

**UKRAINIAN WORLD COMMITTEE FOR SPORT AFFAIRS**

**UKRAINE**  
**and the**  
**XVI OLYMPIC GAMES**

**Washington, D. C.**

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**Завдяки Вашій пожертві є уможливлена праця  
Українського Олімпійського Комітету**

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## 1. THE OLYMPIC GAMES

THE OLYMPIC GAMES are undoubtedly among the oldest forms of friendly relations among nations, races, and continents. Their tradition reaches back into antiquity—at least to the year 776 B.C. when, it is assumed, the ancient Greeks began to hold quadrennial athletic competitions on the fields of Olympia, which they continued for about 1,200 years.<sup>1</sup>

The need for revival of the ancient Games was well understood by Pierre De Coubertin, the father of the modern Olympic Games. After a rather extensive study of the question of sport competitions on an international scale, he came out with the idea of reviving the old traditions of Olympia. He envisaged for the modern counterpart of the ancient sport holiday a very significant role in the field of international relations. Speaking at an international conference of sport federations in Paris in 1892, De Coubertin called upon the European nations:

“Let us export oarsmen, runners, fencers; there is the free trade of the future—and on the day when it shall take its place among the customs of Europe the cause of peace will have received a new and powerful support.”<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the revived celebrations of Olympiads were conceived as fair and chivalrous contests among the world's best athletes, conducted in an atmosphere of freedom and friendship, with emphasis upon the values of individualism in a creative effort toward finer ideals for the world.

Alas, these very simple and lofty principles gradually lost their original power under the pressure of less noble influences. The honorable and brotherly contest of individualities, aimed at the attainment of finer ideals for mankind, ceased to be the sole purpose of the Olympic Games; and the words of the Olympic oath, “for the honor of my country and for the glory of sport,” were distorted into manifestations of unbridled chauvinism or even used for propaganda purposes of one or another political system.

From the very beginning of the modern Olympiads there was an unhealthy tendency on the part of certain countries to gain victory at the Games at all costs. To some extent this was excusable in view of the political antagonism among great powers of that period. What was deplorable, however, was that at times certain great powers managed to prevent the athletic teams of small nations from appearing at the Olympic stadiums under their own national banners, as it happened at the 6th Olympic Games in London in 1906.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “The Ancient Olympic Games,” in United States Olympic Committee, A special publication (unnamed) issued in connection with the Games of the 16th Olympiad (New York, 1956), p. 1. (The Publication also contains the Charter of the Olympic Games.)

The ancient Games survived until 393 A.D., when they were forbidden by Emperor Theodosius. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> As cited in “Origin of Modern Games,” *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> At the 6th Olympic Games in London Russia demanded that the Finnish group march in the Olympic parade under the Russian flag. The Finns protested and marched without a banner. The Irish athletes also protested against similar British demand by marching without a banner. See John Kieran and Arthur Daley, *The History of the Olympic Games* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1952), p. 86.

Among the unhealthy developments in the history of modern Olympics were also the 12th Olympic Games held in Berlin in 1936. They were reduced to an exhibition of power by Nazi Germany, then on the eve of struggle for a “new Europe,” although in the course of the Games the Nazis’ pride in racial “superiority” and Party “perfection” took a severe and deserved beating.

However, the admission of the Soviet Russian team to the Olympic Games held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1952 must be considered as the most dangerous development from the standpoint of principles of the modern Olympics. The Soviet team was a far cry from the Tzarist Russian Olympic group composed of persons who accidentally had become sport amateurs. It was an outfit which had undergone an extensive training, not only at the hands of their sport coaches but also of the Communist Party instructors. Its members were trained in all nuances of struggle against “rotten capitalism” of the West—not for the glory of their respective peoples ruled by Moscow but for realization of the century-long yearning of Russian imperialists now cloaked in the robes of universal Communism.

In the subsequent chapters of this writing an effort will be made to disclose the fraud that is concealed behind the backs of innocent Soviet athletes.

## 2. UKRAINE AND HER RELATION TO RUSSIA

THE UKRAINIAN-RUSSIAN CONTROVERSY regarding the status of Ukraine<sup>4</sup> dates back to the year 1654 when Hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytzkiy, was compelled by the never-ending wars to agree with Tzar Alexis on a pact of mutual assistance. The agreement permitted a limited number of Russian troops to be stationed on the Ukrainian territory, in return for which the Tzar promised not to interfere in political and social affairs of the country. However, faithful to her well-known imperialistic tradition of absorbing countries and violating treaties, Russia soon began to rule Ukraine as though she were an annexed territory.

From this time dates Moscow's incessant and relentless onslaught on the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, equalled only by the Ukrainian's steadily growing determination to resist it. In due time, the Russian leaders began to employ unheard-of methods to completely subjugate Ukraine, culminating in a decree issued by Minister of Internal Affairs P. Valuyev on June 21, 1863, in which he angrily declared that "there never was, is not, and never will be any Little Russian [his designation for Ukrainians—ed.] nationality!"<sup>5</sup> On May 18, 1876, Tzar Alexander II signed a special decree forbidding the Ukrainians to write literature in their own language.<sup>6</sup> Revoked in 1905, the decree was reintroduced at the outbreak of war in 1914.

It should be emphasized that the harsh policy of the Tzarist regime toward non-Russian peoples of the Empire was one of the main factors responsible for that regime's eventual destruction.

With the downfall of Tzarism the Ukrainians made a bid for freedom, establishing a sovereign Ukrainian National Republic. Unfortunately, the international political situation in the years 1917-20 was unfavorable from the standpoint of Ukrainian interests; furthermore, Ukraine was too valuable to Russia economically and strategically to be left alone. The 3-year existence of the independent Ukrainian state terminated in the defeat of its armies by superior forces of the Russian Bolsheviks—Tzars' successors and faithful perpetrators of the old Russian policy of colonialism. They created an "independent" Soviet government of Ukraine in the city of Kharkov, with its members selected in advance by the Bolshevik Government of Russia and entirely controlled by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The hostile attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Ukrainian people's Russian and Ukrainian Communists over the question of Ukraine's status aspirations to independence eventually led to a violent controversy between the within the Soviet Union. This was accompanied by a rapid mushrooming of

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<sup>4</sup> Ukraine is the second largest Soviet republic, with a population of about 50 millions of which 42 millions are Ukrainians. After the First World War, Ukraine was divided among the Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. The Second World War resulted in the unification of all the Ukrainian territories in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which is a member of the United Nations.

<sup>5</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1919), p. 304.

<sup>6</sup> D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine* (Edmonton, 1939), p. 591.

underground Ukrainian organizations, and the Soviet GPU went into action. In the early 1930s several such secret organizations were uncovered among the Ukrainian youth and the intelligentsia, as well as within the Army. The stenographic minutes of the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party<sup>7</sup> mention the discovery of the Union for Liberation of Ukraine and the 40-day trial of its leaders and other members. About 4,000 members of the Ukrainian Comsomol were arrested at that time.

In 1931 the GPU uncovered another revolutionary organization, the National Center, which drew support mainly from Ukrainian peasantry. In 1933 came the discovery of existence of the well-known Ukrainian Military Organization (“Ukrainska Wiyskova Organizatsia”—UWO) on whose activity Stalin’s governor of Ukraine, Pustyshev, made a personal report to the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.<sup>8</sup> Earlier there were also uncovered and liquidated a Ukrainian National Socialist Party and a revolutionary organization within the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian Government.

Before and during the Second World War, the most serious threat to Russian imperialism came from the powerful Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA, which began to act during the war), both of which to this day are waging an uneven struggle with the Russian occupants.

However, the Russian Bolsheviks’ chauvinistic and imperialistic ruthlessness was best reflected in daring protests of the Ukrainian Communists themselves. The conflict between the Russian and the Ukrainian Communists came to a head during the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1921, when a Ukrainian delegate, Zatsky, accused the Russian Communists of heading toward the traditional Russian chauvinism. This chauvinism, charged Zatsky, overlooked or even denied the fact that national movements had made an important contribution to the success of the Russian Revolution. He warned that the Ukrainian masses were conscious of their national rights and would not tolerate a renewed Russian subjugation.<sup>9</sup> This bold protest of Zatsky, as well as the protests voiced by the delegates from other non-Russian nationalities, compelled the Congress formally to condemn Russian chauvinism.

At the 11th Congress of the Party, Lenin himself angrily informed the delegates of insubordination of the Ukrainian Communists, citing as an example an incident where the Ukrainians had ignored commissars appointed and sent to Ukraine by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and filled the vacant posts with local (i.e., Ukrainian) Party members.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *XVI Syezd Vsesoyuznoy Komunisticheskoy Partii: Stenograficheskoy Otchet* (b) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1930), p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> *XVII Syezd Vsesoyuznoy Komunisticheskoy Partii: Stenograficheskoy Otchet* (b) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1934), p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> *X Syezd Rossiyskoy Komunisticheskoy Partii: Stenograficheskoy Otchet* (b) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1921), p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> *XI Syezd Rossiyskoy Komunisticheskoy Partii: Stenograficheskoy Otchet* (b) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1922), p. 31.



Disharmony within the Communist camp of Soviet Russia, as well as nationalistic deviations of the non-Russian Communists, eventually compelled Moscow's consent to the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (on December 29, 1922), composed (at first) of the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republics.

At the 12th Congress of the Party, the Ukrainian Bolshevik Skrypnyk<sup>11</sup> renewed the attack on Russian chauvinism. He accused the Russians of disregarding the resolutions of the 10th Congress (condemnation of Russian chauvinism) and pointed out the resentment with which the Russian Communists greeted the decision to create the Union.<sup>12</sup>

Finally in 1925, a group of Ukrainian Communists, led by Shumskiy, Maksymovich, Khvyloviy, Volobuyev, and others, began to advocate national communism. Volobuyev went so far as to brand Soviet Government's economic policy as plain exploitation of the Ukrainian people. Khvyloviy's<sup>13</sup> slogan—"Away from Russia, look toward Europe!", as well as his demand that culture be separated from politics, captivated the Ukrainian masses and placed the Russian Bolsheviks before a dangerous prospect of disruption of the Union. The consternation which this possibility caused among the Red Russian rulers is reflected in a troubled letter which Joseph Stalin addressed on April 26, 1926, to Kaganovich and other members of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party.<sup>14</sup>

However, the Russian Bolshevik leaders eventually managed to subdue the rebellious Ukrainian Communists. A widespread famine in Ukraine, deliberately engineered by the Moscow Government, as well as terror and frequent purges, particularly purges of the youthful ranks of the Ukrainian Comsomol, had their effects. After President Lubchenko of the Ukrainian Republic committed suicide rather than face the tragic reality, the Russians took over all the important administrative posts in Ukraine.

The period of the Second World War and the turbulent post-war years have brought practically no change in the political situation of Ukraine, the death of Stalin and the liquidation of Beria notwithstanding. Moscow's only "concessions" to Ukraine consisted of bringing her into the United Nations and the recent rehabilitation of a number of political workers (Communists)—concessions calculated to counteract the ever-growing trend toward nationalism. The

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Skrypnyk, a member of the Soc. Dem. Party since 1897, collaborator of Lenin, head of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR, and Vice Premier of the Ukrainian Sov. Soc. Republic, committed suicide in July 1933 after returning from Moscow where he was called by Stalin to "confess."

<sup>12</sup> *XII Syezd Vsesoyuznoy Komunisticheskoy Partii: Stenograficheskoy Otchet* (b) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1923), p. 522.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Khvyloviy was a foremost Ukrainian writer. A few weeks prior to Skrypnyk's death Khvyloviy, harassed by Moscow and remorseful for having accepted communism, ended his life by suicide, leaving a note, "I die because I love life."

<sup>14</sup> J. V. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, vol. 8 (Moscow, 1948), pp. 149-154.

control of the Ukrainian Communist Party, of the Comsomol, and of the economic and cultural life of Ukraine remains in the hands of the Russian Communists.

In view of the dominant position of the Russians in the USSR, there cannot be any doubt that the entire problem of Soviet representation at the Olympic Games, from the selection of athletes for the all-USSR team down to the fiction of "friendship" between the non-Russian Soviet sportsmen and those of the ruling "elder brother"—Russia, was handled by the resourceful Party managers in Moscow.

### 3. SPORT AS UNDERSTOOD BY PARTY LEADERS OF USSR

IN THE FREE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, sport is primarily a matter of private effort of individuals or groups of individuals—an activity freely undertaken by the sportsmen for pleasure as well as health. In the USSR sport is not a private matter: It is of direct interest to the Government and the Communist Party as a matter of policy. There sport is one of the means of building (and, one may as well add, of controlling) a communistic society and of promoting the ideology of communism.

A book on physical culture in the USSR, published about two years ago, begins with a chapter heading which reads, "Physical Culture and Sport In the USSR—A Matter of State Importance," and which is followed by the following paragraphs:

"From the very inception of the Soviet state, the physical-culture movement in our country has received a particular attention of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government.

"At all stages of socialistic progress [in the USSR], our Party considered physical culture and sport as important means of communistic upbringing . . .

"The great leader of workingmen and founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, said: 'Our country of workers needs armies of millions of physically strong people, people of will and courage, of energy and determination. The future belongs to them, and they will win the right to lay new foundations of human society.' . . ." <sup>15</sup>

In the USSR, the question of amateur sport is a very complicated one. Management of all the sport activities in the Union rests in the hands of the so-called committees of physical culture, which exist as parts of the Party-controlled governments of cities, districts, territories ("oblasti"), republics, and finally of the central Government in Moscow. All those committees are subject to a strict control by the Party which keeps them, and the promising sportsmen they develop, under a close scrutiny.

The organizational scheme of the sport associations in the USSR is somewhat analogous to that of the Communist Party. Local groups bearing identical names (such as Dynamo, Burevisnyk, Spartak, etc.) exist in various republics and territories. They are centralized in republican and territorial organizations which, in turn, are centralized on the all-Union level in the Commissariat of Physical Culture and Sport in the Council of Ministers of the USSR in Moscow. Thus they form a centrally-administered and tightly linked chain of organizations, stretching across the Union. This scheme facilitates Party control of all the sport activities and groups involved.

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<sup>15</sup> S. L. Akselrod, *Fizicheskaya Kultura i Sport v SSSR* (Physical Culture and Sport in the USSR) (Moscow: Fizkultura i Sport, 1954), p. 3.

Many individuals are forced into participation in sports against their own wishes because the committees of physical culture impose quotas on individual sport groups, calling for specified numbers of athletes they are to develop in various branches of sport. The accomplishments of individual athletes, hence the athletes themselves, are classified as first-rate, second-rate, and third-rate.

The state provides funds to cover the operations of the physical culture committees and of sport organizations, including the construction of sport centers, acquisition of equipment, and even living expenses of athletes during the time they are in training.

It is impossible to reconcile this Soviet system with the definition of an "amateur" as stated in the Charter of the Olympic Games:

"An amateur is one who participates and always has participated in sport solely for pleasure and for the physical, mental or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom participation in sport is nothing more than recreation without material gain of any kind direct or indirect . . ." <sup>16</sup>

As already indicated, in the USSR everybody and everything that has any relation to organized sport is of concern to and under control of the Communist Party. *Radianskiy Sport* (published twice weekly in Kiev), an official organ of the sport commissariat of the Soviet Ukrainian Government and the only sport newspaper in Ukraine, may serve as an example. It is its policy never to miss an opportunity for filling its front page with glorifications of the Party or appeals for and commitments to ever greater efforts on behalf of Communism.

Shortly before the memorable 20th Party Congress in February 1956, *Radianskiy Sport* wrote in its editorial as follows:

". . . The Party is constantly at work to provide our youth with the most favorable conditions for an all-sided development—magnificent schools, palaces of culture, stadiums, swimming pools, gymnasiums, so that the new generation of the land of socialism may grow strong and hardy and capable of coping with difficulties on the path toward Communism." <sup>17</sup>  
On the occasion of the Day of the Soviet Press, that publication wrote:

"The inviolable principles of the Soviet press are devotion to the Party ("partiynist"), idealism, uprightness, respect for the people ("narodovist"), and truthfulness. . . . Under the direction of the Communist Party the Soviet press will continue to grow and to improve, to spread in the world the words of truth, to render a faithful service to the people, and to aid the people in the erection of a glorious edifice of Communism." <sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Charter of the Olympic Games (art. 38), in United States Olympic Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Radianskiy Sport*, February 14, 1956.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1956.

Nor is it possible to reconcile the Soviet system of sport organization with the Olympic rules requiring that all the National Olympic Committees be completely free of any political, commercial, or other influences.<sup>19</sup>

In view of this allegedly solicitous and benevolent role of the Party in sport affairs of the USSR, especially in the presence of the vast organizational machinery designed to promote sports, it would seem that sports in the Soviet Union should have a wonderful climate to flourish, and the young athletes should be provided with excellent opportunities and conditions for self-development. Unfortunately this is not the case; it particularly is not true in Ukraine.

The good performance of Soviet athletes at international competitions must be attributed to the fact that those athletes are special selectees of the Soviet sport authorities, who were given virtually a professional training.

It will be interesting to review the issues of *Radianskiy Sport* for the early part of 1956. This is the year of the 16th Olympic Games, when sport activities might be expected to proceed at a lively tempo. To his great amazement, however, the reader finds the pages of *Radianskiy Sport* filled with bitter complaints about inadequate sport equipment, unfavorable conditions of training, lack of interest on the part of the committees of physical culture, incompetence of the training personnel, and even lack of interest among the sportsmen themselves. And the question arises—What is the cause of this deplorable state of affairs?

Here are some citations from *Radianskiy Sport*:

One of the issues brings an article by O. Stepanchak on conditions prevailing among the school youth in the "oblast" of Rivno (Volhynia). The author describes the pitifully low morale and achievements of student sportsmen and says (about a certain school):

"... The DSS school ["Dytiacha Sportova Shkola"—Sport School for Children—ed.] has no playground of its own and the necessary equipment is lacking. For 2 years now they have been talking here about acquiring at least 1 pole for the pole vaulters, but it is impossible to buy it."<sup>20</sup>

The same issue brings reports from several contributors. Thus, one E. Chyz complains that at Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine) the wrestling section is completely neglected; one W. Lishchuk attacks the committee of physical culture in the district of Khotyn for ineptitude; one N. Buyanov complains that in Odessa—nay, in the whole country—it is impossible to buy a javelin that would not break into pieces the very first time it is used.

On January 17, 1956, the paper brings a lengthy article entitled, "More Attention To Heavy Athletics," containing a severe criticism of the training

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<sup>19</sup> Charter of the Olympic Games (art. 25), and the explanatory notes, "The Olympic Organization," in United States Olympic Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 3, respectively.

Incidentally, two of the leading members of the Olympic Committee of the USSR, Konstantin Andrianov and Oleksey Romanov, are members of the Communist Party and high officials of the Soviet Government—an eloquent testimony to the "independence" and "autonomy" of their Olympic committee.

<sup>20</sup> *Radianskiy Sport*, January 6, 1956.

personnel in the Donbas area for applying faulty training methods. The issue of January 20, 1956, contains an article by A. Yakovtzev, in which the author reports that track and field athletes in Dniepropetrovsk are in poor form and nothing is being done to improve their fitness. He charges the workers of the local committee with "formalism" (whatever it means in this connection), takes to task the trainers and referees, and complains of unfavorable conditions for the development of athletes.

About a month later, an article by W. Dmytruk presents a review of activities of the Carpatho-Ukrainian sport organizations. There the author says:

"It would seem that during the period of preparations for Spartakiada <sup>21</sup> [a local] combinat should be humming with life. But it is not! Only about one-tenth of the association's members are active in various sport sections; the track and field athletes ceased training altogether. . . ." After levelling similar accusations at other groups, the author asks: "Would such things be happening if the oblast committee of physical culture were an organ of genuine state control—an active, severe, impartial control?" <sup>22</sup>

The author obviously implies that the Russian-controlled sport officials of the Ukrainian Government deliberately neglect their duties.

Several weeks later the paper brings an article by D. Abbarius, head of the track and field ("light athletics") department of the institute of physical culture at Lviv (Eastern Galicia), in which the author reports the findings of a survey of sport activities in Kiev. He writes:

". . . Only a small number of sportsmen undergo a systematic training all the year around. The physical culture committee of Kiev has disclosed that 14,284 people were supposedly engaged in track and field activities; in reality, however, not more than 500 men and women were actually in training. . . . Does this not seem to provide an explanation why the development of qualified track and field athletes in Kiev progresses at such a slow tempo? . . ." <sup>23</sup>

In the same issue one W. Pysanenko reports that in his town, Kushuhum, the teachers of physical culture, instead of training young athletes, were wasting time by attending various meetings and sport events and had thus frittered away 300 semester hours ("uroki") since the beginning of the school year. Similarly, one B. Kravchenko reports that the city and "oblast" committees in Kirovograd have done nothing in the field of hand ball.

Writings of this sort appear in almost every issue of *Radianskiy Sport*, revealing great shortcomings and inefficiencies in the organized sport movement in Ukraine. It appears that the elaborate system designed to promote sports throughout the USSR is particularly failing in Ukraine. Here the means of training are lacking, while the committees of physical culture not only neglect

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<sup>21</sup>An all-Union sport event. The first Spartakiada was held in the 1920s. The winners of the second Spartakiada, which took place in August 1956, were included in the all-USSR teams sent to the 16th Olympic Games.

<sup>22</sup>*Radianskiy Sport*, February 17, 1956.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, March 6, 1956.

their duties but often even resort to deliberate actions to prevent the sport-loving Ukrainian youth from succeeding. Incidents of such deliberately harmful conduct are too numerous to be accidental. Nor are they limited to a few places. They occur throughout Ukraine, and certainly in all the major Ukrainian cities.

There is but one explanation for this deplorable state of affairs in the Ukrainian sport: *It results from a deliberate policy of the Russian rulers!*

A glimmer of truth about the causes of this situation comes from reading between the lines of the thoroughly censored writings which appear in the press under the guise of harmless self-criticism. The characteristic features of those voices of public criticism is that they touch on all the aspects of the Soviet sport-promotion system save one—the most important one: *the alleged superiority of the Russian sportsman over the non-Russian sportsman, or to be more accurate, the constant maneuvering of the Russians to retain that fiction of primacy at all costs!*

Presently Ukraine is waging a fierce struggle against the attempted Muscovization of sport in Ukraine. Her primary adversaries are the Russian sport publications, the Moscow-controlled committees of physical culture, and even some outstanding Russian sportsmen. They resort to any means in order to slow down the momentum with which the Ukrainian sportsmen began to forge ahead within the past several years. For this reason, some of the critical writings in the press, seemingly directed at shortcomings in various branches of sport, really are intended to cause removal from responsible positions of those Ukrainians who show genuine interest in the success of Ukrainian sportsmen.

The Party publications do not discuss this subject openly—a rather strange silence in view of the past “condemnation” of Russian chauvinism by the Party. However, even some of the writings which pass clearance as self-criticism indicate that the Ukrainian sportsmen work under intolerable conditions resulting from the chauvinistic policy of the Russian rulers.

For example, the outstanding sportsman I. Zasieda and the newspaperman W. Dmytruk, joint authors of an article on the development of the swimming sport in Ukraine, published in *Radianskiy Sport*, have this to say about O. Trofimov (a Russian), the head coach of the representative swimming team of the Ukrainian Republic:

“Was it not a mistake to appoint this man to the post of director and educator of the top team of the Republic? Outside of M. Havrysh [a leading Ukrainian woman swimmer—ed.], O. Trofimov has developed no outstanding swimmer in the past 10 years. . . . Taking advantage of his official position, O. Trofimov is at present feverishly engaged in forming a group of ‘his own pupils’ [in “Dynamo,” a Russian-dominated sport organization where Trofimov is employed—ed.] composed of swimmers who have been trained by other coaches. To every young and promising swimmer he

wants to gain for his group [he] promises participation in Spartakiada of the USSR peoples and even in the 16th Olympic Games. . . . For instance, O. Trofimov has enticed with promises into his group swimmer Mekhonoshin, a pupil of B. Chyzh [a Ukrainian coach—ed.] . . . At present Trofimov is making similar overtures to another pupil of Chyzh, the first-rate swimmer D. Lesny . . . Trofimov also tried a similar trick on A. Rybickiy, a pupil of Myronovich [a Ukrainian—ed.]; but when Rybickiy refused to swallow the bait, Trofimov did not hesitate to get his revenge on the young man by having him removed from the Ukrainian representative team at the all-USSR games . . .”<sup>24</sup>

This is but one of a long series of incidents illustrative of the efforts of the Russian sport coaches and physical culture educators to lure the best Ukrainian talents into Russian organizations. What usually happens to such Ukrainian athletes after they swallow the Russian promises, is that eventually they are transferred to Russia proper and placed in the Russian representative team either of Moscow or Leningrad. This has happened to many, many outstanding Ukrainian sportsmen, such as Nina Otkalenko, W. Kutz, O. Onufriiv, O. Honcharenko, and a large number of others.

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, January 10, 1956.



#### 4. UKRAINE IS BARRED FROM OLYMPIC GAMES

UKRAINE has no National Olympic Committee and is not represented separately at the Olympic Games. The question is: Does Ukraine have the *right* to independent participation in the Olympic movement?

Before proceeding with this subject, it will be to the point here to stress that it is not this writer's intention to inject the hot issue of political nationalism into the Olympic picture. He fully agrees with the following statement of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), published in the latest edition of the Rule Book, on the subject of points scoring by nations:

"Normal national pride is perfectly legitimate, but neither the Olympic Games nor any other sporting contest can be said to indicate the superiority of one political system over another, or of one country over another. One of the objects of the Olympic Games is to build international goodwill. Efforts to pit one nation against another in this or any other manner must be severely censured."<sup>25</sup>

However, the phrase that should be underscored in this statement is "Normal national pride is perfectly legitimate." It is impossible to eliminate the nation from the Olympic picture altogether.

Ukraine cannot obtain satisfaction for her "perfectly legitimate" pride from Russia; and the Ukrainians of the free world feel morally justified in submitting Ukraine's case for judgement to the free nations.

How much goodwill will there be in this world if the elements breeding ill will are not vigorously dealt with but are merely swept under the carpet and out of sight of mankind?

To proceed with the subject proper: Ukraine has the right to a separate representation in the Olympic movement by virtue of (a) her constitutional position in the Soviet Union, (b) her membership in the United Nations and various other international organizations in which she takes part as an independent state, and (c) provisions of the Charter of the Olympic Games. Furthermore, her full participation in the Olympics would be justified by the successes of the Ukrainian sportsmen in recent years.

The reason why Ukraine and other non-Russian Soviet republics do not participate independently in international sport activities is very simple: The USSR Government does not allow them such participation.

In this respect Ukraine and her comrades in misfortune are victims of a policy of national discrimination pursued by the USSR Government. Since this Government is dominated by Russian Communists, and since the Russian nation is the master nation of the Soviet Union, it follows that Ukraine and the other non-Russian Soviet peoples are victims of Russian chauvinism.

While at home the Russian Bolsheviks propagate superiority and overlordship of Russians over other peoples of the Union as a matter of policy,

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<sup>25</sup> As cited in *XVI Olympiad*, published by the Organizing Committee for the 16th Olympiad, Melbourne, Australia (No. 10—February 1956), p. 1.

Soviet propaganda abroad falsely maintains that the nations of the USSR enjoy equality.

1. *USSR Violates the Spirit of Its Constitution.* The Constitution of the USSR, as amended in 1947,<sup>20</sup> states (art. 13): "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary Union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics . . ."

It is true that among the powers given by the Constitution to the Government of the Union [by art. 14(a)] is that of "Representation of the USSR in international relations." But it is highly questionable, to say the least, whether this very broad and very vague statement of the federal Government's function—"Representation of the USSR in international relations"—can serve as a basis for forbidding the member republics to send their own representative teams to international sport competitions, where those teams would appear under their own national banners.

It is more correct to assume that this particular phase of foreign representation (representation in sports) is among the prerogatives of the member republics of the Soviet Union, regarding which the Soviet Constitution says (art. 15), "Outside of these spheres [reserved for the federal Government—ed.] each Union Republic exercises state authority independently."

Furthermore, this questionable constitutional provision regarding foreign representation is, or should be, deprived of all meaning by an amendment to the Soviet Constitution (art. 18a), which says: "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and to exchange diplomatic representatives with them." Moreover, the Constitution even provides (art. 17) that "The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to every Union Republic."

Certainly, it is a much greater power for an autonomous but federated state to be able to deal directly with other states as sovereign entities, or to secede from the federation, than the power to deal independently with an international sport organization or to participate in an international sport movement. Here is the incongruity of the Moscow Government's position: It maintains that a member republic of the Soviet Union is sovereign, and yet forbids it freedom in such an innocent and harmless activity as sport!

It is obvious that, in doing so, the all-powerful Russian Communists are guilty of violation of the spirit of the very constitution they themselves have written.

2. *Position of the USSR Is Contrary to the Charter of the Olympic Games.* The absurdity of the USSR Government's stand in the matter of foreign representation in sports is further heightened by the fact that the Charter of the Olympic Games does not recognize state representation at the Games. The Charter does not recognize states or nations as competitors; it recognizes as

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<sup>20</sup> *Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, as amended on February 25, 1947 (London: Soviet News, 1947).

competitors only individuals. The individuals only *represent* their nations and must be certified by their National Olympic Committees which must be recognized by the IOC.

The right to form a National Olympic Committee applies not only to sovereign state nations but also to peoples with limited sovereignty or no sovereignty at all. Among such nonsovereign peoples presently affiliated with the IOC there are: the British colonies—Bahamas, Bermuda, Gold Coast, British Guiana, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Malta, Singapore, Trinidad; the Netherlands Antilles; Puerto Rico, and others.<sup>27</sup>

On this point the Charter of the Olympic Games (art. 39) says: “Competitors who are citizens or subjects of a Dominion, or of a Colony belonging to a country, . . . shall be eligible to represent the Mother Country *if the Dominion or the Colony has no National Olympic Committee.*” [italics supplied—ed.].

The phrase “if the Dominion or the Colony has no National Olympic Committee” clearly indicates that even dominions and colonies may have such committees.<sup>28</sup> It is not accompanied by a reservation that a certain category of peoples may not form National Olympic Committees.

Article 45 of the Olympic Charter goes even further by saying, “A country without a National Olympic Committee must form such a committee and have it recognized by the International Olympic Committee before it is permitted to take part in the Olympic Games.” Again no exceptions are listed, in fact one might read in these words encouragement to the nations to form their Olympic committees.

Thus, the Charter of the Olympic Games clearly shows that every national entity, regardless of its status, has the right to be represented at the Olympic Games and, generally, to participate in the Olympic movement through a National Olympic Committee of its own, provided, of course, that its committee obtains recognition of the central Olympic organization (IOC).

Legally, Ukraine is not a dominion nor a colony, although under the Soviet Russian occupation she undoubtedly is both lumped into one. Ukraine is a country which is recognized by the United Nations as an independent state; and it certainly should be entitled to a National Olympic Committee of its own and to independent participation in the Olympic activities and in other international sporting contests.

Why is there no such committee in Ukraine? It certainly is not because the Ukrainian nation does not care to have one. Is there a nation that would not crave the privilege of officially attending the celebration of an Olympiad?

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<sup>27</sup> As listed in United States Olympic Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> It is unfortunate that the Charter does not contain a more precise statement concerning eligibility of nations for affiliation with the International Olympic Committee through their national committees. It is a matter to which the IOC should apply itself in the near future.

What country's youth does not dream of the glory of participating in the Olympic Games under the banner of its country?

The Ukrainians have sufficient national pride to desire independent participation in this sort of international celebrations. Why should this right be withheld from the Ukrainian youth by Moscow? Why should the youth of any non-Russian people of the Soviet Union be robbed of the same privilege?

Ukraine is a distinct and separate nation, with a long history and separate language and culture of her own. Her position as a Russian-occupied and dominated country is not of her own choosing and, like many other peoples held in bondage by Russia, she has a long tradition of struggle for freedom.

Some might argue that a decision in the matter of Ukraine's independent representation at the Olympic Games is exclusively within the competence of her physical-culture organizations and of the Ukrainian sportsmen and their societies. But are those organizations and sportsmen free to take advantage of their theoretical constitutional rights or to make any decisions? Whoever is acquainted with the Soviet system and knows to what extent the Communist Party controls the life of each people of the USSR, knows very well that such a luxury as free exercise of rights "guaranteed" by the Soviet Constitution is unthinkable.

Through its policy of national discrimination, terror, and force and by means of the Party control the USSR makes it impossible for Ukraine or any other non-Russian Soviet republic to participate in the Olympic movement independently. Thus, the USSR clearly stands in violation of the Charter of the Olympic Games to which it, through its own Olympic committee, has subscribed. The very first principle listed in that document (art. 1), stating that "no discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of colour, religion or politics," is being trampled upon by the USSR.

3. *USSR And the United Nations Charter.* Finally, the USSR's policy of national discrimination, so strongly manifested in the field of sport, constitutes an unpardonable offense against the basic principles of the United Nations, as expressed in the United Nations Charter. Says the preamble to that august document:

"We the peoples of the United Nations [are] determined . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. . . ."

And article 1 (sec. 3) of the Charter announces as one of the United Nations objectives,

". . . international cooperation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . . ."

Fundamental human rights, dignity of person, equal rights of nations large and small, fundamental freedoms of all—what relation do all these concepts have, what resemblance do they bear to the practices of the callous masters of the USSR?

The end result of these Soviet violations of international charters, and of the Soviet Constitution itself, is that today the Ukrainian sportsmen, in effect, are forced to gratify the vanities of the Muscovites: They are considered as Russians by the world at large, and the goodwill and friendship they gain in honorable competitions with fellow sportsmen from all over the world, as well as their achievements in sports, are not credited to their own people but are sacrificed on the altar of political propaganda on behalf of an odious doctrine and of the imperialistic dreams of the Russian Bolshevik leaders.

Thus it is that Ukraine, an “equal” member in a “voluntary” union with Russia and other peoples, supposedly sovereign and with the right of secession from the USSR, in reality does not even enjoy the kind of privileges that are available to the peoples with colonial status.

It is unbelievable that a country

which has so little or no respect for any laws—its own or those of any other country—or for charters of the international organizations of which it is a member;

which so lightly treats its international commitments and carries them out only to the extent of selfish convenience;

for which every international event at which it is represented serves merely as a means of political and ideological propaganda;

and whose internal and external policies are based on force, coercion, discrimination, and deceit—

that this country has managed to establish itself as a “respectable” member of the community of nations, whose free members are still governed by democratic principles, respect national distinctions, and are on the alert against too free a play of chauvinism and against hatred toward others.

## APPENDIX I

An excerpt from a memorandum addressed by the Ukrainian World Committee for Sport Affairs to the International Olympic Committee, the Organizing Committee for the XVI Olympiad, and the National Olympic Committees of various nations, on September 24, 1956.

Since the Ukrainian nation is now subjugated and oppressed by the Russian Communists, and since the Ukrainian sportsmen and sportswomen, who will participate in the Olympic Games, are not free to speak for themselves without risking frightful consequences, we, the Ukrainians of the free world, take the liberty of requesting:

1. That the Ukrainian athletes be separated from the all-USSR Olympic team, and that they be given an opportunity to participate in the Olympic Games as representatives of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.
2. That the USSR Olympic team be forbidden to include sportsmen other than those of Russian nationality; and that all its members of non-Russian nationalities be allowed, along with the Ukrainians, to compete in the Games as representatives of their respective nations. Such separation will be consistent not only with the universally recognized principle of national representation at the Olympic Games; it will also be fully consistent with the undeniable conflict of interests between the Communist Russia and its unwilling "partners" the non-Russian Soviet republics. The sons and daughters of the latter should not be subjected to the indignity of representing the imperialistic aims of aggression, colonization, and enslavement pursued by the Russian Communists.
3. That during the Olympic Games the Ukrainian national flag and the Ukrainian national emblem be exhibited along with the flags and emblems of the other nations represented at the Games, and that the Ukrainian national anthem be played.

Should it be impossible at this stage of Olympic preparations to arrange for the elimination of non-Russian athletes from the all-USSR team into separate national representations, we request

4. That, when their achievements are announced, the individual athletes of the all-USSR team be identified by their proper nationalities, e.i., Ukrainian, Belorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Armenian, Georgian, etc., and not by the designation of "Russian" (except in case of the Russians) or simply "Soviet."
5. That the athletes arriving from the USSR, Ukraine, and Belorussia be guaranteed complete freedom and opportunity of contact with the free world and free people of the West. We particularly request that steps be taken to relieve those athletes from constant surveillance by the notorious MVD agents charged with keeping them in complete isolation.

## APPENDIX II

A list of the Ukrainian athletes who won various honors at the XV Olympic Games held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1952.

### *Gold Medals*

Viktor Chukaryn, gymnastics, 4 medals  
Maria Horochowska, gymnastics, 2 medals  
Nina Bocharowa, gymnastics, 2 medals  
E. Kalynchuk, gymnastics, 1 medal  
Halyna Shamray, gymnastics, 1 medal  
Tamara Kamenska, trainer for women gymnastics, 1 medal  
Jurij Punkyn, wrestling, 1 medal

### *Silver Medals*

Viktor Chukaryn, gymnastics, 2 medals  
Nina Bocharowa, gymnastics, 1 medal  
Maria Horochowska, gymnastics, 1 medal  
Jurij Litujiw, athletics, 1 medal  
Ihor Yemchuk, rowing, 1 medal  
Hryhorij Zhylin, rowing, 1 medal  
Women's team for gymnastics, 1 medal

### *Bronze Medals*

Oleksander Anufryjiw, athletics, 1 medal

Ukrainian competitors in the 1952 Olympics won a total of 13 gold medals, 8 silver medals, and 1 bronze medal.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

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