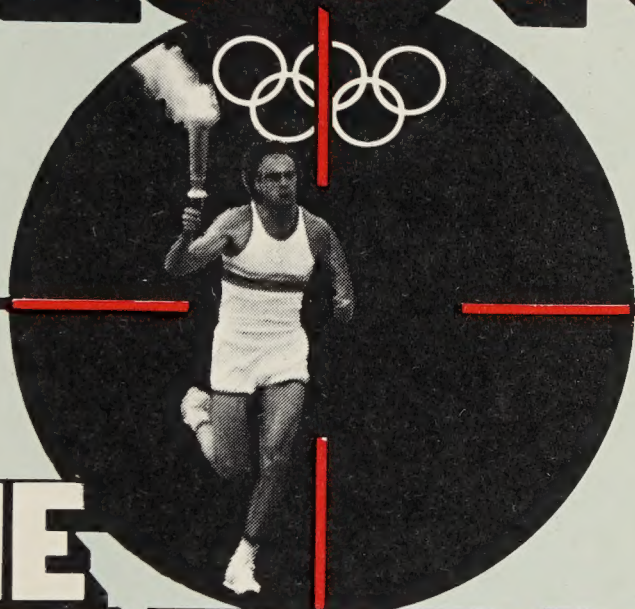


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WHO FLOUTS



THE OLYMPIC IDEALS?

Sergei POPOV
Alexei SREBNITSKY

"Beat Russia" screams a superman, posing against a background of Californian missiles. Sam the Eagle, the symbol of the Los Angeles Olympics, fiercely claws at good-natured Misha the Bear, mascot of the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

These are examples of politics and sport being confused, of anti-Soviet policy and the blasphemous abuse of the Olympic traditions.

They are just two of the many facts connected with the preparations in Los Angeles to meet the Soviet athletes at the coming Olympics.

The White House says that it has nothing to do with these actions perpetrated by, it claims, some isolated groups. However, none other than President Reagan has said that sport gives one great satisfaction from the hatred one feels even for the colour of the opponents' sports vests.

This is where the sources of hospitality American-style lie.



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Sergei POPOV, Alexei SREBNITSKY

WHO FLOUTS THE OLYMPIC IDEALS?

**Decision of the USSR National
Olympic Committee on the
impossibility of participation by
Soviet athletes in the 23rd Olympic
Games in Los Angeles**

(Documents, facts, comments)

Авторы-составители С. Попов и А. Сребницкий
КТО ПОДРЫВАЕТ ОЛИМПИЙСКИЕ ИДЕАЛЫ
Решение НОК СССР
о невозможности участия советских спортсменов
в Играх XXIII Олимпиады в Лос-Анджелесе
(документы, факты, комментарии)

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Los Angeles: "Are the Russians Coming?"

Moscow: "No, We Are Not!"

The host city of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games expects the Russians to say: "We are coming!", announced a report from Associated Press.

On May 8, 1984, Moscow announced to the world: "We are not going to the Los Angeles Games."

The way Associated Press used the word "coming" largely explains the reasons for the Soviet sportsmen's refusal to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games.

"The Russians are coming!" is not as innocent as it sounds at first. It is meant to awaken in the mind of the ordinary person the stereotyped notion of the "Soviet threat", a bogey which the American mass media have for years used practically every day to scare the man in the street. "The Russians are coming!" is a propagandist phrase, the cornerstone of the notorious doctrine of the "crusade" against communism launched by President Reagan. "The Russians are coming!" and so they must be met as they deserve.

In order to "meet them as they deserve" the FBI detailed 150 detectives to shadow the members of the Soviet Olympic delegation. Policemen thoroughly studied the files of every Soviet athlete in order "to know their background better". The US press warns that if terrorists come to Los Angeles they will fly in aboard Aeroflot planes. Secret lodgings were being fitted out for luring Soviet sportsmen and those from other socialist countries, so as to persuade them not

to return home by fair means or foul, including the use of psychotropic drugs ruining the nervous system. "Kill a Russian!" read inscriptions on badges and posters, and thousands of illustrated leaflets and booklets show Sam the Eagle, the symbol of the Los Angeles Olympics, trampling viciously on the prostrate bear Misha, the mascot of the Moscow Olympic Games.

This was the kind of "hospitality" that awaited Soviet athletes in Los Angeles in the summer of 1984.

"We do not fear threats. But who, one may ask, wants Olympic Games held in conditions of terror? What kind of festival of peace and friendship is it where one can expect meeting all kinds of gangsters united by hatred for our country?" Nikolai Balboshin, European, world and Olympic champion in Greco-Roman wrestling, said at a plenary meeting of the USSR National Olympic Committee.

This opinion is unanimously shared by the many people who have written to the NOC of the USSR and to various newspapers—famed champions of the past and present, sports enthusiasts and fans. That, in fact, is the opinion shared by all the people of our country. In view of this opinion and after carefully studying the situation which was developing around the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, the plenary meeting of the USSR National Olympic Committee, attended by 175 of the 182 members of that organization, including the heads of all the 29 Olympic sports federations of the Soviet Union, unanimously adopted the difficult, but the only correct decision in the circumstances—that it is impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games.

Lord Killanin: "I Became More and More Concerned About the Ignorance of Olympic Matters at the White House"

Appearing on television, US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt said with feigned surprise that the

Administration failed to understand the reasons for the Soviet team's refusal to participate in the Los Angeles Games. By taking this stance Mr. Burt runs the risk of being the only person, or one of the very few people, to whom these reasons are not clear. The patience of the Soviet side is rather more deserving of surprise, because what has occurred in the site of the next Olympics could have made the cup run over much sooner.

For example, Michael Myerson, Executive Secretary of the US Peace Council, stated that he did not doubt that the anti-Soviet groups in Los Angeles were operating with the direct connivance of the US authorities. He was very sorry that Soviet athletes would not take part in the Olympics, but still considered the decision of the USSR National Olympic Committee correct.

The actions of the sponsors of the 1984 Olympics were alarming from the very first. The first scandal came immediately after the May 1978 IOC session in Athens which confirmed Los Angeles as the Olympic host: the city refused to sign a contract with the IOC as prescribed by the Olympic Charter and to make the required deposit. In the absence of other candidates the IOC was forced to make one deferment after another; finally the Californians paid the money in the spring of 1979.

So from the very beginning the organizers of the 1984 Summer Olympics made it clear, with the blessing of the US Administration, that they do not consider the rules of the Olympic Charter, the fundamental code of the Olympic movement, binding. Lord Killanin, then IOC President, spoke in strong terms about the attitude of the US authorities to the Olympic Games: "In effect, they said that the Games would be run their way and there was to be little account of the rules of the IOC or its traditions and protocol." And further: "I became more and more concerned about the ignorance of Olympic matters at the White House."

Events have since confirmed the fears of the IOC President (now Honorary President). Every step of the LAOOC has been a further departure from the

Olympic rules and traditions to suit the interests of big business and the jingoist ambitions of the US government. At each IOC session where the organizing city, in accordance with the rules, presented an annual account of the preparatory work for the Games, the LAOOC representatives heard a great deal of criticism. As a rule they agreed but only in words, because their deeds subsequently did not change. The International Olympic Committee had, in particular, to wait four years for an answer to the key question put to the city hosting the Olympic Games: "Can you guarantee that your government will agree to abide by, as a priority, the IOC Rules and bye-laws throughout the duration of the Games? Can you produce evidence to this effect?" (Olympic Charter, Paragraph 1, Item 1, "Respect for the IOC Rules and Bye-laws").

Only in 1982 did the IOC session in Rome receive President Reagan's guarantee in writing that the US government intended to abide by the traditions, rules and provisions of the Olympic Charter. This assurance, given four years later than it should have been, proved a fake. The prescriptions of the Olympic Charter even now, on the eve of the Games, continue to be overtly violated.

An Idea Born and Killed in Los Angeles

— The fine tradition of Olympic villages is not very old: the first such village came into being in 1932 also in Los Angeles. The organizers' idea proved fortunate and became a rule which has been observed ever since. Since then young people during the Games have lived as one family, under the same roof, where friendly ties are formed in the course of unhindered fellowship. When we say that the Olympic Games are not merely a whole range of championships in various sports but also an incomparable festival of unity in sport, we must not forget the role of the Olympic village in this matter.

The Olympic Charter states: "The OCOG* shall provide one Olympic village for men and another for women so that competitors and team officials can be housed together... The villages shall be located as close as possible to the main stadium, practice fields and other facilities" (Rule 36).

It would seem that the founders of the tradition which has become a rule would be its best keepers. But the world's richest city, as Los Angeles is sometimes called, could not find the funds to build one village; instead the LAOOC offers three villages consisting of student hostels which are ill-suited for this particular purpose and are located far from one another. The Games organizers also refused to accommodate women separately.

Could it be that the real reason is not a desire to save money? Could it be that Reagan and his ilk are simply afraid to have young people from all continents, from countries with different social systems, people of different colour and faith, come together?

"Let me say forthrightly that if you take the common Olympic village away from the Games, their significance will be diminished probably by half," said Boris Shukhov, an Olympic cycling champion.

Yuri Titov, a famed gymnast and Olympic champion in his time, and President of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG), called attention to the following important circumstance which adds to the acuity of the problem of accommodating athletes at the 1984 Games:

"Gymnasts accommodated in two different villages will find themselves in unequal conditions," he said. "Some of them will live next to the training hall, while others will have to ride a distance of 26 kilometres in an ordinary bus without air conditioning. Two daily training sessions would thus require three and a half to four hours for travelling alone, which might seriously affect the performance of many teams."

Here is another view of the problem arising out of the violation of the Olympic Charter. Vladimir Salnikov, winner of three gold medals for swimming

* The Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games

at the 1980 Olympics is justifiably worried. "The fact," he says, "that sportsmen will live in Los Angeles in different places further increases the possibility of various provocative acts and attacks by terrorists and criminals, for which that city is famous."

When preparing for the Games the National Olympic Committees expected the Olympic villages to be opened for the participants three weeks before the Games begin, as ruled by the Charter. The LAOOC announced, however, that the period would be shortened to two weeks, which naturally created new problems for the athletes of several countries, especially those far away from the United States, problems connected with acclimatization in that city with its complex climatic conditions.

Incidentally, this is not the first time that the United States has decided matters of Olympic participants' accommodation in its own peculiar way. During the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid in 1980 the athletes were offered the cells of a future prison for juvenile delinquents by way of accommodation, which undoubtedly placed the participants under psychological stress. The world of sport was shocked and outraged, especially as the members of the US team were accommodated in the well-appointed hotels of that resort town. The American authorities chose to neglect most of the numerous protests.

Is the Olympic Identity Card Just a Piece of Paper?

"I remember that in 1956, when the Olympic Games were held in Melbourne, relations between the USSR and Australia were unfortunately not of the best. For all that, the Olympic identity card which I and all my comrades in the Soviet team received was an effective and authoritative document for entry into the Olympic host city. This I also know to have been the case with other Olympic Games. Why then should the US authorities regard the Olympic passport as a mere piece of paper?" asked Igor Kashkarov, bronze medallist in the high jump at the 16th Olympics.

The answer is simple: as we remember, it was announced in the United States that "terrorists will fly in aboard Aeroflot planes" and that "spies should be expected from the East". A madman's ravings? But this is completely in keeping with the White House's policy which proceeds, in particular, from the premise that every citizen of the Soviet Union or of other socialist countries is a potential threat. One can therefore ignore the Olympic Charter where Rule 59 clearly states: "The Olympic identity card establishes the identity of its holder and constitutes the document authorizing entry into the country in which the city organizing the Olympic Games is situated." It looks as if the organizers of the 1984 Games did not mean this provision to be applied to the Olympic delegations of the socialist countries.

On March 15, 1984, the US embassy in Moscow sent a note to the NOC of the USSR requiring lists, completed according to the required form, of the names of the members of the Soviet Olympic delegation for the purpose of issuing visas. This was both a violation of the Olympic rules and a discriminatory measure against Soviet citizens. Judging by the note, the embassy took upon itself the right to refuse a visa, or entry to the United States, to any member of the Soviet delegation.

This is a question of no mean importance. The refusal of a visa to a doctor, coach or masseur may well have a negative effect on an athlete's performance.

After a resolute protest by the Soviet Olympic Committee, supported by most of the world sports community, the US State Department evidently realized that it had gone too far. Another note, duly corrected and edited, arrived. Its essential purpose, however, remained the same: the NOC of the USSR was required, as formerly, to submit the list of its Olympic team not to the Organizing Committee but to the US embassy (i. e. the State Department), which would decide whom to admit and whom not to admit to the United States.

In handing over the functions of the Organizing Committee, which is answerable to the IOC, to

government agencies the US Administration seems to have forgotten that Olympic Games belong neither to the city nor the country where they are held. They belong to the whole world, to the International Olympic Committee. A country which hosts an international sports forum is required to facilitate the participation of all who can and wish to take part. This is generally recognized. "Modern international law knows several specific documents which grant certain benefits and privileges," writes Boris Topornin, professor and doctor of law and also President of the USSR Football Federation. "The Olympic identity card is one of them. It is a matter of providing not some special conditions but only what is necessary for the normal work of forums and organizations."

Only after Moscow declared that it was impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in the 1984 Games did Washington make belated promises to resolve the question of visa-free entry. Experience has shown, however, that the words of the US Administration are often at variance with its deeds. Take for instance the situation on the eve of the 1980 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid. The entire Olympic community was outraged when a visa regime was imposed almost at the last moment when it was too late to do anything.

Some people may say that this took place under President Carter for whose actions the present Administration is not responsible. But here are some of the latest developments.

In December 1983 Yuri Ustimenko, TASS correspondent in the United States, was not allowed to attend a press conference held in Los Angeles by Marat Gramov, Chairman of the NOC of the USSR, in connection with his talks with the LAOOC. In March of this year the State Department refused to issue an entry visa to the United States to Soviet Olympic attaché Oleg Yermishkin whom it declared "undesirable". Yermishkin's appointment had been agreed with the LAOOC. The protest of the President of the Organizing Committee, Peter Ueberroth, remained unanswered. As a result of the discriminatory practices of the State Department, the NOC of the USSR was unable promptly to decide questions relating to

the stay of the Soviet Olympic delegation in Los Angeles.

The 30th meeting of the members of the International Club of Journalists-Skiers held last April in Park City, Utah, was attended by representatives of 26 countries, including journalists from the Soviet newspapers *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and also TASS. The participants in the meeting held round-table discussions of topical problems of the current international situation and of the Olympic movement and also competed in a skiing triathlon in the Rocky Mountains near Park City. They then went on a tour of the country and visited Los Angeles where they familiarized themselves with Olympic facilities. But not all of them were able to go: the US authorities did not allow the Soviet journalists to take part in the tour.

One of the authors of this booklet was a special correspondent for the Novosti Press Agency at six summer and winter Olympic tournaments. It is not difficult to see what he, a member of the International Sports Press Association (AIPS), must have felt when the US authorities demanded that for him to be accredited at the 1984 Olympics press centre the NOC of the USSR had to confirm that he belonged to any press organ, i.e. was a journalist at all. Were he and his colleagues thus viewed as potential spies? And isn't it insulting when the physicians of the national teams are required to go before an American medical commission to have their professional qualifications certified?

The other author has also worked at Olympic Games, particularly the latest, the Winter Games in Sarajevo. He can testify that there the Olympic Charter was observed and nothing of the kind could have taken place. The holders of Olympic identity cards needed no entry visas. An accreditation card was issued after a uniform questionnaire had been completed and no more questions were asked about one's professional qualifications or occupation.

In the United States the Olympic protocol is not abided by.

The Olympic Flame in the Hands of "Hell's Angels"

The town of Olympia had not seen anything like it before. The flame of the next Games, ignited by the rays of the sun, was not handed to Greek athletes so that they, in relay, could take the torch to Marble Stadium and pass it on to representatives of the Organizing Committee, the way it has always been done before. Now things have changed.

After acquiring the Olympic torch among the ruins of Hera's temple the envoys of the LAOOC hastened to a waiting helicopter, past demonstrators with the slogans: "No Olympic flame for business!", "The flame of peace is not for sale!" Like a trophy of war, the flame was delivered to New York by a US Air Force plane and then put into circulation for dollars.

Spyros Fotinos, the sorely offended mayor of ancient Olympia, stated on behalf of his country's National Olympic Committee and of the entire Greek people: "This flame is sacred to us. It is not for sale!" It is without precedent that Greek representatives took no part in the transfer of the Olympic flame to the host country of the 23rd Games.

Rule 62 of the Olympic Charter specifies that celebrations in connection with the journey or the arrival of the Olympic flame may not be the occasion for advertising. This provision was ignored by the sponsors of the Los Angeles Games, who announced an open auction of the Olympic flame which is sacred to millions of sportsmen. The cherished Olympic symbol was priced at 3,000 dollars per kilometre of relay across American territory. Trading where the principal Olympic symbol is concerned is blasphemy. That was the verdict of the entire world of sport which is anxiously following the consequences of yet another infringement of the Olympic Charter.

Near Ventura, California, the torch will be taken over by George Christie, the ringleader of the local "Hell's Angels" gang who decided to fork out 3,000 dollars for publicity for his thugs. In Nevada the owners of the *Caesar* casino went to much greater

expense, buying 51 kilometres of the relay on condition that it would run past their establishment.

The champions of the Olympic ideals are by no means indifferent to who carries the flame which they revere. "Only clean hands can receive the torch from Olympia," said Yelena Petushkova, Olympic equestrian champion and chairman of the Soviet Sportsmen for Peace Committee. "These words," she said, "I heard at an international conference in Olympia which I attended. All 350 delegates from 14 countries, including Phil Shinnick, director of the Athletes United for Peace organization and a former US Olympic long-jump prize winner, unanimously objected to the plans of the Los Angeles hosts to retail the Olympic flame relay."

Sergei Belov, the famous Soviet basketball player, an Olympic champion, who was given the honour of lighting the flame of the Moscow Olympics, said: "It is an outrage. To run each kilometre of the Olympic relay was a great honour for every Soviet citizen. I never thought the sacred symbol would be auctioned."

Olympic Values in Business Terms

The world press has repeatedly warned that the 1984 Olympics threaten to become a gigantic contest of businessmen to whom sport is only a means of raking in profit by selling their goods and services. The Los Angeles Games seem to offer them an excellent chance.

The LAOOC, consisting mainly of businessmen, stated from the very outset that it intended to organize "Spartan games" at minimum cost. At the same time it even counted on a profit of 15.5 million dollars.

It has thus become a matter of profit at the lowest cost. How will this approach affect the members of the Olympic community for whom the LAOOC is responsible? The community includes 12,000 ath-

letes, coaches, guests of honour (judges were not counted in by the Organizing Committee) and 8,000 journalists. How will the "Spartan conditions", offered by the organizers, affect them? How does this fit in with the Olympic Charter, Rule 41 of which states that the OCOG shall ensure that all expenses for competitors and officials that are within its jurisdiction, particularly housing expenses, are kept to a minimum?

A sportsman's stay at one of the three Olympic villages in Los Angeles will cost 35 dollars, as against 18 dollars during the 1980 Olympics in Moscow.

The usual Olympic services will cost an enormous amount in Los Angeles. The installation of a telephone at any of the sports arenas will cost a journalist nearly 100 times more than it did in Moscow. A single call from one arena to another, something that cost nothing at previous Games, will cost more than two dollars.

It has been calculated that every European National Olympic Committee will have to pay, on average, three times more than it did in Moscow. A commission of the ENOC* regretfully concluded that the 23rd Olympics will be the most costly for the NOCs in the history of the Olympic movement. Three hundred dollars for a car pass with parking rights, 1,500 dollars plus the cost of petrol for the hire of a car for the duration of the Games, a one-dollar commission imposed by the LAOOC on every ticket for the Games sold in Europe... Every single item carries a prohibitive price.

The businessmen in the Organizing Committee are both profit-hungry and shamelessly stingy. They have refused altogether to pay for the stay at the Games of the referees, an important contingent of the Olympic community, charging the expenses to the IOC and some international sports federations. But there is more to it than that. "I have attended seven Olympic tournaments, but this is the first time referees have been treated so offensively," said FIG President Yuri Titov. "We need the services of certain referees for

*Association of European National Olympic Committees

only one week. And FIG pays for their stay accordingly. But the organizers want us to pay for their stay during the entire 17 Olympic days, and it is well known how expensive hotels in Los Angeles are. The LAOOC officially offered a way out of the financial difficulty created by themselves: as the rooms in hotels occupied by referees are vacated, FIG should undertake to rent them to 'other persons'."

In keeping with the Olympic traditions international sports federations have held their congresses during or before the Games in the host city, part of the expenses, sometimes quite considerable, usually being borne by the Organizing Committee. The "businessmen's squad" from Los Angeles rejected this unwritten rule which involves only expense and no profit. "For the first time the International Amateur Basketball Federation (FIBA) will have to seek funds to convene its congress," said a spokesman for the FIBA. The federation was only one of the international sports associations which were forced not to hold their congresses in Los Angeles for similar reasons, such as the wrestling, canoeing, shooting, judo and field hockey federations.

So the sponsors of the "Spartan games" see members of the Olympic family as another source of profit.

The worst hit by this commercial approach are Olympic athletes who have become in a way the hostages of big business. The greatest contribution to the Organizing Committee's funds came from television companies, especially ABC, which paid the astronomical sum of 225 million dollars for the exclusive right to broadcast the Games within the United States. The company is naturally eager to make good the expenses incurred and to make as much profit as possible. The price of a 30-second advertisement reel has been set at 260,000 dollars. One can only sympathize with American viewers who will have their Olympic broadcasts regularly interrupted by advertisements. However, this is an internal affair for America and the Americans. But after paying fabulous sums to the Organizing Committee ABC has monopolized the right not only of broadcasting the

Games within the country, but also of tying the telecasts to "prime time". The interests of the athletes are thus disregarded, while the LAOOC obediently follows the bidding of the TV bosses.

Small wonder that the well-known Mexican marathon runners Rodolfo and José Gomez have announced they will not run in the Olympics, even though they realize that they may be disqualified by their national athletic federation. They may be disqualified, but they should also be understood. Robert De Castella, 27-year-old world champion from Australia, said that it would be simply dangerous to run the marathon in the polluted atmosphere of Los Angeles. He added that he tried not to think of the ordeals awaiting athletes during the race. No physiologist knew what potential dangers the runners would be exposed to, De Castella, a biophysicist by profession, said.

The way out could be found by simply shifting the marathon start from 5:30 p.m. to 6-7 a.m., as requested by the physicians of the participating teams, but the Games organizers turned down the request as conflicting with the programme schedules of commercial television.

Since the hosts of the Games think nothing of cashing in on the members of the Olympic family it is easy to imagine what Sam the Eagle is going to charge the fans and tourists. Hotel bills will quadruple, restaurants will charge much more and tickets for competitions will cost a pretty penny, to say nothing of those for the opening and closing ceremonies—up to 200 dollars each. Hiring a car will be much too expensive for many people, while public transport is non-existent in Los Angeles, a city stretching for many miles. Taxi? A Japanese tourist said he had to pay 1,000 dollars for travelling a distance of 30 kilometres. When hiring a taxi one should remember that in case of a misunderstanding the local police are always on the side of the cabman. In other words, as the Swiss newspaper *Journal de Geneve* put it, the Olympic Games are as accessible to the average tourist as he is capable of competing in the 100 metres with the world's best sprinter.

Some two years ago, when the question was debated as to which corporations should be invited to finance the Olympics, Peter Ueberroth said that excessive commercialization should be avoided. We do not want, he stressed, to have official doughnuts, official chewing-gum and official hair spray.

The road to hell is indeed paved with good intentions. Sam the Eagle helps the Budweiser company sell the official Olympic beer, promotes official Coca-Cola and official hamburgers made by MacDonaldis. The efforts of the Organizing Committee and Mr. Ueberroth himself have promoted the concentration of capital in financing the Olympic Games, which has become the domain not of private capital, but of monopoly capital. The 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid had 350 official sponsors; the LAOOC has reduced the number to 50 of the most powerful corporations.

The gold rush around the Los Angeles Games has made them a truly commercial enterprise. Everything that stands in the way of profit is removed. The IOC decided to pay for the stay and travel of six members of each country's delegation, including four athletes. Otherwise many Olympic committees from the developing countries would simply be unable to cover the exorbitant costs in Los Angeles.

What about Rule 41 of the Olympic Charter? Whom is it meant for? Certainly not for the businessmen in the LAOOC.

They care little for rules and traditions unless they bring in profit. "The country that has always boasted of its economic might and welfare has refused to receive representatives of youth organizations at the Olympic Games," wrote Olympic diving champion Vladimir Vasin in the Soviet newspaper *Komsomolskaya pravda*. "Since the youth camp would not profit the organizers they discarded it."

Meanwhile the organization of an international youth camp during the Games is another fine tradition, and the Olympic Charter recommends that such camps be made part of the Games.

Through these camps young people of the world could attend the Olympic Games cheaply since their stay there was partly paid for by the Organizing Committees, as was the case in Mexico City, Munich, Montreal and Moscow. As Vladimir Vasin pointed out (as a department head of the Young Communist League Central Committee he is familiar with young people's affairs), in such camps young men and women met for talks and discussions, competed in sports and invariably agreed in their unanimous striving for peace, friendship and mutual respect.

Here we must repeat the question which we raised in connection with the Olympic village. Could it be that greed of the businessmen organizing the 23rd Games is not the only impeding factor? After all, an international youth camp means an open and honest dialogue where young people from the United States have a chance to learn the truth about their peers from various countries.

How could America's ruling circles feel happy about that?

How Soviet Athletes Prepared for Los Angeles

"At night I dream of the Olympic stadium in Los Angeles and the jumping sector," Tamara Bykova, world high-jump champion and record holder, said earlier this year. "I dream of an Olympic victory, the supreme honour for an amateur athlete. I dream of another top-level meeting with my friends and rivals—Ulrike Meyfarth from the Federal Republic of Germany and Louise Ritter and Colleen Sommer of the United States."

Several weeks later Tamara would realize with regret that the meeting would not take place through the fault of the hosts of the Games.

All the members of the Soviet Olympic teams worked hard training for Los Angeles. There were,

admittedly, many alarming signs in the way the Games were being prepared. The Soviet Olympic Committee drew the public's attention to these facts and repeatedly approached the International Olympic Committee and the LAOOC, hoping until the last moment that the organizers of the Games and the US authorities would remove the obstacles on the road to Los Angeles and, above all, ensure the safety of the participants in the Games.

As they got themselves in shape for the Olympics Soviet sportsmen competed in many major international tournaments. They performed well, justifying their claim to leading positions in many Olympic events. In 1983 alone Soviet athletes won 62 first places in world championships and cup tournaments in these events; the German Democratic Republic won 44 gold medals and the United States only 28. This fact alone reduces to nought the allegations of the mass media in the West that Moscow will not go to Los Angeles for fear of losing to the Americans.

Soviet athletes also participated willingly in competitions on American soil. Nearly 700 of them took part in the pre-Olympic meetings held on the site of the future Games. Figures also show that the Soviet side took the initiative in expanding Soviet-American sporting links. In 1982, for instance, the Soviet Union sent 433 athletes to the United States, while 250 US sportsmen visited the USSR. In 1983 439 sportsmen went from the Soviet Union to the United States and 282 athletes from the United States to the USSR. In the first months of 1984 the Soviet Union sent 106 sportsmen to the United States and played host to 80 Americans.

The guests from the United States were warmly received in the Soviet Union, while American spectators applauded the successes of Soviet champions on their soil. This was the case with Soviet pole vaulter Sergei Bubka who in February 1984 won the US open indoor championship. After Sergei's victory one of the other competitors, ex-world record holder Dan Ripley said that watching Bubka jump he wanted to find some other occupation.

“Victory at Any Cost”

Certain quarters in the United States, however, were obviously alarmed by the growing achievements of Soviet athletes and their enhanced Olympic chances. It was said back in March 1983 during President Reagan’s meeting with President of the US Olympic Committee William Simon, its Executive Director Don Miller and President of the LAOOC Peter Ueberroth that the US wanted victory at any cost. It didn’t matter what the rest of the world would say—everything would be forgotten while the medals would remain.

A possible defeat of the Americans on their own soil was thus inflated before the event to the dimensions of a national tragedy to avoid which any means would do. The stand taken by the White House logically followed from the deliberate intention to use the Olympic Games for political ends. The US Administration makes no secret of the fact that the Games are one of the key propaganda measures aimed at securing President Reagan’s re-election. The holding of the Games in a state where he was governor, in a city where he “shone” as a Hollywood star, is planned to show the rallying of the nation around its President. Reagan has even consented personally to open the Games, something no US president has ever done (the United States has already hosted four Olympic Games: the Summer Games in Los Angeles and Winter Games in Lake Placid in 1932, the Winter Games in Squaw Valley in 1960 and the Winter Games in Lake Placid in 1980).

One cannot help recalling Lord Killanin’s words when, as IOC President, he gave an interview to the French newspaper *Le Figaro*: “...It is my misfortune that the Olympic Games are held once every four years, in the same years that American elections are held...”

The world of sport had every reason to expect that unfair means might be used to achieve “victory at any cost”. It was alarming, for instance, as we have already said, that the LAOOC refused to invite foreign referees to the Games (much less to pay for their

stay), evidently relying only on its own judges. This naturally caused several National Olympic Committees to protest strongly, so that on this occasion the IOC took a decision to provide maintenance for 1,006 referees from various countries.

As Chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee Marat Gramov emphasized, this deprived the hosts of the Games of a powerful device designed to achieve "victory at any cost". Then a new slogan appeared: not to allow Soviet athletes to come to the Los Angeles Games (quite in keeping with the idea that everything would be forgotten while the medals would remain).

On September 6, 1983, California's legislature passed a resolution banning the Soviet delegation from the Olympic Games. The resolution was given broad publicity by the mass media both in the United States and in other countries and it served to create an atmosphere extremely unfavourable to Soviet sportsmen's participation and to give rise to and encourage the activities of terrorist and extremist groupings which rallied together on the basis of anti-Sovietism under the slogan "Ban the Soviets!" and openly threatened to use "violence" against sportsmen if they took part in the Games. Despite the fact that in February 1984 California's State Senate passed a resolution expressing readiness to give a "warm reception" to the participants and guests of the Summer Games in Los Angeles the legislature's first resolution was not cancelled and the moral damage done to Soviet athletes was by no means redressed.

Later a new idea was born: let the Soviet sportsmen come to Los Angeles. We shall create a situation in which they will not be able to put up a good show. We will stage noisy demonstrations and pickets and threaten the Soviet delegation so that it will remember us for a long time to come. The idea belonged to David Balsiger, the leader of the Ban the Soviets Coalition and an advertising agent who several years ago made a futile attempt to run for Congress from the Republican Party.

Things developed in such a way that the well-

informed *Washington Post* had occasion to observe that an extremely hot anti-Soviet climate would prevail in Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles Games have become in essence a political game.

An examination of the current process of mounting anti-Sovietism as a permanent socio-psychological factor of the American way of life is obvious proof that the policy of certain circles in the United States of heading for open confrontation with the Soviet Union in the field of sport is not in any way an accident. Reagan's Administration regards international sport in general and the 23rd Olympic Games in particular as the continuation of conflict between the two powers, as a forum where the Soviet Union must be defeated.

Psychological pressure, provocations and unequal conditions—this is what awaited Soviet athletes in the United States.

Hospitality American-Style

Picketing and demonstrations hardly fit in with Rule 53 of the Olympic Charter which reads: "Every kind of demonstration or propaganda, whether political, religious or racial, is forbidden in the Olympic areas." Meanwhile Colonel Edgar Best, director of security at the LAOOC, made no secret of the fact that the Organizing Committee would not take any steps to prevent such actions, which, according to him, would be an infringement of the US Constitution. What is more, the LAOOC security chief explained that special grounds for holding demonstrations would be allotted in areas where the athletes would live and compete in order to prevent "physical contact" with demonstrators. An original way of avoiding unfriendly actions!

But things go much further than mere demonstrations. As the Games grew nearer more facts came to light to show the real extent of the preparations for provocation.

We have already spoken of the Ban the Soviets Coalition which unites nearly 160 ultra-right groupings comprising, among others, criminals, ex-Nazis

and emigres from the Soviet Union who have betrayed their country. It also incorporates "Omega-7", a terrorist organization of Cuban counterrevolutionaries. The coalition made no secret of its new task: to unleash terror against athletes from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

To interfere with the activities of such groups would, in the opinion of the official authorities, amount to violating the rights of the US citizen, infringing upon his freedoms. Meanwhile, as the *Los Angeles Times* wrote, the leaders of the Ban the Soviets Coalition had received a letter from Michael Deaver, a high-ranking White House official, assuring them that the Administration sympathized with their actions. After securing this blessing from above David Balsiger openly stated that acts of violence against Soviet sportsmen and fans were not excluded.

Washington could not disprove the fact that militants from the Young Americans for Freedom made no secret of their plans to kidnap Soviet athletes during the Games. The US press has reported that this organization also has close links with the present Administration, despite the latter's wish to deny this.

It would be sheer folly to wave aside all these threats. Terrorists not only threaten but are also known to have acted. There are quite a few instances of such actions. Even threats which for some reason come to nothing do a great deal of harm. Valery Borzov, the famous Soviet sprinter and winner of two gold medals at the Munich Olympics, thus recalls how he competed in Montreal in 1976: "I had been warned not to run because a sniper would be posted on the stands. But I had gone to Montreal to compete for medals, so after a few unpleasant hours before the start I decided to run the 200 metres. The shot never came, but you can imagine what I felt running, aware that a bullet could stop me at any moment."

Such threats deserve special attention in a country where even presidents cannot be saved by hundreds of secret service agents, where the Kennedy brothers, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were assassinated, when terrorist acts are planned in a city with just about the highest criminal record in the world. There

are six murders every day, and 30,000 armed robberies and about 85,000 burglaries each year in Los Angeles. According to statistics, it is likely that one in three women in Los Angeles aged 14 and over will be assaulted at least once in her life. The city is at the mercy of armed gangs which have divided the Olympic host city into "spheres of activity". Residents remember October 4, 1979, as the last day when not a single bank was robbed in Los Angeles.

Such terms as "terrorists", "spies" and "subversive elements" appeared more and more often in American newspaper stories about the Olympics. It looks as if the anti-terrorist frenzy that has seized the organizers and the US mass media on the eve of the Games is an instigation to such actions. They seem to be egged on political extremists; after all, terrorist attacks on athletes are said to be inevitable.

The pathological spy hysteria whipped up by the authorities has been taking on an Olympic colouring in the last months before the Games. It is planned to look for spies and terrorists in the most unlikely places. FBI Director William Webster has said publicly that the FBI will pay special attention to searching for spies among athletes from socialist and some other countries.

That is how hysteria is worked up to the point of absurdity and a peculiar psychological climate is being created on the eve of the Olympics, said a TASS commentary published under the heading "Fact and Fiction about the Olympics" in the Soviet daily *Pravda* on May 16, 1984. A leading US radio and television corporation has declared that terrorist units trained in the USSR are to destroy cruise missile and Air Force bases and that such units, according to information in its possession, also include Olympic athletes. So that is how Soviet athletes are pictured for the benefit of public opinion in the USA and not only there.

The story has been taken up by the *New Solidarity* newspaper in New York City. It says that all Soviet sport teams of international class, including nearly the whole of the USSR Olympic squad, are made up of career officers from special forces units whose job

is to assassinate American political and military leaders.

These are, of course, the ravings of madmen, but they are intended for those who are easily duped. As for special "Olympic units", "sectors" and "groups", they indeed exist—they have been formed by US special services to carry out provocative activities among citizens from socialist countries, members of the Olympic family and journalists. Such "measures" are to be implemented by 500 CIA and FBI career officers under the general guidance of a CIA Deputy Director.

It is planned to launch provocations along several different lines. For instance, the special services are to place under their control several shops in the city by planting their operatives in them in the guise of shop assistants. You may ask, what for? The idea is to catch people "red-handed", to arrest them allegedly for "shoplifting".

Schemes have also been devised to catch athletes "red-handed" as spies who might be taking pictures of various tourist attractions in "the city of angels". To this end, movie and still camera films have been purchased in socialist countries and pictures of military facilities have been taken in advance. So the "evidence" is there, and all that is needed is to plant it on the prospective victims.

Plans to kidnap and then brainwash individual athletes, journalists and tourists, to get them not to return to their countries have been worked out most thoroughly. Billboards have been prepared with appeals in Russian and the languages of other socialist countries urging athletes to betray their homelands. Thousands of leaflets and brochures have been published for the same purpose.

The Ban the Soviets Coalition has worked out an operation codenamed "Operation Freedom '84". David Balsiger and his associates have recruited from among emigre circles agents speaking Russian and the languages of other socialist countries. The latter have been instructed to spy on athletes from those countries and "catch them in the net", as *The Washington Post* correspondent Jay Matthews has

put it. To conceal their catch, the body-snatchers have already found secret hideouts in various parts of Los Angeles. They will now act according to a well-known scheme: blackmail, threats and, if these don't work, the use of psychotropic drugs.

No matter how often the Washington authorities may repeat that all that is carried out by "private organizations" and that government agencies have nothing to do with it, few are deceived. As recently as March 17, members of the Ban the Soviets Coalition were received by Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, and, according to a *Washington Post* story, secured his backing. It is ironical indeed that a man responsible for human rights in the US State Department should meet those who intend to violate these rights and who make no secret of their intentions.

The White House is perfectly aware that those "private" organizations of provocateurs, terrorists and anti-Sovieteers are linked with US special services, and that it is the special services that have planted agents of the Ban the Soviets Coalition in the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, among its staff, and in other Olympic services. A State Department spokesman, John Hughes, in one of his statements, rejected any proposals that the US Administration should take special measures to restrict the activities of the extremist groups. And US Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, speaking on television, flatly refused publicly to condemn the bandit-like schemes of fascist-type groups ready to carry out acts of violence against athletes and fans from socialist countries.

As a West Berlin newspaper has observed, the anti-Soviet, anti-communist hysteria raging in Los Angeles and indeed throughout the state of California in the period preceding the opening of the Games has assumed pathological proportions. A mentally sick young man, under the influence of "Kill a Russian" appeals that met him at every step, from posters and badges, shot dead a woman because she was allegedly of Russian origin.

And no matter how strenuously Washington may deny its involvement in those shady deeds, truth will out. Facts show that the outright hostile campaign has been going on in recent years with the connivance of the US authorities, indeed with their full approval. The idea is to prevent athletes from the USSR and other socialist countries from attending the Los Angeles Olympics or at least to put them at a disadvantage as compared with other participants in the Games.

The tone of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist hysteria has been set from above. From there attacks on the Soviet Union and its peace policy are systematically launched. The climate of psychosis, hatred and hostility created around the Los Angeles Olympics is part of the "crusade" against communism proclaimed by the US President.

Such a conclusion has been reached not only in Moscow. Take, for instance, a statement by Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee Ashwini Kumar of India. Recently he went to Los Angeles on instructions from IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch to check on security measures at the Olympic facilities. He described his impressions in an interview with a TASS correspondent after his return.

I have to admit, said Ashwini Kumar, that the atmosphere in Los Angeles is one of outright psychological war against the Soviet Union. The attitude of the US press is extremely hostile. In such conditions any incident, even an insignificant one, can be blown up to incredible proportions. Such an atmosphere encourages violence on the part of all kinds of criminal elements. But it is the activities of a group of anti-Soviet organizations that particularly give cause for concern. I agree with many athletes and sports officials who say that one feels insecure in Los Angeles. In this connection the psychological war against the USSR unleashed there and the "Kill a Russian" appeals sound sinister indeed. Apparently Washington stands behind all that, the IOC Vice-President said in conclusion.

The Soviet public follows eyewitness accounts

about the kind of hospitality that awaits Olympic delegations from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Los Angeles with a good deal of anxiety. Olympic gymnastics champion Natalya Kuchinskaya, known among fans as "Mexico's sweetheart", recalled the 1968 Olympic Games in this connection. "Then as now, our gymnastic team was young, care-free and happy," she wrote in an article published in the newspaper *Sovetsky Sport*. "We were happy about our victory, the comradely atmosphere, and friendly spectators. *Mariaches* serenaded Soviet women gymnasts for nights on end, and there were dances and carnivals in the square in front of the Olympic village. We did not feel any fear or anxiety. The same was true of the Moscow Games—there was complete security for all taking part in them. But in Los Angeles security is not guaranteed. How can athletes, including many school pupils, children in fact, train and perform at gunpoint?"

We cannot ban the Ban the Soviets Coalition, the men in the White House say, ours is a free country and we have no means of controlling our people. This is absurd, of course, and this has been pointed out by a *Washington Post* columnist who says that there are many ways of controlling the activities of citizens in any country, including the United States. For instance, the US controls and directs the activities of CIA-financed Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe engaged in subversion against the socialist countries.

And certain quarters in the United States consider that it is those subversive spy radio centres that lack "freedom" with respect to the Olympic Games. Attempts are being made, in violation of Rule 51 of the Olympic Charter, to get their representatives accredited at the press centre of the Los Angeles Games. And this is not the first time that such attempts are made. The latest was at the Winter Olympics held quite recently in Sarajevo. There the provocation-mongers were shown the door. And so a search for other "means" got under way, this time with the blessing and assistance of the organizers of the 1984 Summer Olympics.

The radio saboteurs make no secret of their plans.

They intend not so much to broadcast the Games as to carry on their anti-Soviet and anti-socialist activities. All actions planned by the Ban the Soviets Coalition would serve as a basis for the programmes to be broadcast by the subversive radio stations.

The present chief of Radio Free Europe, James Buckley, has called the banker Julian Roosevelt of the State of New York, a nephew of President F. D. Roosevelt and a 1952 Olympic champion in yachting, a puppet in Soviet hands. Mr. Roosevelt, a member of the International Olympic Committee for the USA, voted in Sarajevo against the accreditation of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. And so what happened? Julian Roosevelt was kicked out of the US Olympic Committee, whose President, William Simon, demanded that he should be removed from the IOC as well. By hinting that the IOC leadership should be interested in having what he described as more authoritative American representatives, Simon resorted to outright blackmail since under IOC Rules its members do not represent their own countries but represent the Olympic movement in their countries.

That is how "freedom" is understood in the United States.

The Warnings that Went Unheeded

Reports in the Western press say that the Statement by the USSR National Olympic Committee on May 8 declaring that it is impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games came like a bolt from the blue. However, such claims are intended for those who have not followed the events. In recent years Moscow has frequently appealed to the world sporting community and directly to the IOC and the LAOOC, expressing its concern about many aspects of the preparations for the Los Angeles Games. Soviet representatives also voiced their concern at each session of the IOC called to hear the reports of the 1984 Olympic Organizing Committee as

well as at the meetings and forums of various international sports federations.

The USSR National Olympic Committee in May 1982 sent a letter to the IOC President calling his attention to the fact that, in violation of the Olympic Charter, Los Angeles had not yet submitted guarantees by the government that the Games would be held in keeping with the Olympic Rules. The situation also required, the letter said, that security guarantees for all participants should be given in time and at a level envisaged by the Charter, that is, at government level.

A few months later, in August, the Soviet NOC, in another letter, was again compelled to call the attention of Juan Antonio Samaranch to the problems left outstanding by the LAOOC despite the warning of the 85th IOC session in May 1982. In particular, the Soviet Olympic Committee had then still not received documents certified by American government bodies regarding entry procedures, customs and veterinary rules, etc.

That the LAOOC still had a great deal to do to make the 23rd Olympics a genuine festival of world youth was also pointed out by the General Assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) in January 1983 (see *Appendix No. 5*).

The critical remarks made by members of the General Assembly were reflected in a Declaration unanimously adopted by all the National Olympic Committees, including the US Olympic Committee. Chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee Marat Gramov stressed at a news conference in Moscow on May 14, 1984, that many provisions of that document remained unfulfilled by the American side (see *Appendix No. 4*).

Representatives of the LAOOC promised to take the necessary steps, but things did not change. The Organizing Committee was not always to blame. Perhaps in some cases it would have liked to do something, but it was helpless. The Organizing Committee, while boasting its independence from everything and everybody, was in fact tied hand and foot and could not lift a finger without the Administration's go-ahead.

When a delegation from the Soviet NOC visited Los Angeles in December 1983, Marat Gramov and Peter Ueberroth signed an agreement to settle a number of issues. They included freedom of movement about Olympic Los Angeles for Soviet journalists accredited at the press centre of the 1984 Games.

The point is that many areas in California are closed to Soviet citizens by the US State Department. For instance, the *Los Angeles Times* carried a chart of the Olympic facilities superimposed on a map of Greater Los Angeles to show its readers that Soviet journalists and officials would not be able to attend competitions in 13 sports out of the total of 23. During the meeting with Soviet NOC representatives Ueberroth assured them that the problem would be solved. However, the LAOOC President was immediately snubbed by the men in Washington who accused him of exceeding his authority because such matters were exclusively the province of the State Department.

How could one put up with such violations of the Olympic Rules? With the raging anti-Soviet orgy in Los Angeles that gained momentum as the Games drew nearer? With the violation of one of the basic principles of the modern Olympic movement with which its Charter opens? This principle says that the Olympic movement is called upon through sport to educate young people in a spirit of better mutual understanding and of friendship, thereby helping to build a better and more peaceful world.

Under those circumstances the Soviet NOC on April 10, 1984, appealed to all National Olympic Committees, international sports federations, and the world sporting community to work together to defend the Olympic principles and ideals. It urged them to do all they could to preserve the Games as a festival of friendship and peace for all nations. The Soviet NOC asked the IOC and its President Juan Antonio Samaranch immediately to consider the situation at an emergency meeting of the IOC (see *Appendix No. 1*). The request was made in view of the continuing violations of the Olympic Charter, the anti-Soviet campaign unleashed with the connivance of the US

authorities, and the abnormal atmosphere around the 1984 Games.

The session was held in Lausanne on April 24. It was attended by the head of the Soviet Olympic Committee and the President of the LAOOC. The demands of the Soviet side were recognized as justified, which was recorded in a joint communique. Peter Ueberroth, on behalf of the Organizing Committee, once again pledged to remove the obstacles and change the atmosphere around the Games in Los Angeles.

Subsequent events developed as follows.

On April 27 a US State Department spokesman invited a Soviet embassy official in Washington to see him and made a statement addressed to the Soviet NOC. The spokesman bluntly denied all the violations of the Olympic Charter by the US authorities. The legitimate demands of the Soviet NOC addressed to the organizers of the Games and set forth in Lausanne and acknowledged both by the IOC and the LAOOC President Ueberroth were described as false accusations. Moreover, strange as it may seem, the spokesman put the entire blame for the intensified activity of all sorts of extremist and terrorist organizations in the USA on the Soviet Union.

The US State Department, refusing to consider questions raised by the Soviet NOC, at the same time actually disowned the LAOOC and showed contempt for the opinion of the International Olympic Committee. The key problem of security for Soviet athletes in Los Angeles remained unresolved.

Since the US Administration had adopted such a stand, it became clear that the actions taken by the Soviet side would be fruitless. The plenary session of the Soviet Union's NOC called on May 8, after once again analyzing the situation, decided that the Soviet team would not participate in the 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles. In its Statement the Soviet NOC, among other things, pointed out that "the arbitrary treatment by the US authorities of the Olympic Charter, the gross flouting of the ideals and traditions of the Olympic movement are aimed directly at undermining it... In these conditions the

USSR National Olympic Committee is compelled to declare that participation of Soviet athletes in the Games of the XXIII Olympiad in Los Angeles is impossible. To act differently would be equivalent to approving the anti-Olympic actions of the US authorities and the organizers of the Games" (see *Appendices Nos. 2 and 3*).

Neither a Boycott nor Revenge

IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch expressed regret at the decision of the USSR National Olympic Committee, regret that is quite understandable in his position. At the same time he observed that the decision had nothing in common with the US stand with regard to the Moscow Olympics.

Here is another testimony by a prominent sports official. ANOC President Mario Vazquez Raña said in an interview with the Hungarian newspaper *Nepsport* that the vigorous anti-communist activity launched in Los Angeles against the socialist countries had met with no opposition, and stressed that those familiar with the events connected with the Los Angeles Games could not consider the non-participation of several socialist countries as a boycott of the Games.

The statement was entirely appropriate in a situation when the Western mass media, commenting on the Soviet NOC's decision, began to talk about "Moscow's boycott" and "revenge" for 1980. As everybody must remember, the Carter Administration launched a major campaign to boycott the 1980 Olympics. As a result, athletes from the USA and a number of other countries were unable to come to Moscow. Incidentally, at that time Reagan supported Carter's policy with regard to the Moscow Games.

As for the Soviet side, it has never had any intention of staging a "boycott" or "revenge". The leaders of the Soviet sports movement have publicly stated on many occasions that the very idea of a "boycott" is unacceptable to their country's athletes because it runs counter to the ideals of the Olympic Charter which they cherish. When Moscow pointed

to the flagrant violations of the Olympic protocol in the preparations for the 1984 Games, its sole purpose was to save the Olympic movement and its summit, the Olympic Games, preserve their purity and help all athletes to live and compete in normal conditions, equal for all. Moscow has never sought any advantages or privileges for its team, as is sometimes claimed in the West.

Marat Gramov, Chairman of the Soviet NOC, pointed out that our decision is not revenge for the fact that US athletes did not participate in the 1980 Moscow Olympics, nor is it a boycott (see *Appendix No. 5*).

We might as well remind the reader that an outright boycott took place during the preparations for the Moscow Olympics. The White House exerted political pressure on the governments of a number of countries to force them to wreck the Games. A whole set of economic sanctions was used: television companies were forbidden to cover the contests, while firms were prevented from supplying equipment as they had agreed under contract, etc. Washington urged that the Games be moved to another country or even be cancelled altogether. That is what you call a boycott. The Soviet side, which concluded an agreement with the LAOOC to supply it free with equipment for the Games worth four million roubles, is not going back on its commitments and will honour them.

The feeling of "revenge" is alien to Soviet citizens brought up to respect other nations. The Statement by the USSR National Olympic Committee sets forth in a clear-cut manner the true reasons behind its decision not to participate in the Los Angeles Games. The other National Olympic Committees that have announced similar decisions also gave reasons of their own. Nor did they do it "on instructions from Moscow", as some people in the West claim. They did so in keeping with their own interests and their desire to protect their athletes from provocation. The Statement of the GDR National Olympic Committee, for instance, stresses that "the Organizing Committee has announced that it is unable to offer protection against attacks of a political and criminal nature by

extremist groups in the host city of the Olympic Games"; that the LAOOC has failed to confirm bookings for "the accommodation of the GDR team" and the provision of "adequate facilities for training"; that in "a high-handed manner" the organizers demanded confirmation of the competence of the team's doctors "by a special American commission, which is an insult", etc. The statements that other National Olympic Committees would not participate also contain a number of complaints, although of course each of them points first of all to the un-Olympic and anti-socialist atmosphere, the abnormal and unequal conditions in store for athletes from socialist countries in Los Angeles.

In 1980 the US authorities, to promote their political ambitions, deprived their athletes of the joy of competing in the Olympic Games. This time they are again punishing athletes. Some of them, after years of intensive training have been denied the opportunity of displaying their skills in the Olympic events; others, including the US athletes, have been doomed to doubt and disappointment, prevented from competing with outstanding masters of modern sport in the Olympic stadiums.

The Soviet athlete Yurik Vardanyan, world and Olympic champion and world record-holder, recalls: "I met US weightlifters at last year's world and European championships. They said bitterly that the boycott of the Moscow Olympics announced by Washington four years ago for political reasons had harmed the American athletes in the first place. 'We were denied the opportunity to compete with the best Bulgarian and Soviet weightlifters and made a step backwards,' they said. Now that the Soviet and Bulgarian NOCs have been compelled to make the difficult but only correct decision not to participate in the Games, the US athletes are again the ones to suffer. You can test your own strength in a competition only with the strongest. It would be appropriate to recall here that all the world records in weightlifting have been set by athletes from the USSR, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic."

The Soviet champion's remarks are consonant with the sad conclusion drawn by Dick Brown, the running coach of the US track-and-field team. He feels that without the USSR the Olympics will become just an enlarged version of the Pan-American Games. That is an exaggeration, of course, but the basic idea is correct: without athletes from the USSR and the other socialist countries, especially the GDR, which has become a great sporting power, the Olympic medals in Los Angeles will lose much of their value.

It is hard to argue against the obvious. *The Washington Post*, for instance, regretted that the Soviet team would not come to the Los Angeles Summer Olympics. The USSR has many excellent athletes, the paper said, and their absence would detract a good deal from the whole show. At the same time, the paper could not help stating, it was true that many Californians were preparing to use their rights under the First Amendment to the US Constitution and give an anti-Soviet colouring to the Los Angeles Olympics.

The problems that arose in arranging the Olympic competitions in Los Angeles and that caused the NOC of the USSR to make its decision occurred within the general context of President Reagan's anti-Soviet policy. In pursuance of that policy the United States in recent years has just about broken off its relations with the Soviet Union in the political, economic and scientific spheres. The two countries still have no agreement on cultural relations. As the Chairman of the Soviet NOC, Marat Gramov, has stressed, in these conditions sport was a kind of oasis in Soviet-US relations. But this oasis, too, has met a sad end at the hands of the US Administration.

There is no doubt that certain American quarters view the 1984 Summer Olympics as just a means of playing their dirty political game. The present situation is therefore a natural result of this policy. That is the only possible conclusion.

It was precisely and only because the Reagan Administration took no effective steps to ensure athletes' security and allowed repeated violations of the

Olympic Charter that the National Olympic Committees of socialist countries were forced to decide against their sportsmen's participation in the Los Angeles Games. This was stressed in a communique issued at a meeting of the heads of the National Olympic Committees of socialist countries late in May in Prague. The participants in the meeting pointed to the need for a more careful choice of host cities for Olympic Games, taking into account the opinion of the National Olympic Committees of all countries and of the international sports federations.

It is significant that IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC Vice-President Alexandru Siperco, IOC Director Monique Berlioux, ANOC President Mario Vazquez Raña and President of the Union of Federations of Summer Olympic Sports Primo Nebiolo joined all the delegations at the Prague meeting in expressing unanimous confidence that the National Olympic Committees of socialist countries would, as before, efficiently cooperate with the International Olympic Committee, the Association of National Olympic Committees and the international sports federations and work in every way to strengthen the unity of the Olympic movement. No one doubted the sincerity of the motives of the National Olympic Committees of socialist countries, nor the fact that they are for the Olympic movement, for the Games, but against the conditions in which Los Angeles intends to hold the Olympic Games entrusted to it.

Hypocritical Regrets

President Reagan has expressed his "disappointment" and "regret" over the Statement by the NOC of the USSR that it is impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in the 23rd Olympics in Los Angeles. He also recalled the fact that the Olympic Games started 2,000 years ago as a means of establishing peace among the Greek city-states and that even wars were interrupted in an Olympic year. The US President

remarked hypocritically that the Soviet Union would do well to remember that.

The expression of "regret" has become a kind of routine business in Washington. The Reagan Administration resorts to it each time that it wants to absolve itself of responsibility for yet another anti-Soviet provocation prepared with its backstage involvement.

The very same day that "regretful" Reagan gave belated written assurances to IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch that all athletes and officials in Los Angeles would be "treated equally and without discrimination, in accord with the Olympic Charter and Olympic spirit", fresh evidence arrived of the continuing anti-Soviet and anti-socialist hysteria in the host city of the Games. On that day the Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt actually promised that the "coalition" of anti-Sovieteers patronized by the special services would continue to have a free hand. Incidentally, the day before Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger had made a statement in Seoul encouraging the ringleaders of the coalition to provocations against athletes from socialist countries so that they might have "a taste of freedom". That is what the American President's "regret" and "assurances" are worth.

As to the wars, well, President Reagan is hardly the man to allude to the days of ancient Greece. His Administration is waging several undeclared wars, not even just one. They are being waged against the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan and Lebanon. The Reagan Administration is helping the South African racists and groups of bandits sowing death and destruction in Angola with money and weapons and continues to trample underfoot Grenada's sovereignty and independence. This is to say nothing of the "global crusade" against communism declared by Reagan two years ago. The White House frankly views the Los Angeles Olympics as one of the operations in that campaign.

Washington covered up its reluctance to curb the rampaging anti-Soviet groups set up in Los Angeles in the run-up to the Games by referring to the US

Constitution, to "liberties" and "democracy". But, as *Washington Post* columnist T. Boswell has observed, such claims are irrelevant. He underlined that the US authorities had regulated preparations for the Games in such a way that they would put the Soviet Union in the position of an outcast. That could not but encourage the rabid anti-communist groups. The columnist concluded by saying that no great power would send its athletes to another country where they would be subject to insults and humiliation.

We are far from treating all "regret" issuing from the United States as hypocritical. We are not going to talk about the athletes punished by their own government for no reason at all. But we do believe that the ringleader of the Ban the Soviets gang and his associates were utterly sincere in their regret too. The decision taken by the USSR National Olympic Committee frustrated their plans to hold a series of anti-Soviet jamborees during the Games, spread hundreds of thousands of anti-communist leaflets, and put into action hundreds of centres installed all over the Olympic city for refined provocative acts against athletes from the USSR and other socialist countries. Evidently, the regret of the businessmen from the LAOOC also comes from the bottom of their hearts. They lost part of the expected profit—some people name the sum of 200 million dollars lost because athletes from socialist countries will not participate in the Games.

As for President Reagan's "regret", it is nothing but a blatant attempt to put the blame for the abnormal situation around the 23rd Olympic Games at somebody else's door. The idea is to whitewash the White House's plan to use the Olympic Games for its own selfish ends and, at the same time, as a cover-up, to ascribe to the Soviet Union the intention of "politicizing sport".

Politicizing is indeed worth talking about, but it applies to different quarters. As the Japanese newspaper *Tokyo Shimbun* has observed, "President Reagan is seeking to use the Olympic Games for political purposes to secure his re-election in the autumn of 1984."

Repercussions

"There are things dearer than Olympic medals: they are our pride, honour and dignity. We Soviet women gymnasts have prepared very well for the Olympic contests and are capable of performing well in any of the world's sporting arenas, but not in the conditions of Olympic Los Angeles, unsportsmanlike, humiliating and even dangerous. Our performance there is not only impossible; it would be unworthy of the high sporting prestige of Soviet Olympic athletes." That was how the famous Soviet woman gymnast and world champion Olga Bicherova commented on the decision of the Soviet NOC not to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games.

As a matter of fact, the idea expressed by the gymnastics champion is also to be found in many letters which the Soviet NOC and newspaper editors received after the NOC had issued its Statement on May 8. "While preparing for the Los Angeles Games I won the world title three times," writes Sergei Kopylov, leader of the USSR track cycling team. "I believed, I felt that I had a good chance of making my cherished dream come true, of winning an Olympic gold medal. However, I realize that, as many facts show, Los Angeles is going to become a kind of minefield and not an arena of honest competition among athletes from all over the world. In such conditions the very idea of the Olympic movement, the idea of friendship among the world's young athletes, would be discredited.

Alexander Yagubkin, world boxing champion, voiced his unqualified support for the decision of the Soviet NOC and said: "We Soviet athletes, brought up to respect all nations and ethnic groups, fail to understand the actions of the American authorities. Olympic athletes are accustomed to honest competition in sporting arenas. The first duty of the country hosting the Games is to respect the Olympic Charter and not violate it crudely. That is why we say our resolute 'No' to such Olympic Games!"

Leading Soviet athletes supported the NOC decision at meetings of the Soviet Olympic teams. The

opinion of rowers was expressed, in particular, by winner of three Olympic gold medals Sergei Chukhrai who said: "The efforts of the reactionaries of all hues, operating in the United States with the authorities' connivance, are directed against the representatives of socialist countries, against the further progress of the Olympic movement."

A meeting of the Soviet national weightlifting team was summed up by the team's head coach Alexander Prilepin who said: "The dealers in sport have done everything to wreck the Olympic Games. But, as the saying goes, the world is large enough without Los Angeles. Soviet weightlifters will be able to prove their strength by deeds, by new records. No one can stop the progress of sport."

"No" to the Olympics the way they are being offered by the organizers of the 1984 Games say such great sporting stars as hammer-thrower Yuri Sedykh, gymnast Lyudmila Turishcheva, the world's topmost weightlifter Anatoly Pisarenko, basketball player Angele Rupšiene, high-jump champion Tamara Bykova and the unsurpassed swimmer Vladimir Salnikov. The Soviet athletes gave their unanimous support to the principled decision of their National Olympic Committee.

This stand found the same support not only in the sporting community but also among the broad public in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press has carried comments by well-known composer Andrei Petrov, film star Elina Bystritskaya, and other people of different trades, professions and age groups: scientists, workers, engineers, school teachers, farmers, railwaymen, students, and even school pupils. Teacher M. Babkin from the town of Kropotkin in Krasnodar Territory, says this in his letter to the Soviet daily *Pravda*: "In the United States they have decided openly to threaten athletes with physical violence. The Olympic Games are being turned into a disgusting source of profiteering utterly incompatible with the fine traditions of true sport and Olympic ideals. It is inconceivable that we might compete in such unseemly conditions. The security of athletes is more important than the awards they may win."

"I stand for sport, for the Olympic Games," R. Kurgaleyev, a fisherman from the Kamchatka peninsula, writes. "But the Games should be held in line with the letter and spirit of the Olympic Charter. They are not for professional businessmen, they are precious to the entire sporting community which adheres to the principles of peace and friendship."

The authors of many letters stress that Soviet people cannot be frightened, but to attend the Los Angeles Games would mean to become involved, willy-nilly, in the anti-Olympic actions of their organizers.

At the USSR National Olympic Committee we were shown many letters from Soviet citizens. Many of them had been sent even before the NOC took its final decision not to participate. "Is it worthwhile playing such 'Games'?" asked the authors, expressing their indignation over the way the Los Angeles Games were being prepared. The NOC studied all those letters very carefully and, when making its decision, naturally took into account the views and wishes of the Soviet public.

The decision of the Soviet NOC drew a broad response in the world. Those newsmen, athletes and public figures who had been following the development of events closely and without bias expressed their understanding of the Soviet position. Yvon Adam, Professor of Physical Education at the Sorbonne in Paris, has said that "... the hosts of the Games, concerned primarily with taking financial and political advantage of them, which is unequivocally forbidden by the Olympic Charter, have in fact done everything to create intolerable conditions for Soviet athletes and Olympic competitors from several other countries. The United States must bear responsibility for that before the world Olympic family. A grave responsibility!"

A member of the Geneva municipal council, Louis Nyffenegger observed: "I can imagine what it cost the Soviet athletes, who have been training intensively for the Olympics, to make such a decision. However, an abnormal situation has developed around the Los Angeles Games, conforming neither to the Olympic

Charter nor to the concepts of elementary hospitality.”

Christopher Brasher, 1956 Olympic racing champion, organizer of the annual London marathon race and a well-known sports commentator, writes in the British Sunday newspaper *The Observer* that in an atmosphere poisoned by the chauvinistic intoxication and anti-Sovietism, deliberately created around the Los Angeles Olympics by the US ruling circles, militants from ultra-right groups operating in California would with sadistic delight fire a bullet into the back of any athlete wearing the Soviet colours.

The American press also points to the true reasons for the situation which has developed around the 1984 Games. The *San Francisco Sun Reporter* weekly says bluntly, for instance, that the Washington Administration bears full responsibility for creating a climate in which the participation of Soviet athletes has become impossible.

We think the reader will agree that there can only be one answer to the question “Who flouts the Olympic ideals?”: the Reagan Administration.

* * *

One of the most prominent Soviet athletes, Igor Ter-Ovanesyan, must be well remembered in the American sporting community because at one time he won a number of the US open long-jump championships. Ter-Ovanesyan is now the chief coach of the USSR athletics team and in this capacity he has been training it for the Los Angeles Games.

“As one who has participated in five Olympic Games,” he said, “I am well aware of the role and place of the Olympic movement in the world today. This movement has become a powerful social phenomenon, a progressive force capable of uniting people on the basis of peace and friendship. That is why, in my view, one cannot remain indifferent to the attempts to undermine this movement and make it serve business and political interests. We were compelled to refuse to participate in the Games, although it was not an easy step to take. But sports life does not end with that. New contests lie ahead of us, and there are plenty of opportunities for us to make a worthy

contribution to the further development of the Olympic movement. Our sporting ties will continue to expand and grow stronger."

The sportsmen of socialist countries, who have trained intensively for the 1984 Summer Olympics, but who will be unable to compete in Los Angeles because of the anti-socialist campaign unleashed in the United States, will take part in major international competitions mostly in the second half of August, not during the Games. The competitions will be held in nine socialist countries: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Poland and the USSR. The programme of the competitions will include not only Olympic events.

This decision was taken at the conference of the heads of the sports committees and National Olympic Committees of the socialist countries held in Prague in May, which laid down the main principles of these competitions. It was stressed that these competitions, which are traditionally held in socialist countries, are not alternative 23rd Olympic Games. The dates set for them were decided upon because at that time athletes will be in their best form. The competitions are open: sportsmen and judges from other countries will be able to take part in them. Leaders of the IOC, of international sports associations and of National Olympic Committees, and foreign journalists will be invited. These competitions will be held in an atmosphere of friendship and hospitality.

In taking the decision that it is impossible for Soviet athletes to participate in the Los Angeles Games, the National Olympic Committee of the USSR did not intend to cast any aspersions on the American public or to overshadow the good will between the sportsmen of the two countries.

The Soviet side will continue to support the efforts of the IOC and other sports organizations and associations aimed at strengthening the international Olympic movement and will work to preserve its purity and unity.

The Olympic ideals are everlasting and any attempts to flout them are doomed.

STATEMENT of the USSR National Olympic Committee

The Olympic Games in Los Angeles (USA) are only a little more than three months away. The time is getting closer and closer when the National Olympic Committees must take a decision on the question of participation in the Olympic Games.

US President Reagan submitted to the IOC written guarantees of the US government's respect for the Olympic traditions, for the Rules and provisions of the Olympic Charter. Facts show, however, that the obligations and guarantees are not observed in a number of important matters. The US Administration is trying to use the Olympic Games, on the eve of the presidential elections, for selfish political ends.

A large-scale campaign against the Soviet Union's participation in the Olympic Games has been mounted in the USA. Different reactionary political, emigre and religious groupings are teaming up on an anti-Olympic basis. In particular, a coalition called "Ban the Soviets", which enjoys the support of US official bodies, has been formed. Open threats of physical violence and provocative actions are made to sportsmen and officials of the USSR and other socialist countries. Slanderous allegations are being made that Soviet participation in the Olympic Games would threaten US security.

All this is completely at variance with Olympic traditions and also with the Rules of the Charter, which says that the Olympic movement's aim is to educate the young with the help of sport in the spirit of better mutual understanding and friendship, facilitating thereby the creation of a better

and more peaceful world. No discrimination on racial, religious or political grounds, whether towards countries or towards individual sportsmen, is allowed.

As is known, the country hosting the Olympics undertakes fully to ensure the security of national delegations. The situation now taking shape in Los Angeles makes one doubt the effectiveness of measures undertaken. According to American press reports, preparations are under way in Los Angeles for staging political demonstrations and rallies during the Games. Already banners and posters showing hostility to socialist countries are being hung out. Apprehensions are growing that the civil rights of sportsmen may be infringed and their dignity impaired.

One cannot but be wary of the intention to accredit at the Games representatives of the radio station "Free Europe", which, as is known, is financed by US intelligence services and is engaged in subversive activities against the peoples of the socialist countries. That would be a direct violation of Rule 51 of the Olympic Charter.

In accordance with Rule 59 of the Olympic Charter, an Olympic identity card is a card identifying its bearer and a document which permits its bearer to cross the border of the country where the city hosting the Olympics is situated. Such regulations were in effect at the Olympic Games in Montreal, Moscow and Sarajevo. However, in early April this year the National Olympic Committee of the USSR was notified that it should submit to the US Embassy in Moscow a list of all the members of the delegation for the purpose of obtaining visas for them. At the same time the US Embassy reserved the right to refuse entry permission to those whom it considers undesirable—something which already is being practised.

As everyone knows, recently the US Department of State refused to issue a visa to the Olympic Attaché of the USSR National Olympic Committee, whose candidature had been agreed upon with the Organizing Committee. It is thus becoming obvious that the US Department of State considers it its right constantly to "correct" the actions of the LAOOC and even to replace the Committee in certain matters.

Thus, the Agreement concluded between the NOC of the USSR and the LAOOC last December is being grossly violated by the American side.

The world public has long been displaying anxiety also over the uncontrolled commercialization of the Los Angeles Games. Profit-making on the Olympic Games has assumed quite ugly forms. Things have gone so far that Rule 62 of the Olympic Charter, which prohibits the use of the Olympic flame for commercial purposes, is impudently flouted. No measures are taken to control price rises in Los Angeles, and big sums of money will be charged there for many traditionally free services.

Violation of the Olympic Charter and the anti-Soviet campaign unleashed by reactionary forces in the US with the connivance of the official circles are creating an abnormal situation. In this connection the NOC of the USSR has addressed the IOC and its President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, with a request that the situation on the eve of the Los Angeles Games should be reviewed without delay at an emergency meeting of the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee and has demanded that the US side strictly respect the Olympic Charter and take effective measures to guarantee the security of the participants in and visitors to the Games.

The NOC of the USSR appeals to the National Olympic Committees, the International Sports Federations and the world sporting public to unite their efforts to uphold the principles and ideals of the Olympic movement and to do everything possible to preserve the Games as a festival of peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. A spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and good will has always been the basis of relationships among the young athletes of the world.

April 10, 1984

Appendix No. 2

PLENARY MEETING OF THE USSR NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

A plenary meeting of the USSR National Olympic Committee was held in Moscow, on May 8, to discuss the question of the participation of Soviet athletes in the 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles. All those who spoke at the meeting noted that owing to the situation that had arisen in the United States during the preparations for the Games it was impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in them.

The USSR National Olympic Committee, including the heads of all the 29 federations of Olympic sports, and all the members of the Presidium of the USSR NOC, unanimously voted for non-participation in the forthcoming Summer Olympics in Los Angeles and adopted a statement to this effect.

Appendix No. 3

STATEMENT of the USSR National Olympic Committee

The National Olympic Committee of the USSR made an all-round analysis of the situation around the Games of the XXIII Olympiad in Los Angeles and studied the question of the participation of the Soviet sports delegation in the Games.

As is known, in its statement of April 10, 1984, the USSR National Olympic Committee voiced serious concern over the gross violations of the Rules of the Olympic Charter by the organizers of the Games and the anti-Soviet campaign launched by reactionary circles in the United States with the connivance of the authorities, and asked the International Olympic Committee to study the situation.

At its meeting on April 24, 1984, the IOC found the stand of the USSR National Olympic Committee to be just and substantiated.

However, disregarding the opinion of the IOC the US authorities continue rudely to interfere into affairs which are exclusively within the competence of the LAOOC. It is known that from the very first days of preparations for the Games the American Administration has set course at using the Games for its political aims. Chauvinistic sentiments and an anti-Soviet hysteria are being whipped up in the country.

Extremist organizations and groupings of all sorts, openly aiming to create "unbearable conditions" for the stay of the Soviet delegation and performance by Soviet athletes, have sharply stepped up their activity with direct connivance of the American authorities. Political demonstrations hostile to the USSR are being prepared, undisguised threats of acts of violence are made to the NOC of the USSR, Soviet athletes and officials. Heads of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist organizations are received by US Administration officials, their activity is widely publicized by the mass media. To justify this campaign, the US authorities and Olympic Games organizers constantly refer to legislative acts of all kinds.

Washington has recently made assurances of its readiness to observe the rules of the Olympic Charter. The practical deeds by the American side, however, show that it does not intend to ensure the security of all athletes, respect their rights and human dignity, and create normal conditions for the Games.

The arbitrary treatment by the US authorities of the Olympic Charter, the gross flouting of the ideals and traditions of the Olympic movement are aimed directly at undermining it. This line that was manifested clearly earlier is being adhered to now as well.

In these conditions the USSR National Olympic

Committee is compelled to declare that participation of Soviet athletes in the Games of the XXIII Olympiad in Los Angeles is impossible. To act differently would be equivalent to approving the anti-Olympic actions of the US authorities and organizers of the Games.

While adopting this decision we have not the slightest wish to cast aspersions on the American public, to cloud the good feelings linking the athletes of our countries.

The USSR National Olympic Committee, the sports organizations of our country will further support the efforts of the International Olympic Committee, the Association of National Olympic Committees, international sports federations and the International Sports Press Association directed at strengthening the international Olympic movement and promoting the struggle for the preservation of its purity and unity.

Adopted at the plenary session
of the USSR National Olympic
Committee on *May 8, 1984*

STATEMENT

**by Chairman of the USSR National
Olympic Committee Marat GRAMOV
at a Press Conference in Moscow,
May 14, 1984**

Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

On May 8 the plenary meeting of the USSR National Olympic Committee, attended by heads of all the twenty-nine national federations of different Olympic sports, unanimously passed a decision saying that it would be impossible for Soviet athletes to take part in the summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. I can tell you quite frankly that this hadn't been an easy decision to make. Our athletes had been actively training for the coming Olympic Games and we were justly hoping that Los Angeles would turn out to be another success for us. Nevertheless, the NOC of the USSR could not have acted otherwise. The US authorities, violating the Olympic Charter at every turn, fanning an anti-Soviet campaign and conniving with various reactionary and extremist groupings, would have put Soviet athletes in extraordinarily difficult conditions, particularly with regard to security, conditions which clearly amount to discrimination, and have thus practically made it impossible for us to compete in Los Angeles.

These and other facts that the USSR National Olympic Committee and the Olympic organizations of other countries had come up against over the years preceding the Games aroused great doubt, and especially of late, whether the Olympic Games could at all be held in Los Angeles with any measure of success as a festival of peace and friendship of the peoples of our planet. These facts showed that the American side was flouting the main provisions of the Rules of the Olympic Charter, of the traditions of the Olympic

movement. They also showed that the US Administration violated the guarantees and commitments it had given earlier to the International Olympic Committee.

Over the six years of preparation for the Games in Los Angeles the International Olympic Committee, international athletic federations and national Olympic committees have had to solve more problems than they did at any other Games.

The National Olympic Committee of our country had sought in every way to overcome these difficulties and had helped to remove them. From 1979 we established close contact with the Los Angeles Organizing Olympic Committee (LAOOC), in spite of the boycott of the Moscow Olympics by the United States, and as much as possible shared with LAOOC officials our experience in organizing and holding the Olympic Games in the Soviet capital.

Even then the attitude of the US Government to the Games in Los Angeles aroused anxiety.

Lord Killanin, who at that time headed the International Olympic Committee, described the attitude of the US authorities to the Olympic Games and to the Olympic movement in general in these words: "In effect, they said that the Games would be run their way and there was to be little account of the rules of the IOC or its traditions and protocol." And he added: "I became more and more concerned about the ignorance of Olympic matters at the White House." That was an assessment of the attitude of the US authorities to Olympic problems given by the honorary president of the International Olympic Committee.

Under the Olympic Charter, organizers of the Games in the host country are to state in the International Olympic Committee, in addition to their commitments, certain guarantees undertaken by their government. Despite repeated reminders, requests and finally demands of the International Olympic Committee, these guarantees were given in most general terms, and then only four years after Los Angeles had been formally declared the site of the next Olympic Games.

However, as subsequent events showed, the US Administration was not even planning to come through on the guarantees it had given.

The USSR National Olympic Committee called attention

to this fact back in 1982 in a letter to the IOC. The IOC Executive Committee recognized the validity of the questions we had raised.

The General Assembly of the Association of the National Olympic Committees, held in January 1983, sharply criticized the inadequate observance of the rules of the Olympic Charter and adopted a Declaration on Questions Concerning the Games of the XXIII Olympiad. Regrettably, many provisions of this important document, which was adopted unanimously by all the national committees, remain unfulfilled by the American side to this day.

Meanwhile, the situation around the Games in Los Angeles, far from improving, steadily deteriorated. The main reason for all these complications was the sharp escalation of anti-Sovietism in the policy of the US Administration which had apparently decided to use the Olympic movement and the Olympic ideals for its own selfish ends in the current election campaign.

A month ago, we made still another attempt to alter this state of affairs. In a statement on April 10, in which we addressed the International Olympic Committee with the request that the situation around the Games in Los Angeles should be discussed, we cited convincing instances of gross violation by the American side of the rules and provisions of the Olympic Charter and showed how the sponsors of the Games, the US authorities, openly flouted the most important principles of the Olympic movement, the elementary rules of hospitality. Moreover, the USSR National Olympic Committee indicated that the Soviet people were particularly concerned about the growing anti-Soviet hysteria as the opening of the Games drew near. With the obvious connivance of the US authorities certain reactionary forces in the United States have launched a real crusade against the participation of athletes from the USSR and other socialist countries in the Olympic competitions in Los Angeles. Various extremist, emigre, terrorist and other groupings are planning provocations on an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist basis, and are even threatening to cause bodily harm to our athletes.

As proof let me mention a few comments from American newspapers whose correspondents may now be present in this hall. *The Washington Post*, for instance, wrote that there would be an extremely tense anti-Soviet atmosphere

in Los Angeles. *The Los Angeles Times* said that leaders of the Ban the Soviets Coalition had received a letter from an influential spokesman for the White House, Michael Deaver, assuring them that the Administration was sympathetic towards the actions of the Coalition. After this David Balsiger, leader of the Coalition, said that acts of violence against Soviet athletes and supporters were not excluded.

The New York Times wrote: "The Immigration and Naturalization Service has organized a team of specialists, including some Russian-speaking officers, to process defectors during the Olympics..."

The DPA sent in this report: "Representatives of fourteen anti-Soviet organizations, at a meeting in Los Angeles on April 18, adopted a programme of action for the duration of the Olympic Games. A spokesman for the Ban the Soviets Coalition said that it planned to make the participation of Soviet athletes in the Los Angeles Games 'as uncomfortable for them as possible'".

Judging by everything, the correspondents of these American newspapers and the West German news agency are quite familiar with the situation in Los Angeles.

The spy fever has been on the rise in the United States and in the past several months it has taken on an Olympic tint. FBI Chief William Webster said that the Bureau would concentrate on a search for spies among the athletes from socialist countries; 150 FBI agents would be on the look out for Soviet spies. An American newspaper chimed in, saying that if terrorists did come to Los Angeles they would fly in aboard Aeroflot planes.

A CBS correspondent reported that terrorist teams had been trained in the USSR to destroy aircraft and cruise missile bases, and that, according to his sources, these teams included Soviet Olympians.

Now just try and imagine this picture: terrorists—and among them the Olympic swimming champion Vladimir Salnikov, the pole-vault champion Sergei Bubka, with the assistance of the world high-jump champion Tamara Bykova and the overall gymnastics champion Olga Bicherova—trying to put out of action cruise missiles in California, instead of setting new sports records!

But let us return to the Statement of the USSR National Olympic Committee of April 10. The IOC Executive Committee, at a special meeting in Lausanne on April 24,

which was attended by LAOOC President Peter Ueberroth, considered this document and recognized as perfectly valid the demands of the NOC of the USSR, and a communique to this effect was issued. On its part, the LAOOC undertook to remove the obstacles put up against us by the organizers of the Games, to change the situation around the Games in Los Angeles. In other words, both the IOC and the LAOOC recognized our demands as just and well-founded.

I will tell you in all honesty that up to the last moment the USSR National Olympic Committee had hoped that the US Administration would heed the voice of the International Olympic Committee, the voice of the international sporting community and change its attitude, in particular, to such a crucial problem as security for the participants in the Games, the creation of normal conditions for their stay in Los Angeles, as required by the Olympic Charter.

But on April 27, a US State Department official summoned a member of the Soviet Embassy in Washington and handed to him a statement addressed to the NOC of the USSR. The official flatly denied all violations of the Olympic Charter by the US authorities and described as "false accusations" the legitimate demands put by the NOC of the USSR to the sponsors of the Games, which had been set forth at the Lausanne meeting and which had been accepted by the IOC and LAOOC President Ueberroth. Moreover, the State Department spokesman put the blame for the growing activity of all kinds of extremist organizations in the United States on... the Soviet Union.

In the State Department statement it was once more asserted that the Los Angeles Organizing Committee was a private organization which had neither the authority nor the competence to take decisions or assume commitments with regard to the Olympic Games.

Such was the answer to our joint efforts and to the tripartite agreements reached at Lausanne. After this it was clear that with the US Administration taking such a stand, actions on our part were useless. And the main, the basic issue—security for the Soviet athletes at Los Angeles—remains unresolved. Much of the danger to our athletes comes from what has now been established as a fact: the security services of the United States have put people from terrorist, extremist organizations in all the Olympic Games services, including the Organizing Committee.

They have also worked out methods of kidnapping Soviet people and persuading them not to return home, involving the use of various psychotropic and other preparations, damaging the nervous system.

By refusing to solve the question raised by the NOC of the USSR the US State Department actually repudiated the LAOOC and disregarded the opinion of the International Olympic Committee.

Incidentally, another State Department spokesman, John Hughes, has said that the US Administration could not control the views of groups like those that form the Ban the Soviets Coalition.

In the past, too, we had come across sallies of various kinds at the Games, involving subversive elements and provocateurs sent by US special services. But never before have anti-Soviet campaigns been so blatant, posing a threat not only to the peace of mind and the health but also the life of the athletes, as they are in Los Angeles. By the way, the anti-Soviet campaign goes far beyond the Olympic Games as such. There are provocations against the Soviet mission at the United Nations, and acts of hooliganism are committed against individual Soviet citizens; thus, the Olympic problems should be seen in the context of the overall anti-Soviet policy pursued by President Reagan. All that naturally causes great anxiety in this country. The NOC of the USSR and the Soviet mass media have been getting thousands of letters in which Soviet people quite justly protest against the discriminatory measures taken by the US authorities, against the creation by them of intolerable conditions in Los Angeles for Soviet athletes and, bearing these circumstances in mind, they strongly object to Soviet athletes going to the 23rd Olympic Games. A similar view was voiced by all participants in the plenary meeting of the NOC of the USSR held on May 8, among them world-famous athletes, Olympic champions, coaches, heads of sports federations, scientists, doctors and journalists.

After our Statement of May 8 was made public, President Reagan belatedly promised security guarantees. But does this change anything? The anti-Soviet, anti-socialist campaign, far from subsiding, is growing in intensity, not without the connivance of the US authorities. The terrorist and extremist groupings are bragging about their far-flung activities. Above-mentioned David Balsiger

has voiced regret over the fact that the decision of the NOC of the USSR has caught his coalition by surprise. This decision has clearly foiled the noisy anti-Soviet carnival whose organizers were expecting to hand out 500,000 leaflets and brochures, and thousands of buttons with the words "Kill a Russian".

Subsequent events only confirm that the decision taken by the NOC of the USSR is a correct one.

Some Western media have called our decision a "boycott". This is all wrong. We did not violate the Olympic Charter. Every national Olympic Committee has the right to take or not to take part in the Games. We have refused to take part in the Games and have stated our reasons for doing so. As for the boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games which former President Carter called for and which was supported by the president now in office, it included a demand to move the Games from the USSR to some other country or to cancel them altogether. It also included political pressure on the governments of some countries, and a whole series of economic sanctions aimed at wrecking the work of organization of the Moscow Games. For example, the US authorities prohibited television companies from showing the Moscow Games on TV and ordered some firms not to supply equipment which they had undertaken to do under contracts signed earlier, etc.

That is what a boycott means.

We never called for anyone's non-participation in the Games, and our enterprises which have business contracts with the LAOOC will meet all their commitments.

Soviet athletes will not take part in the Los Angeles Games and reactionary quarters in the United States are to blame for this. The absence of security, the whipping up of anti-Soviet hysteria, activities of all kinds aimed at complicating the situation for Soviet athletes—these are the factors that actually led the NOC of the USSR to take this decision. We reaffirm our loyalty to the principles and goals of the Olympic movement; we reaffirm our desire and our readiness to further develop cooperation with the IOC and other international sporting organizations.

Soviet athletes and the NOC of the USSR have always been and will continue to be loyal to the ideals of the Olympic movement.

Thank you.

DECLARATION

of the General Assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees on Questions Concerning the Games of the XXIII Olympiad

At its January 1983 meeting in Los Angeles, site of the Games of the XXIII Olympiad, the ANOC General Assembly, which considers the Olympic Games a unique phenomenon of our contemporary world uniting the nations of our planet, irrespective of language or race, and political or religious convictions, upholds the view that it is necessary to do the utmost to ensure that the Games of the XXIII Olympiad should be held in the spirit of the Olympic ideals, of friendship and fair sports competition of the youth of the whole world.

The ANOC General Assembly expresses great appreciation for the activity of IOC and its President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, for his dedication to the work of developing and strengthening the Olympic movement and its continued flourishing. The NOC delegates express satisfaction with regard to the IOC resolution on financial assistance to judges, jury members and technical personnel, delegates of International Federations, participating in the Games. The IOC decision to cover the travel expenses of six representatives from each NOC will also be of considerable help.

The ANOC General Assembly is pleased to note the positive response of the IOC regarding recommendations of the ANOC Working Group headed by Sir Denis Follows.

The ANOC General Assembly considers that the main task of IOC and ANOC in the period remaining before the Games is to create all necessary conditions enabling the NOCs successfully to prepare for the Games, and to ensure full respect of all the Rules of the Olympic Charter by the LAOOC.

Discussions in the ANOC General Assembly show that there is still much to be done by the LAOOC to ensure that the Games of the XXIII Olympiad should be a real festival of the youth of our planet.

In this respect the ANOC General Assembly, in particular, expresses its hope and firm conviction that:

— the Games of the XXIII Olympiad in all sports events will be organized in full conformity with the Olympic Charter, in an atmosphere of peace and friendship, so that it will be an important festival of world sports;

— the declared guarantees regarding the Olympic Charter Rules, including permission of entry to the USA based on Olympic identity cards, and security measures for members of the Olympic family, etc., will be fulfilled;

— accommodation of Olympic teams in the Olympic Villages will be organized in accordance with NOCs' requirements and peculiarities of each country;

— the LAOOC will guarantee that the cost of accommodation of teams will be at a level acceptable to NOCs, and will considerably extend the range of services offered free of charge to Olympic teams, as was the case in the previous Games;

— the LAOOC will meet the NOCs' wishes regarding increased quota of accompanying team officials in accordance with the new text of the bye-law to Rule 37 of the Olympic Charter;

— the timetable of the Los Angeles Olympic Games will reflect the interests of the athletes;

— LAOOC will guarantee to athletes, judges and officials efficient means of transportation, enabling them rapidly to reach all competition sites, with account taken of the size of the city of Los Angeles and accordingly of the distances between the various sports facilities;

— in a spirit of fair play, doping control during the Games will be carried out by an international team of highly qualified experts;

— the IOC decision to cover the expenses of judges and referees will enable the International Federations to delegate to the Games the best qualified referees and thus ensure objective and qualified judgement;

— in the period remaining before the Games the LAOOC will considerably extend the volume of information

being supplied to the NOCs and will complete gathering of all necessary data concerning yet unsettled questions not later than July 1, 1983.

The ANOC General Assembly declares its full readiness to assist the IOC and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee in settling all the above-mentioned problems.

January 1983

Appendix No. 6

Total of Medals (Gold, Silver and Bronze) Won by Top Three National Olympic Teams in the 1952-1980 Period

1952, Helsinki				team placings
USSR—	22,	30,	19;	I-II (shared)
USA—	40,	19,	17;	I-II
Hungary	16,	10,	16;	III
1956, Melbourne				
USSR—	37,	29,	32;	I
USA—	32,	25,	17;	II
Australia—	13,	8,	14;	III
1960, Rome				
USSR—	43,	29,	31;	I
USA—	34,	21,	16;	II
GDR cum				
FRG—	12,	19,	11;	III
1964, Tokyo				
USSR—	30,	31,	35;	I
USA—	36,	26,	28;	II
GDR cum				
FRG—	10,	22,	18;	III
1968, Mexico City				
USA—	45,	28,	34;	I
USSR—	29,	32,	30;	II
GDR—	9,	9,	7;	III

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Marat Gramov: Not to participate in the 23rd Olympic Games is the difficult, but the only possible decision forced upon us by the anti-Soviet hysterical atmosphere created around the Games in Los Angeles...

This position of the National Olympic Committee of the USSR, spelled out by its Chairman at a press conference in Moscow on May 14, 1984, was unanimously supported by all Soviet Olympic athletes, including the weightlifters at their general meeting.



