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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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The Effect of Socio-Politico-Economic  
Changes on Olympic Performance of  
Selected State Socialist Countries  
Between 1952 and 1976  
by Istvan Balyi

Thesis Presented to the  
School of Graduate Studies to the University of Ottawa  
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## FOREWORD

The sociological thought of the 1970's can be characterized by the revival of Mills' classical formulation of the "sociological imagination". The approach represented in this study is influenced greatly by the views of Mills and thus, focuses on the macro-level, applying a variety of empirical findings to verify macro trends in society and yet not losing perspective with details at the micro-level.

A further comment must be addressed regarding ethnocentrism. It is only a coincidence that Hungary emerged from this study with a more positive image than many of the other State Socialist Countries. All the points put forward about Hungary are not influenced by ethnocentrism and are fully supported by the existing literature.

The writer of this study has visited on several occasions all the countries included in the sample by way of official sport exchange programs within the State Socialist Countries. As section head of research in the Hungarian Ministry of Sport, he was also responsible for sport policy development and implementation. For example, in 1973, with co-author Heleszta, conceived the general framework of the 15 year plan of the Hungarian physical culture. This paper was published in Testnevelestudomány (1973: 13-31).

Recent field trips to Hungary (1981, 1982) to Cuba (1982), and to Czechoslovakia (1982) as technical advisor and

team manager of the Canadian National Water Polo team have also served to validate certain points of the research.

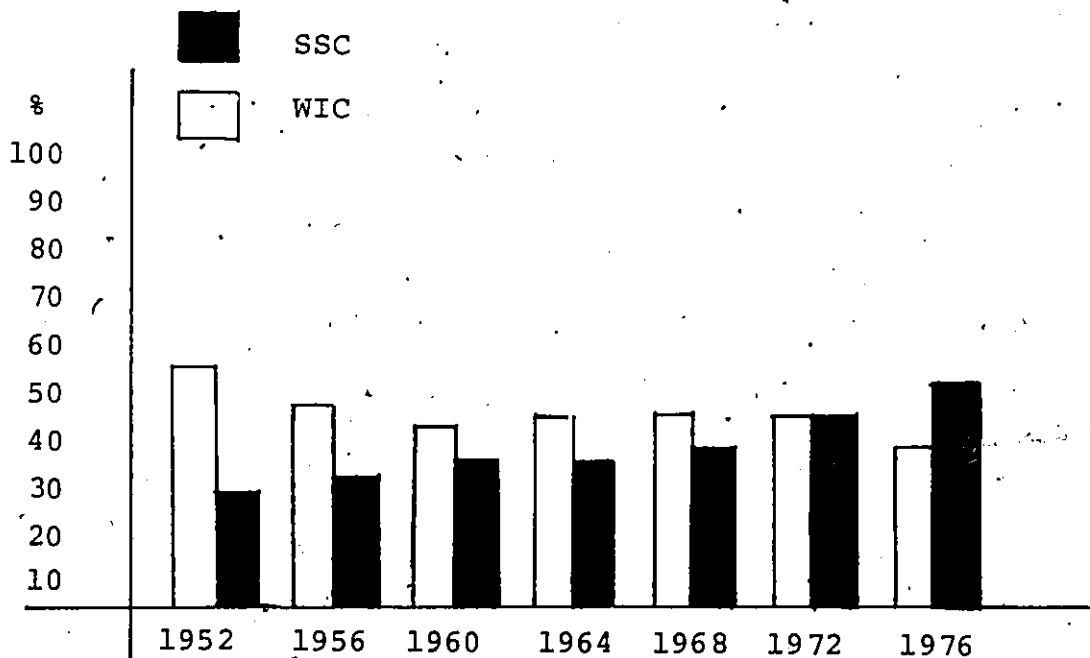
### INTRODUCTION

After the 1976 Olympics in Montreal, the State Socialist Countries (SSC)<sup>1</sup> astonished the world by obtaining a higher performance in the unofficial scoring system<sup>2</sup> than all the other countries in the world. It was the first time in Olympic history that the SSC succeeded in reaching a higher level than that of the Western Industrialized Countries (WIC)<sup>3</sup>.

Figure 1 presents the changes in Olympic achievement in the years 1952 through 1976. For the past 24 years the WIC's share of successful Olympic performance has decreased, while the SSC's share has increased.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 1

% The Overall Success of the State Socialist Countries and the Western Industrialized Countries at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976.



At the 1952 Helsinki Olympiad, seven SSC's won 29 percent of the first six places and twenty WIC's won 61 percent. During the 1976 Montreal Olympics, eleven SSC's won 55 percent, while eighteen WIC's won 41 percent.

In 1952, the Soviet Union and the participating SSC's brought a "new degree of official involvement to the business of winning" (Goodhart and Chataway, 1968:5). Furthermore, successful national performance at the Games has become increasingly analyzed and interpreted by the mass media.

According to Johnson (1977:34), the success of the United States at the Helsinki Olympiad indicated that Capitalism was a far better system for all mankind than Communism, while the Russian success in Rome in 1960 showed indications to the contrary. Nevertheless, "most governments and politicians have recognized the mass and communicative appeal of sports and have used them for social, cultural, economic and political purposes" (Bennett, Howell and Simri, 1975:220). In recent years, the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union (as well as between the SSC's and WIC's), has become a "war without weapons" (Goodhart and Chataway, 1968), and has instigated a world-wide curiosity in the "state socialist sports organization" - especially as the achievements of the SSC's have increased in international sport, and particularly at the Olympic Games (Riordan, 1979:IX).

Need for the Study

.During the 60's and 70's, sociologists, historians, political scientists, educators and sports specialists have published several studies attempting to analyze the various factors of success in competitive sport of the Soviet Union and the other SSC's. These studies have attempted to examine the elements of superior performance but have ended up merely identifying some isolated or interrelated elements which have contributed to that performance. For example, problems of leadership, training of teachers and coaches, establishment of institutions and organizations of sport and physical education, research contribution, reasons for motivation and social conditions, etc.. However beyond historical treaties, state socialist sport, as it is rooted and dependent upon politics and economics, has never been adequately considered. As a matter of fact, studies related to Olympic achievement are mostly concerned with comparisons between the success of the SSC's as opposed to the WIC's. These studies have emphasized particular problems of Olympic achievement such as amateurism and professionalism (McIntosh, 1974; Lund, 1974), or different factors (preconditions) of Olympic success (Ball, 1972; Levine, 1974; Novikov and Maximenko, 1972), but not in relation to the existing socio-politico-economic conditions. The Soviet and the Soviet-type of sport system cannot be understood if taken in isolation, it should be seen together with the other elements of that system. It must be pointed out that a comparative study of the Olympic achievement of the SSC's does not yet exist.

### Limits of the Study

Albania, China and Vietnam are excluded from this analysis, since they do not participate at the Olympic Games and Mongolia and North Korea will be overlooked.<sup>5</sup> Although the modern Olympic Games began in 1896, the analysis and discussion of Olympic success of these countries will be limited to the period between 1952 and 1976, because the Soviet Union and the other SSC's have participated as the "Socialist Bloc" since 1952 (Howell and Howell, 1976). The problems of socio-politico-economic changes, however, will be analyzed between 1948 and 1976. In addition, the study will be limited to the major trends of socio-politico-economic changes and to sport development in the sample SSC's.

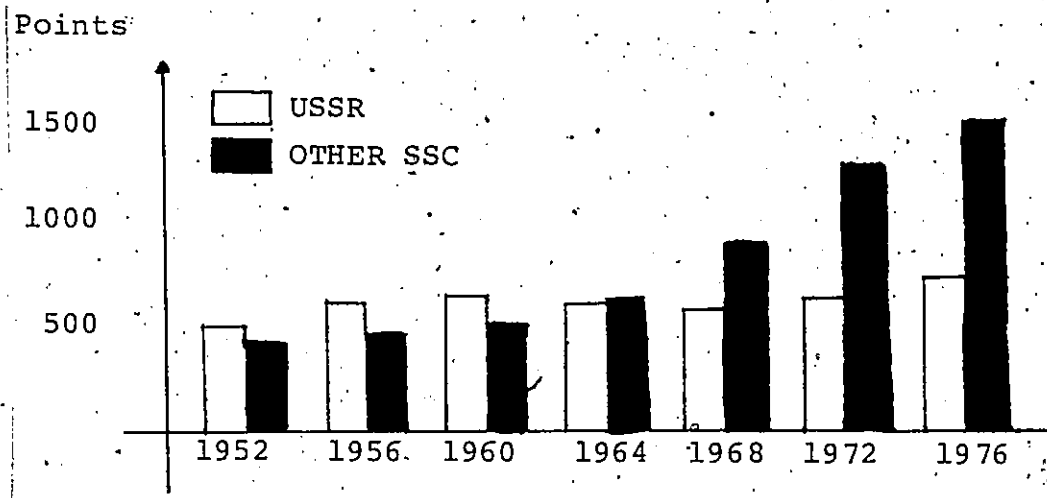
### Statement of the Study

In 1952, 1956, and 1960, the Soviet Union achieved greater success at the Olympic Games than all of the other participating SSC's. Nevertheless, since 1964 the share of success of the SSC's in comparison with the Soviet Union increased considerably despite the increasing performance of the Soviet Union<sup>6</sup> (Figure 2). One must bear in mind however that each of the SSC's showed various levels of achievement at the Olympic Games during the period between 1952 and 1976 (Figure 3). For example, Yugoslavia presented the most harmonious increase<sup>7</sup> in Olympic performance during that period of time. The Soviet Union showed a continuously high performance level, while Hungary and Czechoslovakia showed high achievement during the early stages of its socialist development (1952), followed by

a relative increase than a decrease in Olympic performance during the 1970's. Bulgaria, Poland and Romania, after a slow start, demonstrated a rapid increase in Olympic achievement during the late 1960's and 1970's. East Germany and Cuba, because of their particular socio-political conditions<sup>8</sup> showed salient Olympic performances during the 1970's.

Figure 2

The Overall Success of the Soviet Union and the State Socialist Countries between 1952 and 1976<sup>9</sup>

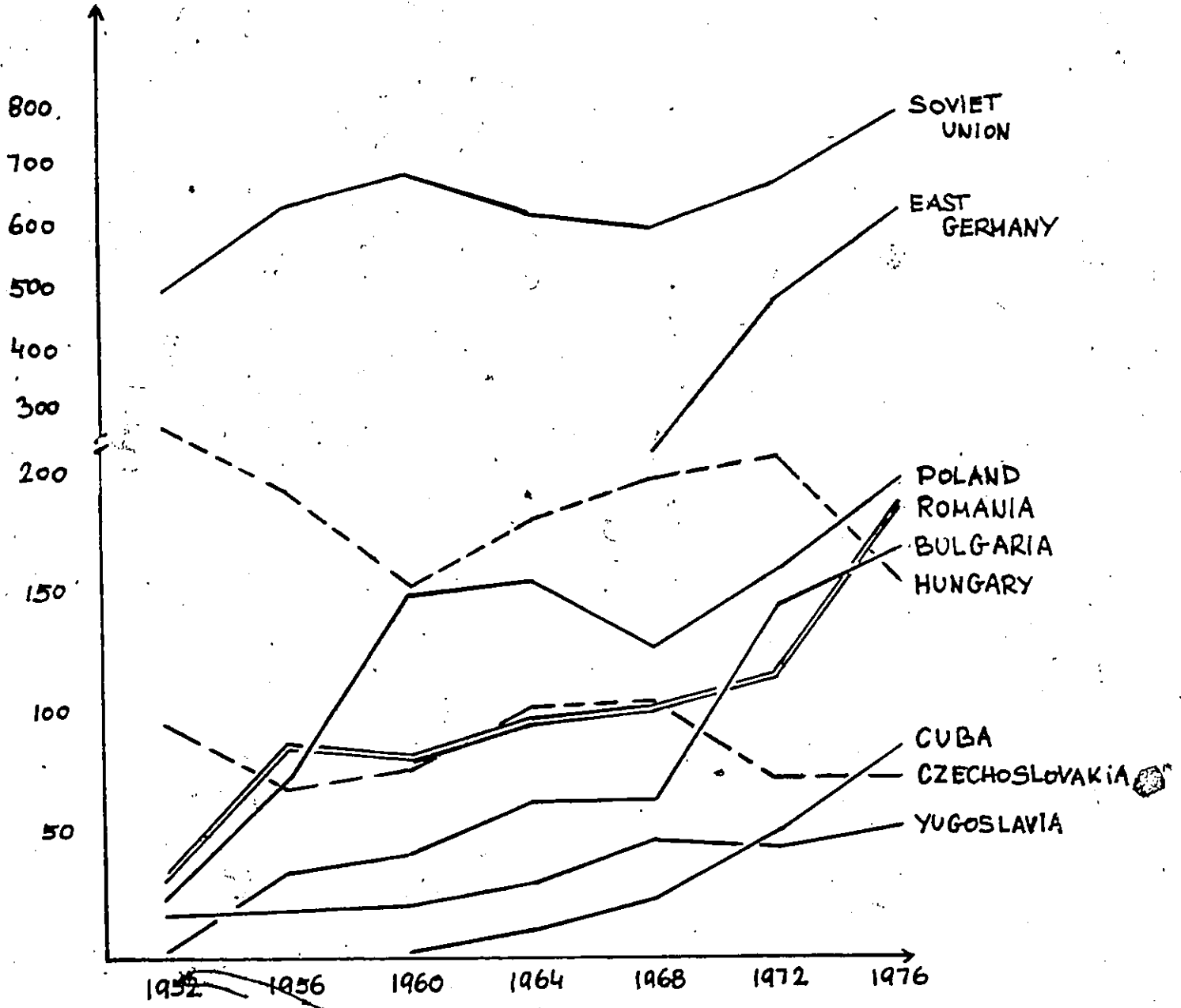


The varying success of the individual SSC's at the Olympic Games is considered to be related to their differing stages of socio-politico-economic development. Since the entire sport movement is geared to competition and high performance at the international level, the social importance and support of sport can be measured indirectly by Olympic success as it is the most important objective of the state socialist sport system (Balyi, 1980; Morton, 1963; Riordan, 1978).

Figure 3

Absolute Success of the State Socialist Countries at the Olympic Games, between 1952 and 1976.

OLYMPIC POINTS



HYPOTHESIS:

The socio-political importance of sport in the State Socialist Countries varies over time according to the levels of socio-politico-economic development<sup>10</sup> of the respective countries. After the Communist takeover, the process of transformation from capitalist to socialist societies can be characterized by similar trends in all the countries concerned. However, it must be pointed out that in spite of the similar trends that existed, there existed also significant differences between the individual countries, these according to their respective levels of development. Thus, both the volume and pace of socio-politico-economic changes were/are dependent upon the peculiar social conditions of each of these countries. Within similar phases of development, the socio-political importance of sport can be described and characterized by similar patterns.

When repression by the particular states is severe, for instance, an early stage of political transition<sup>11</sup>, a lack of stability, economic shortcomings, etc., the socio-political functions<sup>12</sup> of sport become more important, or increase. During the early stage of state socialist development, sport plays a crucial role in the process of transformation. Due to the socio-politico-economic changes a vacuum is created in these societies. All political, social and cultural institutions are replaced and the new ones that are created assist in the formulation and enforcement of the new socio-politico-economic order. During this transition, all social activities

are related to the political element. Activities such as entertainment, recreation, and leisure were not really available, and life in general strongly influenced by the strategical use of terror, and imposed limitations in housing, food, recreational and leisure facilities, etc.

Sport develops as a "modern opiate" of the masses replacing religion and through its ritual and dramatic nature, is used as a political ritual, and popular theatre<sup>13</sup> upon which the state socialist way of development is facilitated. However, after the consolidation of the political power in some of these countries, sport becomes relatively less important and its role decreased during the ensuing process of liberalization.

The increasing or declining socio-political importance of sport is regulated through a network of privileges,<sup>14</sup> which is also dependent upon the actual level of socio-politico-economic development of each of the respective State Socialist countries. These privileges include: higher income; access to special shops; better housing; special medical services; educational, cultural and post-retirement benefits; holiday facilities; foreign travel; prestige; and "high level blat"<sup>15</sup> (Brokhin, 1978; Morton, 1963; Strénk, 1978; Zsolt, 1978).

Throughout the process of liberalization, some of these privileges can also be acquired by means other than sport. However, when economic shortcomings affect the process of

liberalization, the above mentioned privileges provide opportunities for the members of the sport movement to maintain or improve their standard of living. Even, if at the same time, the importance of sport becomes relatively less important at the societal level, it still remains important at the individual level.

The entire process of either increasing and decreasing socio-political importance of sport is related to an achieved level in the quality of life within these countries, which may be characterized by both material and non-material factors. The former is related to the standard of living while the latter to liberalization. The process of liberalization may contribute to greater "human rights", or civil liberties, but does not necessarily contribute to a higher standard of living, and vice versa, an increase in the standard of living does not relate directly to the process of liberalization, thus to greater individual "human rights".

Changes in the quality of life do not affect the socio-political importance of sport over a short period of time, but rather is a slow and ongoing process; it involves the understanding and subsequent reactions of the population of these countries. The changes in the quality of life are reflected at the individual level via priorities, interests etc., which are preceded by changes at the societal level - via the population's recognition of the privileges accompanied by successful sport achievement.

A state socialist system, during its development, strategically uses sport to fulfil important functions such as facilitating the establishment of a new social order, as well as maintaining and reproducing the already established order. Sport serves the actual regime's ongoing interests. In many of the key functions of system establishment and maintenance, such as political socialization, political indoctrination<sup>16</sup>, political integration and social control - sport plays a significant role (Howell, 1975).

Over time the varying socio-political conditions, according to the differing levels of socio-politico-economic development of the state socialist countries, determine the patterns of sport development and achievement. It is hypothesized that a higher level in sport performance is the result of a lower level in the quality of life, and conversely, low achievement at the Olympic Games in the State Socialist Countries is the result of a higher level in the quality of life:

Sport is usually associated with the positive factors of state socialist development, such as improved living conditions, better nutrition, equal and free access to sport facilities, etc. However, it seems that there is enough evidence to state, that the prevailing negative factors -- or shortcomings -- of that development directly contribute to the rise of sport. Thus, the rise of sport under Communism is dependent upon the peculiarities accompanying the development of such societies. Therefore, the outstanding sport success of

the State Socialist Countries at the Olympic Games is considered to be a by-product of state socialist socio-political development.

### Outline of the Study

In Chapter 1, the pertinent literature relating to: Olympic success, methodological problems of comparative Communist or Socialist systems, and the socio-politico-economic changes of the SSC's will be surveyed and analyzed in order to justify the framework of the study and aggregate the necessary data.

In Chapter 2, the general patterns of the decisive socio-politico-economic changes of the SSC's will be described between 1948 and 1976. The accumulated comparative data on the different factors of liberalization, on the standard of living as well as on human rights will aid in determining and classifying the quality of life in the SSC's over time.

In Chapter 3, the general and specific problems of sport development in the SSC's will be examined. Firstly, the background conditions will be described briefly, so as to underline the differences prior to the socialist period. Then, major institutional policies and their effects on sport development will be outlined. Finally, the preconditions of planned superior performance in the SSC's will be described.

In Chapter 4, the role and importance of Olympism will be described in the SSC's, the different techniques of measurement of Olympic success will be presented, followed by the justification of the method of measurement of this study. Then, on the basis of absolute and relative success, the achievement of the respective SSC's will be compared. Finally, the ranking and the classification of the relevant countries will be made concerning their absolute and relative success between 1952 and 1976.

In Chapter 5, the basic trends of socio-politico-economic changes will be related to the basic trends of sport success. The effects of socio-politico-economic changes on sport success will be outlined. The countries will then be classified according to their quality of life and Olympic achievement. Final remarks will be made concerning the process of social change in the SSC's as it affects sport development and performance. Finally, some suggestions will be made with regard to future research demands related to the subject.

#### References

1. All of the State Socialist Countries that participated at the Games are included in our sample; namely Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, North Korea, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. However, Mongolia and North Korea, because of their marginal contribution to the Olympic success of the SSC's and their particular development, are excluded from our discussion.

2. There is no official competition amongst nations at the Olympic Games, but almost every participating country counts the performance on a comparative basis. All details related to the scoring systems will be explained in Chapter 4.

3. These countries are often called WIC's, or countries of the "core" (Wallenstein, 1974), or countries of the First World, referring to the different worlds of development (Horowitz, 1972).

4. Table 1 presents the success of the WIC's, the SSC's, the Developing Countries and the Combined German Team at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976.

Success in %

<u>Olympic year:</u>	<u>WIC's</u>	<u>SSC's</u>	<u>Developing Countries</u>	<u>Combined German Team</u>
1952	61	29	10	--
1956	52	35	6.5	6.5
1960	47	37	7.5	8.5
1964	48	37	6.5	8.5
1968	50	41	9.0	--
1972	47.5	47	5.5	--
1976	41	55	4.0	--

5. The Olympic performance of these countries reached a very low level. For example, their combined Olympic achievement in 1976 was less than two percent of the SSC's achievement.

Their general socio-politico-economic development is far behind that of the other SSC's. Because of their backwardness and low Olympic achievement, they are not sufficiently representative to be included in our sample.

6. Table 2, illustrates the success of the Soviet Union and the other SSC's at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976.

	<u>Soviet Union</u>	<u>SSC's (other than the USSR)</u>
1952	494	440
1956	629	473
1960	687	525
1964	617	641
1968	599	925
1972	670	1333

7. Yugoslavia shows the most harmonious increase in Olympic achievement amongst the SSC's. However, its performance is significantly lower than that of the other SSC's. In order to point out the peculiarities of the Yugoslav Olympic achievement, the ideas and problems of "relative" and "absolute" success at the Olympic Games will be introduced in chapter 3.

8. These particular socio-political conditions will also be explained in Chapter 2. Here we briefly mention that Cuba's Marxist-inspired regime was established in 1959, and that East Germany's diplomatic recognition came after 1969, from the countries outside the Soviet Bloc.

9. Table 3, illustrates the absolute success of the different SSC's at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976.

<u>Countries</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
1. Bulgaria	4	33	40	67	67	147	167
2. Cuba	(3)	(1)	3	7	25	54	88
3. Czechoslovakia	95	71	77	103	104	75	75
4. East Germany	--	--	--	--	239	481	636
5. Hungary	66	187	152	180	194	226	155
6. Mongolia	--	--	--	--	19	8	14
7. North Korea	--	--	--	--	--	26	17
8. Poland	25	73	149	153	127	160	192
9. Romania	30	87	81	85	101	115	181
10. Soviet Union	494	629	687	617	599	670	790

10. According to Sharlet: Soviet political development: the process by which the ruling stratum of the Communist party, in its rôle as a modernizing elite, constructs, controls, and manipulates the systemic processes of political socialization, social regulation, political mobilization, and economic development in order to attain a hierarchical set of prescriptive ideological goals, culminating in the ultimate goal of revolutionizing human behavior through the creation of the "new Soviet man."

11. This transition, first of all, is a transition from capitalist socio-economic configuration to socialist socio-economic configuration. However, societies modelled on the Soviet type of development are "transitional", since they are continuously in transition until they become classless societies (Mandel, 1969:17).

12. Sharlet's opinion is underlined here again, that "the term 'function' (is) used to designate the consequences of a component of a system for the system as a whole. As such, this usage involves no commitment to destructive functional approach and is intended to be analytically distinct from Merton's concept of function" (1978:56).

13. Hargreaves (1979) gave a thorough description of sport as a political ritual and popular theatre. However, the theoretical problems of sport as a political ritual and popular

theatre have never been thoroughly analyzed in the State Socialist Countries.

14. Smith (1977), Brokhin (1978) and Zsolt (1978) amongst others, have dealt directly with the problems of privileges related to sports in the SSC's. One of the most comprehensive studies related to the general problems of privileges in an SSC was conducted by Matthews (1978).

15. "High level blat" means access or "connections" in order to obtain certain material or non-material goods that money cannot buy.

16. Sharlet defined mass political socialization in the state socialist context as : "the process by which the individual is inducted into the prevailing pattern of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments which shape and condition political behavior. This incessant process of indoctrination is carried out by primary and secondary agents of socialization performing latent and manifested functions during the formative and mature years of the individual (1978:47-48).

## Chapter 1

### Review of the Literature

At the outset one should take note of Welsh's warning, that:

One must step lightly when he proposes to summarize a body of literature as broad and diffuse as (that) dealing with communist elites. Some selectivity in focus is necessary, although it is hoped that selectivity stops short of distortion (1969:321).

The approach presented in this study deals with certain effects of socio-politico-economic changes on sport performance and represents an even broader content than that of the communist elites; hence, the focus of selectivity must be well founded. In addition this approach is novel in its examination of factors contributing to Olympic success. According to the extensive review of literature, there is no existing study which has compared the Olympic success of the SSC's, or related their achievement to their different socio-politico-economic developments.

The following is a detailed analysis of the Olympic success, preceded by a discussion of the methodological problems of the comparative "socialist systems" and their socio-politico-economic changes between 1948 and 1976. It is beyond the scope of this study to deal with in-depth discussions with the latter two issues beyond the extent to which they relate directly to the purpose of this book. It is not the intention of this chapter to supply quotations on the minute particulars of the existing literature. For example, the problems of the

standard of living, and the quality of life in the nine countries will be analyzed on a comparative level by referring briefly to the related studies and authors. In chapters 2 and 5, all the necessary details on this and other related subjects will be incorporated in the analysis.

### Studies Related to Olympic Success

Every four years, Olympic achievement becomes one of the favourite topics of the daily presses and weekly magazines all over the world, but to a greater degree in the SSC's. The published articles usually deal simply with statistical facts and outstanding individual performances, such as those of Olga Korbut, Valeri Borzov, Nadia Comaneci, Rafter Johnson, etc., and the underlying socio-political systems responsible for it. They appear to avoid mentioning or are blind to the influential variables which have ultimately allowed, produced and demanded those performances.

In the surprisingly few studies attempted, researchers have tried to identify the common factors contributing to a nation's Olympic achievement. It would appear a difficult task for one to justify the extrapolation of findings from a single Olympic Game to account for a nation's performance over a period of time, albeit this seemingly characterizes the majority of the existing research. One must, however, acknowledge the significant contributions of several of these studies, which aided in the understanding of the preconditions necessary for Olympic success.

As a result of the narrow focus on one Game, many authors overlooked the changing and prevailing conditions which influenced Olympic performance. The conditions underlying the achievement of the participating countries and the international political situation, for example, was significantly different for the Games in Helsinki (1952), Mexico City (1968), or in Montreal (1976). It would therefore appear that an historical approach dealing with a certain period or periods of the Games would better enable one to determine the key factors involved.

Jokl et. al., (1956 and 1960) argued that Olympic success was related to high per capita incomes, low infant mortality rates and low national death rate.

In Noviko and Maximenko's study (1972) different socio-economic factors and the achievement of the individual countries at the Tokyo Olympiad were analyzed. In their opinion the success was linked to the social and economic conditions of each nation. Statistically they found positive correlations, - ranging from 0.41 to 0.74 - between national success at the 1964 Games and socio-economic factors such as: the average income per person, the average duration of life and calorific value of the nation's food supply. They also found that a nation's social structure is influential. Confronted by the facts, that the per capita income and the food supply are higher in the WIC's rather than the SSC's, the conclusion drawn by Novikov and Maximenko must be rejected. Consequent-

ly, there are other factors which significantly contribute to the higher achievement of the SSC's, which can be identified and explained by systematic research.

Ball (1972) examined social, political and economic correlates of national team performance at the 1964 Tokyo Olympiad. He briefly described some of the relationships between social structure and national team success:

Overall, the successful nation-state in Olympic competition would appear in kind of visual factor analysis, to be: stable and homogenous in population, literate, modern and western, with little institutionalized domestic political opposition, economically prosperous, characterized by a strong central government staffed by an elite, and probably a member of the Communist Bloc (1972:197)

According to his conclusion it would be difficult to differentiate between the leading countries in Olympic competition, as this description generally fits between 20-25 consistently high achieving State Socialist as well as Western Industrialized Countries. Nevertheless, only a few of these countries might be called successful on a comparative level. This will be pointed out later with the distinction between relative and absolute success. The findings of this study are too broad to determine why certain countries such as Bulgaria, West Germany, Poland and Japan are high achievers since they each differ in modernity and economic prosperity. On the other hand, Ball's research is indispensable for establishing general preconditions for national Olympic success which will

be further distinguished in order to eliminate those particular factors which are not directly related to Olympic success.

Levine's study (1972) "Why do Countries Win Olympic Medals" supports to some extent, a resource-utilization model of sport development. He uses demographic, economic and resource variables in order to determine Olympic success. He cites four variables that correlate significantly with the number of Olympic medals won by countries in 1972; namely: gross domestic products, area of the country, whether the country has a socialist economy and newspaper circulation. It is also stated however, that

none of the variables (listed), of course, individually explain (in a statistical sense) why countries do well in the Olympic games. Many of these variables work in interaction with others to determine a country's Olympic performance, while others are merely correlates of major factors (1972:358).

Levine is aware of some of the sins of his model as he refers to the fact that there are questions about how these "macro-factors actually work in terms of athletic development within countries" (1972:358). This phenomenon - as a matter of fact - generally characterizes the literature related to Olympic success. In giving some explanations about the different "mechanisms" whereby the SSC's, the WIC's and Third World countries produce success, his analysis is rather weak and relates to the preconditions rather than to the concrete conditions of that success.

In their paper, entitled "Olympic Success: A Sum of Non-Material and Material Factors," Kiviahho and Mäkälä (1978) used relative and absolute success measurements to determine success. Material factors included: economic development, population size and density, level of health care; whereas, non-material factors encompassed economic systems (ie. capitalism versus socialism) as well as religious culture. Their conclusion was that economic development and population density were understandable factors in absolute success if the economic resources of a country enable the exploitation of a larger population. Their opinion concerning one of the key issues of Olympic success is reflected in the following citation:

The meaning of socialist economy as an explanatory factor, is less clear, ... It has often been stated that the conflict between socialist and capitalist states led the former to effective organization and political utilization of modern sport. But without more precise specifications, such claims are propagandistic in nature. They do not explain the concrete reasons which account for the success of socialist states (1978:16).

This study fully corroborates with the above statement, but unfortunately Kiviahho and Mäkälä also failed to specify the concrete social conditions under which the success of the SSC's occurs.

Seppänen (1970) is unique in his use of a longitudinal approach. Between 1896 and 1968, he compared the Olympic success of all participating countries according to their achievement. He then categorized the nations with reference

to Weber's classes of religious culture, and concluded that it is not the "protestant ethic" but the political economy of socialism that provides for salient success. Nevertheless, he failed to justify the role of the political economy in particular as it is related to success.

Shaw and Pooley (1976) analyzing Ball's (1972), Novikov and Maximenko's (1972) as well as their own (1975) former studies came to the conclusion that some of the relationships that were measured could be spurious. To counteract spuriousness they decided on computing multiple regression equations. Their approach turned out to be more explanatory than the other ones, since they proved that to study the different political - economic grouping of nations in relation to Olympic success can outline the different factors of success according to the concrete situation within political-economic grouping. Thus different factors and reasons are behind the success of the Third World, the WIC's and the SSC's.

In the case of the SSC's population and G.N.P. are non-relevant indicators of success, however, military expenditure and number of Olympic sports taught in schools were important determinants. Although they failed to explain how and why the latter two factors contributed to Olympic achievement - they pointed out that specific indicators which are directly related to that achievement can be and must be found beyond the general ones. Their suggestion for future research is accepted and supported by this study, namely longitudinal

research design and a focus on one of the three political-economic groups: the SSC's.

Loy, Kenyon and McPherson, summarizing the results of studies which have dealt with Olympic success, came to the conclusion that:

Olympic success is influenced to varying degrees by the religious, economic, social, political and military institutions found within a given society. More specifically, these institutions reflect and influence the cultural values and norms concerning the place of mass and elite sport in the value hierarchy of the country (1978:324)

One cannot dispute this well formulated statement, but it is again merely describing the preconditions rather than the factors which are directly related to Olympic success. One might ask how the religious and/or economic, and/or political institutions, etc., are related to that success? Thus, specifically, it must be explained how and for what purpose the above mentioned institutions influence cultural values and norms in relation to the place of mass and elite sport in different societies. These authors are worthy of commendation for their summary of the existing literature as it is expressed in the following:

At the macro level within a given society there is often a dominant ideology that reflects a social value and norm concerning the behavioral patterns in that country, region, or community, including those related to sport. For example, if there is a dominant ideology that considers sport participation and the attainment of elite performance to be important, human and economic resources are usually allocated to enhance the opportunity for athletic involvement and success (1978:322).

It is the intention of this study first of all, to describe and analyze the role of dominant ideology in mass and elite sport participation. Secondly, the reasons for what purpose human and economic resources were allocated to enhance sport success in the SSC's will be examined.

It seems that the general weakness of the literature related to Olympic success is that numerous factors have been identified - but their role and importance in that context have never been thoroughly verified.

Since these factors have never been directly related to Olympic success, they have to be recognized simply as preconditions of Olympic achievement. It would thus appear that a novel approach is warranted in order to resolve what the concrete socio-politico-economic conditions of Olympic success are, and how they relate and provide success over time.

In addition to Olympic success the following topics of sport in the SSC's will be referred to:

-- historical aspects of sport institutionalization:  
Balyi and O'Hara (1980), Bennett, Howell and Simri (1975), Kun (1978), Morton (1963), Riordan (1977), Van Dalen and Bennett (1971), Vendien and Nixon (1968);

-- aspects of the relationship between sport and politics in the SSC's: Brokhin (1978), Goodhart and Chataway (1968), Howell (1974), Johnson (1977), Kroote (1968), Strenk (1978);

-- Olympics, elite sport as an opiate, political ritual and popular theatre: Edwards (1973), Hargreaves (1979), Hoch (1972), Howell and Howell (1976), Segrave and Chueds., (1981);

-- privileges and privileges by sport: Brokhin (1978), Matthews (1978), Schneidman (1978), Smith (1977), Voslensky (1980), and Zsolt (1978).

#### Studies Related to the Methodological Problems of Comparative Socialist Systems

The first systematic attempts, using multiple approaches to develop a methodology of comparative socialist systems appeared only in the late 1960's (Mesa-Lago and Beck, ed., 1975:XII). Still, the various authors represent rather diffused opinions. To discuss in detail the ideas of scholars who have dealt with the methodological problems of comparative socialist systems is beyond the scope of this study. However, worth mentioning are the following authors who underlined and alluded to the basic problems of comparative socialist systems; Almond (1971), Cohen and Shapiro (1974), Finley (1975), Ionescu (1972), Kanet (1975), Korbonski (1975), Welsh (1975) and Whetten (1976).

Ionescu's statement that comparative communist studies never "progressed much beyond the stage of methodological exhortation" (1972:17) is still valid at present. Skilling even characterized the nature of the struggle between the different orientations as "shadow boxing" (1980:83), pointing out the severe differences between them.

Before turning the attention to the framework of comparative socialist studies, it must be pointed out

that the nature of Eastern European society (and to a lesser extent, that of the Soviet Union) in the 1960's was such as to make analysis difficult. There were systems in a stage of transition between revolutionary politics and more normal forms of change. Showing the interplay of these factors, and relating them to social and economic transformation accompanying industrialization, is a tremendously difficult task, one which we are still only beginning to come to terms (Shoup, 1975:32).

The peculiarities of socio-politico-economic changes, both during the Khrushchev regime and especially after Khrushchev's fall, allowed that in the 1970's in some of these countries such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary and partially Czechoslovakia data for analysis was more readily available than in Cuba, Bulgaria, East Germany, Romania and in the Soviet Union. Shoup concluded that there is a difference between the quality of statistics in the SSC's. The Soviet Union "lags far behind most of the Eastern European states with respect to the quantity and quality of data published" (1975:5).

According to Ludz, the specific characteristics of all data available to social scientists is that they are preformed and researchers are "left to those resources that some people have found worthwhile to release" (1977:214). However, Johnson emphasized upon the fact, that even it is

hard to come up with fully valid indicators (it) should not stop us from trying to at least improve the reliability of the judgemental measurement that we nevertheless seem determined to consider making (1977:44, emphasis added).

An additional dimension also must be kept in mind, eventually the area specialist must face the problems of evaluating his findings. "Evaluation is impossible if one does not know the contextual frameworks, the specifications of the areas under examination and the whole of which they are a part (Ludz, 1972:217).

It seems therefore that the understanding of the formal and informal networks of the sport policy area in relation to the socio-political context can significantly enhance the research in question.

Selucky categorically stated that

it is our personal opinion that anyone who was not, or is not a part of a Soviet-type command system cannot fully understand its logic (1970:VI).

Concerning the framework of analysis of comparative "communist" systems, Tucker distinguished four different approaches:

1. aggregative comparison;
2. empirical comparison;
3. generalizing comparison; and
4. model building and the study of communist systems in relation to theoretical models. (1969:53-54).

Aggregative comparisons are simple area studies "artfully juxtaposed", but empirical comparisons are related to two communist societies in their total configurations or particular institutions, policies, etc. Generalizing comparisons are concerned with empirical comparison on which general tendencies of economy, ideology or culture, etc., can be described. Finally, a continuation of generalizing comparison leads to a higher level of comparative inquiry where "the work takes the form of model building and the study of Communist societies in relation to the theoretical models" (1969:53).

However, almost a decade later, Ludz (1976:216) expressed his opinion that social sciences have not yet found a methodological approach that would be capable of dealing and explaining large-scale social phenomena of state socialism.

As a conclusion of the methodological problems of comparative state socialist systems Hough's standpoint is fully supported. Dealing with the contradictory opinions of the respective authors he came to the conclusion "that the best methodology (in comparative socialist systems) is nothing more

than the application of logical, common sense rules on the marshalling of the evidence with respect to controversial questions" (1977:236).

Studies Related to the Socio-Politico-Economic Changes of the State Socialist Countries (1948-1976)

The process of socio-politico-economic changes is an extremely complex social phenomenon in the state socialist context. At different times all of the respective countries went through revolutionary changes, such as seizing the power (by the Communist Parties) and changing the political superstructure (Gripp, 1973). This process led to the nationalization of the industry as well as to the collectivization of the agriculture (Fejto, 1952). The entire process was accompanied by political purges and terror (Dallin and Breslauer, 1970). The new political systems adjusted economics to their needs, this had serious and long lasting effects on social matters.

In the transitory period of revolution, politics really are primary, but primacy can only be temporary. Once a new economic basis is created, economics, according to the Marxist concept, should again play a decisive and determining role (Selucky, 1970:26).

During the Stalin era - from 1923 to 1953 in the Soviet Union, and from 1948 to 1953 in Eastern Europe - the primacy of politics was absolutized. As a consequence, political, social and economic spectrums became interwoven and overlapping. As Selucky put it, "politics and economics are closely interwoven (that) it is often impossible not only to separate them but even to differentiate between them" (1970:32). Therefore, no

attempt will be made to analyze separately the literature which deals with the "social", "political" or "economic" changes. Firstly, it seems also impossible to do that, secondly it would be too broad an approach considering the purpose of this study.

There is, of course, an immense and almost inexhaustible amount of literature dealing with the socio-politico-economic changes between 1948 and 1976. This approach will make it possible to identify and describe certain differences among these countries as change occurred over time, and which are essential from the point of view of the study. Thus, the general trends of socio-politico-economic changes will be described from the point of view of the process of liberalization, the standard of living and the quality of life.

#### Studies Related to the Process of Liberalization

First of all, it must be pointed out, that the literature related to the process of liberalization in the SSC's is rather confusing and contradictory. As Korbonski noted: "the concept of liberalization is not easy to define and its meaning lies in the eyes of the beholder" (1975:194).

The general interpretation of the related studies affirms the trend of increasing "liberalization". However, the process of "genuine liberalization" can be better characterized by the terms of "easing" or "relaxation" (Little, 1968:2). In respect to Conquest:

We must make here an important - indeed an absolutely basic-distinction when it is said that the present system of rule in Russia is more "liberal" than Stalin's. This is perfectly true in one sense; the population is now far better treated. Arbitrary arrest is now the exception rather than the rule. And, in general the consumer, the minorities, the writers, and the peasants are all subject to less stringent regimentation. But to equate this with anything approaching democratization is completely erroneous. They are still subject to regimentation (1965:22).

If one wants to analyze the problems of liberalization in the SSC's, then one must bear in mind that a controversy lies in the term of "liberalization" itself. Liberalism, as a product of Western liberal political systems, does not apply in the Soviet context (Little: 1968:2-5). The barely minimal concept of a Western liberal society are non-existent under Communist rule. However, if the "semantic connotations" of the term "liberalization" is disregarded, the relative tendencies of liberalization in the SSC's can be observed, measured and analyzed.

According to Korbonski, a "liberalized Communist political system is postulated to be the ultimate result of a process of change in a number of variables and can be defined in a number of ways" (1975:194). This process varies within the Bloc from one country to another, and as Shaffer (1967:29) and Samuelly (1970) underlined it, the process of liberalization partially depends upon national and cultural traditions.

In order to measure the process of liberalization Korbonski (1975:192-215) constructed a liberalization paradigm with the following variables: pluralism, freedom of expression and decentralization. He ranks them high, mixed and low, "indicating the intuitive judgement" and the relative magnitude of these indicators. "The final judgement denotes the relative level of liberalization of the political system at different intervals" (1975:198).

Notwithstandingly, the sum of these three variables:

... do not fully reflect the situation in each country at a particular point of time. They are intended to describe approximately the degree of liberalization relative to the other countries in the sample, as well as the degree of liberalization in the given country over time (1975:200).

#### Studies Related to the Problems of Pluralism

The literature which deals with pluralism in the SSC's is also divergent. Kassoff (1968:37-47), for example, has denied, while Strayer (1968:47-53) has affirmed the existence of pluralism in the USSR. The classical model of pluralism postulates competing factions or groups within the political elite, competing parties in election, and furthermore the possibility of the formation of new political parties.

Skilling's (1970 and 1971) interest group approach provided a typology of the different degrees of pluralism which have occurred in the SSC's. The Stalin era is described as "quasi-totalitarian", where grouping is illegitimate. At the opposite end, Skilling distinguished the "anarchic authori-

tarianism" of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, where Mao's personal authority directed the conflicts within the different interest groups during the temporary breakdowns of the Party institutions. Three other categories were distinguished in direct relevance to the "anarchic authoritarianism", such as: "consultative authoritarianism", "quasi-pluralism authoritarianism" and "democratizing and pluralistic authoritarianism". Consultative authoritarianism is the process when the party's decision-making is not threatened, however grouping is not tolerated outside the various party organizations, but groups within the bureaucracy are entitled to represent different interests of the various sectors. This process has characterized the Soviet Union since Khrushchev's fall and the more orthodox Eastern European countries since the 1960's. Skilling also identified quasi-pluralistic authoritarian tendencies in Poland and in Hungary between 1953 and 1956, after Stalin's death and the Polish and Hungarian October. This is further observed in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, as well as during the years prior to 1968 in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, before the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

Finally, Yugoslavia since the early 1950's and Czechoslovakia under Dubcek's leadership in 1968, were characterized as a kind of "democratizing and pluralistic authoritarianism". In these nations, during the specified epoch, independent groups were institutionalized and openly contributed to the political process, while the party maintained strict controls of decision-making. Lowenthal criticized

Skilling the following way:

only two of Skilling's five variants - the informal and bureaucratic interest articulation now practiced in the Soviet Union and described by him as "consultative authoritarianism", and the institutionalized form developed in Yugoslavia and characterized by him as "democratizing and consultative authoritarianism - pass the test". (1974:356).

It seems that Lowenthal overlooked the existence of quasi-pluralistic authoritarianism in Hungary and in Poland between 1953 and 1956. The conflict between Rakosi's and Nagy's groups represented different interests, and Nagy's original intension was to stay within the institutional limits of party doctrine (Fejto, 1971; Ignatus, 1970). However, under the pressure of the specific circumstances (Fejto, 1971:73-82) Nagy changed his position and made a final attempt to create classical pluralism, as he called for help to the NATO countries on the eve of Soviet military intervention.

In Poland, among other groups the Roman Catholic Church played an important role in defending human rights, thus opposing, and challenging the Communist Party. With the leadership of Cardinal Wyszynski the Church not only resisted the harsh persecutions but its influence was officially recognized by the Party in 1978 (Beamish and Hadley, 1979). Even during Stalin's era there was a double power-structure, the Party versus the Church.

Beamish and Hadley (1979) distinguished four groups, which were influenced in Polish politics: intellectuals who "rebelled against Communist censorship and its suppression of

independent thought"; "students who protested against Communist interference with higher education"; Communist Party members" who have become disillusioned by the abuses of power; and finally private farmers who suffered from Communist policies (1979:45-46). The opposition of the above groups combined with worker riots in 1956, 1970, 1976 led to Gomulka's and Gierek's fall in 1970 and 1979 respectively and culminated in 1980-81, when an open attempt to create a classical form of pluralism had been stopped by a military coup, backed by the Soviet Union.

Even if the above two examples could not support fully Skilling's model, they clearly suggest some sort of pluralistic tendencies in those countries. It is not the purpose of this study to determine the existence of various kinds of "pluralism" in a terminological sense, but to take note of the existing trends of pluralism in the SSC's over time. As Gitelman put it "the question is not a definitional, but an empirical one: do political interest groups exist in Eastern European political systems, and, if so, what are their roles?" (1971:36).

Notwithstanding, Hough's model of "institutionalized pluralism" characterizes well the SSC's in the post-Stalin era. According to Hough:

In the model of institutional pluralism ... those who want to effect political change must, with a few exceptions, work within the official institutional framework. Those who fail to do so run the danger of severe repression, especially when they call for non-incremental change in the fundamentals of the system (1971:24).

Thus, the difference between classical and institutional pluralism lies "on the framework in which the political process takes place and on the types of political behaviour that are tolerated. Hough's model consists of six characteristics: the existence of multiple interests; the presence of conflicts among alliances whose membership tends to vary in accordance with shifting interests; the resolution of conflicts that take place through negotiation and bargaining among interested parties; political leaders who perform the function of mediators; decision-making processes which involve the participation of both experts as well as those to be affected by the outcome; and the political process that is characterized by incrementalism (1971:23).

Data about institutional pluralism (as well as about the few attempts to create "classical" pluralism in some of these countries) are provided by the authors mentioned above in relation to historical and political aspects of social change as well as by the following scholars: Gati (1976), Gripp (1973), Lane (1976), Mesa-Lago and Back, eds., (1975), Morton and Tokes, eds., (1974), Nove (1970, 1975), Selucky (1972), Toma, ed., (1970) and Wesson (1978).

#### Freedom of Expression

Since both the freedom of expression and the process of decentralization constitute a relatively simple problem in comparison to liberalization or pluralism, it will be discussed very briefly.

Korbonski (1975:197) dealt with the notion of the freedom of expression in the SSC's, as well as suggested a method to measure it. His measurement is accepted and used in this study, in which the focal point is the partial and total abandonment of mass media censorship.

Censorship in the SSC's - based on the Soviet model - "is a new phenomenon in the history of thought control ... it not only censors a writer but dictates what he shall say" (Belinkov, 1973:1).

The partial and total abandonment of censorship in this study will be based on the following scholarly works:

Pelikan, et al., eds., Civil and Academic Freedom in the USSR and Eastern Europe (1975), Beamish and Hadley, The Kremlin's Dilemma (1979), Dewhirst and Farrell, The Soviet Censorship (1973).

#### Decentralization

Decentralization in the state socialist context - with the exception of Yugoslavia - is almost entirely related to economic reforms. Among others Lane (1976), Nove (1970, 1975), Selucky (1972) and Wilczinsky (1977) gave thorough descriptions about economic decentralization.

Studies Related to the Standard of Living in the SSC's

A comparative standard of living in the SSC's does not yet exist, and although comparative data is available, it is largely incongruent.

Shoup summarized the problems of the comparative standard of living of the SSC's and came to the conclusion that:

Great difficulties arise in making comparative assessments of the standard of living in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The problems are well known, and result from differing approaches to the way in which personal income is calculated, the possibility of measuring qualitative differences of goods made available to the consumer, and the problems that arise in measuring overall levels of income or consumption in comparable prices. In addition, it can be noted that the discussion of the standard of living involves a great deal of subjective judgement concerning those qualities which make for a better life (1975:11).

The Soviet position, which is accepted by the other SSC's, focuses on the importance of measuring the differences within the SSC's to determine the standard of living. Biased statistics makes it even more complicated to make comparisons. As Shoup put it "if one wishes to compare the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in terms of absolute differences in the standard of living, there is less material from which to choose" (1975:12). However, there is enough general comparative data about the various SSC's. A precise empirical comparison is not the objective of this study, but rather the changes in the general trends of the standard of living will be addressed.

The following studies provide comparative data about the standard of living: Barghoorn (1976), Beamish and Hadley (1979), Fejto (1952 and 1971), McAuley (1979), Nove (1976) and Shoup (1975).

#### Studies Related to the Quality of Life in the SSC's

As it was expressed before, within the framework of this study, the quality of life will be determined by material and non-material factors. The material relates to the standard of living, while the non-material to human rights and civil liberties.

The quality of material goods and services available to the individual is not the measurement of the quality of life, but that of the standard of living. "Well-being" does not necessarily predict quality of life. When a high standard of living is accompanied by the lack of human rights and individual liberties in the SSC's, in spite of the relative availability of goods, the quality of life represents only a low level category. Vice versa, when relatively high degrees of human rights are accompanied by low standards of living, it still represents a low level in the quality of life.

Referring to the technical problems of the literature related to the quality of the life, the following studies have been taken into consideration: Bunge (1975), Buttel et. al., (1977), Hankiss and Manchin (1976), Herman (1976-77), and McCall (1975).

The following studies provide empirical comparative data about the changing conditions of the quality of life in the SSC's: Beamish and Hadley (1979), Fejto (1952 and 1971), Rakowska-Harmstone and Gyorgy, eds., (1979), Pelikan et. al., eds., (1975), as well as Skilling (1981).

## Chapter 2

### Decisive Socio-Politico-Economic Changes in the State Socialist Countries Between 1948 and 1976

In this chapter the general patterns of socio-politico-economic changes will be described in the respective countries between 1948 and 1976 in order to point out the cross-national differences. Within the decisive changes, special attention will be paid to the process of liberalization, and to the changes in the standard of living. This procedure will enable the study to determine the different trends in the quality of life of the SSC's between 1948 and 1976.

Pluralism, freedom of expression, and decentralization will be identified and compared among the representative countries, then the countries will be classified according to the level of liberalization.

The changes in the standard of living will then be determined, compared and related to the levels of liberalization. Finally, the quality of life will be defined and the classification of the SSC's will be made with regard to the respective levels of the quality of life.

#### Background Conditions of Social Change

At the turn of the century, Eastern Europe was an aggregate of disorganized, underdeveloped countries, which constituted the Habsburg Empire. After the First World War, the

different states which emerged from the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were either republics or powerless monarchies. During the Second World War, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary were in alliance with Germany, and with the victory of Anglo-American allies and the Soviet Union, emerged losers. This was a severe handicap to their general development in comparison with other Eastern European countries (Fejtö, 1961:85-106).

At the end of the Second World War, Eastern Europe was occupied - "liberated" as the emphasis would have it - by the Red Army in 1944-45 and since that time, with Soviet coercion and help, the following countries began "building socialism": Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. Cuba joined the Bloc in 1960, after a successful revolution.

In the establishment of the new political systems that followed (Gripp, 1973), three basic periods can be observed - although it must be pointed out that historical dates may vary slightly from country to country: First, the period of the "fight for power" by the Communists, the destruction of the former bourgeois or capitalist state power, social structure, institutions, organizations, etc., (1945-48). The second period can be identified as the "interregnum" or the establishment and/or control of the new state power during the "period of transition", (1948-53). Finally, the third period, which is the building and developing of the system based on state socialist principles; post-1948, (Regös, 1969:233-252).

General Trends of Social Change During the Socialist Period

Although the seizing of power by the Communists was accomplished in different ways, the establishment of the new political systems were organized on the same social philosophy and practice (Gripp, 1973; Fejtö, 1961; Hammond, 1975).

Fundamentally, the development of the various SSC's - despite cultural and socio-politico-economic developmental differences - can be characterized from a political point of view by the same trends (Lane, 1976; Dallin and Breslauer, 1970). During the 1950's

the tight control of and the attendant wholesale transplantation of Soviet institutions to Eastern Europe might have made the countries concerned look like mere replicas of the Soviet Union (Hollander, 1975:425).

This process included: land distribution, nationalization, collectivization of agriculture, enforcement of the new system by political indoctrination, as well as terror and purges. Terror and purges played an especially important role in the process of collectivization and nationalization.

In the general development of these countries there were strong contradictions. Heavy industrialization - often attempted without the necessary resources - brought on as rapidly as possible, cruelly enforced collectivization, persecution of the opposition, etc., inferred a "certain type of irrationality" which characterized the whole process (Shaffer, 1967).

Despite all such contradictions regarding the socialist period, these countries achieved great success in social development. Illiteracy had been eliminated; doctors, dentists, hospitals and medicine were made available free of charge; schools, universities, museums and theatres, as well as some recreational facilities were opened to the population. Despite many problems, some of which will be discussed later, the SSC's have achieved remarkable success in industrialization and economic growth. The standard of living is undoubtedly higher than it was before 1945 and - with the exception of Poland - continues its slow rise.

It is not the objective of this study to give a detailed analysis about these changes but in comparing the non-socialist period with the socialist period of these countries, and taking into consideration all the problems and controversies, the achieved success of the state socialist system is unquestionable.

The description and analysis of social change will be limited to the most vital and essential problems. An analytical and historical approach seems to be the most appropriate method for this study.

#### The Process of Liberalization in the SSC's Between 1952 and 1976

The process of liberalization in the SSC's is rather a contradictory phenomenon, as was described in the former chapter. Even if the previously cited authors disagreed with

the terminology and volume of liberalization, they all agreed with the fact that the process does indeed exist and varies from country to country. Concerning the measurement of liberalization, Korbonski's "liberalization paradigm" will be used to pinpoint the differing trends of the process in the various countries.

Significant changes in the level of liberalization have occurred in four countries only, namely, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. In the Soviet Union, Khrushchev's policies contributed to change, but in specific comparison with the other countries, the change is not significant. The process was even slower in Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany and in Romania (see figure, pg. 62).

#### Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism

Prior to 1948, before the seizure of power by the Communists, pluralism was flourishing in these countries with the exception of the Soviet Union. The various political parties and their struggle for political power (Fejto, 1961:204-207) before 1948 fully support this statement.

During 1947 and 1948 the opposition parties were destroyed; leaders and representative members were purged and imprisoned. Political terror and purges were systematically used against interests other than those of the Communist Party. Ironically, the purges did not prevent the persecution of members of the respective Communist Parties (Dallin and Breslauer, 1970; Fejtö, 1961:).

A political strategy called "salami tactics"<sup>1</sup> was applied - again with the exception of the Soviet Union - and pluralism not only decreased but became non-existent after 1948.

After Stalin's death the policies of the "collective leadership" proclaimed the right of each state socialist country to develop its own road to socialism. The Soviet policy of "relaxation" under Khrushchev became a milestone in the process of liberalization. His policies also contributed to the development of institutional pluralism in many of the SSC's. However, since Khrushchev's fall, and especially since 1968 (the Czechoslovakian invasion), the Kremlin adopted an aggressive policy toward these countries:

As far as liberalization is concerned, the post-1956 Hungarian model, which entails absolute loyalty to the Kremlin and is necessarily preceded by a disciplining of the intellectuals, is the most Moscow will tolerate (Fejtö, 1961:315).

#### Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism in Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia was the only Eastern European country which accepted the Yalta agreement. During the election in 1946, the Communists received 36% of the vote (Fejtö, 1952:84). However, faced with a decline in popularity which ensued in February 1948, the Communists seized power in Prague with a coup d'état.

Terror was directed against the former members of the opposition, as well as leading members of the Communist Party. Slasky, the first secretary of the Party, Clementis, Husak, etc., were brought to trial, and in 1952, eleven of

them were executed for treason, espionage, sabotage, etc. Several were imprisoned, and as Fejto put it, that was "the example of total Stalinization" (1952:290). This meant the total disappearance of pluralism as well as institutional pluralism in Czechoslovakia.

Under Novotny's rule, between 1957 and 1968, there was growing dissatisfaction and unrest, culminating in the historical moment when Dubcek became leader of the Party.

"A new format cabinet headed by O. Cernik took office in April 1968. With a program that included strict observance of legality, broader political discussion, greater economic and cultural freedom, and increased Slovak autonomy under new constitutional arrangements. Widely hailed within Czechoslovakia, these trends were sharply criticized by the Soviet Union and some other Communist governments as a threat to the Stalinist Camp as a whole" (Banks, 1976:136).

At the beginning of the Prague Spring, all reforms were initiated by the various institutions and in 1968 institutional pluralism was flourishing in Czechoslovakia. However, in June and July there were attempts to create classical pluralism, which seriously challenged Soviet interests. At the culmination of this process, the armies of the Warsaw Pact (except Romania), invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Large numbers of reformers were purged again between 1969 and 1972; however, the sentences were relatively mild. Under Husak's leadership the new regime maintained very rigid controls. The situation between 1969 and 1976 can be character-

ized in terms of the Charter 77 (Skilling, 1979), the civil rights manifesto published by leading intellectuals, "in which the system of de facto subordination of all institutions and organizations in the state to the political directives of the ruling Party's apparatus was practiced". (Banks, 1976:136) Thus, pluralism disappeared after 1968. After Bulgaria and East Germany, Czechoslovakia had been the most "faithful" to the Soviet policies since Husak came to power. According to Wesson, Czechoslovakia rivals or excels East Germany in orthodoxy and faithfulness to the Soviet protector (1978:152).

Relying on the pertinent literature, the trends of pluralism and institutional pluralism can be characterized as follows: low in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960; medium in 1969, high in 1968; and low again in 1972 and 1976.

#### Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism in Hungary

During the free election in 1945, the Communists obtained only 17% of the votes, but with Soviet contribution, they occupied the key positions in the coalition government. In 1947, with Soviet backing, they destroyed most of the opposition parties and established a "full-fledged" dictatorship, with Rakosi's leadership (Fejto, 1961:301).

Terror against the opposition started after the takeover, and during the late 1940's and early 1950's reached its highest degree (Ignotus, 1972:193-220), Stalin's cult was cultivated more in Hungary than anywhere else in the SSC's. The Rajk

trial gave birth to the Eastern European "show trials", again using the Soviet examples of show trials of the 1930's (Solzhenitsyn, 1979). Rajk, the minister of external affairs, together with his "supporters", Szonyi, Szalai, Justusz, etc., were arrested, and in 1949, five were executed and the others received either life sentences or severe imprisonments (Koltai, 1949). There was no sign of pluralism or institutional pluralism during Rakosi's leadership.

The post-Stalin era, with Nagy's growing opposition, which was explained in more detail in the former chapter, led to the 1956 revolt against the Stalinist rule of Rakosi, as well as against the Soviet influence. Withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact was announced, but massive force by the Red Army crushed the revolt and installed Kadar, who formed a pro-Soviet government. Kadar masterfully and gradually eased the repression (Beamish and Hadley, 1979; Shawcross, 1974; Wesson, 1978), and institutional pluralism started to develop again after 1964. In 1968, the New Economic Mechanism was introduced, which is a product of interest group articulation. Church and state relations were normalized in the late 1960's. With the exception of the Party and the Soviet Union, criticism was both allowed and encouraged, thus, within the various institutions there was a free flow of ideas, representing one of the basic principles of institutional pluralism. This process was further improved during the mid 1970's.

Supported by the pertinent literature, the trends of pluralism and institutional pluralism can be characterized as follows: low in 1948, and in 1952; high in 1956; low again in 1960 and in 1969; medium in 1968; and high in 1972 and in 1976.

#### Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism in Poland

The struggle for political power between the different parties resulted in a Communist majority government in 1948, notwithstanding Soviet help and backing (Dziewanowski, 1977). As in East Germany, the new regime of the 1940's and 1950's was not stable or strong enough to conduct show trials (Dallin and Breslauer, 1970), however, the leaders and members of the opposition parties were slowly eliminated.

"Contemporary Poland is a set of puzzling paradoxes and a maze of incongruities" (Dziewanowski, 1977:253). This is even further emphasized by the historical events of the 1980's.

Within the SSC's, with the exception of Yugoslavia, Poland remained the most pluralistic country; the collectivization of the agriculture, unlike the other SSC's, never having been "completed" and the Catholic church never quite yielding power. The church continues to play an important political role in a Communist system (Beamish and Hadley, 1979).

In 1976 the "Committee for Defence of the Workers" (KOR) was set up and in spite of strong pressure from the Party, rapidly increased its membership. This was followed by the establishment of the group "Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights" (ROPCO) and later by the Solidarity Committee. These organizations are unique in the SSC's. Poland is the only country where these sorts of organizations cannot be dissolved, and they contribute significantly to the process of pluralism (Ibid:57-73). With reference to the existing literature, the trends of pluralism and institutional pluralism can be characterized as follows: low in 1948 and in 1952; medium in 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968; high in 1972 and 1976.

#### Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism in Yugoslavia.

Since 1948, with its break with the Cominform, Yugoslavia has occupied a unique place among the SSC's. Its development has been "the avant garde of almost all the changes within the Soviet Bloc" (Klein, 1970:217), as concerns pluralism, decentralization, foreign policy, etc.

Because of the acceptance and application of Marxist ideology of state and revolution Yugoslavia is a one party state like the other SSC's are a one party state, however:

pluralism asserts itself at all levels of Yugoslav society, and it is very difficult to fix with precision where the true power centers lie or where key decisions are made because of wide-spread public participation in the political process (Klein, 1970:217).

Naturally, after the Second World War the different political parties struggled for power but Tito and the Communists seized power by non-violent action and without Soviet intervention (Gripp; 1973:15). The first years of socialist development have been organized under the ideological influence of the Soviet Union:

until the Cominform break in 1948, Yugoslavia was considered and viewed itself as the model satellite. It was ruled by the party that came to power by its own effort and its own right (Samardzija and Ratkovic, 1976:310).

Thus, during the phase of "interregnum" pluralism was non-existent. After the Comintern crises in 1948, various groups contributed to change within the institutional framework not challenging the authority and leadership of the Communist Party. Whenever someone attacked the institutions, strong reprisal occurred (Dilas, Praxis group, etc.). Thus, pluralism in Klein's terms rather means institutional pluralism. Institutional pluralism began to flourish, especially after 1966, when central planning and central economic direction ended in Yugoslavia.

Relying on the pertinent literature the trends of institutionalized pluralism can be characterized as follows: low in 1948; medium in 1952, in 1956, in 1960, and in 1969; high in 1968, in 1977 and in 1976.

## Pluralism in Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Romania and in the Soviet Union

The struggle for political power in all of these countries can be characterized as coalition governments with Communist influence, then gradual elimination of the opposition, except Cuba and the Soviet Union where revolution brought the Marxist inspired regimes to power in 1959 and 1917 respectively (Fejto, 1951, Gripp, 1973).

Terror was used in Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union to eliminate the opposition as well as help the process of nationalization and collectivization of the agriculture. The terror was especially extensive in the Soviet Union during the civil war, as well as during the period of collectivization (Solzhenitsyn, 1974), and continued excessively until Stalin's death (Conquest, 1969). The magnitude of terror in Bulgaria and Romania was similar to that of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, however, there was no strategical use of terror in Cuba nor East Germany.

The 1950's, 1960's and 1970's can be characterized by a low level of institutional pluralism, with very little improvement within this category in all of these countries. There were no signs or attempts to create pluralism in the classical sense, except maybe in Cuba in 1959, before Cuba was forced to seek Soviet support against the US boycott. The victorious revolution, led by Castro, established a new system

which was moderate in the beginning, followed by a tactical compromise with the middle class, and under the specific circumstances gradually turned socialist (Dumont, 1970).

During the whole period, the only "relaxation" appeared under Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, where some signs of institutional pluralism were introduced. The rigid controls were changed, greater intellectual freedom and a reduction in central control over economic issues characterized this process (Little, 1968; Wesson, 1978). However, pluralism and institutional pluralism during this time was considered to have stagnated at a low level showing only relatively minor improvement in all of these countries.

Summarizing the changes in the level of pluralism and institutional pluralism, the following table shows the various levels of the SSC'S:

Pluralism and Institutional Pluralism in the SSC's

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Bulgaria	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Cuba	-	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
Czechoslovakia	L	L	L	L	M	H	L	L
East Germany	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Hungary	L	L	H	L	L	M	H	H
Poland	L	L	M	M	M	H	H	H
Romania	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Soviet Union	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yugoslavia	L	M	M	M	M	H	H	H

L = Low    M = Medium    H = High

### Freedom of Expression

The freedom of expression in the SSC's can be analyzed and observed by the tendencies of the total or partial abandonment of censorship. Only four countries showed significant changes with regard to the improvement in the level of the freedom of expression: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. There were improvements in the Soviet Union but almost no advancement in Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany and Romania.

In Czechoslovakia prior to 1968, partial abandonment of censorship led to total dissolution after April 1968. This was followed by the implementation of total control after August 1968, a mere four months later.

In Hungary during the short period of Nagy's leadership, total abandonment of censorship occurred, followed by total control after 1956 and gradual relaxation from 1964 on. Although the Hungarians are allowed to speak freely, the Party and the Soviet Union cannot be criticized. During the 1970's, the Kadar regime tolerated more cultural deviation from the Party line and more freedom of speech was allowed than in the other SSC's, with the exception of Poland and Yugoslavia.

Kadar:

does not employ an army of official censors issuing directives on everything which might conceivably overstep the permitted limits, but relies on 'self-censorship' by state publishing houses, editors and directors of television and radio, which is almost as effective and looks better (Ibid, :116).

The Haraszti, as well as Szelenyi, Szentjoby and Konrad cases (Ibid.:120-121) proved that despite the relatively high level of freedom of expression, the total dissolution of censorship does not exist in Hungary.

In Poland, the freedom of expression has possibly always been less controlled than in the other SSC's, except for Yugoslavia. Religious freedom and expression was never really suppressed, sociology was recognized and practiced unlike in the other SSC's, again with the exception of Yugoslavia. However, Polish censorship is a sophisticated tool in the control of thoughts and expressions. As Beamish and Hadley referred to the Polish censors in concurrence with The Times: "They are peddling an ideology which has no hold over their own minds. They are salesmen who do not believe in their own products" (1979:67).

The freedom of expression was low in 1948 and in 1952. In 1956, prior to and during the Baltic coast riots, it reached a medium level which was maintained in 1960 and 1969. Stronger control occurred in 1968 due to the growing unrest concerning economic shortcomings, and consequently, the level of the freedom of expression dropped to a low category. After Gomulka's fall, and with the increasing number of workers and intellectuals organizations with their openly presented criticism, the freedom of expression reached a high level in 1972 and in 1976. It is worth mentioning that the culmination of this process occurred in 1980 when the Solidarity Committee

was granted permission by the Party to initiate daily uncensored television and radio broadcasts, this action being the first ever in Communist history.

Yugoslavia after the break with the Comintern, (as opposed to the Stalinist dogmas), favoured humanism, scientific objectivity, and freedom of research and expression of ideas. Political and economic decentralization, as well as open discussions concerning the socialist way of development, was very unique among the SSC's during the 1950's and 1960's. However, after 1964 some sensitive issues arose and were discussed in Yugoslav society. The Party leadership reacted with harsh measures against the group representing Praxis. Despite the medium level of the freedom of expression during the 1950's and 1960's, those who challenged the Party by openly expressing their opinion were severely disciplined. For example, Djilas was sentenced in 1956 for appealing for further democratization as well as for his highly critical book "The New Class" (1957). However, the freedom of expression reached higher levels in 1968, 1972 and 1976 (Zaninovich, 1968; Wesson, 1978), especially in comparison with the other SSC's. Despite the relatively high level of freedom of expression in Yugoslavia versus the other SSC's, the total abolition of censorship does not yet exist.

In the Soviet Union "Glavlit" - protection of military and state secrets in the press - was established in 1922, and was able to achieve a remarkable system of censorship and

thought control. There was a total repression of the freedom of expression during Stalin's reign (Conquest, 1969; Solzhenitsyn, 1974). Under Khrushchev the censorship tended to be more relaxed, this being the period when Solzhenitsyn's critical books such as "One Day in the Life of Ivan Dehisovits" as well as Yevtushenko's and Rozhdestvensky's poems were published. It is difficult to say whether the Soviet censorship was greater under Brezhnev than it was under Khrushchev, but it is certainly better in quality (Dewhurst and Farrel, 1973).

It comes through very clearly in the pertinent literature that the freedom of expression, despite some progress under Khrushchev, can be characterized by a low level between 1917 and 1976. This is fundamentally valid in Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany and Romania. There has been no significant improvement in the freedom of expression in these countries since 1948, and therefore they can be categorized by a low level. Summarizing the level of the freedom of expression, the following table shows the various levels of the SSC's:

Freedom of Expression in the SSC'S

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Bulgaria	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Cuba	-	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
Czechoslovakia	L	L	L	L	M	H	L	L
East Germany	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Hungary	L	L	H	L	L	M	M	H
Poland	L	L	M	M	M	M	H	H
Romania	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Soviet Union	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yugoslavia	L	M	M	M	M	H	H	H

L = Low    M = Medium    H = High

## Decentralization in the SSC's between 1948 and 1976

Decentralization in the respective countries must be related to economic decentralization, because the only country among the SSC's where political as well as economic decentralization has taken place is Yugoslavia.

The general trends of state socialist development can be characterized by centralization, political as well as economic. All political and cultural institutions have been centralized, sport not excepted. Economic centralization has been achieved through the collectivization of the agriculture, and nationalization of the industry and commerce.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev's relatively liberal policies contributed to differing policies of national development. During that period, the various regimes more or less consolidated their power, and tried to improve economic matters due to the rising consumer demands. The population's consumer demands, which the regimes had failed to satisfy for dozens of years, began to be voiced loudly in the early 1960's (Selucky, 1972:38). However, ideology, international and national political and economic conditions have had a serious impact on economic reforms.

As in the cases of pluralism and the freedom of expression, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia show significant changes concerning the process of decentralization. Czechoslovakia in the late 1960's, especially in

1968; Hungary in 1956, and gradually after 1968; Poland in 1956, 1970 and 1976; and Yugoslavia gradually from 1948.

In the other SSC's the process of decentralization was not significant. Relying on the opinions of Nove (1976), Selucky (1972) and Wieczinsky (1970), concerning decentralization, the SSC's can be characterized as follows:

Decentralization in the SSC's between 1948 and 1976

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Bulgaria	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Cuba	-	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
Czechoslovakia	L	L	L	L	M	H	M	M
East Germany	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Hungary	L	L	H	L	L	M	M	H
Poland	L	L	M	L	L	M	M	H
Romania	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Soviet Union	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yugoslavia	L	M	M	M	H	H	H	H

L = Low    M = Medium    H = High

Considering the trends of pluralism and institutional pluralism, freedom of expression and decentralization, the level of liberalization can be readily identified in the SSC's between 1948 and 1976.

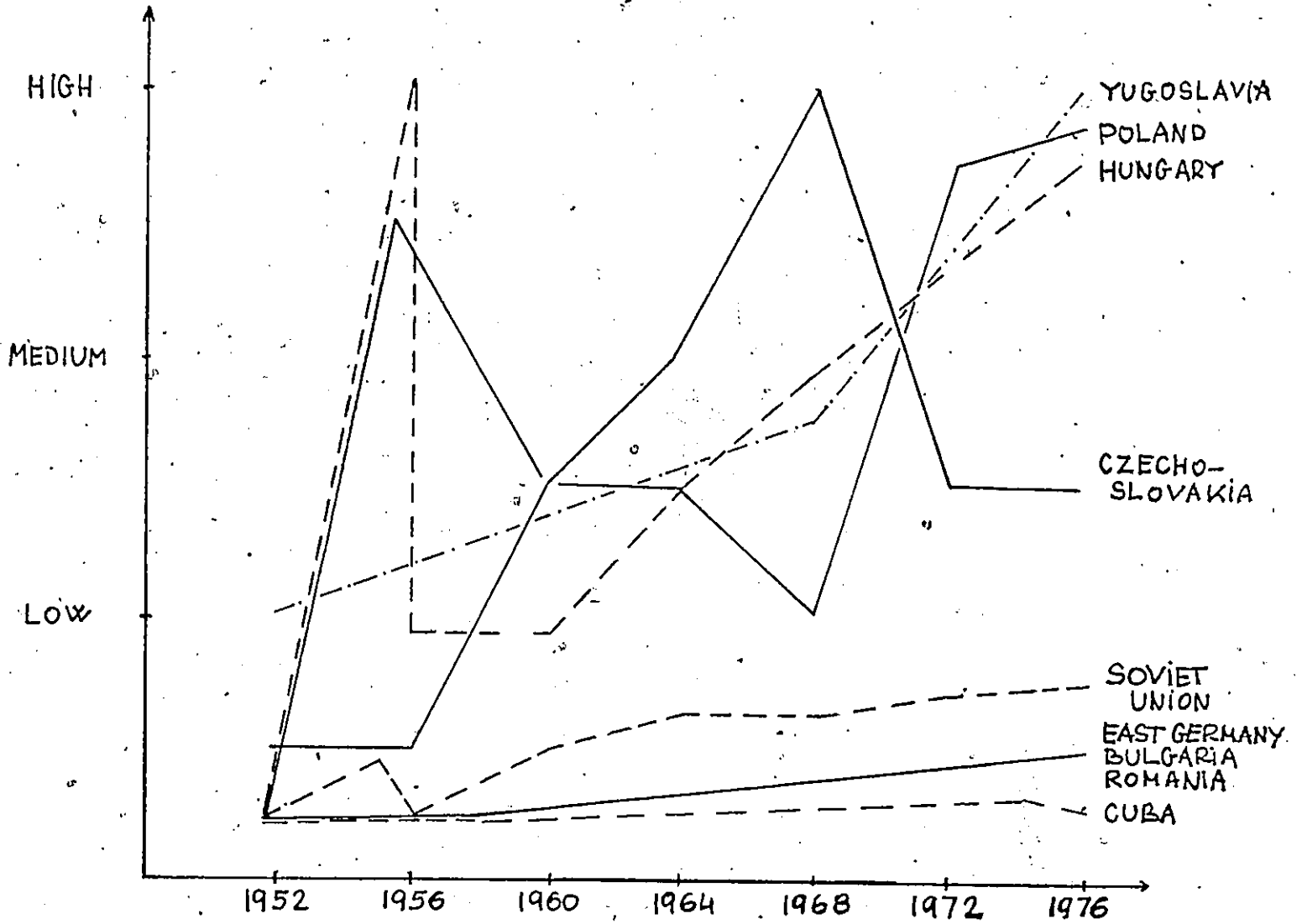
Level of Liberalization in the SSC's between 1948 and 1976

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Bulgaria	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Cuba	-	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
Czechoslovakia	L	L	L	L	M	H	L	L
East Germany	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Hungary	L	L	H	L	L	M	H	H
Poland	L	L	M	L	M	M	H	H
Romania	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Soviet Union	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yugoslavia	L	M	M	M	H	H	H	H

This is illustrated diagrammatically in the following figure:

Figure 4

Level of Liberalization in the SSC's between 1948 and 1976



Changes in the Standard of Living in the SSC's Between 1948 and 1976

The standard of living is a rather complex phenomenon in the SSC's. Since there is no specific comparative data available concerning the time period between 1948 and 1976, this study must rely on general comparisons, which seem to be highly reliable, and fully supported by the "piecemeal" literature available.

After the takeover and due to former developments such as the effects of the Second World War, First World War and the October 1917 Revolution in the case of the Soviet Union, the standard of living was low. Starvation, famine, housing shortages, etc. characterized the respective periods. Due to Stalinist policies high priority was given to the development of heavy industry and consumer demands were neglected until the early 1960's. The collectivization of the agriculture had so serious an impact on agricultural production, that many of these countries are still facing acute food shortages in the 1980's. The years of 1948, 1952 and 1956 can be characterized by a very low standard of living in the SSC's. However, in 1960 and 1964, due to their former development and improved economic policies, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Yugoslavia reached a medium level in comparison with the other SSC's in the quality of life. In 1968, due to the consumer- and market-oriented economic policies, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia reached high levels. East Germany also achieved

a high standard of living without market oriented economic policy. Minor reforms and efficiency contributed to the improvement. In 1972 and 1976, East Germany achieved the highest standard of living among the SSC's, followed by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia (Beamish and Hadley, 1979; Nove, 1976). Despite significant improvement from 1917 to 1948, the former very low level of standard of living which characterized the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and Cuba, the improvement from 1917 and 1948 still resulted in a low category placement.

Because of the lack of consumer goods, certain kinds of privileges can significantly contribute to a higher standard of living, therefore obtaining those privileges signify a very strong motivation in the SSC's. This plays an important role in sport development.

#### Human Rights in the SSC's Between 1948 and 1976

During the Stalin era human rights and individual liberties were completely non-existent. Breslauer and Dallin (1970) gave a comprehensive description of the terror and purges which shaped the new societies.

The Helsinki Agreement (1975) contributed to the improvement of general human rights in many of the SSC's, however, according to the specific socio-politico-economic situation, there are great discrepancies between the respective countries.

Until the mid 1970's there was no organized form of support for human rights in Bulgaria, however, as Beamish and Hadley pointed out:

human right campaigners in Bulgaria are more active than had previously seemed possible in one of the toughest Soviet satellites (1979:211).

There are political prisoners, although there are not numbers available, not to mention political prisoners that are held in psychiatric hospitals (Ibid.:199). Bulgaria can be characterized by a low level of human rights between 1948 and 1976.

There were no significant changes in the level of human rights in Czechoslovakia. Significant improvement occurred after the Stalinist epoch, especially under Dubcek's leadership. However, after 1968, a severe repression took place. On January 1, 1977, a group of dissenters calling itself Charter 77 published a manifesto calling for the implementation of human rights.

It described in detail how these fundamental rights were being denied by suppressing freedom of expression; excluding dissenters from employment; discriminating against their children in education; prohibiting any creative or political activity differing from the official ideology; restricting religious freedom; interfering in private life by tapping telephones, opening letters and searching homes; refusing to allow workers to form independent unions or go on strike (Ibid.:84).

After 1968, Czechoslovakia can be characterized by low levels concerning human rights and individual liberties.

East Germany is considered by many of the experts to be the most repressed SSC with regard to human rights. It can be

characterized by a low level between 1948 and 1976 (Childs, 1968; Fejto, 1971; Wesson, 1978).

In Hungary human rights and civil liberties were not existent during Rakosi's era, between 1948 and 1956. In 1956 a great improvement occurred which was followed by severe repression (Shawcross, 1974). After 1969 general improvement can be observed, reaching a high level during the mid 1970's (Beamish and Hadley, 1979).

In Poland, the 1956 Baltic riots contributed to an improvement in human rights. This was maintained through the 1960's. Further improvement occurred during the early 1970's and especially during the mid 1970's. Human rights groups (KOR, ROPCO, etc.) significantly contributed to the process, which culminated in the activity of the Solidarity Union. The level of human rights in Polish society can be characterized by a low category in 1948, 1952, and 1956; medium in 1960 and 1968; high in 1972 and 1976.

Romania, like Bulgaria and East Germany, is considered to be one of the most repressed SSC's. Human rights and civil liberties can be categorized low between 1948 and 1976.

Human rights in the Soviet Union, in spite of all the improvements are still considered to be low. The 1975 Helsinki agreement greatly helped the various human rights groups. However, their activity helped to discover on a

larger scale, how much human rights and civil liberties are misused in the Soviet Union (Barghoor, 1976; Conquest, 1969; Solzhenitsyn, 1979; Wesson, 1978).

Human rights and civil liberties in Yugoslavia are significantly different from the other SSC's. Since 1948, the citizens can travel and work abroad freely. Human rights reached high levels shortly after the early stage of development, low in 1948, medium in 1952 and 1956, and high between 1960 and 1976.

#### Quality of Life in the SSC's Between 1948 and 1976

On the basis of the level of liberalization, standard of living and the existence of human rights in the SSC's, the quality of life in the individual countries can be determined. In all of the countries included in this sample, and at the beginning of the state socialist development, the standard of living and the existence of human rights were represented by a low level, thus, the quality of life as the sum of the above characteristics contributed to a low level.

Bulgaria, Cuba, Romania and the Soviet Union despite all the improvements, can be categorized with a low level category with regard to the standard of living and the existence of human rights; thus the quality of life between 1948 and 1972<sup>2</sup> shows a low level in comparison to the other SSC's.

Czechoslovakia shows varying tendencies; gradual improvement in the standard of living from the late 1950's on, salient improvement vis à vis the level of liberalization and human rights prior to and in 1968, then a sharp decline after 1968. However, the standard of living remained one of the highest among the SSC's.

Since the high standard of living is associated with the lack of human rights and individual liberties, Czechoslovakia, in the 1970's is characterized by a low level in the quality of life.

Hungary also shows varying, albeit different trends than Czechoslovakia. In 1956, the level of liberalization and human rights improved considerably, followed by severe repression. After 1968 the growing liberalization contributed to greater human rights and reached a high level after 1972. The standard of living rose sharply after 1968 and also reached a high level in the early 1970's. In the 1970's Hungary was characterized by a high level in the quality of life.

Poland showed significant improvements in the level of liberalization and in the existence of human rights, however, the continuously reappearing economic crisis retarded the improvement of the standard of living. In the 1970's, due to a high level of liberalization, greater human rights as well as low standard of living, Poland can be put into the low category with regard to the quality of life.

Yugoslavia showed continuous, gradual improvement in the level of liberalization, the extent of human rights, as well as the standard of living, and therefore, can be put into the high category in relation to the quality of life.

From a developmental point of view, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union can be characterized by low level in the quality of life; while Hungary and Yugoslavia by a high level.

#### References

1. Salami tactics was the process of "slicing of the opposition by the respective Communist Parties like slicing a salami (Ignotus, 1972:198).

### Chapter 3

## Institutionalization and Organization of Sport in the State Socialist Countries

### Introduction

In this chapter the general and specific problems of sport development in the SSC's will be examined. Firstly, the background conditions will be described briefly so as to underline the differences prior to the socialist period. The major institutional sport policies (1948-1976) and their effects on sport development will be outlined.

### Sport and Physical Education in the SSC's before the Socialist Period

The SSC's represented in the sample occupy extensive territory including East and Central Europe, Asia and Cuba, with a total population of approximately 400 million. National, regional, language, and ethnic differences together with the variables of topography, climate, religion, and culture presume a large diversity in the field of physical culture, as well as in its organization.

Catholic<sup>1</sup>, Protestant, Islamic, Buddhist, Marxist, etc., values, together with technological and its scientific development have also influenced each particular nation and its development. The development of physical education and sport was closely related to nationalist, local patriotic, or even international interests of the respective regimes. Further,

these interests were aligned with the particular interests of the respective military establishments which considering vested interests played a very significant role in its development.

According to Kun (1969:148) two groups of countries can be distinguished by virtue of their level of sport development and physical education:

1. Those countries, which, during the capitalist period, established physical education obligatory, at least in the secondary schools; and outside the school on a lesser basis. As a result, high level competitive sport was developed. These countries are: Czechoslovakia, East Germany (as a part of Germany) and Hungary with some development achieved in the northern part of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
2. Those countries, which, during the capitalist period, did not, or only partially developed sport. These countries include Romania, Poland (where development began after 1920), and the southern part of Yugoslavia. Cuba and Russia can be added to this list (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971).

After the communist takeover, these countries which had achieved a higher level of development in physical education and in sport development enjoyed a certain margin of advantage over those countries with no sport development. This will be pointed out later when the development of the socialist period

is examined. However, the great differences among the SSC's began to disappear after the Soviet takeover. It was demonstrated in the former chapter how Soviet control over Eastern Europe meant the establishment of as high a degree of cultural, social, economic and political uniformity as possible. Local interests were totally subordinated to Soviet interests. Along with the politico-economic and socio-cultural institutions, the Soviet model of centralized sport institutions were also adopted (Vendien and Nixon, 1968; Kun, 1978). Centralized, state controlled sport associations were established in order to serve as governing bodies of all sport clubs and competitive activities.

Physical Culture in the Socialist Period: Centralization - National Sport Governing Bodies and Organization of Sports and Physical Education in the SSC's.

The Soviet model is characterized by strong control at the federal level and each state or province duplicates the national model.

Physical education and sport is centrally planned and controlled by the respective governments through their different agencies in the SSC's. The Soviet model of organized sports has produced a system of complete coordination and cooperation between organized sports, the educational system and respective national and regional agencies. It is based on the

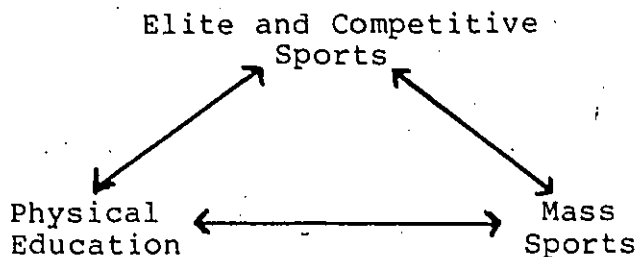
Marxist-Leninist educational objectives of overall human development and therefore combines academic, moral, aesthetic, physical and poly-technical (job related skills) education. As such, physical education became equal to other subjects in the school curriculum as an integrated part of overall human development.

In spite of some national variations, the Soviet model is followed with little change in the other SSC's. The essential features of that model are; the principles of state control over sports, the triangle theory, mass participation and the state amateur athlete (Bennett et al., 1975:114-115).

State control over sport was described earlier, the triangle theory explains the key points of overall sport development. It must be mentioned that the triangle theory is often used interchangeably with the pyramid model in Western literature (Balyi and O'Hara, 1980). The "triangle/principle" (or theory) refers to the inter-relationship between elite sport, physical education and mass sport. In principle, these three fields are dialectically related; thus the change in one would effect changes in the other two, and vice-versa. The institutions, objectives and programs of these fields are carefully coordinated.

Figure 5

The "Triangle Principle" in State Socialist Sport Theory



It can be generalized that the aim of sport is the contest; to surpass someone else's record or scores (elite and competitive sport), or one's own record by simply participating or competing for pleasure (mass sport).

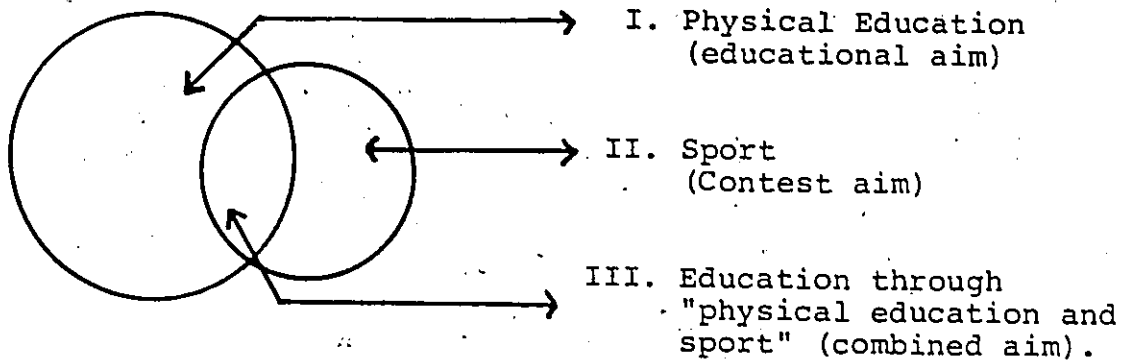
The general aim of physical education in the SSC's is:

- protecting and improving personal health;
- improving bodily capacities;
- teaching efficient execution of movement;
- awaking, satisfying and increasing demands for recreational and competitive activities

(Czirják, 1962:14; Bennett, et al., 1975)

The contents of physical education and sport are different. The extent to which the two concepts are compared is shown in the following figure (Czirják).

Figure 6



Looking at the activities belonging to physical education, it is obvious that some of them (III) bear the characteristics of sport methodology. In the same manner, looking at the sport side, one can see that sports bear some physical education characteristics (III). This area of activity could be called "education through physical education and sports", because it bears the characteristics of physical education as well as those of sport. Thus it can be generalized that physical education is closely related and a part of all élite, competitive and mass sport.

In the triangle, physical education is seen as making an important contribution to élite and mass sport, in such areas as basic physical preparation, screening and selection of the gifted pupils, basic and specialized training, etc. for élite sport, as well as developing interest and skills in a variety of sports so to encourage participation in recreative and competitive mass sport activities after graduating from school. Elite sport, by its achievement, contributes to both physical

education and mass sport through the "idol creating function" (Balyi and Heleszta, 1973:21). Top calibre athletes or athletic teams, by virtue of their athletic achievement, can establish very positive images related not only to their sport, but of themselves as well.

If athletic success continues, high international status can be achieved with the spin-off creation of followers who "idolize" the individual athletes, or the sport. This is a part of the process of sport socialization. In general, if "idols" are provided in a great number of sports (Olympic sports in the SSC's versus the limited number of professional sport heroes in the WIC's), elite sport can contribute to the development of physical education and mass sports to a large extent by motivating the general public on such basics as participation, training and competitive activities.

Finally, mass sport provides the base for competitive and elite sport; in theory, it also provides recreation and assists in the prevention of the stresses that are encountered in the modern way of life. Mass sport also has a recognized importance in preventative medicine. However, at the present stage, the established priority given to elite sport does not allow mass sport to fulfill all of its functions.

During the process of institutionalizing physical culture, the development of such concepts as GTO programs, a uniform system of classification of athletic performance,

long-range planning of athletic performance, prioritization of Olympic versus non-Olympic sports, the seeding of Olympic sports, the establishment of sport schools, as well as schools specializing in physical education, sport medical centers for compulsory medical testing, and centralized sport-research institutes were introduced in different time series in all the SSC'S.

Mass Participation: GTO Programs and Spartakiads

The Soviet GTO program was launched in 1931 (Riordan, 1977:129). It was also inaugurated in the late 40's and early 50's in all the Bloc countries (Kun, 1978:304). GTO means "ready for work and defence", and is a basic physical education test which is used in schools, youth organizations, sport clubs, as well as the armed forces. The test is designed to develop and measure speed, strength, stamina and general military aptitude, as well as to measure the impact of large masses of youth and adult participation in sport. Mass participation in the GTO programs is believed to contribute to the general well-being of the population, provides competition, and at the same time, contributes to talent identification and selection.

As a Soviet official declared:

... it is obvious that talented athletes will sooner be found among (these) millions than among thousands, and it is easier to find talented athletes among thousands than among hundreds (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971:309).

### Pyramid model

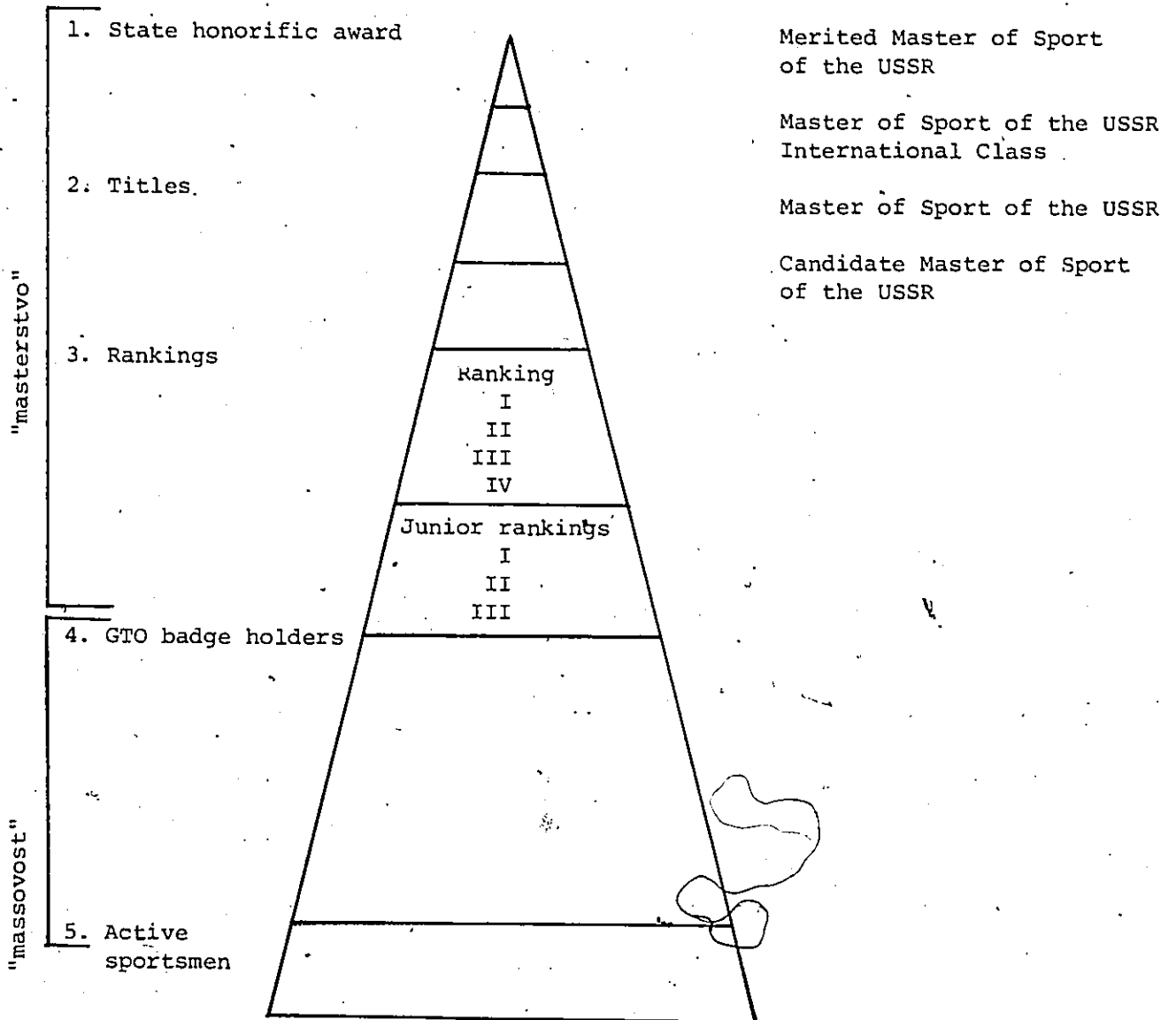
The so-called pyramid model refers to the relationship between mass and elite sports and its effect on elite sport performance. Figure 7 - after Riordan (1977:230) - represents the pyramid model in the USSR. "Massovost" and "Masterstvo" refers to mass sport and elite, as well as competitive sports (levels 3, 2, and 1), in which levels 2 and 1 refer to elite sport.

Figure 7 (see next page) will be explained only in general terms. There are, in actuality, minor differences in the terminologies of these countries, but the structure remains essentially the same.

The mass sports levels of the pyramid, 5 and 4 respectively, indicate that at Level 5, active sportsmen participate voluntarily in quasi-organized sports activity, such as jogging, swimming or playing tennis, soccer, etc. The Level 4 GTO represents organized participation in different sporting events with measured performance. According to the different age-groups and the achieved level of performance, qualifying or achievement badges are awarded to the participants. GTO provides excellent opportunities for identifying the gifted athletes as well as through regular participation contribute to the general fitness or well-being of the population.

Figure 7

Pyramid: The Basis of the Sports Program (as per Riordan)



Levels 3, 2, and 1 refer to competitive sports; ranking means classified performance. Junior ranking classifies athletes into age groups between 15 and 18. However, a junior athlete, according to his/her performance, may reach senior ranking 1 or international master level; a typical example being Olga Korbut. Elite sport refers to the upper strata of competitive sport, levels 2 and 1 respectively, which is the top of the pyramid.

### The Spartakiads

In 1954, a system of competition known as the Spartakiad, was established in the USSR and shortly there after, in the other SSC's. The purpose of the Spartakiads is to promote physical education and in particular to identify, select, and send the most gifted participants to compete at the highest level of training and competition (Vendien and Nixon, 1968: 359). As well, the Spartakiad provides competitive opportunities for all levels of the pyramid. The competition starts at the local level with the best performers attending the national finals of the Spartakiads. Through the GTO and the Spartakiad programs, talented young athletes are discovered, thereby making a significant contribution to elite sport.

### Uniform System of Classification of Athletic Performance

In order to stimulate the best athletes, a uniform system of classification of athletic performance was introduced in 1935 in the Soviet Union (Riordan, 1977:128). The same system, adjusted to the particular needs and conditions of

individual countries, was established in Hungary in 1949; in Bulgaria and Romania in 1950; in East Germany and Poland in 1951; and in Czechoslovakia in 1952 (Kun, 1978:304). Cuba also adopted this classification in the early 1960's.

This classification system can be readily observed at the five different levels of the above-mentioned pyramid. It begins at level 3 (rankings, titles and state honorific awards). The higher the achievement, the higher the compensation for it.

#### Rewards

Privilege in the Soviet Union (and in the other State Socialist Countries) represents a unique social phenomenon; it is beyond the reach of ordinary citizens because it is a dividend of political rank or personal achievement in service to the state (Riordan, 1976:35). The different privileges in the SSC's have been described by Matthews (1978), Smith (1976) and Voslensky (1980). Athletes, according to their ranking (level 1 and level 2 on the pyramid) enjoy all the privileges of the politically elite (except participation in decision-making). They are awarded high incomes, better housing, shopping in special shops (restricted consumer outlets), special medical care, educational and cultural benefits, special holiday facilities, extensive foreign travel, "high level blat" and finally prestige and care after retirement (Brokhin, 1978; Morton, 1963; Zsolt; 1978).

Income: privileged athletes receive a higher than average income, "broken-time" money, prize money, as well as extra funding for food supplements.

At the beginning of the socialist period, athletes usually had only nominal jobs such as: students, railway, police or army employees. For this "job" they received a higher than average salary. From the 1960's on however, many of the athletes held responsible jobs such as physicians, engineers, researchers, etc., but the majority still have nominal jobs.

All national and international calibre athletes, regardless of their occupation, may take a leave of absence from their job during the time that they are needed by their team. The state, through the athletes' employers, compensates for their absence during such occasions as training camps, international or national competitions. This is called the "broken-time money" and those who receive it are the so-called "state amateur athletes" (Bennett, et. al., 1975:157)

Prize money can be two or more times as much as the annual salary, depending on the level of achievement. The largest sum goes for Olympic victory, then world championship titles (or records), and thirdly, European championship titles (or records). National titles or records are less rewarded, but there are still significant contributions to the athletes' income (Brokhin, 1978:219; Riordan, 1977:162). The value of

the prize money varies from country to country, even after it was banned officially after the 1952 Helsinki Olympiad (Morton, 1963:127). It still exists in all the SSC's (Strenk, 1978; Zsolt, 1978:).

At a lower category, national and selected junior athletes may receive extra funding for food supplements. As Strenk described it:

Athletes received extra comforts and luxury items such as extra ration cards in the 1950's, extra portions of otherwise hard to get meat, fruit, vegetables ... (1975:363).

Under these specific circumstances, food supplement funding makes a significant contribution to their incomes, and relates directly to the athletes' standard of achievement in the classification system of athletic performance in the SSC's.

Housing: The privileged athletes are also provided with better, than, average housing. The flats distributed to the athletes are more spacious and better located (Morton, 1963; Zsolt, 1978). A flat provided by the respective states provided an enormous motivation during the 1950's, 1960's, and the 1970's and continues to be significant. The general problems of housing shortages and their effect on social life have been pointed out in the former chapter, which serves to underline the fundamental importance of this privilege.

Shopping Privileges: In societies such as the SSC's, where consumer goods are rather limited (Nove, 1979), access to them is quite meaningful. As Smith put it "it was not money that really mattered but access to ... food, clothing, consumer goods in quantities and qualities unavailable elsewhere ..." (1976:8). These goods may serve for personal use or can be marketed easily with extra profit (Shneidman, 1978:70).

Medical Care: Special medical and dental care is granted to the elite athletes, signifying immediate, free treatment by the best doctors. Brokhin (1978:180) gives a good description of how special medical care is provided (by citing the case of Zhabotinsky). Special sport hospitals are at the disposal of the sportsmen (Gilbert, 1980; Veto, 1960) and periodical medical control is obligatory for the protection of the athlete's health.

Educational Benefits: Education is free and readily provided by the respective governments, however, a special kind of educational benefit is offered to the superior athletes. Specialized schools in physical education and sports boarding schools are made available to young and promising athletes. University education is also free, but it is rather difficult to be accepted at this level. Sportsmen with high standing, and with the help of a special quota, receive priorities in being accepted. Furthermore, in the case of important competitions such as European and World championships, and the Olympic Games, athletes may opt to postpone their exams,

although they are not granted exemptions for the exams. For instance, Olympic champions such as Dr. Kamuti, Dr. Bodnar, and others, have to prove that their laymen work as a dentist, a veterinarian, a physician, etc., is not only valued but of the highest standard.

**Holiday Facilities:** The prominent athlete spends his/her vacation alone or with his/her family at the various mountain or sea resorts of the respective countries. If politically reliable, athletes can travel outside of the Bloc countries, which is still a unique privilege.

**Travel:** The role and importance of travel abroad is well explained by Smith (1975), Matthews (1977) and Schneidman (1978).

Smith described the phenomenon as follows:

In short, travel to the forbidden West has become an exotic privilege for an entire slice of Soviet society - the power elite and the veneer of officials, propagandists, technocrats, athletes, writers, ballerinas and violinists who constitute the facet the Soviet system shows the world. Travel abroad - especially to the West - has become the status symbol par excellence of the Soviet privileged class, the surest mark of political reliability. And for those who are permitted to indulge in this addictive habit regularly, it has become a pretty lucrative business (1975:622).

This description is generally valid for the SSC's too, however, it must be pointed out that Yugoslavia allowed its citizens to travel and work abroad from the 1960's; while Hungary and Poland relaxed travel restrictions during the 1970's (US News and World Report, August 9, 1976:28-29).

Among the state socialist elite, artists (musicians, dancers) and athletes have more occasions to travel to the West, and these trips contribute significantly to higher incomes. Owing to the lack of consumer goods, foreign merchandise is immensely valuable on the black market (Shneidman, 1978:70). The "imported" consumer goods purchased by athletes vary from era to era. It was Gillette blades during the 1950's, blue jeans during the 1960's, and cassette recorders and calculators during the 1970's. The Olympic Games can serve as the best example. At the end of the Games, those athletes who performed well flew home on the so-called "golden-plane." The reason is twofold for the name: gold medalists were returning home with their medals and all high achievers with their "gold mines." As they do not have to pass through the regular channels of rigorous custom inspection and immigration, they are allowed to bring in as much merchandise as they can. Needless to say, this merchandise is worth a "gold mine" on the black market (Brokhin, 1978:Zsolt, 1978).

High Level Blat: This may be one of the most important privileges, which like an umbrella covers almost all the other privileges. High level blat means the availability of connections which can help to get things or advantages that money cannot buy. For example, some families with two or three children have to wait many long years to receive better housing, which may be granted to an 18 year old elite athlete. To buy a car it usually takes three to five years and the full

amount must be paid on demand! This purchase may only take a few days for a superior athlete and/he/she even has an option of selecting certain Western models.

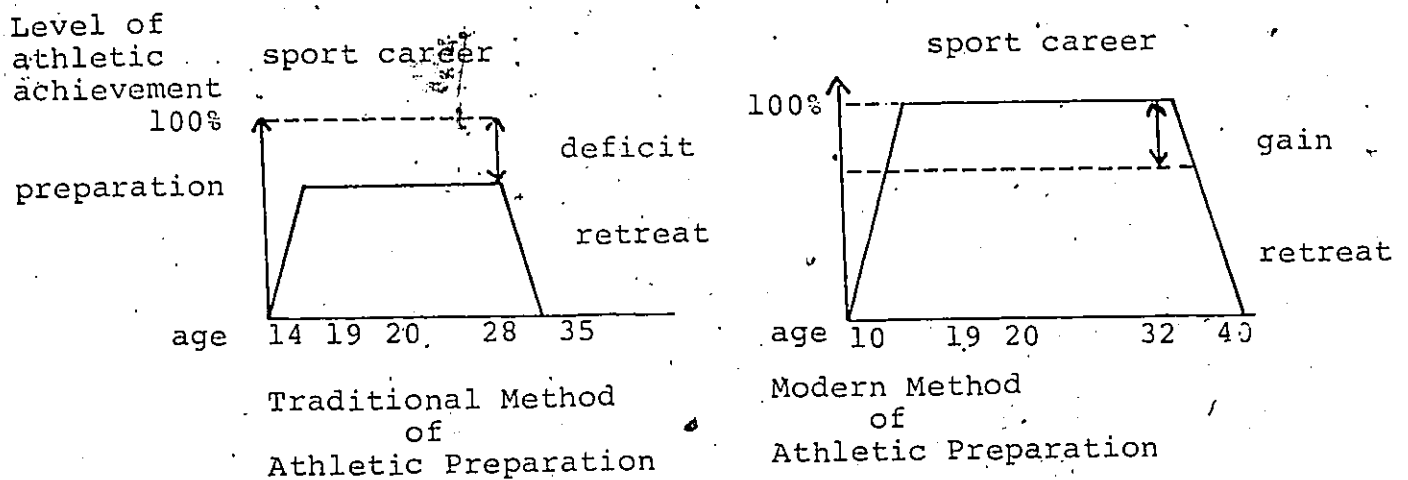
State Supported Retirement: After retiring from competition, elite athletes easily find work in the sport movement and often become sport administrators or coaches. Prior to retirement a few may receive permission to play for Western teams (Soviets, Czechs and Poles in hockey; Hungarian, Poles and Yugoslavs in soccer; Romanians and Yugoslavs in team-handball and basketball), but this is still a rare privilege. Further, many of the retired athletes may take coaching positions and locate primarily in Africa, in Cuba, and in the Middle East, and only upon rare occasion in the West. Some of them may receive permission to enter private business - small boutiques, restaurants, etc. Those who are members of the Armed Forces or Police Clubs are rewarded for their athletic achievement by promotion to a higher rank. In short, each respective state provides better than average conditions for their athletes. It must be underlined, however, that in spite of general support (with the exception of a small minority), the standard of living - not the prestige! - of the retired athletes usually declines. This results due to the limited opportunity for prize money, foreign trips, etc. Considering that this decline occurs at a relatively young age - (between 30 and 40) - has a negative impact on sports involvement and participation under the process of social change - particularly under the process of liberalization. This will be explained in the following chapters.

### Long Range Planning of Athletic Performance

The system of athletic training in all SSC's is based on early selection, early specification, individualized training programs, tight medical controls and rewards for participation. Matvejev (1953) provided the basic framework of long range planning for all the SSC's. Early identification and selection is a strong factor in future athletic excellence. Nadori (1976:216) used the following schema (Figure 8) to pinpoint the difference between the traditional and the modern method of athletic preparation.

Figure 8

#### Traditional and Modern Method of Athletic Preparation



With the modern method of athletic preparation, early selection is completed before the age of 10, and specifically planned athletic preparation begins at age 10. In certain sports, such as swimming and gymnastics, this preparation begins at ages 6 or 7 (see Table, page 89). This early selection and specialization enables athletes, with seven to

nine years of continuous training and competition at the various levels, to reach the international level (if they are not eliminated earlier). In comparison with the traditional method, the preparation begins around age 14, thus the phase of generally basic and specifically basic preparation, with early selection, is missing. It gives only four to five years for general and specialized preparation. This difference contributes to a certain deficiency in the degree of athletic achievement, and is indicated diagrammatically by the term "deficit". The extra years provided by the modern method of athletic preparation may contribute to a higher degree of performance, and is indicated by the term "gain". The athletes who are trained under the modern method have a thorough general and specific preparation. Their career may last longer because they have a more extensive base of preparation as well as generous support by the state in which to maintain their sporting career until ages 32 to 40, whereas with the traditional method, their sport career ends between ages 22 to 25. Naturally, retirement from competition depends upon an individual's characteristics. Thus, early selection and specialized training can contribute to a longer sporting career, with a higher level of performance attained.

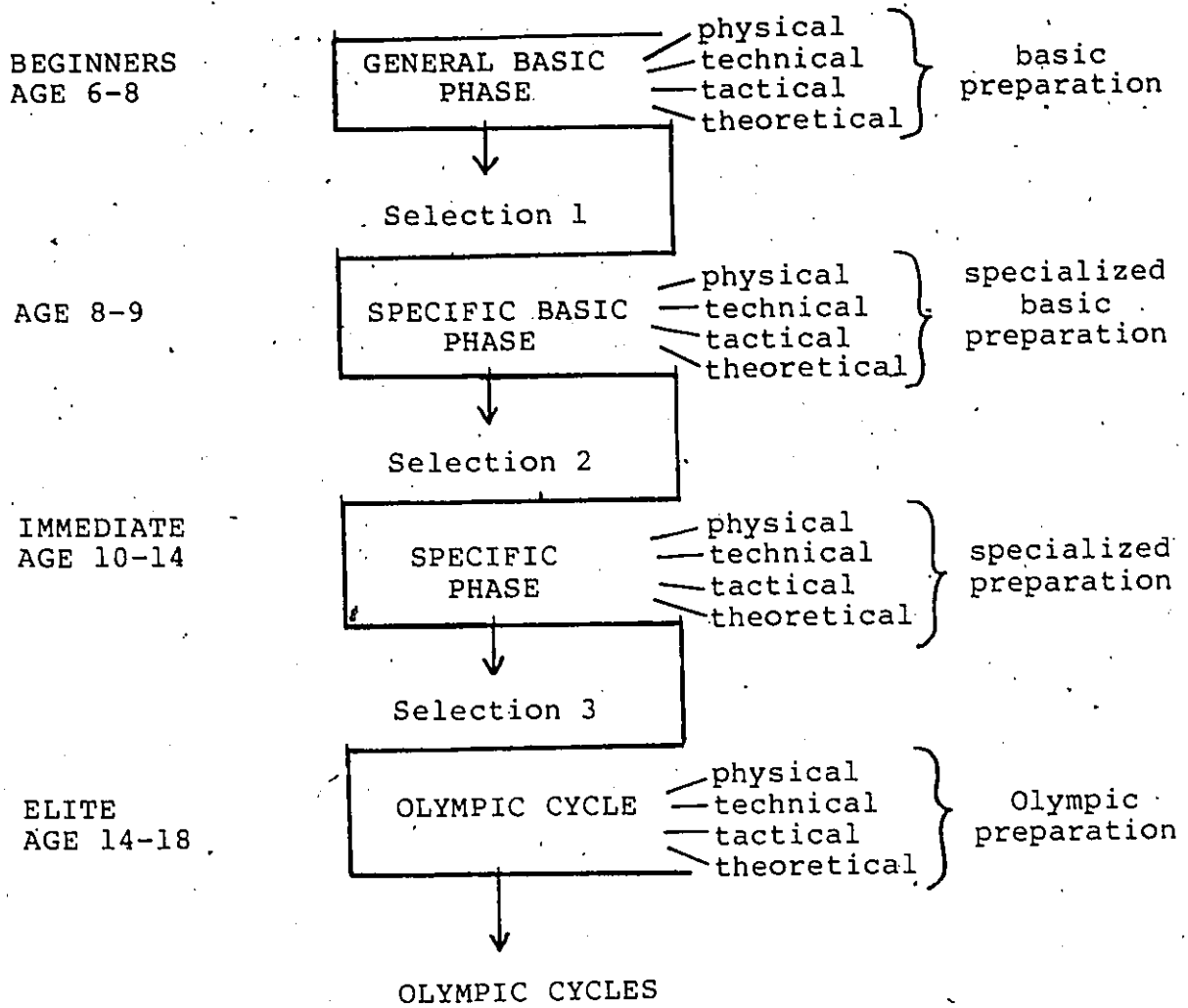
#### Early Selection and Specialization

The following table, after Nadori (1976:228), illustrates the relationship between age, beginning of training and competition; and describes as the optimum ages for the beginning of training and competition in various sports.

	<u>Age</u>			
<u>Training</u>	7-8	6-10	10-12	13-17
<u>Competition</u>	9	10	13-17	16
	swimming figure- skating	diving gymnastics skiing speed- skating	ice-hockey field-hockey boxing basketball kayak-canoe ball games	middle and long distance running weightlifting modern pentathlon pentathlon

However, early specialization does not necessarily mean early top level performance. In principle, the early years of training are devoted to general physical preparation: coordination, agility, flexibility and speed. Using swimming as an example, the following schema will illustrate the general process of athletic performance<sup>2</sup> (see schema on next page).

After screening, identifying, and selecting the promising young students, the general basic phase begins at age 6 to 8. Basic preparation means general physical, technical, tactical and theoretical training. The emphasis is on the physical and technical sides, such as the four competitive swimming styles, and general strengthening and loosening (flexibility). The very basic tactical and theoretical problems of swimming are also discussed.



The optimum age at which to begin competition is between 8 to 9. Before age 9 and after selection 1, those who improved and developed well will start with the specific basic phase. (The others are eliminated to provide pool-space for the ones who will start with the general basic phase). During the specific basic preparation, the competitive style of the swimmer will be chosen, e.g., butterfly, backstroke, breast or freestyle. Physical, technical, tactical and theoretical specialized basic preparations will be related to this specialization.

After selection 2, between the ages 9 to 10, the specific phase begins. During specialized preparation the particular event (or events) will be selected, in which the swimmer will compete. Special physical, technical, tactical and theoretical preparation will be related to this particular event (or events).

Before age 14, selection 3 is undertaken to determine Olympic calibre swimmers. Naturally the selections are flexible and a swimmer can qualify for the "Olympic cycle" at an earlier or later age than 14.

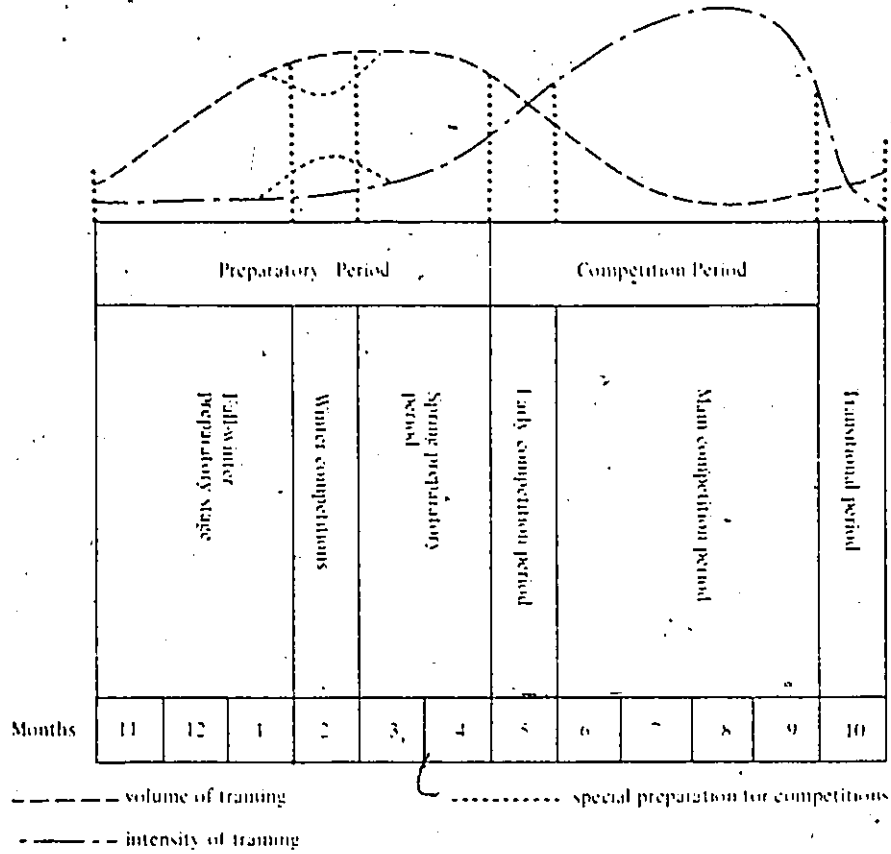
Early selection and specialization is always related to individualized training programs. Each athlete follows an individual training plan concerning his/her physiological, psychological and technical predispositions. Figure 9 (next page) illustrates a one-cycle track and field annual training plan (Shneidman, 1978:114; after Ozolin and Markov). The two general periods of training - preparatory and competitive - together with the load of training, intensity of training, and special preparation for competition are highlighted.

#### Periodization of Training - The Annual Plan

Nadori - also based on Matvejev - gives a more detailed illustration (1976:57). In his approach a yearly plan consists of four periods<sup>3</sup> (see Figure 10 on page 93):

Figure 9

One-Cycle Track and Field Yearly Training Plan (as per Shneidman)

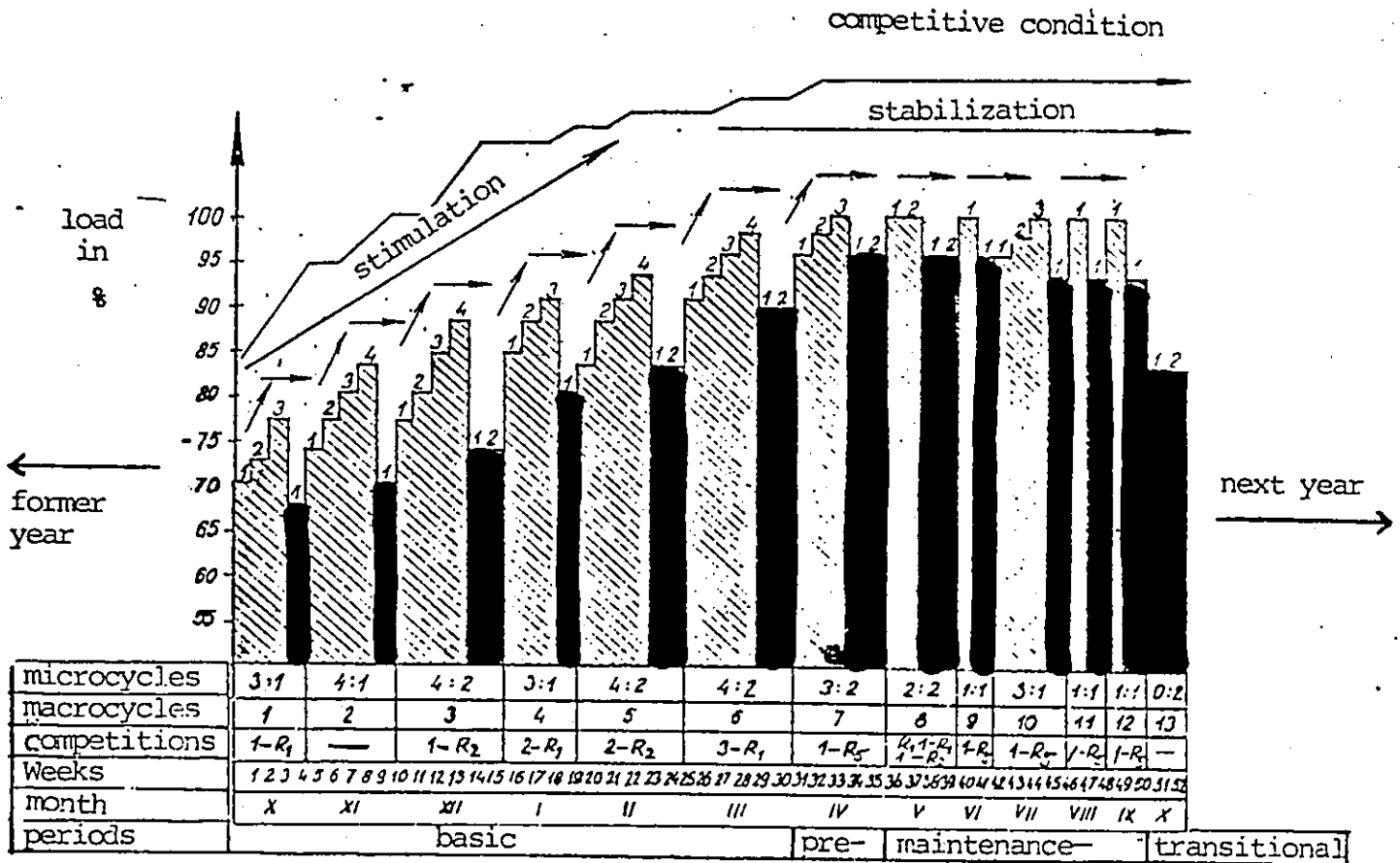


1. basic training phase (weeks 1-30)
2. pre-competitive phase (weeks 31-35)
3. competitive or maintenance phase (weeks 36-49)
4. transitional or resting phase (weeks 49-52)

For an experienced athlete, the first phase of basic training means general physical conditioning, while the second phase stresses physical conditioning related to his specific event (for a beginner it is only general conditioning). Pre-competitive training (putting-into-competitive-shape-training)

is bridging the preparation phase with the competitive phase. Thus, coordination, speed, agility, precision, specialized stamina, etc., are becoming more important, while competitive or maintenance training is supposed to maintain physical capacity already established. The objective of the transitional period is active rest, activity in a sport other than the athlete's speciality.

Figure 10  
Annual Training Plan (as per Nadori)



LOADING CYCLE

RECOVERY OR RESTING CYCLE

quality; during the pre-competitive season the emphasis is in quantity, which is gradually transferred to quality. And in the maintenance season, quality has priority over quantity.

The periodization of training depends upon the category of the sport disciplines; there are sports with one competitive season (skiing, skating, rowing, kayak and canoe, modern pentathlon, etc.), with two competitive seasons (swimming, indoor/outdoor track and field, fencing, wrestling, boxing, etc.), and with several seasons (weightlifting)..

#### Olympic Cycle

Plans are made with mathematical precision to fulfill the particular needs of the athlete. At the elite level, the coach is helped by physicians, psychologists, and nutritionists, etc., in order to prepare the plan.

Figure 9 (see next page) after Harsanyi (1972:205), illustrates a schema of a 4-year plan. By way of this 4-year plan, the principle of progressive over-loading is well illustrated, by the maximum training load (A) in 1969, which was lower than the minimum load (B) in 1972. The increase in loading (accomplished by keeping the training load at the same level and increasing the intensity of the load) is dependent on the athlete's individual predisposition and development.

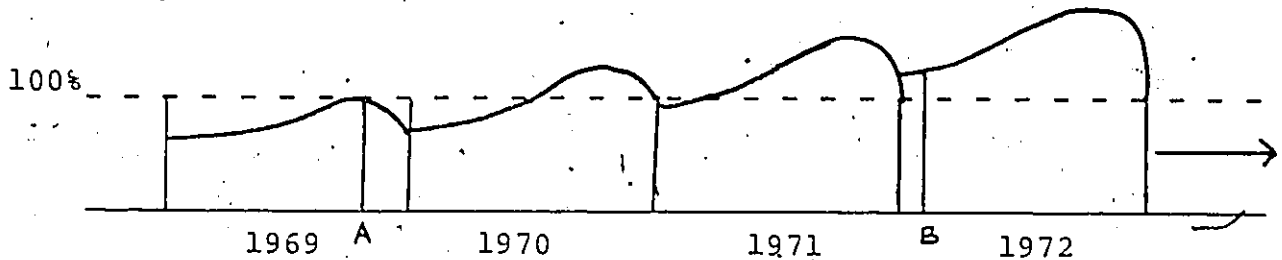
Within each phase of training, micro and macro-cycles are distinguished. A microcycle is usually a week; and 3, 4, 5, and 6 weeks microcycles consist of a macrocycle. For example, Figure shows macrocycle 6, which is the last one in the basic phase, before the precompetitive phase starts. It indicates, also, that there are 4 loading microcycles and 2 resting or recovery microcycles (4:2 rate), for example weeks 25, 26, 27, and 28 represent loading cycles, and 29 and 30 are recovery cycles.

Each of the macrocycles fulfill different objectives. A loading cycle represents an increase of the training load. The rate of loading and recovery microcycles within a macrocycle represents the general objective of that macrocycle, thus stimulating further improvement (loading cycles), or stabilizing the already established physical condition by recovery cycle(s).

The whole process is based on the principle of progressive overload. Thus, gradual increase in the training load is a basic element in improved performance. If a training load can be defined as the quantity (distance, repetitions, etc.), and the quality (intensity, precision, etc.) of an athletic workout, then the entire process of training can be characterized by the transformation of quantity into quality (long distance into a shorter but faster run or to swim distances, or to proceed from rough movements into refined, precise movements). Thus, in the basic period, quantity has priority over

Figure 11.

Long Range Plan or Olympic Cycle (as per Harsanyi)



The process of athletic preparation is often aided by regular participation in specially organized training camps. Each of the SSC's has specially created training camps. High altitude camps are located in the High Tatras in Czechoslovakia, in Zakopane in Poland, in Matrahaza in Hungary, and in the Caucasus Mountains in the Soviet Union. Since there are no high mountains in East Germany, the East German athletes are using the Bulgarian high altitude camp for preparation. There are also "resort" training camps in the Crimean in the Soviet Union, the Black Sea in Bulgaria and in Romania, at Lake Balaton and Tata in Hungary and at the Baltic Sea in Poland. Due to the tropical climate in Cuba, winter training camps are very popular and often used by the other SSC's.

### Medical Care

For all athletes, periodical medical control is compulsory. In each of these countries, in every region (or district), there is a sport medical centre, where routinely controlled examinations are conducted. However, when necessary, serious testing takes place. For junior athletes, a medical examination is compulsory every six months and once a year for senior athletes. If the validity of the medical certification has expired as shown by the athlete's obligatory membership card, he or she cannot participate at competitions; referees who are on tournament and game committees are obliged to verify athletes before competition.

It must be pointed out that there are sport hospitals in each of the SSC's which specialize in the rehabilitation of the athletes as well as preventive work.

### Institutional Changes During the Late 1950's and Early 1960's Further Centralization After Decentralization

During the 1950's and early 1960's, again using the Soviet example, the state leadership was dissolved in each of the SSC's, and the Union of Sport Societies and Organizations were formed as public agencies. It was officially stated in the USSR that the stage of Communist development no longer required state leadership in the field of physical culture, thus, a broad democratic administration could take over the responsibility for directing the different fields (Kun,

1978:307-308). As this reorganization did not help the development of sport, indeed the level of participation and performance declined (Riordan, 1977:207-234; Kun, 1978:311), state leadership was reintroduced. The All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, attached to the Council of Ministers, was established in the USSR (Riordan, Ibid.). Also, respective National Committees were established in the other SSC's, following the Soviet model (Kun, Ibid.).

The main purpose of these institutional changes was twofold: to increase mass participation and, to improve performance at all levels of the pyramid. These two phenomena are closely interrelated. In principle, superior performance depends upon mass participation as was described in the pyramid model. The shortcomings in mass participation, due in fact, to the increasing complexity of the sport movement as well as to ongoing social change, contributed to the establishment of particular institutions, which were created to counteract the above-mentioned failures. In order to provide better selection and training opportunities for young athletes, following again the Soviet example, specialized schools in physical education and sport schools were established throughout the SSC's.

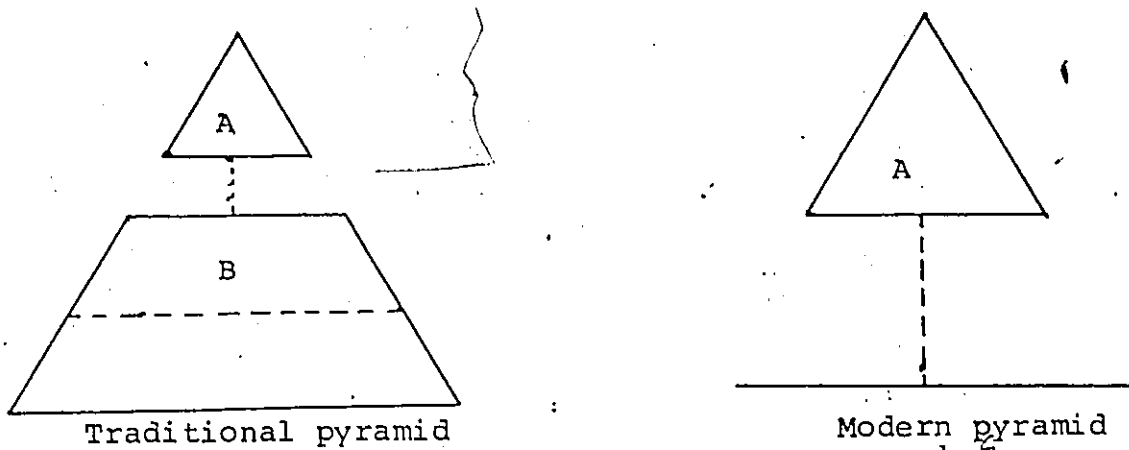
#### Modified Pyramid Model

The modified pyramid illustrates the structural changes in the sports movement, which in turn refers to the priority which is given to elite sports.

Figure 12

The Pyramid Model in Theory and Practice

Modified after Vanek



In Figure 10, "Traditional pyramid" refers to mass participation with large numbers of participants (lower level of B). Many average performances are located in the middle of the pyramid (upper level of B; such as GTO, Spartakiads, and lower level of competitive sport). The top of the pyramid (level A) refers to the different levels of elite sport.

The "Modern pyramid" is much smaller, level B is excluded and level A is extended. This extension, at the elite level, can be characterized by new specialized institutions of elite sport, and concentrates on distinguished Olympic sports, seeded Olympic sports, schools specializing in physical education, sport schools, and sports boarding schools.

In order to facilitate performance during the 1960's, the sports already on the program for the Olympic Games were given the highest priority. Olympic sports were distinguished from non-Olympic sports and were given significant financial, technical, and moral support. This meant better training conditions and facilities, and further opportunities for national and international competition.

#### Distinguished Olympic Sports

In the late 1960's, within the Olympic sports context, sports which had a greater potential for obtaining medals, such as swimming, track and field, etc., received even higher support and distinction.

Referring to the pyramid model, the more participants there were, the higher the pyramid (if selection, training and rewards are correctly provided), and then the greater the elite group. To "run" a pyramid, for example, in water polo and in swimming is presumably very expensive. Coaching, pool time, support for the athletes and for the coaching staff, training camps, domestic and international competitions, must all be provided. However, in swimming, several gold and other medals can be won, and only one in water polo. In addition, in swimming three competitors can represent a country (if qualified) but only one water polo team. Therefore, it is far more advantageous to support swimming than water polo.

### Seeded Olympic Sports.

The likelihood of winning more medals distinguishes seeded Olympic sports. This decision was reinforced by the seeded clubs, which were rated by the number of representatives on the Olympic teams, and also according to the members' ability to earn Olympic points. Consequently, high-scoring clubs are now receiving proportionately higher support for these purposes.

### Schools Specializing in Physical Education

Furthermore, schools specializing in physical education have been introduced. It must be emphasized however, that in nearly all fields of education the exceptional children are receiving special training through specialized schools, e.g., music, ballet, mathematics and many other disciplines. The chosen ones, regardless of their social origin, are given the opportunity to obtain the highest level of training possible. These pupils, however, represent a rather small portion of the students, in comparison with non-specialized schools. It is estimated that they make up less than one percent of the students in the school. Schools specializing in physical education are to be found only in the SSC's (Bennett et. al., 1975:63), and they provide the regular school curriculum and specialize in physical education. Physical education is given daily as well as extra-curricular sports activities combined with better than average facilities and highly specialized teachers. Admission to these schools is determined by the candidate's athletic and academic advancement.

### Sport Schools

Schools specializing in physical education, however, must be distinguished from the so-called sports school which provide after-school training for students of the regular schools. They are financed and administered by sport clubs, in order to provide the best possible replacement and talent development. Several times during the year it is announced through newspapers, radio and television, that special "entrance examinations" will be given for particular age groups in various sports. This is the usual way for these sports schools to organize their search and selection of gifted athletes.

### Sport Boarding Schools

There are also sport boarding schools specializing in physical education in which the standard curriculum for ordinary schools is combined with an additional study load in sports theory and practice (Riordan, 1977:342). Sport boarding schools were established at first in East Germany during the 1950's and in the early 1960's in Bulgaria, Cuba and the Soviet Union. There are no sports boarding schools in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and in Yugoslavia.

The reasons of the creation and establishment of the sports school system was stated clearly by one Soviet official:

The sporting vacation has a particular significance not for mass sport, but for specialized sports schools in such sports as athletics, swimming, gymnastics, team games, figure skating, skiing and speed skating - i.e. in sports that constitute the basis of the Olympic program. In evaluating the meaning-fullness of sport in international tournaments, one must not forget that, while world and European championships have great importance, victory at the Olympic Games acquires a political resonance (Riordan, 1977:345).

### System of Athletic Competition

In the meantime, the system of athletic competition within and among the SSC's has been such that special competitions have been organized exclusively for the athletes of the SSC's, in order to promote more advantages, through top-level competition, versus athletes from other countries of the world. Among these, one of the most important competitions is the Olympic Hopes Tournament, in which young athletes, less than 19 years of age, participate, giving them experience at an international level and at a relatively young age. The Friendly Army Games and the Spartakiads of the Security Forces (Police) provide excellent opportunities for top level international competition for members of the army and police clubs. There are many other important tournaments in the SSC's such as the Peace Cycling Race (known as the Warsaw-Prague-Berlin Race), the Socialist Rural Games, the Intervisio Gymnastic Tournament, Znamensky Memorial Track Meet, Twin City Games, etc. The underlying aims of these games is the promotion of international competition as well as serving to maintain a good relationship among the athletes, coaches and leaders of sport from the respective SSC's.

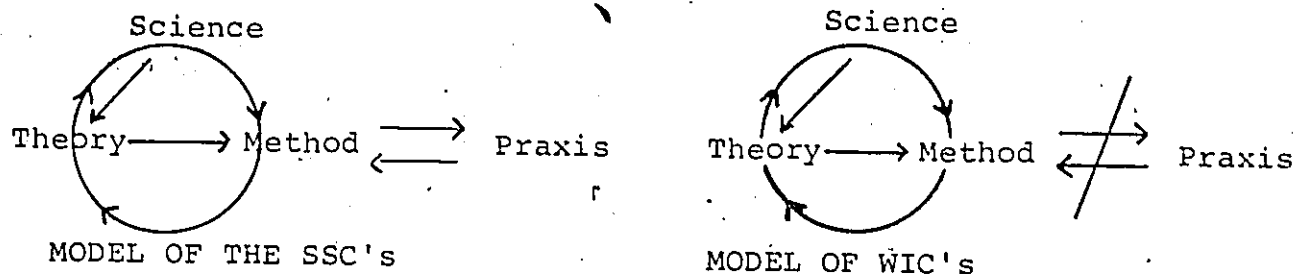
### Scientific Research in Sports

Both the increasing level of performance and the increasing number of participants at international competitions, particularly at the Olympic Games, contributed to the establishment of sport research institutes in the SSC's. However, the detailed description of the facilities, objectives and the various topics of these institutes are outside the framework of this study. Nevertheless, the description of the general orientations and policies in sport research may contribute to a better understanding of state socialist sport development.

Scientific research in sport is guided by the principle of "theory through practice and practice through theory." In the SSC's, the relationship between the training system, sciences, and social conditions has facilitated the development of performance by relating to applied sport research. The demands of the North American sport system, through the role of the universities, facilitates basic research (or hypothesis testing). The contrast in the two systems is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 11 (Balyi and O'Hara, 1980:11).

Figure 13

Theory and Practice of Sport in the SSC's and the WIC's



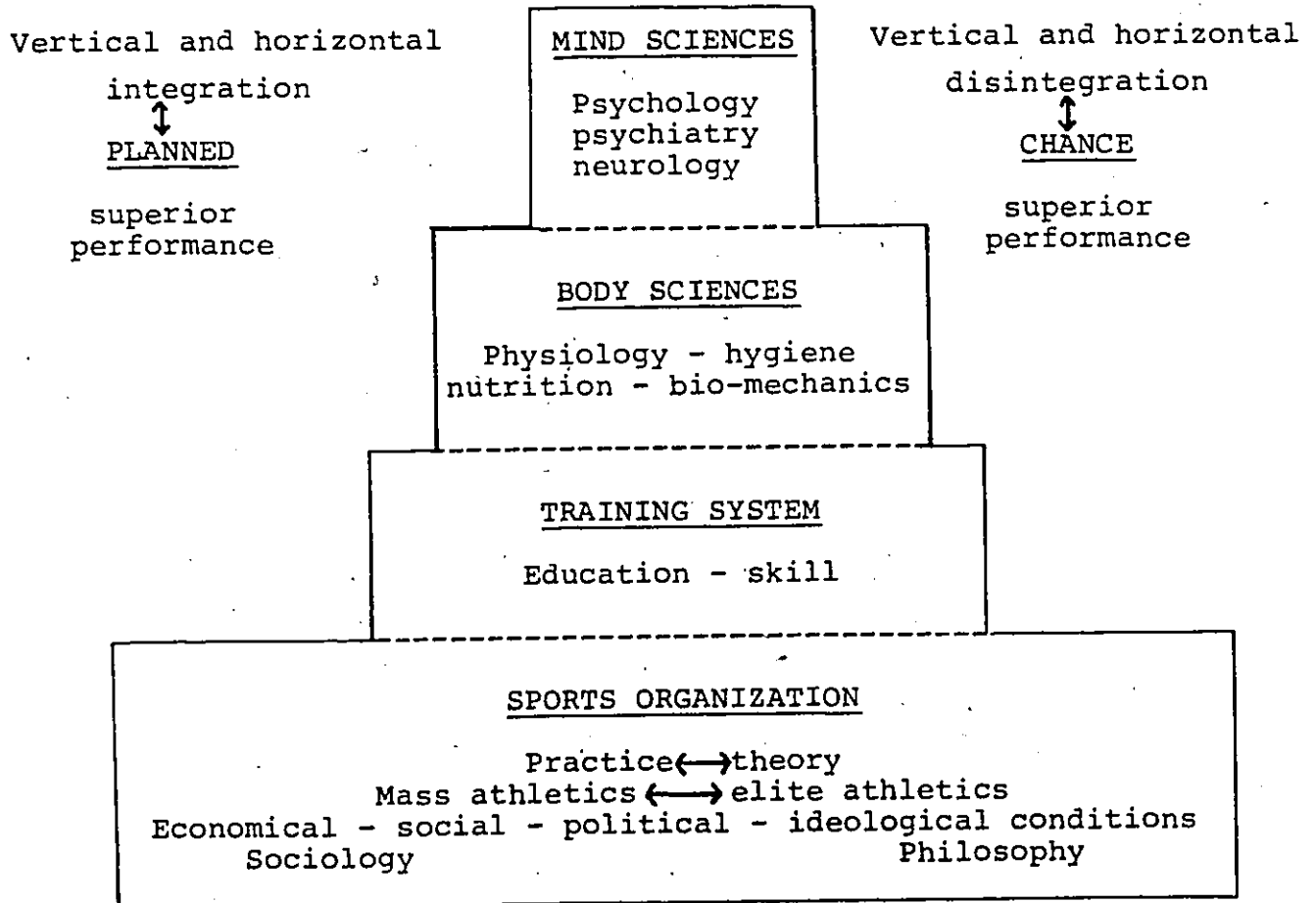
In the SSC's, theory and method are dialectically related and applied to improving performance; thus theory is tested in praxis. Results, as feedback, can contribute to the advancement of science. In the WIC's, the general demands on sport sciences are not performance but theory and methodology related. While the exchange between theory and practice in the SSC'S is strongly emphasized, it is rarely emphasized in the WIC's.

Like all institutions and policies, research also became subservient to the improvement of sport performance. To borrow an idea from St. Thomas Aquinas, "the sport sciences are the handmaidens of sport performance" (Balyi - O'Hara, 1980:8).

Conclusion

In this chapter the general process of sport institutionalization and administration were described during the socialist period. The patterns of decision making, policies and institutional changes clearly underlined that this process of change is closely related to the need to improve the success of elite sport. The precondition and possibility of the establishment and maintenance of this sport system lies in the social system. Planned superior athletic performance is deeply-rooted and dependent upon the socio-political system (Vanek, 1971:48). The following figure, according to Vanek, illustrates the inter-relationship of the various elements of planned superior performance.

Figure 14



The centre of attention in the platform of planned superior performance is the training system. A good training system alone can only provide a chance for superior performance. For example, if the sport organizations cannot provide a good system of selection and competition, the identification and selection of a talented athlete depends upon fortuitous circumstances.

If the training system utilizes and supports scientific research, and the social conditions are favourable for these organizations (through the existing economic, political and ideological conditions), it is only then that there will be a vertical and horizontal integration between all the elements indicated in the platform. This will produce and enhance planned superior performance.

In the SSC's, vertical and horizontal integration are maintained by the centralized leadership and supported by the organizational, structural and policy changes, as it was stated earlier, in order to provide the planned superior performance. The failure of the pyramid model in practice has created the system of schools specializing in physical education, the system of sport schools, defined Olympic sports, then seeded Olympic sports. The established system of education and competition and rewards is also oriented to maintaining vertical and horizontal integration. Theory and practice fail in physical education and mass sports when the original aims are considered. In practice, both are submerged in elite sports.

Since all resources and efforts are centralized and coordinated, in the SSC's the final product results in superior achievement at the international level. However, all that glitters is not gold. Physical education and mass sports are left behind in the shadow of glittering athletic success. The question is undoubtedly arising in everyone's mind - why?

### References

1. Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union were primarily Orthodox; Hungary and Czechoslovakia primarily Catholic over Protestant; Poland and Cuba, Catholic; East Germany, Protestant; and Yugoslavia an intermixture of Catholic, Orthodox and Islam. For details see Seppanen (1981).
2. Nadori (1976:126) used a general schema, valid to all sports. For the better understanding of the technical details, the schema was adjusted to swimming.
3. Ozolin, Korobkov, Lydiard, etc., combined the basic and pre-competitive training phases and they called it the preparatory phase (Nadori, 1976:60). The different terms, however, cover the same objectives and content.

## Chapter 4

### Olympism and Olympic Success in the State Socialist Countries Between 1952 and 1976

In the former chapter the "Olympic centered" institutionalization and organization of sport in the SSC's was outlined. In this chapter an attempt will be made to classify the role and importance of Olympism within the state socialist context. Also included will be the different techniques of measurement of Olympic success, followed by the justification of the method of measurement in this study. Both absolute and relative success will be addressed. On this basis, the general trends of sport development and the absolute and relative achievement of success of the respective SSC's will be described and compared.

Finally, the ranking and the classification of the relevant countries will be presented vis a vis their absolute and relative success between 1952 and 1976.

#### The Importance of the Olympic Games

To state that the Olympic Games are the most significant sport event is the affirmation of the obvious. Its "very scale" makes it the major sport festival (Morgan, 1981:44).

According to Johnson:

The Olympic Games are a unique and most peculiar phenomenon. Never in the history of the world has there been a regularly scheduled, floating public spectacular that is so enormous, so expensive and that so thoroughly enfolds the peoples of the planet (1972:19).

It would be rather difficult to identify another event which "engenders such interest by the mass media around the world" (Lüschen and Sage, 1981:3), and only the World Cup soccer championship can be compared to the Olympic Games.

Greendorfer, referring to Lüschen, indicated that "the largest television audience ever (800 million people) was attracted by a sport event, that being the final ceremonies of the 1972 Olympics (1981:170). At the 1976 Montreal Olympics, the mass media personnel outnumbered the participants; there were 10,000 media personnel to 7,000 participants. The Los Angeles Times and Washington Post Service "estimated that more than one billion people viewed at least part of the international television coverage. There were as many as 60 daily broadcasts, including five simultaneous transmissions to Europe, and a combined 800 hours of television broadcasts to Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America" (McCollum and McCollum, 1981:127).

In the SSC's all Olympic finals were televised, wherein the representatives of the respective countries competed. It must be pointed out that this is a standard procedure for television coverage in the SSC and has been since the Mexico Games in 1968. The winners are considered to be national heroes representing their country, culture, and social system.

In spite of the officially recognized importance of the Olympic Games in the SSC's, scholarly study about its specific role and importance does not yet exist. Although there are many official statements (and opinions) about it, and beyond some propagandistic argumentation, there is no satisfactory explanation concerning the real importance and role of Olympism in the SSC's.

It is quite understandable that under the ideological conditions of state socialism the sociological analysis of the Olympic Games is non-existent. Although sport has an unproportional presence in the superstructure, the researchers are reluctant to explain away the contradictory relationship between the economic base and sport. To be precise, they do not explore the real features of sport as it relates to the superstructure of the country.

Western scholars deal mostly with the problems of the Olympic Games as they effect the WIC's (Brohm, 1978; Edwards, 1981; Lenk, 1976; Prokop, 1971). With the exception of some references, they do not elaborate on the SSC's. Owing to the general lack of data, this chapter can provide only partial answers about the role and importance of Olympism in the SSC's. Although a comprehensive answer can be given within the context of the socio-politico-economic changes as they affect Olympic achievement, this will be addressed in the next chapter. However, some essential relationships between the Olympic Games and national and international representation,

nationalism, as well as national and socialist bloc integration must be discussed.

Raymond Aron wrote about representation

when a national team wins an athletic victory or a scientist or writer brings honours to his country with a Nobel prize, the triumph of the few becomes a source of pride for the many (1968:58).

Stone, examining the role of sport in modern society, came to the conclusion that it is "collective representation" (1981:22).

According to Goodhart and Chataway

Around the world, people appear to attach more and more weight to success in international sport. Their team's performance in the Olympics is increasingly seen as the measure of a nation's worth. More and more athletes see themselves as engaged in an activity that is of importance to their country. In an interview before the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, Robbie Brightwell, the British captain and quartermiler, said: 'All the time you realize you are running for Britain. People expect you to win, and this hurts more than physical punishment' (1968:17).

In other words, if any member of a community comes into conflict with the members of another community, feeling and consciousness of identification will arise in the members of the group. If the confrontation has a certain structure, e.g., competition, group members in the audience will see the competitor as their representative and will become his/her "fans" in the competition. The victory or defeat of their representative will be felt as their own glory or failure.

Huizinga also expressed the opinion that success in sport can be, to a larger extent, transferred from the individual to

the group, i.e., the group or public view the athletes as their representative, and identify themselves with his/her performance. Krawczyk (1973) examined the role of the sport system in facilitating social integration in Poland<sup>1</sup> and concluded that it occurs through the process of acculturation. This is an important argument from the point of view of this study, since the whole process of state socialist development can be viewed as coerced acculturation, where - as it was pointed out earlier - sport, together with the other institutions, contributed greatly to that process.

Individual and team representation of the various SSC's, through the process of identification, contributes directly to nationalistic tendencies. These were observed early at the Olympic Games (Lapchik, 1971), but especially after the 1952 Helsinki Olympiad (Howell and Howell, 1976).

Bloc representation or political system representation played, and continues to play, an important role in the process of Bloc integration. Since 1952 the Games have been identified as testing grounds for the two great political units (UNESCO, 1956:57).

In the following pages, both nationalist and internationalist (Socialist Bloc) perspectives will be illustrated by various examples. The Soviet Union and the SSC's recognized early the communicative appeal and the "potential of international sport as a propaganda vehicle" (Edwards, 1981:222).

When Zhdanov launched the cultural battle about the supremacy of Soviet culture and urged an offensive against the decadent West (Riordan, 1977:364), sport was announced to be an inalienable part of the overall culture of socialist society. Sport seemed to be and proved to be one of the best phenomena serving the local and international interest of the SSC's. It's interpretation - especially of its success - was beyond cultural, religious or language barriers, since rules and regulations of Olympic sports are well known and accepted worldwide. The arts, literature, theatre, cinema, etc., obviously could not provide the same results during the growing isolation of the Cold War, when cultural exchanges were non-existent or rather limited. Even after the Cold War in the era of detente sport produced better ends than any other cultural field.

At the same time together with Zhdanov's cultural policy the Soviets and the SSC's - under Soviet influence and guidance - "systematically dismissed the bourgeois Western illusion of sport as a-political and then set about forging a direct propaganda link between victory and on the other hand the viability of a social system" (Edwards, 1981:223). The United States and many of the WIC's accepted the challenge of the SSC's, and sport became an extension of politics: a war without weapons (Goodhart and Chataway, 1968).

Since 1952 the Olympic success of the SSC's was interpreted according to the prevalent political relationship between the SSC's and the WIC's. Olympic achievement became the hand-maiden of national and state socialist Bloc integration, providing the model for the Developing Countries, as well as sustaining propaganda and polishing the image of Communism in the West (Bennett et. al., 1975; Johnson, 1972; Morton, 1963; Riordan, 1978).

After the Helsinki Olympiad, in 1952, it was stated in the Soviet press,

The shining victory of the representatives of Soviet sport at the 15th Olympic Games made apparent to the whole world the fact that was long ago clear to every Soviet man: in the Soviet Union, the first Soviet state in the world, all conditions have been created for the harmonious development of human personality, for the spiritual and physical fulfillment of every citizen. Although Soviet sportsmen for the first time took part in such strong international competition, their outstanding success was natural. This is the consequence of the great attention and care of the Party and the government for the physical development of the Soviet people. This is still another victory of our Soviet system (Morton, 1963:34).

In 1970, with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of detente, that statement was changed to accommodate the new political developments between the Socialist Bloc and the West:

The main purpose of our international sports ties is to consolidate the authority of the Soviet Union by ensuring that Soviet athletes play a leading role internationally, that their sport skill constantly grows, that the success of Soviet people in building communism are made widely known and that physical culture and sport are promoted in our country (Riordan, 1978:378).

After the 1976 Olympics in Montreal, a communiqué in New Times stated:

The athletes of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries scored some resounding victories ... The fact that our athletes won the largest number of medals and took first place in the unofficial team standings is evidence of the auspicious atmosphere socialist society creates for the all-round development of the individual (New Times, August, 1976:3)

As far as Bloc integration is concerned the following examples will illustrate that process. From the beginning of the appearance of the Cuban team in Montreal - as Ludwing observed it - their presence was an orchestrated showcase. Further on:

Gold medalists such as Alberto Juantorena and Theofilo Stevenson had mini lectures ready for their press conferences. Juantorena wanted not only to exalt Cuba and Castro but to connect Cuban victory with the brotherhood of socialist states. More important than competition was international socialist cooperation and again a sense of community (1976:101).

A recent Bulgarian official Olympic publication seems almost ironic in overindulging the reference to the sporting relationship between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, however, it seems, it is sincerely believed and accepted in Bulgaria by both the athletes and the general population:

The achievements of Bulgarian sports also spring from the positive experience of the strongest sporting nations in the world. The disinterested assistance of Soviet sportsmen, coaches and experts holds central place in this respect. The Bulgarian and Russian people have been friends for centuries. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union maintain relations of understanding, friendship and mutual assistance in all fields of life. The Soviet school of sports has played a significant part in all our outstanding achievements in this field. That is why we have always given credit for the rapid progress marked by Bulgarian sports. It is a vivid manifestation of

Olympic solidarity between two nations on a different sport level. The first managing cadres and coaches after September 9, 1944 studied and specialized in the USSR, intensively drawing from the rich Soviet experience, both as mass physical education and competitive sports go. Many Bulgarians have graduated from university or received a degree in the USSR, hundreds of coaches and thousands of people keep Soviet sports books on the shelves of their libraries (Meranzov, et. al.: 1976,13).

In East Germany Olympic success is considered "to maintain and further the prestige of the GDR as a unit and that of the Socialist Bloc as a whole" (Strenk, 1978:359). Similar references could be found in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland before the 1970's (Kun, 1976:152), in Romania before Cheauescu, but not in Yugoslavia.

One of the reasons that the numerous and lengthy quotations were used is that they luminously overdo the gratitude expressed for the Soviet help and guidance, or for the Socialist Bloc. The formulation of these ideas is certainly not common to the Western mind, but it is quite usual in the SSC's. The cooperation in sport among the SSC's - just like in many other fields - serves the purpose of national and Bloc integration as well as proving and reinforcing the superiority of the state socialist system.

Integration at both levels was rather important during the early stage of socialist system establishment, and it is still important in many of the SSC's. However, there are other aspects regarding the importance of Olympic achievement which are not as clearly visible as that of success. Beyond

that success, it seems that the many-sided presence of sport - as it is so inextricably interwoven with politics, education, work, leisure, health, defence and culture - underlines a peculiar relationship between sport and the political economy of the SSC's. This will be explained in the following chapter.

#### Methods of Calculation of Olympic Success

Officially there is no placing between the nations; there is neither score, nor point competition at the Olympic Games. However, all over the world the mass media are "glorifying the achievement of political units as much as those individual sportsmen" (Goodhart and Chataway; 1968:16). Most of the nations show up the most favourable calculation to prove their success in unofficial scoring.

There are sociological and statistical approaches toward the measurement of Olympic achievement. It was described previously in the review of literature, how sociological studies analyzed or measured Olympic success. However, several statistical methods can be distinguished, among others, as the most commonly used techniques and are presented as follows:

1. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of medals won;
2. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of places won (1st to 6th);
3. Classification of the nations in relation to the population of the respective countries;
4. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of gold medals won;

5. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of medals won between 1896 and 1976;
6. Classification of the nations in relation to success in specific sport disciplines.

1. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of medals won:

1.1. Total number of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd places (medals)

1.2. The given value of 1st place is 3 points, 2nd place is 2 points and 3rd place is 1 point. The rank of the nations is made up by the sum of the points.

Examples: Mexico City - 1968

1.1. Country		1.2. Country	
1. United States	106	1. United States	223
2. Soviet Union	91	2. Soviet Union	181
3. Hungary	32	3. Hungary	62
4. Japan	25	4. Japan	54
5. East Germany	25	5. East Germany	52
6. West Germany	25	6. West Germany	45
7. Poland	18	7. Poland	34
8. Australia	17	8. Australia	32
9. France	15	9. France	30
10. Great Britain	13	10. Great Britain	28

2. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of places won (1st to 6th):

With the growing number of competitors it has become more accurate to take into consideration the 4th, 5th and 6th place standing also.

2.1. The given value of places in points: 7, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 point. Gold medals are distinguished with 1 extra point: 7 instead of 6 points. This is the method usually applied in the SSC's.

2.2. The given value of places in points: 10, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 point. A gold medal is distinguished with 5 extra points. This method was used by the United States during the 1950's.

Examples: Mexico City - 1968

2.1. Country	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	Total
1. United States	45	27	34	26	15	17	711
2. Soviet Union	29	32	30	23	15	17	599
3. East Germany	9	9	7	16	19	17	239
4. Hungary	10	10	12	4	6	2	194
5. Japan	11	7	7	8	11	5	191
6. West Germany	5	10	10	7	10	14	180
7. Australia	5	7	5	11	4	8	139
8. Poland	5	2	11	5	8	7	127
9. France	7	3	5	6	7	6	122
10. Great Britian	5	5	3	5	8	4	107

2.2. Country	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	Total
1. United States	45	27	34	26	15	17	846
2. Soviet Union	29	32	30	23	15	17	686
3. East Germany	9	9	7	16	19	17	264
4. Hungary	10	10	12	4	6	2	224
5. Japan	11	7	7	8	11	5	224
6. West Germany	5	10	10	7	10	14	195
7. Australia	5	7	5	11	4	8	154
8. Poland	5	2	11	5	8	7	142
9. France	7	3	5	6	7	6	143
10. Great Britian	5	5	3	5	8	4	122

3. Classification of the nations in relation to the population:

The points scored (1st to 6th place) divided by the millions of inhabitants of the respective nations. This method is usually used by the countries of small population.

Example: Mexico City - 1968

<u>Country</u>	<u>Achieved Points (scores)</u>	<u>Millions of Inhabitants</u>	<u>Points/Million of Inhabitants</u>
1. Hungary	194	10.50	18.47
2. East Germany	239	17.50	13.65
3. Australia	139	12.00	11.58
4. Mongolia	19	2.00	9.50
5. Denmark	45	4.75	9.47
6. Bulgaria	67	8.50	7.88
7. Czechoslovakia	104	14.50	7.17
8. Finland	33	4.74	6.94
9. New Zealand	18	2.75	6.54
10. Sweden	52	8.00	6.50

4. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of gold medals won.

Example: Mexico City -1968

<u>Country</u>	<u>Medal</u>
1. United States	45
2. Soviet Union	29
3. Japan	11
4. Hungary	10
5. East Germany	9
6. France	7
7. Czechoslovakia	7
8. West Germany	5
9. Australia	5
10. Great Britain	5

If two or more countries won the same number of medals, then the ranking is decided by the points won in relation to the first six places (1st to 6th).

5. Classification of the nations in relation to the number of medals won between 1896 and 1976.

Example:

	<u>Country</u>	<u>Gold</u>	<u>Silver</u>	<u>Bronze</u>
1.	United States	570	420	371
2.	Soviet Union	211	178	169
3.	Great Britain	140	175	150
4.	Sweden	124	118	145
5.	France	110	125	114
6.	Italy	114	100	99
7.	Hungary	101	88	100
8.	Finland	87	70	98
9.	Germany	78	82	74
10.	Japan	64	58	53

6. Classification of the nations in relation to success in specific sport disciplines:

Example: Mexico City - 1968 -- Weightlifting

	<u>Country</u>	<u>Point (1st to 6th)</u>
1.	Bulgaria	38
2.	Soviet Union	30
3.	Hungary	27
4.	Poland	22
5.	East Germany	18
6.	Iran	7
7.	Norway	7

Since method 2.1. is favoured and accepted by all SSC's, the classification of the respective countries will be based on that method.

### Justification of the Method of Measurement

Sport development at the macro level can be measured directly or indirectly. Direct measurement consists of drawing from the available official statistics, while indirect measurement is used when official statistics are not available, non-existent or biased. The general problems of state socialist statistics were outlined in Chapter 1.

Sport statistics in the SSC's as they relate to international achievement are considered to be reliable. On the other hand, there are contradictory statements about mass and leisure participation. This is representative of the previously mentioned "double bookkeeping system". The following example may serve to enlighten how their system is applied in sports.

In 1973, it was officially stated in Hungary (Népsport, 1973, September 7:3), that there were 1.4 million active athletes, thus 14% of the population participated in various sport activities regularly. However, for confidential internal use by the top sport administrators in the Ministry of Sport, it was specified that from that 1.4 million, 0.9 million was "supporting membership". In truth, the majority of members never actually competed or trained but contributed by some other means such as finances or spectatorship to their favourite clubs. This use of statistics attempts to cover up the reality that only a relatively small elite is directly

responsible for the achievement, or to put it in other words - the application of the triangle principle does not exist in Hungary.

There is no doubt that in East Germany, Bulgaria and Cuba mass sport participation is better organized than in the rest of the SSC's, however, all data on mass participation is regarded as biased by the experts of leisure studies (Dumazedier, 1974).

Because of unreliable statistics this study uses indirect measurement. It was pointed out earlier how the total efforts in physical education and sports were geared toward Olympic achievement. The Olympic success, thus, incorporated all institutions of sports and physical education. It formed such a hierarchy that the total output was Olympic centered, and represented the various institutions such as: GTO, Sparta-kiads, schools, sport schools, sports schools specializing in physical education, etc. Thus, the output of the achievement reflected how effective these different elements were. It is interesting to note, for example, that at an unsuccessful Olympiad for the Soviet Union, such as that of 1968, the reasons and problems for the poor performance were analyzed deductively as to which of the particular units failed and were therefore responsible for the poor showing. Salient success may occur when all the units are performing well or improving their efficiency even further. The "platform of coaching" as explained in the former chapter, may serve to

underline this argument. If the sport institutions are getting stronger support from other institutions under the specific ideological, or more precisely under the specific socio-politico-economic conditions, e.g. Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the early 1950's; Cuba and East Germany in the late 1960's; then an even higher efficiency level can be obtained. Thus, under what specific circumstances does complete horizontal and vertical integration occur in the platform of coaching, and why is further improvement wanted? If these conditions can be tracked down, the success of the SSC's can be explained. It is believed, that the specific conditions of sport development cannot be measured directly, therefore a non-direct measurement is warranted. Through Olympic success, the general aspects of sport development can be measured, and that success is officially recorded and reliable.

#### Notion of Absolute and Relative Success at the Olympic Games

The notion of absolute and relative success is not new in Olympic research. However, the approach used in this study concerning relative success is different from former studies (Kiviahho and Makela, 1978).

Absolute success (AS) is the total points won by a country at the different Games (using the method of 2.1.).

Relative success (RS) is the performance of one country related to its own performances at the other Games, and is measured in percentages. In this study 1968 was selected to

be the reference year of performance (1968 = 100%), since East Germany first participated with an independent team in 1968. Thus, the performance of each of the SSC's were defined as 100% in 1968, and all other performances between 1952 and 1976 were related to 1968. It must be mentioned that 1972 or 1976 could have been selected, but because of the high achievement by Cuba, East Germany and Bulgaria, the study would have dealt with rather low values in the case of some of the other countries, and would have made it somewhat difficult to draw up the various figures represented by the study.

It must be pointed out that the introduction of RS was due to Yugoslavia's performance. It showed positive, increasing performances in AS, however, in absolute terms achieved far less than the other SSC's. An adequate interpretation will be provided later to explain this phenomenon.

Absolute and Relative Success Achieved by the State Socialist Countries at the Olympic Games Between 1952 and 1976

Bulgaria

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 are illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Absolute Success:	4	33	40	67	67	145	167
Relative Success:	6%	49%	60%	100%	100%	216%	249%

Before the Second World War, Bulgaria established very moderate development in sport and physical education (Kun, 1978). Since there was no significant workers' sport movement, the spirit of nationalism created the first gymnastic clubs where vigor, patriotism and military skill were emphasized. Sports appeared first after the 1920's (Van Dálen and Bennett, 1971:330). The lack of traditions and expertise in sport resulted in a very slow improvement in performance. However, from the mid 1950's Bulgaria showed one of the most impressive improvements among the participating countries of the world. Among the SSC's its achievement was third behind that of Cuba and East Germany.

Considering Bulgaria's size, population, and general development, its ranking among the participating nations of the various Olympics is also rather impressive: 43rd in 1952 and 8th in 1972 and 1976. This position is quite significant, especially if it is considered that among others, the United Kingdom, for example, finished 9th, 10th, 12th; France 7th, 14th, 15th; and Sweden 4th, 13th and 18th respectively.

Among the SSC's Bulgaria ranked 7th in 1952; 6th in 1956, 1960 and 1964; 7th again in 1968; then 5th in 1972 and 1976. In spite of this excellent achievement in 1968, there was no increase in performance over the previous Olympiad and as well as a drop in ranking occurred. The Politburo was not satisfied and "accused the local party organizations, the trade unions, and the Ministry of Education of indifference to the

development of sports" (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971:331). The intervention by the Politburo proved to be successful, since significant improvement occurred in 1972 and in 1976.

### Cuba

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Absolute Success:	(3)	(1)	3	7	25	54	88
Relative Success:	12%	4%	12%	20%	100%	216%	352%

Cuba's sport success at international sport competitions, and especially at the Pan-American and Olympic Games is rather outstanding.

After the revolution, the Soviet type of institutions and policies were implemented. With the establishment of the centralized sport institutions, the initial success occurred as it was expected in 1968 and in 1972. The traditional and modern methods of athletic training (see p. 87) explain this "carry-over" time. Cuba's ranking among the participating nations of the world was: 48th in 1960, 36th in 1964, 25th in 1968, 17th in 1972, and 13th in 1976. This continuous improvement is very impressive, especially if it is considered that countries like Canada, Holland, Norway, New Zealand, and Switzerland finished behind Cuba in 1972 as did France,

Finland, Sweden, Australia in 1976 respectively. This improvement represents an enormous success for Cuba, and what is even more important from the Cuban point of view is that Cuba's achievement is the best among the Central and Latin American countries, as well as among the so called developing countries.

Cuba's ranking among the SSC's in AS was 8th in 1960 and 1964; 9th in 1968; 8th again in 1972 and 6th in 1976. Despite the gradual improvement in relation to the WIC's, its standing among the SSC's - except 1976 - shows an almost steady ranking, since with the exception of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, all the SSC's have improved their level of achievement.

In RS Cuba shows the most significant improvement. It shows compelling evidence since Cuba's "reference group" is the Developing Countries.

The emphasis between the political system and sport as pointed out earlier is evident but a further example might show a different perspective:

When Juantorena won the 800-meters he dedicated his victory to both the Cuban revolution and Castro. After his victory in the 400-meters, he dedicated that medal to the people of Cuba and Comrade Fidel Castro, and to everyone who made possible our revolution in sports and our coming to the Olympic Games (Ludwing, 1976:102).

Cuba and Bulgaria, and to a lesser extent East Germany and the Soviet Union are among those SSC's where this kind of propaganda, e.g., the direct and emphasized relationship between the political system and sport achievement, was nurtured during the 1970's.

Cuba's success at the Olympic Games - as well as at the Pan American Games - served as an enormous propaganda vehicle with which to influence both allied and "non-allied" developing countries. Both the Cuban sport development and achievement was greatly aided by the SSC's; track and field by Polish experts, boxing by the Soviets, waterpolo and kayak by the Hungarians, as well as sport scientists in biomechanics, sport psychology, and exercise physiology from the Soviet Union and East Germany. The Cuban political and sport leadership made every necessary move to exploit the prestige of their sport system. For instance, in Montreal under the most extensive media coverage of modern history, "from the beginning, when Stevenson marched into the Stadium at the head of the Cuban delegation their national presence was athletic theatre" (Ludwing, 1976:105).

Czechoslovakia

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	95	71	77	103	104	75	75
RS:	91%	68%	74%	99%	100%	72%	72%

Czechoslovakia, like Germany (East Germany) and Hungary achieved high development in sports and in physical education before the socialist period.

The Sokol (Falkon) organization was established in the middle of the 19th century, and required the members to be loyal to the ideals of the love for the country, freedom and equality (Kun, 1978; Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971). Both the

Germans (1941) and the Russians (1948) dissolved the Sokol because of its strong nationalistic nature and, indeed anti-German and anti-Communist representation (Ibid). After the take-over, the Soviet institutions, with centralized policies, were implemented ensuring the success of the country's achievement at the Olympic Games. Their rankings are as follows: 10th in 1952; 14th in 1956; 11th in 1960; 10th again in 1964; 11th in 1968; 15th in 1972; and finally 14th in 1976 in AS among the participating nations of the world.

Owing to its former development, the AS of Czechoslovakia shows early high achievement, it was 3rd in 1952; 5th in 1956 and 1960; 4th in 1964; 5th again in 1968; 7th in 1972 and finally 8th in 1976 among the SSC's.

In RS, 2nd in 1952; 4th in 1956; 5th in 1960; 4th again in 1964; 9th in 1972 and in 1976. Both in AS and RS Czechoslovakia shows gradual decline, especially if the results of 1952 and 1976 compared.

#### East Germany

The nation's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1968 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	--	--	--	--	239	481	636
RS:	--	--	--	--	100%	201%	266%

East Germany, as a part of Germany was one of the most successful nations at the Olympic Games before the Second World War. The nation's political development, especially the drive for international recognition as a sovereign nation was totally intertwined with sports. Since 1956 East German athletes were considered to be "diplomats in track suits" at the international scene (Strenk, 1978; Carr, 1974). As Honecker - now first secretary of the East Germany's equivalent of the Communist Party - stated in 1948 "sport is not an end in itself, but rather the means to an end" (Strenk, 1978:352). Until the nation full political accreditation was obtained, sport was used strategically to help provoke that recognition.

In spite of severe ideological and political battles between East and West Germany, East Germany accepted to participate at the 1956, 1960 and 1964 Olympics in the jointed German team. The ratio between the athletes representing East and West Germany was 18-58 in 1956, 142-189 in 1960 and 194-182 in 1964, respectively. Thus, the strength of the East German's sport was beginning to show as early as 1960 (Carr, 1974:125). Since 1968 that "strength" became "power" as in AS East Germany finished third in 1968 and 1972, and second in 1976. In Montreal, East Germany surpassed the United States in AS, which is considered to be the most surprising achievement during the history of the modern Olympic Games. This was

also the first time that the United States finished below the second place in AS. In 1976, East Germany achieved a higher success in AS, than the combined achievement of Canada, France, Japan and West Germany; 636 points versus 629 respectively.

In RS, East Germany was third to Bulgaria and Cuba in 1972, and second to Cuba in 1976. This proves to be a salient improvement, and these above three countries can be characterized by salient improvements since 1968. Many considered this success as a mystery, as Ludwing put it:

The East German eruption into sports eminence is, for the West, a mystery: analogies with the put-upon Dickens children don't go far enough. One has suggested parallels with Frankenstein's monster, and mysterious infusions, potions, and injections, to account for this new force unleashed on the World (1976:93).

Brohm characterized East Germany's sport system as a "vast sports laboratory or sports enterprise - some would go so far as to say a sports prison" (1978:80).

It must be pointed out that the complete horizontal and vertical integration of the "platform of coaching" is in part responsible for that success under the specific socio-politico-economic conditions. As Strenk put forward his consideration, "it is interesting to speculate whether, if the Western world had accepted the GDR as a regular member in 1949, the East Germans would have developed such an extensive sport system" (1978:364).

Hungary

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	266	187	152	180	194	226	155
RS:	137%	96%	78%	93%	100%	116%	80%

.During the late 19th and early 20th century the development of Hungarian sport and physical education was primarily influenced by vivid nationalism. Hungary was one of the members of the founding nations of the modern Olympic movement and since the first modern Games in 1896 the country always ranked among the top ten nations. This is proudly pointed out by official publications which emphasize that this unique position has never been achieved by other small countries.

Strong Olympic traditions (Kun, 1978) contributed to early and substantial support of sport immediately after the takeover. During the first three-year plan (1948-1951) important investments were made in sport facilities and athletic preparation. In 1948, the country was still in ruin yet a National Training Centre was built in Tata, which became a milestone for Olympic preparation. It is worth mentioning that the United States established their first Olympic Training Centre in Colorado Springs in the late 1970's. The importance of this priority given to sports facilities and development may be further underlined when considering the acute housing shortages as late as the early 1970's. As a

result of these concentrated efforts Hungary finished 5th in AS at the London Olympics, in 1948, this being quite an achievement if the losses of war are considered. This process of sport development was further exploited with concentrated effort for the Helsinki Games. Hungary won 16 gold, 10 silver and 16 bronze medals in 1952 and finished 3rd in AS among all the participating countries. The magnitude of this success can be pointed out by the fact, that for instance, France and England between 1952 and 1976, at seven consecutive games won 22 and 25 gold medals respectively. With the exceptions of the two super powers only East Germany won more gold medals at one Olympic Games - twenty in 1972 and forty in 1976 - and Japan tied it with sixteen in 1964; notwithstanding Japan's advantage as a "host country".

The trends and the relative degree of the Hungarian success in 1952 compares with that of East Germany in 1972 and 1976. As a matter of fact, the inspiration for this thesis was stimulated by the observation of the similarities between certain aspects of the Hungarian (and partially Czechoslovakian) success in 1952 as well as the success of Cuba and East Germany in the 1970's.

The 1952 performance was the peak of the Hungarian success, followed by a 5th place in 1956 and 1960 among all the participating nations; 6th in 1964; 4th in 1968; 5th again in 1972; and 9th in 1976.

In RS, Hungary was second among the SSC's at four consecutive games, 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1964; third in 1968 and sixth in 1976.

The overall characteristics of the Hungarian performance indicates a tendency of decline - despite the signs of temporary improvements in 1968 and 1972.

The salient success in 1952 is still a widely discussed phenomenon in Hungary. Now, it is openly admitted that:

It is really true, that at the beginning of the 1950's the actual government instead of national development supported the sports, which was considered on the one hand as a kind of social safety valve, on the other hand as one of the most important representations of Marxist ideology. Notwithstanding, the glorious success of elite sport did not reflect the general conditions of the country (Timar, 1974:4).

The priority given to sport created a complete horizontal and vertical integration in the platform of coaching, with this integration starting to disappear after 1956, and especially in the 1970's.

#### Poland

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	25	73	149	153	127	160	192
RS:	20%	57%	117%	120%	100%	126%	131%

It is worth noting that Descartes suggested to the Polish leaders in the 17th century that they use sport and physical education to help national integration. During the period between 1918 and 1939 "Poland formulated one of the best programs of physical education and sports among the European countries" (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971:350). Since the country's material and human resources were mostly destroyed during the Second World War (Fejto, 1953), sport development and achievement commenced at a slower pace than that of many of the other SSC's. Since the 1960's however, Poland shows a spectacular development in both AS and RS.

Poland was 26th in 1952, 13th in 1956 and thereafter always within the first ten nations among all those participating in the world. Among the SSC's Poland was: 5th in 1952, 4th in 1956; 3rd in 1960 and 1964; 4th in 1968 and in 1972 and 3rd again in 1976.

On the other hand it is worth noting that in RS Poland shows a very progressive development in spite of social and economic turmoils. This somehow contradicts its performance, especially when it is considered that since 1960 Poland always placed better in AS than England, France, Sweden, and even Japan in 1976.

#### Romania

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	30	87	81	95	101	115	181
RS:	29%	86%	80%	94%	100%	114%	180%

In Romania, folk games and traditions played an important role for centuries, even if the country altered its boundaries between 1593 and 1945. Sport clubs were formed before the turn of the century and since the 1930's the country's athletes began to excel at international competitions.

After the takeover - as in all the other SSC's - the Soviet type of socio-cultural, political and economic institutions were initiated and installed and gradually showed their effectiveness in sport.

In AS Romania came 23rd in 1952; 11th in 1956; 10th in 1960; 12th in 1964; 13th in 1968; 12th in 1972 and finally 6th in 1976 among the participating countries of the world. Among the SSC's 4th in 1952; 3rd in 1956; 4th in 1960; 5th in 1964; 6th in 1968 and 1972 and 4th in 1976.

In RS Romania shows one of the most gradual developments among the SSC's, however, it does not match the achievement of Bulgaria, Cuba and East Germany.

Many people associated Romania's success at the 1976 Games with Nadia Comaneci. This was over-emphasized by the mass media and her performance notwithstanding, it must be pointed out that Comaneci is but a product of the Romanian

system of sport like all the other athletes. It is significant to note that her results did not alter the average sport achievement of Romania, ie., Romania won five gold medals; three in 1960 ; two in 1964; in 1968 four; in 1972 three and with Comaneci four in 1976. Thus, one cannot neglect her performance, however, she is, like the other winners, the product of a system which features the emphasis on elite sports.

### Soviet Union

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	494	629	687	617	599	670	790
RS:	82%	105%	115%	103%	100%	112%	132%

After 1917, the Soviet Union - on doctrinal grounds - did not participate at international competitions, except the Worker's Olympiads. Participation at the bourgeois-inspired Olympic Games were also banned, since it was "to deflect the workers from class struggle while training them for new imperialist wars" (Morton, 1963:70). In 1925, a historic document announced the functions of sport in Soviet society.

Sport then, was to be a means for achieving: better health and physical fitness; character formation, as a part of general education is producing a harmonious personality; military training; the identification of individuals with groups (Party, Soviet, trade union) and their encouragement to be active socially and politically (Riordan, 1978:106).

During the 1920's and 1930's the RSI and WSI struggle<sup>2</sup> characterized the sport scene and the introduction of the GTO program in 1930.

After 1945, the Soviets seriously got involved in international sport competition. It is hypothesized by Morton that the Soviet Union had withdrawn from competition "until it was felt with certainty that it would win or that it would at least put up a good show (1963:51). Riordan described the problem in very much the same fashion:

Soviet sportsmen moved cautiously into international competition and before 1952, tended not to enter an event without reasonable expectation of victory. No Soviet team was sent to the London Olympic Games in 1948; in many Olympic events ... it was felt that Soviet standards were still insufficiently high for the USSR to do well (1977:367).

The participation of the Soviet Union at the 1952 Olympic Games was a turning point in modern Olympic history (Howell and Howell, 1976).

In AS the Soviet Union shows a superiority over the participating countries, it was second after the United States on two occasions, in 1952 and 1968, and first in 1956, 1960, 1964, 1972 and again, in 1976. Undoubtedly the most successful country at the Olympic Games since 1952.

In RS, the Soviet Union did not show the same kind of improvement as Bulgaria, Cuba, and East Germany, but this is due to the very high level of achievement attained since 1952.

Yugoslavia

The country's absolute and relative success at the Olympic Games between 1952 and 1976 is illustrated by the following table:

Games:	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
AS:	20	22	23	36	49	43	56
RS:	41%	45%	47%	73%	100%	87%	114%

In Yugoslavia sports were introduced later than in the other SSC's. By 1900, some sports, like swimming, cycling and soccer had been started and sport development had been under German and Austrian influence (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1973:360). However, the large majority of all athletic facilities were built after 1945. With these background conditions, the nation showed moderate achievement in AS: 29th in 1952, 22nd in 1956, in 1960 and in 1964; 20th in 1968 and in 1972; and 17th in 1976 among all the participating countries of the world. Its success also is modest among the SSC's; 7th in 1952, 1956 and 1960 - out of seven SSC's, since Cuba and East Germany did not represent the SSC's during that period; 7th again in 1964, placing better than Cuba; 8th in 1968; and 9th in 1972 and 1976. It must be noted also the points obtained in AS are far below that of the majority of the SSC's.

In RS, however, Yugoslavia shows gradual and significant improvement. It must be emphasized that the utilization of the concept of RS is due to the Yugoslavian trends and is quite significant for this study.

### Comparison of Absolute and Relative Success

The trends of AS and RS of the SSC's were described earlier. Some of the features which are considered to be important were referred to briefly, however, the general trends, similarities and differences can be pointed out if the achievement of SSC's are compared, and the countries are grouped together according to their achievements. The following tables and figures show and diagramatically illustrate the absolute and relative success of the SSC's between 1952 and 1976. (See pages 145, 146 and 147 respectively.)

Comparing the SSC's performance in AS in 1952, two of the countries, the Soviet Union and Hungary showed high achievement; Czechoslovakia medium; while Romania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria (and Cuba in 1960) indicated low-level achievement. In 1976, the Soviet Union and East Germany showed high achievement; Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary medium; Cuba, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are still categorized at a low level, since the performances of the different SSC's are measured against each other. Only two countries indicated stagnation and decline: Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The trends of AS of these two countries show considerable differences in comparison with the other SSC's.

The general trends of RS point out even more clearly the declining tendencies in Olympic achievement in the cases of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In 1952 these two countries as well as the Soviet Union indicated high levels of achievement

and Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria (and Cuba in 1960) showed low achievement. In 1976, Cuba, East Germany and Bulgaria showed high success; Romania, Poland and the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia medium; while Hungary and Czechoslovakia a low level of performance.

These tendencies are rather peculiar in the light of the existing literature. The most compelling arguments concerning the SSC's Olympic achievement are: ideological conditions, socialist economy and improved living conditions. Even if there exist differences among the ideological conditions, economic performance and living conditions of the different SSC's this discrepancy is no less than surprising, especially if the following two factors are further considered:

Hungary and Czechoslovakia have the same kinds of institutions, policies, know-how, training methods, rewards, etc., as those of the other SSC's.

The difference between the general ideological conditions has been described in Chapter 2, however it can be underlined again that concerning economic performance and living conditions in Czechoslovakia and Hungary these countries are among the most advanced ones among the SSC's.

Thus, there must be some specific reason or reasons why certain institutions and policies are functioning well in some of the SSC's and not in the others. These reasons will be explained in the next chapter.

TABLE 4

Absolute Success at the Olympic Games Achieved  
By the State Socialist Countries Between 1952 and 1976

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
BULGARIA	4	33	40	67	67	145	167
CUBA	(3)	(1)	3	7	25	54	88
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	95	71	77	103	104	75	75
EAST GERMANY					239	481	636
HUNGARY	266	187	152	180	194	226	155
POLAND	25	73	149	153	127	160	192
ROMANIA	30	87	81	95	101	115	181
SOVIET UNION	494	629	687	617	599	670	790
YUGOSLAVIA	20	22	23	36	49	43	56

TABLE 5

Relative Success by the State Socialist Countries  
At the Olympic Games Between 1952 and 1976

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
BULGARIA	6	49	60	100	100	216	249
CUBA	12	4	12	28	100	216	352
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	91	68	74	99	100	72	72
EAST GERMANY					100	201	266
HUNGARY	137	96	78	93	100	116	80
POLAND	20	57	117	120	100	126	151
ROMANIA	30	86	80	94	100	114	179
SOVIET UNION	82	105	115	103	100	112	132
YUGOSLAVIA	41	45	47	73	100	87	114

1968 = 100%

FIGURE 15

Absolute Success at the Olympic Games Achieved  
By the State Socialist Countries, Between 1952 and 1976

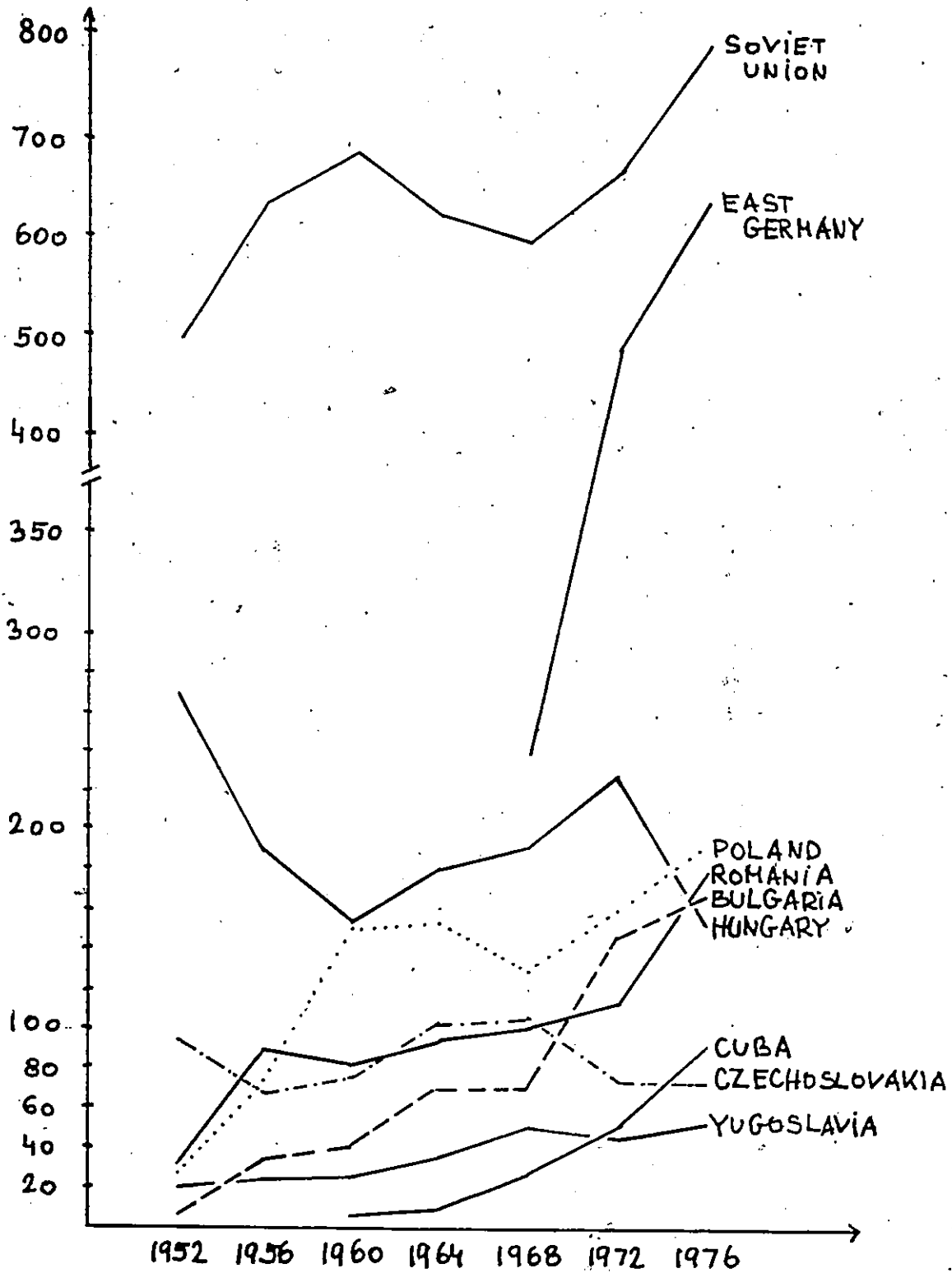
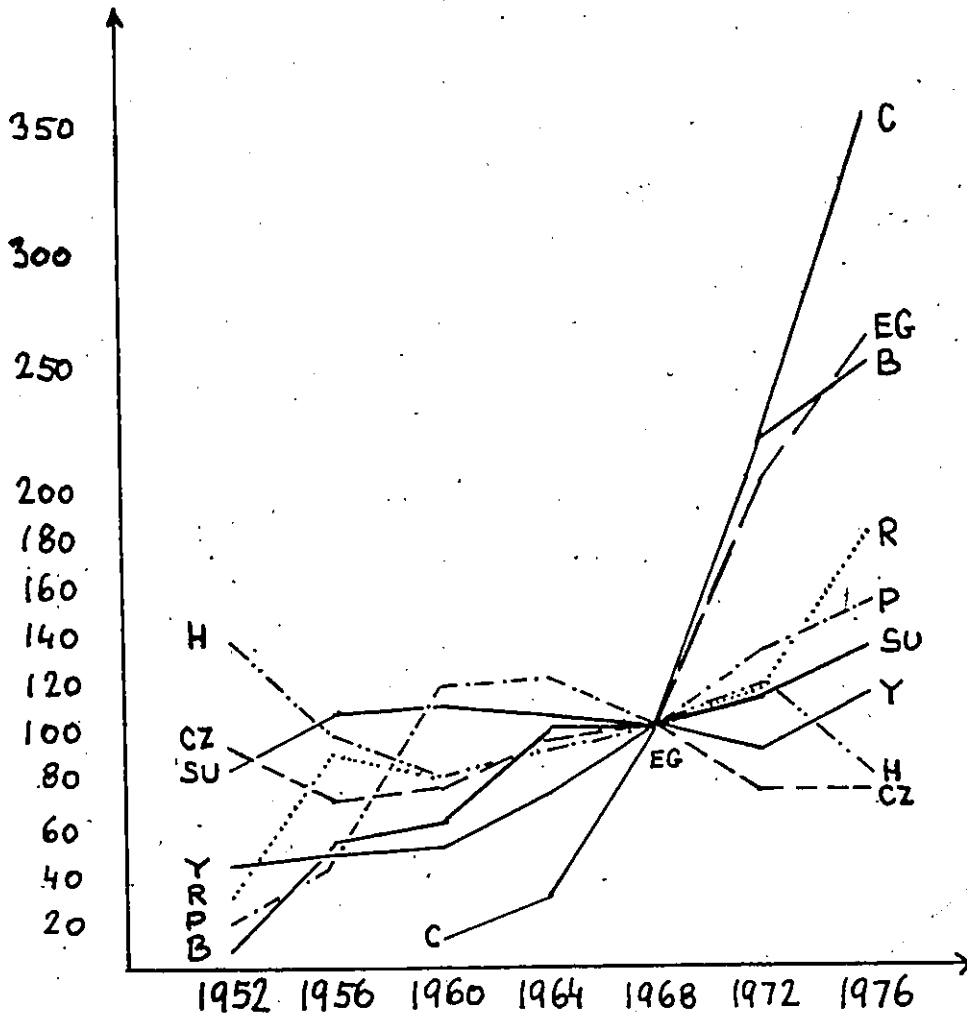


FIGURE 16

Relative Success at the Olympic Games by the State Socialist Countries Between 1952 and 1976



1968 = 100 %

- |    |                |    |              |
|----|----------------|----|--------------|
| B  | BULGARIA       | H  | HUNGARY      |
| C  | CUBA           | P  | POLAND       |
| CZ | CZECHOSLOVAKIA | R  | ROMANIA      |
| EG | EAST GERMANY   | SU | SOVIET UNION |
| Y  | YUGOSLAVIA     |    |              |

References:

1. Krawczyk's observation due to the similarities can be applied to the other SSC's, too.
2. RSI or Red Sport International reflected the policy of the Communist International (Comintern) and was formed in Moscow in 1921 to counterbalance the activity of the Social Democratic Workers' Sport International. The hostile relationship between the two organizations is well documented by Riordan Sport in Soviet Society (1977:348-395), as well as by Morton Soviet Sport (1963:68-78).

Chapter 5

The Effect of Socio-Politico-Economic Changes on  
Olympic Sport Performance in the State Socialist Countries  
Between 1952 and 1976

In this chapter the various aspects of the role and importance of sport in the SSC's will be outlined. Secondly, the trends of liberalization and sport success at the Olympic Games will be interrelated during the period between 1952 and 1976. The SSC's will then be classified according to these trends. Later, the necessary relationship between the quality of life and sport achievement will be analyzed. Finally, the conclusion of the study will be presented and the findings will be compared to the hypothesis; this will be followed by suggestions for further research in order to clarify some unanswered problems with regard to communist sport development and achievement.

The period between 1945 and 1948 is generally characterized in the SSC's as the "struggle for power" between the different political parties. In those countries, where sport movement was well developed before 1945, the Communist Parties' political program included numerous sport related policies in order to gain more support. Since the Communists came to power by way of Soviet help - with the exception of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia - the Soviet experience of the 1920's was readily available to the other Bloc countries (Riordan, 1977:78-82), the militarization of sport. This

served well the interest of the Bolsheviks between 1917 and 1920 and was later implemented after the takeover in the SSC's. This policy had a significant impact on sport development and athletic achievement (Kun, 1969:151-165) in both Hungary and in Czechoslovakia before 1948.

After the takeover, system establishment, maintenance and expansion were intensified within the SSC's, which furthered the improvement and extension of the already established power of the Communist Parties and socio-politico-economic institutions. All policies, institutions, newly formed norms and values were aligned to help the consolidation and acceptance of the new regimes.

The Western reaction to Communist takeover created the Cold War. The era of Cold War in the SSC's can be characterized by the calculated use of terror to help the process of Sovietization. This was accompanied by practically hermetic isolation of the SSC's from the West, as well as - concerning Soviet interests - the isolation of the SSC's from each other.

The "Iron Curtain" was intended to serve three functions:

1. prevent escape to the West;
2. keep the population from knowing the real state of affairs in the West - it might be added, the real state of affairs among the SSC's also, as well as the real state of affairs within each of the SSC's;
3. preserve an internal facade of happiness and unity among the workers and peasants (Shaffer, 1967).

Perhaps the most important purpose of the Iron Curtain was to stop the flow of ideas and information coming from the West. Except for publications issued by Western Communist Parties, all Western publications were cut off; Western radio broadcasts were jammed; Western movies were not shown; cultural exchanges were infrequent. Almost the same kind of isolation existed between the SSC's, a total control of information flow was implemented. Sport exchanges after 1949 became more frequent and were later emphasized to a greater extent.

In the meantime, the process of nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture characterized the everyday life in the SSC's, and was further accompanied by terror and political purges. Basic human rights and civil liberties were non-existent, arbitrary arrests and a growing numbers of labour camps were characteristic of this era.

The former social values and norms, except for the very essential ones, were replaced in order to create the new social order. When the political, social and cultural institutions became influential, their new policies were designed to create a socialist society with the "new kind" of man. Religion, "as the opiate" of the people, was severely attacked and the new scientific view of the world, Marxist ideology, provided interpretations for everything. The revolutionary changes were accompanied by Stalin's "cult of personality" as well as that of the respective leaders of the SSC's. Everyone was forced to pay tribute to these leaders and to the new

system. The population - according to Toma - developed a collective schizophrenia:

The youth lived in an atmosphere of double morality; the workers followed a double consciousness; the peasants, constantly fearing collectivization, maintained a double standard; and the intelligentsia paid lip-service to the dogma while at the same time promoting traditional values (1970:340).

The former social roles and functions could not be fulfilled in the new society by the existing population, since they could not fit within the new framework of social activity. All social activities were related to the political theme. Entertainment, recreation, and leisure were not available and were strongly influenced by the effects of terror, shortages of food, housing, recreational and leisure facilities, sports equipment, etc.

Due to the revolutionary transformation, a serious vacuum<sup>1</sup> was created in the SSC's. Passive or double standard participation characterized the coerced, overpoliticized social activities. Sport, because of its very nature, seemed to be the most politically suitable phenomenon - especially in societies with great sport traditions - to fill the vacuum. It was suitable for leisure and entertainment, preventive health care and the preparation of the population for work and defence, and contributing to the development of the new man, "in whom spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical fulfillment are harmoniously combined, and in whom communistic ideas are accompanied by communistic deeds" (Howell, 1975). Naturally, sport also was to mobilize society; but the nature of

the activity involved in soccer, track and field or swimming etc., did not change from former times. Although the social environment surrounding sport was politicized, sport itself appeared, superficially at least, to be a-political; sport, - like science - offered one of the greatest possible avenues of retreat for the population (Morton, 1963:26). According to Howell (1975), those who participated in physical activities were concerned mostly with enjoyment and recreation and not with the two major interests of the Party, such as labor productivity and military preparedness.

From the point of view of the Party, in an over-controlled society, sport became a kind of "safety valve". Possibly it was the only activity in the era in which ideology was apparently not directly involved; in other words playing soccer or waterpolo had no direct ideological connotation to the players. However, sport participation and success was greatly exploited politically and ideologically.

In the meantime, the edge of scientific education based on dialectical and historical materialism, was directed against the church and religion. Sport was destined to be a functional equivalent of religion. Apparently devoid of ideological content, sport would become a type of modern "opiate" of the mass, as religion had previously been .

Hoch dealt with the problem of sport as an opiate in capitalist societies<sup>2</sup>. It seems that his observation is meaningful in the SSC's as well:

What we mean by an 'opiate' is anything that tends to frustrate the solution of social problems by providing individuals with either (1) a temporary high which takes their minds off the problem for a while ...; or (2) a distorted frame of reference or identification which encourages them to look for salvation through patently false channels (1972:20).

At that particular historical period, both aspects were extremely useful for the various regimes, more indirectly they helped the establishment and maintenance of the state socialist systems. Because the new opiate proved to be useful in the Soviet Union, in Hungary and in Czechoslovakia, it was considered theoretically for future development and application in the rest of the SSC's.

Distracting the people from the cruel realities of everyday life and providing them with temporary high emotions was essential to the survival of that regime and therefore was crucially important. When other kinds of entertainment were rather limited and overpoliticalized by "socialist realism", both spectator sport and sport participation became suitable to fill that gap.

Identification with local, provincial and national teams or athletes contributed to the salvation of sport (team and athletes) which represented the regimes - and this meant a kind of subconscious identification with the regimes.<sup>3</sup>

Hargreaves put forward his opinion in the following way:

Probably more than any area of social life, with the exception of religion, sports are replete with ritual activity and powerful symbolism - which is, no doubt, why the idea that sport has replaced religion as the opium of the people is appealing to theorists (1979:4, 18).

Hargreaves considers sport, referring to its ritual and dramatic aspects, as a reflection of political ritual and popular theatre. Wesson referred to sport as "the fondness of parades, for muscular marching men and maids and mass demonstrations" (1978:12).

Sport parades and shows in the SSC's at the May Day, the 7th of November, and during national holidays are one of the most important features of the mass demonstrations. Spartakiads, and National Sport Days are also viewed as political rituals representing the superiority of state socialist nationhoods. While sport as a popular theatre contains a powerful dramatic element, which element is especially compelling, and can also be interpreted in simple terms as entertainment, a spectacle which serves as an escape from reality.

Sport as a popular theatre:

offers far more opportunity for people to play a significant part, to actively participate, to communicate common experiences and shared meanings, because it is embedded in the popular tradition, which connects more directly and organically with people's lives. It also has a strong localism - loyalty to neighbourhood, town, country, through identification with and participation in the team (Hargreaves, 1979:4.21).

The different aspects of sport as an opiate, a political ritual and a popular theatre emphasize the utility of sport as a political tool in the establishment and maintenance of the new Communist regimes. The entertaining and integrating features of sport have priority over the others during that period of transition. However, after consolidation many other features are also emphasized, and sport begins to fulfill a wide variety of roles and functions in the state socialist societies. Balyi and Heleszta (1973), in developing the framework of functions of physical culture in a contemporary SSC - which can be transferred to all the SSC's as a theoretical concept - identified the functions (and sub-functions) which must be fulfilled in order to contribute to the overall human development of the population within the context of progressive social development.

They identified four basic functions of physical culture: socialization, integration, homeostatic and economic functions - within which further sub-functions were distinguished.

The function of socialization includes: socialization via sport, sport socialization, an educational function, an idol-creating function and a social mobility function.

Within the function of integration: community creative function, companionship creating function, communicative function as well as a political function at the national level.

The homeostatic function was identified as including preventive, rehabilitative, recreational and entertainment elements, as well as serving in the role of homeostasis at the national level (e.g., an improved level of physical fitness for the population).

Finally, direct and indirect economic functions were identified as they relate to sport in contemporary state socialist society.

In the opinion of the authors these functions are simultaneously manifested in this phenomenon, in a dialectical relationship. If any given function becomes dominant at the expense of the others, this will result in disorder in the whole network of the functions of physical culture<sup>5</sup>.

In spite of the similarities in the general trend, there were significant differences among the SSC's in the process whereby sport began to fill up the vacuum created by the revolutionary change. For example, in the mobilization stage, or early phase of transition, the mass sport aspects, like GTO, were rather well organized and successful. After consolidation, and with social stability, the effectiveness of mass sport organizations has declined, while in some countries like Cuba and East Germany that effectiveness increased. The differences and similarities of sport development can be identified through the process of changes in the relationship between the decisive socio-politico-economic changes and Olympic

achievement during the specific period as well as during the whole phase of state socialist development.

The Relationship Between the Level of Liberalization and Absolute and Relative Success at the Olympic Games, 1952-1976

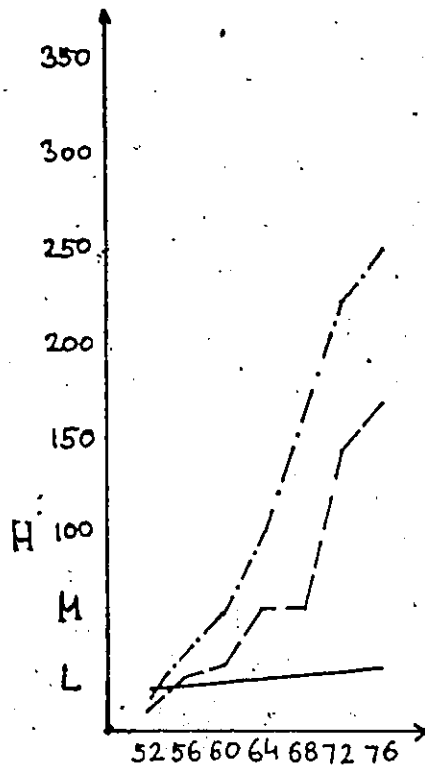
After the Communist takeover, the (respective) Communist institutions were introduced to put the various Communist Parties "in control of all societal organizations and their related activities" (Gripp, 1973:12). However, even before Stalin's death, different orientations occurred in the "building of socialism" in the SSC's.

Some of the countries, namely Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Romania and the Soviet Union, in spite of general improvement showed no significant changes in their level of liberalization. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia showed significant changes in the level of liberalization. These trends occurred in Czechoslovakia, in and just prior to 1968; in Hungary in 1956, during the late 1960's and even further in the mid 1970's; in Poland in 1956, 1970 and in 1976; while in Yugoslavia after 1948.

Before further generalizations can be made, it seems that the specific relationship between the level of liberalization and absolute and relative success must be analyzed in each of the respective countries. The following figures, based on the material presented in Chapters 2 and 4, illustrate diagrammatically the aforementioned relationship between 1952 and 1956.

Bulgaria:

Figure 17

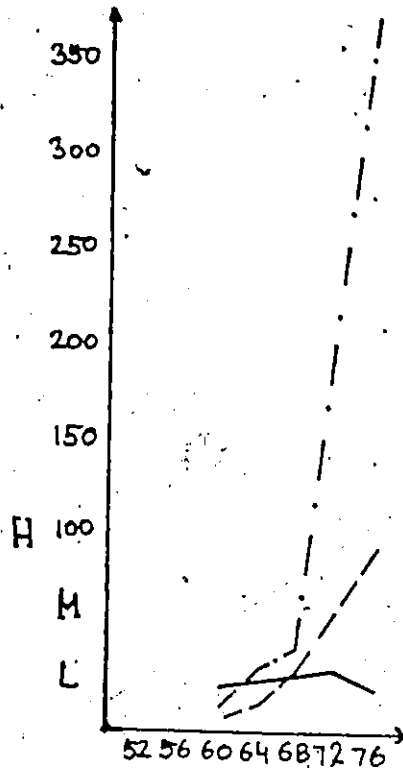


The process of liberalization in the case of Bulgaria is characterized by slow improvement - and falls within the low category. Since 1954, Zhivkov and the Party have adopted a total dependency on the Soviet Union and its policies. Bulgaria is considered to be the least divergent country, gladly accepting Soviet guidance.

At the same time, sport achievements have showed salient improvement and Bulgaria is considered to be one of the most successful SSC's at the Olympic Games. The low level of liberalization is associated with salient Olympic performance.

Cuba:

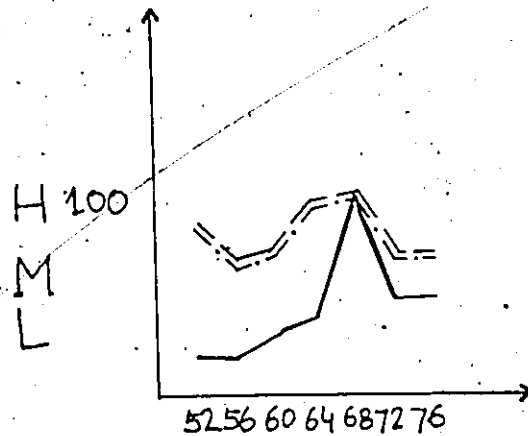
Figure 18



The process of liberalization in Cuba is characterized by a small improvement between 1960 and 1972, followed by a decline between 1972 and 1976. Despite the improvements, the country is still totally centralized - economically as well as politically. A slight pluralism occurred during the late 1960's and early 1970's, but has since been reversed. Castro has strengthened his position with more centralized power at his hands. The involvement of Cuban troops and other specialists in Angola, Congo, Guinea, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Yemen has increased the economic and political hardship of the country, however, Cuba showed the most significant improvement in relative success and a significant one in absolute success. The low level of liberalization is associated with outstanding Olympic achievement.

Czechoslovakia:

Figure 19

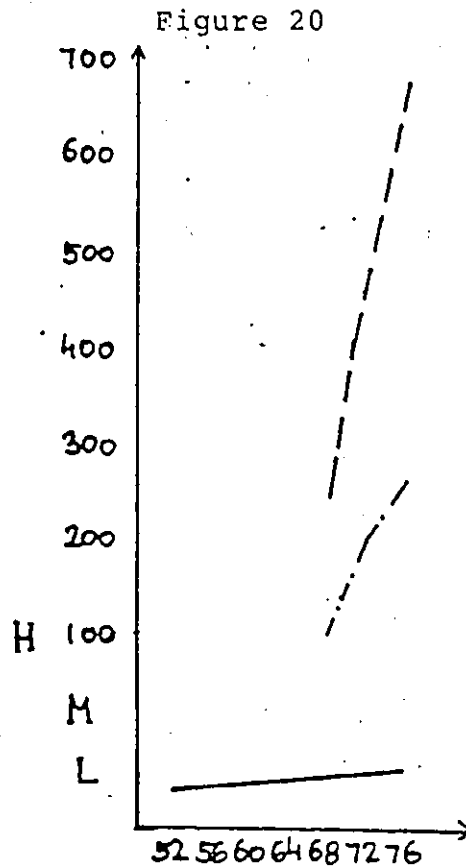


There were significant changes in the level of liberalization in Czechoslovakia; low in the 1950's, medium in the mid 1960's, high in 1968 during Dubcek's leadership, and dropping again after 1968:

The high sport achievement witnessed in earlier years declined in 1956 and in 1960. Improvement occurred in 1964 and in 1968. However, the 1968 success cannot be related to social change since the "Prague Spring" did not even last for a year. Some Olympic sport experts speculated that the 1968 performance by the Czechoslovakian team was facilitated by help and sympathy from the large majority of the participating nations, as well as the public in general. The Mexico Games were held shortly after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

Sport performance showed a significant decline in 1972 and in 1976. Since the level of liberalization also declined significantly with the repression imposed by the Husak regime, the decline in sport performance is contradictory to the hypothesis, thus Czechoslovakia must be considered as an exception, and after the classification of the SSC's an explanation will be given.

East Germany:

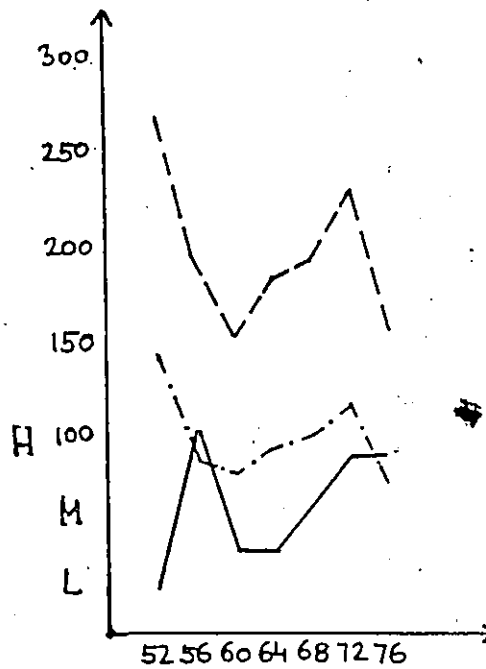


The process of liberalization in East Germany between 1952 and 1976 shows very little improvement. East Germany remains one of the most obedient countries in the Bloc, often criticizing Moscow for allowing the process of liberalization to evolve in many of the other Bloc countries. Politically,

East Germany is considered to be one of the most repressed countries of the Bloc. At the same time, sport flourishes better than in any of the other SSC's. The country's sport achievement during the 1970's is comparable only to that of the Soviet Union. Thus, again, a low level of liberalization and prominent sport performance can be readily observed.

Hungary:

Figure 21



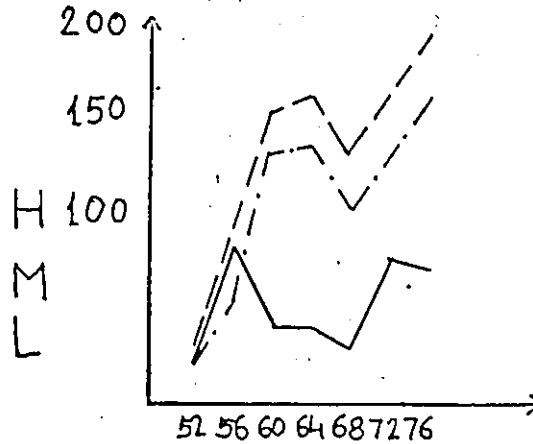
There were significant changes in the level of liberalization in Hungary. After the 1956 uprising, political repression was practiced by the Kadar regime, gradually relaxing after 1964, with the stabilization or consolidation of that regime. New Economic Policy was introduced in 1968 which contributed significantly to a higher standard of living, and to greater civil liberties.

In sport, however, the greatest Olympic performance occurred during the Stalin era under Rakosi's rule. The relatively lower achievement at the Melbourne Olympics was due to specific circumstances. The Olympic team had serious difficulty leaving for the Games due to the October uprising. During the competition there was intensive fighting between the freedom fighters and the Red Army. The news concerning the bloody fighting in Budapest distracted and disturbed the athletes. Half of the Olympic team - athletes, coaches, top administrators - decided not to return to Hungary when the Games were over. This decision has a seriously negative influence on the Hungarian performance in 1960. After the Rome Olympiad, the gradual increase in achievement was due to the recovery of the lost personnel, however, as soon as the process of liberalization was intensified - especially after 1972 - and priorities were given to portfolios other than sport, the decrease in performance began to take effect.

Thus, the relationship between the level of liberalization and Olympic achievement is inversed, and contrary to the countries previously discussed.

Poland:

Figure 22



There were also significant changes in the level of liberalization in Poland. As was previously mentioned, Poland was always one of the most liberal countries among the SSC's.

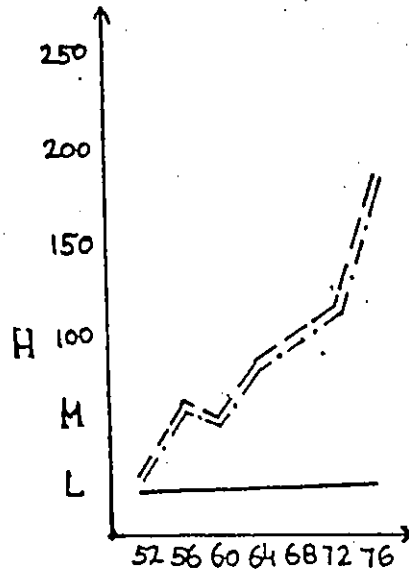
Before and during the 1956 October riots a higher level of liberalization occurred due to the short term process of pluralism and the amelioration in the level of freedom of expression. Before decentralization began, Gomulka was installed with Soviet help and support. Even during the repression which was implemented by Gomulka in order to stabilize his regime, the Poles enjoyed more freedom than any of the nations except Yugoslavia. The Roman Catholic Church remained an influential political power in Polish society, never openly challenging Communist authority. The continuously re-appearing economic crisis, has had a direct impact on political and social changes. Serious food and consumer goods shortages

led to the fall of Gomulka in 1970. Since the 1960's, the process of liberalization has become more intensified. The appearance of KOR and the Solidarity seriously challenged the leading role of the Party and in addition to the Party and the Church, the above organizations significantly improved pluralism in Polish society. The improvement in the freedom of expression can be observed by the fact that during the late 1970's the Solidarity organization had its own uncensored daily television program. The process of decentralization showed a new dimension in the SSC's as Solidarity evolved into a political power, and its decisions gradually became as significant as that of the Communist Party. The beginning of this process can be traced back to the early 1970's, culminating in the 1981-82 political crisis and military coup. In 1976 pluralism, freedom of expression and decentralization reach a high level in Polish society.

The Olympic performance of Poland can be characterized by a slow start and salient improvement between 1952 and 1969, a decline in 1968 and further improvement in 1972 and 1976. This seems to be contradictory to the hypothesis of this study, that increasing liberalization has a negative effect on sport achievement. In order to solve this contradiction the notion of the quality of life was introduced, which will be explained after the categorization of the respective countries.

Romania:

Figure 23

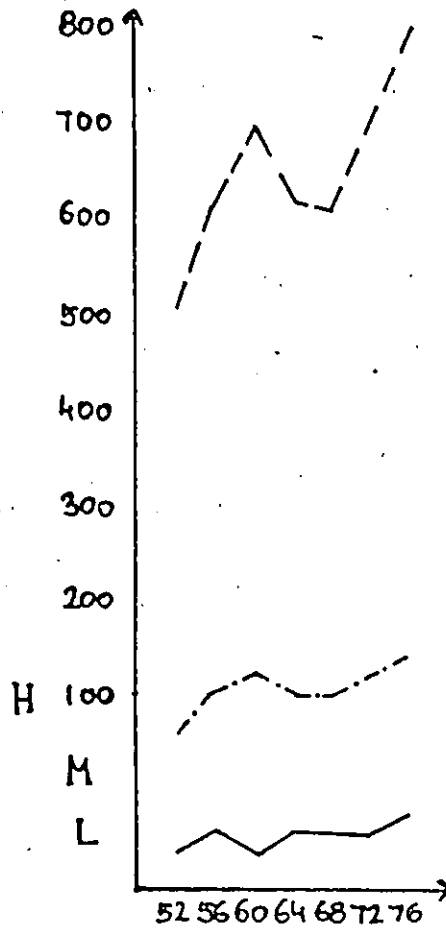


Romania is characterized by a rather independent, liberal foreign policy in comparison with the other SSC's, however, this does not effect locally the process of liberalization. During the 1960's and 1970's Romania was one of the most severely repressed countries in the Bloc. Ceausescu ruled Romania as the Soviet Union was ruled during Stalin's reign and as the rest of Eastern Europe was ruled by the respective Communist leaders during Stalin's era.

At the same time, after a slow start in 1952, Romania shows outstanding performances both in absolute and relative success. Thus, just as in the case of Bulgaria, Cuba, and East Germany, a low level of liberalization and outstanding Olympic performance can be readily observed.

The Soviet Union:

Figure 24



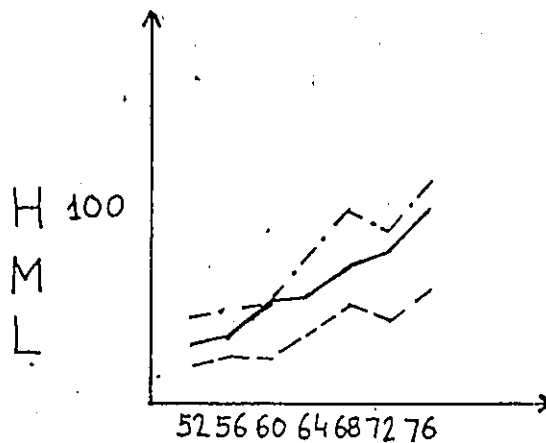
Despite changes in the level of liberalization after Stalin's death, during the Khrushchev as well as Brezhnev era, the changes can be qualified in the low category. Thus, in spite of certain improvements, there were no significant changes in the level of liberalization between 1952 and 1976.

Sport achievement shows well balanced performances with positive signs of improvement. However, as it was pointed out earlier, the Soviet absolute success since 1952 is so high, that salient improvement in relative success - as in the cases of Cuba or East Germany - is not possible. Overall, the

Soviet Union can be characterized by a low level of liberalization and by high Olympic achievement, therefore, can be grouped together with Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany and Romania.

Yugoslavia:

Figure 25



The process of institutional pluralism and early decentralization contributed to the gradual and early development of liberalization. A mixed socialist and capitalist economy, the possibility of working abroad, free movement in and out of the country are features unique among the one-party-ruled SSC's. In Yugoslavia the level of liberalization was a qualified "medium" during the 1960's and high during the mid 1970's, however, the relative high level of liberalization refers to the other SSC's in the sample of this study.

In spite of the high level of liberalization, Yugoslavia achieved high relative success at the Olympic Games, especially after 1968. This seems to be contradictory to the hypothesis. However, as it was referred to in Chapter 4, in absolute success Yugoslavia showed relatively low improvement in comparison with the other SSC's. The difference between AS and RS underlines a peculiar feature of Yugoslavia's socio-political as well as sport development. The increasing trends of liberalization can be related to moderately successful Olympic achievement.

On the basis of the relationship between the level of liberalization and Olympic success (AS and RS) the SSC's can be grouped together according to their specific characteristics. Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Romania and the Soviet Union together with Hungary can form one group, since all of those countries fully support the hypothesis. These are considered to be "clear" cases in this study.

Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia form the other group since these countries are contradictory to the hypothesis with regard to liberalization and success. These countries are considered to be "mixed" cases in this study.

However, it must be emphasized, that the "mixed" cases, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, are also supportive of the hypothesis when the quality of life is taken into consideration. These exceptions underscore the flexibility of the

approach used in the study. The relationship between social change and Olympic achievement cannot be interpreted as static, or in a simplified way. The approach used is a dynamic one, and the exceptions support this statement. The relationship between the level of liberalization and Olympic success is an explanatory factor in the case of six SSC's, and it is not in three different cases. Therefore, those three cases need further explanation.

In the cases of Poland and Yugoslavia the quality of life, and thus the relationship between the standard of living and human rights is the key explanatory factor, this is also fully valid with respect to the six countries considered to be "clear" cases. However, Czechoslovakia still shows an out-of-pattern character when compared with the other SSC's.

The following schema is based on the relationship between the quality of life (liberalization, which contributes to greater human rights and individual liberties as well as the standard of living) and Olympic achievement (both AS and RS are taken into consideration). The SSC's can be categorized in the following way:

	<u>Quality of Life</u>		<u>Olympic Success</u>		<u>Country</u>
1.	Liberalization Standard of living	↓↓	Sport	↑	Cuba, Bulgaria, Romania, Soviet Union
2.	Liberalization Standard of living	↓↑	Sport	↑	East Germany
3.	Liberalization Standard of living	↓↑	Sport	↓	Czechoslovakia
4.	Liberalization Standard of living	↑↓	Sport	↑	Poland
5.	Liberalization Standard of living	↑↑	Sport	↓	Hungary
6.	Liberalization Standard of living	↑↑	Sport	↑	Yugoslavia

The decreasing trend represented by the negative sign (↓) indicates a low level or a very slow improvement in trends, while the positive indicator (↑) points out a high level or significant improvement with regard to the trends of liberalization, the standard of living as well as sport achievement, particularly those trends occurring between 1952 and 1976.

The first cluster - Bulgaria, Cuba, Romania and the Soviet Union - is characterized by low level liberalization as well as standard of living yet with high Olympic success.

The priorities given to sport in these societies - horizontal and vertical integration of the sport system within each of the given societies - as well as the privileges formerly identified, are the major driving forces behind the high Olympic achievement.

The second cluster is East Germany represented by a low degree of liberalization and a high level in both the standard of living, and Olympic achievement. Despite the high standard of living, the bestowing of privileges remains the driving force behind East Germany's success. However, privileges which are not directly related to the standard of living play a greater role, such as travelling abroad, vacations abroad, working abroad as well as relatively greater civil liberties than that of the average population. East Germany is possibly one of the most regimented or repressed SSC's, especially as far as human rights and civil liberties are concerned.

The third cluster is Czechoslovakia, where the low level of liberalization and the high level of the standard of living is associated with low level Olympic success. It is undoubtedly an exception in the sample, and therefore, a more specific analysis will be given later in order to explain this phenomenon.

The fourth cluster is Poland, which is characterized by a high degree of liberalization and a low level in the standard of living, while significant improvement and success is observed in Olympic achievement. The privileges provided by involvement in elite sport both contributed to and created this success at the Olympic Games.

The fifth cluster is Hungary, where the trends toward high liberalization and a high standard of living are associated with a decline of Olympic success. The improvement in both the process of liberalization and in the standard of living contributed to the relatively less important role of sport in contemporary Hungarian society. Because of the social change, the horizontal and vertical integration of the sport system has been left somewhat disorganized. This observation has been openly and officially admitted by the mass media.

The sixth cluster is Yugoslavia, which is characterized by a high degree of liberalization and a high standard of living as well as a relatively high level of Olympic achievement, however, it must be taken within the context of absolute and relative success. Even if Yugoslavia shows significant improvement in relative success - thus in relation to its own development - it lags far behind the other SSC's in absolute success.

Yugoslavia's general sport development vis. à vis the extent of its improvement, represents - like many other features of their socio-politico-economic changes - a tendency that is not observed in the other SSC's. In Yugoslavia, sport is given a similar kind of priority as eliminating illiteracy, providing free education, free medical care, etc., but was never really over-emphasized. There was always an emphasis on team sport versus medal-worthy Olympic disciplines especially represented by soccer, basketball, team-handball and water-

polo. Yugoslavia is the only country among the SSC's where sport development and success can be directly related to the general improvement of social conditions, as it is reflected on the volume of absolute success.

The relative magnitude of tendencies with the degree of liberalization and that of the standard of living must be kept in mind in all of these six cases. The interpretation of these tendencies lies within a state socialist context, as well as within the comparisons among the SSC's.

By summarizing the tendencies of the six different clusters, the following generalizations can be made:

- |    |                 |   |       |   |   |
|----|-----------------|---|-------|---|---|
| 1. | Quality of Life | ↓ | Sport | ↑ | Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union |
| 2. | Quality of Life | ↓ | Sport | ↑ | Czechoslovakia  |
| 3. | Quality of Life | ↑ | Sport | ↓ | Hungary, Yugoslavia   |

In the first cluster, East Germany, despite a high standard of living and a low degree of liberalization is characterized by a low level in their quality of life. On the contrary, Poland, despite a high level of liberalization and a low standard of living can also be characterized by a low level in their quality of life.

Cuba, Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union can be characterized by a low quality of life, since both the degree of liberalization and the standard of living show low levels.

All of these countries can be characterized by outstanding Olympic success.

As a second cluster, and an exception, Czechoslovakia shows a low degree of liberalization and a high standard of living. However, there exists also a low level in both the quality of life and Olympic achievement.

Finally, Hungary and Yugoslavia, which are characterized by high degrees of liberalization and high standards of living, also represent high levels in the quality of life and yet low levels in Olympic success. In spite of a high RS, Yugoslavia is in reality, a low achiever at the Olympic Games when compared with the other SSC's.

The only exception, or the only case contradictory to the hypothesis is Czechoslovakia.

First of all, it must be pointed out that according to Welsh, who developed an empirical typology concerning cross national socio-economic and cross national political differences among the SSC's came to the conclusion that:

Czechoslovakia emerges from these analyses as, in many respects, the most domestically 'deviant' or peripheral case among the socialist systems of Eastern Europe. It is fundamentally unlike any of the other socialist nations in terms of domestic socio-economic and political change (1975:78).

It was classified by Welsh with "out of pattern" characteristics. This is also valid in relation to Olympic success's.

The Czechoslovakian society after 1968, as it is characterized by the pertinent literature, displays political cynicism, and withdrawal from public life. This 'introverted approach' possibly influences competitive sport involvement and performance at the Olympic level. Nevertheless, some specific fields of sport show significant improvement, such as ice hockey and tennis. Although these sports are not summer Olympic, or Olympic sports respectively, the consideration of these sports in the analysis may contribute to a better understanding of this contradiction.

Ice hockey was not included in the statistical measurement since it is not in the program of the Summer Olympic Games. Ice hockey, after soccer, is the second most popular sport in this country and the Czechoslovakian success in this sport since 1968 is undoubtedly continually improving.

As Kanin stated:

Rivalry in ice hockey caused a sharpening of intra-Soviet bloc disputes in 1969. In August the previous year, Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops had invaded Czechoslovakia ... The next confrontation between Soviet and Czechoslovakian sides came at the 1969 World Ice Hockey Championships. Czechoslovakia won the title, beating the Soviets in this competition for the first time in nearly a decade. The result was something between a riot and a revolution. The streets of Prague filled with rioters, rocks, bottles and anti-Soviet placards. It was a classic example of a sporting victory making up for a military defeat in the minds of the people. The riot was used as the excuse the Soviets needed to rid themselves once and for all of Alexander Dubcek (1978:256).

Two years later Czechoslovakia again won the world title in ice hockey by beating the Soviets. Thus, there was a significant improvement in sport achievement, motivated by certain political undertones.

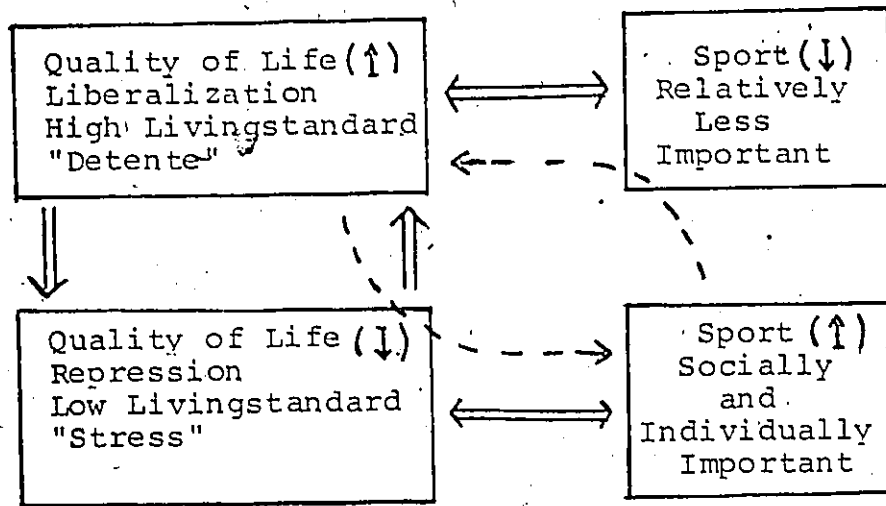
An even more surprising Czechoslovakian success began in tennis during the 1970's and improved further in the 1980's. Navratilova, Lendl, Mandlikova, etc., took the professional tennis world by storm. At the present time, the Czechoslovakians are the biggest wage earners in professional tennis among the SSC's. This represents skyrocketing "millionaire" salaries in the Eastern European context. However, considering Western currencies, free travel anytime and anywhere to all competitions constitutes even greater privileges that anyone can normally expect in the SSC's.

Some have put forth the idea that the national character, as displayed so many times in Czechoslovakian history, may play a role in the decline of sport performance. This proposition is not categorically rejected by this study. However, it is not considered to be an influential factor, and therefore is not included in the analysis.

The following schema gives the final generalization of the study, the relationship between the quality of life and sport in the SSC's:

Figure 26

The Relationship Between the Quality of Life and Sport in the State Socialist Countries



When the quality of life in the SSC's is low, sport both socially and individually is important. When the quality of life is high, sport both socially and individually is less important. The decline in the quality of life contributes to an increased role of sport in society, while, vice versa, the improvement in the quality of life contributes to a decline in the role and importance of sport in the SSC's.

It seems, that in spite of the exception, the data presented has tentatively verified the hypothesis. Thus, the process of either increasing and decreasing socio-political importance of sport is related to an achieved level in the

quality of life within these countries, which may be characterized by both material and non-material factors. The former is related to the standard of living while the latter to liberalization. The process of liberalization may contribute to greater "human rights", or civil liberties, but does not necessarily contribute to a higher standard of living, and vice versa, an increase in the standard of living does not relate directly to the process of liberalization, thus to greater individual "human rights".

Changes in the quality of life do not affect the socio-political importance of sport over a short period of time, but rather is a slow and ongoing process; it involves the understanding and subsequent reactions of the population of these countries. The changes in the quality of life are reflected at the individual level via priorities, interests etc., which are preceded by changes at the societal level - via the population's recognition of the privileges accompanied by successful sport achievement.

A state socialist system, during its development, strategically uses sport to fulfil important functions such as facilitating the establishment of a new social order, as well as maintaining and reproducing the already established order. Sport serves the actual regime's ongoing interests. In many of the key functions of system establishment and maintenance, such as political socialization, political indoctrination, political integration and social control - sport plays a significant role.

Over time the varying socio-political conditions, according to the differing levels of socio-political-economic development of the state socialist countries, determine the patterns of sport development and achievement. A higher level in sports performance is associated with a lower level in the quality of life, and conversely, a lower achievement at the Olympic Games in the State Socialist Countries has brought about a higher level in the quality of life.

Sport is usually associated with the positive factors of state socialist development, such as improved living conditions, better nutrition, equal and free access to sport facilities, etc. However, there is enough evidence to state, that the prevailing negative factors -- or shortcomings -- of that development directly contribute to the rise of sport, specifically to Olympic sport success. Thus, the rise of sport under Communism is dependent upon the peculiarities accompanying the development of such societies. Therefore, the outstanding sport success of the State Socialist Countries at the Olympic Games is considered to be a by-product of state socialist socio-political development.

It must be emphasized, however, that more precise empirical data concerning the level of liberalization, especially the standard of living and the quality of life may improve the reliability of the generalizations. This will be done later, since this study meant to deal with the very major trends of the relationship between social change and sport performance in the SSC's.

Three topics are suggested for further research:

1. a comparison between the SSC's and the WIC's concerning the effects of social change on Olympic achievement, which would further discover the role of sport in the socio-cultural process.
2. It seems that outstanding sport achievements are associated with certain negative aspects of social change. Therefore, the notion and the framework of sport as a social indicator can be elaborated.
3. It seems that Gramsci's theory of hegemony will provide a theoretical framework for further investigation of the role and utilization of sport by the Communist elites.

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1. Loy, McPherson and Kenyon's opinion is fully supported, that "sport does not operate in a vacuum, but rather as a social institution it interacts with a reflected in other cultural institutions such as religion, the mass media, and the arts" (1978:300). In the revolutionary vacuum of the SSC's during that epoch, sport served to keep the establishment of these institutions, interacting with and further reflecting the interests of the respective Communist Parties. As Howell put it "the physical culture movement, like all aspects of life ... is directed, fostered and controlled by the Communist Party ... and hence, its development has been according to the needs and desire of the party" (1975:30).

2. Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, reviewing the problems of the religious functions of sport concluded that: "From a Marxist perspective in the nineteenth century, religion was the 'opiate' of the masses. It has been suggested that sport has now replaced religion in this sense. As such, it functions as a civil religion or quasi-religious institution, which replaces sectarian religion for the purpose of fostering social integration (Duncan, 1968; Surkheim, 1947; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964; Warner, 1953). Although this is a difficult hypothesis to test empirically, there are a number of interesting parallels between sport and religion, including the 'worship' of athletes as gods and heroes, the 'idolization' of former athletes in Sport Halls of Fame (Lewis and Redmond, 1974), the dependence of 'followers' (fans) for economic stability, the

daily 'reading' of the sport pages by the 'devout' fan, the collection of 'symbols of faith' (Edwards, 1973) such as trophies, baseballs, game balls, and sport-related souvenirs, and the charisma that is attached to the elites and leaders in the sport milieu. More specifically, religious language has been extensively used in the literature and rhetoric on the Olympic movement. For example, MacAloon (1976) concluded that the writings of Pierre de Coubertin indicate that an important source of the Olympic movement was the search for a 'humanistic' or 'civil' religion. Furthermore, the reports that the sentiments, themes, conceptions, and actions pervading Olympism and the Olympic Games have religious connotations" (1978:301).

3. One concrete example can serve to enlighten this process. When a Marxist scholar gave a presentation in Montreal in 1975 the Hungarian community - mostly refugees of 1956 - boycotted it, while hundreds participated at the reception of the Hungarian Olympic Waterpolo Team with enthusiasm - not realizing that both the scholar and the team - were representing the same system. While it was accepted in sport, it was rejected in other fields. Czechs, Poles and Yugoslavs are similarly receptive to their athletes versus others. Ukrainians are different from this point of view, the protestations during 1976 Games against Soviet teams and individual athletes were widespread; however, it must be taken into consideration that the Ukrainians represented mostly second, third, etc. generations, while the large majority of

Hungarians, Czechs, Poles and Yugoslavs represented first generation - thus were born and lived under the auspice of communist governments.

4. The details of theoretical problems of sport as an opiate, political ritual and popular theatre still awaited development in the state socialist context.

5. In the second part of their study - which was not published because of its strong critical remarks - it was pointed out that the political functions of physical culture, such as socialization and integration are over-achieved by administrative policies at the expense of the homeostatic function. In other words, preventative and rehabilitative functions are neglected because they are politically less important under the circumstances, thus social homeostasis was not achieved due to the lack of and disorganization of mass sport. They also pointed out that the competitive curriculum in school physical education, although, on the one hand helps elite selection and development, on the other hand, eliminates large numbers of students from participation, and especially from future mass sport participation after leaving the school system. Thus, the socialist principles of overall sport development (elite, school physical education, mass sport or the "triangle principle") are not fulfilled. It is also a relevant point, that 59% of a nationally representative sample identified the reason for stopping sport activity with the termination of school, thus after compulsory physical

education in the schools the large majority of the population cannot participate in sport activity because of the lack of organization or the ineffectiveness of the mass sport organizations. I. Balyi: "Structure and Dynamics of Sport Activity". Paper presented at the International Symposium on the Sociology of Sport, Budapest, 1972. The basic findings of the paper was published under the title: " Report on a Conference on Sports Sociology held in Budapest", in International Review of Sport Sociology, 1973 (8, 3-4) 125-128.

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