to be kindled to any great extent. First, there was the rural disdain for unnecessary physical exertion and the traditional peasant hostility to changes brought from outside in familiar cultural forms of expression and leisure habits. Second, the very nature of agricultural labour and Russian climatic conditions set close limits to the feasible pattern of rural sport and hindered the introduction of new forms of recreation. The great majority of Russian peasant-farmers live under quite severe winter conditions which stretch from October to April.[17]

16 Sovetsky sport, 18 August, 1972, p. 1.

17 In the Moscow Oblast' (Region), for example, mean noon temperatures range from +4°C in October to -10.3°C in January (the coldest month) and +4°C again in April. On an average, the Oblast' (including the capital, Moscow) has over 150 days of below-zero temperature every year, the lowest absolute temperature ever recorded being -47°C and the highest +38°C; the mean annual temperature is 3.8°C.

Mean Noon Temperatures for Moscow Oblast' During the Year (°C)

Month	Temperature	Month	Temperature
October	+4.0°	April	+4.0°
November	-3.8°	May	+12.1°
December	-7.7°	June	+17.0°
January	-10.3°	July	+19.3°
February	-9.7°	August	+17.4°
March	-5.6°	September	+10.7°

Source: Dvinsky, Em., Moskva: kratky putevoditel', Moscow, 1971, pp. 10-11

These rather severe winter conditions militate against the playing in winter of the more easily organised sports like football, basketball, athletics and cycling. On the other hand, during the summer months, the farmers are normally at the height of their farm work.

Third, the poverty and backwardness of the Soviet countryside, with its lack of gas, mains water and drainage, electricity and - especially - good roads, (have limited) the possibilities of constructing relatively sophisticated sports-amenities and of organising regular programmes of competition with other teams and areas.

Fourth, after 1929 and collectivisation, there was (in addition to exhaustion and a poor diet) widespread peasant hostility to urban 'communistic' things - and that included organised team-games.[18]

Fifth, there has always been an organisational problem in the countryside in regard to sport. Who would be the sportorg? In urban areas, the trade unions had mostly done the job, assisted by government and Party organisations, in no small measure helped by the Komsomol. But primary Party organisations in the countryside were preoccupied with the vital problems of getting the farms to supply food and work more efficiently; furthermore, village Soviets were weak and under-staffed. It was originally decided in the 1930's to make the Komsomol

[18] It must be noted, however, that the widely-remarked Soviet preference for group activities probably derives as much from the surviving traditions of village life as from the official liking for collectivised recreation. The British writer Wright Miller has remarked on this: "The old communal ways are still the most powerful element in Soviet manners and morals. They show themselves vigorously, for example, in that most spontaneous and recent Soviet development, the sense of sportsmanship." (Wright Miller, Russians As People, London, 1963, p. 1[illegible]) The influences in sport, are, therefore, to some extent retroactive - from town to country and from country to town.

basically responsible for the condition and organisation of sport in the countryside. In April, 1935, the Komsomol Central Committee passed a resolution to launch a campaign to send members (15,000 was the planned number) to rural areas and supervise the formation of village sports-circles.

In addition, the more prosperous urban sports-organisations and factories were made 'patrons' of particular village sports-circles - i.e., they were obliged to give political, cultural and material assistance to the village organisation. In this way, since many farms could not afford to build sports-facilities, they were supposed to be helped by their richer urban 'patrons'. Thirty-five years later, however, a deputy-minister of agriculture of the Russian Federation was still complaining that "there is much talk about patronage by town sports-organisations over rural sports-groups, but little, if anything, is done in practice. It should be made obligatory."[19]

Nonetheless, a start had been made. It was a long haul until industrialisation made a larger amount of technical and other sports amenities available for the countryside. In the Ukraine, on the eve of Soviet involvement in World War II, only 117,000 rural sportsmen were registered in the republic's 3,800 rural sports-collectives - an estimated one-eighth of the total number of athletes in the Ukraine in 1941. In other words, 43 out of every 10,000 people were registered sportsmen in the countryside in comparison with 676 per 10,000 in the towns - i.e., 16 times more in the towns.[20] It was not yet, of course, a question of developing proficiency; the prime aim was simply to excite interest in sport and, consequently, in better physical fitness, military training and health-and-hygiene standards. Not surprisingly, it was not until 1947 that a rural sportsman gained a Master of Sport

[19] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 6, p. 55.

[20] Estimated from statistics provided in Samoukov, F. I. (ed.), Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1964, pp. 303, 339; Malaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1960, p. 833.

award, though 884 Masters had been registered in the USSR between 1937 and 1940 (see above, p.264). The deficiency in pre-war rural sports-facilities may be seen in Appendix VII, an excerpt from which is given below.

Table 59: Some Amenity-Provision for Sport in Town and Country, 1935 and 1945

Amenities	Total		of which:			
	1935	1945	Rural		Urban	
			1935	1945	1935	1945
Sports-centres	4,570	6,402	24	10	4,546	6,392
Football-pitches	6,133	7,741	1,739	675	4,394	3,066
Gymnasiums	1,764	4,694	103	104	1,661	4,590
Volleyball-courts	13,559	23,725	756	4,416	12,803	10,922
Basketball-courts	2,368	2,744	762	241	2,106	2,643

Sources: Il'shtein, O. A., "Fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport na sluzhbe okhrany i ukrepleniya zdorov'ya sovetskovo naroda v period stroitel'stva i pobedy sotsializma (1917-1937)", in Ocherki po istorii fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1967, p. 32;

Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp. 64, 65, 114-116; Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, No. 10, 1967, p. 36.

Rural facilities were evidently much worse as regards sports-centres and gymnasiums, and, in general, lagged far behind the towns in other amenities. The markedly improved situation as regards volleyball-courts in 1945 (while virtually all other amenities were badly hit by the war) may be explained by the relative simplicity of a volleyball-court, being any reasonably level unmarked ground divided by a net. Whereas most of the other outdoor facilities had been ruined and turned to other uses in wartime, volleyball nets had been mostly kept intact. Moreoever, this was one of the few games that soldiers had opportunities for playing during the war.

It was a Party resolution of 27 December, 1948, that marked a new concern for rural sport. The sports administration was severely rebuked for neglecting sport in the rural areas. The Party Central Committee recognised the need "to give every assistance to the countryside in promoting mass sport, to send athletes, instructors and coaches to give displays in collective and state farms and Machine-and-Tractor Stations, to assist in organising competitions, to transmit to the rural sports collectives the best experience in the work of the sports-societies".[21]

Given the more solid industrial base of 1948 and this Party appeal, a sustained effort was now made to get things moving. One means of attracting farmers to sport was 'socialist-emulation sports contests' among farms and regions; a second was a new programme of rural sports-festivals. In the autumn of 1948, a successful sports collective had been formed at the Budyonny Collective Farm in the Vinnitsa region of the Ukraine. Soon it was said to have had a big membership and its own rules and had come to embrace several other farms in the area; the farm collective grew into the first rural sports-society, with a membership of 172,000 farmers. It was given the name Kolkhoznaya Niva ('Collective-Farm Cultivated Field') and held up as an example for other farms to copy. In the summer of 1949, mass rural sports-festivals were held in the Ukraine with as many as 1,146,000 farmers taking part, six times more than had taken part in sports-festivals the year before.[22] The Ukrainian example was held up for other areas to emulate and this led, between 1949 and 1952, to the formation of two big rural sports-societies: Urozhai ('Harvest') and Kolkhoznik ('Collective Farmer'), the former an All-Union society embracing all farm personnel (on

[21] Chudinov, op. cit., p. 196.

[22] Teper, Y. N., "Razvitie fizkul'turnovo dvizheniya v Ukrainskoi SSR", in Ocherki po istorii fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1967, p. 59.

collective and state farms and at Machine-and-Tractor Stations) and the latter a society solely for collective farmers. This was followed by the formation of other collective-farm societies for different parts of the country. The extent of the effort in recruiting may be judged by the fact that while, in 1948, only 37,000 rural sports-groups existed, with a membership of 930,000, by 1955, there were 58,000 such groups, claiming 2,760,000 members,[23] and by 1973, some 65,000 groups, with twelve million members engaging in 42 sports.[24]

Administrative responsibility for individual farm sports-groups had rested with the councils of rural voluntary sports-societies (VSSs) attached to district, regional, territorial and Republican sports committees. Until 1950, the basic forms of organisation in the countryside were the sports-collectives on collective farms and the trade-union Kolos, Luch and Kommunar VSSs which had been formed in 1936 to represent state-farm, procurement and M.T.S. workers respectively. The VSSs continued after the war, but the collectives were taken over by the collective-farm sports societies which, in 1956, merged with other rural sports groups belonging to the Urozhai VSS into a single rural VSS for each republic; Kolkhoznik was disbanded. Henceforth, all collective and state farmers, the members of their families and others who worked in the countryside (e.g., teachers and doctors) would be eligible for membership of the single rural sports-society existing in their republic: Urozhai for Russia, Kolgospnik for the Ukraine, Varpa for Latvia, and so on (see Appendix V).

From 1955 onwards, annual rural sports-festivals (spartakiads) were held, the first drawing over one-and-a-half million participants. How much rural sport was developing may be gauged by the fact that,

[23] Ibid., p. 72.

[24] Sport v SSSR, 1973, No. 6, p. 3.

in 1958, some four million took part in the annual spartakiad. By 1966, the claimed number had grown to eleven million and, in 1970, reached eighteen million.[25] Remarking on the high figure of six million farmers who had taken part in the preliminaries and finals of the First Russian Federation Rural Games in 1970, a Russian Federation deputy-minister of agriculture made the practical point that, "with greater participation in sport, there will be less of a mass exodus of young people from collective farms and fewer cases of violations of labour discipline and public order".[26]

Other indices of the substantial improvement in rural sport may be seen in Appendices IV and VII in regard to facilities and sportsmen respectively. Although the participation and skill of rural sportsmen (and the amenities at their disposal) by no means yet reflect their proportion in the overall population, they have increased their share in overall participation in sport from 15.8% in 1950 to 22% in 1959, 21.6% in 1965 and 21.9% in 1970; in absolute figures, rural sportsmen have increased from nearly two million in 1950 to nearly four-and-a-half million in 1959, over ten million claimed in 1966 and twelve million in 1970.

Not only have the increased absolutely and relatively, they have markedly improved in skill: while, in 1953, only 5.5% of all ranked sportsmen were country people, their proportion was 9.9% in 1959, 13.7% in 1966 and 14.9% in 1970 (see Appendix III). Furthermore, as Table (on p.492 above) indicates, rural sports-societies trained a total of 13 Masters of Sport between 1949 and 1952 (0.5% of the total), 50 in the 1953-56 period (1.4% of the total), 290 in 1957-60 (2.5% of the total) and 801 in 1961-64 (3.4% of the total). This was a steadily

25 Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 1, p. 24.

26 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 6, p. 52.

increasing percentage of all the sportsmen in the Soviet Union, if still a very low one. Sergei Pavlov, the present Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, writing in 1969, regretted that only one rural athlete had ever represented the Soviet Union at the Olympic Games (Ardalian Ignatiev, in the 400 m. at Melbourne in 1956).[27] At the Summer Olympics in 1972, however, 10 of the 507 Soviet athletes were said to be members of rural sports-clubs,[28] four of whom won their events.

In sports amenities, the figures are not so impressive, particularly when one bears in mind that roughly half the Soviet population lives in the villages. All the same, the situation has considerably improved since the end of the war: sports-centres increased from just 10 in 1945 (0.001 per 10,000 people by comparison with 1.1 per 10,000 people in the towns) to 1,666 in 1958 (0.15 and 0.8 respectively), and 10,336 in 1970 (0.97 and 1.98 respectively) - more than a quarter of the total number of sports-centres in the Soviet Union (see Appendix VII). Thus, while the urban increase has not kept pace with the rise in the urban population, the rural figure has made a very good relative improvement. The rural areas also commanded, in 1970, just less than half of the football-pitches and volleyball-courts and about a third of the basketball courts; in gymnasiums, however, they still lagged behind (0.16 per 10,000 country people by comparison with 2.7 per 10,000 townspeople). Furthermore, only about 13.5% of the sports-goods produced in the USSR actually went to the countryside in the late 1960's, as opposed to a planned figure of 25-30%.[29]

These results had long been recognised as inadequate and brought a special resolution at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the

[27] Pavlov, S. P., "Novaya stupen'", in Velenie vremeni, Moscow, 1969, p. 15.

[28] Sovetsky sport, 18 August, 1972, p. 1.

[29] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 12, p. 3.

Soviet Union in March, 1965. In its resolution "On Urgent Measures to Improve Soviet Agriculture", the Central Committee of the Party recommended that "measures should be taken to increase the number of sports-centres, stadiums and other installations, especially on collective and state farms. This must be the affair of the entire Party, all its organisations, the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and all groups in town and country."[30] Subsequently, four years later, an administrative reorganisation took place in an endeavour to improve the rural sports situation. A Central Council of Rural Voluntary Sports-Societies was set up and, in nine republics, the rural sports-societies became trade-union cooperatives.

A resolution passed jointly in 1973 by the Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Improve Conditions in Rural Schools", pointed out with concern that while, on average, fifty per cent of schools in towns had gymnasiums, only twenty-one per cent of rural schools were so provided.[31]

Besides the lack of facilities in the countryside, another chronic deficiency was the lack of trained coaches and instructors. Some 90 per cent of the chairmen of district councils of rural VSSs did not possess the requisite qualifications in 1967.[32] Moreoever, 43 per cent of rural physical-education instructors were unqualified.[33] The problem here is that familiar in other fields of the disinclination of college-leavers to take up a post in rural areas. To try to overcome this problem, 'crash' training courses have been instituted for P.E. students who promise to work in rural areas upon graduation.

Another example of the serious attempt to improve the situation is the allocation out of the trade-union budget of eight million

[30] Sovetskii sport, 26 March, 1965, p. 1.

[31] Sovetsky sport, 28 July, 1973, p. 2.

[32] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 12, p. 3.

[33] Pavlov, op. cit., p. 15. The figure was put at 44.5% in 1973 (Sovetsky sport, 28 July, 1973, p. 2.

rubles in 1970 (compared with three million in 1966) to the rural sports-society Urozhai.[34]

Despite the problems and the obvious gulf that exists between the rural and urban populations in respect of opportunities for sport, there has been considerable progress, especially since the end of the war, both in the provision of sports-facilities in the countryside and in the making of opportunities for using them. The impression one gains from Soviet sporting literature of recent years is that the authorities are seriously concerned to broaden the base of the sports pyramid by involving more and more peasants in sport. The reasons for this concern are various. One is, of course, the belief in the mental and physical health-giving properties attributed to sport; besides making people fitter and therefore better workers, however, sport is supposed to implant certain moral qualities that help to make the athlete a better all-round citizen. Hence the government desire to develop, institutionalise and direct rural recreation. One investigator into rural sport reports with regret that "because of the insufficient penetration among rural workers of such games as the solution of chess- and draughts-problems, crosswords and rebuses, table-tennis and billiards, particular success is enjoyed by lotto, dominoes and cards which give nothing to the mind or heart".[35]

Another rural study (described below) maintains that "survey-findings testify that sport in the countryside is a powerful factor encouraging all-round development ..." Sportsmen are evidently more cultured and politically-conscious than their non-athletic fellow-villagers: "Among sportsmen, there are more people doing social work,

[34] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 6, p. 53.

[35] Baikova, V. G., Duchal, A. C., and Zemtsov, A. A., Svobodnoye vremya i vsestoroneye razvitie lichnosti, Moscow, 1965, p. 267.

engaged in political education, self-education, visiting libraries, regularly reading newspapers, books and magazines, attentively listening to the radio and watching television".[36] Furthermore, sport helps to combat social evils like drinking and smoking, and 'irrational' use of leisure-time like playing cards and dominoes: "Among sportsmen, there were also fewer card-players and spirits-drinkers. Sportsmen spend on average 2r. 25k. per month on liquor and tobacco, non-sportsmen 8r. 85k.; on the other hand, the former spend 9r. 75k. on books and journals, the latter 6r. 30k."[37] There is, therefore, more to the government attempts to promote rural sport than merely to provide relaxation after a hard days's work in the fields.

One other aspect of rural sport is of sociological interest here: the pattern of rural sport and the extent to which it differs from the urban pattern. Incomplete modernisation appears to create a sense of cultural confusion and disorientation among rural people, and a nostalgia for the old rural ways, which may be observed in journalistic and sociological writings on leisure in general. A writer in Literaturnaya gazeta, for example, describes the folk past with some longing and advocates a return to it as a response to modernisation: "Annual country fairs used to be held in Russia. A host of folk handicrafts were brought, wonderful folk-songs resounded, folk-games were played, folk-dances flowed in bright colours ... Mass dances, mass folk-games ... Does no one know them now? We can remember and learn them. The people are the creators and the guardians of folk-art, not simply radio-listeners and television-watchers."[38]

Nonetheless, studies of sports-preferences among the rural populace show a distinct change from the old rural games in the direction

[36] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1969, No. 3, p. 44.

[37] Ibid., p. 45.

[38] Literaturnaya gazeta, 23 December, 1964.

of organised urban sports, especially among the young, as the following two sets of survey-data indicate.

Survey A

Area of study: the Pobeda Collective Farm, Krasnodar Region; 4,000 members of the farm were included in the survey made in 1967.

Table 60: Popularity of Sports Among Collective Farmers at the Pobeda Farm, 1967

The sports most popularly practised among collective farmers were:

Sport	Regular players
Chess	258
Volleyball	172
Table-tennis	116
Football	109
Athletics	93
Rifle-Shooting	86

Hunting, fishing and cycling were also stated to be popular. A more detailed break-down of preferences was given for young people:

Table 61: Attitudes of Young Collective Farmers (30 and under) to Various Sports (%)

Sport	Total (Average)		Men		Women	
	Playing	Would like to play	Playing	Would like to play	Playing	Would like to play
Rowing	-	0.38	-	-	-	0.75
Acrobatics	1.15	1.92	1.18	1.57	1.12	2.24
Badminton	0.96	-	1.57	-	0.56	-
Basketball	7.39(3)	6.51(2)	12.99(2)	5.91(3)	5.97	7.09(3)
Boxing	2.68	3.64	5.12	7.08(1)	-	-
Free-style wrestling	1.34	2.29	2.76	4.33	-	-
Graeco-Roman wrestling	-	1.15	-	1.57	-	-
Cycling	10.34(2)	6.51(2)	8.66	4.72	11.94(3)	7.09(3)
Water-polo	-	1.92	-	1.18	-	2.24
Volleyball	16.67(1)	14.75(1)	14.96(1)	7.08(1)	18.66(1)	23.39(1)
Gymnastics	1.92	3.26	2.26	1.57	18.66(1)	4.48
Canoeing	0.57	0.38	0.78	-	0.56	0.75
Horse-riding	0.20	2.11	0.39	2.36	-	1.49
Athletics	2.11	1.92	2.76	3.54	1.86	1.12
Table-tennis	2.11	3.07	1.57	-	2.61	-
Yachting	-	0.57	-	0.78	-	0.56
Swimming	1.92	6.17	2.76	2.36	1.12	7.84(2)
Pentathlon	-	0.20	-	0.39	-	-
Rifle-shooting	0.38	2.49	0.78	3.94	-	1.12
Weightlifting	2.11	2.87	4.33	5.51	-	-
Fencing	-	0.96	-	1.18	-	0.75
Football	5.17	2.11	10.23(3)	3.94	-	-
Chess	5.17	1.92	6.69	2.36	0.56	1.49

The bracketed figures indicate the top three most practised activities in each column.

Source: Reznikov, V. F., "Vnimanie fizicheskoi kul'ture i sportu na sele", in Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No, 12, p. 51.

Table 63: Sports the Young Peasants Would Like to Play

Sport	Percentage that would like to play
1. Volleyball	12.16
2. Swimming	6.53
3. Rifle-shooting	3.55
4. Cycling	3.28
5. Basketball	3.00
6. Gymnastics	2.11
7. Athletics	1.45

Source: Zelenov, I. I., "Otnoshenie k fizicheskoi kul'ture i sportu sel'skoi molodyozhi", in Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1969, No. 3, p. 44.

The omission of chess[39] and draughts in Table 63 may reflect a difference between official and popular desires, officialdom wishing to encourage the two games because it regards them as rational cultural pursuits, while the young peasants prefer less cerebral and culturally perhaps less edifying games like volleyball, swimming and shooting.

It appears from Survey A that, while chess is placed first among games pursued by collective farmers and joint fourth among those pursued by young people, it shares thirteenth place (with acrobatics, water-polo and athletics) in the games they would like to pursue given the opportunity. Here, it may be, is evidence of some tension between official and popular desires among rural sportsmen.

[39]Chess has always received relatively generous financial support and wide publicity from the state for five main reasons: (i) it is said to raise the cultural level; (ii) it brings people into contact with scientific and logical thought; (iii) it is thought to be anti-religious, insofar as it contains no element of chance or 'providence'; it is seen as basically unlike cards or dominoes, which "induce a belief in fate and its power over man, being corrupting pastimes which reproduce the disorganised life of bourgeois society where there is a perpetual struggle between people, and man is dependent upon fate" (Izvestiya v SSSR, 1963, No. 5, p.3); and (iv) equipment is cheap and thus all who want to can play.

Since both surveys show no evidence of including old folk-games like _gorodki_ and _lapta_ in their list of games, it is impossible to tell how popular the old rural games still are. The pattern of recreation presented in the surveys, however, is remarkably like the urban pattern (see Table 29), with the omission of tourism and skiing (as a sport as opposed to a means of transport) from the rural pattern - evidently, in the case of tourism, due to lack of time and opportunities, and the sheer hard work of daily life in the villages.

The results of both surveys have been quoted in Soviet literature as evidence of that gradual erosion of essential differences between town and country, between industrial and agricultural workers, that is regarded as a prerequisite for the building of communism. That may be so, but there is little evidence (in the surveys) that another such difference is disappearing very rapidly - viz., that between the time and opportunities available to men and women respectively for taking part in social life and recreation.

The second survey reports that, during the investigation, 41.35% of the men questioned engaged in some organised sport, whereas only 19.83% of the women did so. Moreover, one in two men did some sort of 'voluntary work' connected with sport, by comparison with one in ten for women. The striking discrepancy in sports-participation, and the use of free time generally, between men and women exists in all sections of the population, but appears to be particularly great in the countryside, where social inequality for women is slower to disappear and the woman has to carry the considerable burden of arduous private-plot and household tasks in addition to work in the socialised sector fields (t e issue is further examined elsewhere: see pp. 534-546, below).

A much more wide-ranging study that brought together rural surveys carried out in regions as far apart as Armenia and Latvia,

Zhitomir and Irkutsk, Saratov and Amur - altogether 68 villages in 18 rural areas - was published in 1972. It revealed that the weekly free time of young farm mechanics amounted to 25 hours or 15% of their weekly time-budget in 1971.[40] (By contrast, earlier surveys covering all rural groups revealed that men had 20.37 hours and women 7.8 hours free time weekly in the summer of 1962-64 [1.1% and 4.7% of the time-budget respectively];[41] in 1966-67, young men [15-30] had 25.37 hours, and women 10.87 hours free time weekly [15.01% and 8.6% respectively][42].) All these figures compare unfavourably with the free time available to urban dwellers: in two urban studies made in the late 1960's, covering a total of five industrial centres (Taganrog, Dnepropetrovsk, Kostroma, Odessa and Zaporozh'ye) it was revealed, in one study, that industrial workers had an average of 30 hours 30 minutes free time weekly;[43] and, in the other, that women had 20 hours free time a week and men had 35 hours (i.e., 75% more)[44].

This group of rural studies further revealed that 53% of rural young people said they never engaged in any form of sport and 31% said that no sporting events ever took place in their village. Only about 12% actually engaged in sport regularly.[45] On the other hand, it was noted with concern that "16 per cent of rural young people play cards, lotto or dominoes in their spare time ..."[46] and that "visits of relatives are often accompanied by drinking-bouts and empty games like cards, lotto and dominoes".[47] In another survey of

[40] Slepenkov, I. M., Knyazev, B. V., Molodyozh' sela sevodnya, Moscow, 1972, p. 156.

[41] Baikova, V. G., Duchal, A. S., Zemtsov, A. A., Svobodnoye vremya i vsestoronneye razvitie lichnosti, Moscow, 1965, p. 223.

[42] Ryabov, N., "Ispol'zovanie svobodnovo vremeni sel'skoi molodyozhi", in Molodyozh' i sotsializm, Moscow, 1967, p. 94.

[43] Gordon, L. A., Klopov, E. V., Chelovek posle raboty: sotsial'nye problemy byta i vnerabocheye vremya, Moscow, 1972, p. 28.

[44] Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op.cit., p. 63.

[45] Slepenkov, Knyazev, op.cit., p. 165.

[46] Ibid., p. 168.

free-time expenditure, this time on a state farm in Kazakhstan, it was found that only 6.8% of the farm-members took any interest in sport (2.5% as spectators only); since the farm has no sports-facilities, this was hardly surprising.[48]

All in all, it is clear that rural sport is not on a par with urban sport -- with regard either to participation by men or women, or to provision of facilities, or to the level of proficiency. Nonetheless, the situation changed considerably during the 1960's; by 1970, the Soviet farm-worker appeared to prefer a pattern of sports-recreation that was not greatly different from that of the towns. He, too, now had improved ppportunities for playing a sport (though not always the one he would prefer to play -- there is an evident lack of such amenities as swimming-pools, gymnasiums and boats of all kinds -- though there does appear to be an adequate supply of facilities for chess, draughts, table-tennis and cycling), for improving his skill and for taking part in competition.

15. Sport and the Nationalities [49]

Similar problems to those existing in rural areas beset the development of sport in the more backward republics and national areas.

[48] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No.11, p.54.

[49] The USSR contains more than 100 different nationalities, tribes and linguistic groups; 22 of the nationalities enumerated in the 1970 census had more than a million people each and accounted for 95% of the population. The other 80 or more nationalities together total fewer than 10 million and only 28 of them numbered more than 100,000 persons each (Urlanis, B., Statistika naseleniya, Moscow, 1971, p.6). Official national policy is complex and has altered with the times. In a very general way, however, the overriding aim has been to convert all the peoples not into Russians (which was what the tsars wanted to do in many places), but into builders of socialism and of an industrial society and, ultimately, into willing members of a communist society. In Soviet Marxist theorising, "national forms of human existence, while being an inevitable stage in mankind's development, are not eternal; when communism prevails internationally, it will create conditions for the gradual disappearance of national differences and for the formation of a non-national human society" (Turyansky, F.V., "Budushchnost' natsii i problema yazykovo obshcheniya," Filosofskie i sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya Vyp. XII, Leningrad, 1971, p.127). In regard to the elements of national culture, including physical culture, which are prescribed officially as "socialist in content and national in form", the current Party Programme maintains that Soviet nations "change, advance and draw closer together, shedding all outdated traits that contradict the new conditions of life. An international culture common to all the Soviet nations is developing" (The Road to Communism, Moscow, 1962, p.561). For an account of nationality problems in the USSR, see Allworth, E. (ed.), Soviet Nationality Problems, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971.

The economy of certain republics was recently overwhelmingly agricultural or even based on a nomadic-herding way of life and historically far more backward in the cultural and economic spheres than the rest of the country. Thus, at the time of the revolution of 1917, the Central Asian republics, as they are now, were characterised by a feudal, bey-and-mullah-dominated way of life which continued to pattern social relations for many years to come, even after the political and economic system that begot them had been swept away in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. At the other end of the country, the three Baltic republics - Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia - which became part of the USSR really only in 1945 (although they were included briefly in the USSR in 1940) were to a large degree, at least in the case of Latvia and Estonia, already well advanced economically and culturally. The Slav republics - Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia - suffered most from the German occupation in World War II. Being the political centre of the Soviet state, they contained the leading administrative and academic agencies. In particular, the Russian republic, with its twin centres, Moscow and Leningrad, possessed not only the country's leading administrative bodies, but also its principal academic and research centres. This was, to some extent, a heritage from tsarist days.

With the advance of urbanisation and industrialisation, many of the old cultural forms, including national games, were forced, as we have seen, into the background by forms that were more appropriate to the new urban setting and which could link each nationality with others throughout the country. Nonetheless, with national tenacity and, sometimes, official encouragement, a number of national sports and games have persisted to the present day, while others have been modified into internationally-accepted sports (e.g., wrestling, judo

[sambo] and weightlifting) and occupy an important place in Soviet sport. Thus, gorodki and lapta (described above on p. 70) still thrive among the Slavs, while various equestrian and wrestling events are popular among the Central Asian and Transcaucasion peoples: kyz-kuumui - chasing a maiden on horseback, oodarysh - wrestling on horseback, at-chabysh - horseracing, are all popular in Kirgizia and, with slight variations, are also popular in all other Central Asian republics; dji[illegible]tovka - horsemanship, lelo - a ball-game similar to polo, tskhenburti - team game with ball and rackets, are all popular in Georgia; various forms of national wrestling are widespread; alaman-baiga in Uzbekistan, kokh in Armenia, gyulesh in Azerbaidjan, kurash in Turkmenia, chidaobo in Georgia and trînta in Moldavia.

It has been the officially-stated policy to bring the level of sports-participation and skill in all the republics up to a more or less similar level. As the tables illustrate, there has been some progress towards this end.

~~(i) Participation. [illegible]: It should be noted that [illegible] in~~ the definition of a fizkul'turnik was made in 1969 ~~due to the obvi-~~ because a ~~ously exaggerated figures that organisations were claiming.~~ Henceforth, only people who regularly (not less than twice a week) took part in a physical-culture collective were to be counted (see above, p.). Consequently, the total number of regular sportsmen in the USSR in 1970 amounted, in fact, to 45 million instead of the projected 60 million; the average number of participants per 1,000 people fell from the projected 250 to 186 (see Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1970 g, Moscow, 1971, p. 698).

Table 64: Number and Proportion of Sportsmen in Republican Populations, 1959 and 1970

Territory	1959						1970					
	Population			Sportsmen			Population			Sportsmen		
	thous.	% of total	% urban	thous.	% of total	per 1,000 population	thous.	% of total	% urban	thous.	% of total	per 1,000 population
Russia	117,534	56.3	52	9,67[illegible]	47.8	82	130,079	53.8	62	24,810	55.1	191
Ukraine	41,869	20.0	46	6,043	29.8	144	47,126	19.5	55	9,290	20.6	197
Belorussia	8,056	3.9	31	1,062	5.2	132	9,002	3.7	43	1,975	4.4	219
Uzbekistan	8,119	3.9	33	619	3.1	76	11,800	4.9	36	1,934	4.3	164
Kazakhstan	9,295	4.5	44	721	3.6	78	13,009	5.4	51	2,215	4.9	170
Georgia	4,044	1.9	42	436	2.2	108	4,686	1.9	48	1,170	2.6	250
Azerbaidzhan	3,698	1.8	48	325	1.6	88	5,117	2.1	50	744	1.7	145
Lithuania	2,711	1.3	39	225	1.1	83	3,128	1.3	50	414	0.9	132
Moldavia	2,885	1.4	22	224	1.1	78	3,569	1.5	32	517	1.1	145
Latvia	2,093	1.0	56	185	0.9	88	2,364	1.0	62	305	0.7	129
Kirgizia	2,066	1.0	34	178	0.9	86	2,933	1.2	37	494	1.1	168
Tadzhikistan	1,931	0.9	33	121	0.6	61	2,900	1.2	37	301	0.7	104
Armenia	1,763	0.8	50	174	0.9	99	2,492	1.0	59	284	0.6	114
Turkmenia	1,516	0.7	46	142	0.7	94	2,159	0.9	48	386	0.9	179
Estonia	1,197	0.6	56	120	0.6	100	1,356	0.6	65	221	0.5	163
USSR	208,827	100	48	20,249	100	97	241,720	100	56	[illegible],060	100	186

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo [illegible], 1922-72, Moscow, 1972, p. 9; Sport v SSSR, 1972, No.12, pp.7-13.

N.B. A change in the definition of a fizkul'turnik was made in 1969 because of the obviously exaggerated figures that organisations were claiming. Henceforth, only people who not less than twice a week participated in a physical-culture collective were to be counted. Consequently, the total number of 'sportsmen' in the USSR in 1970 amounted to 45 million instead of a projected 60 mln. The average number of participants per 1000 people fell from a projected 250 to 186 (see Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, p. 698).

(i) Participation

There is evidently a wide range of sports participation among the republics. In 1970, the 'most sporting' republics were Georgia, Belorussia, the Ukraine and Russia (with 190 or more participants per 1,000 people); then came a middle group comprising Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Uzbekistan and Estonia (from 160 to 180 participants per 1,000 people), followed by four other republics with between 129 and 145 participants per 1,000 people: Azerbaidzhan, Moldavia, Lithuania and Latvia. The most backward from the 'sporting' standpoint were Armenia and Tadzhikistan. This is a pattern that in the main reflects the socio-economic background of the republics (the first four 'sporting' republics being among the most advanced socially and economically and most urban, and four of the last six - with the exception of Latvia and Armenia - being among the most backward and rural. The relatively low number of people registered in a sports-group in Latvia is hard to explain, inasmuch as the republic enjoys a climate favourable to most sports, a longer sporting tradition than most other republics and a relatively high standard of living - and is more urbanised than any other republic. One answer could be that Latvian statisticians may not have been as adept at "cooking the books" as their colleagues elsewhere. A similar cause - though in reverse - might explain the very high figures given for Georgia and, particularly, Turkmenia (one of the most economically and socially backward areas in the USSR).

Certain other sources suggest that the level of participation in sport may not be as even as this or that attitudes may not be so standard throughout the Union; some authorities clearly inflate their figures more than others to present a rosier picture of sport in their republics. An Uzbek newspaper report in 1971, for example, informed readers that "According to figures submitted, the Bukhara Oblast'

in Uzbekistan had 904 weightlifters registered in 79 clubs. On investigation, it was discovered that there were no more than 100 weightlifters in only four clubs. A similar situation existed in Samarkand Oblast', where the number of clubs and registered members had been inflated four-fold ... The same situation prevailed in four other Oblast's of Uzbekistan."[50] It is also interesting to learn, through the Soviet press, that all nationalities do not take their sport as seriously as the Russians evidently do or as official sources sometimes claim. At the 15th All-Uzbekistan Spartakiad that took place in May, 1971, two Uzbek boxers suddenly disappeared and one, a Candidate Master of Sport, refused to enter the ring when faced with superior opponents. As a result, the Candidate Master was stripped of his title and disqualified from boxing for two years; the other two were disqualified for one year - all for "demonstrating cowardice and indifference". Other infringements included the disappearance of the Namangan Oblast' handball team on the final day of the handball tournaments and the illegal appearance in the Samarkand fencing team of a girl from ... Khar'kov.[51]

The achievements, nonetheless, are significant: in an area that had no sports-instructors prior to 1917 and whose people were 92.2% illiterate at the time of the 1920 census, the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan (which was previously part of the Turkestan khanate) is said to have had, in 1970, over 4,000 qualified instructors, a State Institute of Physical Culture, physical-culture faculties at the Tashkent, Andizhan and Bukhara colleges of education, thirty physical-education departments in other institutes, and four sports boarding-schools (see p.581, below) - more than any other republic.

[50] Sovetsky sport, 29 May, 1971, p. 2; the article was aptly entitled "Paper Muscles and Inflated Figures".

[51] Sovetsky sport, 28 May, 1971, p. 2.

Another point to note from Table 64 above is that the only significant change in proportionate representation in sport between 1959 and 1970 was the large increase in the number of sportsmen (from 48 to 55 per cent) accounted for by the Russian Federation at the expense of the Ukraine (whose share decreased from 29 to 20.4 per cent) and Belorussia (whose share decreased from 5.2 to 4.4 per cent). The change brought the number of sportsmen in all three republics more into line with their share in the population of the country as a whole.

(ii) Success in Competition

Table 65: Proportion of Sportsmen, All-Union Prize-Winners and Population, by Republic, 1968 and 1969 (%)

Republic	Sportsmen (1968)	All-Union * Prizewinners (1969)	Population (1968)
Russia	54.5	61.4	53.9
Ukraine	21.2	17.1	19.6
Belorussia	3.9	3.2	3.7
Uzbekistan	3.5	1.0	4.8
Kazakhstan	5.2	2.2	5.4
Georgia	2.0	4.1	2.0
Azerbaidzhan	1.4	0.7	2.1
Lithuania	1.9	1.8	1.3
Moldavia	1.5	0.8	1.5
Latvia	0.9	3.5	1.0
Kirgizia	0.9	0.2	1.2
Tadzhikistan	0.9	0.2	1.2
Armenia	0.8	0.6	1.0
Turkmenia	0.8	0.2	0.9
Estonia	0.6	3.0	0.5
USSR	100.0	100.0	100.0

* All-Union prizewinners are men and women who have won a 1st, 2nd or 3rd place in a USSR championship.

Sources: Makartsev, N. A., Rybolovlev, V. G., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1969, p. 14; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1968 g, Moscow, 1969, p. 8.

In Table 65, the 'normal' situation may be considered a coincidence of all three indices - i.e., where a republic's percentage of sportsmen, All-Union prizewinners and population coincide. On that basis, three republics - Russia, Belorussia and Lithuania come closest to the norm; in Estonia and Latvia, population and participation almost coincide, but the prize-winning index is five and four times greater respectively (a reflection, perhaps, or their sporting traditions and relatively high socio-economic standing in the country as a whole); in Georgia, too, population and sportsmen percentages coincide, but prize-winning ability is twice as high. Both in mass participation and performance, the Central Asian republics trail in varying degrees - ranging from Kazakhstan, where the qualitative index is 2.5 times below the mass-participation index, to Turkmenia, where it is four times lower. This would seem to bear out the fairly obvious hypothesis that success in sport is a reflection of socio-economic development and sporting traditions. These conclusions are borne out by overall competition-results (see Table 66).

Table 66: Results of 4th and 5th Spartakiads of the Peoples of the USSR, 1967 and 1971, by Republic (plus Moscow and Leningrad)

Republic	1967		1971	
	Points-total	Position	Points-total	Position
Moscow	379	1	2,294	2
Russia (teams from regions, territories and autonomous republics)	361	2	2,593	1
Ukraine	357	3	1,956	3
Leningrad	301	4	979	5
Georgia	265	5	802	6
Belorussia	242	6	1,062	4
Kazakhstan	236	7	577	7
Latvia	226	8	478	8
Lithuania	211	9	340	10

cont.

Uz[illegible]stan	204	10	257	11
Azerbaidzhan	191	11	250	13
Estonia	167	12	354	9
Armenia	127	13	256	12
Moldavia	119	14	202	14
Kirgizia	109	15	163	15
Turkmenia	87	16	30	17
Tadzhikistan	71	17	60	16

Sources: Dobrov, A., God sportivny, Moscow, 1968, p. 115; Sovetsk[illegible] sport, 31 July, 1971, p. 1.

As one might expect, the 4th and 5th spartakiads were dominated by teams from the three Slav republics - Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia, which filled the first four places in 1967 and the first five places in 1971; as in Table 65, it is three Central Asian republics - Kirgizia, Turkmenia and Tadzhikistan - that bring up the rear. Georgia has the best performance of the non-Slav republics (5th in 1967 and 6th in 1971) — due, no doubt, to the republic's sporting traditions, its relative wealth, and the competitive nature of its people. Estonia, although the smallest republic in the Union, nonetheless took 12th place in 1967 and 9th place in 1971 - once more an indication that the economically more developed republics tend to do better at sport than the not-so-well developed. Moscow and Leningrad have traditionally been the main sporting centres in the USSR and attract potentially top athletes because they have generally had the best trainers and facilities. Nonetheless, there has been an obvious shift away from blanket Moscow-Leningrad domination from about the mid-1960's, as provincial centres built up their resources. Moscow and Leningrad teams both did worse at the 1971 spartakiad than they had ever done previously, moving down from 1st to 2nd and 4th to 5th positions respectively. Moscow had come first in all three previous spartakiads (in 1956, 1959 and 1963) and Leningrad 3rd,

3rd and 4th. Another noteworthy fact about the greater sports involvement of nationalities to emerge from the spartakiads is that, whereas forty nationalities were represented in the first spartakiad, and forty-three in the second, seventy were in the third and over eighty (of 121 enumerated in the 1970 census) in the fourth and fifth. This is cited as evidence of "the growing rôle of sport in bringing together the peoples of the USSR".[52]

Further evidence of the increasing 'spread' of sports success is that the 82 reigning Soviet world champions in 1970 resided in ten different Soviet cities.[53] Kiev Dinamo won the Soviet league championships in 1966-69, Zarya from the relatively small town of Voroshilovgrad (Lugansk up to 1935 and from 1958 to 1970) in the Donbas in the Ukraine became league champions in 1972, and the Ararat team from Yerevan, Armenia, succeeded in 1973 - winning the League and the Cup as well. In volleyball, the Riga (Latvia) VEF women's team has been Soviet champions for several seasons and, in basketball, the Alma Ata (Kazakhstan) women's team and Tbilisi (Georgia) or Vilnius (Lithuania) men's teams have been the most successful teams in recent years; in tennis, the men's events have been for ten years dominated by Alexander Metreveli from Tbilisi and Tomas Leius from Tallinn (Estonia); in weightlifting, three Soviet world record-holders in 1971 lived in the small mining town of Shakhty (Alexeyev, Vakhonin and Rigert). In winter sports, however, the RSFSR and its two main centres, Moscow and Leningrad, still dominate: of the 82 Soviet athletes who competed at the 1972 Winter Olympics at Sapporo in Japan, 80 were from the RSFSR, including 41 from Moscow and 16 from Leningrad.[54] In participation in

[52] Ponomarev, N. I., "Natsional'noye i internatsional'noye v sporte", Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 5, p. 7.

[53] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 11, p. 24.

[54] Sovetsky sport, 8 March, 1972, p. 2.

sport, in intermediate performance and in individual sports, the provincial centres of the country nevertheless appear to be not greatly outclassed by the metropolis and the gap appears to be narrowing. The time will probably soon come when the traditional centres for sport will have to cede first place in performance to other areas which were introduced to organised sport only relatively recently.

(iii) Ranked Sportsmen and G.T.O. Badge-Holders

Table 67: Qualified Sportsmen by Republic, 1958 and 1965

Republic	1958		1965			
	Ranked sportsmen		Ranked sportsmen		G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. badge-holders	
	(thous.) (%)	(% of popn.)	(thous.) (%)	(% of popn.)	(thous.) (%)	(% of popn.)
Russia	728 55.6	0.6	4,755 57.5	3.8	4,739 56.2	3.8
Ukraine	263 20.1	0.6	1,727 20.9	3.8	1,696 20.1	3.8
Belorussia	49 3.7	0.6	305 3.7	3.6	307 3.6	3.6
Uzbekistan	32 2.4	0.4	199 2.4	2.0	309 3.7	3.0
Kazakhstan	47 3.6	0.5	349 4.2	2.9	479 5.7	4.0
Georgia	39 3.0	1.0	147 1.8	3.3	155 1.8	3.5
Azerbaidzhan	22 1.7	0.6	136 1.6	3.0	152 1.8	3.4
Lithuania	27 2.1	1.0	124 1.5	4.2	100 1.2	3.4
Moldavia	17 1.3	0.6	89 1.1	2.7	100 1.2	3.0
Latvia	26 2.0	1.2	114 1.4	5.1	66 0.8	2.9
Kirgizia	10 0.8	0.5	77 0.9	3.0	87 1.0	3.4
Tadzhikistan	8 0.6	0.4	43 0.5	1.7	79 0.9	3.2
Armenia	13 1.0	0.7	54 0.7	2.5	68 0.8	3.2
Turkmenia	7 0.5	0.5	48 0.6	2.6	61 0.7	3.3
Estonia	21 1.6	1.7	96 1.2	7.5	39 0.5	3.1
USSR	1,309 100	0.6	8,263 100	3.6	8,437 100	3.4

Sources: Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp. 19, 36 and 45.

The above table gives some indication of the distribution of skilled athletes among the republics. One interesting observation is

the big increase in ranked sportsmen between 1958 and 1965, particularly in Estonia (457%) which is the best placed republic in both years, followed by the other two Baltic republics, Latvia and Lithuania (438% and 459% respectively). All the Central Asian republics remained below the Soviet average in 1965, but all also showed substantial increases overall: Uzbekistan - 625%, Kazakhstan - 743%, Kirgizia - 770%, Tadzhikistan - 538% and Turkmenia - 686%.

The distribution of G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. badge-holders by republic in 1965 gives a rather different picture from that for ranked sportsmen or general participation figures. The best-placed republic in 1965 (with the national average at 3.4%) was Kazakhstan (4% - yet is strangely bottom of the table of qualified trainers in the same year [see Table 68]), followed by Russia and the Ukraine (3.8%). At the other end of the scale - although, once again, the diapason is not great - is Latvia (2.9%), Moldavia and Uzbekistan (3%) and Estonia (3.1%). These figures, too, present a conflicting picture, inasmuch as Latvia and Estonia have the highest percentage of ranked sportsmen in their republics. If we are to believe the evidence provided in these tables, there is little to separate the republics in terms of numbers of G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. qualifiers.

(iv) Sports Personnel

Table 68: Number of Qualified* Trainers and Instructors per 10,000 Sportsmen, by Republic, 1965 and 1972

Republic	Trained personnel (per 10,000 sportsmen)	
	1965	1972
Georgia	57.7 (1)	54.7 (12)
Armenia	47.4 (2)	96.5 (2)
Latvia	40.3 (3)	96.2 (3)
Azerbaidzhan	36.8 (4)	56.6 (10)
Estonia	36.5 (5)	98.7 (1)

CONT.

Tadzhikistan	33.0 (6)	87.8 (4)
Kirgizia	32.5 (7)	60.2 (9)
Lithuania	31.1 (8)	72.3 (6)
Turkmenia	28.2 (9)	60.3 (8)
Moldavia	25.6 (10)	77.1 (5)
Russia	23.5 (11)	51.2 (13)
Uzbekistan	23.5 (12)	55.0 (11)
Ukraine	22.3 (13)	49.0 (15)
Belorussia	19.8 (14)	50.0 (14)
Kazakhstan	15.1 (15)	65.0 (7)

*'Qualified' here means people who had completed a secondary-technical-college or university course in physical education.

The figures in brackets indicate the relative standing of each republic in trained personnel.

Sources: Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 96;

Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, pp. 6-13

It was noted in the section on sport and the peasants that rural areas suffered from lack of qualified personnel in sport. Although there may be a concentration of them in urban centres, Table 68 would indicate that sports trainers and instructors are well spread out among the republics, with the Transcaucasian and Baltic republics being best off, filling the top five places and six of the top eight in 1965, and four of the top six places in 1972. Some republics have shown themselves notably backward in relation to other indicators of sporting achievement - Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia and Turkmenia - here, in provision of sports personnel, appear better off than Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia (which filled three of the bottom five places in 1965 and the last three places in 1972). This may be an indication of a deliberate government policy to attempt to raise the level of sport in the traditionally most backward sporting republics by providing instructors - without a correspondingly enthusiastic popular response - or

it may be simply that some republics have given more realistic figures than others.

Nonetheless, it was reported in 1972 that the number of qualified personnel ('specialists') was only 50-60 per cent of the total number of full-time sports instructors and coaches in Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia.[55]

The dramatic fall of Georgia from first to twelveth place, for example, followed a critical attack in the Georgian journal Komunisti (reprinted in the All-Union daily Sovetsky sport) on the Georgian Sports Committee and its "voluntarist" chairman for producing grossly inflated sports figures: "Despite the astronomical figures they issue for sports-participation, who would believe that one in five people (including babes-in-arms and old-age-pensioners) take part regularly in sport? That would mean about 56 per cent of the population aged 9-49! Where are they, then?!"[56] Similar complaints concerning unrealistic figures have come from other republics.[57]

The provision of training colleges for producing local, republican, specialists may be seen in Table 69.

Table 69: Number of Physical-Culture Educational Institutions by Republic, 1972

Republic	Institutes	Tekhnikums	Schools for Coaches	P.E. Faculties	Secondary Specialised Colleges	Total
Russia	7+	12	7	36	65	127
Ukraine	2+	3	1	13	-	19
Belorussia	1+	2	1	2	1	7
Uzbekistan	1	2	-	9	-	12
Kazakhstan	2	2	-	9	-	13
Georgia	1	-	1	2	-	4

CONT ...

55 Ivonin, V. A. (ed), Sputnik fizkul'turnovo rabotnika, Moscow, 1972, p. 195.

56 Komunisti, 7 January, 1973, reprinted in Sovetsky sport, 12 January, 1973, p. 2.

57 See Sovetsky sport, 29 May, 1971, p. 2 (Uzbekistan); Gordon, Dimenshteynskaya, op. cit., p. 61 (Taganrog in South Russia).

Azerbaidzhan	1	1	-	-	-	2
Lithuania	1	-	-	-	-	1
Moldavia	-	1	-	1	-	2
Latvia	1	-	-	-	-	1
Kirgizia	1	-	-	-	2	3
Tadzhikistan	1	1	-	2	-	4
Armenia	1	1	-	-	-	2
Turkmenia	-	-	-	2	-	2
Estonia	-	-	-	2	1	3
USSR	20	25	10	78	69	202

+One of these institutes of physical culture has a branch in another town.

Source: Ivonin, V. A. (ed), Sputnik fizkul'turnovo rabotnika, Moscow, 1972, p. 195 .

Irrespective of size of population, the proclaimed policy of developing higher educational institutions in national republics is not pursued in regard to sport. Three republics (Moldavia, Turkmenia and Estonia) had no such institute at all in 1972, while Russia had seven. Despite being the smallest (in population) of all fifteen republics, Estonia, at least, might be expected to have had one, given its long tradition of organised sport and high level of culture (it has two universities - at Tallinn and Tartu). On the other hand, the other two Baltic republics each had one institute but no other further education establishment or faculty specialising in physical education and sport; by comparison, smaller republics like Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia and Armenia have four, three and two respectively. Russia has 127! There is clearly here a disproportionate siting of such training establishments; it could give credence to the view that the central authorities discriminate against the comparatively well-developed non-Slav areas, like the Baltic republics and Moldavia, because they fear the encouragement of nationalism there. Sport,

as suggested in the chapter on foreign policy, and elsewhere, is a convenient vehicle for nationalistic feelings. The disproportion may, on the other hand, be due primarily to an attempt to bring sport in comparatively backward sporting areas up to the level of the more advanced.

(v) Amenities

Table 70: Provision of Sports-Amenities* per 100,000 Town-Dwellers, by Republic, 1966 and 1972

Republic	Sports-Centres		Gymnasiums		Swimming-pools+	
	1966	1972	1966	1972	1966	1972
Ukraine	2.0	3.0	10.0	35	1.0	0.7
Georgia	3.4	4.2	6.0	41	1.8	2.6
Estonia	2.0	1.7	8.0	28	0.5	2.5
Lithuania	1.2	1.8	8.0	23	1.2	0.8
Armenia	0.8	1.0	7.0	41	1.6	1.5
Kirgizia	1.2	1.3	6.0	35	1.4	1.4
Latvia	0.8	1.7	6.0	28	1.0	0.8
Belorussia	1.2	1.9	6.0	46	0.6	1.0
Moldavia	1.2	1.8	6.0	54	0.6	1.2
Russia	1.4	1.9	6.0	33	0.4	0.4
Tadzhikistan	1.4	2.0	4.0	34	1.8	1.9
Turkmenia	1.4	1.6	4.0	34	1.6	2.5
Uzbekistan	1.2	2.1	4.0	26	1.0	1.5
Kazakhstan	1.4	1.6	4.0	40	0.4	0.7
Azerbaidzh	1.0	0.9	4.0	21	0.8	0.3
Average++	1.6	1.9	6.0	35	1.1	1.3

*Not including sports-facilities in educational establishments.

+Indoor and outdoor.

++The prescribed minimum local provision of facilities, a norm established in 1967 by the USSR State Construction Ministry, was two sports-centres, two gymnasiums and two swimming-pools per 100,000 town-dwellers.

Sources: Makartsev, N. A., Sobolev, P. A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 97;

Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972, Moscow, 1972, pp. 17-18;

Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, pp. 7-13.

Lack of facilities generally is one of the barriers in the way of attaining greater participation in sport. Table 70 shows that, in 1966, no republic met the required standard for swimming-pools and only three (the Ukraine, Georgia and Estonia) for sports-centres; on the other hand, every republic exceeded overall the minimum required quota of gymnasiums. By 1972, most republics were still unable to meet the requirements for sports-centres and swimming-pools, only four republics meeting the former and three the latter targets. Indeed, in regard to swimming-pools, five republics had a smaller ratio to people than in 1966; these were all republics with a fast-growing and predominantly urban population (the Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Latvia and Azerbaidzhan). A spectacular improvement occurred, however, in the provision of gymnasiums per 100,000 urban-dwellers: an average five-fold increase.

There would appear to be a fairly even spread of these three types of sports-amenity over all republics, with Georgia clearly the best provided for overall in both years and most of the Central Asian republics having made a marked relative improvement—from occupying four of the bottom five places in 1966 to occupying places in the top half of the table in 1972. The two worst-provided for republics in 1972 would appear to be the Russian Federation and Azerbaidzhan.

One conclusion that may be drawn from all the data adduced is that, since the end of the war, the republics that were previously regarded as being culturally and economically backward, and simultaneously lagging in sports-participation, skill and facilities, have made considerable progress and, in a number of indices, caught up with the more advanced republics. The greatest headway has been made by the five Central Asian republics, especially Turkmenia and Uzbekistan. By 1972, application of the principles of proportionate representation had been almost achieved. The only seriously

underrepresented republics were Azerbaidzhan and Tadzhikistan. Only three - Georgia, Russia and the Ukraine - enjoyed overrepresentation - and that by no means in all indices.

(vi) National Problems. One final issue meriting attention here (dealt with more fully in Chapter IX., pp. 592 et seq. below) is that of national identification through sport and the potentially 'unhealthy' nationalistic passions unleashed during sports-contests. There are many examples in Soviet periodicals of the passions of players and spectators running high and, in some cases, spilling over into violence in international group sports contests. Here are just a few.

In a basketball match in 1973 against the Sverdlovsk team Uralmash, Georgian players "caused much fighting, disputed decisions and finally attacked the umpire".[58] As a result, the USSR Basketball Federation imposed a life-ban on the Georgian coach and suspended the team until the end of the season.[59] Georgian football fans have also been known to let their feelings get the better of them - e.g., "During the inter-Republican football tourney, a band of Georgians ran onto the pitch during the Ukraine-Georgia match and harangued the referee, thereby interrupting the game for several minutes after a Georgian 'goal' had been disallowed."[60] The Azerbaidzhan football team, Neftchi (which was constantly in trouble during the 1972 football season - see p. 412 above) "carries around a whole suite of 'fans' who consider it their duty to support their favourites by fair means and foul".[61] Finally, a Moldavian journal chides supporters of the Kishinyov

58 Sovetsky sport, 26 April, 1973, p. 4.

59 Sovetsky sport, 12 May, 1973, p. 2.

60 Sovetsky sport, 15 July, 1972, p. 3. It has been in the present writer's own experience, during the Moscow Dinamo v. Tbilisi Dinamo Cup Final of 1970, to witness a Georgian fan smash a vodka bottle and hold it threateningly in front of a Russian's face after the latter had made disparaging remarks about the Georgian team.

61 Sovetsky sport, 21 July, 1972, p. 3. The writer has also met a big

football team, Nistru, who greeted the Odessa Chornomorets team with "histles and catcalls... And when the Odessa team scored, their goal was met in silence. Why? Why should we not treat our guests honourably? Kishinyov is renowned for its hospitality. Yet, these so-called 'fans' mocked and abused the Odessa fans. Even after the match, they hurled all manner of obscenities at them. This is shameful, comrades! One should support one's team in a cultured fashion and every genuine fan should root out the hooligans and hand them over to the militia." [62]

Such incidents as these are attendant upon modern competitive sport the world over, and are not necessarily the result of inflamed nationalistic passions or prejudices. However, the ebullience of players and fans of a particular national team does contain the obvious danger of nationalistic confrontations. With the increase in free time and money for travel, fans are increasingly able to follow their team about the country and give it vocal support in its striving to win, sometimes inciting other fans and players to what the Soviet authorities regard as unsporting conduct. This is a problem that is likely to increase in the future. On the whole, however, the USSR has not witnessed the extreme violence occurring in some Western countries partly because the state employs a number of controls and sanctions, deals normally quite

group of Kazakhs who had travelled specially from Alma Ata (a five-hour jet-plane flight to Moscow) to see a league match between their team Kairat and Moscow Torpedo at the Lenin Stadium. The extent of the local commitment to the success of one's national team against other, especially Russian, teams was witnessed, too, on a flight to Armenia. As the plane landed, the stewardess announced that Ararat (Yerevan, Armenia) had beaten the Moscow team Lokomotiv; the scenes that ensued were quite amazing -- the passengers, who were mostly Armenian, hugged and kissed one another as though a great war-victory had been proclaimed.

62 Vechernii Kishinyov, 16 May, 1973, p.4.

times more than men did (5-6 hours).[65] In another survey, published the same year, it was revealed that men had 1.5-2 times more free time and leisure than women (35 hours by comparison with 20 hours a week on average), although both men and women were employed for roughly the same number of weekly hours (41).[66] In both surveys, women were found to devote far less time to sport than men. In the first survey, weekly time spent on "sport, physical culture and out-of-town recreation" averaged 30 minutes for unmarried girls, 5 minutes for newly-married girls, 25 minutes for married women with a small family, 5 minutes for married women with more than two children, and 10 minutes for women over 40. The figures for men were 1 hour 55 minutes, 50 minutes, 1 hour 25 minutes, 1 hour 15 minutes respectively. Figures for men over 40 were not available.[67] On average, men spent five times more time on sport than women. In the second survey, women working a 5- or 6-day week spent 2 per cent of their total spare time on regular sporting activities and 9 per cent on casual sporting activities ("now and again"), whereas men on a 5-day week devoted 7 per cent of the total free time to regular sport, and 22 per cent to casual sport; men on a 6-day week spent 5 per cent and 21 per cent respectively.[68] On average, therefore, men spent at least three times more time on sport than women.

[65] Gordon, L. A., Klopov, E. V., Chelovek posle raboty: sotsial'nye problemy byta i vnerabochevo vremeni, Moscow, 1972, p. 97.

[66] Gordon, L. A., Rimashevskaya, N. M., Pyatidnevnaya rabochaya nedelya i svobodnoye vremya trudyashchikhsya, Moscow, 1972, p. 63.

[67] Gordon, Klopov, op. cit., Prilozhenie, pp. 34-35.

[68] Gordon, Rimashevskaya, op. cit., p. 48.

Table 71: Time Spent on Sport, Physical Culture and Recreation by Sex, Marital Status and Age

Status/Age	Men	Women	
	(hrs:mins.)	(hrs:mins.)	(% of men's)
Unmarried	1-55	0-30	26
Newly-married	0-50	0-05	10
Married with small family	1-25	0-25	29
Married with >2 children	1-15	0-05	6
Aged -40	...	...	...
Aged 40+	...	0-10	...

Source: Gordon, Klopov, op.cit., Prilozhenie, p. 34.

Another Soviet time-budget study discovered that men spent 1.2 times more time than women did on social activities, self-improvement and tourism, 1.7 times more time on study, 2.2 times more time on sport and 4 times more time on hobbies (lyubitel'skie zanyatiya).[69] It would appear, therefore, that, after all their chores, Soviet women have little time left for sport and certainly have much less time than men have to spend on recreation. Yet it is a persistent theme in Soviet writing on women's emancipation that they should be drawn more into sporting activities. How successful the authorities have been since 1959 in attracting women into sports participation may be judged from the table below.

69 Grushin, B. Svobodnoye vremya, Moscow, 1967, p. 27.

Table 72: Women Sports-Participants, by Republic, 1959, 1963, 1967+

Republic	1959	1963	1967
Russia (thousands)	3123.3	5125.0	9860.8
(% of female population)	5.0	8.1	14.2
(% of all sports-participants)	32.2	32.6	36.0
Ukraine (thousands)	2016.3	2718.9	3799.6
(% of female population)	8.7	11.3	15.2
(% of all sports-participants)	33.4	31.9	34.2
Belorussia (thousands)	329.0	620.8	813.8
(% of female population)	7.4	13.5	17.1
(% of all sports-participants)	31.0	40.4	41.1
Uzbekistan (thousands)	153.1	307.1	582.7
(% of female population)	3.6	6.6	10.8
(% of all sports-participants)	24.7	28.1	33.0
Kazakhstan (thousands)	197.8	374.7	780.0
(% of female population)	4.0	6.6	12.5
(% of all sports-participants)	27.4	24.6	31.0
Georgia (thousands)	159.4	229.4	334.0
(% of female population)	7.3	10.0	13.8
(% of all sports-participants)	36.5	32.1	32.4
Azerbaidzhan (thousands)	74.0	128.1	274.9
(% of female population)	3.8	6.0	11.4
(% of all sports-participants)	22.8	25.7	29.9
Lithuania (thousands)	81.6	151.6	262.5
(% of female population)	5.6	9.9	16.4
(% of all sports-participants)	36.3	38.4	41.2
Moldavia (thousands)	64.2	132.8	247.6
(% of female population)	4.1	8.0	13.9
(% of all sports-participants)	28.7	31.3	35.7
Latvia (thousands)	73.8	103.2	202.6
(% of female population)	6.3	8.5	16.2
(% of all sports-participants)	39.8	37.3	39.8
Kirgizia (thousands)	44.5	65.9	168.9
(% of female population)	4.1	5.4	12.3
(% of all sports-participants)	25.0	26.7	34.2
Tadzhikistan (thousands)	17.1	42.9	123.3
(% of female population)	1.7	3.9	9.5
(% of all sports-participants)	14.2	21.1	28.2
Armenia (thousands)	44.6	79.2	106.0
(% of female population)	4.8	7.8	9.4
(% of all sports-participants)	25.7	24.9	27.9
Turkmenia (thousands)	36.8	48.8	101.1
(% of female population)	4.7	5.6	10.3
(% of all sports-participants)	25.9	24.3	29.8
Estonia (thousands)	38.1	79.3	125.9
(% of female population)	5.7	11.5	17.7
(% of all sports-participants)	31.7	35.7	40.9
USSR (thousands)	6453.5	10507.7	17783.7
(% of female population)	5.6	8.8	14.1
(% of all sports-participants)	31.9	32.0	35.2*

+ Jan. 1 for each year *Only the 1967 figures include schoolchildren; girls made up 42.5% of schoolchildren engaging in sport, but only 28.7% of adult sports-participants.

Sources: Makartsev, op cit., p. 72; Makartsev, Sobolev, op cit., p. 40.

A comparison of Table 72 with Appendix III (which shows all sports-participants as a percentage of population by republic in 1967), reveals that, whereas in 1967 women who regularly pursued an organised sport made up 14.1 per cent of the female population, in the case of men, this was 37.0 per cent of the male population and, overall, 21.8 per cent of the total population. All the same, the women's participation was an appreciable improvement over that in 1959 (perhaps due to increases in labour-saving facilities and leisure-time), when only 5.6 per cent of the female population went in for sport on any organised and regular basis. The improvement was most marked in areas of Muslim culture: Uzbekistan (from 3.6% to 10.8%), Kirgizia (from 4.1% to 12.3%), Tadzhikistan (from 1.7% to 9.5%), and in Azerbaidzhan (from 3.8% to 11.4%). Nonetheless, it is noticeable that the smallest percentages of women's participation in sport are precisely in these republics (plus Turkmenia and Armenia), while the best figures are for the most industrially and culturally advanced areas - the three Baltic republics, the Ukraine and Belorussia. The 1967 statistics showing sportswomen as a percentage of total sports-participants similarly give a higher percentage for the European areas of the country.

(b) Women's sport in former Muslim areas. That old customs die hard and prejudice against girls taking part at all in sport still exists is confirmed occasionally by Soviet writers. For example, research into the sporting interests of schoolchildren in the old

Muslim city of Baku (Azerbaidzhan) revealed that "vestiges of the past exist in the attitudes of many parents who disapprove of their children (especially girls) practising sport".[70] An analysis of Azerbaidzhanian women's participation in sport between 1959 and 1971 reveals the following figures.

Table 73. Participation of Women of the Azerbaidzhanian Republic in Sport, Selected Years, 1959-1971

Indicator	1959	1964	1966	1969	1971
Female population	1,941,100	2,268,600	2,408,300	2,634,046	2,750,125
Reported women physical-culturists (number)	80,749	225,500	274,800	211,057	166,752
(percentage of female population)	4.1	9.0	11.4	8.0	6.0
(percentage of all reported physical culturists)	22.3	30.4	29.9	27.6	21.0

Source: Alieva, S. A., "Analiz uchastiya zhenskikh komand Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR v spartakiadakh narodov SSSR", Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 2, p. 49

As the table reveals, all figures for female participation in sport are well below the Soviet average shown in Table 72 on p. 537 above; 6 per cent of sportswomen in the female population in 1971 (the Soviet average was over twice as high, 14.1 per cent in 1967) and only 21.0 per cent of women among physical-culturists (the Soviet average was 35.2 per cent). The large fall in figures of participation noted in 1969 and 1971 must be due to stricter control over such statistics, including the new definition of a physical-culturist introduced in 1969; this may have affected women more than men in view of their evidently more tenuous links with sport. The share of sportswomen in

[70] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No. 9, p. 46.

Azerbaidzhanian teams competing in the 4-yearly Soviet spartakiads is low but does not show significant changes: 12.9% in 1956, 10.1% in 1959, 10.1% in 1963, 7.5% in 1967, and 9.5% in 1971.

While sports-participation figures do not show high levels of activity by women, women-students make up a majority in physical education: in the 1971/72 academic year, 56% of the students of health, physical culture and sport in higher education, and 87% in special secondary education, were women.[71]

It may be hypothesised that women's participation in sport in an erstwhile socially backward Muslim area (where women were effectively excluded from all public life some fifty years ago) has assisted them to gain some measure of emancipation. The Chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Commission on Youth Affairs has admitted that "In Uzbekistan, as in other Central Asian republics, women's path to sport has been linked with a struggle against religious prejudices and for equal status in society."[72] The bodily liberation and naked limbs (and faces), along with the self-acting, competing 'image' associated with sport, have not been accepted without a struggle: "I would call our first sportswomen real heroines. They accomplished real feats of valour in liberating women from the age-old yoke of religion and the feudal-bey order."[73] Such events as the First Spartakiad for Rural Women of Uzbekistan in 1969 (with 300 finalists, three-quarters of whom were of Uzbek nationality) are conscious attempts to draw women into sport as one means of furthering their social progress.

[71] Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1922-1972, Moscow, 1972, p. 445.

[72] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 6, p. 5.

[73] Idem.

(c) Some cross-cultural comparisons. There are, of course, difficulties in making cross-cultural comparisons because of different methods of calculating and defining sports-participation. In an American study of leisure-activities of boys and girls in nine public high-schools (1962), it was found that 22 per cent of the boys and only 6.9 per cent of the girls took part in organised sports-pursuits.[74] Another American study, showing an actual decline in the USA in the 1950's, revealed that "in 1950, 706 of the 11,597 professional athletes were women; by 1960, that number had dwindled to 336".[75] In a survey sponsored by UNESCO of time-expenditure across ten nations, an American sociologist compiled the table below (based on data provided by the countries concerned).

Table 74: Percent Participating in Sports across the 13 Survey Sites

Country	Percent participating in sports		
	Men	Women	
		Employed	Unemployed
Belgium	3.6	1.4	1.8
Bulgaria	9.4	2.8	4.1
Czechoslovakia	4.7	2.1	1.6
France	5.0	2.1	1.4
Hungary	6.5	1.7	0.3
Poland	5.9	2.7	1.9
USSR	31.5	11.4	15.4
US (Jackson)	9.2	5.1	4.2
US (National)	9.4	4.1	4.7
West Germany (Osnabrück)	8.8	5.7	6.3
West Germany (National)	10.6	5.4	5.2
Yugoslavia (Maribor)	6.7	1.7	1.6
Yugoslavia (Kragujevac)	1.4	0.6	0.2
Average	8.7	3.6	3.7

Source: Robinson, J. P., "Time-Expenditure on Sports Across Ten Countries", in International Review of Sport Sociology, Warsaw, 1967, No. 2, p. 71.

74 Coleman, J. S., The Adolescent Society, Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962, p. 69.

75 Stone, G., "American Sports: Play and Display", in Dunning, E. (ed.), op. cit., p. 56.

The author of the article explains the glaring aberration in the participation figures for the Soviet Union by the assumption that "daily exercises ... are a far more prevalent facet of Russian daily life than in other countries".

If the figures were to be taken at their face value, it would seem that Soviet women participate far more regularly in sporting activities than women in the other countries surveyed, West and East. On the other hand, differences in male-female participation rates are smaller for the United States and Germany than they are for the Soviet Union. It should be noted, however, that Soviet sports data were revised downward in 1969 - i.e., after this survey was made.

In England, Dr. Mark Abrams has written that "In a general way, we know that the proportion of the British population aged 16 and over that actively participates in any sport was comparatively small - less than 20 per cent, and that in this minority, males outnumbered females by more than 4 to 1."[76] In another survey, of how Glaswegians between the ages of 15 and 19 spend their spare time, it was found that "Sport, a common interest among the boys, attracted little attention from the girls."[77] The general attitude of girls to sport was summed up in a South East Lancashire free-time study: "In the past, in both systems of values [middle-and working-class - JWR], sport has been connected with manliness and women have not been thought to be in the same need of an outlet for boisterous spirits, as have boys. Active participation in sport by girls was long considered unwomanly in middle-class spheres, and a waste of time that could not be afforded in working-class spheres. Whilst many working-class women attend keep-fit

[76] Abrams, M., "Testing Consumer Demand in Sport", in Sport in Education and Recreation (Report of 1966 International Conference at Crystal Palace), London, p. 33.

[77] Jephcott, P., Time of One's Own: Leisure and Young People (University of Glasgow), Oliver and Boyd, 1967, p. 132.

classes and see in them an aid to beauty and an escape from domestic chores, active physical recreation plays little or no part in the lives of most working-class women."[78]

Some suggested causes of the different rates of participation by women in sport in the USSR and the West are given below. First, it is instructive to examine another aspect of state action in the USSR in regard to women's sporting activities.

(d) Officially approved and unapproved sports for women. The Soviet authorities take the view that biological sex differences affect women's rates of participation, levels of performance or predisposition for certain sports: thus, "with training, the functional potential of the female organism increases considerably and approximates in some indices to that of the male. Nonetheless, women's level of performance is no more than 70-80 per cent that of men."[79] We have already mentioned (see pp.368-369, above) the campaign during 1973 to prevent women engaging in sports that were alleged not only to be contraindicated and harmful to the female organism but also to be morally degrading (in the light of the official view of femininity). Such 'perverse' activities included women's football and unarmed-combat contests. In regard to women's football, it would appear that several teams had sprung up mainly in the Ukraine (in Kiev, Khar'kov, Dnepropetrovsk, the Transcarpathian oblast' and elsewhere) in the early 1970's and had played in and outside the republic. This activity was condemned officially for two reasons: (i) "the main aim was to obtain additional income from an unhealthy interest by some spectators in women's football matches. Social organisations encouraged the setting up and commerical activity of such teams,"[80] (ii) "women's football is harmful to a woman's organism... Physical stress typical of football may cause harm to sexual functions, varicose veins, thrombo-phlebitis, etc."[81] This official condemnation had been preceded by some positive comment in the press on women's football abroad, including in Eastern Europe.

Like women's football, unarmed combat (sambo) was condemned because it had been "exploited by 'sports-businessmen' and turned into 'strength-and-beauty contests' that were degrading to Soviet

[78] Preliminary Report on a Study in the South-East Lancashire Conurbation of Post-School Adolescents' Leisure Activities, Department of Phys. Educ., University of Manchester, 1967, p.17.

[79] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No.10, p.62.

[80] Idem.

[81] Idem.

Soviet womanhood".[82] One can understand the official disquiet at such women's 'wrestling matches' being arranged as public spectacles for male voyeuristic enjoyment given the ideological disapproval of hedonistic sex in general, of public sexuality, of 'kinky' deviations from straight marital intercourse and of commercial exploitation. Women's sambo was to be permitted henceforth only when confined to non-competitive paramilitary sections under the auspices of DOSAAF or Dinamo.

Women, it was alleged, are more suited to "sports which develop speed, skill, plasticity, coordination and grace of movement -- such as gymnastics, calisthenics, figure-skating, swimming, athletics, fencing and certain team-games. Women's health is also enhanced by such sports, included in the new GTO programme, as speed-skating, skiing and shooting."[83]

Some conclusions. Although Soviet women have less free time than men and show lower rates of participation and levels of performance when compared to men, they have improved their levels of participation and performance, particularly since the last war; they appear to be more 'sporting' than their Western counterparts and receive much official encouragement to be so. The sporting woman does seem to be a positive heroine of society -- an image to whose features all women are urged to aspire.[84]

The traditional attitude in the West towards women engaging in sport has generally been one of discouragement. In cultural terms, sport has had an important function in the development of masculine gender identity and, hence, the socialisation of males in society.[85] For males, to be tough, adventurous and daring, and to display general physical prowess in socially-sanctioned

[82] Sovetsky sport, 25 January, 1977, p.3. [83] Ibid.

[84] It is interesting that in a poll conducted among Soviet sports-writers (presumably all men) to select the sports-personality of 1973, the top five places went to women, two of women represented 'muscular' field sports (shot-putting and the discus):

Top Ten Sports-Personalities, 1973

1. Irina Rodnina -- figure-skating
2. Ludmilla Turishcheva -- gymnastics
3. Faina Fel'nik -- shot-putting
4. Galina Shugurova -- calisthenics
5. Nadezhda Chizhova -- discus
6. Valery Kharlamov -- ice-hockey
7. Pavel Pervukhin -- weightlifting
8. Levon Tediashvili -- free-style wrestling
9. Pavel Lednev -- pentathlon
10. Anatoly Karpov -- chess

Source: Sovetsky sport, 28 December, 1973, p.1.

[85] See Hall, A., Jerkins, C.,

play-activities is important to the development of the male's self-esteem, social acceptability and dominance in peer groups. The reverse tends to be true for females. From adolescence onwards, female involvement in sport, especially competitive sport, is treated in many ways as an aberration in terms of stereotyped notions of appropriate feminine behaviour. This is particularly the case with team-games and with physical activities which require heavy muscular effort of which produce the external signs of physical exhaustion. From puberty onwards, the girl who becomes committed to sport in Britain and most other Western countries is likely to be labelled deviant in subtle ways by males and females alike. There are some exceptions to this. Certain British public schools for upper-class girls encourage team-games and those involving physical vigour -- horse-riding, hockey, lacrosse and cricket. Moreover, women can generally skate, take part in gymnastics and play tennis; their femininity is only threatened if they become too committed or masculine in their approach or style of play. Some vigorous sports , like football and wrestling, are sometimes encouraged (often by male promoters) for exhibitionist, commercial motives.

Such threats to femininity from sports do not seem to be so strong in the USSR (if not in Eastern Europe generally), where female athletic attainments have both reflected and reinforced processes of social change in the rôle and status of women. The reasons for official encouragement of women to engage in sport, including physically-exacting and 'muscular' activities, should be sought in the state's economic needs as well as its ideology. First, the work of women has been vital to economic development -- and sport is thought to help make workers physically fit, mentally alert and disciplined. The rôle of women in the Soviet economy has been heightened by the shortfall of males in the population after the last war. Given the economic necessity for women to engage in physically exhausting jobs (as, for example, road-mending and house-building), the physical and psychological characteristics required for or developed by successful participation in sport are not incongruent with notions about the 'essential nature of femininity' and desirable feminine demeanour as perceived in Soviet conditions. The qualities of physical vigour and competitiveness (often referred to as 'masculinity' in the West) remain compatible with the ways in which women are expected to present themselves in everyday life and with the various occupational rôles and identities which

are available to them in society. Secondly, women have been important to the country's defence and military preparedness -- and physical training through sport (particularly as women are exempt from peacetime military service) is, again, thought to be the best way to prepare them for this. Thirdly, the authorities have used sport as a vehicle for that type of women's emancipation officially desired in the USSR. The fact of women displaying courage, grace and skill in the sporting arena, winning prestige for club, factory, farm, region, ethnic group or republic and combining with men to compete has done much for the image of women, particularly in the erstwhile Muslim-dominated areas where women had been virtually excluded from public life prior to the revolution.

17. Sport, Pupils and Students

(a) Physical education and games in school. The principal aims of physical education in school are said to be (i) to develop and maintain fitness and health, (ii) to develop motor skills, particularly those of value in work, and (iii) to inculcate moral and aesthetic qualities, such as self-discipline, comradeship, perseverance and an appreciation of beauty, grace and rhythm.[86]

Of course, none of these desired goals of physical education are the monopoly of Soviet schools. In a book on British physical education, J.Myrtle James expounded similar aims for British schools; she maintained that the schoolchildren should "experience the interdependence of groups, establish favourable attitudes towards physical activity, understand the inter-relatedness of freedom, responsibility, authority and discipline, and experience human movement as a means of communication and expression".[86a] Similarly, an American physical educationalist has written of the aims of physical education in the USA, that "all aspects of———— →

[86] Programma vos'miletnei shkoly, Moscow, 1960, p.7.

[86a] James, J.M., Education and Physical Education, G.Bell & Sons, London, 1967, p.7.

development (in physical education - JWR) should be stressed, including the mental, physical, emotional and social ... The unique contribution of P.E. is in the development of patterns for effective living. In the programme of P.E., the moral values of equality can be achieved and at the same time the ideal of excellence realised."[87]

Despite the similarity of proclaimed aims, neither the schools nor their P.E. groups are insulated from the overall values of their societies, whether individualistic or collectivistic. And this impinges upon children's attitudes to games. Furthermore, where Soviet schools differ from their British and American counterparts is (i) in the explicitness and directness of the application of their aims to practice, and (ii) their standardisation of curricula and syllabuses. Thus, in relation to P.E., a detailed syllabus is laid down by the USSR Ministry of Education which is compulsory for all teachers to follow, although each Republican ministry has a certain degree of freedom in establishing the form, hours and marking of P.E. In a highly centralised society like the Soviet Union's, it seems normal to all involved to have a single syllabus laid down from above.

(b) <u>The content of the P.E. lesson</u>. The 1960's and early 1970's saw much controversy over the place and content of physical education in the school curriculum and several modifications in the latter, as well as experiments and new government resolutions in the field.

Following the 1958 law "On Strengthening the Connection of the School with Life and the Further Development of the Education System in the USSR", a new P.E. syllabus was introduced in 1960 that differed radically from

87 Snyder, R., "The Gifted Student and Physical Education", in <u>Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation</u>, January, 1962, p. 27.

its predecessor.[88] This (1954) syllabus had reflected the contemporary all-out campaign to shine internationally, and P.E. had been geared to achieve this end: individual sports were practised intensively, potential stars were given special attention (often to the detriment of the mass of children), precise standards of achievement at each form-level were established, and schools were obliged to participate in a large number of competitions (which further exacerbated the bias towards the best pupils). The 1960 syllabus (which lasted until 1967) did away with the compulsory standards for each form except for top classes, the number of contests was reduced, and the content of the syllabus was divided into two parts. Part 1 (classes 1-4, ages 7-11) was common for all schools and consisted of the following:

Table 75: P.E. Lessons* per School Year, Classes 1-4

Class	Age	Gymnastics	Athletics	Skiing	Team-games	Total
1	7+	38	-	-	34	72
2	8+	44	-	-	28	72
3	9+	24	16	10	22	72
4	10+	22	18	12	20	72

* 45-minute periods, 2 periods per week in term-time (36 weeks p.a.)

Source: Programmy vos'miletnei shkoly. Fizicheskaya kul'tura, Moscow, 1960, p. 21.

Part 2 (classes 5-8, ages 11-15) consisted of two sections, one which was common to all schools, the other offering an option: each school could select a sport in which it wanted to specialise (depending on climatic conditions and the teacher's inclinations).[89]

88 Prokof'ev, M. A., Zimin, P. V., Kolmakova, M. N., Kondakov, M. I. and Kuzin, N. P. (eds.), Narodnoye obrazovanie v SSSR, 1917-1967, Moscow, 1968, p. 85.

89 Programmy vos'miletnei shkoly. Fizicheskaya kul'tura, Moscow, 1960.

Table 76: P.E. Lessons* per School Year, Classes 5-8

Class	Age	Section 1 (General)				Section 2 (Special)	Total
		Gymnastics	Athletics	Skiing	Team-Games	Option	
5	11+	16	16	12	12	14	70
6	12+	16	16	12	12	14	70
7	13+	16	16	12	10	16	70
8	14+	16	16	12	10	16	70

* 45-minute periods

If a school specialised in basketball, the programme would consist of 44 hours of gymnastics, athletics and skiing, and 26 hours of basketball each year (including team-games). In addition, children were to be taken for a whole day once every two months to the local stadium for athletics-contests and team-games or to go skating and skiing, according to season. These were officially known as 'Health-Days' and they were supplemented by ten planned school tournaments during the school year; in fact, five of the 'Health-Days' coincided with tournament-days, so children were to have approximately 11-12 complete sports-days off from school each year. The programme of 'Health-Days' and tournaments applied is shown below.[90]

[90] Vasil'eva, T. N., et al, (eds.), Fizicheskaya kul'tura v V-VIII klassakh, Moscow, 1967, p. 242.

Table 77: Programme of School 'Health-Days' and Tournaments, 1960-67

Type of event	Month	Participants
Pioneer contests in four athletics events. Ceremonial opening of school spartakiad.	September	Pioneer teams
Tourist excursion. Contests in tourism-knowledge.	September	Class teams
School chess and draughts championships	October	Class teams
School basketball championships	November	Class teams
School gymnastic championships:		
training-programme	December	Class teams
classification-programme	March	Class teams
Winter festival	December	All pupils
Festival 'We Little Octobrists Love to Run and Play'	January	1st and 2nd years
'Skier's Day' - School skiing championships	February	Class teams
Opening of skiing tournaments	March	7th and 8th years
School table-tennis championships	April	Class teams
Individual championships of members of the table-tennis section	April	Section members
Spring festival	April	All pupils
School handball championships	May	Class teams
School athletics championships	May	Class teams
Ceremonial closing of school spartakiad. Farewell to school-leavers.	June	All pupils

Source: Vasil'eva, T. N., et al, (eds.), Fizicheskaya kul'tura v V-VIII klassakh, Moscow, 1967, p. 242.

Standards of achievement in the 1960 syllabus were related to the B.G.T.O. norms. At the end of each school year, schoolchildren were awarded marks (out of five) for their P.E. and games performance and knowledge.

In 1963, the Russian Education Ministry further enhanced the status of P.E. by including it in the school-leaving certificate. Subsequently, some other republics followed suit.[91]

The Russian P.E. syllabus remained in this form until September, 1967, when it was replaced by a new one for forms 5-10. With the gradual transition from the 8-year school to the 10-year school (the school-leaving age was set for 17 by 1970, but this has not yet become mandatory) and the revision of the school curriculum, the attention devoted to academic subjects initially increased somewhat at the expense of P.E. and games. In many schools, the optional sports-section was removed so that the new yearly P.E. calendar for upper schools in the Russian Republic was as follows.

Table 78: P.E. Lessons* per School Year, Classes 5-10[92]

Classes	Gymnastics	Athletics	Skiing	Team-Games	Basketball or Volleyball	Total
5-6	19	19	14	4	14	70
7-8	20	20	14	2	14	70
9-10	19	19	14	-	18	70

* 45-minute periods

N.B. P.E. lessons are held separately for boys and for girls. Of the total school curriculum of 36 periods per week, two periods are on average devoted to physical education. The size of classes generally varies from 15 to 25 pupils.[93]

91 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 9, p. 37.

92 Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 8, p. 22.

93 Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 9, p. 26. During 1971, the number of P.E. lessons in some republics was increased to 3 or 4.

What really diminished the status both of physical education and of the P.E. teacher was the exclusion of P.E. from the school-leaving certificate in 1967 and a new system of marking P.E.: in place of the usual 1-5 marking, used for all other subjects, the Russian Ministry of Education proposed an end-of-year 'pass' or 'fail' evaluation. The 'Health Days' were terminated and school tournaments were seriously curtailed to one compulsory and two optional tournaments a year.[94]

For a minority of P.E. teachers, the reduction in the number of school sports-competitions was a step forward, for it took some of the pressure off them to produce school-champions and strong teams, thus allowing them to concentrate more on the mass of children. They felt the move was consistent with what Brezhnev had said at a Teachers' Conference in 1968: "Sport is not an all-out campaign for records, it is the health of millions of people, it is their training for work, it is the preparation of our young men for military service, it is the inculcation of such vitally necessary attributes as endurance, self-discipline, perseverance and courage."[95]

Nonetheless, the demotion of physical education among school subjects caused a storm of protest from P.E. teachers generally throughout the Russian Republic. Some delegates to the 1968 Russian Teachers' Conference tabled a motion calling for the reinstatement of the 5-mark system for P.E. and of P.E. as a compulsory subject in the leaving-certificate examination. Although the motion was defeated, largely because of the traditional opposition of teachers of other subjects, the P.E. teachers gained the concession from the Ministry that the old system would be brought back in selected schools for a trial period.[96] An English educational correspondent in Moscow wrote that "The attitude of

[94] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 9, p.3.

[95] Ibid., p. 2.

[96] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 8, p. 4.

teachers, parents and children to physical education as a subject on the curriculum also needs to be changed."[97] She reported that P.E. instructors were treated as second-rate members of the teaching profession and had little time to develop an interest in the subject.

In 1971, however, the old system was reintroduced into all schools throughout the country, so that physical education was again marked out of five, a child might be kept down if he failed his end-of-year P.E. examination, and the subject featured in the school-leaving certificate. 'Health Days', too, were gradually restored. Moreover, the School Regulations and Statute 'On the Physical Education of Pupils', amended in 1971, obliged (not simply called upon) all school-staff "actively to encourage physical education" and increased P.E. lessons to 3 or 4 periods a week.[98]

For the first five classes, however, the situation remained unsatisfactory. Because of the shortage of qualified P.E. instructors, games-lessons continued to be conducted irregularly and by unqualified teachers. As a teacher reported at the Teachers' Conference in 1968, "P.E. lessons really begin with the fifth form. In the primary school, they are frequently replaced by other subjects."[99] A letter from schoolchildren in Kuibyshev to the sports-daily Sovetsky sport, complaining of just such a practice, resulted in the sacking of the P.E. instructor and a severe reprimand for the headmaster.[100] Another speaker at the 1968 Teachers' Conference set out the problems he faced

[97] Times Educational Supplement, 31 November, 1969, p. 15.

[98] Sovetsky sport, 1 July, 1971, p. 2.

[99] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 8, p. 3.

[100] Sovetsky sport, 11 November, 1972, p. 2.

in his region of Belorussia: "Our Brest Oblast' has eleven 10-year and about forty 8-year schools. For all these schools, we have just two P.E. teachers with a higher education training, one with a secondary special training, and another two are currently studying externally. That is all. In all the 8-year schools, P.E. is taken by teachers of other subjects. Why are there so few specialists in the region? The chief reason is that there are not enough of them in the country as a whole. But, even when a qualified teacher ventures into the countryside, he is confronted with a mass of difficulties. Most rural schools are understaffed. And the fewer the classes, the smaller the teacher's work, which means the smaller his pay-packet. Added to that is the fact that most schools have no sports-facilities at all."[101] Such complaints, especially on the pages of the monthly journal Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole (Physical Culture in the School), are common. Many complain of the lack of equipment. One teacher, for example, bemoans the fact that there are no soccer boots, plimsolls, shorts or P.E. vests in the shops of Nizhny Tagil.[102] The Chairman of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport has himself admitted that "half the secondary schools do not possess the necessary sports-equipment even for conducting compulsory lessons according to the State programme" [103] (See pp. 567-568 below).

Because many teachers who take the lower-school classes— as in Britain —are untrained in P.E., they tend to work by the book and imprint a dislike of P.E. on the children through overemphasis on drill (shagistika). Clearly, this is a problem that can only be overcome with time and an increase in P.E. graduates to teach the subject in schools, particularly in the countryside. As an indication of the

101 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 9, p. 2.

102 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 6, p. 19.

103 Pavlov, S. P., "Novaya stupen", Ivanin, V. A. (ed.), Velenie vremeni, Moscow, 1969, p. 18.

low priority apparently accorded to the P.E. lesson and sport generally in school, a survey of 640 schoolchildren 15-17 years of age in nine cities of the Russian Federation in 1971, revealed that over a quarter (167 or 26 per cent) of the pupils maintained that teachers treated physical culture and sport as a waste of time, refused to permit academically backward children to attend a sports-section or tried to replace the P.E. lesson by a 'serious' subject.[104]

(c) Other games and P.E. activities. Besides the set P.E. lesson, the school is responsible for a number of other sporting activities and performances of its charges. The education authorities urge that all children should engage in 15-20 minutes setting-up exercises every morning, either at home or in school. Since this is entirely at the discretion of parents and teachers, it is often neglected. One teacher in the provincial town of Novokuibyshevsk estimated that, in 1967, only 20 per cent of his schoolchildren did their morning exercises regularly.[105]

Teachers are also urged to conduct exercises throughout the school day, particularly in the breaks between lessons - whenever the opportunity arises, to insert a fizkul'tminutka ('physical-culture minute'). Homework in P.E. is officially prescribed twice a week, to last approximately 15 minutes on each occasion.

In out-of-school time, many schoolchildren spend at least a fortnight of their summer holiday in a camp, often under canvas in a forest or by the sea or river. It was stated in 1971 that "virtually one in three schoolchildren will be in a Pioneer, school, sport or tourist camp during the summer of 1971 ... They all have a single

[104] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No. 4, pp. 34-36.

[105] Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 9, p. 40.

aim - to establish a sports-and health-regime."[106] According to an official statistical handbook, about one in six children were served by Pioneer camps in 1970.[107]

(d) Schoolchildren's interest in sport. Schools are given targets in respect to the sports-standards to which it is hoped their children will aspire. Most schools have their own sports-sections and it is there that children who want to practice for their G.T.O. badge may do so. The target in the late 1960's was for no less than 65 per cent of a school's fifth-to-tenth formers to belong to a school sports-section, for every fit 14-15 year old to gain the B.G.T.O. badge and obtain the third junior ranking in a sport, for every fit 11-17-year-old to gain the Junior G.T.O. badge and at least a second junior ranking in a sport, and for 17-20 per cent of 15-17-year-olds to obtain the third ranking in a sport.[108] How successful the schools were in attaining these targets may be judged from the figures below, which show the quite considerable increase between 1959 and 1965.

106 Sovetsky sport, 1 July, 1971, p. 2.

107 Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, pp. 633, 636; this gives the school population for 1970/71 as 49,373,000 and the number of children served by Pioneer camps as 8,805,600. Since the former includes children 7-17 and the latter children 8-15, it is likely that a higher number attended Pioneer camps - probably in the region of 1 in 5 children. Since sports and tourist camps for children are far less numerous, it is unlikely that 1 in 3 children attended such a summer camp - although 1 in 4 would seem a feasible figure.

108 Makartsev, op. cit., p. 77.

Table 79: Sport among School-Pupils, 1959 and 1965

Indicator	1959	1965
School-pupils participating in sport (mln.)	9.1477	19.9700
(index: 1959=100)	100	218
(% of pupils in classes 5-10)	73	87
School pupils gaining a ranking (mln.)	0.4487	3.1028
(index: 1959=100)	100	692
(% of pupils in classes 7-10)	8	23
(% of pupils participating in sport)	5	16

Source: Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 78.

Although these figures show that almost nine out of ten school-children aged 12-17 pursued a sport regularly in 1965 and that almost one in four became proficient enough to gain a sports ranking, they have to be treated with a certain amount of caution. Elsewhere, P.E. teachers have written, for example, that, in 1967, only 15-20 per cent of schoolchildren between the ages of 12 and 17 pursued a sport regularly in a sports-section in the country as a whole - though, in the capital, some 40 per cent did so.[109] The authority responsible for extra-mural children's sport became the Yunost' Voluntary Sports Society in 1968; in Moscow, however, only 20 per cent of schoolchildren were members in 1968.[110]

Children with a talent for or real interest in a sport must use their out-of-school time for practising it. They may join their local sports-school. Facilities have, however, been at a premium. In a survey carried out by Komsomol'skaya pravda among senior-form pupils

[109] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 8, p. 4.

[110] Idem.

in the city of Smolensk, it was found that only 232 out of 1,000 polled actually pursued a sport regularly. "I'd like to pursue a sport but there isn't a place for it"; "I like sport very much, but it's hard to get into a sports-club - they only want the gifted" were two of the reasons given. The report stated that there were only two sports-centres in the city and one of them was effectively closed to youngsters.[111] It should be noted, however, that the survey was carried out before it was made obligatory to permit children to use the sports-facilities in the various clubs and societies. Nonetheless, a speaker at the All-Union Conference on Physical Education, held in 1971, confirmed that "only 25 per cent of children practise physical culture regularly". He blamed television, the lack of sports-facilities and the refusal of sports-societies to admit enough children.[112]

In a survey of young people's leisure-time in Leningrad carried out in 1965, Professor Kharchev deplored the lack of facilities for ordinary young people who would like to go in for sport, though perhaps lacking exceptional ability. "According to figures of one Leningrad district sports-council, the district has about 50,000 sports-participants. In fact, the figure is about <u>five times too large</u> [my italics - JWR]. Yet more than 80 per cent of the residents of the district who were questioned said they would very much like to engage in sport! They would like to, but they cannot - because the sports staff are interested only in training Masters of Sport and setting records; because, to get into a sports-section, it isn't enough merely to be fond of sport, it is absolutely essential to have

[111] <u>Komsomol'skaya pravda</u>, 16 June, 1965, pp. 2-3.

[112] <u>Sovetsky sport</u>, 17 December, 1971, p. 3.

talent in one particular sport or another."[113] Eight years later, Pravda was still complaining that only twenty per cent of schoolchildren regularly engaged in sport: "in the localities, attention is centred on training representative teams; the mass involvement of children in sport is ignored".[114]

In a Lithuanian study, it was discovered that as many as 70 per cent of senior-form pupils and 60 per cent of junior-form pupils did all their sport at school -- largely because of the lack of opportunities and facilities outside school.[115]

Although various surveys reveal that only about one in four schoolchildren practise a sport regularly, they also show that a greater proportion of children and young people (more than 1 in 2) than of adults do physical exercises regularly. In a weekly time-budget study of 1,500 young people at three Leningrad technical colleges, it was found that 15 per cent of the boys and 33 per cent of the girls did no physical exercises in their free time; of these numbers, those who did some exercises but not regularly (undefined) amounted to 23 per cent and 29 per cent respectively.

It is clear, nevertheless, that schoolchildren make up a very substantial proportion of the country's sports-participants, as the figures in Table 79 on p. above indicate. That sport features prominently in many children's out-of-school activities is apparent from the survey in nine cities mentioned on p. : when asked how they spend their free time, the respondents put sport in second place (in one town it took third place) after reading and in front of watching T.V., listening to music, going to the pictures, the theatre and collecting. When asked what they valued most highly, the general consensus was health first, friends second.[116]

113 Nedelya, 1965, No. 42 (10-16 October), pp.8-9.

114 Pravda, 5 August, 1973, p.2.

115 Stakioniene, op.cit., p.217.

116 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No.4, p.35.

Table 80: Young People at Three Leningrad Technical Colleges, by Involvement in Physical Exercises(%)

Technical college	Students by physical exercises done			
	None	Some	of whom:	
			regular	sporadic
Leningrad Radiopolitekhnikum (LRPT)	22.8	77.2	59.9	17.3
Leningrad Instrument-Making and Automatics Technical College (LTPiA)	26.1	73.9	51.3	22.6
Leningrad Power Technical College (LET)	22.5	77.5	48.9	28.6
of total (all 3):				
Boys	15.1	84.9	62.1	22.8
Girls	32.5	67.5	44.5	22.0

Source: Malova, V.A., "Struktura byudzheta vremeni uchashcheisya molodyozhi i puti yeyo vovlecheniya v zanyatiya fizicheskimi uprazhneniyami," Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No.2, p.43.

One survey revealed that the most frequently-practised sports among children nationally were athletics, skiing, volleyball, basketball, tourism, football, draughts, chess, table-tennis and pistol-shooting -- in that order.[117] A survey conducted in 1970 in the Oktyabr'sky raion of Moscow gave a different order of 'popularity' (in terms of participation) of sport, this time broken down by age-groups.

[117] Makartsev, op.cit., p.82.

Table 81: The Sporting Interests of Young People in the Oktyabr'sky Raion of Moscow (% mentioning given sport)

Sport	Age-group			
	10-13	14-16	17-19	20-24
Acrobatics	2.6	1.9	0.5	0
Athletics	8.0	10.1	12.2	8.2
Badminton	6.6	7.4	9.8	8.6
Basketball	5.3	11.3	9.3	7.6
Boxing	2.3	3.1	3.9	2.7
Calisthenics	5.6	3.1	1.5	1.6
Fencing	5.6	5.4	3.4	2.7
Figure-skating	13.6	8.6	3.9	2.2
Football	13.2	18.3	14.2	15.2
Ice-hockey	6.0	7.4	11.2	7.1
Pistol-shooting	6.6	5.8	5.9	3.3
Skating	10.3	13.2	9.3	8.7
Skiing	12.6	18.7	24.4	26.6
Swimming	32.7	21.0	19.5	18.5
Table-tennis	4.3	5.1	9.8	10.3
Volleyball	21.2	26.5	26.8	19.6
Waterpolo	1.3	1.2	2.0	0
Weight-lifting	0.3	1.2	2.9	2.7
Wrestling, free-style	3.7	4.3	4.4	3.3
Wrestling, Graeco-Roman	1.0	1.2	1.0	0

Source: Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p. 19.

The table does not include tourism, chess and draughts (which were included in the previous survey); it also makes no distinction between the choices of boys and girls, and permits pupils more than one favourite pursuit. Of sports that both sexes seem to enjoy, volleyball, swimming, skating and skiing figure highly, followed by athletics, basketball and badminton. Despite being boys' sports only in the USSR, football and ice-hockey come high on the list, with the former the most popular of all sports among boys.

The table below gives an idea of the part played by school-children in the country's sports-movement.

Table 82: Sports-Participation in Schools, 1965

Indicator	In schools	
	(number)	(% of USSR total)
Sports-collectives	90,352	46.0
Sportsmen	19,979,000[a]	43.1
G.T.O. and B.G.T.O. badge-holders	4,681,000[a]	55.5
Adult-ranked sportsmen	771,933	43.4
of whom:		
First ranking	8,644	8.0
Second ranking	124,779	17.0
Third ranking	638,510	18.4
Junior-ranked sportsmen	2,330,873	59.0

[a] Rounded

Source: Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 80.

School sports-sections constituted nearly half the country's sports-collectives and provided as many as 43 per cent of the sportsmen, over half the G.T.O. badge-holders and a sizeable proportion of the ranked athletes (see also Appendix IXA).

Not all P.E. teachers are happy about official exhortations to higher sports proficiency. They argue that it militates in itself against developing the very principles of mass participation, collectivism and comradeship that physical education is supposed to nurture. One teacher writes that she tries to teach three principles to her P.E. class of 23 girls: "To develop an appreciation of beauty, to value friendship and to be fond of hard work. But what would the district inspector say? He would probably ask me how many girls gained a sports-ranking at the end of the year. That's precisely the trouble: we gallop after rankings without stopping to think what we are doing.

Scarcely is a child out of the cradle than we fix his fate as a Master of Sport. Yet how many children are thrown overboard in our race for results!"[118] This is a fairly common complaint among P.E. teachers, who so often find themselves in the invidious position of striving to sustain the interest of their charges with few facilities and a hostile or indifferent headmaster, yet being judged by results measured in terms of the success of the few.

(e) Student interest in sport. As with the schools, higher education institutes are first and foremost academic institutions with little time and few facilities allotted to physical education and sport. If students wish to engage seriously in sport, they must do so outside of lecture-hours if they have time left over from their exacting programme of studies. Unless the student is excused by doctor's certificate, he (or she) must, however, attend P.E. classes for the first two years of the (normally) five-year course.[119] If the student does not attend enough P.E. classes and does not put up a satisfactory showing in the end-of-session test, he may be refused permission to continue his studies - irrespective of attendance and performance in academic subjects. Altogether, students must attend 140 hours of physical education during their first two years of study.[120] After that, P.E. and games are voluntary. The physical education department is responsible for conducting the statutory P.E. lessons, but, since 1957, the sports society, Burevestnik, has been responsible for all sports-activities in free time. It is Burevestnik that is responsible for seeing that the planned percentage of students engage in sport and that a certain number of ranked students is produced

[118] Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 9, p. 26.

[119] In Britain, the University of Birmingham was (until 1968) the only school of higher education to have such a mandatory 2-year P.E. attendance for all fit students.

[120] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 7, p. 62.

every year. Because the study-load for students is usually very great, however, most students find little time for sport. A survey in Moscow in 1970 found that "normally, once they have taken their P.E. test, most students virtually stop all sports-activities".[121] Burevestnik, therefore, has found it hard to meet its target for Masters of Sport and Candidate Masters; in six republics, in fact, it is reported to be defunct.[122]

P.E. instructors also have quotas to fulfil, but they have the advantage of coercion during the undergraduate's first two years. This, however, can lead to abuses: "In assisting students to choose a sport, teachers are in most cases guided by not so much a desire to eradicate deficiencies in their physical training as by an urge to coach them as quickly as possible so that they can get a sports-ranking."[123]

One of the principal reasons for the lack of student participation in sport is simply lack of free time. In a 1967 survey of students at the Drogobych Institute of Education, it was found that 38 per cent of language students put lack of free time as their prime reason for not engaging in sport, as did 31 per cent of music students, and 54 per cent of physics and mathematics students.[124] Another major reason is the lack of adequate facilities and the small range of sports for which amenities exist. In the same survey, over half the students blamed lack of facilities for their neglect of exercise, and the overwhelming majority called for better facilities. Some indication of the academic study-load (or of a distaste for P.E.!)

[121] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 10, p. 51.

[122] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 8, p. 5.

[123] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 10, p. 50.

[124] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 7, p. 60.

is the firm rejection by 84 per cent of students in the survey of an extension of compulsory P.E. and games to the third, fourth and fifth years.[125]

On the paucity of sporting amenities, the official publication of the 1966 government resolutions on sport stated that "of the 663 colleges and universities where Burevestnik is responsible for sports-activities, only 45 have at their disposal an adequate sports-centre".[126] Many colleges are obliged to spend large sums on renting facilities.

Surveys at other universities have similarly shown that the targets for fulfilling G.T.O.- and ranking-norms are far from being met. At Leningrad University, for example, entrants over a number of years were, in their great majority, neither holders of the G.T.O. Stage 1 badge, nor possessors of any sports-ranking, as the data below show.

Table 83: Sporting Attainments of Entrants to Leningrad University, Selected Years, 1953-1963

Session	Entrants (No.)	Entrants (%)	Of whom: G.T.O. badge-holders (%) Stage 1	G.T.O. badge-holders (%) Stage 2	Ranked sportsmen (%) 1st	2nd	3rd	Junior	Unclassified* (%)
1953-54	1,903	100	16.3	3.7	1.4	1.6	4.8	0.5	80.0
1955-56	1,592	100	16.9	5.0	0.6	3.3	6.7	1.1	78.1
1962-63	1,477	100	8.5	3.9	2.5	5.1	5.9	4.3	87.6

* It may be assumed that ranked sportsmen have their G.T.O. badge; this category therefore includes all those without a G.T.O. badge.

Source: Zaitsev, N. A. (ed.), Voprosy fizicheskovo vospitaniya studentov, II, Leningrad, 1965, p. 17.

In the academic year 1962-63, as many as 88 % of all new students came into university without any G.T.O. rating. Furthermore, the survey

125 Ibid., pp. 61-62.

126 Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 18.

also revealed that, of the 18 per cent of students who had a sports-ranking on going up to university, the vast majority had obtained that ranking in chess, shooting, volleyball or table-tennis rather than in the physically more testing sports like athletics and gymnastics.

Certainly, the poverty of physical facilities and the shortage of qualified instructors inhibit both participation and high performance among students, but the principal factor in the low level of student participation in sport remains the big classroom study-load that leaves little time or energy for active recreation. There does appear, moreover, to be a certain stigma attached to indulging in sport among some students - and their parents. This attitude is partly induced by the coercive nature of sports-activities in the first two years of student life, and partly by the notion that sport is a muscular rather than an intellectual pursuit, more suited to manual workers. Despite official exhortations that the younger generation should be developed mentally and physically, there is evidence to suggest that many young people do not accept physical fitness as a necessary part of their lives or a worthwhile competitor for the time they spend on intellectual and other pursuits.

(f) Lack of facilities. The two deficiencies that have constantly hampered the development of sport and games among schoolchildren have been lack of physical facilities and lack of qualified instructors. The simple fact is that most schools built prior to 1960 do not have even the most rudimentary grounds suitable for games and athletics; by no means every school has proper accommodation even for indoor exercises. Although, in recent years, many schools have had special sports-wings built onto the main building and there are projects for building area sports-centres to be used jointly by several schools, schools are still, by British and American

standards, grossly under-equipped. The Soviet Deputy-Minister of Education, M. I. Kondakov, at an All-Union conference on questions of improving sport among schoolchildren held in March, 1968, reported that approximately 80 per cent of all secondary schools had no sports-grounds, 75 per cent had no gymnasiums, 50 per cent did not have even the sports-equipment necessary for conducting compulsory physical-education lessons according to the state programmes, and that some 40 per cent of P.E. instructors were unqualified.[127] In primary schools, the situation was even worse: of the 85,000 primary schools, 80,000 were understaffed and under-equipped for P.E. and games.[128]

It was mainly this situation that gave rise to the measures proposed in the 1966 resolutions on improving sports-facilities. Soon after the resolutions, the various Republican education ministries announced two-, three-, four- and five-year programmes of construction of sports-facilities for schools. Nearly all the Republican ministries set up special sports-departments under the ministries, intended to work with the Republican councils of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations (after 1968, of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport). Among their jobs were supervising the carrying out of the new law that stadiums, sports-grounds, gymnasiums, courts and skiing-centres should be made available free of charge to schoolchildren. Clearly, not many sports-organisations were enthusiastic about lending their facilities to children without remuneration, especially when they could earn money from hiring them to adult groups. They had to be given a reminder of their obligation in a resolution of 17 September, 1968 - "On the Implementation of the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee

127 Kondakov, M. I., "Osnova osnov", in Ivonin, V. A. (ed.), Velenie vremeni, Moscow, 1969, p. 26.

128 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 8, p. 59.

and USSR Council of Ministers 'On Measures for the Further Improvement of Physical Culture and Sport' in Relation to Children's Sport".[129] The text of the new Party resolution summed up what had been achieved so far (between 1 September, 1966 and 1 September, 1968):

3,587 gymnasiums had been built

1,555 sports-grounds had been created

another 3,000 P.E. instructors were teaching in schools

the number of children taking part in organised sport had risen by two million and 820,000 had gained a sports-ranking.[130]

There was criticism, however, of the standard gymnasiums that had been recommended by the State Committee for Civil Engineering and Architecture attached to Gosstroi and of the range and quality of sports-equipment that was being produced under the auspices of Glavsportprom .

In late 1967, the RSFSR Ministry of Education and the Board of the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations had agreed on a set of minimum standards that all schools were to meet by 1970. The standards stipulated the minimum number and size of sports-facilities that each school had to have according to the number of pupils enrolled.

As an example, an 8-year school with between 320 and 960 pupils was to have the following facilities by 1970:

129 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1969, No. 9, p. 30.

130 Idem.

Table 84: Standard Sports-Provisions for an Incomplete Secondary School, 1970

Facility	Number	Size
Athletics field:		
running-track (circular)	1	200 x 5 m.
running-track (straight)	1	135 x 7.5 m.
high-jump pit	1	2.75 x 6 m.
long-jump pit	1	2.75 x 6 m.
multi-purpose jumping pit	1	32 x 5 m.
shot-putt sector	1	16 m. radius
	TOTAL AREA =	4,900 $m.^2$
Games and athletics ground:		
discus-throwing area	1	
javelin-, hand-grenade or ball-throwing area	1	
small football/handball pitch	1	40 x 60 m.
	TOTAL AREA =	2,950 $m.^2$
Gymnastics area:		
combined installation of suspended equipment (rings, ropes, poles, trapezes), wall-bars and long horses	1	15 x 40 m.
wall-bars, 12 sections	1	
boom	1	
beam	1	
parallel bars (sets)	1	
combined court for basketball and volleyball	1	18 x 30 m.
combined court for volleyball, basketball, 'pioneerball'	1	20 x 24 m.
table-tennis area	1	162 $m.^2$
Sports-training area		7,450-9,632 $m.^2$
of which:		
lawned area (ploshchad' ozeleneniya)		520-670 $m.^2$
TOTAL AREA OF SPORTS-ZONE		7,900-10,300 $m.^2$

Source: Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No. 12, pp. 21-22.

All newly-built schools were to be built to these standards and all other schools were to do their best, where space allowed, to bring facilities up to them. How well the schools responded is not yet clear, but a tremendous effort is obviously needed if all the demands are to be met in the near future. Judging by current figures, most rural schools have no chance at all of meeting the requirements, nor have many schools in metropolitan centres where space is at a premium. Some Republican ministries have, nevertheless, made considerable efforts to improve their school sports-facilities. The Belorussian Council of Ministers, for example, issued an order for all schools to have a gymnasium built by local construction organisations in the nearest future.[131]

During 1967, in Kazakhstan, 154 school gymnasiums were built; 816 were planned for the four years, 1967-70. In Armenia, during 1967, 85 school gymnasiums (mostly 36 x 18 m. or 30 x 15 m.) were constructed, as compared with 38 in 1965 and 74 in 1966; the planned target for 1967-68 was 240 gymnasiums. It is interesting to note that, of the 85 gymnasiums built, 42 were financed from state capital investments, 24 from collective- and state-farm contributions, and 19 from part of the money set aside by the Ministry of Health for school repairs. Money was also saved by involving the children themselves in the construction of amenities. The Armenian Deputy Education Minister, B. A. Bagdasaryan, gave the example of a swimming-pool being built in Leninakan at a cost of only 3,000 rubles (instead of the estimated 8,500 rubles), thanks to the work done by children from local secondary school No. 18.[132]

[131] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 11, p. 21.

[132] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 3, p. 2.

In Lithuania, it is claimed that every secondary school now has a sports-ground.[133] In Tadzhikistan, the improvement has been slow so far, however. Although a three-year plan (1967-70) was drawn up and a target of 742 sports-grounds planned, in mid-1968, 1,426 schools still had no sports-grounds. As many as 14 even of the sports schools had no sports-facilities of their own at all! Further, 41 per cent of the republic's P.E. instructors were unqualified.[134]

In Moscow, as one would expect, the situation is not so bad as in Central Asia. In 1970, only 70 secondary schools were without a gymnasium. Significantly, though, not one Moscow school had its own swimming-bath in 1968. The first school in the capital to get a swimming-pool was a new secondary school for 1,500 boys and girls on the Degunino housing-estate on the outskirts of the city, which opened in 1970 with a 25 m. swimming-bath with ten lanes.[135] In 1968, however, the authorities had launched a campaign "to teach all children to swim in the next 3-5 years".[136] The campaign was sparked by the lack of provision of swimming-facilities and instruction and the number of children drowning. Since 1968, several small pools, called lyagushatki ('tadpole pools') have been built, some attached to kindergartens. The first prefabricated swimming-pools (25 m. long, 12.5 m. wide and 1.2 m. deep) were to go into production in 1973 for schools and Pioneer camps. Over 300 were to be available by the end of 1973.[137] Swimming has come onto the timetable of some

[133] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 8, p. 3.

[134] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 6, p. 38.

[135] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 3, p. 7.

[136] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 6, p. 10.

[137] Sovetsky sport, 7 September, 1972, p. 4.

schools - e.g., 16 primary schools in Azerbaidzhan now teach swimming;[138] so do some schools in Moscow and Leningrad.[139] And, from October, 1972, the Ukrainian Ministry of Education made swimming-lessons compulsory in the school timetables.[140] The newly-created Neptune Swimming Club has sponsored swimming-lessons on television and conducted small-scale competitions in indoor pools throughout the country; these started in the 1970-71 school year. The sudden enthusiasm for swimming could be explained as being due to belated recognition that swimming is one of the best sports for all-round physical development. There is, however, a real need to lessen the seasonal worry over children's safety. The summer holidays seem all too often a time of family tragedy - though no statistics are available on drownings, any more than on other accidents in the USSR.

(g) Children's and young people's sports schools. Young people who wish to pursue a sport seriously after school or college hours may gain admission to a children's and young people's sports school - CYPSS (detsko-yunosheskaya sportivnaya shkola), a sports-proficiency school - SPS (sportivnaya shkola masterstva) or a higher sports-proficiency school HSPS (shkola vysshevo sportivnovo masterstva). If they show exceptional ability, they may even be admitted to full-time education and training in one of the special sports boarding schools - SSBS (spetsial'nye sportivnye shkoly-internaty).

During the 1960's, a number of changes were introduced into this system of sports schools and the number of schools grew considerably

[138] Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 12, p. 19.

[139] Sovetsky sport, 17 December, 1971, p. 3.

[140] Sovetsky sport, 4 October, 1972, p. 1.

At the fourth conference of the Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations in 1959, it was resolved to urge all education establishments and VSS's to allocate more money to the sports schools in order to extend their network throughout the country.[141] In the space of six years (up to 1965), another 1,200 schools were opened and total membership rose to 847,300.[142] By 1970, they had grown to over 3,500 with over a million children (see Table 85); in 1973, it was reported that the numbers stood at over 4,000 and 1,250,000 respectively.[143]

At the beginning, although a few CSS's specialised in a particular sport, most cultivated several (up to ten). In the 13,845 sports-sections within the CSS's, a range of 33 individual sports was pursued. On average, every CSS had an athletics and gymnastics section, 75 per cent had a basketball section and over half had a volleyball section; there were 858 football and 616 swimming sections.[144]

In 1963, however, it was decided that multi-sport CSS's were failing to meet the purpose for which these specialised training facilities had been created - producing proficient athletes for Soviet teams. In any case, adequate facilities were not available for so many sports. It was therefore recommended to reduce the number of sports pursued in each school to no more than three or four.[145] The director of a CSS in the Pervomaisky raion of Moscow

[141] Sovetsky sport, 27 June, 1959, p. 1.

[142] Makartsev, N. A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p. 83.

[143] Sport v SSSR, 1973, No. 12, p. 3.

[144] Makartsev, op. cit., p. 84.

[145] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 4, p. 28.

Table 85: Children's and Young People's Sports Schools, Selected Years, 1940-1973

Indicator	1940*	1949*	1950*	1955*	1960*	1965*	1967	1968	1970	1973
Children's and young people's sports schools (thousands)	0.262	0.507	0.562	0.821	1.814	...	2.897	3.303	3.500	>4.000
Children in them (thousands)	46.570	106.202	115.742	188.328	533.275	847.3	1001.7	1147.5	1200.0	1250.0
of whom:										
boys (thousands)	30.331	70.267	74.552	113.844	327.597	...	645.8	745.6	...	...
girls (thousands)	16.239	35.935	41.190	74.484	205.678	...	355.9	401.9	...	...

* Children's sports schools only

Sources: Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR, 1961, pp. 174, 210; 1963, pp. 149, 183; 1969, pp. 139, 182; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1968 g., p. 679; 1969 g., p.675; 1970 g., p. 637; Narodnoye obrazovanie, nauka i kul'tura SSSR, 1971, pp. 146, 148. Sport v SSSR, 1973, No.12, p.3

wrote subsequently that he had reduced the number of sports in his CSS from eight to three: "While, in 1951, 120 youngsters were practising eight sports, in 1968, 860 were pursuing three sports."[146] Even this reduced number was evidently too great - for, in 1966, the government called for yet another reduction in the number of sports to one or two and, in future, to set up sports schools specialising in one sport only.[147] At the same time, the age-limits were to be extended each way, so that children could be admitted from 7 to 18 (previously 10 to 16); the names of the schools were therefore changed from 'Children's Sports Schools' to 'Children's and Young People's Sports Schools' and several became known as specialised sports schools (spetsializirovannye sportivnye shkoly), sports-proficiency schools and higher sports-proficiency schools.

The aim of the schools is to use the best of the limited facilities available to give special and intensive coaching to children and young people in a particular sport so that they may become proficient, gain a ranking and graduate to an All-Union or Republican team. As the 1966 resolution stressed, these are "special sports-institutions and are intended to train highly-qualified athletes".[148] It is expected of the CYPSS-member that he or she will obtain a high sports-ranking by the time he or she leaves the school. The specialised gymnastics schools, for example, admit girls and boys at ten; they are expected "to pass from novice to master in six to seven years".[149] In 1966, CYPSS-graduates had supplied 346 (6%) of the 6,251 Masters of Sport, 933 (12%) of the 8,801 Candidate Masters of Sport, and 13,227 (12%) of the 118,797 first-rank athletes.[150]

146 Ibid.

147 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1969, No. 1, p. 31.

148 Makartsev, op. cit., p. 87.

149 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 12, p. 35.

150 Makartsev, N. A., Sobolev, P. A., Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, p. 40.

An examination of the sports pursued in the schools leaves no doubt that the chief targets for the schools' members are the Olympic sports. They are, in the opinion of some, "forges preparing Olympic reserves".[151] The head of the department for Forecasting and Planning Physical-Culture Development at the All-Union Research Institute of Physical Culture has written that "to ensure the success of Soviet sportsmen in important international competitions, especially the Olympic Games, we must consciously and purposefully train athletes; this requires early specialisation, a large time-expenditure, highly-qualified coaches working in this sphere, better technical equipment and, correspondingly, more financial expenditure on each athlete being trained ... In future, sport will develop principally through specialised sports organisations like the CYPSS's, the sports-proficiency schools, the sports boarding schools, etc."[152] The trend towards Olympic sports in these schools was accentuated by the move towards single-sport specialisation. Of the 33 sports pursued in the schools in 1966, only six were outside the Olympic programme (acrobatics, calisthenics, chess, handball, table-tennis and tennis). The most-practised were athletics (155,000 members), basketball (117,000), gymnastics (106,000), volleyball (89,000), swimming (62,000) and skiing (58,000).[153]

One advantage of these schools is that they have access to facilities, especially for technical sports, that may generally be in short supply in the country. In 1967, for example, over 80 per cent of the country's figure-skaters and high-divers, many of the

[151] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No. 8, p. 5.

[152] Pereverzin, Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p. 26.

[153] Makartsev and Sobolev, op. cit., pp. 39 and 44.

swimmers and a third of all young gymnasts pursued their sport by grace of the CYPSS's. They were also well served by qualified coaches. Of the 25,000 coaches working in the CYPSS's in 1967, some 80 per cent were qualified, compared with just over 55 per cent of P.E. instructors in secondary schools and 58 per cent of all full-time P.E. instructors and coaches in the country as a whole. Of the country's 42,310 full-time instructors and coaches in 1967, therefore, over half were working in the CYPSS's.[154]

Nonetheless, the CYPSS's, like all school sports-organisations, are not greatly endowed with their own sports-amenities. The vast majority (95 per cent, in fact, in 1967) did not have their own sports-centre but had to make do with facilities belonging to other organisations.[155]

In Moscow, only six of the 25 CYPSS's had their own sports-amenities in 1968. The remainder had to hire gymnasiums, indoor running-tracks, swimming-pools, stadiums, and so on.[156] In Armenia, apparently, conditions are somewhat better. The Armenian Deputy Education Minister stated in 1968 that fifteen of the republic's forty-four CYPSS's had their own sports-grounds. "But, in the coming two or three years, all the others will also have their own sports-amenities."[157] That may be characteristic Armenian optimism. Certainly, some Armenian CYPSS's are not badly off: the Igor Novikov Specialised Pentathlon School has a fencing-hall, indoor and outdoor shooting-ranges, an outdoor 50-m. heated swimming-pool, a horse-riding

[154] Ibid., p. 39.

[155] Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 15.

[156] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 4, p. 28.

[157] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 3, p. 2.

academy and a hotel with accommodation for 300 visiting athletes - no wonder the junior world pentathlon championships were held there in 1970. Also in the republic is the Grant Shaginyan Specialised Gymnastics School with two gymnasiums (one each for girls and boys), a cinema and various other special sports-halls. The Yerevan Specialised Football CYPSS has its own football stadium with accommodation for 5,000 spectators, three additional training-pitches, a 36 x 18 m. gymnasium and a swimming-pool.[158]

Children are considered for a CYPSS on the recommendation of their school P.E. instructor or at the request of their parents. Attendance and coaching are free. Although most of the schools take children at 11 years of age, for some sports they may accept them earlier or later.[159] For example, entrants to swimming sections may be accepted at 7-8, although cyclists and speed-skaters can only be taken at 13-14.[160] How often they train depends on the sport and the school, but coaching is intensive and classes are often long and frequent. In the Pervomaisky District of Moscow, the CYPSS, for instance, has preparatory groups of 11-13 year olds who must attend three times a week for two-hour sessions in the evenings; each group has fifteen members. Some of the top groups do even more training: the youngsters working for their Master of Sport ranking have to attend four or five times a week for two-hour sessions.[161]

The Committee on Physical Culture and Sport laid down the conditions of work for all CYPSS's in a Statute on the schools ('Tipovoye Polozhenie o detskoyunosheskoi sportivnoi shkole') published in

158 Ibid, p. 5.

159 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 9, p. 7.

160 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 12, p. 35.

161 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 4, p. 29.

February, 1970. The programme stipulated for CYPSS's specialising in gymnastics gives an idea of how serious the training is taken. (see Table 86 below)

A 15-year-old boy or 13-year-old girl attending such a school and working towards a First Ranking will be in a group of about six gymnasts, attending training sessions four times a week for 3.5-4 hours each session. The load, by any standards, is an enormous one in addition to school academic work.

It is certainly the case that the best coaches are drafted into the schools and it is prescribed as the duty of many of the country's best athletes to do some coaching and demonstrating in a CYPSS regularly. How much the coaches are paid depends on the school. Some schools pay according to the number of hours the coach puts in, others according to the number of children registered for each section - and yet others according to results, so that a coach in the Leningrad District of Moscow, say, can earn 150 rubles a month, while one in the Pervomaisky District can get only 100 rubles a month.[162] Sometimes abuses occur in payment to coaches: an acrobatics coach at a CYPSS in Chirchik, Uzbekistan, obtained an extra 2536 rubles in one year for claiming for more hours than he had actually worked; when his time-schedule was checked, it was discovered he was claiming to have put in over 24 hours of training each day! Another coach at the same school had claimed for "dead souls" — children who had not registered for his group.[163]

The organisations responsible for financing and running the CYPSS's are mainly the Republican ministries of education (via the city and district education departments in the localities), the trade-union VSS's and the big sports-clubs like Dinamo. Of the

[162] Idem.

[163] Sovetsky sport, 15 January, 1972, p. 2.

Table 86: Training-Conditions for a Gymnastics CYPSS, 1970

Groups	No. of such groups in the school	Age		No. of pupils in group	No. of sessions per week		Length of each session (hours)	
		boys	girls		boys	girls	boys	girls
Preparatory	3	9	8	15	2	2	2	2
"Young Gymnast"	3	10	8-9	15	3	3	2	2
Third Rank	3	12	11	12	3	4	3	2
Second Rank	2	13	12	8	4	3	3	3
First Rank	2	15	13	6	4	4	4	3.5
Candidate Master of Sport	1	17	14	4	5	5	4	3.5
Master of Sport	1	18	15	3-4	5	5	4	3.5

Source: Tipovoye Polozhenie o detsko-yunosheskoi sportivnoi shkole (DYUSSH), Moscow, 1970, p. 25.

2,772 CYPSS's that existed in 1967, the Ministry of Education was responsible for 1,605 with an enrolment of 567,400 members, the trade-union voluntary sports societies for 1,044 with an enrolment of 296,600 and Dinamo and other organisations for 123 with an enrolment of 74,700.[164]

At the suggestion of the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations at its third conference in 1966, a new All-Union sports society for young people, Yunost', was set up in 1967 to coordinate the activities of all CYPSS's and see that minimum standards were established in relation to facilities, coaches, age and other qualifications for entrance.[165]

(h) Sports boarding-schools. One quite revolutionary example in recent years of measures for the cultivation of a sporting élite is the opening of boarding schools up and down the country to cater for promising youngsters. The notion is not new nor Soviet; it was pioneered - in 'muscular Christian' form - in the mid-19th century by such English public schools as Rugby, Marlborough and Winchester, and is continued today by Millfield and the 'outward bound' schools like Gordonstoun. In the East European framework, however, the idea is far-reaching in its sweep and implications. Specifically, the modern sports boarding-school is the brainchild of East Germany and has underpinned its sports-structure for over a decade - with evident international success. Other East European countries have introduced the schools on an 'experimental' basis.

The USSR opened its first sports boarding-school in Tashkent in 1962;[166] soon afterwards, similar schools were created - at first, one in each of the fifteen republics, then in some provincial centres.

164 Makartsev and Sobolev, op. cit., p. 40.

165 Mikhailov, op. cit., p. 132.

166 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 7, p. 5.

It was not until 1970, however, that a special government resolution was passed on their creation. By that time, about 20 already existed; another 24 were planned for the near future.[167] Although statistics and information about the schools are extremely hard to come by, it has been revealed that Uzbekistan has at least four: at Tashkent, Samarkand, Andizhan and Margelan.[168] The first one in Moscow was opened in Pervomaisky Raion in 1971 (but the children have to travel to other parts of the city in order to use amenities like a swimming-pool and indoor athletics-stadium).[169] Similar poor facilities exist in Rostov-on-Don, where the sports boarding-school has no indoor stadium, inferior equipment, only one shot per ten shot-putters and no stop-watch.[170]

They follow other specialised boarding-schools (e.g., for cultivating mathematical, musical and other artistic talents) in adhering to the standard curriculum for ordinary secondary schools, but having in their case, an additional specialised study-load - in sports theory and practice. Their aim is for pupils to obtain the school-leaving certificate in addition to proficiency in a particular sport. Boarders are mostly accepted at 11 and stay on until the age of 18.

It is obviously axiomatic that such schools should possess first-class facilities. The one the researcher visited in 1970 in Tallinn, capital of Estonia, had four sections: gymnastics, basketball, volleyball and athletics; it commanded three gymnasiums, a 25-m. indoor swimming-pool, a ski-centre, an athletics-stadium and several courts and playing-fields for a variety of games. In Uzbekistan, the Tashkent

167 Moskovskaya pravda, 26 February, 1971, p. 4.

168 Fizkul'tura i sport, 1970, No. 6, p. 5.

169 Sovetsky sport, 17 September, 1971, p. 1.

170 Sovetsky sport, 25 September, 1973, p. 2.

school accepted pupils in football, swimming, athletics and gymnastics; the school grounds covered an area of 20 hectares, and included a 3-hall wing for gymnastics, indoor and outdoor swimming-pools and an indoor running-track.[171]

Some sports boarding-schools concentrate on a single sport; thus, in 1972, football schools were to be found in Kiev, Voroshilovgrad, Yerevan, Kutaisi and Tbilisi; there were six boarding-schools specialising in volleyball and 21 in gymnastics.

Boys and girls are normally invited to the schools on the basis of their performance in Republican school games. With the consent of their parents, they can enter the school if they pass a 10-day entrance examination. Allocation of periods to sport in the timetable rises with each successive year of the course. For example, 12-year-olds in the gymnastics section of the Tallinn school spent 25 hours per (six-day) week[172] on standard subjects, plus eight hours on gymnastics, two on swimming and two on P.E. In the top form, at 18, they devoted 23 hours a week to sport, including 19 hours of gymnastics. Roughly the same number of hours had to be spent on academic work.[173] At the Tashkent school, 11-year-olds studied their chosen sport for six hours a week, 12-13-year-olds for eight hours, 14-15-year-olds for ten hours, 16-17-year-olds for 12 hours, and 18-year-olds for 14 hours a week. Despite these rigorous schedules, it is asserted that the pupils have a better-than-average health and academic record: the physical and mental aspects apparently supplement and reinforce one another.[174]

[171] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 7, p. 5.

[172] This is three hours less than in ordinary schools (see Prokof'ev, M. A. et al. [eds.], Narodnoye obrazovanie v SSSR, 1917-1967, Moscow, 1967, p. 91).

[173] Sport v SSSR, 1968, No. 8, p. 7.

[174] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 7, p. 6.

The Tallinn Sports Boarding School had a teaching staff of 50 plus 17 qualified coaches to train its 750 pupils. The syllabus included specialist subjects like the psychology of sport, physiology, history of physical education and educational philosophy. Virtually all pupils were boarders, though some returned home at weekends. Fares home for holidays and weekends were paid by the school. Annual expenditure amounted in 1970 to 650,000 rubles (i.e., 850 rubles per pupil), the bulk of which came from the Estonian Ministry of Education - the remainder from the USSR Ministry of Education.[175] Most of the boarders spent at least a fortnight of their summer holidays at the school's summer camp on the sandy shore of the Gulf of Finland. A Leningrad sports boarding-school has 470 pupils, 20 sports staff and 53 part-time coaches; it possesses a specially-equipped gymnasium, swimming-pool, skiing and athletics centres. Finance in its case is provided by 20 Leningrad enterprises, which are 'patrons' of the school.[176]

An advertisement in Sovetsky sport[177] for the new Znamensky Brothers Sports Boarding School in Moscow attracted 900 letters from 823 towns and villages from all over the country during six weeks in 1973.[178]

[175] Of this sum, chief expenses comprise the provision of hostel accommodation, instruction, sports-equipment and clothing (all free of charge to boarders) and a specially nutritious diet; at the Tashkent school, the daily food-expenditure per pupil amounted to 1 ruble 64 kopeks, virtually double that (84 kopeks) at ordinary boarding-schools (Fizkul'tura i sport, 1968, No. 7, p. 6).

[176] Soviet Weekly, 2 September, 1972, p. 16.

[177] Sovetsky sport, 5 May, 1973, p. 4.

[178] Sovetsky sport, 2 August, 1973, p. 2.

The school has winter and summer stadiums, 7 Merited Coaches of the USSR and RSFSR and 12 Masters of Sport on its staff. Some 150 children were selected for tests, 14 days of which were taken up with medical examinations. Several candidates were rejected for academic reasons (too many low marks); others were given conditional acceptance if they improved their school marks. Like other sports boarding-schools, a minimum sports requirement for entry to forms 6-10 is a Third (adult) Ranking in a sport - a high achievement for 13-17-year-olds. In the case of the Znamensky school, an exception was made for children with exceptional physical attributes: over 170 cm. in height for 13-year-old girls and 180 cm. for 13-year-old boys.

One reason for the founding of these schools is the awareness that early specialisation, especially in athletics and swimming, is essential to achieve high standards and hence success in international competition. It is no secret that the schools, which are intended to form the nuclei of Republican teams, are expected to produce Olympic champions. At the 1967 All-Union School Spartakiad, for example, virtually the entire Azerbaidzhanian team was made up of members of the Baku Sports Boarding-School.[179] It has been explicitly stated that "these educational establishments have made it possible more effectively, more purposefully and in a better-planned way to organise and conduct work with Republican teams the whole year round".[180] It is an advantage to coaches and the sports-authorities to have a republic's best potential athletes organised in one well-equipped school served by the best coaches, fed with a specially nutritious diet, and constantly under the supervision of sports-instructors and doctors.

[179] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 8, p. 4.

[180] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1967, No. 12, p. 2.

It is freely admitted that the ultimate aim is to produce Olympic winners and that the schools have a political as well as an educational purpose. The title of a 1968 article on the Tallinn school was frankly "Olympians of 1972".[181] Elsewhere, the purpose of the sports boarding-schools and the specialised young people's sports schools is defined even more bluntly: "The sporting vocation has a practical significance not for mass sport, but for specialised sports schools in such sports as athletics, swimming, gymnastics, team-games, figure-skating, skiing and speed-skating - i.e., in sports that constitute the basis of the Olympic programme. In evaluating the meaningfulness of sport in international tournaments, one must not forget that, while world and European championships have great importance, victory at the Olympic Games acquires a political resonance."[182] The point made is that the Olympic Games carry more publicity and more national prestige. They are regarded as the measure of a nation's health and power. However, while the Soviet Union has no equal in winning world and European titles (winning 24 out of 70 in 1967) and in the range of sports in which these titles are contested (nine out of 15 in 1967), in the Olympic Games, as many as 70 per cent of the medals are concentrated in only three sports: athletics, swimming and gymnastics.[183] In the first two of these, the United States has overall superiority. It is felt in the USSR that the USA has attained this superiority not only by the provision of excellent facilities for young athletes and swimmers, but by careful selection and intensive coaching of these youngsters at schools and colleges.

[181] Sport v SSSR, 1968, No. 8, p. 7.

[182] Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1968, No. 5, p. 42.

[183] Idem.

The schools are not without their critics: some object that they lack depth and cannot produce a sustained flow of world-class athletes; the only answer, they say, is to provide more facilities for the population at large. Other detractors decry the marked acceptance of privilege implicit in the very existence of the schools: "They will surely produce more or less 'professional' sportsmen."[184] The schools are accused of encouraging the formation of an élite based on the luck of nature's draw and thereby perpetuating original inequalities rather than properly compensating for the accident of birth. Some educationalists are concerned about the big study-load imposed on the children and the efficacy of combining, say, mathematics and football, and about the possibility of academic work being over-shadowed. There is the geographical and time-problem of getting from classroom to running-track. The biggest stumbling-block so far, however, has been the opposition of parents to giving up their children to the boarding schools. One source has admitted that "the sports boarding-schools so far do not show the slightest popularity among parents - for various reasons. First, parents do not like the word 'internat' (boarding-school)"- perhaps because of its association with institutionalised care of the deprived - JWR. "Their logic is simple: 'Can't I feed my child myself?' Then the word 'sport' puts them off. They find it embarrassing to tell their neighbours that 'my Sasha is in a sports school'. It is much better to say he is 'in a special English school'."[185] A similar complaint about parental opposition has come from a volleyball coach who describes the difficulties in recruiting pupils for the six volleyball boarding-schools: "the word 'internat' frightens parents; they fear their children will be torn from their

[184] Moskovskaya pravda, 26 February, 1971, p. 4.

[185] Idem.

sight and love ... The mass media ought to explain to parents how immensely valuable the schools are for health and general education."[186] Largely because of such parental opposition, the Minsk sports boarding-school was on the verge of closing down in 1971, and the situation was just as precarious in several others. The football boarding-school (with 100 boarders) in Voroshilovgrad, attached to the Soviet 1972 football champion club Zarya, had trouble getting started - but not from parents. It met opposition from trainers at children's and young people's sports schools who were frightened of losing some of their charges.[187] The nature of such comments and the apparent effectiveness of parental opposition suggest a low status for sport as a vocation - at least in the opinions of a fairly important section of the public.

The proponents and opponents of the schools once again shed light on the conflict between popular desires and the state's desire for greater social control and rationalisation of sporting activities and use of facilities. As an article quoted above on the schools put it: "According to the estimates of our sociologists, senior-form pupils waste an average of 50 hours each week. By comparison, the most intensive sports-training takes up no more than 25 hours - i.e., half the time that is completely wasted!"[188] Officials see in the boarding-schools a more efficient way of controlling the use of free time and using it for sports-training. Many parents, on the other hand, dislike the idea of greater state control over their children than is absolutely necessary through attendance at ordinary state schools and the Pioneer

186 Sovetsky sport, 26 October, 1972, p. 2.

187 Sovetsky sport, 21 October, 1972, p. 3.

188 Moskovskaya pravda, 26 Feb., 1971, p. 4

and Komsomol organisations; they would appear to look upon sport anyway as something non-serious and unworthy of their children's study, if not career. In regard to the sports boarding-schools, it would seem that popular pressure may jeopardise the future of the schools and hamper the implementation of the government policy of promoting them.

Summary

In the period of comparative international calm since 1959, growing incomes, increasing free time and mounting pressures from an urban-industrial environment have all had a considerable impact on the pattern of recreation and on state and personal responses to the changes. The following seem to be the most marked trends:

(i) Physical activities have become more widespread and more genuinely popular - i.e., with greater variety to choose from and with decreasing official pressure on the use of free time, more people are engaging in such pursuits and, specifically, in the activity that suits their interests best.

(ii) There is a distinct move away from collective, work-place-oriented, urban recreation towards individual, family or small-group, non-urban, open-air pursuits such as rambling, boating, fishing, rock-climbing and even motoring. Future family-car production is likely to accelerate this trend.

(iii) The state has attempted to control this changing pattern by channelling such activities through the trade-union sports societies, Dinamo and the armed forces and by a well-publicised and elaborate physical-fitness programme, including prescribed tests for virtually all sports, from hiking and fishing to horse-riding and ice-hockey.

(iv) Among the plethora of 'new' sports to attract a following are some containing elements that the state will not, for the moment, tolerate because they are seen as going in some way against Soviet ethics. Such activities include such widely disparate activities as karate, yoga, body-building, women's football and wrestling, and bridge. The fact that some of these pursuits had existed for several years - some even had federations - is a measure of the uncertainty about official reaction to them and an indication of the state's more tolerant attitude in the recent past towards a variety of sporting activities in comparison with the Stalin period.

(v) The material encouragement of sport by the state has increased considerably, particularly since 1966. This is apparent in the often greatly heightened state attention given to such things as the encouragement of more sports-periodicals with a greater circulation, as the allotting of more TV and radio time to sport and as the improvement of spectator amenities. All this is partly a response to the 'new' problem of leisure-time - a desire to counter possible deviant activities resulting from misuse of free time. It is also motivated by a desire to enhance Soviet international prestige through success in sport - and that requires providing conditions for more people to take part in a wide variety of sports.

(vi) At the same time as the mass basis of sport has expanded through personal choices and state encouragement, the state has paid increasing attention to nurturing an élite of proficient athletes intended to bring the USSR international glory and respect. Although this is a continuation of a trend that has existed throughout Soviet history, it reached unprecedented proportions in the period under review - with a rapidly expanding network of sports boarding-schools, sports-proficiency schools, higher sports-proficiency schools,

specialised sports schools and a large and growing pool of professional (often well-remunerated) sportsmen in all the major fields of sport.

(vii) With weakening state regulation and mounting concessions to popular demand in sport, certain negative features associated with modern sport in other countries have appeared or become accentuated. These include increasing violence and foul play (in such diverse fields as football, ice-hockey, basketball and water-polo); crowd misbehaviour and clashes between rival fans (particularly exacerbated by the retinues who follow their national teams around the country); even greater 'star' treatment of top players (with accompanying excesses and corruption that are tacitly accepted by many officials). The state seems unable, or unwilling, seriously to counter these trends, possibly partly for fear of reducing the effectiveness of the Soviet bid for world sporting supremacy.

At the beginning of this period, in the late 1950's, sport was, for the vast majority of Soviet people, a matter of physical exercise, performed at home, school or work, a game of dominoes in the backyard with neighbours and, perhaps, a visit to a football stadium or ice-hockey rink. For the casual sportsman, facilities for pursuing most sports were few. By the late 1960's, however, although most Soviet people still took no greater interest in sport than watching an occasional match on television or reading Sovetsky sport, the opportunities were present for fairly wide-ranging sports participation. It would appear that many young people in towns were, in fact, availing themselves of these facilities and engaging in sports, often inspired by the glamour of thrilling performances, especially against foreign opposition. By virtue of its far-flung and well-integrated nature, sport had become an institution of some considerable social importance.

IX SOVIET SPORT AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

INTRODUCTION

Sport everywhere, being bound up with the values of communities, has a political aspect and is seldom (if ever) free of politics. The influence of politics on sport is particularly evident in relation to foreign policy, where sporting success is seen by many as a measure of national vitality and prestige; it can therefore serve as an unobtrusive form of propaganda. As a consequence, "international competitive sport has become an arena for ideologies, mirroring the same tensions as are seen throughout the world on the purely political plane."[1] UNESCO drew attention in the mid-1950's to the increasing 'politicisation' of international sport, to the extent that "the Olympic Games are now regarded by many as merely a testing ground for two great political units."[2]

With the division of much of the world into two camps in the 1950's with the nuclear stalemate and the intensifying 'battle for men's minds', sport became an area of great social significance. It is today employed by statesmen in East and West as a propaganda-weapon in world affairs, a relatively modern method of psychological warfare. By its nature, sport is suited to the task: it excites nationalist instincts and encourages group-identification; it is superficially apolitical and readily understandable; sporting activity can take place across barriers of race, class, religion and nationality; and, through modern means of communication, sporting spectacles can be transmitted throughout the world.[3] A Soviet writer has noted that

[1] Nathan, A., "Sport and Politics", in Loy, J.W. and Kenyon, G.S. (eds.), Sport, Culture and Society, Macmillan, 1969, p. 206.

[2] The Place of Sport in Education, UNESCO, Paris, 1956, p. 57.

[3] The 1973 USSR v. USA athletics match in Minsk, for example, was attended by over 200 journalists, half of whom were from the West; BBC TV transmitted two half-hour programmes on the two days of the tournament at peak viewing-times (6.45 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.) - even though no British athletes were involved.

"the deepening and widening influence of socialist sport on the condition of and trends in the world sports movement is one of the best and most comprehensible means of explaining to the masses the advantages which the socialist system has over capitalism."[4]

It is apparent that, today, the nations of the world rank differently according to the amount of interest their governments take in the organisation and conduct of sport. On the one side are those states whose sports-movement is fully integrated into the social and political system and thus becomes an important instrument of government policies. On the other are countries in which sport is largely organised by non-government bodies and tends to be free of state control --except, possibly, when it involves international competition. It is efficiency and command over resources that today count most towards success in international sport --and this is a factor that favours state-socialist systems, the Soviet Union's above all.

While sport in the West is by no means free of politics or foreign-policy aims, in centrally-planned, Soviet-type societies, it occupies a more central position in the social system and its functions and inter-relationship with the polity (especially the military), the economy and the culture are more manifest than in Western societies. In the USSR, the dependence of sport on politics has always been explicit: the administration of sport came under the aegis of the state immediately after the October 1917 revolution and has since been used to pursue specific socio-political objectives, including in foreign policy. The following three points from a Soviet sports-book make explicit some of the political tasks which Soviet sports-organisations are today expected to discharge:

"(i) to ensure top performance by Soviet athletes abroad as a means of widely publicising our attainments in building communism and in promoting physical culture and sport and to gain a prominent position internationally in the major sports;

4 [illegible] V.A., "Sport - oblast' mirnovo sorevnovaniya", Teoriya i praktika

(ii) systematically to propagate the aims and tasks of the Soviet sports-movement, to explain the attitudes of Soviet sports-organisations to the principal problems confronting the international sports-movement, vigorously to combat slander and misinformation in regard to Soviet sport, anti-communism and ideological diversions made by imperialist circles in world sport, to expose the real nature of bourgeois sport and the strategy and tactics of bourgeois sports-organisations, to thwart actions directed against the sports-organisations of the Soviet Union and of other socialist and young independent states;

(iii) to unite progressive forces in the international sports-movement, to consolidate the united front of sports-organisations of the socialist states, of the young independent states and the workers' sports-organisations in capitalist states for the purpose of reaching progressive decisions on issues facing the international sports-movement and of using sport as a weapon in the campaign for peace and mutual understanding."[5]

These do not, in fact, exhaust the overtly-stated aims assigned to Soviet sport as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. This chapter attempts to examine these and other functions of Soviet sport in relation specifically to Soviet foreign policy since 1917. During this period, six aims seem to have been pursued in Soviet sporting relations with the rest of the world --some more or less consistently throughout the whole time-span and others only in one or other phase of foreign politics. We can consider the pursuit of these state goals as functions assigned to the sports-movement and attempt to assess how successfully it coped with fulfilling them:

Continuously: (1) promoting good-neighbourly relations both with states bordering on the USSR and with those in strategically-important areas close

[5] Romanov, A.O., Mezhdunarodnoye sportivnoye dvizhenie, Moscow, 1973, p. 185.

to the USSR (such as the Baltic, Balkans and Middle East)-- a policy promoted both for reasons of strategy and, where regional contacts were encouraged with bordering states, for demonstrating the progress made by kindred peoples under socialism;

Pre-war; 1917-28: (2) promoting 'proletarian internationalism' and undermining 'bourgeois' and social democratic authority in order to advance world revolution;

1929-45: (3) strengthening the Soviet Union as a nation-state;

Post-war: (4) attaining superiority as a nation-state --a policy aimed at enhancing the status of the USSR and Soviet communism abroad;

(5) maintaining and reinforcing the unity of the socialist bloc and the Soviet 'vanguard' position within it;

(6) winning support for the USSR and its policies among developing states of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The history of Soviet participation in international sport, therefore, falls roughly into four periods:

A. 1917 - 1928;

B. 1929 - 1939;

C. 1939 - 1941;

D. 1945 - 1974.

A. Promoting Proletarian Internationalism, 1917-28

On the assumption that world revolution was not far distant and that, until then, the world would be split irreconcilably into two hostile camps,[6]

[6] The Declaration on the Formation of the USSR, adopted on 30th December, 1922, stated clearly the fundamental preconceptions of the Soviet leaders in international affairs: "Since the formation of the Soviet republics, the states of the world have been split into two camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism. . . The USSR is to serve as a decisive new step on the way to uniting the workers of the world into a World Socialist Soviet Republic." (See S'yezdy Sovyetov. Sbornik dokumentov, Moscow, 1960, Vol. III, p. 16). The spreading of communism throughout the world was regarded not simply as an ideological precept, but as a practical necessity on which depended the very existence of the Soviet state. As Trotsky explained in 1919: "The dictatorship of the Russian working class will be able to consolidate itself finally and to develop a genuine, all-sided Socialist construction only from the hour when the European working class frees us from the economic yoke and especially the military yoke of the European bourgeoisie, and having overthrown the latter, comes to our assistance

the Soviet authorities at first ignored 'bourgeois' sports-organisations, refused to affiliate to their international federations and boycotted their competitions, especially the Olympic Games (of whose committee Russia had been a founder-member) which were characterised as designed "to deflect the workers from the class struggle while training them for new imperialist wars."[7] In any case, as the writer Maxim Gorky put it: "Bourgeois sport has a single clear-cut purpose: to make men even more stupid than they are. . . In bourgeois states, sport is employed to produce cannon-fodder for imperialist wars."[8]

Initially then, excursions beyond Soviet borders were largely confined to the sport the USSR was best at (football --having inherited well-equipped clubs from many of the foreign, particularly British, factories in Russia) and to playing against foreign workers' teams. The first international football match was against the Finnish Labour Team ('TUL') in 1922 (won 7-1 by the old Moscow Zamoskvoretsky Sports Club). The next year, a Russian Federation side visited Berlin and Stettin to play workers' teams; these matches became an annual fixture (until relations with Germany and Poland were broken off in 1933). In 1924, a Leningrad team played Finnish, Norwegian and German workers' associations (winning 4-0, 5-3 and 7-1). The following year it played two games against Revel[9] (drawing 1-1 and winning 1-0) and eight games against Finnish teams. In 1926, a Moscow team played the French communist trade-union CFGT team in Paris.

Nonetheless, the need to coexist (especially with the USSR's neighbours), a desire to compete against the world's best teams and the consideration that the 'bourgeoisie' in certain backward states were playing a progressive rôle brought some limited contacts.[10] A Soviet football team visited Sweden

[7] Koz'mina, V.P., "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye sportivnoye dvizhenie posle Velikoi Okt yabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revolyutsii", in Samoukov, F.I. and Stolbov, V.V. (eds.), Ocherki po istorii fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1967, p. 165.

[8] Pravda, 14 August, 1928, p. 3.

and Norway in 1923; in Sweden, it beat the national team 2-1 and drew 5-5 with a Stockholm eleven; in Norway, it won all its matches. In the following two years, the USSR twice met Turkey (winning 3-0 and 2-1). The contacts might well have been more extensive but for the refusal of certain governments to grant visas: intended football-matches in Spain and Czechoslovakia in 1926 and 1927 had to be put off because of the refusal of their governments to grant entry-visas to Soviet players. The Austrian government declined permission for the Lower Austrian Football Association to make a football-tour of the USSR in 1926.

Limited participation in other sports began to take place in the late 1920's, even in 'bourgeois' tournaments, as long as Soviet representatives stood a reasonable chance of winning. As Shakhmatny listok (Chess Bulletin) wrote at the time, "In certain circumstances, the participation of working-class chess-players in bourgeois tourneys would be politically advantageous, inasmuch as it would unite working people around the idea of class solidarity and of opposition, as a class, to the bourgeoisie. The Chess Section therefore deems it possible for the proletarian chess organisation to take part in international matches so as, through victories over bourgeois masters, to enhance self-respect among the proletarian masses and faith in their strength and youthful talents."[11]

For the most part, however, as long as the USSR remained isolated and weak internationally, foreign sports-relations were restricted to worker sports-organisations and reflected the policy of the Communist International (Comintern).[12] Soviet foreign sports-policy was, in fact, largely identical with and conducted through the International Association of Red Sports and Gymnastics Organisations, better known as Red Sport International (RSI). The RSI was formed at the First International Congress of Representatives

[11] Shakhmatny listok, 7 October, 1925, p. 3.

[12] The Third or Communist International was set up in Moscow in March 1919, with the avowed objective of working to spread communism throughout the world. As Trotsky put it: "If today the centre of the Third International lies in Moscow then tomorrow . . . it will shift westward: to Berlin, to

of Revolutionary Workers' Sports-Organisations as an affiliate of the Comintern in Moscow, July 1921, two years after the Comintern's inception. Founder-members were workers' sports-organisations from eight countries -- Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Soviet Russia and Sweden. By 1924, it had 2,214,000 members in nine sections distributed in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, France, Italy, Norway, Uruguay, the USA and the USSR. Its first president was Nikolai Podvoisky, then concurrently head of Vsevobuch (see Chapter III, p. 182 above); its secretary was F. Reisner of Germany.[13]

The RSI was formed partly to counterbalance the social-democratic (Lucerne-based) Workers' Sport International (WSI --in 1929 renamed the Socialist Workers' Sport International), which had been set up in 1920 on the initiative of Belgian, French and German social democrats and was composed of workers' organisations from these three countries plus others in Britain, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Switzerland.[14] The RSI made its concern for sport and the class struggle manifest in the second article of its Statutes: "The Red Sport International embraces all workers' and peasants' sports-organisations which support the proletarian class struggle. . . Physical culture, gymnastics, games and sport are a means of proletarian class struggle, not an end in themselves."[15]

Relations between the two socialist sports-internationals were hostile right from the start, the RSI accusing its 'reformist' rival of diverting the workers from the class struggle by preaching that sportsmen should be neutral and that sport should be apolitical. RSI further charged it with preventing its members from competing against Soviet and other revolutionary sports-bodies (the WSI accused the RSI of the 'militarisation' of sport).[16]

[13] Krasny sport, 1924, No. 14, p. 3.

[14] Freihe Sportwoche, 12 December, 1923, No. 40, Leipzig.

[15] Koz'mina, op. cit., p. 171.

[16] Freihe Sportwoche, loc. cit.

Until 1928, the RSI, like the Comintern, pursued a policy favouring open competition between sportsmen of the two internationals and joint opposition to all 'bourgeois' sports-bodies. The WSI countered that the RSI only wished to undermine it, infiltrate it and take it over, citing the RSI Manifesto To All Workers of the World, in which the RSI had called upon the communist parties of 47 countries to form communist cells in workers' sports-associations so as to conduct ideological work among worker-athletes.[17] This 'subversion' evidently had some success, judging by the disaffiliation of several important sports-organisations from the WSI and by the rather tendentious names attached to the newly-formed clubs --e.g., a Paris workers' sports-organisation became L'Etoile Rouge and a Parisian football club named itself after Red Sport International President Nikolai Podvoisky.[18] Furthermore, a number of WSI-affiliates were defying its ban on contacts with RSI teams, particularly those from the Soviet Union. Soviet sides had played against WSI-affiliated members, such as the TUL workers' sports-association in Finland and against other affiliates in 1923 in Estonia, Germany, Norway and Sweden. In the same year, the Workers' Sports Federation of France voted by 71 to 14 to switch allegiance from the WSI to the RSI.

Under pressure, in 1925, the leaders of the WSI permitted affiliates to to compete with Soviet sportsmen "as long as they do not exploit the occasion for political purposes".[19] As a result, the number of international workers' events in which Soviet teams participated rose --six in 1922, 27 in 1923, 30 in 1924, 38 in 1925, increasing sharply to 77 in 1926 and 87 in 1927; the sports concerned were speed-skating, skiing, wrestling, boxing, football and athletics.[20] That there were not more contacts was largely due to the vetos of foreign governments on the entry of Soviet athletes into their countries.

[17] Koz'mina, op. cit., p. 172. [18] Izvestiya sporta, 1922, No. 8, p. 2.

[19] Jahrbuch der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie, Berlin, 1927, p. 379.

[20] Samoukov, F.I. (ed.), Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1964, p. 283.

This international activity received weighty backing from the Central Committee of the Communist Party: in its first major pronouncement on sport (see above, p. 210), in July 1925, it declared that "the promotion of physical culture in the USSR is very important for the international workers' movement, since contacts in sport and gymnastics between Soviet and foreign workers' organisations strengthen the international labour front."[21]

Open competition was shortlived, however; in 1927, the WSI reproached RSI-members with repeatedly violating the 1925 conditions and forthwith sundered all sporting ties. Subsequently, many WSI-affiliates expelled all communists from their ranks. Once again, the WSI evidently had cause for complaint: the RSI made no secret of its efforts to infiltrate and take over its rival. In a missive sent to all member-organisations in 1926, the RSI insisted that its "members and supporters should be wherever worker-sportsmen carry on their work, because patient and lengthy propaganda within this international (the WSI) can do much to liberate WSI worker-sportsmen from the fatal influence of their petty-bourgeois leaders and win them over to the genuine aims of the workers' sports-movement."[22] The policy of 'infiltration' caused some controversy within the RSI, principally between its president Podvoisky and its secretary Reisner, the former maintaining that the RSI should be on the offensive and use sport as a weapon in the class war. In the flush of revolution and before the 'socialism in one country' doctrine, he had declared "The Bolshevik Party and the Second Congress of the Comintern see the current period as a stage in the development of world revolution . . . the communist movement is now confronted by world socialist revolution."[23] Later, in legitimising the post-Lenin policy, communist historians have repudiated such predictions and the 'erroneous' policies of the RSI and its

[21] Izvestiya tsentral'novo komiteta Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b), 20 July, 1925, p. 5.

[22] Krasny sport, 2 June, 1926, p. 1.

[23] Verbatim report of the 2nd Comintern Congress (February 1921), read in the Archives of the Central State Institute of Physical Culture, Moscow (it is not generally available).

president, basing themselves on such premises. A Czechoslovak historian, for example, writing in 1967, asserted that "In speeches by many delegates at the Third RSI Congress, we find statements to the effect that the world revolution was upon them. Yet that was in direct contradiction to Lenin's views; he had demonstrated the prematurity of such assertions, thereby trying to prevent the Party and its workers' organisations, including the sportintern, from taking decisions that were rash and incorrect for the time."[24]

Meanwhile, following the WSI-sponsored First World Workers' Olympics of 1925, which excluded Soviet athletes,[25] Moscow staged its first great international sporting event in 1928: the First Workers' Spartakiad dedicated to the First Five-Year Plan and the tenth anniversary of the Soviet sports-movement (see above, Chapter IV, p.234). The games were intended to demonstrate proletarian internationalism in sport by being a universal workers' Olympics and a counterbalance to the 'bourgeois' Olympic Games being held the same year in Paris. Although the Spartakiad was dominated by Soviet athletes, a sizeable foreign contingent arrived - in spite of the WSI ban on its members attending. Some 600 foreign athletes (about 15 per cent of all the participants) from a dozen or more countries are said to have taken part in the games.[26] The programme ranged over 21 sports, approximating to the programme of the 'bourgeois' Olympics. It differed from the latter, however, in that, besides team and individual competitions, the Spartakiad contained two innovations thought to be appropriate to such a proletarian gathering: first, a variety of pageants and displays, including an elaborate ritual of opening and closing ceremonies, carnivals, mass games, motor-car and motor-cycle rallies; second, demonstrations of folk-games and folk-dancing. In addition, there were displays of such team-games as were

[24] Olga Nalepkova, "Iz istorii osnovaniya krasnovo internatsionala", Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1967, No. 11, p. 76.

[25] The WSI actually invited RSI athletes to compete on condition that the two internationals amalgamated. The RSI refused.

[26] Pravda, 13 August, 1928, puts the figure at 12 nations: Austria, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Latvia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay; Fizkul'tura i sport, 1928, No. 33, adds Algeria

unfamiliar to many of the participants (e.g., rugby, tennis, grass-hockey) as well as mock 'battles' between the 'world proletariat' and 'world bourgeoisie' (see above, p.224).[27]

B. Strengthening the USSR as a Nation-State, 1929-39

Shortly after this, the USSR and the Comintern underwent a radical change in foreign policy. Concerned at the ebb of the world communist movement and convinced that it was only a matter of time before the capitalist powers renewed attempts to destroy the Soviet regime, the Soviet leaders felt it necessary to build up defence-capacity and to try to postpone the coming attack as long as possible so as to permit the consolidation and strengthening of Soviet defences through the industrialisation of the country. The growing weight attached to the defensive aspects of Soviet foreign policy was greatly reinforced by the triumph of Stalin's doctrine of 'socialism in one country' first hypothesised in 1924/25. Trotsky and the other leaders who saw the strengthening of the world revolutionary movement as the only real guarantee of maintaining the gains of October had, by the end of 1927, been driven into the political wilderness; henceforward, there could be no doubt that it was the Russian revolution rather than international revolution which was dominant. Trotsky complained "We have today a 'theory' which teaches that it is possible to build socialism completely in one country and that the relations of that country with the capitalist world can be established on the basis of 'neutralising' the world bourgeoisie (Stalin). The necessity to call for a (socialist) United States of Europe falls away, or is at least diminished, if this essentially national-reformist and not revolutionary-internationalist point of view is adopted."[28] But it was adopted and the work of the Comintern became defensive in object --the aim being to prevent or frustrate an anti-Soviet coalition rather than to further and lead revolution.

[27] Pravda, 22 August, 1928.

[28] Trotsky, op. cit., p. 147.

Not only did Soviet foreign policy alter in relation to bourgeois states; it changed towards the social democrats. Since 1920, Communist parties abroad had been acting under the slogan of a 'United Front' which indicated a readiness, at least in theory, for some sort of cooperation with other parties of the Left. However, it was in the name of this policy that the Chinese Communists had collaborated with the Kuo-min-tang and met with disaster when Chiang Kai-shek had turned on his Communist partners. In Europe, Communist parties had encountered little success in their approaches to social-democratic parties. A new policy in relation to social democrats went into operation after the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1928. As the British historian, E.H. Carr, describes it: "The manifesto issued by the Congress, ranging the Social Democrats with the Fascists, denounced them as being 'on the side of the exploiters, on the side of the imperialists, on the side of the imperialist robber states and their agents,' and called on the workers everywhere to fight 'against reformism and Fascism for the proletarian revolution'."[29]

This new policy was, of course, applied in all areas, including sport. It was taken up immediately by the RSI which appealed for a "relentless fight against the social-fascist leaders."[30] Subsequent events --economic depression in Europe and the growth of fascist regimes in Italy and Germany -- witnessed a great thinning, if not decimation, of the ranks of both the WSI and RSI. By the mid-1930's, their feud had become an anachronism, with the backbone of the WSI (the nearly two million-strong sports-association of Germany) broken by Hitler and the RSI virtually confined to the USSR. As late as 1933, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, saw no reason for the USSR to alter its policy towards Germany; he made what Carr has called a "rather crude avowal of Soviet opportunism":[31] "We, of course, sympathise

[29] Carr, E.H., German-Soviet Relations Between the Two World Wars, 1919-1939, O.U.P., 1951, p. 99.

[30] Krasny sport, 12 May, 1929.

[31] Carr, op. cit., p. 110.

with the sufferings of our German comrades, but we Marxists are the last who can be reproached with allowing our feelings to dictate our policy. The whole world knows that we can and do maintain good relations with capitalist states of any brand, including the Fascist. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Germany, as we do not interfere in those of other countries; and our relations with her are conditioned not by her internal but by her external policy."[32]

Although no sports-ties linked Germany and the Soviet Union during the 1930's, Soviet sportsmen were venturing into contests with bourgeois states. Thus, in the first Soviet chess venture abroad, Mikhail Botvinnik drew with the world champion, the Czechoslovak, Flohr, in 1933; three years later, his tie for first place with the Cuban, Capablanca, at the world championship held in Nottingham merited a picture and full-length article on the front page of Pravda.[33] Following the signing of a mutual-assistance pact between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia in 1935, three football-matches were played by Prague against Leningrad, Moscow and the Ukraine.

However, following Hitler's announcement in March, 1935 of what he called 'the restoration of German sovereignty' and unlimited rearmament, the fear of fascism became very real for the Soviet leadership and foreign policy veered once more toward cooperation between social democrats and communists. In July, 1935, a congress of the Comintern --the Seventh and last --was summoned for the purpose of generalising the new line. "In face of the towering menace of Fascism", declared the main resolution, ". . . it is the main and immediate task of the international labour movement in the present phase of history to establish the united fighting front of the working class."[34]

[32] Litvinov, M.M., Vneshnyaya politika SSSR, 1937, p. 78.

[33] Fourteen years previously, the then 14-year-old Botvinnik had beaten Capablanca in Moscow during an exhibition of simultaneous play by the then-reigning world champion.

[34] Sed'moi vsemirny kongress Kommunisticheskovo Internatsionala, Moscow, 1935, p. 7.

The defence of democracy against fascism was said to be the supreme task of labour. Sport, too, was to play its part in "safeguarding democracy and constitutional government."[35]

The Soviet side advocated the unification of the international workers' sports-movement --and, although the two sports internationals could not agree on a Popular Front, they did reach some measure of consensus on certain points: they issued a joint appeal for all sportsmen to boycott the 1936 Olympics (Berlin being the host city); and Soviet sportsmen were permitted to take part in the WSI-sponsored International Workers' Olympics held in Antwerp in 1937. Nevertheless, large areas of discord remained, notably over competition with bourgeois sportsmen: while the WSI leaders were opposed to such 'fraternisation' with the class enemy, Soviet sports-leaders pressed for contacts with "all organisations opposed to the fascist danger."[36] Soviet leaders saw a difference between the earlier United Front and the current Popular Front in that the latter extended to the anti-fascist bourgeois, and Soviet leaders played down the class struggle against them. A few months after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, a Basque football team played nine matches in the Soviet Union during early 1937, winning seven of them. But international events, particularly the gathering of war-clouds over Europe, was to bring to an end the period in which the policy of "popular fronts" was pursued.

C. Relations with Axis Powers, 1939-41

It is fundamental to an understanding of Soviet policy in this period that the Soviet leaders seemed to think an aggressive war by Hitler certain, and were determined at all costs to avoid having to face him alone. If the alliance with the West failed, then neutrality in a war between Germany and the West or, at worst, alliance with Hitler, were the only ways out. This consideration followed the signing of the Munich agreement on

[35] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1935, No. 7, p. 3.

[36] Pravda, 27 June, 1938.

29 September, 1938 (there had been no prior consultation with the Soviet government), the apparent bankruptcy of the Soviet Union's Western policy and the necessity of coming to terms with Hitler. As Carr comments, "Once this diagnosis of Western policy had been accepted in Moscow, only one conclusion could be drawn: if the Western alliance could not be achieved, then let Hitler at all costs strike West and let Russia purchase immunity by 'non-intervention'."[37] This was the conception embodied in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 23 August, 1939, when, in return for 'non-intervention', "Stalin secured a breathing space of immunity from German attack . . . and German agreement to the existing Soviet frontiers in Eastern Europe."[38]

The events of the first few months after the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty --and the subsequent commercial and cultural (including sport) exchanges --provide ample evidence of the ease with which a state of the Soviet type could carry into effect a new policy, whatever the magnitude of the apparent change involved. Internal propaganda conformed to the new line and all anti-fascist expressions vanished.[39] The Comintern, which Trotsky called "the pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy"[40], followed suit and swung into line behind the Soviet-German 'peace offensive'. A Comintern announcement on 7 November, 1939, condemned both Germany and the Allies for engaging in a war for world domination, but the emphasis in this period was on Allied responsibility for the war. As Beloff has written: "Communist parties which only yesterday had been the most bellicose advocates of collective resistance to an aggressor fell back into the more congenial atmosphere of revolutionary defeatism."[41]

[37] Carr, op. cit., p. 136.

[38] Idem.

[39] Thus, for example, even guards in labour camps were forbidden to call prisoners 'fascists' any longer.

[40] Trotsky, op. cit., p. 282.

[41] Beloff, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-1941, O.U.P., 1947, Vol. II, p. 288.

This volte face found its echo, naturally, in sport. The first-ever sports agreements signed between the Soviet Union and a West European state were those concluded with Germany shortly after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. They envisaged a wide exchange of sportsmen: German fencers, swimmers, gymnasts, footballers, athletes and tennis-players came to the Soviet Union, while Soviet gymnasts, swimmers and weight-lifters all competed in Germany. In fact, more sports contests took place between Soviet and German sportsmen during 1940 than between the sportsmen of the USSR and all 'bourgeois' states in all the preceding years since 1917 put together: some 250 German sportsmen competed in the USSR and 175 Soviet sportsmen in Germany between September 1939 and the end of 1940.[42] All this, presumably, was intended to reinforce the newly-established Soviet-German friendship.

Following the German invasion of Norway on 9 April, 1940, and the establishment there of the Quisling fascist regime, a Soviet-Norwegian sports-agreement was signed; it brought an exchange of skiers to compete in bilateral skiing contests in December 1940.[43]

Sports-contacts with the Baltic states followed the Soviet-German division of spheres of interest, the signing of mutual-assistance pacts with the three Baltic states[44] and the establishment of Soviet military bases there. In the period between the signing of these pacts in late 1939 and the incorporation of the three Baltic states into the USSR in August, 1940[45], sports-agreements resulted in Estonian boxers and

[42] Romanov, op. cit., p. 192.

[43] Ibid., p. 193.

[44] The pact with Estonia was signed on 29 September, that with Latvia on 5 October and that with Lithuania on 10 October, 1939.

[45] On 1 August, a special session of the Supreme Soviet admitted Lithuania as a Soviet Socialist Republic, adding to it certain territories previously part of Belorussia; Latvia was admitted on 5 August and Estonia on 8 August, 1940.

wrestlers, Latvian skaters and Lithuanian basketball-players competing in the Soviet Union.[46]

The only other foreign sports-contacts involving the USSR in the years 1940 and 1941 were two football matches played between Moscow Spartak and Sofia, first in Sofia and then in Moscow in mid-1940, on the eve of Bulgaria's occupation by the Germans and at a time when the USSR was attempting to conclude non-aggression pacts with Balkan states, including Bulgaria.

This interlude of sports-contacts with three states that were shortly to become the USSR's wartime foes and with three border states that were soon to be incorporated into the Soviet Union as Union Republics brings the history of pre-war foreign sports-contacts to an end. No foreign sports-contacts existed during the period of Soviet involvement in the war (1941-45).

With the signing of the Soviet-German pact in August, 1939, and the subsequent outbreak of World War II, the Comintern had gone into eclipse; it was finally dissolved, no doubt to the satisfaction of the leaders of the USSR's wartime allies, on 22 May, 1943, giving further support to those who argued that the Soviet Union was "a State among other States, pursuing clearly-defined ends by the conventional methods of realpolitik."[47] It is an interesting sidelight on the not-always straightforward relations within Comintern organisations that the Red Sport International is rumoured not to have died immediately after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union on 16 June, 1941. Although Moscow is said to have given instructions for its dissolution, some of its leaders, including the secretary Reisner, are said to have ignored the order and only halted activities in November, 1942.[48]

[46] Romanov, op. cit., p. 193.

[47] Beloff, op. cit., p. 390.

[48] The story of the demise of the RSI has never been told officially; this version was told to me in Moscow by a Soviet sports-historian.

D. USSR as a World Power, 1945-74

(i) Status as a world power

The Soviet Union emerged from the war a victor, its military power having penetrated into Central and Eastern Europe, thus altering radically the balance of power in Europe and the world. Within the space of the four immediate post-war years, ten Soviet-aligned states came into existence.[49] In the circumstances of international friction ('Cold War') which developed after World War II, the existence of two 'hostile camps' and rival military blocs confronting one another in a divided Europe, sport became an obvious arena for international competition, 'defeating' one's ideological opponent. In the West, it was felt by most governments valuable and expedient to have sporting contacts with the Soviet Union, both as an expression of the formal victors' unity that survived the war and as a relatively harmless means of keeping certain options open for a more cooperative future (as in other cultural exchanges). In the USSR, domestic sport was now thought strong enough to take on the world; victories over bourgeois states would demonstrate the vitality of the Soviet system. In a speech to the Party Central Committee in 1946, the Party spokesman then responsible for ideological and cultural affairs, Andrei Zhdanov, lauded the supremacy of Soviet culture and urged an offensive against the 'decadent' Western world.[50] In the mood of nationalistic fervour that accompanied a great military victory, Soviet

[49] These states were Yugoslavia (1945), Bulgaria (1946), Albania (1946), Hungary (1946), Rumania (1946), Poland (1947), Czechoslovakia (1948), North Korea (1948), the German Democratic Republic (1949) and China (1949).

[50] In an admonition to Soviet writers, Zhdanov had said: "Is it right for Soviet patriots like us, representatives of progressive Soviet culture, to play the part of admirers of disciples of bourgeois culture? Our literature reflects a society which is on a higher plane than any bourgois-democratic society, a culture which is obviously superior to bourgeois culture and, therefore, it need hardly be said, has the right to teach others the new, universal morals. Where can one find another people like ours, or a country like ours? Where can one find such wonderful human qualities?"
(Pravda, 6 June, 1946, p. 1.)

sport, too, an "inalienable part of the overall culture of society",[51] was therefore to take the offensive and, in the words of a Party resolution on sport, "win world supremacy in the major sports in the immediate future".[52] To do this would be to advertise the socialist system: "The increasing number of successses achieved by Soviet sportsmen in sport has particular political significance today. Each new victory is a victory for the Soviet form of society and the socialist sports-system; it provides irrefutable proof of the superiority of socialist culture over the decaying culture of the capitalist states."[53]

Before the war, apart from the sports-exchange between the USSR and Nazi Germany and the Baltic states in 1940, few official representatives of foreign states had visited the Soviet Union for a sporting event, nor had Soviet athletes competed, except (as we have seen) on rare occasions, with athletes other than those belonging to workers' sports-associations. Nor had Soviet sports-associations joined or been invited to join inter-national federations. Further, since tsarist Russia's participation in the 1912 Games, no Russian or Soviet team had contested the Olympics.[54] That is not to say that standards in Soviet sport were necessarily inferior to those in the West. It is claimed that, by 1939, 44 Soviet records bettered world records, including 23 in weightlifting, 9 in athletics,

51 See Entsiklopedichesky slovar' po fizicheskoi kul'ture i sportu, Vol. III, Moscow, 1963, p. 226.

52 Kul'tura i zhizn', 1 November, 1949, gives the full text of the resolution "On the Work of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sports Affairs in Implementing the Directives of the Party and the Government on the Development of the Mass Sports-Movement in the Country and on Improving the Skill of Soviet Athletes " (See pp.310 -311 above).

53 Kotov, Y.D. and Yudovich, I.I., Sovetskaya shakhmatnaya shkola, Moscow, 1951, p. 4.

54 The International Olympic Committee continued to recognise the old tsarist Russian Olympic Committee for several years after 1917. Such ROC members as General Butovsky, Count Ribopierre, Baron Vilebrandt and Prince Urusov all served on the IOC in the period 1917-1932.

9 in pistol-shooting, 2 in swimming and 1 in speed-skating.[55] They could not be registered because the Soviet Union was not a member of international federations.

In the immediate post-war years, Soviet sports-associations affiliated to nearly all the major international sports-federations (see Table 88 below) and Soviet athletes were competing regularly at home and abroad against foreign 'bourgeois' opposition (see Table 89).

Between 1946 and 1958, the USSR joined 30 international federations, and by 1973 --42, thereby embracing nearly all the principal world sports. Moreover, as many as 104 Soviet officials held posts in international sports-organisations in 1972.[56]

Spearheading the assault on the 'bourgeois' fortress was the Moscow Dinamo football-team which, only two months after the war, accepted invitations to visit Sweden, Norway and Britain and played four matches against leading British clubs without defeat (beating Cardiff 10-1, Arsenal 4-3, and drawing with Chelsea 3-3 and Glasgow Rangers 2-2) --and this at a time when British football was still considered to be supreme in the world. The tour should be seen as part of the effort to show that, despite the war-losses, the USSR was still strong and that conditions were reasonably 'normal'. In 1946, Soviet weightlifters came second to the Americans in the world championships. In 1947, Soviet wrestlers competed in the European championships and won three divisions. In 1948, Botvinnik won the world chess title and, in 1949, Ludmila Rudenko won the women's world chess title (the men's title was retained until 1972, when it was won by Robert Fisher of the USA; the women's is still (1975) held by the USSR). Also in 1949, the Soviet men's volleyball-team became world champions and the women's team European champions. These were, to say the least, extremely auspicious international débuts.

[55] Romanov, op. cit., p. 193.

[56] Romanov, op. cit., p. 197.

TABLE 88

Affiliation to International Federations, by Sport, 1946-73

Year	Sports-Federations affiliated to in given year	Cumulative total of sports affiliated (no.)
1946	Basketball, Football, Skiing, Weightlifting	4
1947	Athletics, Chess, Speed- and Ice-Skating, Swimming (including Diving and Water Polo), Wrestling	9
1948	Gymnastics, Volleyball	11
1949	Boxing	12
1951	(Soviet Olympic Committee formed and affiliated to the IOC)	12
1952	Cycling, Canoeing, Equestrianism, Fencing, Ice-hockey, Modern Pentathlon and Biathlon, Pistol-shooting, Rifle-Shooting, Rowing, Yachting.	22
1954	Table-tennis	23
1955	Bandy (ice-hockey with a ball instead of a puck)	24
1956	Draughts, Lawn Tennis, Motor-cycle-racing, Motor-racing	28
1958	Gliding, Handball	30
1962	Judo, Radio-sport	32
1965	Sub-aqua sport	33
1966	Model-Boatcraft sport	34
1967	Archery, Mountaineering, Orienteering	37
1969	Motor-boat sport	38
1970	Field-hockey	39
1971	Toboganning	40
1973	Trampoline, Rugby	42

Sources: Romanov, A.O., Mezhdunarodnoye sportivnoye dvizhenie, Moscow, 1973, pp. 236-242; Romanov, A.O., Mezhdunarodnye sportivnye ob'yedineniya i turistskie organizatsii, Moscow, 1973, pp. 309-317.

TABLE 89

Foreign Sports-Groups Visiting the USSR and Soviet Sports-Groups Travelling Abroad, Selected Years, 1948-73

Year	Foreign sports-groups visiting the USSR (no.)	Soviet sports-groups travelling abroad (no.)
1948	12	23
1954	131	142
1958	294	330
1959	352	353
1960	407	399
1961	490	455
1965	439	507
1967	699	806
1969	504	533
1971*	389	477
1973	617	598

* More than two-thirds of the exchange was with other socialist states.

Sources : Samoukov, F.I. (ed.), Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1964, pp. 350, 371; Stolbov, V.V., Chudinov, I.G., Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1970, p. 219 (for 1965 data); Romanov, A.O., Mezhdunarodnoye sportivnoye dvizhenie, Moscow, 1973, p. 196 (post-1965 data); Sport v SSSR, 1974, No. 8, p. 1.

Despite these early successes, Soviet sportsmen moved cautiously into international competition and, before 1952, tended not to enter an event without reasonable expectation of victory. No Soviet team was sent to the London Olympic Games of 1948; in many Olympic events --notably in athletics and swimming (the 'anchor' sports of the Games) --it was felt that Soviet standards were still insufficiently high for the USSR to do well. Instead, a number of officials attended the Games as observers. Only in May, 1951 was a Soviet Olympic Committee formed and accepted by the International Olympic Committee.

The USSR made its Olympic début at the 15th Olympic Games, held in Helsinki, in 1952. The extent of Soviet preparation was evident from the fact that Soviet athletes were to contest all events in the Olympic programme (with the exception of field-hockey). Bearing in mind that nearly all the Soviet sportsmen and sportswomen had never competed previously against world-class opposition from outside the USSR, the Soviet performance was remarkable. Although, in the unofficial[57] Olympic table (see Table 90 below), the USSR gained fewer gold medals than the Americans (22:40), it gained more silver (30:19) and bronze (19:17) and tied with the USA in points allotted for the first six places (according to the system used in the Olympic Bulletin). The best Soviet performances were in gymnastics (nine gold medals), wrestling (six gold), weightlifting (three gold) and rifle-shooting (one gold). Only two gold medals came from athletics --and those in field-events by women. Soviet teams took second place overall in athletics, basketball, boxing and rowing. The poorest results were in cycling, equestrian events, fencing, swimming and yachting.

[57] No official count of medals or points in tables of nations is made by the International Olympic Committee. However, since it is common practice by participant-nations to measure their progress against one another during the Games, a standard scoring system and medal-table have been agreed upon by competing nations.

TABLE 90

Soviet Performance in the Olympic Games, 1952-72

Summer Games							Winter Games					
Year	Gold Medals	Medal-total[h]	Points[a]	Posi-tion	Nearest Rival		Gold Medals	Medal-total	Points[a]	Posi-tion	Nearest Rival	
					Medals	Points[a]					Medals	Points[a]
1952	22	71	494	1	76	494[c]	_[b]	_[b]	_[b]	_[b]	_[b]	_[b]
1956	37	98	624.5	1	74	498[c]	7	16	103	1	11	66.5[d]
1960	43	103	683	1	71	463.5[c]	7	21	146.5	1	7	62.5[e]
1964	30	96	608.3	1	90	581.8[c]	11	25	183	1	15	89.3[f]
1968	29	91	591.5	2	106	709[c]	5	13	92	2	14	103[f]
1972	50	99	665.5	1	93	636.5[c]	8	16	120	1	14	83[g]

[a] The points-allocation is that used in the Olympic Bulletin: awarding seven points for first place, five for second and so on down to one point for sixth place (i.e.,

Placing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Points awarded	7	5	4	3	2	1

).

[b] USSR not participating

[c] USA [d] Austria [e] Sweden [f] Norway [g] East Germany

[h] The comparative British medal-totals for the Summer Olympics were: 1952 - 11, 1956 - 24, 1960 - 20, 1964 - 18, 1968 - 13, 1972 - 18.

Sources: Andrianov, K.A., et al. (eds.), Olimpiiskie igry, Moscow, 1970; Sovetsky sport, 16th February, 1972, p. 4; Sportsworld, September, 1972.

The USSR took no part in the 1952 Winter Olympics, and made its winter début only in 1956 at Cortina d'Ampezzo in Italy. There it amassed most medals and points, winning gold medals in speed-skating, skiing and ice-hockey. The ice-hockey success was particularly creditable, in so far as the sport had been taken up in the Soviet Union only after the war; even two years before the 1956 Winter Olympics, the Soviet ice-hockey team had won the world championships at its first attempt.

At the next Olympics, held in Melbourne in 1956, the USSR sent a team of over 300 athletes. Once again, all events except field-hockey were contested, and, this time, the scope of the challenge was much wider; besides gaining more medals and points than any other nation, the Soviet Union reaped the first gold medals in track-events (both won by Vladimir Kuts), boxing, football, sculling, canoeing and the modern pentathlon. Soviet teams took second place in athletics, basketball, free-style wrestling, rowing and weightlifting, and came third in water-polo.

There was no mistaking the boost that Olympic success gave at the time to many Soviet people's pride in their sportsmen and, by extension, in the country and even the system that had produced such world-beaters. Nor were the leaders slow to appreciate the benefit the USSR could reap from its enhanced reputation at home and abroad. By a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 27 April, 1957, a large group of Soviet athletes, coaches and sports-officials were rewarded with some of the country's highest honours.[58]

At the 1960 Olympic Games, held in the winter at Squaw Valley in the USA and in the summer in Rome, the USSR provided by far the most successful performance. In the winter, it won three times as many medals as its

[58] Pravda, 30 April, 1957. 27 beneficiaries received the supreme accolade, the Order of Lenin, 145 - the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, 367 - the Badge of Honour, 353 - the medal 'For Outstanding Labour' and 75 - the medal 'For Excellent Labour'. Never before - or since - have the leaders honoured so highly the efforts of Soviet sportsmen.

nearest rival (Sweden). In the summer events, it earned 103 to the 71 medals of its nearest rival (USA). Victories were recorded in sports comparatively new to the Soviet Union, like cycling, yachting, fencing and show-jumping.

In the following Olympic Games, held in the winter at Innsbrück in Austria and in the summer of 1964 in Tokyo, the USSR once more emerged triumphant, winning first gold medals in pairs' figure-skating (by Belousova and Protopopov) and in the biathlon in the Winter Olympics, and with Soviet contestants first in 7 of the 23 sports in the summer programme: Graeco-Roman wrestling, weightlifting, boxing, gymnastics, fencing, the modern pentathlon and, for the first time, men's volleyball. A gold medal was won for the first time in swimming (by Galina Prozumen'shchikova, breast-stroke).

At the 1968 Olympics, however, the Soviet winter and summer contingents showed they were not invincible by being placed second to Norway in the Winter Olympics, held at Grenoble in France, and second to the USA in the Summer Olympics, held in Mexico City. Although, at Grenoble, Soviet competitors sustained their winning form in pairs' figure-skating, ice-hockey, the biathlon, and women's speed-skating (500 m.) and won a first-ever gold medal in ski-jumping, they trailed overall in skiing, speed-skating and the more technical winter sports (bobsleigh, toboganning, slalom and Nordic skiing).

In Mexico, American athletes won a record 106 medals and 709 points as compared with a Soviet total of 91 medals and 591.5 points. A further contribution to the relatively poor results was the good performance at high altitude of a number of African athletes, largely in the track-events. Altogether, Soviet performers took gold medals in boxing (3), free-style wrestling (1), men's and women's volleyball, gymnastics (4 to women and 2 to men), rowing (3), fencing (2 team-medals) and athletics (the triple jump, javelin and 20-km. walk).

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1968 Olympics was that other nations, too, were reaping rewards from extensive sports-planning. At the summer Olympics, for example, six competing East-European nations (excluding the USSR and the non-participant Albania) aggregated 120 medals, including 40 gold (with a total population of 100 million); the six leading West-European states accumulated 81 medals, including 25 gold (with an aggregate population of 230 million). Hungary alone, with a population of only 10 million, gained twice as many medals (32) as Britain (53 million and 15 medals). West Germany (with a population of 57 million) won 25 medals, including 5 gold - the same number as East Germany, whose total included 9 gold (with a population of only 17 million). Spain (with a population of 30 million) obtained no medals at all. Mongolia, on the other hand, (with a population of just over a million) gained 4 medals. The following table (Table 91) puts Olympic performance in more meaningful terms by showing the distribution of Olympic medals per 10 million of population.

As Table 91 shows, the USA and USSR were the two foremost world sporting powers in 1968 only by reason of their huge populations. The latter, though gaining only five fewer medals than its 1964 Tokyo total (of 96), fell well below the American tally of 106. Over half the American medals (58) were contributed by swimmers. Despite the Soviet setback in not 'winning' the Olympic Games for the first time in its short history of competition, the team's versatility was some indication of the comprehensive planning of the sports-movement in the USSR. Not only did Soviet athletes contest 22 of the 23 sports at the Mexico Olympics (the exception, as before, was grass-hockey), but they gathered medals in all sports except cycling - by far the most balanced achievement by any nation in the history of the modern Olympics.

In the winter and summer Olympic Games held during 1972 at Sapporo (Japan) and Munich (West Germany), the Soviet Union reclaimed its leading

TABLE 91

1968 Summer Olympic Medals per Unit of Population, Some "Western" and "Eastern" States

West	Olympic Medals per 10 million of population	East	Olympic Medals per 10 million of population
USA	5.8	USSR	4.0
West Europe	3.5	East Europe	11.2
		of which:	
		Hungary	32.0
		East Germany	14.8
		Bulgaria	11.3
		Czechoslovakia	9.3
		Rumania	8.3
		Poland	6.0
of which:			
Netherlands	5.9		
Sweden	5.0		
West Germany	4.4		
France	3.2		
Italy	3.1		
Britain	2.5		

Sources: Andrianov, K.A., et al. (eds.), Olimpiiskie igry, Moscow, 1970; Longmans English Larousse, London, 1968.

position. At Sapporo, Soviet figure-skaters (gold and silver medals in the pairs), speed-skaters, long-distance skiers and the ice-hockey team accounted for virtually all the Soviet medals. It was, once again, the more technical sports, relatively new to the Soviet Union, that showed Soviet performers lagging behind (downhill skiers and bobsleigh teams). Thus, in the Giant Slalom, the best-placed Soviet woman was 31st and the best-placed man 46th. In the single toboggan run, the three Soviet contestants were 29th, 33rd and 41st. That lack of amenities and experience can be overcome by meticulous planning and active state intervention was illustrated by the East Germans (who had inaugurated the first sports-boarding schools in Eastern Europe in the early 1960s --see p. 581 above); they won bobsleigh and tobogganning events and came second overall to the Soviet Union in medals and points.

As a mark of gratitude to its Olympic 'standard-bearers', the USSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree on 3 March, 1972, "On Awarding Orders and Medals to Athletes and Coaches for their Results in the 11th Winter Olympic Games".[59]

In the summer Olympics, the USSR acquired more gold medals and points than any nation had done before --this despite the obvious improvements in worldwide athletic standards, particularly in Eastern Europe and the 'third world'. Soviet success was achieved largely at the expense of the more established sports-nations, primarily the USA. The measure of Soviet superiority over the USA --and of East over West Germany (hosts to the Games) --may be seen in the medals table for the first ten places.

[59] Sovetsky sport, 4 March, 1972, p. 1. Two skiers gained the Order of Lenin --Kulakova (who won 3 gold medals) and Vedenin (who won 2 gold medals) --i.e., over half the Soviet total; the coaches of the ice-hockey team, several players and figure-skaters received the Order of the Red Banner of Labour (10 in all); 16 people, including the coaches of Kulakova and Vedenin, received the Badge of Honour, 16 others --the medal 'For Outstanding Labour', and 5 --the medal 'For Excellent Labour'. Similar awards had been made after previous Winter Games (in 1960, 1964 and 1968).

TABLE 92

Final Medals-Table for the First Ten Places in the 20th Olympic Games, 1972

Country	Gold	Silver	Bronze
USSR	50	27	22
USA	33	31	29
East Germany	20	23	23
West Germany	13	11	16
Japan	13	8	8
Australia	8	7	2
Poland	7	5	9
Hungary	6	13	16
Bulgaria	6	10	5
Italy	5	3	10

Source: The Times, 12 September, 1972, p. 8.

The 'spread' of Soviet performance and success in the Olympics may be seen in Table 93 below which shows the first six team-placings in every sport contested at Munich. Grass-hockey was, once again, the only sport uncontested by the USSR.

Table 93 confirms that the USSR was the best all-round and most successful nation at the Summer Games, winning 9 of the 23 sports in which it competed, coming second in 6 and third in 2; by comparison, the USA had 4 firsts, 3 seconds and 1 third. Besides being superior overall, the USSR also was the most consistently versatile, being placed in the first six nations in 23 of the 24 sports in the Games (the USA --in 14, East Germany --12, West Germany --9). In terms of population-medal balance, the most outstanding nations were East Germany, Cuba and Hungary. Overall, the 11 socialist countries (Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, North Korea, Poland, Rumania, USSR and Yugoslavia) out of the 121 states represented at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games, accounted for over half the gold medals (100 out of 194) and 47 per cent of the medals. The improvement of the socialist states is noteworthy; when most of them made their Olympic début in 1952, only 3 featured in the top ten nations in the unofficial points-table --the USSR (1st), Hungary (3rd) and Czechoslovakia (10th). In 1968, there were 4: USSR (2nd), East Germany (3rd), Hungary (4th) and Poland (8th). At the 1952 Summer Olympics, socialist states won 20 per cent of the total points and 29 per cent of the medals, in 1956 --33 per cent and 34 per cent, 1960 --40 per cent and 40 per cent, 1964 --38 per cent and 38.9 per cent, 1968 -- 40.6 per cent and 40.7 per cent and 1972 --46.4 per cent and 47 per cent respectively. Commenting on the successes of the USSR and the fraternal states in 1972, Pravda left no doubt that it saw them as a victory internationally for the socialist system: "The grand victories of the USSR and the fraternal states convincingly demonstrate that socialism opens up the greatest opportunities for man's physical and spiritual perfection."[60]

[60] Pravda, 17 September, 1972, p. 1.

TABLE 93

First Six Team-Places in All Sports Contested at the 20th Summer Olympic Games

Sport	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
ARCHERY	USA	USSR	Poland	Sweden	Finland	Belgium
ATHLETICS	USA	E.Germany	USSR	W.Germany	Kenya	Britain
BASKETBALL	USSR	USA	Cuba	Italy	Yugo-slavia	Puerto Rico
BOXING	Cuba	Hungary	Poland	USA	USSR	Bulgaria/ Kenya
CANOEING	USSR	2-3 Hun-gary	Rumania	4-5 E. Germany	W.Germany	Bulgaria
CYCLING	USSR	Australia	3-5 E. Germany	W.Germany	Poland	France
DIVING	USA	Italy	Sweden	E.Germany	USSR	Czecho-slovakia
EQUESTRIAN	W.Germany	Britain	USSR	4-5 Italy	USA	Sweden
FENCING	Hungary	USSR	France	Italy	Poland	Rumania
FOOTBALL	Poland	Hungary	3-4 E. Germany	USSR	-	-
GYMNASTICS	USSR	Japan	E.Germany	Hungary	Poland	USA
HANDBALL	Yugo-slavia	Czecho-slovakia	Rumania	E.Germany	USSR	W.Germany
*HOCKEY	W.Germany	Pakistan	India	Nether-lands	Australia	Britain
JUDO	Japan	USSR	Nether-lands	Britain	France	W.Germany
MODERN PENTATHLON	USSR	Hungary	Finland	4-6 Brit-ain	Sweden	USA
ROWING	E.Germany	USSR	W.Germany	4-5 Czech-oslovakia	New Zealand	USA
SHOOTING	USSR	USA	E.Germany	Czechoslo-vakia	5-6 Italy	Poland
SWIMMING	USA	Australia	E.Germany	USSR	W.Germany	Canada
VOLLEYBALL	Japan	USSR	E.Germany	N.Korea	5-6 Bul-garia	S.Korea
WATER POLO	USSR	Hungary	USA	W.Germany	Yugo-slavia	Italy
WEIGHT-LIFTING	Bulgaria	USSR	Hungary	Poland	E.Germany	Iran
WRESTLING: FREE-STYLE GRAECO-ROM.	USSR USSR	USA Bulgaria	Japan Rumania	Bulgaria Hungary	Hungary Yugo-slavia	Iran Czecho-slovakia
YACHTING	Australia	Sweden	3-4 France	USA	Britain	USSR
Soviet Total 23	9	6	2	2	3	1

* USSR non-participant

Source: The Times, 12 September, 1972, p. 8.

In a sociological study of the dependence of success in the Olympic Games on socio-economic factors, Professor Novikov of the Central State Institute of Physical Culture concluded that success depends not so much on size of population as on a country's per capita national income, the calory-intake of the population, average life-expectancy, literacy and urbanisation. Where such factors are quantitatively equal, success depended largely on the social system: "Given equivalent socio-economic conditions, the level of sports-attainments of the socialist states is considerably higher than that of countries in the capitalist system. This is attributable to the fact that, in socialist society, socio-economic factors are an index of the well-being of all members of society, while, under capitalism, they merely reflect the general socio-economic level with the simultaneous existence within the country of affluence for the few and poverty for the majority."[61] The point Professor Novikov is concerned to make is that, although determined planning is important, success is primarily due to a system that makes sport available to the millions, that encourages mass participation.

There is little doubt that international success, particularly at the Olympics, figures high on the Soviet leadership's list of priorities for sport, not least of all for the encouragement it brings to sports-participation at home: "The great interest in sport generated by the success of Soviet sportsmen internationally must be used for further popularising physical culture. Displays and talks by Olympic champions and other famous athletes will attract fresh thousands of people to

61 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, No. 12, p. 11; data were taken from the 1964, 1968 and 1972 Olympic Games. In a Western study of the 1952 Olympic Games (Jokl, E. [ed.], Medical Sociology and Cultural Anthropology of Sport and Physical Education, Charles Thomas, USA, 1964), a similar relationship was found between socio-economic (though not political) factors and sporting success.

sports-centres, gymnasiums, and swimming-pools. . . This will help implement the task set by the Party and government of making physical culture part of the daily lives of every Soviet citizen."[62] In recognition of their success, athletes, trainers and officials who excelled during the Olympics were again rewarded by decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (5 October, 1972).[63]

Soviet attachment to the nationalistic ritual of the Olympic Games, with its unfurling of flags, victory-ceremonies, national anthems, contingent-marching and distinctive uniforms, the USSR's staunch resistance to any reduction of such elements and Soviet attempts to have them reproduced in other international tournaments all testify to the importance which Soviet leaders attach to the use of sport for boosting national prestige and advertising their political system. Among the tasks officially set Soviet sports-organisations is "to combat cosmopolitanism in the international sports movement, in particular the efforts to abolish the ceremony of playing national anthems and raising national flags in honour of victors at the Olympic Games and other official international tournaments."[64]

That is not to say other high-level contests in the full glare of world publicity are seen as unimportant. Several international contests rank high in prestige-value to the winners --e.g., the biennial USA v. USSR

[62] Pravda, 17 September, 1972, p. 1. Wide publicity was given to the few days' shock-work at the Kam-AZ construction-site in Tataria done in January 1973 by several Olympic champions, including the gymnasts Turishcheva and Voronina and the athletes Borzov and Bolotnikov.

[63] Sovetsky sport, 6 October, 1972, pp. 1-2. "On Awarding USSR Orders and Medals to Athletes, Trainers and Physical-Culture and Sports Officials in Connection with the Results of the XX Summer Olympic Games": six persons received the Order of Lenin (including Borzov - winner of the 100 m. and 200 m. sprints, Alexeyev - winner of the super-heavy weightlifting division, and Saneyev - winner of the triple jump for the third Olympics in succession), 20 - the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, 105 - the Badge of Honour, 48 - the medal 'For Outstanding Labour' and 74 - the medal 'For Excellent Labour'. Though high, the number of awards was more modest than that after the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, when the Soviet Union first gained most points in the unofficial table.

[64] Romanov, op. cit., p. 185.

athletics-match, the World Cup in football, and the various European and world championships. Outside the Olympics, therefore, the range of Soviet international competition grew steadily after the war. At the beginning of the 1960s, the reaffirmation of the policy of "peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems" by N.S. Krushchov at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 found reflection in sport in the shape of rapidly-increasing contacts between Soviet and foreign teams in a wide variety of sports. Sportsmen from abroad were invited to many Soviet cities and Soviet people were able, more often than not, to cheer and take pride in successes scored by their own athletes against foreign opposition. In 1961, as many as 490 foreign teams visited the USSR (see Table 89), competing in more than 40 Soviet towns; in the same year, Soviet sports-organisations were in contact with 77 countries. The foreign visits were all the more significant since this was the first time most ordinary Soviet people outside Moscow and Leningrad had seen foreigners since World War II. Besides identifying the ordinary Russian or Georgian, Tatar or Latvian with Soviet performance, the matches with foreign teams, particularly with those from economically underdeveloped states, helped to re-establish the international fellowship that had receded into the background during the war and the years of intensive Cold War that followed. It is an interesting observation that few visiting foreign sportsmen found much to criticise in Soviet crowd behaviour; nor did foreign crowds in the conduct of Soviet athletes. The British diplomat and author, Wright Miller, felt that "The old feelings of solidarity, of decent relations between man and man, seem to have prevented any development of the dirty play and ugly crowd behaviour typical of so many countries where sport is a new thing. Soviet international teams have sometimes made a bad impression through being overzealous about national prestige, but I do not think foreigners have ever had to complain of any lack of

sportsmanship on the field. When foreign teams or athletes defeat Russians on Russian ground they never meet with unpleasantness from the crowd unless they have been thought unsporting."[65]

It seemed that few sports were outside the winning-range of Soviet sportsmen once they had made their international début. Even old 'aristocratic' sports like yachting, rowing, fencing, lawn tennis, show-jumping and horseracing were not out of reach. Soviet yachtsmen gained their first gold medal in yachting at the 1960 Olympics, Soviet rowers visited the Henley Regatta in 1961, winning two cups (including the top prize --the Grand Challenge Cup for Eights), Soviet men and women fencers won their first gold medals at the 1960 Olympics, tennis-players entered the Davis Cup world tennis tournament in 1962, show-jumpers (attired in the top hat and tails which the sport had inherited from the English country gentry) gained their first gold medal at the 1960 Olympics and Soviet horses and jockeys ventured onto the world's leading flat and steeplechase courses in the early 1960s.

As the 1960s progressed and relatively new sports came to be practised in the Soviet Union, Soviet competitors and teams extended their range of international competition and took part --now often without serious hope of immediate success (e.g., in motor-rallies, rugby, badminton and field-hockey) --in order to acquire experience. They even competed against foreign professionals in football, tennis and ice-hockey[66] though, in other sports, the Soviet authorities have mostly resisted confrontations between Soviet 'amateurs' and foreign 'professionals';

[65] Wright Miller, Russians as People, London, 1963, p. 148.

[66] A separate bilateral competition was agreed upon in 1972 between the Soviet ice-hockey side and a team of Canadian professionals. Of the 8 games (4 in Canada and 4 in Moscow), the Canadians won 4, the Soviet Union - 3, with 1 drawn. Much comment came from the Soviet and foreign press about the premeditated violence of the Canadian professionals, and the USSR has since stepped up its campaign to bar them from official 'amateur' championships. In a second tournament in 1974, the USSR again took on the Canadian professionals, winning 4, losing 1 and drawing 3.

they strongly opposed open tennis tournaments and the limited participation of professionals (mainly from Canada) in ice-hockey, for example.[67]

Soviet football-teams entered nearly all the major international tournaments, winning the European Nations' Cup in 1962, though failing to win successive World Cups and European club-championships. Soviet archers made a winning début in the European championships in 1969 and 1971; Soviet motor-cyclists --on dirt, grass and ice --won world titles at the end of the 1960s, and Soviet cars and crews entered the Monte Carlo Rally (1964), the London-to-Sydney Marathon (1968) and the London-to-Mexico Marathon (1970), and won the golden team-trophy in the 1971 Tour of Europe Motor-Rally; they also entered a number of Grand Prix. In skin-diving, the USSR won the European Championships on its international début in 1967, and, the next year, won 20 of the 25 medals in the European championships. In parachuting ('sky-diving'), a Soviet man and woman won the absolute world individual titles in 1970 and the USSR won the women's team-title. Soviet table-tennis players won the European League in 1969 and again in 1970. Two Soviet tennis players, Olga Morozova and Alexander Metreveli, collected a major international title in 1971 (the South Australian Open Singles). In draughts, the Soviet team dominated the European championship after 1967. In trampoline sport, Soviet athletes won three of the four titles on their international début in the 1973 European championships. In the not-so-distant future, it is not unrealistic to forecast, the USSR is likely to be a leading power in world badminton, rugby, grass-hockey and motor-racing, at

[67] In the complex world of amateur/professional distinctions, there is a number of sports in which the best Soviet competitors never meet the best foreign competitors. This is so in boxing, basketball, cycling and figure-skating. In other sports, 'amateurs' and 'professionals' may compete together --e.g., in football, motor-racing and motor-cycle racing. In yet others, there is a partial distinction --so that, for example, all tennis-players may mix in 'open' tournaments, as at Wimbledon, but no 'professionals' may compete in the Davis Cup.

all of which its sportsmen are practising hard.[68] Nor, one may predict, will it be long before Soviet winter athletes enter (and do well in) such sophisticated sports as the slalom, bobsleigh and toboganning events --just as they have of late come to dominate figure-skating and ice-dancing and have won the world ski-jumping championship. There are no signs at the moment of them taking up golf[69], cricket or baseball --although bridge, karate, ladies' football and body-building are all developing an (unofficial) following.

Some indication of the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet sport internationally may be gained from the following tables.

TABLE 94

World and European Championship Titles, 1960-69

Country	World titles won	European titles won	Country	World titles won	European titles won
USSR	318	365	Austria	40	18
USA	143	—	Rumania	30	41
Italy	86	66	Poland	29	35
East Germany	80	73	Switzerland	27	27
West Germany	80	118	Norway	25	26
Czechoslovakia	70	50	Finland	14	13
France	70	77	Iran	14	—
Great Britain	70	65	New Zealand	14	—
Japan	58	—	Yugoslavia	12	32
Sweden	56	34	Bulgaria	8	17
Hungary	45	58	Luxemburg	1	10
Belgium	40	18	Turkey	0	10
Netherlands	36	55	Denmark	0	8

Source: Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 7, p. 18.

68 As an example of thorough preparation for a 'new' sport, the USSR formed a grass-hockey federation in 1968 and affiliated to the International Hockey Federation in 1970 - with virtually no popular support for the game at home - with the declared aim of fielding a team in the Munich Olympics in 1972. Almost the entire Soviet world-champion bandy team was drafted into grass-hockey in order to form the nucleus of the Olympic squad. It made its international début at the European championships in 1970, coming third of four teams in its group; it did not, however, succeed in the preliminaries to qualify for Munich. Nevertheless, the official campaign to promote hockey resulted in eight hockey-teams contesting the first Soviet Hockey Championship in Alma Ata in 1971. The importance to the USSR of hockey is that it is the only sport for which the country has so far been unable to field a team at the Olympics.

69 It was, however, reported in 1973 that the American businessman Armand Hammer had made an agreement to construct the first Soviet golf-course on the outskirts of Moscow. (See The Times, 18 December, 1973, p. 7.)

Over a wide range of sports, Table 95 reveals that, in the 1960s, the USSR won over twice as many world titles as the next country (USA) and over three times as many European titles as its nearest rival (West Germany). Altogether, East European states collected 42 per cent of the world titles and 55 per cent of the European titles.

TABLE 95

Results of Athletics Matches, USSR v. USA, 1958-1973 (points)[a]

Date	Location	Men		Women[c]		Total	
		USSR	USA	USSR	USA	USSR	USA
1958	Moscow	109	126	63	44	172	170
1959	Philadelphia	108	127	67	40	175	167
1961[b]	Moscow	111	124	68	39	179	163
1962	Palo Alto	107	128	66	41	173	169
1963	Moscow	114	119	75	28	189	147
1964	Los Angeles	97	139	59	48	156	187
1965	Kiev	118	112	63.5	43.5	181.5	155.5
1969[b]	Los Angeles	110	125	67	70	177	195
1970	Leningrad	122	114	78	59	200	173
1971	Berkeley	110	126	76	60	186	186
1973[b]	Minsk	121	112	95	51	216	163

a The scoring system is as in the unofficial Olympic table (see above, p.615)
b No matches in intervening years
c Women have fewer points than men because these are fewer women's events.

Source: Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 7, p. 8; 1971, No. 9, p. 16; 1973, No. 8, p. 3.

Table 95 shows that, of the 11 matches held between the two world athletics giants, the USA and USSR (also regarded by many as the world representatives of their respective ideologies), the USA has won only twice overall (indicated in italics); it is also noteworthy that Soviet men have won only three times and Soviet women have lost only once. It says much for the part played by women in Soviet sport that this has occurred --one is inclined to compare the contribution of American Negroes to American athletics-success to that of Soviet women to Soviet athletics-success, both being relatively socially disadvantaged groups in their own societies; in both cases, their teams would not be nearly so strong without them. Both groups have also gained a certain amount of national gratitude and respect through success for their country in sport that has enhanced their social standing within their respective societies.

TABLE 96

Points Accumulated by the World's Three Leading Sports-Nations in Major Sports during 1970

Sport	Points		
	USSR	USA	East Germany
Athletics	96	141.5	162
Swimming	53	325.5	71
Gymnastics	92	5	59
Canoeing	30	-	23
Free-style wrestling	44	32	7
Graeco-Roman wrestling	48	12	10
Weightlifting	39	18	5
Fencing	65	-	-
Shooting	34	27	8
Cycling	19	-	10
Rowing	20	4	41
Show jumping	21	5	6
Yachting	4	26	7
Modern pentathlon	12	3	-
Valleyball	8	-	7
Basketball	4	2	-
Water polo	7	-	-
Handball	-	-	5
Boxing, judo, diving, archery, grass-hockey and football	81	43	59
TOTAL (number) (per mln. of population)	677 2.79	644 3.13	480 28.16

Sources: Sportsworld, November, 1970, p. 53; December, 1970, p. 48; March, 1971, p. 23.

Note: The points-allocation is that used in the Olympic Bulletin: 7-5-4-3-2-1. The points were estimated from world championships that took place during 1970 in gymnastics, rowing, canoeing, free-style and Graeco-Roman wrestling, weightlifting, fencing, pistol- and rifle-shooting, show jumping, yachting, modern pentathlon, volleyball, basketball and handball. In water-polo, results were taken from the European championships (the equivalent of world championships, since European nations have dominated the sport since 1950). No championships were held that year in athletics and swimming; in these cases, the best times and distances are compared. For all other sports, an estimate was made from regional championships and results from the previous year.

Table 96 gives some indication of the USSR's weak and strong sports during 1970: swimming, athletics, yachting and rowing were its weakest points, with swimming and yachting the two sports in which it lagged most behind the top nations . It is also worth noting the overall improvement of the USSR's allies (particularly East Germany) by 1970; during that year, they won 209 (61 per cent) of the 340 world and European championship-titles in 29 sports.

The results shown in Tables 94-96 and those at the Olympic Games examined earlier suggest that the Soviet Union has gone a considerable way to achieving its aim of world supremacy in sport, but essentially in aggregate terms of points over the whole range of amateur Olympic sports taken together. Until the anomalies that keep some amateurs and professionals apart are removed, it is difficult to gain an overall perspective of Soviet performance in relation to human maxima. The USSR appears to be most successful in the amalgam of combat-sports (wrestling, weightlifting and judo), artistic expression (gymnastics and figure-skating), quasi-military sports (fencing, shooting, archery, biathlon, modern pentathlon, skiing, parachuting and equestrian sports) and cerebral skills (chess and draughts). Harnessed to a purposeful planning system, these skills may have their roots in the physical strength of the Russian peasant and belligerent border peoples like the Cossacks and Transcaucasians (who produce many of the weight-lifters, wrestlers and boxers); in the artistic body-movements of gymnastics and figure-skating by a people keenly appreciative of aesthetic self-expression in ballet and folk-music; in the long-established (pre- and post-revolutionary) association between sport and military training; and in the intellectual skill of chess in a society in which intellectual and cultural activities are held in high esteem.[70] It is less successful in

[70] In the world chess ranking-list issued by the International Chess Federation in 1972, Soviet men occupied 7 of the top 10 places, 15 of the top 20 and 52 of the top 100 places; Soviet women filled the top 7 places and 19 of the first 25 places (Sovetsky sport, 11 November, 1972, p. 3).

swimming and athletics, and 'newer' (for it) sports like grass-hockey, rugby, badminton and tennis. The failure to dominate world athletics and swimming may be attributed partly to the climate, partly to the late start in sport of most Soviet children (due to the lack of facilities and instructors and to the high priority given to scholastic work) and partly to the paucity of amenities generally --school playing-fields, indoor stadiums and swimming-pools being few and far between.[71] The international success in, and popular following for, team sports in the USSR may be due to the vigorous official encouragement given to them for the values they are felt to impart; discipline, reliance on others and the merging of the individual in the group have long been valued by the Soviet authorities. It seems not an unreasonable hypothesis that the reasons behind such popularity of team-play and international success in it may be sought in a societal environment that stresses collectivism and co-operation over individualism and self-interest.

As we have seen above, the Soviet Union is keenly aware of the advantages that are thought to accrue from international sporting success and, of course, deliberately prepares its athletes for international events. A recent statement of sports-aims makes the point that "The main purpose of our international sports-ties is to consolidate the authority of the Soviet Union by ensuring that Soviet athletes play a leading rôle internationally, that their sports-skill constantly grows, that the

[71] It provides some measure of the impact in recent years of sports-needs on state thinking to recall that until the year of the Soviet Olympic début, 1952, there were only three indoor swimming-pools in the whole of the Soviet Union! Even in 1970, the USSR had only 1 pool per 100,000 people (1 per 250,000 in the Russian Federation); in the same year, Britain, despite extensive access to the sea, had 1 indoor swimming-pool per 37,000 people (see Sport v SSSR, 1971, No. 7, p. 14; World Sports, June 1970, p. 43).

successes of the Soviet people in building communism are made widely known and that physical culture and sport are promoted in our country."[72] Testimony to the attention devoted to participation in international sport comes (wryly) from an unlikely source: the eminent biochemist, dissenter and now exile, Zhores Medvedev (after being himself denied an exit visa to address the CIBA Foundation on gerontology) wrote of the high priority given by the Party Secretariat to sports-stars: "I knew of a case of a footballer who was suddenly required for an international match and was summoned and rushed by air from the resort where he was on holiday, approved by all departments, including the visa section, delivered from Moscow to England, driven straight from the airport to the stadium, and all this within twenty-four hours. He was to play for the Rest of the World against an All-England side. . . But this, of course, was a special case: football, sport, the glamour, the prestige! It was not a lecture on gerontology."[73]

The Soviet Union is not slow to capitalise on international sporting success by using its outstanding sportsmen as "ambassadors of good-will", not infrequently as a "try-out" for political initiatives. For example, in 1972, as part of an intensive campaign for a détente with the USA and as a prelude to President Nixon's visit to Moscow, the Soviet leaders sent their leading girl gymnasts (including Olga Korbut and Ludmilla Turishcheva) on a gymnastics-display tour of America. The Christian Science Monitor saw this as " a move to expand US-Russian relations in

[72] Rodichenko, V.S. (ed.), Rekordy, sobytiya, lyudi, 1969, Moscow, 1970, p. 105. To emphasise the international impact of success in sport by socialist states, one writer has referred to "the interesting fact that 8 per cent of West Germans who advocate recognition of the GDR do so because of the successes of the German socialist state in international sport and, especially, the Olympic Games." (See Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No. 8, p. 5.)

[73] Medvedev, Z., The Medvedev Papers, Macmillan, London, 1971, pp. 160-161.

view of President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Moscow. The Kremlin has a secret weapon to conquer the hearts of the American people. There is no doubt that the Soviet leaders think little Olga Korbut and her colleagues can do much to change our ideas about Russia."[74] The New York Times wrote, "Olga Korbut and the Russian gymnastics team . . . have rid us of the remnants of Cold War hostility."[75] Two months later, when the US-USSR Treaty on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation was signed in Moscow, it included a clause (Article XIII) on sports-exchanges, on which Sovetsky sport commented "the foreign policy of our Party and government is reflected in international sports-relations which must play their part in establishing firm foundations of mutual understanding and friendship between our peoples."[76] The US-USSR sports-agreement envisaged exchanges of coaches in basketball, wrestling, swimming and athletics, several bilateral sports-contests and joint Soviet-American symposia on problems relating to sport. A month after the signing of the new agreement (and at the end of the year's Soviet-American athletics match, in which the USSR had soundly beaten its rival), the new entente was symbolically represented on the track by Soviet and American athletes linking arms, doing a lap of honour together and waving to spectators -- a far cry from the atmosphere of the relations between the "bastions of communism and capitalism" over the prewar and most of the postwar years.

(ii) Relations with state-socialist countries

Today, the bulk of Soviet foreign sports-competition, like that of foreign trade, is with other socialist states --above all with those of

[74] Christian Science Monitor, 17 April, 1973.

[75] New York Times, 15 April, 1973.

[76] Sovetsky sport, 27 June, 1973, p. 4.

Eastern Europe. During 1969, for example, 825 (or some 58 per cent) of the 1,420 international contests in which Soviet athletes were involved were confined to members of the East-European bloc; in bilateral and multilateral contests, East Germany and the Soviet Union met 187 times, Bulgaria and the USSR - 151 times, Poland and the USSR - 127 times and Czechoslovakia and the USSR - 74 times.[77] "Sporting relations with socialist states are central to Soviet foreign sports-contacts and every year exceed half all Soviet sports-contacts. Thus, in 1970, they amounted to 55 per cent and, in 1971, to 67 per cent of the total contacts."[78]

Insofar as sport is centrally controlled in all these states and fully integrated in the political system, it can be wielded for manifestly functional purposes. "The overriding principle [of socialist states' international sporting relations --JWR] consists in developing relations between fraternal communist and workers' parties which control physical culture and sport and formulate the foreign-policy tasks of the national sports-organisations."[79] Sports-contacts "help to strengthen fraternal cooperation and friendship and develop a sense of patriotism and internationalism among young people of the socialist states."[80] From the Soviet point of view, this enables Soviet leaders to use sport to integrate the various socialist societies, to bind them to Soviet institutions and policies and to maintain and reinforce the USSR's 'vanguard' position within the bloc.

[77] Rodichenko, op. cit., p. 106.

[78] Romanov, op. cit., p. 196.

[79] Ibid., pp. 183-184.

[80] Ibid., p. 177.

Relations have tended to reflect the political tenor within the bloc, with the Soviet Union defending (or imposing) its 'special relationship' as the 'most advanced socialist state', and the other socialist states striving for compensatory supremacies that are denied them elsewhere. In the period 1945 to 1956, most of the other socialist states (with Yugoslavia becoming the notable exception) were more or less obliged to learn from the Soviet model, to form Soviet-type administrative organisations and run physical-fitness programmes like the G.T.O. --this, despite the long sporting traditions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia (with its Sokol gymnastics) and East Germany, all of which had competed successfully in international sport many years before Soviet participation. Since 1956, however, there has been a gradual loosening of the Soviet grip on sport in other socialist states. Albania has, of course, gone its own way, following China, while other states have resurrected certain national sporting traditions and institutions which were submerged during the late Stalin era. Thus, for example, the Sokol gymnastics movement now plays a major part, once more, in Czechoslovak sport, and East Germany pioneered the use of sports boarding-schools in the early 1960s (see above, p. 581). In place of Soviet-organised exchanges, new bilateral agreements have been drawn up and negotiated separately between the USSR and other socialist states --and among the members of the bloc. The USSR signed a five-year sports exchange agreement in 1966 with East Germany, in 1969 - with Bulgaria, in 1971 --with Poland and Hungary, in 1972 --with Czechoslovakia and Cuba, and in 1973 --with Mongolia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. The last two states to sign pursue the most independent sports-policy in Eastern Europe, paralleling their greater autonomy today in other spheres.[81]

[81] Rumania has, for example, permitted some athletes and coaches to travel and work abroad with far greater freedom, particularly in regard to disposing of their foreign income, than athletes from other socialist states (except Yugoslavia). A Rumanian football-trainer worked (until 1973) for three years with the famous Dutch and European champions Ajax: the unrestrained behaviour of the globe-trotting tennis-star Ilia Nastase is certainly something the Soviet authorities would not condone among its players.

Sports-contacts between the socialist states embrace a variety of sports and take place at various levels. Sportsmen from the state-socialist countries come together in such single-sport tournaments as the annual Peace cycling-race across Eastern Europe and the Znamensky[82] memorial athletics-meeting (held in Moscow), in such multi-sport tournaments for specific groups and organisations as the Friendship sports-tourneys for junior sportsmen,[83] socialist rural games, twinned-city games, the Baltic-Sea Week and annual sports-meetings between army and security forces' sports-clubs. Few opportunities are lost to associate sporting events with a political occasion or to employ sport to cement loyalties within the bloc. Thus, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR, a mass assault was made on the highest mountain in the USSR, Peak Communism (formerly Peak Stalin --7,495 m.): 87 climbers reached the summit and planted there the flags of the 15 union republics of the USSR and of eight other socialist states (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia) as "a symbol of unshakeable friendship and inspired by the ideals of proletarian internationalism, peace and friendship between peoples."[84] To mark the same anniversary, one outstanding athlete from each socialist state (with the exceptions of Albania, China and North Vietnam, but including Cuba, Mongolia and North Korea) was made a Merited Master of Sport of the USSR.[85]

[82] The Znamensky brothers were outstanding Soviet athletes before the war.

[83] The 1973 Friendship junior athletics match took place in the Soviet city of Odessa with teams from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR competing. By convention, no team-score is made during these matches. Sovetsky sport, 8 August, 1973, p. 2.

[84] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 9, p. 2.

[85] Sovetsky sport, 21 December, 1972, p. 1.

The sporting ties between army and security forces' clubs are particularly illustrative of the Soviet policy of military integration -- or, at least, to put a friendly face on some of the possibly less popular aspects of the Warsaw Pact. A Sports Committee of Friendly Armies (SCFA) was formed in Moscow in 1958, three years after the establishment of the Warsaw Pact. It embraced all members of the Pact plus China, North Korea and North Vietnam. Neither the Pact nor the SCFA included Yugoslavia. Cuba joined the SCFA in 1969 and the Somali Democratic Republic in 1973; China, Albania and North Vietnam took no part in it after 1960. The declared aims of the SCFA are "to strengthen friendship between the armies, improve the quality of physical fitness and sport among servicemen and to popularise the attainments of army sport."[86] Each year, SCFA arranges, on average, 15 army championships in a variety of Olympic and paramilitary sports; by 1972, it was holding some 200 championships in member-countries, including two summer multi-sport SCFA spartakiads (held in East Germany and the USSR) and three winter spartakiads (held twice in Poland and once in Czechoslovakia). The third summer spartakiad was held in Czechoslovakia in 1973,[87] and the fourth winter games in Bulgaria in late 1973. Apart from these inter-state army meetings, army clubs compete regularly against one another: thus, during 1972, army clubs met in Bulgaria for a Friendship Sports Week to contest events in weightlifting, the modern pentathlon, boxing, wrestling and shooting --sports with a distinctively military utility. In the same year, in September, a Dinamo Football Tourney was

[86] Romanov, op. cit., p. 90.

[87] For the first time at this SCFA spartakiad, a team from outside the bloc participated - Horsed, the army team of the Somali Democratic Republic. Although its members won no medals, one athlete received a special prize awarded by the USSR Ministry of Defence. The Republic subsequently became a member of SCFA (See Sovetsky sport, 23 February, 1974, p. 4).

held in Moscow's Dinamo Stadium for junior teams of security forces' clubs from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, North Korea, Poland, Rumania and the USSR.[88]

The Rise of East-European Sport

Until the late 1960s, there was no disputing the dominance of Soviet sportsmen in the world of communist sport. In the last few years, however, that hegemony has been challenged. East Germany, for example, has emerged since 1968 as the top European athletics nation: it won the 1968 and 1971 European Athletics Championships, the 1970 European Nations' Athletics Cup (men's and women's events) and the 1973 European Cup (for women), in all four events relegating the Soviet team to second place; it also gained more athletics-medals than the USSR in the 1972 Olympic Games. It won all three team-prizes (for men's swimming and diving, for men's water polo and for women's swimming and diving) at the 1970 European Swimming Championship and, in the same year, won the men's volleyball world title and the world sculling championship.

Poland gained most medals at the 1970 European Boxing Championships; Rumania did the same in 1971 and 1972; on all three occasions, the Soviet Union was relegated to second place in events in which previously it had been supreme; Rumania also eliminated the Soviet tennis-team from the Davis Cup in 1973. Czechoslovakia was the first country to defeat the Soviet ice-hockey team in a world championship, winning the title in Prague in 1972; it, too, eliminated the Soviet tennis-team from the Davis Cup (in 1971), and denied the Soviet Union the supreme tennis-title at Wimbledon in 1973 (Kodes beating Metreveli to win the men's championship-title). Bulgaria in 1972 ousted the USSR from its long-held first place in the Olympic weightlifting tournament and, at the same games, Cuba

88 Romanov, op.cit., pp. 92-93. It is noteworthy that, as in the USSR, the security forces' sports club (often called Dinamo - after the Soviet model) is prominent in each East-European sports-movement.

won 3 gold medals and 1 silver medal (her first medals in any Olympic event) in the finals in boxing --a sport that the USSR had dominated in the three previous Olympics, but in which it now found itself behind Cuba, Hungary and Poland.

The improving sports-standards in other countries of the bloc are reflected in the changing pattern of sporting aid. During the 1950s and early 1960s, this was mostly a one-way process, coaches, instructors and officials from the USSR going abroad in order to fashion (or refashion) the sports-movements in the countries of its allies and to help raise standards in individual sports to world levels. In this way, the Soviet Union was largely instrumental in establishing basketball, gymnastics and volleyball in East Germany, gymnastics, ice-hockey and weightlifting in Poland, athletics, gymnastics, figure-skating, ice-hockey and judo in Rumania, gymastics in Yugoslavia and calisthenics and wrestling in Bulgaria. The sporting aid given by the Soviet Union and other countries with communist governments to Cuba in the years 1959 to 1962 was part of the process whereby that country was drawn into the ambit of state-socialist powers after a period of isolation and hesitation. The immediate aim was to help harness and build up Cuban sporting skill in order that Cuba might put up a good showing in sports-confrontations with other states on the American continent. During the 1960s, "More than 50 Soviet coaches helped train Cuban athletes for the Olympic and Pan-American Games."[89] The subsequent Cuban successes[90] in both tournaments provided ample material for linking sporting success with the political system and demonstrating through the popular and readily understandable

[89] Ibid., p. 178.

[90] Cuba came second, only a few points behind the USA, in the 1972 Pan-American Games, and won 3 gold, 1 silver and 4 bronze medals in the 1972 Olympic Games. Eight Soviet coaches accompanied the Cuban team to the Olympics and 12 to the Pan-American Games (Sovetsky sport, 22 June, 1973, p. 3).

(particularly so in Latin America) medium of sport the advantages of the "Cuban road to socialism" for other Latin-American states: "More and more Latin-American states have begun to realise that Cuban victories in international sport are invariably connected with the successes of the Cuban revolution and with the country's progressive system."[91]

In recent years, however, a number of coaches and instructors from socialist states have been assisting Soviet athletes in sports in which the Soviet standard is below world class. In 1972, East Germany was training a Soviet team in bobsleighing (a sport only recently taken up by the USSR); in the same year, the Cuban sprinter Ernesto Figarola was coaching in Odessa and Minsk. Hungarian fencing, swimming and pentathlon coaches have been training Soviet sportsmen in these sports and Czechoslovak ice-hockey coaches have been working with Soviet squads. As a number of the USSR's allies build up specialised facilities and sports-amenities, they become increasingly in a position to enable other sportsmen from within the bloc to gather together on the eve of important international events for joint training; thus, in recent years, Soviet athletes have attended training-camps in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. These and other forms of mutual assistance and integration are said to have become an important contributory factor in the sporting successes of socialist states internationally. They also demonstrate how seriously the leaders of these states regard sport as an eminently efficacious means of advertising the advantages of socialism and demonstrating the superiority of their system, given the fact that special high-level arrangements for such visits have to be made in every case, unrestricted movement of citizens among these countries not being part of their mutual treaty arrangements.

91 Sovetsky sport, 30 January, 1974, p. 4.

Finally, sport, it might be hypothesised, functions as a mechanism of social control within Eastern Europe; it enables the non-Soviet nations to assert a certain degree of independence and national dignity by winning victories over Soviet teams that are denied them in other spheres. Besides serving as a compensatory mechanism in this way, sport may well act as a 'safety valve' to release pent-up feelings among participants and spectators alike. Contests between non-Soviet socialist states and the USSR have not always been conducted in an altogether fraternal spirit, as was demonstrated in several USSR v. Yugoslavia matches-cum-brawls in the 1950s; the Manchester Guardian wrote during the 1956 Olympic Games that "the last twenty minutes of the football-final between Russia and Yugoslavia resembled a wrestling match in which no holds were barred."[92] Similar scenes accompanied a number of USSR v. Hungary 'duels' after 1956 (particularly in water-polo matches at the Olympics) and USSR v. Czechoslovak meetings since 1968; it is said that the Czechoslovak ice-hockey victory in 1969 over the previously undefeated Soviet team evoked celebrations bordering on hysterical national rejoicing, with night-long dancing in the streets of Prague.[93]

(iii) Relations with newly-independent countries

Since the early 1960s, the Soviet authorities have paid increasing attention to aid to the 'third world' in the field of sport as well as in the economic and in other cultural spheres. This assistance takes the form of sending coaches and instructors abroad, building sports-amenities, training foreign sports-administrators in the Soviet Union, arranging tours and displays by Soviet athletes and holding Sporting Friendship Weeks

[92] Manchester Guardian, 26 October, 1956.

[93] Reported to me by an Englishman then living in Prague. The two Czechoslovakia-USSR matches in the 1973 world ice-hockey championship (won by the USSR) played in Moscow (that I witnessed on Moscow TV) were marked by exceedingly rough play, mainly from the Czechoslovaks, that was quite missing in other tournament-matches.

that often have an unabashedly political character. Much of this aid, including the provision of sports-amenities, is said to be given free of charge.[94] Sometimes the sports-contact is used as a prelude to political contacts. After all, "Sporting ties are one way of establishing contacts between states even when diplomatic relations are absent."[95]

In the five years up to 1971, over 100 Soviet coaches and instructors had worked in 37 Afro-Asian states (i.e., an average of 3 per country), including Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Tunisia in the Middle East, Chad, Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Senegal and Togo in Africa, and Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Malaysia in Asia.[96] In late 1972, there were said to be more than 200 such people working in 28 foreign states (i.e., an average of 7 per country).[97] Sports-cooperation treaties were signed with Egypt in 1969, Nigeria and the Sudan in 1970, Algeria, Iraq and Syria in 1972 and the Lebanon in 1973 (in which Soviet volleyball, fencing, gymnastics and athletics coaches had been working).[98] That such cooperation is not entirely motivated by altruistic considerations is apparent in a comment on the Nigerian-Soviet Sport Friendship Week held in Nigeria in the autumn of 1972: "Sporting attainments today have an immense power to influence. It is

[94] See Prokhorov, D., "Nam nuzhny vashi spetsialisty," Sport v SSSR, 1970, No. 11, p. 14; the author, deputy chairman of the International Board of the USSR Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, writes further that "developing states highly value the support granted by Soviet sportsmen to their sports-organisations, viewing it as a manifestation of international friendship of peoples striving to construct a new society on the principles of comradeship and mutual assistance."

[95] Romanov, op. cit., p. 182.

[96] Prokhorov, op. cit., p. 15.

[97] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, p. 25.

[98] Sovetsky sport, 22 April, 1973, p. 4.

not at all surprising, therefore, that Nigeria should arrange a sports-week of friendship dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR."[99] Nigeria, like Egypt and the Sudan, had held a sports-week, with the participation of Soviet athletes, also to mark the Lenin centenary in 1970.[100]

The USSR has built sports-centres in Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo, Indonesia, Iraq, Senegal and Togo. By 1970, students from 25 Afro-Asian states had received a Soviet coaching diploma and over 100 persons (from Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Malaysia, Mali, Sudan, Syria and Tunisia) had graduated from Soviet institutes of physical culture. Another 50 had completed dissertations in the field of sport and physical education in Soviet colleges.[101]

Judging by the rapidly-mounting scale of operations for promoting sport in developing countries, the Soviet leaders obviously regard sport as an important weapon in the 'battle for men's minds'. It is a serious business: "the authority of sport in the world has grown enormously; there is no longer any place for dilettantism in the politics of sport."[102] Given the signal Soviet successes in international sport, such sporting aid is seen as an effective means of demonstrating the possibilities of the "socialist path of development". In arranging contacts and assistance, much emphasis is placed on the propaganda-value of the successes attained by erstwhile backward areas of the Soviet Union: "In arranging these ties, we attach special importance to the sports-organisations of the various republics, to sportsmen from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia

[99] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, p. 25.

[100] Romanov, op. cit., p. 197.

[101] Sovetsky sport, 14 July, 1971, p. 4.

[102] Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, p. 24.

and Georgia, when they visit Africa and Asia, and when the representatives of those countries meet our republican sportsmen at home."[103] As a prelude to Brezhnev's visit to India in November, 1973, an 'Indo-Soviet Friendship Week' took place with the famous ex-footballer Lev Yashin and the tennis-star Alex Metreveli prominent in the Soviet delegation. The leader of the Soviet group was, significantly, the Secretary of the Tadzhikistan Komsomol.[104] Prior to that, a Kazakh gymnastics-team was the first Soviet sports-group to visit India under the Indo-Soviet Cultural Agreement;[105] in the same year, another Kazakh group, the Dorozhnik volleyball-team from Alma Ata, became the first Soviet sports-delegation to visit the Malagasy Republic. Naturally enough, the sports-emissaries "told them of sport in Kazakhstan, of its rôle in the life of the family of equal fraternal Soviet republics."[106] The message is clear and simple: "You too can have a flourishing culture if you take the Soviet socialist path. . ."

It is remarakable that, apart from individual visiting sportsmen, Western states have tended to dismiss officially-sponsored sporting aid to developing countries. In fact, the pattern has generally been one in which promising 'colonial' athletes are attracted away from their homelands to seek fame and fortune in the teams of metropolitan countries. Such a trend is particularly evident in Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese football and in British cricket and boxing.

One final aspect of Soviet 'aid' to Afro-Asian states has been support for third-world campaigns to exclude from international contests countries believed to be operating racial discrimination in sport. The Soviet Olympic Committee instigated moves in 1962 within the International

[103] Fizkul'tura i sport, 1971, No. 3, p. 1.

[104] Sovetsky sport, 25 November, 1973, p. 4.

[105] Sovetsky sport, 2 August, 1973, p. 1.

Olympic Committee to exclude South Africa from the Olympic Games; the moves succeeded and South Africa has not subsequently been able to compete in the Olympics. The USSR has lent its considerable authority to moves to have South Africa and Rhodesia banned from all international sports-tournaments. It is not unusual for Soviet competitors to forfeit matches (in tennis, for example) rather than play against white South Africans and Rhodesians. On the other hand, Soviet athletes play in fascist and authoritarian states like Spain, with obvious approbation from the Soviet authorities; this régime, despite its brutal and anti-working-class nature, does not cause the same degree of concern among Afro-Asian states, since it has no overseas possessions. Though European intellectuals and workers may be cynical about 'principles' which make General Franco more acceptable than Mr. Vorster or Mr. Smith, there is little doubt that such Soviet action wins much sympathy among wide circles in the 'third world', which see in the USSR a champion of their cause.[107] This attitude is exploited in frequent Soviet references to the multinational nature of Soviet sport: "The Soviet Olympic delegation of 1972 was a mirror of Soviet multinational sport. . . Patriotism and collectivism, friendship and mutual assistance have become integral to the outlook of our athletes. They therefore look upon racial discrimination in sport as monstrous and inhuman."[108] "The internationalist character of socialist sport, "the conclusion is drawn, "has a great effect on the newly-liberated ex-colonies."[109]

[107] The USSR refusal in November, 1973, to play its World Cup qualifying football match in Chile, following the right-wing coup that brought down President Allende, may be seen in a similar light - as a decision that meets with the approval of national liberation-movements.

[108] Sportivnaya zhizn' Rossii, 1972, No. 11, p. 7; the further point was made that representatives of 26 Soviet nationalities, including some from all 15 union republics, were present at the 1972 Munich Olympics - "eloquent testimony for all the world to see of the triumph of the Leninist national policy in physical culture and sport."

[109] Sport V SSSR, 1973, No. 2, p. 19.

(iv) Relations with non-state groupings

The USSR promotes sports-contacts with pro-Soviet and potentially sympathetic groupings in foreign countries, such as the Finnish Labour Union (TUL); it encourages the participation of Soviet and foreign athletes in annual races through Paris and Moscow (sponsored by the French communist newspaper l'Humanité and by Izvestiya respectively) and it sponsors the World Youth Festival, in whose programme sport plays a prominent part . The Tenth World Youth Festival, held in East Berlin over nine days in August, 1973 with the participation of 20,000 foreign visitors from more than 120 countries, was described in the Soviet press as "a festival of unity and solidarity of the international communist and the entire democratic youth and student movement, a vivid demonstration of the solidarity of young people in the fight against imperialism"[110] --and in the British press as "a massive propaganda effort to demonstrate the virtue, strength and inevitability of Soviet-style communism."[111]

As a measure of the importance attached by the Soviet Union to sport as a means of demonstrating its vanguard position in the communist youth movement, a 138-strong sports delegation was sent to the 1973 Festival; it included Olympic and world champions Ludmilla Turishcheva (gymnastics), Valery Borzov (sprinting), Faina Mel'nik (discus and shot), Irina Rodnina (figure-skating), Mikhail Tahl and Anatoly Karpov (chess). "The language of sport," it was claimed, "became the language of friendship." Ludmilla Turishcheva, after taking part in a symbolic relay through East Berlin ("In Honour of the Peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia") made the point that "we took part in this race to demonstrate once again our solidarity with the working people of the whole world, particularly the youth."[112]

[110] Sovetsky sport, 27 July, 1973, p. 1.

[111] The Times, 17 August, 1973, p. 14.

The secondmain type of such contact is with trade and professional associations, such as the International Sports Union of Railwaymen and and the International Federation of Student Sport.

The International Sports Union of Railwaymen (ISUR) was set up after the war, in 1947, in Austria with the participation of trade unions from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Hungary and Italy. Despite the presence of the two East-European members, the leadership was predominantly social-democratic until the affiliation of other East-European states in 1956 (Bulgaria and Rumania) and 1957 (East Germany, Poland and the USSR). The Union has now expanded to cover virtually all European states and many railwaymen's organisations in other parts of the world. That internal relations are not entirely smooth is testified to by the strict delineation of countries during championships into two independently-competing groups --socialist and the remainder, so as to ensure opportunities for athletes from non-socialist states to win events. A compromise has been reached on representation on the ISUR governing body giving six places to non-socialist states (currently Belgium, Finland, France, Holland, Italy and West Germany) and six to socialist (Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, USSR and Yugoslavia); this device also prevents a communist 'take-over' of the administration. At least four individual sports-championships are held annually, each sport (of the 19 cultivated) being contested once every four years.[113]

Soviet sports-relations with foreign student sports-unions have also had their vicissitudes since the end of the war. International university games had been held before the war at two-yearly intervals since 1923, but without Soviet participation. After the war, a new International

113 See Romanov, op. cit., pp. 84-87. The 19 sports are athletics, basketball, bowls, boxing, chess, cross-country running, cycling, fishing, football, handball, shooting, skiing, swimming, table-tennis, tennis, volleyball, water polo, weightlifting and wrestling.

Union of Students (IUS) was formed in 1947; its sports-section arranged student games in Paris the same year, in which Soviet students made their international début. The domination of the IUS and its sports-section by the students' unions of socialist states and their sympathisers in Western students' unions led to the student games of 1949 and 1951 being given an explicitly political slant by being combined with communist-sponsored World Youth Festivals as functions of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. A split occurred when several Western students' unions tried to bar their members from taking part in the youth festivals and set up a breakaway organisation --the International Federation of University Sport (FISU) in 1949. Between 1949 and 1958, the two student sports-organisations held their games separately; they came together again in 1959 when all the sports-organisations of Eastern Europe (with the exceptions of East Germany and Albania) were admitted, on application, to FISU. As mutual compromises, the sports council of the International Union of Students was dissolved and the FISU Games were renamed Universiad, or World Student Games. Disagreement again occurred, however, in 1967 when the socialist states boycotted the Universiad as a protest against the presence of the Taiwan students as representatives of China. Nonetheless, the socialist states continue to hold their student and youth games within the bounds of the overtly political World Youth Festival, although prime Soviet attention is today concentrated on the Universiad which, in 1973, was held in Moscow.[114]

To sum up, since the war, there has been no effort to turn either communist or social-democratic sports-organisations into alternatives to the existing world sports-federations, as happened prior to the war. Nor has sympathy with communist sports-organisations abroad been permitted to interfere with the Soviet policy of 'peaceful coexistence'. A

[114] The Moscow Universiad was held on the Olympic model in the following 11 sports: athletics, basketball, diving, fencing, free-style and Graeco-Roman wrestling, gymnastics, swimming, tennis, volleyball and water polo.

leading Soviet sports journal has editorialised: "Sport is an essential element in contemporary international relations; it affects their development, their forms of organisation and their content. Sport effectively helps to break down national barriers, create international associations, and strengthen the international sports-movement. It is a great social force helping to establish and promote international contacts between national sports-associations of countries with different social systems."[115] The aim today is primarily to join 'bourgeois'-dominated sports federations, to gain an influential position within them and to "demonstrate the superiority of socialist sport"/ and, by extension, of the state-socialist political system.

E. Relations with Adjacent States, 1917-1974

The final aspect under which Soviet foreign sports-policy may be considered is that in regard to adjacent or geographically-close states.[116] For several years after the 1917 revolution, the USSR's ability to bargain with the Great Powers was severely limited by its weakness as well as by the mistrust in which it was held. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was less handicapped in its dealings with its immediate neighbours, all of whom, with the exception of Poland, were extremely weak. The Soviet aim was, as Beloff has written, "to link these (states) to Russia by treaties embodying the three major principles of 'non-intervention', 'non-aggression' and 'neutrality'."[117] In 1929, the so-called Litvinov

115 Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1971, No. 3, p. 5.

116 Today, immediate neighbours include six states in Europe (Norway, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania) and six in Asia (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Mongolia, China and North Korea). Countries whose geopolitical situation brings them within the category of strategically-important 'neighbours' of the Soviet Union are evidently Sweden and Denmark in the Baltic area; Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia in the Balkans; Egypt, Algeria, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon in the Middle East; and Japan in the Far East.

117 Beloff, op. cit., p. 5.

TABLE 97

Official Sports-Contacts between the USSR and Geographically-Close States, 1920-1973

Country	1920 -25	1926 -30	1931 -35	1936 -39	1940 -41	1945 -50	1951 -55	1956 -60	1961 -73
Albania							X	X	
Afghanistan							X	X	X
Bulgaria					X	X	X	X	X
China							X	X	
Czechoslovakia			X			X	X	X	X
Denmark	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
Estonia+	X	X	X		X	—	—	—	—
Finland	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
East Germany					X	X	X	X	X
West Germany								X	X
Hungary						X	X	X	X
Iran		X	X			X	X	X	X
Japan							X	X	X
Latvia+	X	X	X		X	—	—	—	—
Lithuania+			X		X	—	—	—	—
Mongolia									X
Norway	X	X	X		X		X	X	X
North Korea									X
Poland						X	X	X	X
Rumania						X	X	X	X
Sweden	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
Turkey	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Yugoslavia						X			X

+ Contacts with the prewar Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) are shown here up to 1940, when these countries were incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Sources: Romanov, A.O., Mezhdunarodnoye sportivnoye dvizhenie, Moscow, 1973; Kiselev, N.Y. (ed.), 70 futbol'nykh let, Lenizdat, 1970; Perel, A., Football in the USSR, Moscow, 1958; Samoukov, F.I., Stolbov, V.V. (eds.), Ocherki po istorii fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1967.

Protocol on renunciation of war was signed in Moscow, originally by Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania, then by Danzig, Lithuania, Persia and Turkey. Finland remained the only one of the USSR's neighbours outside the Soviet security system. Sports-contacts reflected these strategic considerations.

Right from the outset, Soviet policy was to encourage sports-relations with 'bourgeois' (or even 'feudal') states that were adjacent or geographically close to the USSR. Contacts took two forms: between All-Union and foreign national teams (e.g., between the USSR and Turkey, Finland or Sweden), and between local Soviet and local and national foreign teams from just across the border (e.g., between Baku and Iran, Odessa and Turkey, Leningrad and Finnish town clubs).

Table 97 gives an indication of the pattern of sports-contacts on an official level (i.e., not with workers' sports-associations) between the USSR and countries that border on or are geographically close to it. Of the prewar neighbours in Europe, official sporting relations were maintained regularly with Finland, Estonia and Latvia. With Germany, they only began in 1940 after the signing of the non-aggression pact with the Nazis. The notable exceptions are Poland and Rumania, both of whose governments refused sporting and other cultural contacts with the Soviet Union before the war. Of the geographically-close European states, relations with Norway, Denmark and Sweden were more or less regular before the war, those with Czechoslovakia spasmodic and sports-exchanges were non-existent with Albania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. The first contact with Bulgaria accompanied that with Germany in 1940. In the south, relations with Iran and Turkey were regular, particularly with Turkey, with whom the USSR maintained sporting contact during the latter part of the 1930s at a time when sports-contacts with the rest of the world virtually came to a halt due to the tense situation in Europe and the mass repression within the USSR.

The record of international football-matches (see App. XV) shows the same pattern prior to Soviet involvement in World War II. Thus, a combined Moscow-Petrograd team toured Finland (winning its seven matches against Finnish city clubs) in 1923 and an RSFSR side toured Sweden and Norway the same year (it beat the Swedish national team 2-1, drew with Stockholm 5-5 and won all its matches in Norway). In 1924 and 1925, teams from Moscow, Odessa and Batumi and a Soviet national side played Turkey, Istanbul and Trabzon. In 1926, Baku teams and Azerbaidzhan played Iran. Prior to 1945, in fact, the only football matches between Soviet national teams and other national teams were with Finland, Sweden, Iran and Turkey (Matches were also played between Brno and Moscow in 1934, between Prague and Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine in 1935 and between Sofia and Soviet teams in 1940).

Since the end of the last war, the range of contact has corresponded to the international situation and that Soviet concepts first, of "two camps" and then, that of "peaceful coexistence". Nonetheless, priority in sports-relations with non-socialist states has continued to go to the good-neighbourly policy, with particular emphasis on meetings between the USSR's neighbours and adjoining Soviet cross-frontier (often ethnically-related) peoples. Thus, a Black-Sea regional football-competition was launched in 1970 which included teams from Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiisk and Batumi, on the one hand, and from Turkey, Rumania and Bulgaria, on the other. A similar regional contest has existed for several years in the Baltic basin for Finnish, Swedish, Estonian and Leningrad teams. Similarly, in 1972, a Baltic Cup weight-lifting-competition was held with participants from Finland, Norway, Sweden, East and West Germany, Poland and the USSR. The first tournament was held in Riga, capital of Latvia. In the summer of 1973, Baku was the venue of a now traditional 2-day athletics-match between Iran and Azerbaidzhan.

Although sports-ties with Middle-Eastern countries might fall into the category of 'seeking support among developing states' [see (iii) above], the fact that the Soviet Union often promotes contacts between their athletes and Soviet Central-Asian nationals indicates also that some priority is being given to these contacts for regional, 'strategic' reasons. Bilateral sports-meetings with Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, Lebanese and Algerian athletes, which have grown since 1969 (in line with heightened Soviet interest in the Middle East), have generally taken place in the Soviet Union within the area whose cultural background is Islamic. Under the terms of the sports-cooperation treaty between the USSR and Egypt, signed in 1969, it was agreed to hold annual 'Soviet-Arab Sports-Weeks' alternately in the two states; the first such 'Sports-Week' was held in Egypt in 1970, when a team of Uzbek, Kirghiz and Kazakh sportsmen was sent. The next year, a group of Egyptian athletes, weightlifters, swimmers and wrestlers competed against Soviet Uzbek opponents in Tashkent, Samarkand and Andizhan.[118] A similar agreement was signed with Iraq, Syria and Algeria in 1972, and with the Lebanon in 1973.[119]

Other countries with which sports-relations might be said to be promoted for 'strategic' reasons are Austria[120] and Japan - the only capitalist states (along with Finland) in which Soviet sports-coaches and players were working (up to 1975). Soviet ice-hockey coaches and players were (in 1973) employed by the Austrian Atletik-Klub, KAS (Klagenfurt), Graz ATSE and the Viennese club WAT-Stadtlau. A long-term sports

[118] Sovetsky sport, 3 August, 1971, p. 4.

[119] The 5-year sports cooperation agreement with Syria covers bilateral and multilateral competitions in both countries, joint training and seminars, exchange of documents and agreements to build sports-amenities and manufacture equipment.

[120] Sovetsky sport, 27 January, 1973, p. 4. The strategic value of Austria is that it acts as a neutral wedge some 500 miles deep between West Germany and Italy, thus splitting the Western bloc in two.

exchange agreement was signed with Japan in 1971 and an ice-hockey tournament was held, in April, 1973, in Sapporo between Japanese players from Hokkaido and Soviet players from the Soviet Far East and Siberia.[121]

Contacts with other neighbours have depended on certain other factors; for example, with Afghanistan, Mongolia, China and North Korea they were long inhibited by the backwardness of sport in those countries. Sporting contacts were established with Afghanistan in 1955 and exchanges now take place regularly between Uzbek and Afghan athletes. Exchanges with Mongolia and North Korea commenced in the mid-1960s. With China, sports-relations have closely followed the course of the Sino-Soviet dispute: bilateral contacts, which began only in 1955, were abruptly halted in 1961. Thus, for example, the Leningrad Zenit football-team played 11 matches in China in September 1955 (winning ten and drawing one) and the Soviet national football-team toured China in the spring of 1958. The last recorded Sino-Soviet football-match was between Peking and Leningrad Zenit in Leningrad (won 3-2 by Zenit) on 29 July, 1961.[122] The post-cultural-revolution resumption of political contacts between China and the West, said to have been presaged by table-tennis matches in 1971, has not, of course, been paralleled by a similar renewal of sports-contacts with the USSR.

On balance, the Soviet policy of promoting sporting ties with neighbouring states --a quite deliberate attempt to use sport to cement

121 Sport v SSSR, 1973, No. 4, p. 11.

122 Kiselev, N.Y. (ed.), 70 futbol'nykh let, Lenizdat, 1970, pp. 210, 222, 242. Sports-ties with Albania followed a similar pattern: the Leningrad Labour Reserves football-team played matches in Tirana in 1954 and Tirana Dinamo played in Moscow and Leningrad in 1956. No matches are recorded after 1960, when Albania withdrew from international competition (except with China). It is noteworthy that, following China's resumption of competition against foreign athletes in 1971, Albania joined the International Weightlifting Federation (in 1972).

goodneighbourly relations --has been fairly successful. This policy has been pursued in regard to neighbouring states even when general foreign and sports policies towards other 'bourgeois' countries have been radically at variance with this.

It has to be noted that, in most sports, the USSR's neighbours lag, often considerably, behind the world's foremost sporting nations and have generally been inferior to their Soviet opponents. By encouraging regional as often as national contacts, the USSR has avoided completely demoralising or publicly shaming opponents; pitting its strongest teams against them might well have had the opposite propaganda-effect to the one desired: pursuit of the goal of demonstrating the progress made by kindred peoples under socialism is in no way vitiated by this. The success of, say, Azerbaidzhanian against Turkish athletes is often cited by Soviet publicists as evidence of the progress made by national minorities under socialism.

SUMMARY

The pattern of foreign competition involving the Soviet Union has, since 1917, closely followed the course of Soviet foreign policy and shows clearly differentiated attitudes towards the outside world. At first, as long as world revolution seemed feasible and Soviet Russia had to contend with a predominantly hostile capitalist world, sports-policy was linked to that of the Comintern and its agency, the Red Sport International, which sought contacts largely with revolutionary workers' sports-organisations. While the Soviet aim during this period was undoubtedly to undermine the authority of bourgeois and social-democratic ideas and institutions among the working class, many official sports-organisations outside the Soviet Union also favoured a policy of isolation, adopting an intransigent attitude towards competition with Soviet athletes. Stalin's abandonment of reliance on revolution abroad and his turn to the pursuit of the interests of the USSR as a nation-state led to modest ventures into sports diplomacy --especially in the period of "Popular Front" strategies; these did not become substantial --apparently because of the weaknesses they could reveal --both political (mass repression) and sporting (low domestic levels of attainment).

An exception was made to prewar policies towards 'bourgeois' both sport/in relation to neighbouring states and (to some extent) to less-advanced countries believed to have anti-imperialist governments. In these cases, Soviet policy was and remains one of promoting sporting contacts both of an international and of a local cross-frontier type.

Since World War II, the USSR, as a world power, has striven for and largely attained world sporting supremacy. It must be stressed, however, that this supremacy has depended considerably on population-size; the Soviet performance is relatively weak per unit of population -- by comparison not only with other East-European states (particularly East Germany), but even with many West-European nations.

With the new balance of power after the war (the creation of a group of socialist buffer-states, the emergence of newly-independent Afro-Asian states and a nuclear stalemate), a Soviet policy of 'peaceful (corpetitive) coexistence'

found an appropriate means of expression in sport. Not only did sport prove an effective means for the Soviet Union to compete peacefully with the West --and often to demonstrate in practice the "superiority of the socialist economic and political system" --but it has also been able to use it to generate popular sentiments of friendship towards the USSR (especially in developing and neutral states) and smooth the way for proffered aid and treaty relations. Within the socialist bloc, sports-relations have been no less divorced from strategic or ideological considerations. Contacts with China and Albania, for example, were abruptly terminated in 1961 with the break-down in diplomatic relations. In fact, the USSR has been far less exigent with non-communist states; Soviet teams played football in Egypt, for example, while Egyptian communists languished in gaol, yet the USSR cut off relations with Yugoslavia in 1949 when that country attempted to pursue native solutions to native problems.

The Soviet Union has a considerable ability to use sport successfully as a vehicle of foreign policy --greater, probably, than that of any other state. It is hardly possible to measure the impact of international sporting success on the behaviour of individuals or states — to discover whether such success can, in fact, ever affect policies. There can no longer be any belief that success in international sports-competition is, as it was in the past, primarily a matter of the physical and moral resources of the individual participant; it is today a matter of what has been termed the "totalitarianisation"[123] of national sports-systems -- the effectiveness with which the total resources of a whole society can be brought to bear on record-smashing. This is a system that is bound to favour state-socialist powers --particularly the larger countries

[123] Heinilä, K., "Notes on Inter-Group Conflicts in International Sport," International Review of Sport Sociology, Vol.I (Warsaw, 1967), p. 36.

like the Soviet Union (and, in the future, China); whether its object remains recognisably 'sport' --how a man disports himself --is another question).

In a society in which sport is fully integrated in the political system and in which the state can mobilise resources to achieve maximum efficiency of the sporting effort, sport can perform important political functions; sports emissaries can probably often do more than diplomats to recommend a political philosophy and way of life to the outside world.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of our periodised study, which has revealed the main features of the course of events and of policies and their results relating to sport, we are now in a position to draw some more general conclusions about the place of sport in Soviet society.

1. Similarities and Dissimilarities in Western and Soviet Sport

As Western urban-industrial society developed, a wide range of sports was gradually created (or adapted from the sports of the nobility) for play, largely in an urban setting, by the 'middle classes', imbued with their values and designed initially for their training and entertainment. With economic change, rising living-standards and the beginnings of leisure for wider sections of the community, many sports were extended to the urban masses, some being taken over almost completely by them and some new ones even being invented by members of the populace.[1] In the course of these changes, many sports became commercialised and adapted for mass consumption and diversion, dominated by the profit motive and emasculated by the needs of a 'sports industry'. In recent years, with the increasing 'political' importance of international sports-competition and 'success' (particularly against state-socialist states), Western governments, aided by

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[1] The process was uneven and incomplete: several 'middle-class' sports (for example, in England: golf, tennis, squash, sailing, badminton and in some parts of the country rugby) are still confined by convention or design to private clubs and associations and controlled by their committees.

commercial sponsorship, have intervened in the organisation of some sports and provided amenities for pursuing them.

In the development of Soviet society, sport has always been state-controlled, encouraged and shaped by specific utilitarian and ideological designs -- primarily for labour and military training and the all-round education of an ideal citizen. Sport was proclaimed an essential ingredient of the way of life of all citizens. This state-centralised control of sport prevented commercial exploitation of mass spectator sports for private profit and the playing of particular sports in which actual or simulated violence predominated, and inhibited the extremes of hooliganism, corruption and commercialism associated with a number of sports in the West.

In spite of these dissimilarities, there are today features of organised sport strikingly common to both Soviet and Western societies. There are, of course, the very sports themselves -- sports that were, in the main, invented and organised by 'middle-class' groups in the course of Western industrial development. Together with these sports goes an elaborate system of government sports departments, giant amphitheatres, officials, trainers, semi- and full-time professional players, sports journalists, and so on -- even gambling establishments. A similar sports-ideology in East and West cultivates irrational loyalties and ascribes similar prominence to the winning of victories, the setting of records and the collection of trophies and surrounds these created 'events' with an aura characterised by

ballyhoo and razzamatazz. All this constitutes a fetishism of sport in both worlds -- though the motives for this in the two societies may differ.

2. The Practice of Soviet Sport

Our researches have shown quite clearly that the forms of recreation which actually developed in Soviet society often conflicted with Marxist predictions about and aspirations for sport.

In practical policy, the Soviet leaders, from about 1928 on, would seem to have opted for the following:

(i) the organisation of working people in their leisure-time to the maximum possible extent within the framework of a tidy hierarchical and functional structure;

(ii) the cultivation of competitive sport (a leisure-time analogue of the competition between people at work designed to raise work-tempos) with -- again, as at work -- material rewards for victors, the more effectively to improve the masses' readiness for work and to pre-train soldiers for the Soviet nation-state;

(iii) using sport, specifically, as a means of obtaining the fit, obedient and disciplined work-force needed for achieving economic and military strength and efficiency -- in particular, in order

(a) to raise physical and social health-standards -- and the latter meant not simply educating people in the virtues of bodily hygiene, regular exercise and sound nutrition, but also combatting unhealthy deviant, anti-social (and therefore anti-Soviet) behaviour: drunkenness, delinquency, prostitution, 'sexual perversions' (masturbation and homosexuality!) -- even religiosity

and intellectual dissidence;

(b) to develop general physical dexterity, motor skills and other physical qualities useful for 'labour and defence';

(c) to socialise the population into the new establishment system of values; character-training, advanced (so the Soviet leaders seem to have believed) by sport, in such values as loyalty, conformity, team-spirit, cooperation and discipline, may well have encouraged compliance and cooperation in both work and politics -- including of course, the development of an uncynical attitude towards political leaders;

(d) to encourage a population, in transition from a rural to an urban way of life, to identify themselves with wider communities -- all-embracing social units such as the workplace, the neighbourhood, the town, the district, the region, the republic and, ultimately, the whole country. By associating sport (like other amenities) organisationally with the workplace, the Party-leadership and its agencies could, moreover, better supervise, control and 'rationalise' the leisure-time activities of employees;

(iv) linking sport ideologically and even organisationally with military preparedness; the reasons for this 'militarisation' of sport must be sought in:

(a) the leadership's fear (given a 'capitalist encirclement') of war and its conviction of the need to keep the population primed to meet it;

(b) the all-pervasive presence throughout society of the military and the security forces, necessitated by the imposition from above, should enthusiasm from below flag, of 'socialist construction' on a tired public (a state of affairs not so odd-

seeming in Russian society, since this military presence had also, if for different reasons, been the norm before the revolution, in sport as elsewhere);

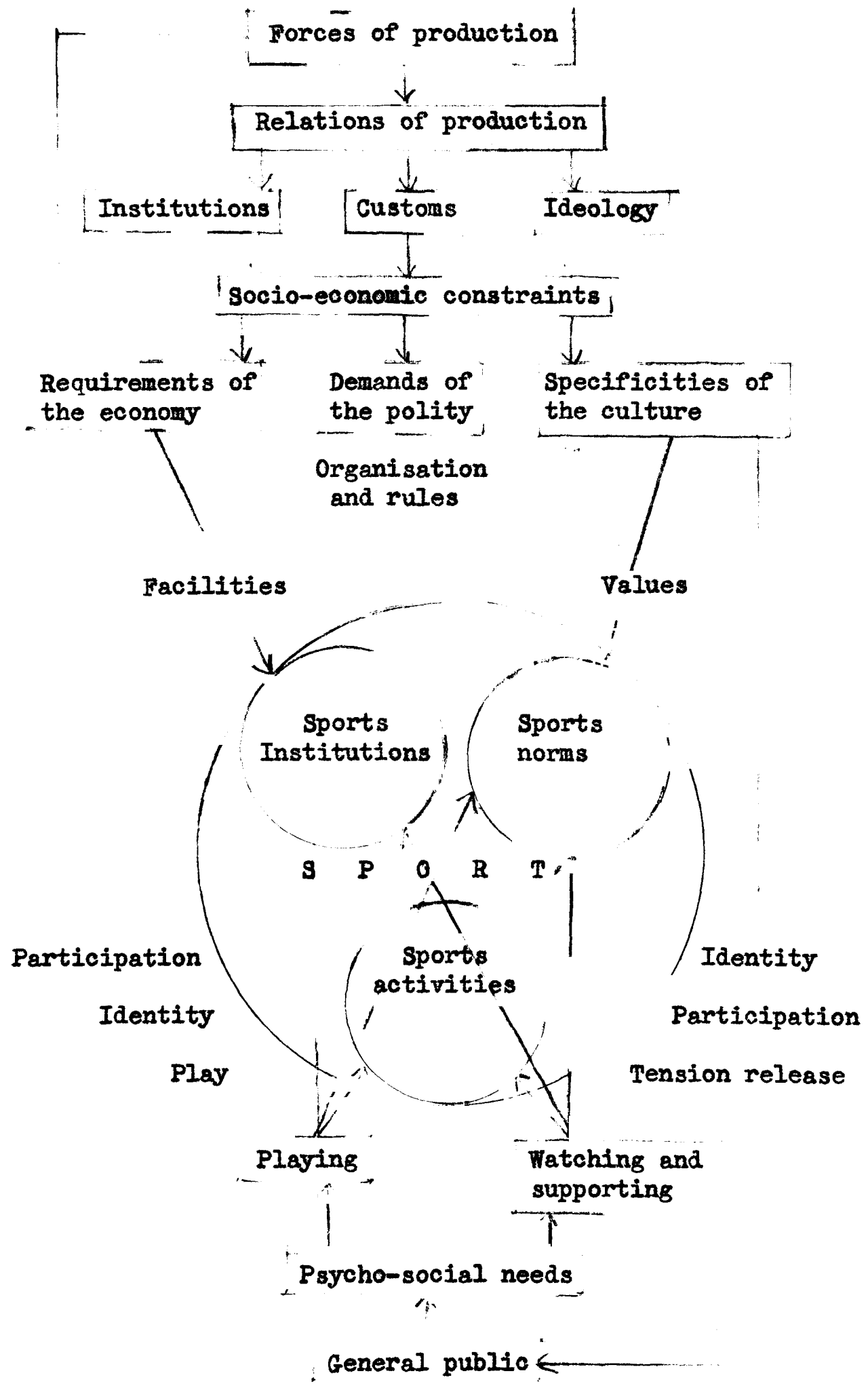
(c) its forming part of a policy of keeping the public in a state of controlled tension, ready to tolerate the discipline and sacrifices necessitated by rapid industrialisation, to conform to the standards set by the leaders and to acquiesce in their policies;

(d) the fact that, in a vast country with problems of communication, lukewarm (at best) popular attitudes towards physical exercise and few sports-facilities for most of the period we have studied, military organisation of sport was actually an efficient method of deploying scarce resources in the most economical way and using methods of direction which were, perhaps, more effective coming from paramilitary than from civilian organisations.

Of course, despite the form into which recreation was cast, workers and peasants could still derive satisfaction from it (both those of simple play and for some the derivative benefits of a competitive system). This will be the case with sport in all modern societies. Figure 1 represents a general conceptual model in which sport is one of the arenas in which the systemic exigencies of official society confront the psycho-social imperatives generated in the masses by the conditions of life of industrial society. The results of that continuing confrontation will shape the specifics of the totality of activities, institutions and norms that constitute that society's sport.

Figure 1

Sport in Industrial Societies: the Interaction of Needs and Constraints



Specific societies with specific mixes of class-relationships (one dominant set of relations of production plus surviving traces or incipient shoots of others) will not all produce identical needs in the mass psyche:

(a) in the society of the USSR, in which work, for much of the Soviet period, has been physically and mentally exhausting, in which the lack of varied popular entertainment has been marked, in which cramped homes have been more places to sleep in than to live in, in which the mass media have tended to be more instructional and work-oriented than entertaining and in which the psychic pressures on the individual have sometimes been overwhelming, both participant and spectator sport have offered a particularly rewarding area of relaxation and recreation -- a sphere of action providing genuinely pleasurable excitements through playful and unthreatening competition;

(b) in an environment, like that of the historical Soviet Union, in which personal choices about work and home are extremely limited, association based upon shared sporting interests may be both particularly necessary and particularly satisfying to members of various groups of people -- especially those uprooted geographically and socially from traditional patterns of culture;

(c) in a society going through periods of crisis and disorientingly rapid change, sport seems to play a particularly valuable rôle for individuals both as a 'safety-valve', providing more or less harmless outlets for the release of accumulated emotional tensions, and as a compensatory device, offering satisfactions denied elsewhere in society; it constitutes a socially-acceptable area of self-expression and even creativity.

Sports-pageants and Olympic-style festivals, for example, contain all the trappings of communal ritual[2] and provide, for some, a cathartic experience not dissimilar in function to that of a religious service. Both religion and sport have been described as 'opiates of the masses', serving in many societies to dull the senses, to mystify fundamentally unequal social relationships and to exact conformism[3];

(d) in the society of the USSR, which, historically has provided few outlets for the full realisation of an individual's own personality, much of the relief that people found in sport may

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[3] Sport and religion were, of course, not alone in offering outlets or escapes from the work-centred and highly-disciplined aspects of Soviet life: harsh working and living conditions and other frustrations certainly encouraged escape into the oblivion of drunkenness; excessive demands for stoicism and discipline may well have stimulated the taste for grotesque counterparts such as the circus and (more dangerously) for satire.

[2] Durkheim wrote of rituals: "The rites are a manner of acting which take rise in the midst of assembled groups which are destined to excite, maintain or recreate certain mental states in these groups." "Beliefs are active only when they are partaken by many. A man cannot retain them by a purely personal effort." (Durkheim, E., The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, New York, 1961, pp. 22, 473.)

have been vicarious gratification of fantasies[4] produced by frustrated self-realisation[5] in individual response to deliberate collective socialisation;

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4 Writing about Western industrial society, Talcott Parsons has noted that "much of the outlet that children find in the comics and in radio-programmes especially designed for them concerns vicarious gratification of the fantasies produced in the process of socialisation. But fundamentally the same considerations apply in the adult world. The movies and a good deal of magazine literature and the novel, as well as the notorious soap opera, are cases in point. A substantial part of the strain, which is expressed in this sometimes bizarre fantasy life, is presumably the product of the processes of change which are necessitated by technological development." (Parsons, T., The Social System, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970, p.512.)

5 Mészáros has written that "in Marx's view the individual in a socialist society does not dissolve his individuality within the general social determinations. On the contrary, he must find an outlet for the full realisation of his own personality (Gesamtpersonlichkeit). In a capitalist society the individuals can only reproduce themselves as isolated individuals. In a bureaucratically collectivised society, on the other hand, they cannot reproduce themselves as individuals, let alone as social individuals. (Mészáros, I., Marx's Theory of Alienation, The Merlin Press, London, 1972, p.269.)

(e) in a society in which the 'politicisation' of so much of life and the consequent dependence of personal prestige and membership of society's élite groups on one's political record and reliability made it difficult to gain access to certain privileges by non-political means, sport -- though set in a political context -- constituted one such rather rare means -- the most accessible to the rank-and-file -- of acquiring prestige and material rewards by relatively non-political means.

3. The Marxist Theory of Recreation under Socialism and Communism

Despite the practice described above, the legitimation of Soviet policies on recreation, inscribed in the CPSU Programme, has consistently been based on the theories, goals and ideals elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Freedom, wrote Marx, "can never be higher than the economic structure of society and cultural development conditioned by it."[6] It depends not only on the nature of production-relations, but on the level of development of the forces of production. At the lower stage of a communist society, which is going through a period of revolutionary transformation from capitalism to communism, freedom to enjoy leisure and to engage in sport may still be constrained by the needs of production, by the division of labour, by the tasks of consolidation of the new society. "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundation, but, on the contrary, as it emerges from capitalist society; and which is thus in every respect, economically,

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6 Marx, K., "Critique of the Gotha Programme," in Selected Works, Vol.11, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, p.31.

morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."[7] Accordingly, sporting activities may continue to be an extension of work and serve utilitarian, if no longer commercial, ends. How long this transitional period would last would clearly depend on several factors, objective and subjective; but one would expect that such a society, as it progressed from the lower to the higher stage of communism, as 'the realm of necessity' gave way to 'the realm of freedom', would gradually shorten the working day and increase the time available for the really free development of human potential for its own sake.

That freedom, then, depends on the availability of genuinely 'free' time. "The realm of freedom only begins, in fact, where that labour which is determined by need and external purposes ceases; it is therefore, by its very nature, outside the sphere of material production proper...Freedom in this field (production) cannot consist of anything else but the fact that socialised mankind, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with Nature rationally, bring it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power, and accomplish their task with the least expenditure of energy and under such conditions as are proper and worthy for human beings. Nevertheless, this always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human potentiality for its own sake, the true realm of freedom, which however can only flourish upon that realm

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7 Ibid., p.29.

of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its fundamental prerequisite."[8] Real play, therefore, can only begin after work, in 'free' time, and cannot be an extension of that work if it is to remain free. It would, however, only be possible completely to remove constraints on each individual's use of his free time "in the higher phase of communist society, when the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; when labour is no longer merely a means of life but has become life's principal need; when the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly."[9]

How can sport, a patently 'unfree' activity under capitalism and even at the lower stage of communism, become a free activity under full-scale communism? Will 'sports' as we know them today in bourgeois and state-socialist societies -- disciplined and competitive -- exist at all in a complete communist society? According to Marx, under complete communism, once human activities ceased to be regulated on the basis of private ownership and exchange, the social character of labour would manifest itself directly, without the alienating mediation of the enforced division of labour; "Modern industry compels society, under penalty of death, to replace the detail-worker of today, crippled by life-long

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8 Marx, K., Capital, Vol.111, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, pp.873-874.

9 Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme," p.31.

repetition of one and the same trivial operation, and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, by the fully-developed individual, fit for a variety of labours, ready to face any change of production, and to whom the different social functions he performs are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers."[10] Marx, therefore, expected that individuals, liberated from the fetishism of commodity exchange, from 'reified' relationships and 'abstract labour', would have every opportunity for self-fulfilment in free and spontaneous activity. Mészáros put it thus: "Only in relation to a natural being can the question of freedom be raised as fulfilment which is in harmony with this being's inner determination, and only in this relation can freedom be defined in positive terms."[11]

The concept of the possibility of the maturation and full development of the individual's inclinations and abilities -- for Marxists, a process conceivable only in a social framework freed from the paralysing requirements of commodity-production which represses the human need in favour of the commercial demand -- implies that the activities of the individual must have purpose and meaning. It is in the meaningfulness of human action in the society of the future -- its liberation from the condition of being a mere means to an alienated end -- that the crux of the Marxist vision (and prediction) of free human activity resides.

Play at the higher state of communist society, conceived as a meaningful and self-justifying activity, would not be one

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10 Marx, Capital, Vol.1, p.488.

11 Mészáros, op.cit., p.211.

speciality among many, reserved for professionals or for a leisured élite, but an essential dimension of human life in general: "In communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes," wrote Marx, "society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming a hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic." Under capitalism, on the contrary, "as soon as labour is distributed, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape."[12]

The point here is that 'sport', insofar as it is a product of the division of labour, must come to be superseded. Since "religion, the family, the state, law, morality, science, art, [and 'sport' -- J.W.R.] etc., are only particular forms of production and come under its general law, the positive abolition of private property, as the appropriation of human life, is thus the positive abolition of all alienation, and thus the return of man from religion, the family, the state, [and sport -- J.W.R.] etc., to his human -- i.e., social, life."[13] This passage of Marx's does not mean that art and science -- or sport -- must be

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12 Marx, K., Engels, F., The German Ideology, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1965, p.295.

13 Marx, K., Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1963, p.115.

abolished under communism. Pace Marx, religion, the authoritarian family, the state and law will 'wither away', starting from the very moment the proletariat takes power into its hands -- because there is no class 'below' the proletariat for it to fool, discipline and exploit; production, art, science and play will become transformed from compulsive specialisms into necessary facets of the life of every free individual member of society. Just as Marx insisted that alienated science be transformed into "human science", so it would follow that 'sport' too must lose its alienated character. It would no longer be a manifestation of man's alienation from control over his own play. Once liberated from the iron laws of capitalist economics and once they ceased to be necessities performed under the pressure of making a living, such activities as hunting and fishing (or running, jumping, playing) would have their quality and connotation transformed. Precisely what forms playful activity would take under complete communism Marxists have not attempted to predict; all that is clear is that they would be freely chosen by the individual and pursued for their inherent pleasure rather than as instrumentalities in the prosecution of some external goal.

Soviet leaders have, of course, consistently affirmed their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism in general and their adherence to a number of Marxist goals in respect of recreation in particular, emphasising the provision of recreation for all and the need, specifically inscribed in the Party Programme adopted in 1961, for the new Soviet man, the 'Builder of Communism', to have every opportunity for harmoniously combining "spiritual wealth, moral purity and perfect physique"[14] -- a healthy mind in a healthy

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[14] "Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", in The Road to Communism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p.567

body for everyone.

4. Soviet Practice and Socialist Theory

It is clear from Sections 2 and 3 above, Party affirmations notwithstanding, that official practice has diverged substantially from official theory, that the forms of recreation which have developed in Soviet society have not coincided with the predictions of Marxist writers about playful activities in the society of the future. The highly unofficial Soviet historian, Roy Medvedev, has written that "The October Revolution drastically changed almost all the old economic and political institutions. The old distinctions of class and property were erased. In the process, people also changed, especially those who took part in the Revolution. But changes in the nature and character of people proceeded much more slowly than economic and political transformations. It is therefore hardly surprising that many defects of the old society appeared in the new setting, often in a new form. Sometimes, these defects distorted social relationships so pervasively that only the external form of a new relationship was preserved, while its essence became alien to socialism."[15]

Discrepancies between what the leadership has said and what it has done are, of course, not confined to sport. Such hypocrisy was a general feature of virtually every public sphere in the Stalin era, which covers so critical a period of Soviet history. As Medvedev has said of Stalin: "Thousands of times he said one thing and did the opposite."[16] This was an essential part of a 'strategy of lies'. During the worst years of Stalin's rule, "All media of communication varnished reality, ignored most

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15 Medvedev, R., Let History Judge, Macmillan, 1971, p.552.
16 Ibid, p.547.

difficulties, injustice and arbitrary rule. Many good decisions were made and never carried out. But the incongruity between words and deeds consisted not just in saying one thing and doing another but in saying nothing about much that was done."[17]

This is not the place to analyse the reasons for the consistent lying that became an integral part of official policy: it certainly made possible both the presentation of the organisation created by Stalin as a still-living Bolshevik Party and the persuasion of millions of people at home and abroad that reports of cruel and massive repressions were the expectable lies of enemies.

As far as recreation is concerned, reasons for the divergence between ideals and practice may be assumed to parallel those in other areas of life. In the early post-revolutionary period, genuine efforts were made by certain future-oriented groups to move in the direction foretold by Marx, but civil war and national poverty made them impossible to bring to fruition. From the late 1920's, command over the repressive apparatus, disposal of material resources and sources of information were in no real sense under popular control but in the hands of members of the leading group in the ruling party which, in the absence of help from a revolution in the industrial West, was pursuing a policy of building a strong nation-state power-base, using these instruments of power.

Some Marxists might argue that the fetishisation of recreation in the form of competitive sport (which, as we have seen, offers vast opportunities for manipulation of people's minds) in the

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[17] Ibid., p 549.

USSR is one of a number of temporary 'defects' of a society in transition to communism, "still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."[18] Such 'defects' might be regarded as inevitable as long as the individual still remains subordinate to the division of labour, as long as an antithesis exists between mental and manual labour, as long as labour is primarily a means of livelihood, as long as the forces of production are at too low a level to permit the all-round development of the individual -- i.e., as long as the USSR 'remains at the first stage of communist society'.

We might speculate further on whether, given Russia's overall backwardness in 1917, any road to socialism other than a path of prolonged, bureaucratically-enforced development were possible, whether its society is even yet ripe for genuinely socialist or communist human relations (including those of free recreation) and whether, indeed, the original social goals can have remained uncontaminated, in the minds of any leaders, by the class or caste differentiation actually historically involved in the process of bureaucratic state-socialist construction. It is here, perhaps, that we should seek the key to an understanding of the fetishism of sport that developed in the USSR. Whereas, in Western society, the fetishism of sport was a consequence of this field of human action, (like almost all others) offering the possibilities of profit-making -- and turning out, characteristically without any conscious purposive intent, to be a highly appropriate means of distracting the masses from class-conscious politicisation,

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18 See p.670 above.

in Soviet society, it characteristically resulted from centralised planning and administration designed to subordinate areas of social life such as sport to the political and economic tasks of building a strong state. The distinction is important in terms of the potential dynamics of the two systems.

Today, the inheritors of the sports system evolved during the Stalin years find themselves in a quandry: to what extent should or must they break with the past? how sharply and through what new forms should necessary change be brought about? In the field of culture, and specifically of recreation, how could they dismantle the various by now well-entrenched fetishised institutions and values? The task is circumscribed partly by the fact that, today, sport is evidently regarded as an important weapon in the rivalry between what Soviet leaders may see as the two diametrically opposed world systems -- capitalism and Soviet socialism. The international situation is just one of a number of objective constraints (that also include domestic, economic, cultural and political factors) on leaders attempting to realise their desires -- which are likely to be by no means uniform or clearly-perceived. To make two extremal assumptions about the leaders' desires, one may be against fundamental change, the other may be in favour of introducing full communist relations. Whatever course of action is pursued, the <u>subjective will</u> of the leaders is bound to be constrained by the <u>objective possibilities</u> of the situation.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the actions of the leadership should appear contradictory: on the one hand, it reinforces the fetishism of sport by its increasing stress on international

success in sport and on the training of even faster, stronger and more skilful professional sportsmen (e.g., through sports boarding-schools) in an ever-growing range of highly-organised and institutionalised sports, while the false consciousness of the mass of people is reinforced through a cultivated obsession with mass-produced, media-oriented spectator sports. On the other hand, the leadership is increasing the amount of free time available to people, providing an ever-wider range of amenities and equipment for people to pursue recreational activities of their choice, is encouraging people to be active participants rather than passive spectators and is increasing opportunities for individuals to enjoy recreational activities in a non-institutional setting (fishing, hiking, rock climbing, boating, pot-holing, water-skiing, horse-riding, skin-diving).

It is too early to prophesy which trend will prevail. There has so far been no obvious sign in the field of recreation of a movement towards transparent, demystified social relationships. At the same time, no fundamental obstacles, such as commercialism, exist to prevent recreational activities in the Soviet Union from being liberated from fetishism and manipulation so that they would become freely chosen and pursued for their inherent pleasure rather than for utilitarian ends. Some Marxists would argue that profound cultural-revolutionary changes of this sort could be brought about, in Soviet conditions, by comparatively minor political changes (new men at the top); others would incline to the view that the present course is more systemic, all possible candidates for the leadership having common class (or quasi-class) relations to the means of production different from the masses and so resulting in

vested interests in the status quo.

5. The Public's Positive Gains

Whatever the interpretation of past events or the perspectives for future development, there can certainly, however, be no doubt about the absolute positive material gains of the population of the old Russian Empire in the sphere of recreation since 1917. It is also in many ways better off in this respect than the public in most Western countries. Most of the urban population can today pursue the sport of their choice, using facilities mostly free of charge through their trade-union sports society. Sports are not, as they were before the Revolution, in the hands of foreigners, commercial promoters, circus-entrepreneurs or private clubs with restricted entrance. Unlike many Western sports-clubs, Soviet sports societies do not discriminate in regard to membership on the basis of sex, nationality or social background. Even sports involving expensive equipment are open to anyone who shows natural ability and inclination.

The Soviet Union could hardly have become what it is today -- the world's leading all-round competitive sporting power -- without a genuinely wide base -- virtually universal access to the means of practising sports. Lastly, there has been, too, an undeniable consistent aspiration and effort in the USSR to make sport culturally uplifting, aesthetically satisfying and morally reputable which, given all necessary qualifications, has set a tone of altruism and devotion in its sport in which there is much which cannot but be admired.

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Appendix I.

Sports-Leaders and the Nomenklatura: Biographies and Comment

As part of the mechanism of its overall control of sport, the CPSU leadership places reliable Party cadres in positions of authority in the sports movement. Through its nomenklatura (list of Party appointments) the Party can control the personnel at every level of the sporting, like every other, hierarchy. Decisions on the appointment of top sports-leaders (for example, the chairman of the central sports body) are made directly by the Party Secretariat, whereas those on the appointment of principals of institutes of physical culture, heads of scientific institutes concerned with sport, chairmen of voluntary sports-societies and suchlike are the responsibility of the appropriate departments of the Party Central Committee; Regional Party Committees supervise lower-level appointments.

In choosing officials, political reliability and past successes at lower levels appear to be more important than technical knowledge of a particular field and its organisation. This is the principle in sport as in most other fields. Nemzer has stated that "the major characteristic desired in Party officials appears to be trustworthiness, rather than technical training".[1] Nonetheless, charges have occurred over time that have inevitably affected the 'generalists' v. 'specialists' status in Soviet institutions. With the increasingly technical nature of sport and the availability of enough good specialists to fill technical posts, leading positions in the sports hierarchy have, since the war , been full-time appointments. No longer does a leading Party member combine several top posts, as happened in the 1920's and 1930's. All the same, the Party leadership continues to place reliable Party cadres in the chairmanship of the central sports body, refusing to relinquish the post to a full-time specialist with previous experience in sport and physical culture. The pattern is apparent if we examine the biographies of the dozen people who have been top sports leaders at All-Union level.

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[1] Nemzer, L., "The Kremlin's Professional Staff: The 'Apparatus' of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union," American Political Science Review, XLIV (March, 1950), p.85.

Nikolai Podvoisky (1880-1948), Chairman of the Supreme Council of Physical Culture attached to Vsevobuch, 1920-23 and of the Red Sport International. He had been a Party-member since 1901 and was chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd during the October, 1917 revolution. Despite the fact that he had had no previous background in sport, he did write a number of booklets on the subject, including Kakaya fizicheskaya kul'tura nuzhna proletariatu SSSR i kem ona dolzhna sozdavat'sya (What Physical Culture the USSR Proletariat Needs and Who Should Provide It) [1923] and O mezhdunarodnom krasnom sportivnom dvizhenii i yevo ocherednykh zadachakh (On the International Red Sports Movement and its Immediate Tasks) [1924]. Although, unlike many old Bolsheviks, he escaped arrest and execution during the purge years, he was deprived of all influence after the mid-1930's.

Nikolai Semashko (1874-1949), Chairman of the Supreme Council of Physical Culture, 1923-31, while concurrently People's Commissar of Health of the RSFSR (1918-30). He had been a Party-member since 1893, had worked as a doctor after graduating in medicine from Kazan' University in 1901, was secretary of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, 1908-1910, and took part in the October insurrection in 1917. His medical qualifications found reflection in the 'hygienist' bias of sport and physical culture during the 1920's. After 1930, he worked in various (relatively minor) administrative posts within the health service, surviving the purges. His writings include Ocherki po teorii organizatsii zdravookhraneniya (Essays on the Theory of Health-Protection) [1947] and Puti sovetskoi fizicheskoi kul'tury (Methods of Soviet Physical Culture) [1926].

Nikolai Antipov (1894-1941), Chairman of the All-Union Council of Physical Culture, March 1931-33. He had been a Party-member since 1912 and was a deputy to the Petrograd Soviet in 1917. He served as Chairman of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) 1917-19, was a member of the Presidium of the All-

Union Central Council of Trade Unions after 1920, acted as People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraph, 1928-31, was a Party Central-Committee-member from 1924 to 1934 and a Deputy-Chairmain of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, 1931-36. He had had no previous experience of sport prior to taking up the chairmanship of the All-Union Council of Physical Culture. In 1936, he was arrested and charged with being a 'right oppositionist' and an accomplice of Bukharin; he is reported as having been shot in 1941.

Vasily Mantsev (1889-1939), Chairman of the All-Union Council of Physical Culture, 1933-36. He, too, was an Old Bolshevik and had occupied a high post in the Cheka since 1919. He had, in fact, been a founder of Dinamo Sports Society and one of its first organisers during the 1920's. Like many other Party officials, he had to be versatile enough to occupy several different posts, some concurrently. One of these was sport, after which he briefly became a Deputy-Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court (1936-37). His fate was to be arrested, charged as a 'left oppositionist' and executed in 1939. Ironically, he had been called as a witness in the trial of his 'right oppositionist' predecessor, Antipov, in the so-called Right Opposition Trial of 1938.

Ivan Kharchenko (1906-1939), Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs, June, 1936-August, 1937. He (like the present chairman, Sergei Pavlov) had risen through the ranks of the Komsomol and had supervised its department concerned with physical culture -- therefore he did have some prior experience of sports administration. He acceded to the post of Chairman at the relatively young age of 30 but was the third successive sports chairman to be purged at a time when the sports administration was caught up in the general campaign of vilification and denunciation of leaders in all walks of life (except, of course, the Leader -- Stalin) as 'enemies of the people'. He is reported to have died in a labour camp in 1939.

E.L.Knopova, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs for a brief period of three months, August-October, 1937. She was the only woman ever to have held the top sports post, but she stood down to become Deputy-Chairman very soon after her accession. Although far fewer women than men were purged -- hence the possible reason for her appoirtment -- her sex did not save her from arrest in Septerber, 1938. Her fate has not been disclosed.

Alexander Zelikov, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs, October, 1937-September, 1938. He had the misfortune to take over the reins of the sports movement at a time when the sports administration had come under constant attack in the press for harbouring numerous 'enemies of the people', including Trotskyists, whose alleged intention was to sabotage an organisation regarded as vital to the defence of the USSR. Zelikov was accused of being 'non-Bolshevik' and removed from office along with all his deputy-chairmen in September, 1938. No information is available on their ultimate fate.

Vasily Snegov, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs and, subsequently, Vsevobuch, January, 1939-1945, saw the sports movement through the war years. Being a military man -- a colonel and previously an official in the People's Commissariat of Defence -- he was evidently thought to be eminently suited to adapt physical culture to military training and the needs of war.

Nikolai Romanov, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs, 1945-May, 1948, Deputy-Chairman, 1948-53 and again Chairman, 1953-62. He had come up through the Komsomol ranks to gain the sports chairmanship, then moved on to become the Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Nikolai Appolonov, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs, May 1948-1953. He had been commander of the M.V.D. Border-Guards immediately after the war; it has been suggested that this was a qualification which the leadership believed

could bring better discipline and organisation to the sports movement at a time when Soviet athletes were venturing into the international arena. However, he was removed from his post following the fall of Beria in July, 1953.

Yury Mashin, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs, 1962-1968. He, too, had had little or no experience in sport, was a relatively young Party official seconded to the post, and he survived the general reorganisation after the fall of Khrushchov in October, 1964.

Sergei Pavlov, Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport since 1968 (the present incumbent). Significantly, he studied for two years at the Moscow Institute of Physical Culture (1950-52) after completing a course in farm management at a tekhnikum. But his career has been solely in Party-appointed posts. He was accepted into the Party in 1954 (at the age of 25) while Secretary of the Krasnogvardeisky District (Moscow) Komsomol Committee (1952-55). Subsequently, he became a Second Secretary, then First Secretary of the Moscow Komsomol Committee (1957-59) prior to becoming Second and then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (1959-68). Concurrently he was a Deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (1959 convocation) and to the USSR Supreme Soviet (1962 convocation), during which time he was also a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union. He gained trust and experience from several trips abroad, heading delegations to Austria, Guinea, Cuba, Finland, Bulgaria and East Germany in the period 1959-63. He was therefore well-qualified to take over the sports administration in 1968.

Comment

(i) The leadership has changed frequently -- 13 times in the space of just over half a century, and ten times since 1930; this turnover was, of course, particularly accelerated by the purges. As with other positions of responsibility in the

Soviet Union, leaders have tended to rise and fall with the success or failure of their charge; thus, Yury Mashin lost his post after the 'failure' of Soviet athletes to 'win' the 1968 Olympic Games either in winter or in summer. But , at high levels, there is an even greater tendency to fall with one's patron (Bukharin, Beria), which does not seem to have happened since 1954 in sport -- perhaps because sport is seen as more technical nowadays.

(ii) Political experience and reliability appear to be more important than knowledge of or experience in sport. None of the chairmen (with the possible exception of Pavlov) are recorded as ever having been active in sport or even to have had any administrative training in it. These nomenklatura personnel received a 'generalist' training in Party schools — whose purpose is ideological education rather than training in functional skills (the courses normally include such subjects as History of the CPSU, History of the Working-Class Movement, Marxist-Leninist Philospphy, Political Economy, and Propaganda and Agitation). Like military colleges, they tend to assure their graduates of successful promotion in an administrative hierarchy. Hence, capable administrators with an interest and background in sport tend to be overlooked in favour of a reliable Party man because the former may well not have attended a Party school.

(iii) Despite the importance of women to the international success of Soviet sport and the large number of active sportswomen and women trainers, there has been only one woman chairman of the sports movement -- and she for only three months. This reflects the position of women in top administrative positions in other sectors of society -- particularly in regard to important Party appointments. Thus, in 1971, only 23 per cent of Party-members were women and there was no woman in the Politbureau of 20[2]. The nomenklatura is certainly an area in which Soviet women do not benefit from the equal rights with men guaranteed them by the Constitution.

[2] The proportion of women in the highest positions in state and Party is relatively low in general: in Union-Republican Councils of Ministers, it was (in 1972) five per cent, and in the USSR Council of Ministers, it was one per cent; in the Party Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, it was four per cent (see Berker, G.R., "Women, Sex-Roles and Soviet Society, [paper delivered at Pendrell Hall Conference, 30 June, 1972], p.29).

Appendix II.

Chronicle of Events and Legislation Relating to Physical Culture and Sport, November 1917-1974

7 November, 1917	The Great October Socialist Revolution occurs, sparking off Civil War and the War of Intervention.
7 Dec., 1917	Physical Education is made compulsory in schools by order of the Medical and Hygiene Department of the People's Commissariat of Education.
22 Apr., 1918	A decree is passed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies "On Compulsory Instruction in the Military Art"; a Central Board of Universal Military Instruction (Vsevobuch) takes over the administration of all sports-clubs, societies and is made responsible for the physical education of young people; Vsevobuch thus becomes the first Soviet G.H.Q. of sport.
3 Apr., 1919	First All-Russia Congress of Workers in Physical Culture, Sport and Pre-Military Training takes place in Moscow.
10 Oct., 1919	First State Institute of Physical Culture (the Lesgaft) opens in Petrograd.
19 July, 1920	'Pre-Olympiads' are held in Moscow, Petrograd, Omsk and Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk).
1 Aug., 1920	First 'international' football match is held in Soviet Russia: Russia v. International XI, played during the Second Congress of the Third International.
10 Sept., 1920	The Supreme Council of Physical Culture attached to the Central Board of Vsevobuch is formed. Its responsibilities include drawing up P.E. programmes, arranging sports-contests and ensuring medical supervision of sport. Its chairman is the prominent Bolshevik, N.I. Podvoisky.
13 Sept., 1920	Central Military School of Workers' Physical Culture opens in Moscow.
20 Oct., 1920	A resolution is passed at the Third Komsomol Congress "On the Militia Army and the Physical Education of Young People," which states, in part, that "the physical education of the younger generation is a necessary element in the overall communist upbringing of young people, aimed at creating harmoniously developed and creative citizens of communist society."
Oct., 1920	First Central-Asian Olympics are held in Tashkent.
Nov., 1920	Fate of the Civil War is decided in favour of the Bolsheviks.
1 Dec., 1920	State Institute of Physical Culture opens in Moscow -- by order of the Council of People's Commissars.
1921 .	The New Economic Policy is launched.
July, 1921	Red Sport Interrational is formed at the First International Congress of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers' Sports-Organisations, as a branch of the Comintern. Emphasis is laid on linking sport with "the political enlightenment of workers, their preparation for the class struggle against the bourgeoisie."

July, 1922	The Zamoskvoretsky Sports Club plays the Finnish Labour Team 'TUL' at football in Finland -- so becoming the first Soviet team to travel abroad.
July, 1922	The Russian Association of Red Physical-Culture Organisations is formed (this lasted until March, 1923).
Sept., 1922	Publication begins of the periodical Fizkul'tura i sport.
March, 1923	Vsevobuch is abolished, surviving only as the Vsevobuch Experimental and Display Centre (OPPV), forerunner of the sports-clubs of the armed forces TsDKA (1928), TsDSA (1953) and TsSKA (1960).
March, 1923	Local sports-organisations are taken over by the trade unions.
24 June, 1923	Dinamo is founded as the sports organisation of the Border-Guards and internal security forces. Its members are urged to become all-round athletes rather than specialists in one sport.
27 June, 1923	A Supreme Council of Physical Culture, attached to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee (VTsIK), takes charge of "scientific, educational and organisational work in physical training." Its chairman is the People's Commissar of Health, N.A.Semashko.
July, 1923	The Society of Friends of the Air Force is formed (it becomes the Society of Friends of Aviation and Chemical Defence in 1925, and the Society for Aid to Defence and the Aviation Industry /Osoviakhim/ in 1927).
1923	"Sports-theatrical spectacles" are launched involving "casts of thousands", largely organised by the Proletkul'tists (they continue until 1927/28).
Jan., 1924	Death of Lenin.
1924	The "United Front" policy of the Soviet government involves the Red Sport International in efforts to cooperate with its rival socialist organisation, the Workers' Sport International (affiliated to the Second /Socialist/ International).
13 July, 1925	A resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "On the Tasks of the Party in the Sphere of Physical Culture" heralds the first Party intervention in sport and results in greater 'politicisation' and centralisation, rejection of the 'Hygienists', disbanding of most pre-revolutionary clubs, leagues and organisations, and the encouragement of international sports contacts.
Aug., 1925	First trade-union festival of physical culture is held. Trotsky and Zinoviev are removed from the Politburo; Stalin consolidates his personal power.
15 Nov., 1925	First All-Union Conference on Physical Culture opens, with participants from the Supreme Council of Physical Culture, the Red Sport International, the Health and Education Commissariats, the trade unions, the Red Army, institutes of physical culture and the State Academic Council.
November, 1927	Second All-Union Conference on Physical Culture convenes.

Nov.-Dec.,1927	Trotsky and others are expelled from the Party.
Aug., 1928	First Workers' International Spartakiad is held in Moscow and is atterded by 600 foreign athletes from 12-14 countries.
	The First Five-Year Plan launches the forced industrialisation drive.
Feb, 1929	Daily P.E. morning radio broadcasts commence.
March, 1929	P.E. lessons (twice a week) become compulsory in schools and colleges by order of the Council of People's Commissars.
23 Sept., 1929	A resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "On the Physical Culture Movement" is adopted, resulting in unified coordination of the movement and rigid centralisation.
27 Sept., 1929	The Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR orders that sport be a compulsory part of military training.
1929	Change of policy by Red Sport International sets off a campaign against the "social-fascist leaders" of the Workers' Sport International.
	Collectivisation of agriculture begins.
	Trotsky is sent into exile.
1 Apr., 1930	A resolution is passed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR "On the Establishment of the All-Union Council of Physical Culture attached to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR."
June, 1930	First All-Union Trade-Union Conference on Physical Culture takes place.
5 Feb., 1931	A decree is passed by the People's Commissariat of Labour "On the Introduction of Physical Exercises at Workplaces" ('production gymnastics').
March, 1931	At the suggestion of the Komsomol, the All-Union Council of Physical Culture institutes the "Ready for Labour and Defence (G.T.O.) Scheme" of standard qualifications intended to be the basis of national fitness.
1 May, 1931	First May-Day mass sports-parade is held through Red Square in Moscow with 40,000 participants.
1932	A decree of the Central Committee of the Party "On the Work of the Young Pioneer Organisation" makes it binding upon the Young Pioneers to take part in sport.
1 Jan., 1933	Stage 2 of the G.T.O. scheme is introduced, at a more advanced level and covering 22 sports-activities.
23 Jan., 1933	Gymnastics becomes the basis of P.E. lessons.
15 Feb., 1934	A "Be Ready for Labour and Defence" (B.G.T.O.) badge is introduced for schoolchildren, covering 16 events.
1934	The first children's sports-schools (attended out of school hours) open in Moscow and Tbilisi.
27 May, 1934	The Central Executive Committee of the USSR adopts a resolution "On the Institution of the Title of Merited Master of Sport."
1934	In international sporting relations, a "Popular Front" policy is declared in view of the rise of fascism in Germany and following the adoption of such a policy by the Comintern.

1935	Trade-union voluntary sports-societies (Spartak, Lokomotiv, Krasnoye Znamya, etc.) are established, administered by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.
10 May, 1935	The Uniform All-Union Sports Classification-System is introduced, establishing four rankings for athletes who meet set targets in individual sports (Master of Sport, 1st, 2nd and 3rd rankings).
May, 1936	By decision of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, 64 voluntary sports-societies are established, each with its own rules, badge, colours, pennant and membership-cards.
21 June, 1936	The Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the USSR passes a resolution "On the Formation of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR."
1936	League and cup competitions are organised on a country-wide scale , initially for football, boxing, wrestling and shooting. The Great Purge-Trials commence. The sports-administration is caught up in the mass repression.
1937	Soviet athletes take part in the Third International Workers' Olympiad in Antwerp.
1938	Horse-racing is legalised as a spectacle and a gambling sport. A new sport, sambo ("Unarmed Self-Defence") is instituted.
16 June, 1939	18 July is proclaimed as "Physical Culture Day" by the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (amended in 1961 to the second Saturday in August).
1939-1940	Soviet-Finnish War.
21 June, 1941	USSR is invaded by Nazi Germany.
June, 1941	Vsevobuch is ressurrected and attached to the People's Commissariat of Defence.
Sept., 1941	P.E. lessons in schools are switched from gymnastics to the acquiring of military skills.
Oct., 1941	Moscow is threatened by the advancing Nazi army; the seige of Leningrad commences.
June, 1943	The "Labour Reserves" Voluntary Sports Society is formed.
Aug., 1945	The war comes to an end.
15 Oct., 1945	A resolution of the USSR Council of People's Commissars is adopted on the award of monetary prizes for outstanding sporting attainments (including 15,000-20,000 roubles for an All-Union record).
Nov., 1945	The Dinamo footbal-team makes the first Soviet postwar tour abroad, playing four games in Britain.
1946	The first two Soviet sports organisations, for football and weightlifting, affiliate to international federations.
12 July, 1947	A resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR is adopted "On Awarding Medals and Badges to Soviet Sportsmen for Outstanding Sports and Technical Achievements."

27 Dec., 1948	The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) passes a resolution "On the Work of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs in Implementing the Directives of the Party and Government on the Development of the Mass Sports Movement in the Country and in Improving the Skill of Soviet Athletes," which includes a call for Soviet sportsmen "to win world supremacy in the major sports in the near future" and stresses the need to encourage sport in the countryside.
Dec., 1948	A campaign is launched to russify foreign sports terminology.
29 Dec., 1948	P.E. is made obligatory in the first two years of higher education, followed by an examination.
1949	The first rural sports society, Kolkhoznaya niva, is formed.
1951	The Soviet Olympic Committee is set up; it affiliates to the International Olympic Committee in May.
	DOSAAF is formed out of the three societies for the respective services.
Sept., 1952	Soviet Olympic début is at the 15th Olympic Games in Helsinki.
March, 1953	Death of Stalin.
	All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs becomes the Central Board of Physical Culture and Sport attached to the Ministry of Health (this decision is rescinded in February, 1954).
July, 1953	Fall of Beria.
Sept., 1954	Gymnastics once more becomes the basis of the P.E. lesson in schools.
Feb., 1956	Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.
10 March, 1956	The Title "Merited Master of the USSR" is instituted.
16 Apr., 1956	"Fitness and Health" groups are set up for women over 35 and men over 40.
July, 1956	The Lenin Central Moscow Stadium is opened in Luzhniki.
Aug., 1956	The First Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR, modelled on the Olympic Games, takes place with a claimed participation of 23 million people.
1956	USSR "wins" the Olympic Games at Melbourne (Summer) and at Cortina d'Ampezzo (Winter).
Nov., 1957	A campaign is launched to transfer state functions to 'voluntary' societies.
Dec., 1957	The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions rearranges its 99 voluntary sports societies into a single society for urban residents in each Union Republic (Trud in the Russian Federation, Avangard in the Ukraine, etc.) and one for rural residents. An All-Union Council of Trade Union Voluntary Sports Societies is formed to coordinate the activities of all the societies.
Aug., 1958	The first rural Spartakiad is held.
Sept., 1958	The monthly journal Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole commences publication.

9 Jan., 1959	The Central Committee of the CPSU and of the USSR Council of Ministers adopt a resolution "On the Administration of Physical Culture and Sport" by which the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport Affairs becomes the Union of Sports Societies and Organisations of the USSR.
1959	All-Union federations are set up for individual sports.
August, 1959	The Second Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR takes place with a claimed total of 40 million participants.
Feb., 1960	The All-Union Council of Trade Union Voluntary Sports Societies institutes the honorary title of "Sports Club" for the best-equipped and most successful sports-collectives at workplaces.
1960	USSR "wins" the Olympic Games at Rome (Summer) and Squaw Valley (Winter); Soviet footballers win the European Nations Cup.
Oct., 1961	The new Party Programme adopted at the 22nd Party Congress shifts the stress in the proclaimed aims in sport : "all-round development of the personality", "physical culture and sport are to become an integral part of people's everyday lives." The "Moral Code of the Builder of Communism" is proclaimed for the "New Soviet Man".
1962	The first sports-boarding schools opens in Tashkent.
Aug., 1963	The Third Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR is held ; 66 million participants are claimed.
Sept., 1963	Sport v SSSR commences publication as a supplement to the monthly magazine Sovetsky soyuz.
Feb., 1964	First state lottery for sport is held -- "to obtain additional resources to send the Soviet team to the Olympics".
1964	USSR "wins" the Olympic Games in Tokyo (Summer) and Innsbruck (Winter).
Oct., 1964	Fall of Khrushchov.
Sept., 1965	The titles "Master of Sport of the USSR, International Class" and "Candidate Master of of Sport" are introduced.
Oct., 1965	"Ready for Defence of the Homeland" (GZR) sports-programme is introduced for pre-conscript-age young men.
11 Aug.,1966	Resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are adopted "On Measures Further to Promote the Development of Physical Culture and Sport." Campaign begins to make sport "universal" in the USSR.
Oct., 1966	Glavsportprom is set up to improve the quality and quantity of sports-goods production; an All-Union Technical Design and Experimental Institute for Sports and Recreational Goods, and a Technical Council on Sports Equipment are also set up.

Sept., 1966	Children's Sports Schools are renamed Children's and Young People's Sports Schools. Also set up are the Children's and Young People's Specialised Sports Schools, Sports-Proficiency Schools and Schools for Higher Sports-Proficiency. Republican ministries of education announce various ambitious programmes of construction of sports facilities in schools.
1966	G.T.O. scheme is made into a five-stage programme to cover all age-groups from 14 to 60.
1 March, 1967	The Party adopts a resolution "On the Transfer of Industrial and Office Workers to a 5-Day Working Week."
Aug., 1967	Fourth Jubilee Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR takes place (estimates of the number of participants range from 57 million to 80 million).
17 Oct., 1968	The All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport attached to the USSR Council of Ministers is re-created, so reversing the Khrushchov policy. Its resolutions are to be binding on all ministries, departments and public organisations.
1968	USSR takes "second" place in both the Summer Olympics in Mexico and the Winter Olympics in Grenoble.
12 May, 1969	Government adopts a resolution "On Increasing the Production, Assortment and Quality of Sports and Tourist Equipment."
1969	Revised figures and targets are set for participation in and provision of facilities for sport and physical culture.
June, 1969	A Central Committee of Rural Voluntary Sports Societies is established.
10 Oct., 1969	Joint Party, Government and Trade-Union decree is passed "On Measures for the Further Development of Tourism and Excursions within the Country."
Oct., 1969	First All-Union Exhibition of Physical Culture and Sport in the Fine Arts is held.
Feb., 1970	Government resolution is adopted on the creation of sports-boarding schools (although several already existed).
17 Mar., 1970	Joint Trade-Union, Komsomol and Sports Committee resolution is adopted "On Measures to Improve Educational Work among Sportsmen," which indicates that "the main purpose of ideological work among athletes should be to develop their patriotism, communist attitude to work, constant striving for improvement and the formation of lofty moral principles."
April, 1970	A monthly sports lottery is instituted by the government.
1971	P.E. lessons in school are increased to 3-4 times a week. Fifth Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR takes place with a claimed total of 44 million participants.
March, 1972	G.T.O. scheme is revised: five stages covering the age-groups 10-60; the B.G.T.O. is discarded.
1972	USSR "wins" the Olympic Games in Munich (Summer) and Sapporo (Winter).

Oct., 1972	First All-Union Conference on Sociological Problems of Physical Culture and Sport is held
25 Jan., 1973	The USSR Sports Committee passes a resolution condemning "perversions in the Soviet sports movement", which are said to include women's football and sambo, bridge, karate and yoga.
Aug., 1973	The Soviet-US Agreement is signed ; Clause XIII of the Agreement concerns the long-term sports exchanges and cooperation between the USSR and the USA.
	The World Student Games are held in Moscow for the first time (4400 students from 70 countries participate).
Oct., 1974	Moscow is chosen by the International Olympic Committee to stage the 1980 Olympics.
Nov., 1974	World sports conference "Sport in Modern Society" is held in Moscow.

Appendix III. Participation in Physical Culture and Sport, Selected Years, 1913-1972

Indicator	1913	1918	1925	1934	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1967	1968	1970	1971	1972
I. Physical culturists (thous.)≠	50	32	250	4700	5332	7792	14215	17661	28722	46322	54100	54200	43600+	45100	46000
(per thous. of popn.)β	0.31	...	1.7	29	27	45	78	89	133	199	228	226	179+	188	184
of whom:															
A. Men (thous.)≠	...	...	...	...	...	5017	8960	12252	18645	30400	34700	34700	28300+	...	...
(% of total I)	...	...	...	...	...	64	63	69	65	66	64	64	65+	...	...
(per 1000 men)β	...	...	...	...	...	...	112	138	190	286	319	315	252+	...	...
B. Women (thous.)≠	...	...	...	...	...	2775	5255	5409	10077	15900	19353	19500	15300+	...	...
(% of total I)	...	...	...	...	...	36	37	31	35	34	36	36	35+	...	...
(per thous. women)≠	...	...	...	...	...	...	52	49	85	126	151	151	116+	...	...
C. G.T.O. Badge-holders (thous.)≠*						3883	7700	7577	9049	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						2800	4000	3600	5000	8437	10700	...	...	...	...
D. Sports-rankings held (thous.)≠ø						585	...	1907	3793	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	836	...	2206	8257	11895	12200	11713	12656	13313
of total D:															
1. First sports-ranking held (thous.)≠						15	...	58	151	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	14	...	54	103	130	127	115	126	135
2. Second sports-ranking held (thous.)≠						73	...	263	574	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	94	...	268	735	1033	1065	...	...	...
3. Third sports-ranking held (thous.)≠						335	...	1087	2125	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	488	...	1232	3470	4781	4860	...	...	...
4. Youth sports-ranking held (thous.)						162	...	499	943	...	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	240	293	652	3949	5951	6158	...	...	...
E. Honorary sports-titles															
1. Masters of Sport of the USSR: held (thous.)ø						2.2	3.3	7.1	20.6	48.8	62.3	70.7	80.1	86.6	93.6
Awarded in the year (thous.)						...	6	10	46	47	...	...	...	...	...
2. Merited Masters of # the USSR: held (thous.)								8	11	15	...	...	...	...	...
Awarded in the year (thous.)								...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

+From 1969 onwards, only persons engaging in sport regularly and in an organised way (i.e., in a physical-culture group) were considered to be 'physical-culturists': "a member of a physical-culture collective who engages in physical exercise or sport in a section, group or team under the supervision of a full-time or part-time instructor not less than twice a week... over a period of six months" (Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p.6).

β Our calculation ≠ End of year *Introduced in 1931 ø Introduced in 1935 ## Introduced in 1934

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1960 g., pp.839-840; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1965 g., Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1967 g., pp.706,853-854; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1968, pp.604,738-739; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., pp.569, 698-699; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g.,pp.693-694; Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, 1967, p.16; Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, P.A. (eds.), Govoryat tsifry i fakty, 1968, p.4; Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1972, p.6.

Appendix IV. Sportsmen Registered and Trained, by Organisation, Selected Years, 1950-1970

Organisation	1950		1959				1966				1970[a]			
	thous.	%	sportsmen thous.	%	of whom:ranked thous.	%	sportsmen thous.	%	of whom:ranked thous.	%	sportsmen thous.	%	of whom:ranked thous.	%
Total	11154.2	100	20249.4	100	309.1	100	46322.8	100	8262.7	100	60443.9	100	8729.1	100
of which:														
General secondary schools	4875.4	44	8435.4	42	432.3	33	19979.0	43	3102.8	38				
Vocational schools[b]	665.1	6	687.5	34	118.2	9	1320.1	3	1040.1	13	28095.2	47	4549.7	52
Secondary special educational establishments	708.3	6	827.0	4	102.7	8	1389.4	3	643.9	8				
Higher educational establishments	387.3	4	705.2	4	108.3	8	1115.9	2	316.7	4	1337.0	2	393.5	5
Urban factories and offices	2758.3	25	5130.9	25	418.5	32	12508.5	27	2027.9	25	17745.4	29	2487.4	28
Rural enterprises and collective farms	1759.4	15	4463.4	22	129.1	10	10009.9	22	1131.3	12	13266.3	22	1298.5	15

[a]The figures for 1970 are the projected totals; in fact, the real figures were lower due to the revision of definitions made in 1969

[b] Formerly Labour Reserves schools

Sources: Makartsev, V.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp.9,37; Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1970, No.11, p.53.

Appendix V.

Voluntary Sports Societies (VSS)[a], by Membership and Distinctions, 1966

Club	Constituency	Sports collectives	Sportsmen	including:	
				First-rank sportsmen	Masters of Sport
I. All voluntary societies	USSR population	...	...	...	...
of total I:					
A. Republican	Population at large	77086	21098330	145913	13651
of total A:					
a. Trud	RSFSR, urban areas	9727	5188342	72972	6984
b. Urozhai	RSFSR, rural areas	26668	5506328	9870	447
c. Avangard	Ukraine, urban "	3749	2004167	21505	1911
d. Kolgospnic	Ukraine, rural "	12697	3338481	4235	164
e. Krasnoye Znamya	Belorussia, urban	369	219705	3409	330
f. Urozhai	Belorussia, rural	3931	658246	686	46
g. Enbek	Kazakhstan, urban	556	308499	3456	241
h. Kairat	Kazakhstan, rural	2988	659872	1567	82
i. Daugava	Latvia, urban	435	182880	3093	444
j. Varpa	Latvia, rural	1286	134183	1039	62
k. Jalgiris	Lithuania, urban	369	162272	4040	521
l. Nemunas	Lithuania, rural	2123	194838	765	35
m. Kalev	Estonia, urban	418	133978	2194	523
n. Eiud	Estonia, rural	660	72617	724	114
o. Gantiadi	Georgia, urban	747	149147	2825	344
p. Kolmeurne	Georgia, rural	1853	263418	1583	240
q. Ashkhatank	Armenia, urban	217	53309	920	122
r. Sevan	Armenia, rural	1107	115308	661	50
s. Neftyanik	Azerbaidzhan, urban	332	91760	1912	187
t. Mekhsul	Azerbaidzhan, rural	1718	235400	423	5
u. Mekhnat	Uzbekistan, urban	323	138089	2223	147
v. Pakhtakor	Uzbekistan, rural	1720	418967	848	28
w. Tadzhikistan	Tadzhikistan, urban	272	91998	724	82
x. Khosilot	Tadzhikistan, rural	411	94353	128	23
y. Alga	Kirgizia, urban	144	51604	478	63
z. Kolkhozchu	Kirgizia, rural	469	102789	62	9
aa. Zakhmet	Turkmenia, urban	270	81635	1025	102
bb. Kolkhozchy	Turkmenia, rural	472	98439	191	10
cc. Moldova	Moldavia, urban	331	108795	1959	293
dd. Kolkhoznikul	Moldavia, rural	724	238831	396	42
of total A:					
1. urban	USSR popul., urban	18259	8966180	122735	12294
2. rural	USSR popul., rural	58827	12132150	23178	1357
B. All-Union	Categories listed below	...	...	...	...
of total B:					
a. Burevestnik	Students	663	1280777	41767	5854
b. Dinamo	Security forces & Border Guards	...	...	...	...
c. Trudovye rezervy	Vocation-school pupils	...	...	...	...
d. Lokomotiv	Railway employees	6737	1363400	15395	1755
e. Spartak	Employees in communications, road transport, health, administration, trade, food, culture, building, education and local industry	...	4540900	33000	4000
f. Vodnik	Sea, river and canal transport employees	1090	189000	4191	397
of total I:					
α. Trade-Union	T.U.-members	...[b]	16340257	217088	24300
β. Other	Pupils, security-forces, peasants	...	...	...	...

[a] All the urban Republican and the All-Union societies, with the exception of Dinamo and Trudovye rezervy (Labour Reserves), are run by the trade unions; Spartak came under trade-union auspices in 1960. The major sports-organisations other than VSS comprise the Soviet Army clubs, DOSAAF, the Ministry of Education Detsko-yunosheskie sportivnye shkoly (Children's and Young People's Sports Schools) and the Obshchestvo okhotnikov (Hunters' Society).

[b] 26749 excluding Spartak

Sources: Dobrov, A., God sportivny, Moscow, 1968, p.143; Makartsev, N.A., Sobolev, P.A. (eds.), Govoryat tsifry i fakty, Moscow, 1968, pp. 9-10; Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp.13-14; Entsiklopedichesky slovar' po fizicheskoi kul'ture i spartu, Vol. I, Moscow, 1964, pp.267-270.

Appendix VI.

Dates of First All-Union Championships, by Sport

Sport	Year	
	Men	Women
Speed-skating	1918	1928
Skiing	1919	1921
Athletics	1920	1922
Chess	1920	1927
Swimming	1921	1922
Football	1922	—
Weightlifting	1922	—
Cycling (track)	1923	1924
Diving	1923	1925[a]
Basketball	1924	1923[a]
Tennis	1924	1924
Figure-skating	1924	1928
Russian draughts[b]	1924	1936
Yachting	1924	1945
Pistol-shooting	1924	1951
Graeco-Roman wrestling	1924	—
Ski-jumping	1926	—
Cycling (road)	1928	1928
Fencing		
Rowing		
Sculling		
Gymnastics	1928	1932
Rifle-shooting	1928	1949
Bandy	1928	—
Water-polo		
Volleyball	1933	1933
Equestrian sport	1938	1938
Motor-boat racing	1938	—
Acrobatics	1939	1940
Sambo	1939	—
Free-style wrestling	1945	—
Motorcycling	1946	1946
Ice-hockey	1947	—
Calisthenics	—	1949[a]
Table-tennis	1951	1951
Canoeing	1953	—
Pentathlon		
Draughts	1954	—
Handball	1956	1956
Sub-aqua sport	1958	1958
Badminton	1963	1963
Archery	1964	1964
Rugby	1968	—
Field-hockey	1971	1935[a]
Orienteering	1972	1972

[a] Women first

[b] Russian draughts are played on a 64-square (not 100-square) board

Sources: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp.40, 43; Sport v SSSR, 1968, No.5, p.17; Sport v SSSR, 1968, No.9, p.6; Sovetsky sport, 17 Sept., 1972, p.3.

Appendix VII.A. Sports-Amenities, Selected Years, 1913-1972. USSR

Amenity	1913	1931	1935			1940	1945			1950	1958			1960	1965			1967	1970[d]	1971	1972
			Total	of which: urban	rural		Total	of which: urban	rural		Total	of which: urban	rural		Total	of which: urban	rural				
Sports-centres[a]	156	2882	4550	4526	24	7858	6401	6389	10	6154	9730	8064	1666	15537	23612	21572	6940	32253	37259	...	...
Sports-centres (with 1500+places)	...	...	...	...	...	378	...	...	...	788	...	...	...	1977	2397	...	...	2895	2918	3052	3062
(per mln. of population)[b]	...	...	...	...	...	1.9	...	...	...	4.3	...	...	...	...	10.3	...	...	12.2	12.0	...	...
Gymnasiums	392	717	2300	2197	103	6684	4694	4590	104	6113	9157	9036	121	14427	28984	27606	1378	33074	44600	...	52000
(per mln. of population)[b]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	69	124.9	...	...	153.9	...	182.9	...
Football pitches	...	2721	6133	5394	1739	8572	3741	3066	675	18830	29585	16502	13083	32838	64281	32467	31814	75242	88700	92400	95300
(per mln. of population)[b]	...	...	...	...	...	43.7	...	...	...	103.5	...	...	...	151.6	276.9	...	...	364.2	363.7	...	...
Volleyball courts	...	7366	13559	12803	756	25137	23725	19309	4416	120762	180130	118332	61798	204798	264518	149032	115486	279836	293692	...	...
Basketball courts	...	999	2868	2106	762	5439	2744	2503	241	17845	36481	31811	4670	52775	97907	72782	25125	100752	130000	...	...
Tennis courts	115	381	779	...	...	1270	272	...	...	...	1508	...	...	...	2791	...	...	3098	4025	...	...
Ice-hockey rinks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2633	...	...	...	10438	...	...	...	14340	...	...
Swimming pools	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	277	1166	1431	...	...
of which: indoor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	192	430	...	...
outdoor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	974	1001	...	...
Ski-jumps	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	61	143	...	...
Indoor athlets.stads.[c]	...	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	...	...	39	78	...	...
Cycling tracks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.8	...	...
Skating rinks	...	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	19	30	...	...
Tourist bases and mountain camps	...	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	81	170	...	...	243	469	...	...	534	611	657	747
(per mln. of popn.)[b]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	1.0	...	...	1.1	2.0	...	...	2.3	2.5	...	...
(Places in these per mln. of popn.)[b]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	23	...	...	39	98	...	...	122	160	172	202

[a] Stadiony i kompleksnye ploshchadki; [b] Our calculation; [c] Krytye manezhi dlya lyogkoi atletiki; [d] From 1970 onwards, data include only certified sports installations registered with the appropriate sports committee.

Sources: Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No.10, p.36; Sport v SSSR, 1969, No.3, p.3; Sport v SSSR, 1971, No.7, p.14; Shmidt, N.Y., Poleyev, A.S., Sportivnye sooruzheniya v SSSR, 1970, Moscow, 1971, pp.69-71, p.694; Ivonin, V.A. (ed.), Sputnik fizkul'turnovo rabotnika, Moscow, 1972, p.128. Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR, 1960, p.840; 1961, p.751; 1965, pp.753-754; 1967, p.954; 1970, p.599; 1972,-

Appendix VII.B. Sports-Amenities, Selected Years, 1940-1970. Republican

Republic	Sports-centres				Playing grounds and football pitches				Gymnasiums				
	1940	1945	1959	1965	1940	1945	1959	1965	1940	1945	1959	1965	1970
USSR (number)	7858	6401	12248	28612	71221	39210	261762	429512	6684	4694	11137	28984	44600
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.2	...	5.9	11.2	28.0	...	125.0	175.0	3.2	...	5.3	11.7	18.1
of which:													
RSFSR (number)	1456	3214	7296	14614	37350	19444	128220	208160	3341	3068	6498	16597	27855
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.3	...	6.2	10.0	34.0	...	109.0	150.0	3.1	...	5.5	12.2	21.4
Ukraine (number)	610	1495	2869	7410	17079	4543	71473	105160	1636	699	2235	5395	9517
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.5	...	6.9	14.5	42.0	...	170.0	223.0	4.0	...	5.3	10.9	20.8
Belorussia (number)	...	...	245	1883	2479	1267	13527	29347	368	56	258	1065	1950
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	3.1	19.1	28.0	...	167.0	306.0	4.1	...	3.2	11.2	21.6
Uzbekistan (number)	94	...	216	550	1033	861	7601	13969	106	83	260	830	1193
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.5	...	2.7	6.0	16.0	...	92.0	136.0	1,7	...	3.0	7.6	10.0
Kazakhstan (number)	...	...	533	1344	1114	663	8878	24023	110	47	297	1592	2798
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	5.7	11.1	18.0	...	96.0	191.0	1.8	...	3.2	12.3	21.5
Georgia (number)	53	29	264	607	1743	1342	5950	9680	149	64	299	625	950
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.5	...	6.6	13.4	50.0	...	149.0	212.0	4.3	...	7.5	13.4	20.2
Azerbaidzhan (number)	...	...	96	163	460	...	3740	6367	107	81	219	472	560
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	2.7	3.3	14.0	...	101.0	145.0	3.3	...	5.9	9.7	11.2
Lithuania (number)	...	36	24	385	...	380	4943	6559	...	81	220	400	400
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	0.9	13.2	...	...	183.0	217.0	...	...	8.1	13.1	13.3
Moldavia (number)	...	12	81	116	...	163	3617	5949	...	7	154	385	762
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	2.8	5.0	...	...	125.0	204.0	...	...	5.3	10.6	20.2
Latvia (number)	...	40	139	283	...	462	2947	3927	...	58	130	329	422
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	6.6	14.7	...	...	140.0	196.0	...	...	6.2	15.7	18.7
Kirgizia (number)	13	51	74	155	312	391	2490	4185	27	11	67	239	415
(per 1000 of popn.)	0.9	...	3.5	5.5	21.0	...	118.0	159.0	1.8	...	3.2	8.4	13.8
Tadzhikistan (number)	34	...	37	196	367	288	1667	3114	26	39	86	265	404
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.4	...	1.8	9.9	24.0	...	83.0	125.0	1.7	...	4.3	10.7	16.2
Armenia (number)	3	6	167	167	935	606	2749	2864	133	86	234	237	658
(per 1000 of popn.)	0.2	...	9.2	7.8	72.0	...	153.0	139.0	10.2	...	13.0	14.8	26.3
Turkmenia (number)	16	...	89	...	259	144	1830	3315	57	17	69	197	369
(per 1000 of popn.)	1.3	...	5.9	...	20.0	...	129.0	176.0	4.4	...	4.6	9.4	16.8
Estonia (number)	...	114	93	353	...	12	2030	2893	...	...	121	356	257
(per 1000 of popn.)	...	...	7.7	27.0	...	...	169.0	207.0	...	...	10.1	24.2	19.1

Sources: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, pp.117-118; Sport v SSSR, 1972, No. 12, pp.6-13.

Appendix VIII. Soviet Sports Medicine, 1940-1973[a]

Indicator	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1972	1973[e]
I. All medics (thous.)	155.323	265.031	333.727	431.752	554.2	668.4	731.8	766
(index)	100	171	215	278	357	430	471	493
of total I:								
A. dentists (thous.)	13.571	17.685	23.552	30.140	43.7	51.5	51.6	52
(index)	100	130	174	222	322	379	380	383
(% of total I)	8.7	6.7	7.1	7.0	7.9	7.7	7.1	7
B. doctors (thous.)	141.752	247.346	310.175	401.612	510.5	616.9	680.2	714
(index)	100	174	219	283	360	435	480	504
(% of total I)	91.3	93.3	92.9	93.0	92.1	92.3	92.9	93
of total B:								
1. stomatologists (thous)	6.776	10.438	12.480	16.202	25.5	39.6	45.6	...
(index)	100	154	184	239	376	584	673	...
(% of total B)	4.8	4.2	4.0	4.0	5.0	6.4	6.7	...
2. other doctors[b] (thous.)	134.976	236.908	297.695	385.410	485.0	577.3	634.6	...
(index)	100	176	221	286	359	428	470	...
(% of total B)	95.2	95.8	96.0	96.0	95.0	93.6	93.3	...
of total 2:								
a. G.P.s, medical, surgical and sanitary specialists[c] (thous.)	134.628	236.082	296.149	383.779	482.8	574.1	631.1	...
(index)	100	175	220	285	359	426	469	...
(% of total B)	95.0	95.4	95.5	95.6	94.6	93.1	92.8	...
b. Specialists in remedial physical culture and sport[d] (thous.)	0.348	0.826	1.546	1.631	2.2	3.2	3.5[f]	...
(index)	100	237	444	469	632	920	1006	...
(% of total I)	0.22	0.31	0.46	0.38	0.40	0.48	0.48	...
(% of total B)	0.25	0.33	0.50	0.41	0.43	0.52	0.51	...
(% of total 2)	0.26	0.35	0.52	0.42	0.45	0.55	0.55	...

[a]End of year; excluding military; [b]Main indicator used in U.N. statistics; [c]Including epidemiologists and all other specialists; [d]Vrachei po lechebnoi fizkul'ture i sportu; [e]Provisional preliminary returns; [f]Sports medicine has been the fastest-growing sector of the medical profession of all those listed in the published sources

Sources: Zdravookhranenie v SSSR, 1960, p.84; Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR, 1969, p.165; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., 1973, p.685; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 g., 1974, p.194.

Indicator	1948	1950	1955	1960	1965	1967
Physical-culture groups[a] (thous.)	47.4	63.5	76.2	80.2	90.4	93.8
Physical-culturists (thous.)[a]	3122	6471	8117	11118	19979	23390
of whom:						
GTO badge-holders[b] (thous.)	1885	3235	3765	3561	4681	5786
GTO badge-holders trained during the year[a] (thous.)	1129	1582	...	2297	...	...
Masters of Sport[a] (thous.)	...	0.024	0.033	0.098	...	...
Ranked sportsmen[a] (thous.)	...	302	573	1008	...	4618
Ranked sportsmen qualifying during the year[a] (thous.)	...	197	...	652	772	...
of whom:						
First ranking (thous.)	...	0.789	2.956	6.680	8.644	...
Obtaining 1st ranking during the year (thous.)	...	0.5	...	2.923	...	10.100
Second ranking (thous.)	...	13.756	31.952	59.821	124.779	...
Obtaining 2nd ranking during the year (thous.)	...	8.1	...	30.611	...	174.8
Third ranking (thous.)	...	111.281	243.626	363.480	638.510	...
Obtaining 3rd ranking during the year (thous.)	...	70.3	...	224.188	...	916.4
Junior ranking (thous.)	...	176.349	294.695	578.027	2330.873	...
Obtaining junior ranking during the year (thous.)	...	117.7	...	394.002	...	3516.6

[a] In secondary 8-year and 7-year general educational day schools

[b] Gotov k trudu i oborone (GTO) /"Ready for Labour and Defence"/; it also includes the Bud' gotov k trudu i oborone (BGTO) /"Be Prepared for Labour and Defence"/ and Gotov k zashchite rodiny (GZR) /"Ready for Defence of the Homeland"/

Sources: Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR, 1961, pp.210-211; 1963, pp.183-185; 1969, pp.181-182;
Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p.80;
SSSR i zarubezhnye strany, Moscow, 1970, pp.201-202.

Indicator	1940		1948		1958		1968		1969	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
I. Total	27315	100	74459	100	112981	100	201512	100	217335	100
of total I:										
A. with higher or complete secondary education	8792	32.2	12481	16.7	55738	50.9	150383	74.6	164194	75.5
of total A:										
1. with secondary education	5983	21.9	8084	10.8	34858	31.8	51179	25.4	53141	24.5
2. with higher education	2809	10.3	4397	5.9	20880	19.1	67950	33.7	77991	35.9
B. with primary education	18523	67.8	61978	83.3	57243	49.1	82433	40.9	86203	39.6

Sources: Pereverzin, I., Prognozirovanie i planirovanie fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1972, p.30; Fizicheskaya kul'tura v shkole, 1967, No.10, p.23.

Appendix IX.C. School Sports-Amenities, Selected Years, 1936-1965

Amenities	1936	1945	1958	1961	1965
Playing-fields[a] (number)	18	6	3480	8967	15456
(per 10,000 schools)	1	0.3	155	394	738
Football-pitches (number)	520	131	6105	9301	23726
(per 10,000 schools)	30	7	273	413	1124
Basketball-courts (number)	974	862	20960	36358	55097
(per 10,000 schools)	54	43	936	1616	2627
Volleyball-courts (number)	4930	8966	70145	77028	96095
(per 10,000 schools)	300	448	3132	3422	4600
Gymnasiums[b] (number)	764	2551	5646	12435	21651
(per 10,000 schools)	42	127	252	551	1032

[a]Stadiony i kompleksnye ploshchadki; [b]Sportivno-gimnasticheskie zaly

Sources: Makartsev, N.A., Stranitsy istorii sovetskovo sporta, Moscow, 1967, p.116; Pedagogicheskaya entsiklopediya, Vol.IV, Moscow, 1968, p.67.

Appendix X. Budgetary Expenditures on Some Social and Cultural Measures, 1923-1972

Item	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26	1926/27	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	202.22	306.51	420.97	577.95	720.51	878.36	1332.23
(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:							
On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	35.45	52.82	74.57	99.27	127.47	262.70	351.75
(%)	17.7	17.2	17.7	17.2	17.9	29.9	26.9
Incl.:							
Labour-protection and Social Security (mln.rub.)	1.35	2.91	3.76	6.43	10.68	87.38	92.24
(%)	0.6	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.5	9.9	6.9
Education (mln.rub.)	24.15	35.86	52.03	89.23	89.23	112.26	178.08
(%)	11.9	11.7	12.1	12.0	12.4	12.8	13.4
Health (mln.rub.)	9.95	13.97	18.63	23.66	27.46	62.71	81.00
(%)	4.9	4.5	4.4	4.1	3.8	7.2	6.1
Physical culture (mln.rub.)		0.08	0.15	0.18	0.10	0.35	0.43
(%)		0.03	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.03

Appendix X(cont.)

Item	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	2509.70	3799.51	4133.70	5340.30	7682.40	9157.80	10620.0	12403.9	15329.9	17435.0
(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:										
On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	539.63	758.01	930.16	1172.76	1674.72	2498.9	3089.7	3525.6	3742.9	4090.3
(%)	21.5	20.1	22.1	21.1	22.8	27.0	29.0	28.0	24.0	23.0
Incl:										
Labour-protection and Social security (mln.rub.)	113.71	156.57	130.31	97.65	108.88	437.4	604.3	...	...	501.3
(%)	4.6	4.1	3.1	1.8	1.5	5.0	6.0	...	...	3.0
Education (mln.rub.)	301.13	402.32	565.49	721.21	917.86	1403.6	1661.3	1873.8	2031.4	2248.9
(%)	12.0	10.6	13.4	13.0	12.5	15.0	16.0	15.0	14.0	13.0
Health (mln.rub.)	123.91	197.43	232.22	349.79	642.24	646.0	801.5	759.0	824.9	896.0
(%)	4.9	5.2	5.5	6.5	8.7	7.0	8.0	6.0	5.0	5.0
Physical culture (mln.rub.)	0.08	1.69	2.14	4.11	5.74	11.9	22.4	...	...	7.0
(%)	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.21	...	...	0.04

Appendix X (cont.)

c

Item	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	19140.0	18280.0	21000.0	26400.0	29860.0	30750.0	38620.0	41050.0	43700.0	42280.0
(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:										
On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	3139.9	3031.5	3768.1	5127.3	6271.1	8000.0	10600.0	10600.0	11600.0	11673.0
(%)	16.0	17.0	18.0	19.0	21.0	26.0	29.0	28.0	28.0	28.0
Incl.:										
Labour-protection and Social Security (mln.rub.)	336.9	249.9	277.8	372.4	499.3	2510.0	3160.0	2820.0	3390.0	3480.0
(%)	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	8.0	8.0	7.0	8.0	8.0
Education (mln.rub.)	1551.1	1039.6	1319.3	2066.3	2636.8	3770.0	5150.0	5500.0	5770.0	5690.0
(%)	7.0	6.0	6.0	8.0	9.0	12.0	13.0	13.0	13.0	14.0
Health (mln.rub.)	684.5	677.8	847.3	1023.3	1148.5	1340.0	1813.5	1965.5	2082.6	2112.1
(%)	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
Physical culture (mln.rub.)						20.0	26.5	24.5	27.4	27.9
(%)						0.07	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.06

Appendix X (cont.)

Item	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	44300.0	46020.0	51470.0	55280.0	53950.0	56350.0	60730.0	64270.0	70400.0	73100.0
(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which: On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	11940.0	12280.0	12880.0	14180.0	14700.0	16440.0	20050.0	21420.0	23118.0	24937.0
(%)	27.0	27.0	25.0	26.0	26.0	29.2	33.1	33.3	32.8	34.1
Incl.:										
Labour-protection and Social Security (mln.rub.)	1960.0	2120.0	2290.0	...	2560.0	3150.0	5280.0	5730.0	6073.0	6483.0
(%)	4.0	4.0	5.0	...	5.0	5.6	8.7	8.9	8.6	8.9
Education (mln.rub.)	5730.0	5850.0	6110.0	6620.0	6840.0	7360.0	8070.0	8600.0	9412.0	10323.0
(%)	13.0	13.0	12.0	12.0	12.0	13.1	13.3	13.4	13.4	14.1
Health (mln.rub.)	2170.0	2230.0	2390.0	2890.0	3060.0	3490.0	3780.0	4070.0	4406.0	4760.0
(%)	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	6.2	6.2	6.4	6.3	6.6
Physical culture (mln.rub.)			30.0		60.0	80.0	50.0	50.0	58.0	64.0
(%)			0.06		0.11	0.14	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.09

Appendix X (cont.)

Item	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	82200.0	87000.0	92200.0	101600.0	105600.0	115200.0	128600.0	138500.0	154600.0
(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:									
On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	28967.0	30967.0	33313.0	38165.0	40761.0	43481.0	48310.0	51860.0	55941.0
(%)	35.2	35.6	36.1	38.0	38.6	37.8	38.0	37.4	36.0
Incl.:									
Labour-protection and Social security (mln.rub.)	7671.0	8100.0	8600.0	9050.0	9745.0	10372.0	11256.0	12017.0	12738.0
(%)	9.3	9.4	9.3	9.3	9.2	9.0	9.0	8.7	8.4
Education (mln.rub.)	12435.0	13707.0	15104.0	13245.0	18732.0	20093.0	16325.0	17425.0	18226.0
(%)	15.1	15.8	16.4	13.0	17.8	17.4	12.3	12.6	12.4
Health (mln.rub.)	4893.0	5215.0	5622.0	6631.0	7157.0	7401.0	8089.0	8510.0	9237.0
(%)	6.0	6.0	6.1	6.0	6.7	6.4	6.3	6.3	6.3
Physical culture (mln.rub.)	52.0	42.0	40.0	38.0	43.0	50.0	49.0	41.0	47.0
(%)	0.09	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03

Item	1971	1972
Total state budget expenditures (mln.rub.)	164200.0	173200.0
(%)	100	100
<u>of which:</u> On social and cultural measures (mln.rub.)	59437.0	63485.0
(%)	36.0	37.0
<u>Incl.:</u> Labour-protection and Social security (mln.rub.)	13624.0	14448.0
(%)	8.0	8.0
Education (mln.rub.)	19379.0	20648.0
(%)	12.0	12.0
Health (mln.rub.)	9571.0	9982.0
(%)	6.0	6.0
Physical culture (mln.rub.)	52.0	48.0
(%)	0.03	0.03

<u>Sources:</u> Plotnikov, K.N., <u>Ocherki istorii byudzheta sovetskovo gosudarstva</u>, Moscow, 1955, pp. 92, 132, 149, 209, 215, 340, 377, 425, 429, 465, 496, 520, 525; <u>Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1958</u>, pp.900, 903-904; <u>1960</u>, pp.844, 846-847; <u>1964</u>, pp. 770, 772-773; <u>1967</u>, pp. 886, 889-890; <u>1970</u>,pp. 730, 733-734; <u>1971</u>,p.734; <u>1972</u>, pp.724, 727.

Appendix XI. A. Population Total, Urban and Rural, Selected Years, 1870-1974

Years	Total population (mln.)	of which:			
		urban		rural	
		mln.	%	mln.	%
1870	86.3	9.5	11	76.8	89
1897[b]	124.6	18.4	15	106.2	85
1913[c]	159.2	28.5	18	130.7	82
1922[d]	136.1	22.0	16	114.1	84
1926[b]	147.0	26.3	18	120.7	82
1939[be]	190.7	60.4	32	130.3	68
1940	194.1	63.1	33	131.0	67
1950	178.5	69.4	39	109.1	61
1955	194.4	86.3	44	108.1	56
1959[b]	208.8	100.0	48	108.8	52
1960	212.4	103.6	49	108.8	51
1965	229.6	120.7	53	108.9	47
1970[b]	241.7	136.0	56	105.7	44
1971	243.9	139.0	57	104.9	43
1972	246.3	142.5	58	103.8	42
1973	248.6	146.1	59	102.5	41
1974	250.9	149.6	60	101.3	40

[a]1 Jan., except as shown

[b]Census-year

[c]Within present-day frontiers; end of year

[d]End of year

[e]Corrected for territorial changes after 17.9.39

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.7; Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 g., Vol.I, SSSR, pp.49-50; Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g., Vol.II, pp.12-15; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, pp. 7, 11.

Appendix XI.B. Soviet Urban Settlements, by Size, Census-Years and 1971-73[a]

Indicator	1926	1939	1959[b]	1970	1971[c]	1972[c]	1973[c]
All urban settlements (number)	1925	2759	4619	5504	5519	5589	5644
(mln. inhabitants)	26.3	60.4	100.0	136.0	139.0	142.5	146.1
(% of total popn.)	17.8	31.8	47.8	56.3	57.1	57.9	58.8
of total, with a popn. of:							
up to 50,000 (number)	1834	2571	4315	5095	5095	5159	5201
(mln. inhabitants)	12.7	24.9	44.4	47.4	47.5	48.4	48.9
(% of total popn.)	8.5	13.1	21.2	19.6	19.5	19.7	19.7
above 50,000 (number)	91	188	304	409	424	430	443
(mln. inhabitants)	13.6	35.5	59.6	88.6	91.5	94.1	97.2
(% of total popn.)	9.3	18:7	26.6	36.7	37.5	38.2	39.1
incl. those with a popn. of:							
50,000-100,000 (number)	60	99	156	188	202	199	207
(mln. inhabitants)	4.1	7.1	11.0	13.0	14.0	13.7	14.2
(% of total popn.)	2.7	3.7	5.2	5.4	5.7	5.6	5.7
100,000-500,000 (number)	28	78	123	188	188	197	201
(mln. inhabitants)	5.4	15.6	24.4	38.3	38.9	41.0	42.2
(% of total popn.)	3.6	8.0	11.6	15.8	15.9	16.6	17.0
above 500,000 (number)	3	11	25	33	34	34	35
(mln. inhabitants)	4.1	12.8	24.2	37.3	38.6	39.4	40.8
(% of total popn.)	2.7	6.7	11.6	15.4	15.8	16.0	16.4

[a] January, except as indicated

[b] Mid-year

[c] December

Sources: Malaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1960, p.839;
Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 g., Moscow, 1970, p.29;
Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, p.46;
Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1971 g., Moscow, 1972, p.29;
Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.32.

Appendix XI. C. Population, Territory and Population-Density of Moscow[k], Selected Years, 1790-1974

Year	Population (thous.)	Territory (km^2)	Density (thous.persons/km^2)
1790	175	...	...
1830	305	...	...
1871	602[a]	...	...
1897	1039[b]	...	...
1902	1175[j]	...	...
1912	1618[c]	176.61[d]	9.16
1917	1854[e]	176.9[d]	10.48
1920	1028	...	...
1926	2079[f]	...	...
1931	2800	...	...
1938	...	293.91[d]	...
1939	4132[g]	...	...
1941	...	326.17[d]	...
1956	4847[h]	334.34[d]	14.50
1957	...	334.34[d]	...
1959	5046[i]	...	...
1960	...	356.4[d]	...
1965	6384	...	...
1967	6507[lm]	886.5[d]	7.34
1970	6942[im]	875[d]	8.1
1971	7172[dm]	...	...
1972	7151[dm]	...	...
1973	7255[dm]	...	...
1974	7368[dm]	...	...

[a] 24th December
[b] 9th February
[c] 19th March
[d] January
[e] 30th September
[f] 17th December
[g] 17th January
[h] April; estimate
[i] 15th January
[j] 13th February
[k] Excluding subordinated urban settlements; data for the territory of corresponding years
[l] Including subordinated urban settlements
[m] In present territory

Sources: Moskva: razvitie khozyaistva i kul'tury goroda:statistichesky sborni Moscow, 1958, pp.5-6; Moskva v tsifrakh za gody Sovetskoi vlasti, Moscow, 1967, pp.11-13; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 g., Moscow,1970, p.27; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1971 g., Moscow, p.24; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., p.27; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.13.

Indicator	1896-97[a]	1926-27[b]	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1971-72
Life-expectancy at birth: all (yrs.)	32	44	67	70	70	70	70
men (yrs.)	31	42	63	65	66	65	64
women (yrs.)	33	47	69	73	74	74	74

[a] In 50 provinces of European Russia

[b] In the European part of the USSR

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1962 g., Moscow, 1963, p.493; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v v 1965 g., Moscow, 1966, p.603; Strana Sovetov za 50 let, Moscow, 1967, p.260; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.564; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.196.

Appendix XII. B. Birth Rates, Death Rates and Rates of Natural Increase[a] in Russia and the USSR, Selected Years, 1913-1973

Indicator	1913[c]	1926	1928	1937	1939	1940	1946	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972	1973
Birth rate	45.5	44.0	44.3	38.7	36.5	31.2	23.8	26.7	25.7	24.9	18.4	17.4	17.8	17.8	17.6
Death rate	29.1	20.3	23.3	18.9	17.3	18.0	10.8	9.7	8.2	7.1	7.3	8.2	8.2	8.5	8.6
Natural increase[b]	16.4	23.7	21.0	19.8	19.2	13.2	13.0	17.0	17.5	17.8	11.1	9.2	9.6	9.3	9.0

[a] Per thousand of population

[b] Birth rate minus death rate

[c] In present territory

Sources: Strana Sovetov za 50 let, Moscow, 1967, p.257; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.46; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, p.18.

Population	1897	1920	1926	1939	1959	1970
Whole population:						
All	28.4	44.1	56.6	87.4	98.5	99.7
of whom:						
Men	40.3	57.6	71.5	93.5	99.3	99.8
Women	16.6	32.2	42.7	81.6	97.8	99.7
Urban:						
All	57.0	73.5	80.9	93.8	98.7	99.8
of whom:						
Men	66.1	80.7	88.0	97.1	99.5	99.9
Women	45.7	66.7	73.9	90.7	98.1	99.8
Rural:						
All	23.8	37.8	50.6	84.0	98.2	99.5
of whom:						
Men	35.5	54.4	67.3	91.6	99.1	99.6
Women	12.5	25.2	35.4	76.8	97.5	99.4

[a] Proportion of literates at Census (and 1920), aged 9-49, in percentages

Sources: Pedagogicheskaya entsiklopediya v 4 tomakh, Vol.I, Moscow, 1964, pp.611-612;

Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda, Vol. III, Moscow, 1972, pp.570-571.

Appendix XIII, B. Primary and Secondary Education in Russia and the USSR, Selected Years, 1914-1973

Indicator	1914/15[a]	1927/28	1940/41	1950/51	1960/61	1970/71	1972/73
All schools[b] (thous.)	123.697	118.518	191.545	201.628	199.228	174.645	165.048
of total:							
primary (thous.)	119.430	108.780	125.894	126.426	110.070	74.481	63.7
secondary (thous.)	4.257	8.329	64.556	74.601	88.123	98.074	99.1
of which:							
urban (thous.)	3.758	4.463	13.718	14.677	22.183	27.884	...
rural (thous.)	0.499	3.866	50.838	59.924	65.940	70.190	...
of which:							
incomplete (thous.)	0.395	3.540	40.914	52.406	50.559	45.271	...
full (thous.)	0.104	0.326	9.924	7.518	15.381	24.919	...
All pupils[b] (mln.)	9.656[g]	11.466	34.784	33.314	33.417	45.448	44.847
of total; in schools classed as:							
primary[e] (mln.)	8.638	8.427	9.786	7.518	4.435	2.349	1.6[c]
secondary[f] (mln.)	1.018	2.942	24.724	25.680	28.846	42.737	42.8[d]
of whom:							
urban (mln.)	0.958	2.046	9.300	10.021	14.958	22.385	...
rural (mln.)	0.60	0.896	15.424	15.659	13.888	20.352	...
of whom:							
incomplete (mln.)	0.041	0.820	10.343	11.869	8.163	8.490	...
full (mln.)	0.019	0.076	5.081	3.790	5.725	11.862	...
of whom:							
in classes V-VIII (mln.)	0.019	0.071	4.620	3.494	5.140	9.889	...
in classes IX-XI (mln.)	—	0.005	0.461	0.296	0.585	1.973	2.2

[a] Within present territory [b] Excluding evening schools (and special schools for the handicapped in subtotals) [c] In classes I-III only [d] In classes IV-XI [e] In classes I-IV [f] In classes I-XI
[g] Of whom 9.031 in classes I-IV, 0.473 in classes V-VII and 0.152 in class VIII.

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, pp.627-629; Narodnoye obrazovanie,

Appendix XIII. C. Population of the USSR, by Educational Level, Residence and Sex, Selected Years, 1939-1973

Indicator	1939[ab]			1959[a]			1970[a]			1973[c]		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
I. Whole population aged 10+:												
urban	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
rural	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
of total I, with:												
A. full higher education: all	0.8	1.1	0.5	2.3	2.7	2.0	4.2	4.8	3.7	4.9	5.6	4.3
urban	1.9	2.7	1.3	4.0	4.5	3.5	6.2	7.0	5.6	7.1	...	...
rural	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.9	0.6	1.4	1.8	1.1	1.5	...	...
B. secondary education[d]: all	10.0	11.6	8.5	33.8	36.5	31.8	44.1	47.4	41.5	47.3	50.4	44.8
urban	19.9	21.2	18.7	42.9	44.2	42.0	53.0	55.1	51.2	57.0	...	...
rural	5.0	6.7	3.5	24.9	28.9	21.9	31.8	36.0	28.5	32.9	...	...
of total B:												
1. full[d]: all	...	...	...	12.0	12.3	11.9	20.0	20.5	19.7	...	...	...
urban	...	...	...	17.7	17.3	18.0	26.7	26.2	27.0	...	...	...
rural	...	...	...	6.5	7.3	5.9	10.8	11.9	10.0	...	...	...
2. incomplete[d]: all	...	...	...	21.8	24.2	19.9	24.1	26.9	21.8	...	...	...
urban	...	...	...	25.2	26.9	24.0	26.3	28.9	24.2	...	...	...
rural	...	...	...	18.4	21.6	16.0	21.0	24.1	18.5	...	...	...
C. primary education of less[d]: all	89.2	87.3	91.0	63.9	60.8	66.2	51.7	47.8	54.8	47.8[e]	44.0[e]	50.9[e]
urban	78.2	76.1	80.0	53.1	51.3	54.5	40.8	37.9	43.2	35.9	...	...
of total C: rural	94.8	92.9	96.4	74.4	70.2	77.5	66.8	62.2	70.4	65.6	...	...
1. primary[d]: all	...	...	...	31.0	37.7	25.8	29.3	32.8	26.5	...	...	...
urban	...	...	...	29.8	35.8	25.2	25.0	27.7	22.7	...	...	...
rural	...	...	...	32.1	39.6	26.4	35.4	40.2	31.6	...	...	...
2. none[d]: all	...	...	...	32.9	23.1	40.4	22.4	15.0	28.3	...	...	...
urban	...	...	...	23.3	15.5	29.3	15.8	10.2	20.5	...	...	...
rural	...	...	...	42.3	30.6	51.1	31.4	22.0	38.8	...	...	...

[a]At census [b]Recalculated for post-September, 1939 territory [c]1 January (official estimate)

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 g., Moscow, 1971, p.23; Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda, Vol.III, Moscow, 1972, p.206; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1972 godu, Moscow, 1973, pp.15-16; Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1972 g., Moscow, 1973, p.39; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1973 godu, Moscow, 1974, pp.15-16.

Appendix XIV. Publications on Physical Culture, Sport and Games, Selected Years, 1940-1973

Indicator	1940	1946	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972	1973	1918-1928	1929-1957	1958-1973
Books and pamphlets on physical culture, sport and games													
Publications (thous. printed units)	0.487	0.179	0.519	0.825	0.839	0.659	0.636	0.665	0.713	0.702	0.877	11.9	11.8
(index:1950=100)	94	34	100	159	162	127	123	128	137	135	15[a]	79[a]	142[a]
(% of all publications)	1.1	0.8	1.2	1.5	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.1
Print (total, mln. copies)	3.1	2.6	6.9	9.205	11.748	11.686	10.970	12.601	11.955	12.020	6.8	120.3	192.8
(index: 1950=100)	45	38	100	133	170	169	159	183	173	174	9[a]	60[a]	175[a]
(% of print of all publics.)	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.7	1.0
(average edit.,thous.copies)	6.5	13.0	13.2	11.2	14.0	17.7	17.2	18.9	16.8	17.1	7.8	10.1	16.3
Volume of print(total,mln.printed sheets)	9.5	6.1	24.7	44.63	78.11	60.48	72.62	82.53	78.13	88.21	13.8	455.2	176.3
(index:1950=100)	38	25	100	181	316	245	294	334	316	357	5[a]	64[a]	298[a]
(% of volume of print of all publications)	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.6
(average per publication, printed sheets)	3.0	2.3	3.6	4.8	6.6	5.2	6.6	6.5	6.5	7.3	2.0	3.8	6.1
Journals and other serials on physical culture and sport													
Titles (number)	...	...	6	11	36	33	46	48	58	54	...	...	...
(index:1950= 100)	...	...	100	183	600	550	767	800	967	900	...	...	...
Issues (number)	...	...	73	109	325	471	606	593	595	588	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	149	445	645	830	812	815	806	...	...	...
Circulation (mln. copies)	...	...	...	...	1.02	2.75	5.92	4.29	5.21	6.04	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Annual print (mln. copies)	...	...	1.7	2.70	13.7	79.8	135.9	70.1	104.2	146.9	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	159	807	4694	7995	4124	6127	8640	...	...	...
Volume of print (mln.printed sheets)	...	...	8.2	12.99	48.93	138.4	295.7	232.0	340.5	430.2	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	158	597	1688	3806	2829	4153	5262	...	...	...
Newspapers on physical culture and sport													
Titles (number)	...	...	5	10	12	14	14	14	14	14	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	200	240	280	280	280	280	280	...	...	...
Issues (number)	...	...	...	...	...	2280	2356	2373	2381	2360	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Circulation (mln.copies)	...	...	0.18	0.41	1.10	2.17	4.36	4.47	4.75	4.97	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	229	612	1207	2419	2483	2641	2761	...	...	...
Annual print (mln.copies)	...	...	...	56	273.4	578.3	1138	1180	1246	1302	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Volume of print (mln.printed sheets)	...	...	...	...	...	...	2143	2219	2350	2454	...	...	...
(index:1950=100)	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[a] Annual average

Sources: Pechat' SSSR v 1954 godu, Moscow, 1955, pp.46-47; Pechat' SSSR v 1955 godu, Moscow, 1956, pp. 33, 60-61, 68,142; Pechat' SSSR v 1960 godu, Moscow, 1961, pp.32, 67-68, 76, 136,166; Pechat' SSSR v 1965 godu, Moscow,1966, pp. 15-16, 22-23, 63, 71,84; Pechat' SSSR v 1970 godu, Moscow, 1971, pp. 15-16, 22-23, 63, 70, 84; Pechat' SSSR v 1971 godu, Moscow, 1972, pp.15-16,22-23,53,70,84; Pechat' SSSR v1972 godu, Moscow, 1973, pp.15-16, 19-20,22-23, 53, 61; Pechat' SSSR v 1973 godu, Moscow,1974, pp.17-18, 64-65, 74,84; Pechat' SSSR za sorok let:1917-1957, Moscow, 1957, pp.43,55, 58-59, 110-111, 118,125,135; Sovetskaya pechat' v period mezhdu XX i XXIII s'yezdami KPSS, Moscow, 1961, pp. 17, 32,35; Pechat' SSSR za 50 let, Moscow, 1967, pp.173-174; Teoriya i praktika fizicheskoi kul'tury, 1973, No.5, p.13.

APPENDIX XV

PRE-WAR INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL-MATCHES INVOLVING THE USSR

BULGARIA (1940)

Spartak Moscow	6	Slavia Sofia	1	(Sofia, 1940)
Spartak Moscow	7	Sofia	1	(Sofia, 1940)
Spartak Moscow	4	Slavia Sofia	0	(Moscow, 1940)
Dinamo Moscow	4	Slavia Sofia	0	(Moscow, 1940)
Dinamo Leningrad	2	Slavia Sofia	2	(Leningrad, 1940)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1934-1935)

Moscow	3	Zidenice Brno	2	(Brno, 1934)
Leningrad	2	Prague	2	(Leningrad, 1935)
Moscow	3	Prague	3	(Moscow, 1935)
Ukraine	0	Prague	1	(Kiev, 1935)

FINLAND (1923-1929)

Moscow-Petrograd	13	Kotka	1	(Kotka, 1923)
Moscow-Petrograd	3	Veino Abo	1	(Turku, 1923)
Moscow-Petrograd	19	Riento Kuopio	0	(Kuopio, 1923)
Moscow	6	Helsinki	1	(Helsinki, 1923)
Moscow	6	Tampere	0	(Tampere, 1923)
Leningrad	2	Abo	1	(Turku, 1925)
Leningrad	9	Tampere	1	(Tampere, 1925)
Leningrad	8	Kotka	0	(Kotka, 1925)
Transcaucasia	2	Abo	0	(Abo, 1926)
Transcaucasia	1	Helsinki	3	(Helsinki, 1926)
Transcaucasia	2	Helsinki	1	(Helsinki, 1926)
Pishchevik Moscow	2	Abo	3	(Abo, 1927)
Dinamo-Army Club	9	Finland	1	(Helsinki, 1928)

Moscow	0	Helsinki	3	(Helsinki, 1929)
Leningrad	1	Helsinki	1	(Helsinki, 1929)
Leningrad	16	Abo	0	(Abo, 1929)
Leningrad	12	Jacobstadt	0	(Jacobstadt, 1929)
Leningrad	6	Vaasa	0	(Vaasa, 1929)
Leningrad	13	Kotka	0	(Kotka, 1929)
Leningrad	8	Kuopio	1	(Kuopio, 1929)

FRANCE (1926, 1935-1936)

Moscow v. FSGT (no result available)				(Paris, 1926)
Ukraine	6	Etoile Rouge Paris	1	(Paris, 1935)
Dinamo-Spartak Moscow	1	Racing Club	1	(Paris, 1936)

GERMANY (1923-1933)

The RSFSR played annual matches in Berlin and Stettin between 1923 and 1933 against German workers' teams.

IRAN (1926-1929)

Baku University	1	Iran	1	(Baku, 1926)
Progress Baku	3	Iran	0	(Baku, 1926)
Baku	3	Iran	0	(Baku, 1926)
Azerbaidzhan	4	Iran	3	(Baku, 1926)
Ashkhabad	2	Meshkher-Teheran	1	(Meshkher, 1927)
Ashkhabad	2	Meshkher	1	(Ashkhabad, 1928)
Baku	11	Teheran	0	(Teheran, 1929)
Baku	4	Teheran	0	(Teheran, 1929)
Baku	4	Teheran	1	(Teheran, 1929)

NORWAY (1923)

RSFSR	4	Oslo	1	(Oslo, 1923)
RSFSR	8	Hamar	0	(Hamar, 1923)
RSFSR	5	Kvik	0	(Trondheim, 1923)
RSFSR	3	Norway	2	(Oslo, 1923)

SPAIN (Basque Provinces) (1937)

Played 9 matches in the USSR in 1937, winning 7, drawing 1 and losing 1.

SWEDEN (1923, 1928, 1935)

RSFSR	5	Stockholm	5	(Stockholm, 1923)
RSFSR	4	Fassberg	3	(Goteborg, 1923)
RSFSR	5	IFK	0	(Uddevala, 1923)
RSFSR	5	Halmia	2	(Halmstad, 1923)
RSFSR	3	Smaland Province	3	(Huskverna, 1923)
RSFSR	2	Norkoping	1	(Norkoping, 1923)
RSFSR	5	Oreboro	0	(Oreboro, 1923)
RSFSR	2	Ievle	2	(Ievle, 1923)
RSFSR	2	Vasteras	0	(Vasteras, 1923)
RSFSR	2	Sweden	1	(Stockholm, 1923)
Leningrad	4	Stockholm	2	(Stockholm, 1928)
Transcaucasia	3	Garda	3	(Goteborg, 1935)

SWITZERLAND (1934)

Moscow	5	United Switzerland	2	(St. Louis, France, 1934)

TURKEY (1924-1925, 1931-1936)

Moscow	1	Turkey	3	(Moscow, 1924)
Moscow	2	Turkey	0	(Moscow, 1924)
USSR	3	Turkey	1	(Moscow, 1924)
Odessa	0	Turkey	1	(Odessa, 1924)
USSR	6	Ankara-Smyrna	1	(Ankara, 1924)
USSR	2	Turkey	1	(Ankara, 1925)
USSR	2	Istanbul	2	(Istanbul, 1925)
USSR	3	Istanbul	0	(Istanbul, 1925)
Batumi	7	Lyceum, Trabzon	1	(Trabzon, 1925)
Batumi	1	Trabzon	2	(Trabzon, 1925)
Moscow	3	Turkey	3	(Moscow, 1931)
USSR	3	Turkey	2	(Moscow, 1931)
Leningrad	5	Turkey	4	(Leningrad, 1931)
Khar'kov	2	Turkey	2	(Khar'kov, 1931)
USSR	2	Turkey	2	(Istanbul, 1932)
USSR	4	Turkey	0	(Istanbul, 1932)
USSR	1	Turkish People's Clubs	0	(Ankara, 1932)
USSR	3	Turkish People's Clubs	2	(Ankara, 1932)
Moscow	7	Turkey	2	(Moscow, 1933)
Leningrad	2	Turkey	2	(Leningrad, 1933)
USSR	1	Turkey	2	(Moscow, 1933)
Ivanovo	7	Turkey	3	(Ivanovo, 1933)
Gor'ky	0	Turkey	2	(Kanavino, 1933)
Ukraine	3	Turkey	2	(Khar'kov, 1933)
Moscow	3	Turkey	0	(Moscow, 1934)
USSR	2	Turkey	1	(Moscow, 1934)
Leningrad	3	Turkey	0	(Leningrad, 1934)
Ukraine	4	Turkey	3	(Kiev, 1934)

Khar'kov	1	Turkey	1	(Khar'kov, 1934)
Odessa	0	Turkey	3	(Odessa, 1934)
USSR	2	Istanbul	1	(Istanbul, 1935)
USSR	2	Istanbul	2	(Istanbul, 1935)
USSR	3	Turkish People's Clubs	3	(Ankara, 1935)
USSR	3	Turkish People's Clubs	2	(Ankara, 1935)
USSR	2	Smyrna	1	(Smyrna, 1935)
USSR	3	Smyrna	3	(Smyrna, 1935)
Dinamo Moscow	4	Turkey	0	(Smyrna, 1936)
Spartak Moscow	3	Turkey	1	(Moscow, 1936)
Leningrad Combined Team	1	Turkey	0	(Leningrad, 1936)
Dinamo Kiev	9	Turkey	1	(Kiev, 1936)
Dinamo Odessa	2	Turkey	1	(Odessa, 1936)

Sources: Perel, A., Football in the USSR, Moscow, 1958; Koz'mina, V.P., "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye sportivnoye dvizhenie posle Velikoi Oktyabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revolyutsii," in Samoukov, F.I., Stolbov, V.V. (eds.), Ocherki po istorii fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1967, pp. 164-198; and Samoukov, F.I. (ed.), Istoriya fizicheskoi kul'tury, Moscow, 1964, pp. 300-356.