A TRANS-NATIONAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRAVDA'S AND THE WASHINGTON POST'S COVERAGE OF THE 1976, 1980, AND 1984 SUMMER OLYMPICS

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PREFACE

Inspiration for this study came from an article entitled "The Olympics America Missed," by Kenneth Owler Smith. Professor Smith is on the journalism faculty at the University of Southern California and also serves as administrator of the university's Sports Information Program. The article, which appeared in the November 1982 issue of The Quill, expressed Professor Smith's outrage at the lack of coverage given the 1980 Olympics in Moscow by the American media.

Professor Smith was one of a "small, determined band of Americans" who defied President Carter's boycott and attended the Moscow Games. Before his departure, he made arrangements with the USC library to hold major newspapers and national magazines published during the Games. He also asked the broadcast division of the journalism school to videotape all network television coverage.

Smith described his homecoming:

> I had scheduled a full two weeks for the review, but easily completed the job in less than three days, my first indication that something was wrong, very wrong, indeed. The sheer paucity of material became a lesser consideration as hour after hour of review made it overwhelmingly clear that the American public had been served an almost exclusive diet of disgracefully xenophobic 'news.'[1]

He then commenced to quote a score or so of the more blatantly anti-Soviet passages and headlines he came across in his review of the American media's coverage of the Moscow Games. Smith wondered if he and the journalists who provided the distorted fare all had been at the same

place. A veteran of four Olympiads at that time, he considered the Moscow spectacle a "superb international celebration."

When the author came across Smith's article, the Los Angeles Games had come and gone, minus the Soviet Union and most of the other socialist nations. It appeared that the Soviet boycott had created in 1984 a mirror image of the 1980 Olympiad, making it possible to contrast and compare the press performance of the Soviet Union and the United States under very similar conditions.

This study's findings will do very little to placate or assure Professor Smith. Indeed his original outrage was well-founded and the 1984 Games have only compounded and further justified his initial concern. With the help of the American and Soviet press, the Olympics have been turned into cold war contests that serve to intensify the animosity between the two superpowers and nourish the feelings of distrust and animosity that exist between the people of the Soviet Union and the United States.

ENDNOTES

[1]Kenneth Owler Smith, "The Olympics America Missed," The Quill (November 1982), pp. 37-39.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On May 7, 1984, the Soviet National Olympic Committee announced that the Soviet Union would not participate in the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Four years and three months earlier, February 1980, U.S. President Jimmy Carter called for the withdrawal of American athletes from competition in the XXII Olympiad in Moscow and exhorted other nations to follow suit. Although these were not the first national boycotts in the history of the modern Olympic Games, they were certainly the most dramatic, involving not only the world's two major political powers, but the major athletic powers as well.

In the 1981 edition of The Politics of the Olympic Games, Richard Espy (1981, pp. 4-5) writes:

> Sport can provide a malleable foreign policy tool indicating various shades of political significance depending on the intent, and perceived intent, of the parties concerned....The Olympic Games demonstrate this phenomenon through the number of people who watch and participate, the increase in media attention over the years, the passions aroused worldwide on behalf of the competitors and, most convincingly, through the controversies created within the Olympics which reflect trends in international relations over time.[1]

Espy maintains it is the "essential neutrality" of sport that makes it particularly vulnerable to political exploitation.

This thesis examined the influence of cold-war politics on coverage by the American newspaper, The Washington Post, and the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, of the 1976, 1980, and 1984 summer Olympic Games.

The 1980 Games in Moscow and 1984 Games in Los Angeles provided mirror-image political backgrounds against which media treatment might be analyzed, since boycott movements were led respectively by the United States and Soviet governments in those years. The 1976 Games in Montreal served as a "normal" year for comparative media analysis, since both the United States and the Soviet Union participated.

The study addressed the questions: Does the political environment have an impact on the reporting of the Games? Does the reporting of the Games have an impact on the political environment?

Despite the "essential neutrality" of sport, numerous factors in addition to the international political environment interact to make journalistic objectivity in Olympic coverage an elusive goal. The location of the Games, the popularity of various athletic events, the personalities of individual "star" performers, expectations of readers, and the drama of specific competitions influence play given to different aspects of each quadrennial competition. The focus of this thesis, however, was restricted to the impact of international political events.

Pravda's and the Washington Post's coverage was analyzed for content and quantity for the 16 days of each of the three Olympiads, plus a 17th day for wrap-up stories. A total of 51 issues for each newspaper comprised the potential raw material for this study.

Historical Perspectives

Politics and the Ancient Olympic Games

Although the 1896 revival of the ancient Greek tradition was based,

to some degree, on a desire to recreate the ancient forum for friendly competition among allies and erstwhile enemies, the original Games, in fact, frequently were beset by political skullduggery and chauvinistic savagery. Instituted in 776 BC in Olympia on a river plain in the northwestern area of Greece's Peloponnesian Peninsula, the early Games combined contests of athletic and martial skills with religious rites honoring Zeus. This wedding of religion and sport persisted for some 1200 years until AD 393, when Roman emperor Theodosius I, a Christian, banned all pagan cult festivities.[2]

Hosted by the city-state of Elis, the Olympic Games' success depended upon the continuing neutrality of that state. When the Eleans broke their neutrality by supporting Athens during the Peloponnesian War with Sparta (432-409 BC), the Games had to be conducted under protection of armed troops. In 364 BC the Arcadians and Pisatans briefly seized control of the Games, but, fearful of angering the gods and the approaching Elean army, they quickly restored authority to the nominal hosts.[3] In 80 BC, when Greece was under Roman rule, the emperor Sulla moved the Games to Rome. After his death two years later, the Olympics returned to Greece, but Roman contestants continued to participate in the contests for three centuries.[4]

Despite these political intrusions, the ancient Games provided a precedent for the establishment of an Olympic truce, instituted to insure safe passage for athletes, spectators, and pilgrims. As the Games expanded from a one-day to a five-day event, it was necessary to extend duration of the truce to allow participants from such faraway

provinces as Spain and North Africa to make the journey unharmed. Terms of the truce forbade participating states from taking up arms against each other or pursuing legal disputes during a three-month period. Elean heralds were dispatched to every Greek state to issue invitations, announce the dates of festivities, and proclaim the truce.[5]

Politics and the Modern Games

International politics did not wait until 1976 to enter modern-day Olympiads. After the first Games of the modern era, conducted in Athens in 1896, Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France, the nobleman who is credited with reviving the contests, fought to wrest the Games away from a permanent site in Greece. He succeeded in bringing them to Paris as part of the great Universal Exposition of 1900. Coubertin therefore may be credited with establishing the tradition of rotating sites for the Olympiads, a practice staunchly upheld by successive generations of International Olympic Committee (IOC) members.

In 1908, British athletic officials at the London Games allegedly dragged the spent Italian marathoner Dorando Pietri across the finish line to prevent the American Johnny Hayes from capturing the prize. This action may have been prompted by English outrage at the refusal of Americans to dip their flag to King Edward VII in the opening ceremony.[6]

The two World Wars doused the Olympic flames in 1916, 1940, and 1944.[7] In London in 1920 and in Antwerp in 1948 the losing nations of the wars were banned from participation.[8] The 1936 Berlin Games became an audacious Nazi spectacle choreographed by Adolph Hitler. Many prominent Americans had urged a U.S. boycott, but were superceded by long-time IOC

president Avery Brundage, who explained away Nazi anti-Semitism as an internal "religious dispute."[9]

Postwar Olympiads have been even more vivid in their political coloring. Spain, The Netherlands, and Switzerland, protesting Soviet military action in Hungary, boycotted the 1956 Melbourne Games, and, according to a Time magazine essay, "The water polo match between the Soviet Union and Hungary in 1956 ended with a bloody-faced Hungarian in the pool."[10]

Racial policies resulted in the barring of South Africa and Rhodesia from the Olympics beginning with the 1964 Tokyo Games. In 1968 in Mexico City, U.S. domestic racial policies were protested by American athletes who raised their fists in Black-power salutes. The ill-fated 1972 Olympics in Munich saw 11 Israeli athletes slain in the Olympic Village by Palestinian terrorists in the bloodiest Olympic political incident in recorded history.[11]

Against this beleaguered background, it is understandable that many people question whether the Olympics can, or even should, survive the onslaught of late twentieth-century political rivalries. Perhaps the media themselves have created such a unique worldwide theatre that even the most well-intentioned political powers cannot resist the temptation to exploit it.

The events of the past three Olympiads, particularly the past two pitting the United States against the Soviet Union, offer little encouragement. "We are the victims of our own success," said Douglas Roby, a U.S. representative on the IOC. "We have created the greatest arena in the world for political statement. What happens on our stage attracts more attention than what happens at the United Nations."[12]

The Political Environment of the 1976, 1980, AND 1984 Games

The Montreal Games--The Taiwan Debacle And the African Boycott

The Montreal Games were beset with construction problems and labor difficulties, exacerbated by cost-overruns, mismanagement of funds, and a deficit of $1.2 billion.[13] More serious for the Games, however, were decisions made by the Canadian government concerning the participation of Taiwanese athletes, which prompted IOC President Lord Killanin to charge Canada with political interference in the Games, and caused the United States to threaten a boycott.

The government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, under pressure from the People's Republic of China (Mainland China), agreed in May to forbid the Taiwanese from participating in the Games. (Canada recognized the People's Republic of China in 1970. That nation had not competed in the Olympics since 1952, when it withdrew in protest to the participation of the Taiwanese. Athletes from People's Republic would not take part again until the Los Angeles Games. Taiwan boycotted the 1980 Olympiad, but took part in the 1984 Games under the name Chinese Taipei and under the Olympic flag.)[14, 15]

Forty-two Taiwanese athletes came to the Games in 1976, expecting to compete under their chosen name, the Republic of China. Only five of the athletes, those who held dual Taiwanese-American citizenship, were allowed to cross the U.S. border and enter Canada.[16]

Trudeau said, "If the athletes come from Taiwan, they should come as Taiwan, not as China. They're welcome as long as they don't

masquerade as a country they're not." The Canadian government announced the Taiwanese would have to give up their chosen designation, anthem, and flag if they wanted to participate in the Games.[17]

Killanin charged Canada with violating a "fundamental" Olympic premise. "No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation," he said. The outraged IOC was supported by U.S. President Gerald Ford, the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC), and representatives of the American Olympic team, who threatened withdrawal from the Games. Many other nations disapproved of the Canadian government's actions, as did Canada's own Olympic Committee, which called its government's intervention a "breach of faith."[18]

Killanin strove for a compromise, offering the Taiwanese their chosen flag and anthem, but not the name Republic of China. When this was rejected, he offered to permit the Taiwanese to compete under the Olympic flag. Two days before opening of the Games the Taiwanese formally withdrew from the Olympics. U.S. officials, satisfied with the Killanin compromises, dropped boycott plans. (The Taiwanese had competed under the name Republic of China since 1964, under an IOC ruling.[19]

Many countries feared the precedent set by a host country's determining eligibility, rather than the supranational IOC, would lead to more trouble in future years. (One example of their concern, cited by Time, was that the USSR might choose to exclude Israel or West Germany from the 1980 Games.)[20]

The African boycott, led by Tanzania, eventually resulted in 31 nations withdrawing from the Games, action to which many African

athletes themselves strongly objected. The boycott was in protest to New Zealand's participation in the Olympics, after having competed in rugby matches against South Africa. The protest was considered largely symbolic since at least 25 other participating nations had sent teams to South Africa that year, including France and the United Kingdom, and, scheduled for the following week, the United States.[21]

Another political event rendering impact upon the Games was defection to Canada of six East European athletes, including a 17-year-old Soviet diver. At one point, the USSR threatened to leave the Games if the youth were not returned. The Soviets later met with IOC officials and subsequently dropped their withdrawal threat.

According to Soviet press officer Mikhail Efimov, a death threat was telephoned to Soviet sprinter Valery Borzov shortly before he ran in the final of the 100-meter dash. Efimov cited the incident as "one point in a big chain of an anti-Soviet campaign."[22]

A total of 7300 athletes, representing 94 countries, participated in the XXI Olympiad. The Soviet Union netted 125 medals--47 gold; the United States received 94 medals--34 gold; East Germany received 90 medals--40 gold.[23]

The Moscow Games--The American-Led Boycott

To understand the impact of the American-led boycott, it is necessary to recognize the importance of the Moscow Games to the Soviet Union. The USSR did not compete in the Olympics following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution until the Helsinki Games in 1952. Since the early 1960s Moscow had been making its bid to be host city to the Olympics.

The designation of Moscow as host for the XXII Olympiad marked the first time in history that the Games were to be held in a Communist/Socialist country.[24]

The Soviets did not take the honor lightly, mobilizing their far-flung economy in an ambitious $3-billion effort that included a total of 99 construction projects. Seventy-six of the new projects were built in Moscow; the remainder in the four other Olympic cities of Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, and Tallinn. Beginning in spring 1977, the Soviet Olympic Committee recruited architects, engineers, and other specialists from throughout the Union and beyond, pulling workers, materials, and funds from non-Olympic projects to concentrate on the gargantuan effort. Thousands of Young Communist League members joined construction battalions from the Red Army and citizen volunteers in contributing to the effort.[25]

Projects included 10 new sports facilities and 8 reconstructions. Moscow's 23-year-old V.I. Lenin Stadium, seating capacity 103,000, was refurbished thoroughly. For an anticipated 300,000 foreign guests, nine new hotels were built, increasing accommodations in first-class hotels in Moscow from 50,000 to 75,000. One new facility, the 10,000-bed Izmailovo Park complex, is a cluster of five 28-story hotels, each with restaurants, underground parking, and a movie theatre. One hundred fifty restaurants, cafes, and snack bars were built near the Olympic facilities. A new terminal to serve foreign visitors was constructed by a West German consortium at Moscow's Sheremetevo Airport.[26]

The Olympic Village comprising eighteen 16-story buildings went up on a 270-acre tract on the southwest side of Moscow. Said Time magazine's Peter Ainslie, who toured the site during construction,

"Without a doubt, it's the most elaborate facility ever built to house, feed, and entertain Olympic athletes." The 3,450 two- and three-bedroom apartments now are occupied by 12,000 Muscovites.[27]

The specially-constructed Olympic Sports Center's indoor stadium is the largest covered arena in Europe. The 16-story structure provides seating for 45,000 and can accommodate two sporting events simultaneously. The Olmpiad swimming arena has separate pools for swimming and diving. A Union-wide competition produced the architectural plans for the Velodrome in Krylatskoe, a Moscow suburb.[28]

Two press centers were constructed for sports journalists covering the Games--one in central Moscow for print reporters, the other for television and radio journalists in the Ostankino Center in the northern part of the city.[29]

The city itself underwent an extensive cosmetic overhaul. Buildings were repainted, main thoroughfares repaved, and hundreds of workers were employed to cut grass and remove litter.

A total of 100,000 Soviet citizens worked at the Games, and an additional 100,000 served foreign visitors. More than 10,000 were trained as interpreters and many more, including hotel maids and cab drivers, were given basic instructions in several foreign languages. Many Moscow children under age 18 were sent to camps and homes outside the city for the duration of the Games, and mandatory vacations were arranged for dissidents and other suspect types. Soviet tourists from other parts of the country were not admitted to the city without special passes, usually issued only to those making vital deliveries.[30]

President Carter's threat to impose an Olympic boycott of the Soviet Games was issued in January 1980, in response to the Soviets'

military involvement in Afghanistan. Carter specified that American teams would not compete in the Games unless troops were withdrawn by February 20. On that date the President carried through his threat.

In theory this decision was up to the 82-member executive board of the USOC. In fact, the Committee was dependent upon Congress for approval of some $16 million allocated for its operating expenses. When the Congress passed a resolution to boycott by a voice vote, the USOC put aside its objections and voted to support the decision of the President and Congress. Thirty of the 42-member Athletes' Advisory Council that serves the USOC opposed the action.[31]

"Regardless of what other nations might do, I would not favor sending an American Olympic team to Moscow while the Soviet invasion troops are in Afghanistan," Carter said in an early February appearance on Meet the Press. Nevertheless, the administration applied considerable pressure on its allies and other unaligned nations to follow the American example. Despite personal requests of support made by Carter to foreign leaders, responses were slow in coming.

The British Olympic Association refused to go along with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's call for withdrawal, but agreed the Union Jack and the national anthem would not be allowed at the Games. The West Germans, with a strong team, reluctantly went along with the boycott. Having criticized the Carter adminstration repeatedly for being "soft" on the Soviets, the Bonn government now found it difficult to defy Carter's firm stand. The West German Olympic Committee, following four hours of heated televised debate, voted 59 to 40 to pull out of the Games.[32]

The French Olympic Committee, however, voted unanimously to

participate in the Olympics because, in the words of President Claude Collard, "We don't want athletes to be used in politics." Italy and the Scandanavian countries also refused to withdraw. Puerto Rico sent a five-man boxing team in defiance of the U.S. position. The Puerto Rican flag flew at the opening ceremony and the national anthem was played. The Carter administration made no attempt to prevent the delegation from participating, despite the island's political association with the U.S..

Mohammed Ali was recruited by the Carter administration to solicit African support for the boycott. Ali's ill-fated and ill-informed mission in February resulted in the former prize fighter's almost being converted to the nonboycott position by African leaders more politically astute than he.[33]

When the Games opened in Moscow on July 18, the number of participating nations was 81, 13 less than had competed in the 1976 Montreal Games. Sixty-five nations that had planned to attend withdrew after the United States announced its boycott. Among these were Canada, China, Japan, Kenya, and West Germany--all of whom stayed away expressly because of the Afghanistan issue. Other nations cited financial exigency or inability to field world-class athletes as reasons for their nonparticipation.

Sixteen competing nations chose not to display their national flags at the Olympics and in those cases the Olympic flag was flown and the Olympic hymn played at award ceremonies. The United States refused to allow the Stars and Stripes to be flown at the closing ceremonies, in accordance with the Olympic tradition of displaying the colors of the next host country. Consequently the city flag of Los Angeles was flown in its place and the Olympic hymn played over the loud speakers rather

than the "Star Spangled Banner."[34]

As inducement to participate in the Games, the USSR offered free team transportation to and from the Games to many Third World teams. In the case of Jordan a visit by the Bolshoi Ballet was promised.[35]

Net impact of the boycott on the Olympic Games in quantitative terms was to reduce participating countries from 146 to 81, and competing athletes from 10,000 to 6,000. The number of foreign tourists, anticipated at about 300,000, came to 100,000.[36] Impact of the boycott on Soviet military policy in Afghanistan was indiscernible.

The Los Angeles Games--
The Soviet-Led Boycott

The TASS announcement on May 7, 1984, that the Soviet Union would not be participating in the Los Angeles Games was foreshadowed by a year-long press campaign criticizing handling of the U.S. Games. The crusade became especially ascerbic in April when the United States denied a visa to Oleg Yermishkin, whom the Soviets had chosen to send to Los Angeles as Olympic attache. Yermishkin's application was denied, according to State Department spokesmen, because Yermishkin, who served as first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Washington from 1973 to 1977, was discovered to have been an intelligence agent during that period. U.S. officials said they would happily issue a visa to a legitimate attache. The decision was branded by Moscow as "a violation of Olympic tradition."[37]

In following weeks the Soviets unleashed a series of especially vitriolic attacks on the conduct of the Games, alerting White House

officials to possibility of a pullout. American officials had assumed the Soviets would be unwilling to pass up the opportunity to show off their strong teams at the Olympics. A flap also occurred over an ill-advised U.S. Moscow embassy statement that Soviet athletes would be required to obtain visas to enter the United States. Accredited Olympic athletes are traditionally required only to possess identity cards.[38]

Soviet newspapers turned their full attention on the commercialization of the Games, which were financed largely by American corporations. Writing in the February 1984 issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta, Vladimir Simonov said, "Under pressure from groups of enterprising Los Angeles businessmen, the IOC betrayed its sacred tradition of entrusting the Olympics to cities and gave its blessings to the unpredictable private market. Moreover--again contrary to tradition--it gave up all control over expenses and prices."[39] Simonov's concern over the cost of services to athletes at Los Angeles was another prevailing Soviet sentiment.

The nontraditional method of financing the Games, primarily through private corporate contributions rather than through government appropriations, drew criticism from some and admiration from others. Los Angeles was essentially the only contender for the 1984 Games when the IOC's decision deadline came in 1977. At that time, the citizens of Los Angeles, presumably wary of the financial disasters that befell Montreal in 1976, voted against special taxation to finance the spectacle. The USOC agreed to be the financial guarantor of the Games when Los Angeles refused.

As the result of a fund-raising campaign orchestrated by Peter Ueberroth, president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee

(LAOOC), 32 corporate sponsors each came forth with from $4 million to $13 million in cash, goods, and services. Scores of companies donated truckloads of money and merchandise. To further offset public costs, 50,000 persons volunteered time and assistance.[40]

On August 12, final day of the Olympiad, USOC executive director F. Don Miller estimated the Games would net a profit of between $10 and $15 million. In November, the LAOOC revised the profit figure upward to $155.5 million, and it is speculated that the figure may eventually reach $180 million.[41] Determining the recipients of these profits is a major challenge confronting the USOC.

The Soviet Union also expressed fear that its athletes would be at the mercy of "reactionary political, emigre and religious groups" in the United States. These concerns were based partially on groups such as the California-based Ban the Soviets Coalition. This group had vowed to stage anti-Communist demonstrations during the Olympics and to do what it could to encourage Soviet athletes to defect. (The only reported defection during the course of the Games was that of Rumanian journalist Vladimir Moraru, granted asylum by the U.S. government on August 14 in Los Angeles.)[42]

David Balsiger, national executive director of the group said his group was responsible "for making them (the Soviets) drop out." "When we began, everyone said we could not get the Soviet Union out," he said, "but we did it against great odds."[43] Presumably it was such organizations that inspired Moscow's charge that at the Games, "the civil rights of athletes may be infringed and their dignity outraged."[44]

TASS also charged that the Reagan administration was "using the Games for its own political aims." It continued, "Chauvinistic

sentiments and anti-Soviet hysteria are being whipped up in the country."[45]

Security arrangements were, in fact, extensive. More than 16,000 Los Angeles area policemen were assigned to the Olympic areas; in addition 8,000 college students were deputized to stand guard and summon armed police should trouble develop. FBI manpower in Los Angeles went from 400 to 700 during the Games. More than 100 helicopters were on loan from the Pentagon for aerial surveillance and fences and sentry posts were erected around the college dormitories which served as the Olympic Villages for the 16-day period.

The Pentagon also donated its newly-trained hostage recovery team to be on hand, along with the Los Angeles Police Department's SWAT team. Safety of Soviet Olympic officials and coaches was to have been assured further by permitting a Soviet ship to anchor off Long Beach to serve as a floating hotel.[46]

Despite last-minute assurances by President Ronald Reagan ("I have instructed agencies of the Federal Government to cooperate fully with Olympic and local officials to ensure the safety of all participants..."), pleas by LAOOC's Peter Ueberroth, and the intervention of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, the Soviets were not to be moved.[47]

Bulgaria and East Germany pulled out of the Games on May 9 and 10. Vietnam, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia quickly followed suit. China, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, despite their ties to the Soviet Union, chose not to boycott. Neither Albania nor Iran participated in the Games. Libya withdrew its six athletes and eight officials without explanation on July 27, two days before the Games began. The decision came a day

after three Libyan journalists were denied credentials to the Games. U.S. members of the IOC said two of the three were on a list of known terrorists and attributed the incident to deliberate provocation by the Libyans.[48]

Despite the 15-nation Soviet-led boycott, a record 140 nations, represented by 7,800 athletes, participated in the XXIII Olympiad. Among participants were delegations from the Peoples Republic of China (mainland China), which had not participated in the Olympics since 1952, and Taiwan, which had boycotted the 1976 and 1980 Games. Taiwan competed under the name Chinese Taipei and under the Olympic flag. Taiwan's television network, under government pressure, edited out of the international TV coverage of mainland Chinese athletes in Los Angeles. Five days into the competition, coverage was restored, however, in response to complaints from viewers.

Paid attendance at the Games was a record 5.5 million persons. Soviet warnings notwithstanding, international incidents were negligible, the most controversial subjects being the new patriotism exhibited by American spectators and allegations of chauvinism in ABC-TV's coverage of the Games.

The only bomb discovered was one planted by a Los Angeles policemen, who did so to receive the commendation of his superiors when he disarmed it. After failing at least one lie-detector test, the nine-year police force veteran admitted to the hoax and was arrested and charged with possession of an explosive device. The feared hitches in security were minimal. The anticipated smog did not engulf the city, and traffic snarls were no worse than usual.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Selection of Media for Analysis

Difficulties Encountered in Matching Soviet and American Newspapers

In a trans-national media comparison, it is desirable to choose media exactly parallel to each other in societal function. Because of basic economic, historical, political, and demographic disparities between the functioning of the Soviet and the American press, exact pairings do not exist. For this study, it was decided to select large-circulation daily newspapers having a national or multi-regional readership.

Twenty-five national (All-Union) dailies are printed in the Soviet Union--all headquartered in Moscow and state-owned.[1] The majority of these are aimed at specific audiences, e.g. Trud, for trade union members, and Komsomolskaya Pravda, for young people. The two general circulation papers are Izvestia and Pravda . Of these two, Pravda was selected for its international reputation and prominence, and for its availability on microfilm through inter-library loan. Pravda serves as a both a source and a model for newspapers at the local, regional, and republic levels.

Choosing the American newspaper most closely resembling Pravda

began with identification of what might be considered national newspapers. USA Today, established in 1982, was eliminated. It did not exist during the Montreal and Moscow Games. The Wall Street Journal devotes very little space to sports news and does not represent mainstream American newspaper coverage of Olympic Games. The Christian Science Monitor, though labeling itself an international daily newspaper publishes five days a week and has a circulation of less than 149,000, indicating its limited impact on the American public.[2] Also, the Monitor, subsidized by the Christian Science Publishing Society, is not subject to the same economic pressures which typically influence news treatment by American newspapers.

Other newspapers considered were the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, and the Washington Post. The Los Angeles Times, like Pravda, is published in an Olympic host city. However, the disproportionate amount of space devoted to society gatherings and celebrity parties in connection with the Los Angeles Games had no parallel in Pravda and further would have skewed comparisons. Finally, the Washington Post was selected over the New York Times. Published in the nation's capital, it has greater influence on American government officials, and, conversely, is more influenced by these officials. In the same way, Pravda is the most influentual and influenced newspaper in the Soviet Union.

In addition to physical, economic, and political characteristics that obviously differentiate Pravda and the Post, there are ethical distinctions that figure prominently in their perception and presentation of news. These contrasting concepts of press responsibility and function will be summarized in the final analysis of

study results.

A Profile of "Pravda"

Circulation. Founded in 1912 as the Bolshevik voice of the Social Democratic Party, *Pravda* is the organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The highest ranking of the 25 all-Union newspapers, it is published seven days a week and has a circulation of almost 11 million, the highest circulation of any newspaper in the world.[3]

Size. Most issues of *Pravda* contain six pages. Occasionally four- or eight-page issues are published. Average number of pages in the 51 issues analyzed in this study was 6.19--by year, 6.35 for 1980 and 1984, 5.88 for 1976. There is virtually no space devoted to advertising, a matter of policy and philosophy.

Pravda's page size is 16 1/2 x 23 inches (42 x 59.5 centimeters). Many foreign news items appearing in the newspaper are provided by TASS and Novosti Press Agency. In addition, *Pravda* has bureaus in all of the major world capitals.

Readership. Beginning in 1964, extensive newspaper readership studies were undertaken and their results published in the Soviet Press and scholarly journals. These ongoing studies, as well as other public opinion surveys and samplings, are part of a new emphasis upon the social sciences and humanities, which the Soviet government has come to see as important, if not essential in state economic and social planning. According to Ellen P. Mickiewicz, in her recent book, *Media and the Russian Public*, the research methods employed in carrying out these studies are sound and based on established Western methods. The

following findings were taken from Soviet studies reported in the Mickiewicz book.[4]

A 1970 survey indicates that 39 percent of Pravda's readers had attended or graduated from college. This compares with 6.4 percent for the population as a whole. Twenty percent of Pravda's readership is under 30 years of age, corresponding closely with the 21.9 percent of the population between 15 and 29 years old. A high percentage of readers are white-collar workers and members of the intelligentsia. Farmers and other nonurban workers account for only 18 percent of the total readership, though they make up 42 percent of the Soviet population.

Sixty-seven percent of the readership lives in the Russian Republic (there are a total of 15 Soviet socialist republics). Of those subscribing to Pravda, 30 percent are women; of those who read Pravda, 40 percent are women.[5]

Summary. A readership profile reveals that Pravda is considered an "elitist" newspaper; that its readers are well-educated professionals, urban, and predominantly male. It may be assumed that although the majority of readers are not Communist Party members, the majority of Party members are Pravda readers. However, no statistics are available to substantiate this supposition.

Because of the size of its circulation, its position in the hierarchy of Soviet newspapers, its function as the mouthpiece of the Communist Party and the Soviet leadership, and the status of its readership, Pravda's coverage of any event is significant. In most instances it probably is indicative of the views held by both the government and the people. This particularly is true of coverage of

international events. Survey results reported by Mickiewicz indicate Soviet citizens have more faith in Pravda's accuracy than they do in local newspapers.[6] It can be assumed that Pravda's interpretations of Olympic Games, particularly those outside the Soviet Union, are accepted at face value by most readers. Soviet audiences, like American audiences, have little access to foreign television broadcasts.

A Profile of the "Washington Post"

In The Imperial Post, Tom Kelly writes fondly, if unsparingly, after the death of publisher Philip Graham in 1963:

> The Post would continue to grow greatly in wealth and power and quality. Today, some twenty years after his death and ten after it unraveled Watergate and drove President Nixon from office, the Post has an effective monopoly on the daily printing of news and opinion in Washington. It is still manipulative and it is still arrogant.[7]

Circulation. The Post was founded in 1877, with a page three explanation in its first issue: "...Washington City is too large and too important to be denied the benign influence of a Democratic Journal."[8] Throughout its long and colorful history, the newspaper has made news, as well as reported it, always claiming to be, as Kelly states, "complete, accurate, well written, well edited and fair. It has been most of those things here and there, now and then," Kelly continues, "but never all of them at once."[9]

Size. With a daily paid circulation of 768,922 and a Sunday circulation of 1,042,821, the Post is the United States' fifth largest newspaper.[10] To estimate the number of pages in the Post requires perserverance, discernment, and resources beyond those available for for this study. Sunday supplements, book reviews, real-estate sections,

and other quasi-news sections complicate the process. A reasonable average of 65.4 pages per issue is given for papers of more than 250,000 circulation in the 1975 edition of News Research for Better Newspapers.[11] Approximately 60 percent of newspaper space is devoted to advertising.[12]

Readership. Readership information was provided by research director Ron Browne in the form of marketing data. These studies were commissioned by the Post to provide market profiles for potential advertisers and therefore reflect the suburban-metropolitan market area, a 31-county "area of dominant influence" (ADI) in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. Since this area comprises more than 95 percent of the paper's paid circulation, it can be interpreted as representative of the total national circulation for purposes of this study.[13]

According to the 1983 Scarborough Report, 41 percent of Post readers have at least one college degree. This compares with a national average of 19 percent.[14] Thirty-nine percent of daily readership is under 34 years of age; more than 54 percent is between 25 and 49. Although exact figures are not available, it appears that younger readers constitute a higher percentage of the Post's audience than of Pravda's.

Majority of Post readers is employed in professional or managerial positions, followed by employment in clerical work and sales, and blue-collar work. Fifty-nine percent owns or is purchasing homes, and 51 percent of these homes are valued at $100,000 or more. Almost 67 percent of Post readers' household incomes total $35,000 or more; 23 percent earns more than $50,000. By comparison, the national household

income average is $31,900.[15]

Fifty-one percent of the readership is female, almost 60 percent of which works outside the home. Male readers comprise 49 percent of the total.

Summary and Comparison. The readership of the Post is evenly divided between males and females. The income level, home ownership pattern, educational attainment, and occupations of the readers indicate the Post, like Pravda, is an elite newspaper. Another parallel may be drawn with the Soviet newspaper in that, while the majority of readers are not politicians and office holders, the majority of Washington-based politicians and office holders are readers of the Post. British press tycoon Lord Northcliff once commented he would rather own the Post than any other American paper, since "it was on the breakfast tables of Congress every morning."[16]

Identification and Measurement

Identification of Items

Methodology of this study was derived and subsequently modified by pretests. The primary value of the pretests was to verify the system of coding which was applied throughout the analysis. The research design also was adapted from content analysis techniques described in other trans-national media studies.

Each of the 51 issues of Pravda and the Post (July 17-August 2, 1976; July 19-August 4, 1980; July 28-August 13, 1984) first was read to identify items related to Olympic Games. In the case of Pravda stories and cutlines were then translated into English.

By definition, an item comprised an article and its attendant

headline, photographs, and cutlines. A captioned photo standing alone also was considered an item. A series of short articles, appearing under one general headline and separated by subheads or dingbats, were counted as individual items. Teasers or sidebars referring readers to Olympic coverage within the newspaper were considered part of the items they announced. Television and radio schedules announcing Olympic broadcasts were not included.

The 1984 issues of both newspapers were examined in their original printed format. The 1976 and 1980 issues were reviewed on microfilm. Pages containing identified items were photocopied onto paper for examination.

The July 28, 1976, issue of the Post was omitted inadvertently from microfilm reels provided to libraries by Research Publications Inc., sole purveyor of this service. A national search revealed no film record was available and other means of obtaining a copy of this issue were found too costly time and money. Consequently, quantitative data for the July 28, 1976, issue were extrapolated by averaging figures obtained from the July 27 and July 29 issues. This procedure resulted in meaningful but atypical fractions for this date. These figures are noted as they occur in the presentation of data.

Measurement

All news items were counted and measured. Photographs, studied independently of general news coverage, were measured individually as well as with news items they illustrated.

Measurements were calculated in square inches, rather than column inches--as is consistent with trans-national analysis methodology. Variations in column widths within each newspaper, as well as between

the two newspapers, supported this decision. Pravda's standard column width is 4.5 centimeters or 10.63 picas; the Post's is 12 picas.

Measurement was complicated by the fact that photocopies made from microfilm were of various and inconsistent reproduction sizes and had to be converted to the original squared size.

Coding

The Paradigm. Items were double-coded according to 1) their primary subject and 2) the direction of the item--positive, negative, or neutral. The result was a 27-cell paradigm for each newspaper for each of the three Olympiads--with one independent variable, the nine-item subject variable, and a three-item dependent direction variable.

There were two dependent variables--the square inches of space for each of the 27 combinations and the number of items for each combination. Each of the six completed paradigms, therefore, contained 54 cells. (APPENDIX.)

Subject Areas. Each news item and photograph was assigned one of nine code numbers, based on its primary subject. Seven of the nine categories are geopolitical, in keeping with the political focus of the study. The other two were used to designate items associated with the hosting and organization of the Games and the Games in general.

Each item was assigned only one code. For lengthy general stories, classification was determined by content of the headline and lead paragraphs, even when the item later diverged into other topics.

The codes defined below for each year may be generalized as 1)host

country, 2) general Olympics, 3) United States, 4) Soviet Union, 5) Western Bloc, 6)Eastern (socialist) Bloc, 7) Far East (nonsocialist), 8) Third World, and 9) Latin America.

1976

1. Canada as host; ceremonies; organization of Games; Olympic committees
2. General Olympics; history; athletes in groups, unnamed athletes
3. American athletes, spectators, dignitaries
4. Soviet athletes, spectators, dignitaries.
5. Western Bloc (NATO countries except Turkey; also Finland, Australia) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
6. Eastern Bloc (Warsaw Pact, also Cuba and North Korea) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
7. Taiwanese, Japanese, Thai, South Korean athletes, spectators, dignitaries
8. Boycotting and nonboycotting Third World African, Arab, and Asian (including Egypt, India, Turkey) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
9. Latin American (except Cuba) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries

1980

1. USSR as host; ceremonies, organization of Games; Olympic committees
2 General Olympics, history; athletes in groups, unnamed athletes
3. American athletes (boycotting), spectators, dignitaries
4. Soviet athletes
5. Boycotting and nonboycotting Western Bloc (NATO countries, except Turkey; also Finland, Australia) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
6. Eastern Bloc (Warsaw Pact nations, Cuba, North Korea, Viet Nam) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries
7. Boycotting Japanese, Chinese, Thai, South Korean athletes, spectators, and dignitaries
8. Boycotting and nonboycotting Third World African, Arab, and Asian (including Egypt, India, Turkey) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
9. Latin American (except Cuba) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries

1984

1. USA as host; ceremonies; organization of Games; Olympic committees
2. General Olympics; history; athletes in groups, unnamed athletes
3. American athletes
4. Soviet athletes (boycotting), citizens, and dignitaries
5. Western Bloc (NATO countries except for Turkey; also Finland, Australia) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries
6. Non-boycotting and boycotting Eastern Bloc (Warsaw Pact nations, Cuba, North Korea) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries
7. Chinese, Taiwanese, Thai, Japanese, and South Korean athletes, spectators, and dignitaries
8. Boycotting and nonboycotting Third World African, Arab, and Asian (including Egypt, India, Turkey) athletes, spectators, dignitaries
9. Latin American (except Cuba) athletes, spectators, and dignitaries

Nature of Items. As items were identified by featured subject, they also were classified by nature of subject as it reflected on the particular Games in progress or Olympic goals in general. These codes were (A) positive, (B) negative, or (C) neutral. Neither intent nor viewpoint of the writer was taken into account, nor was objectivity of reporting the event. In this way an attempt was made to categorize objectively the types of Olympic news without reversals in coding, dependent upon the national viewpoint of the newspaper or host nation. Thus, to cite a hypothetical example, an account of a Soviet defection could not be classified as a "positive" news item in the American paper and a "negative" item in the Soviet paper.

More simply, designation of nature of the item was determined by applying a "good news-bad news" concept. Reports of athletic injury, disqualification, judging complaints, ticket scalping and price gouging, smog, traffic congestion, poor athletic performance, defections, et cetera, were coded as negative--without regard for impact on, or consequences for, any nation or individual.

Outstanding performances, setting of Olympic and world records, stirring ceremonies, camaraderie between athletes and nations, etc., were coded as positive. Human interest items, humor, and straight reporting of scores and awards were considered neutral. Box scores and other tabular information was coded as neutral. Photographs were coded by subject but not as positive, negative, or neutral.

This approach afforded an opportunity to evaluate and compare the news judgment exercised by each newspaper's item selection. Its application is valuable particularly in characterizing and differentiating the coverage by Pravda and the Post in political

contexts of the three Olympiads.

Photographs. The use of photographs--their number and primary subject--was as relevant to characterization of coverage as news items themselves. For this reason, photographs were analyzed out of their news-item context, although they were included also in measurement of news items. They were not categorized as to positive, negative, or neutral direction. Sizes of photographs were consistent with both papers' graphic styles and did not appear to have political significance. (Soviet newspapers routinely run fewer and smaller photographs in sports coverage than do American newspapers.)

To quantify the subjects of photographs featuring athletes from more than one country, fractions were used. Therefore, a single photograph showing an athlete from Brazil, the United States, and the Soviet Union, would be coded .33 Latin America, .33 USA, and .33 USSR--totalling 1 photograph. Slight decimal discrepancies in totals, as observed above, were caused by truncating fractions and have no significance.

ENDNOTES

[1]Ellen P. Mickiewicz, Media and the Russian Public (New York, 1981), p. 51-52.

[2] The 1985 World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York, 1984), p. 425.

[3]Hecht, Leo, USSR Today: Facts and Interpretation (Springfield, Virginia, 1982), p. 125.

[4]Mickiewicz, pp. 1-6.

[5]Ibid., pp. 54-58.

[6]Ibid., p. 61.

[7]Kelly, Tom, The Imperial Post (New York, 1983), p. 10.

[8]Ibid., p. 12.

[9]Ibid., p. 303.

[10] The World Almanac, p. 425.

[11]Galen Rarick (ed.), "News and Editorial Content and Readership of Daily Newspapers," in News Research for Better Newspapers (Washington, 1975), pp. 14, 20.

[12]George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," In World Communications: A Handbook (New York, 1983), p. 95.

[13]"The Washington Post and Washington: Key Demographic Data About the Market and Its Number One Advertising Medium," Scarborough Report (1983), pp. 2-4.

[14]The World Almanac, p. 243.

[15]Ibid., pp. 246, 162.

[16]Kelly, p. 72.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

Presentation of Quantitative Data

Review of the 1976 Competition

Athletes from the Soviet Union were awarded the most gold, silver, and bronze medals: a record 125. American athletes won 94 medals. East Germany won 90. East Germans fielded more gold than the United States--40 compared to 34. Thirty-two sports were represented in competitions. Awards were given in 198 events.[1]

Highlights of the XXI Olympiad were women's gymnastics and men and women's swimming. A 14-year-old Rumanian, Nadia Comaneci, emerged as the new queen of gymnastics. She and Nelli Kim of the Soviet Union triumphed over veteran Soviet gynmasts Olga Korbut and Ludmila Tourischeva, who, between them, had won eight medals at the 1972 Munich Games. Comaneci won three gold medals, a silver in team competition, and a bronze. She achieved seven perfect scores, the first time 10s had been awarded in Olympic gynastics. Kim scored two gold medals in individual competition, one team gold, and one silver medal. She also received a perfect 10 in the vault.

Swimming competition was dominated by U.S. men and East German women. American men were awarded 18 of the 19 gold medals and 25 of the 33 individual medals. World records were set in 11 swimming

events. John Naber of the University of Southern California was the leading U.S. swimmer, winning five medals, four of them gold. The only non-American to take a gold medal was Great Britain's David Wilkie for the 200-meter breaststroke.

Fourteen of 19 gold medals in women's swimming were won by East Germany. East Germans won 16 of the 33 individual medals, setting world records in eight events. Kornelia Ender, the team's star performer, was awarded four gold medals--the most ever won by a woman swimmer--and one silver. Soviet women took all three medals in the 200-meter breaststroke. The U.S. won the 800-meter freestyle relay, setting a world record. U.S. team member Shirley Babashoff won four silver medals plus the relay gold.

Athletes from Japan and the USSR together took 17 out of 21 individual medals in men's gymnastics. Japan won the team competition and the USSR came in second. Soviet and Warsaw Pact nations scored 22 out of 27 medals in weight lifting and 28 of 30 in Greco Roman wrestling.

Soviet pentathlon star Boris Onischenko was disqualified for cheating in the fencing phase of the event. He was favored to win the 1976 competition. Champion in the individual pentathlon was Janusz Pyciak-Peciak of Poland. Pavel Lednev of the USSR and Jan Bartu of Czechsolvakia placed second and third. Bruce Jenner of the United States set a world record in the Decathlon with 8,618 points. A total of 23 Olympic and 33 world records were set in Montreal.[2]

News Treatment of the 1976 Montreal Games
By "Pravda" and the "Washington Post"--
July 17-August 2

Quantity of Coverage. In 1976 Pravda published 33 Olympic news items from July 17 through August 2. Total square inches devoted to Olympic coverage was 2,127. During the same period, the Post published 297 items totalling 11,549 square inches. In Pravda the average amount of space allotted a single news item was 65 square inches; in the Post, 39 square inches. Average daily totals were 125 square inches for Pravda, 679 for the Post. It was Pravda's policy to print one major round-up story and supply additional information primarily through box scores and tables.

Olympic news was found on 18 of Pravda's 100 pages out of the 100 pages in the 17 issues reviewed. Only on July 17, day of official opening of the Games, was mention of the Olympics found any place other than the back page where sports news normally appears in the newspaper. The July 17 issue contained a 24-square-inch story on page one, in which Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev extended congratulations to the IOC, the Canadian organizing committee, and participants in the Games.

The Post's Olympic coverage included the first section (national and international news); the editorial pages; the Style section; the Metro section; and the Sports section. No attempt was made to locate Olympic items in the supplements. In 1976, Olympic items were found on 76 pages. Olympics made page one on 14-of the 17 days.

Based on research estimates, the Post published 1,112 pages during the 17-day period, slightly more than 11 times as many pages as

Pravda. When advertising was removed, Post pages still outnumbered Pravda's almost 4.5:1. The number of Olympic items appearing in the Post was nine times as great as those in Pravda. When advertising space was removed, Post pages still outnumbered Pravda's almost 4.5 to 1. The Post devoted approximately five-and-a-half times as much space to the Games as did Pravda.

Subject Areas. Pravda devoted 1,184 square inches, or 56 percent, of its total Olympic space to Soviet participation. These were long items, averaging 107.61 square inches each. All began with Soviet headlines and leads detailing performances of Soviet athletes and then continued to outline competition in all events.

A total 616 square inches was devoted to the Olympics in general, 207 square inches to Eastern Bloc participation, and 120 to hosting the Games.

The ranking by number of items differed from that by space occupied. Eighteen items, or 55, percent featured Olympics in general. This category included daily publication of box scores, which accounts for the high percentage of items. Eleven items, or 33 percent of the total, featured Soviet athletes. Eastern Bloc athletes and hosting garnered two items.

The Post devoted 4,253 square inches, or 37 percent of its Olympic space, to items on American participation. A total of 102 out 297 items, or 34 percent, featured Americans. The category receiving the next highest amount of coverage was the Olympics in general, 3,184 square inches (28 percent of total space) occupied by 71 items (28 percent).

The third highest category in both measurements was hosting the

Games--1,410 square inches in 36 items.

Eastern Bloc participation was featured by the Post in items occupying 1,164 square inches of space, much of this devoted to spectacular performances of Rumanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci and the East German swimmers. In contrast, Western Bloc participation was the primary subject occupying 694 square inches of space. Items about the Soviet Union followed with 565 square inches. Lesser amounts of space were occupied by items featuring Latin American, Third World, and Far Eastern pro-West nations, respectively.

In number of items, 27 articles featured Soviet subjects; 25 featured Western Bloc athletes; 18 Eastern Bloc; 10 Latin American; 5 Far Eastern; and 3 Third World.

Nature of Items. Despite inclusion of a small number of negative and critical comments about hosting of the Games, and about intended "subversive" broadcasts by Radio Free Europe, Pravda's 1976 coverage of the Games predominantly was positive. Positive news items occupied 1,716 square inches of space, or 81 percent of the total space of 2,127 square inches.

Neutral items, again, largely comprising tables and box scores, consumed 411 square inches, or 19 percent of the total. Of the 33 items of Olympic coverage, 17 were positive and 16 neutral.

A more detailed breakdown of the direction of news items was afforded by the large number of single-subject items published by the Post. Regarding space, 4,628 square inches were devoted to positive items. Neutral items ranked second, occupying 3,864 square inches. Negative items ranked third, with 3,058 square inches. One hundred eight of the 297 items were neutral; 105 were negative; and 84 were

positive. Fifty three (52 percent) of the 102 items featuring U.S. participation were positive. Five items (29 percent) of those featuring the Soviets were positive. Official U.S. anger over the Canadian government's disenfranchising of Taiwanese athletes was reflected in negative news items about hosting of the games. Twenty-four items (65) percent of the 36 items devoted to hosting were negative; only 2 items (6 percent) in this category were positive.

Photographs. Forty photographs, 504 square inches, were published by Pravda during the 17-day coverage. Average-sized photograph was 12.60 square inches, which converts to a square approximately 3.5 inches on a side. The newspaper devoted to photos 24 percent of the total space occupied by the Olympics.

Of these photographs, 33.33 (83 percent) featured Soviet participants; 4 featured Montreal sports facilities or opening/closing ceremonies; 1.33 showed American athletes; and 1 featured Eastern Bloc athletes.

In this period the Post published 134 photos, occupying 3,621 square inches. Average size was 27.02 square inches, equalling a square slightly longer than five inches on a side. Photographs occupied 31 percent of the total space devoted to the Games.

A perspective on the two newspapers' coverage of the Games is provided by TABLE I. The figures at the top represent the rank order of subjects according to the total number of medals won. These subjects correspond to the geopolitical groupings indicated by codes 3 through 9 shown on page 30. Had the presentation of news been strongly influenced by the athletic performance of Olympic teams, a strong correlation should exist between the medal rankings and the space

TABLE I

RANK ORDER OF MEDAL WINNERS AND MEDIA DATA BY GEOPOLITICAL CODES--1976

Medal Winners by Geopolitical Code

RANK	Code	Nations	Medals *	%/Total
1	6	Eastern Bloc	219	36%
2	5	Western Bloc	130	21%
3	4	The Soviet Union	125	20%
4	3	The United States	94	15%
5	7	Far East-Pro West	32	5%
6	9	Latin America	10	2%
7	8	3rd World in Africa, Asia	3	1%
			613	100%

*Some duplicate medals were awarded

Square Inches of Space by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	Sq. In.
1	4	USSR	1,183.73
2	2	Gen'l Olym	615.78
3	6	Eastern Bloc	207.34
4	1	Host Games	120.10
			2,126.95

Square Inches of Space by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	Sq. In.
1	3	USA	4,253.60
2	2	Gen'l Olym	3,184.41
3	1	Host Games	1,409.52
4	6	Eastern Bloc	1,164.10
5	5	Western Bloc	693.90
6	4	USSR	564.79
7	9	Latin Amer.	153.88
8	8	3rd World	99.08
9	7	Far East	25.97
			11,549.25

Number of Items by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	Items
1	2	Gen'l Olym	18
2	4	USSR	11
3.5	6	Eastern Bloc	2
3.5	1	Host Games	2
			33

Number of Items by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	Items
1	3	USA	102
2	2	Gen'l Olym	71
3	1	Host Games	36
4	4	USSR	26.5
5	5	Western Bloc	25
6	6	Eastern Bloc	18
7	9	Latin Amer.	10
8	7	Far East	5
9	8	3rd World	3
			296.5

Photographs by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	# Photos
1	4	USSR	34.33
2	1	Host Games	3.00
3	3	USA	1.33
4	6	Eastern Bloc	1.00
5	5	Western Bloc	.33
			40.00

Photographs by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	# Photos
1	3	USA	60.83
2	5	Western Bloc	19.74
3	6	Eastern Bloc	18.91
4	9	Latin Amer.	8.42
5	4	USSR	8.08
6	8	3rd World	6.00
7	2	Gen'l Olym	5.50
8	1	Host Games	5.00
9	7	Far East	1.50
			134.00

allocation, number of items, and photographic subjects that constituted each newspaper's the coverage of the Games.

Review of the 1980 Competition

The Soviet Union and East Germany won the lion's share of the medals in the Moscow. Together they captured more than all the other 79 competing nations combined. The USSR set a new record by receiving 197 medals--80 of them gold. East Germany, with 126 medals, won 47 gold. Third-place winner in the medals competition was Bulgaria with 40, followed by Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. Among Western Bloc participants, British athletes received the most medals--coming in seventh in the total field of participants.[3]

Women's field hockey was added to the sports represented in Montreal, bringing the total to 33. The number of events increased from 198 to 202 with the addition of women's field hockey, two-weight classifications in judo, two weight-lifting categories, and the 50-kilometer walk. There was no sprint competition in cycling, as there had been in Montreal.[4]

The most spectacular performances were in women's swimming, where six Olympic and five world records were set in 13 events, and weight lifting (one Olympic record and five world records in ten events.) East German women again dominated in the pool, capturing 32 of 57 medals and 17 of the 19 golds. Athletes from Eastern Bloc nations won every medal in weight lifting with Soviet lifters taking five of the ten gold medals. Soviet men captured 10 of 19 gold medals in swimming, in events traditionally dominated by Americans.

The USSR also made spectacular showings in wrestling, canoeing, shooting, and gymnastics. Soviet gymnast Aleksandr Dityatin scored eight medals--three gold, four silver, and one bronze--at the Moscow games, more than any athlete had ever won at a single modern Olympic contest. Other "stars" of the 1980 Games were record-breaking swimmers Barbara Krause of East Germany and Vladimir Salnikov of the USSR; Daley Thompson, 21, of Great Britain, the youngest man to win the decathlon since 1952; and East German Lutz Dombrowski, who long-jumped 28 feet 1/4 inch, the longest jump ever made at sea level and the second longest in history.

Polish pole vaulter Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz and East German high jumper Gerd Wessig also established world records. One of the most colorful competitors was the veteran Olympian Miruts Yifter of Ethiopia who won both the 5,000- and 10,000 meter runs. Cuban heavyweight boxer Teofilo Stevenson won his third Olympic heavy-weight boxing crown, one of six gold medals taken by Cuban boxers in Moscow. Rival British runners Sebastian Coe and Steve Ovett competed in two track events--the 1,500-meter and 800-meter runs. Ovett took the gold in the 800 and Coe the silver. In the 1,500, Coe got the gold in a world-record finish, while his countryman came in third behind East German Jorge Straub.

Rumania and the Soviet Union continued their battle in women's gymnastics, their competition complicated by judging disputes. Rumanian coach Bela Karolyi, who emigrated to the United States in 1982, was overruled in his protest of a decision which gave victory for the all-around gold medal to the Soviet Union's Yelena Davydova over Nadia Comaneci. Team competition went to the USSR , which scored first place victories in three of the six events. A fourth gold was shared

with Comaneci. Medals in the sport were awarded to Soviet, Rumanian, and East German athletes. According to a Facts on File tally, 17 Olympic records and 20 world records were set. In comparison, 23 Olympic and 33 world records were set in 1976.[5]

News Treatment of the 1980 Moscow Games By "Pravda" and the "Washington Post"-- July 19-August 4

Quantity of Coverage. When Moscow hosted the Olympics in 1980, Pravda's coverage increased to 5058.01 square inches, 2.38 times the space allotted for the Montreal games. Stories grew from 33 in 1976 to 156, 4.73 times as many items. The Post moved in the opposite direction in its coverage of these Games, which were boycotted by the United States. Square inches of coverage fell to 6,618 from 11,549 square inches in 1976, only 57 percent of the space devoted to Olympics four years before. Number of items likewise fell from 297 to 134, a 55 percent decrease.

Average size of a single news item in Pravda in 1980 was 32.42, approximately half the size of the average 1976 news items. The newspaper continued to publish a long daily round-up story, but embellished it with numerous short interviews and human interest stories, as well as box scores and tables. Post items averaged 48.64 square inches, compared with 38.95 in 1976. This reflected the increased use of single round-up stories and fewer small features. Also a lesser number of on-the-scene reports from sports correspondents reduced the number of short items.

In 1980, Pravda's daily average was 298 square inches of Olympic coverage, compared with 125 in 1976. The Post's daily average dropped from 679 square inches in 1976 to 383 in 1980. Because the Post published more than 10 times as many pages as Pravda during the 17 days, the fact that the Post continued to produce more Olympic copy than Pravda, despite the U.S. boycott, is not considered significant.

Fifty-one of 108 pages, (47 percent) of the pages of Pravda reviewed in the 17-day period contained Olympic news. In 1976, 18 of 100 pages carried news of the Games. On opening day in Moscow, six items appeared on page one. During the Games, 27 stories were run on page one. One hundred and ten items appeared on the back page.

The Olympics made front-page news in the Post five times. Most coverage appeared on the sports pages. Items also appeared elsewhere in the first section, including the editorial pages, and three times in the "Style" section. Olympic news was found on 63 of the Post's pages in 1980, and on 76 pages in 1976.

Subject Areas. Pravda's gatekeepers radically revised their news selection policy for the Moscow Games, and significant variations occurred in the amount of space and number of items as designated by featured subjects. Items devoted to hosting the Games received the greatest play, a total of 2,416 square inches, as compared to 120 square inches in 1976, when the Canadians played host. Space devoted to this subject accounted for 48 percent of Olympic coverage in terms of space. Fifty of the 156 items (32 percent) featured the host's role and conduct of the Olympiad.

The subject that ranked second, both in space and number of items, was the Olympics in general, including the Olympic movement and

performance of athletes as a whole. This subject also ranked second in 1976 in space and first in number of items. Despite the fact Western Bloc nations ranked a poor third in medals won out of the five geopolitical groups competing in this Olympiad, this geopolitical group ranked third in space and number of items. This placed it above six other categories, including the Eastern Bloc nations, Latin America, and the Soviet Union. A total of 24 items featured Western Bloc participants for a total of 300 square inches.

The Eastern Bloc was next with 14 items totalling 191 square inches. Latin America and the major boycotting nations (the United States and West Germany) each was featured in six items, accounting for 143 and 142 square inches, respectively.

Coverage of Soviet athletes' performances, which had occupied a majority of Pravda's space in 1976, was relegated to the seventh position in 1980, with 75 square inches and 4 news items. Achievements of Soviet athletes were presented in general round-up stories, but seldom were featured. Coverage of Soviet athletes was rarer than their achievement (in terms of sheer number of medals won) seemed to merit. Again, this abrupt change from the 1976 concentration on Soviet victories, is assumed to be a deliberate policy decision, deemed appropriate for host country media.

Third World athletes and visitors were praised highly in the three items, (totalling 58 square inches) which featured them. Performance of African and Asian athletes was amply reported in the daily round-up stories.

Neither Japan, China, Taiwan, Thailand, nor South Korea participated in the Moscow Games. Coverage of this geopolitical

designation comprised one 8-square inch story, of an interview with a Japanese tourist and author.

The Post featured Moscow's performance as host in 33 items, occupying 2,056 square inches of space. Western Bloc nations and the Olympics in general each were featured in 22 articles--Western nations receiving 1213 square inches of copy compared to 892 for the general Olympics. Non-participating American athletes and comments of U.S. officials and other Americans on the Moscow Games were the subject of 18 items occupying 821 square inches. Soviet athletes were featured in 15 items accounting for 589 square inches. This represented about the same amount of space as in 1976, but constituted almost two times the percentage of total space--9.04 percent compared to 4.89 percent.

Eastern Bloc athletes got 463 square inches of space in six items, compared with 18 items and 1,164 square inches in Montreal. Percentages of total space and number of items also fell from Montreal to Moscow coverage. Latin American athletes ranked next to last with three items totalling 32 square inches. As in Pravda, boycotting of the Games by Far Eastern nations resulted in their bottom rank in Post coverage. The sole item in this category was a 10-square-inch account on August 3 about a Japanese official observing bitterly that only Japan and West Germany, of the U.S.'s major allies, had boycotted totally.

Direction of Items Selected. The direction of the news selected by Pravda in coverage of the Moscow Games again was predominantly positive. This accords with the Soviet journalism ethic that unpleasant news does not promote the development of society or the morale of the individual and, therefore, is without value. In Mass Media in the

Soviet Union, Mark Hopkins explained this journalistic attitude by equating it with the prevailing Soviet social philosophy that "places a premium on public harmony and unanimity, regardless of what private controversies or dissensions exist. While the boycott was acknowledged, the subject usually was broached by foreigners, often Westerners or the Western press.

One hundred ten Pravda news items, occupying 4,287 square inches of space, reported positive news. This accounted for 71 percent of news items and 85 percent of space. Neutral news was reported in 41 items (26 percent of the total number) and occupied 624 square inches of space (13 percent). Negative news was concentrated in five items--denouncing the United States and West Germany for their virtual television blackouts of Olympic coverage and satirizing the Carter administration's attempts to honor non-participating U.S. athletes. Negative news occupied 128 square inches.

In contrast, the Post, like most American newspapers, has no phobia against reporting bad or unpleasant news, and reported items that were predominantly negative. Sixty-eight items occupying 3,202 square inches of space were negative. Of these, 23 items taking up 1,352 square inches focused on hosting the Games. More than half the space and number of items featuring American subjects was negative, in that they frequently dwelt on poor quality competition at the Moscow Games. The 42 neutral items ranked next, occupying 1,822 square inches of space. The Post published 24 positive items comprising 1,493 square inches. Almost half the positive coverage focused on official ceremonies and performance of Western Bloc athletes.

TABLE II on the following page illustrates the relative nature of the news coverage by Pravda and the Post for both Olympiads.

Photographs. Pravda increased the photographs in its Olympic coverage from 40 in 1976 to 62 in 1980, an increase of more than 50 percent. The average number of photos per issue was 3.65, up from 2.35 for the Montreal Games. Average photo size was 15.20 square inches in 1980, compared with 12.60 in 1976. Photographs illustrating the Moscow Games averaged in square almost 4 inches on a side. A total 943 square inches was devoted to photographs by Pravda during the Moscow Games. This accounted for almost 19 percent of total Olympic news space. In Montreal, photographs had constituted almost 24 percent of total space.

The photo content included six of the nine defined categories. The subject featured most frequently was athletes from the Soviet Union. Of 62 photographs, Soviet competitors were pictured in 16.83. Eastern Bloc athletes ranked second as photo subjects, with 13.17. The general Olympics category accounted for an almost identical 13 photos. Most of these featured multinational groups of unidentified athletes or crowd scenes. Eight large photos of ceremonies conducted in the V.I. Lenin Central Stadium dominated opening and closing day pictorial coverage--categorized as Olympic host subject matter. Western European athletes and spectators were featured in seven photographs and Third World athletes in four. No pictures of Americans appeared in the coverage.

Although Soviet athletes maintained their plurality of photos in the Moscow coverage, they did not constitute the overwhelming majority as they did in Montreal. Also both Eastern and Western Bloc subjects

TABLE II

THE DIRECTION OF NEWS COVERAGE AS REFLECTED
IN SPACE AND NUMBER OF ITEMS
IN 1976 AND 1980

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
PRAVDA 1980			
sq. in.	4287.20	624.41	128.40
% total space	84.76%	12.70%	2.54
# of items	110	41	5
% total items	70.51%	26.28%	3.21%
PRAVDA 1976			
sq. in.	1716.22	410.73	--
% total space	80.69%	19.30	--
# of items	17	16	--
% total items	51.52%	48.48%	--
WASHINGTON POST 1980			
sq. in.	1493.25	1822.33	3202.08
% total space	22.91%	27.96%	49.13%
# of items	24	42	68
% total items	17.91%	31.34%	50.75%
WASHINGTON POST 1976			
sq. in.	4628.07	3863.52	3057.66
% total space	40.07%	33.45%	26.47
# of items	84	108	104.5*
% total items	28.33%	36.42%	35.24%

*Fraction produced by averages for missing July 28 issue

received considerably more photo attention in 1980 than in 1976.

The Post published 53 photos in conjunction with the Moscow Olympics, averaging 3.11 per issue, compared with 7.88 four years earlier. The newspaper devoted 1,224 square inches of pictorial coverage of the Games, 19 percent of space. Average size was 23.09 square inches, equalling a square slightly less than 5 inches on a side, compared with an average size of 27.02 square inches for Montreal. The size reduction was insignificant.

Eastern Bloc subjects appeared in 14.33 photographs, 27 percent of the total. In Montreal, this geopolitical group was featured in 18.91 photos, or 14 percent. Despite the non-participation of American athletes in Moscow, 11 of 53 photographs (21 percent) pictured American Olympic team members. A near equal number, 10.67, featured Western European competitors and fans. Third World athletes were represented by 6.67 photographs, constituting almost 13 percent of the total. In 1976, when African nations boycotted the Games, six photographs featured Third World subjects, 4 percent of total photographs.

Finally, in descending frequency, 3.33 photos had hosting the Games as subject; 2.5, the Olympics in general; and Latin American athletes half of one photo in the Post's coverage of the Moscow Games.

Rank-order of medal winners by geopolitical designations are presented in TABLE III, accompanied by rank order listings of media data collected for Pravda and the Post.

Review of the 1984 Competition

American athletes dominated the 1984 competition, capturing 174

Japan and China actually outdistanced Americans in this sport in which the U.S. had never achieved prominence. After a 22-year absence from the Games, mainland China returned, scoring 32 medals, sixth best in a field of 140 national delegations.

American boxers took a record nine gold medals. In all weight classes, U.S. fighters compiled a win-loss record of 52-3, but disputes charging judges with pro-American bias took the glitter off some of the gold. At one point, South Korean boxers threatened to withdraw from competition in protest. The U.S. boxing team also was embroiled in an internal dispute between coach Pat Nappi and team trainer Emanuel Steward, who seemingly were vying for the athletes' loyalty.

American women gymnasts won eight medals, although Rumania continued to dominate. Mary Lou Retton of the United States won one gold, two silvers, and two bronzes. She scored a perfect 10 on the vault in the all-around against Rumania's Ecaterina Sazbo. Retton was coached by Bela Karolyi, who had coached Nadia Comaneci in Rumania.

Another star U.S. performer was Carl Lewis, who tied the record of the late trackman Jesse Owens by winning four gold medals in a single Olympics. Daley Thompson of Great Britain repeated his Moscow performance in the decathlon, as did his countryman Sebastian Coe in the 1500 meter. Valerie Brisco-Hooks of the United States set Olympic records in the 400 and 200 meter competitions, the first individual to win both events in a single Olympics. American swimmers Carrie Steinseifer and Nancy Hogshead set Olympic records by tying for the gold in the 100-meter freestyle.

In the limelight for various reasons were American Mary Decker and South African/Englishwoman Zola Budd, whose collision in the 3000 meter

eliminated both from competition. Joan Benoit of the United States became the first Olympic winner of the women's marathon. Gabriela Andersen-Schiess of Switzerland, whose controversial finish of the race despite obvious exhaustion and disorientation drew criticism of her backers and Olympic officials. Victories of medalists Thomas Johansson of Sweden and Martti Vainio of Finland, were rescinded after tests revealed anabolic steroids in their systems. Eleven Olympic athletes failed drug tests during the Los Angeles games.

In demonstration sports, Japan scored a victory over the United States in a championship baseball game before 54,000 spectators at Dodger Stadium. Stefan Edberg of Sweden and Steffi Graf of West Germany won the men's and women's singles in tennis in the sports' first appearance at the Olympics.

News Treatment of the 1984 Los Angeles Games "Pravda" and the "Washington Post"-- July 28-August 13, 1984

Quantity of coverage. America's media coverage of the 1984 Games was itself the subject of controversy and media attention. Criticism focused particularly upon ABC television's 180-hour coverage of the event, deemed criticized for excessive pro-American bias reflected in sportscasters' commentaries and in the selection of events for telecast.

The volume of the Post's coverage increased dramatically over the previous two Olympiads in all categories. In contrast, Pravda's reporting of the Los Angeles Games, boycotted by the Soviet Union and

many of its allies, shrank to a fraction of its 1980 coverage.

The Post devoted 27,157 square inches to the XXIII Olympiad, the first summer Olympic Games held in the United States (and Los Angeles) since 1932. The 1984 Games consumed 4.17 times as much newsprint as did the Moscow Games and 2.35 times as much as the Montreal Olympics. An average 1,597 square inches of Olympic news appeared in the Post each day and on 166 separate pages over-all. The Post ran Olympic stories on 76 pages in 1976 and on 63 pages in 1980. The Games were front-page news every day in 1984.

Items appearing in the Post also increased significantly to 681, up from 134 for the Moscow contests and 297 for Montreal. Average sized item was 40 inches, virtually the same as in the Montreal coverage and almost nine square inches smaller than in the Moscow coverage. This change in size reflected a return to the normal sports-page pattern of numerous shorter items rather than the single predominant umbrella story.

The about face in Pravda's coverage also was noteworthy. Total space devoted to the American Olympics totalled 601 square inches, compared with 5,088 square inches in 1980 and 2,127 in 1976. Coverage was limited to 17 pages of 108 published during the 17-day period. All items appeared on the back page. Pravda printed an average 35.5 inches daily.

Pravda coverage comprised 22 items. In comparison, Montreal netted 33 items and Moscow 156. The average Olympic news item in 1984 was 27 square inches, down from 32 in 1980 and 64 in 1976. This reduced average size came from omission of the long round-up story, which was featured in the two previous Olympiads; and absence of

numerous small features which had shortened the average story in Moscow coverage.

Subject Areas. The Post devoted 12,441 square inches in 1984 to 256 items featuring American athletes--constituting 46 percent of space and 38 percent items. In contrast, stories focusing on Americans occupied 13 percent of Moscow coverage in terms of space and number of items. In Montreal, American subjects occupied 37 percent of space and 34 percent of items.

In 1984 the Olympics in general ranked second in space, 6,550 square inches, and number of items, 215. Hosting Games, a subject that included a variety of sub-topics ranging from weather conditions to television coverage to traffic, profits, and torch-bearing, was given 3,876 inches in 75 separate news items. This subject, and the Olympics in general, ranked in the top three in both space and number of items for all three years of the Post's coverage.

Athletes and other Olympic participants from the Western Bloc were featured in 64 items totalling 2,104 square inches. The two non-boycotting Eastern Bloc nations, Rumania and Yugoslavia, were the focus of 17 articles totalling 609 square inches. The Far East nations of China, Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, and Korea were the subjects of 20 stories occupying 591 square inches. Third-World nations, Latin America, and the Soviet Union, each occupied less than 2 percent of the total space with 15, 10, and 9 items respectively.

Pravda's coverage focused primarily on hosting the Games. No attempt was made to provide complete coverage of competition or competitors. Performance of Los Angeles and the LAOOC as hosts occupied 557 square inches or 93 percent of space. Nineteen of the 22

items were devoted to this subject. Western Bloc athletes were the focus of two items totalling 25 square inches. General Olympics, was the subject of one article consisting of 19 square inches.

Nature of Items. Pravda found very little to cheer about in Los Angeles. Only one of the 22 items was positive. It was an 11-square-inch article headlined "Without Records," an apparent reference to Olympic victories that did not carry Olympic or world records. The story, nevertheless, praised gold-medal, single-sculls champion Pertti Karppinen of Finland. "The fair-haired giant, a hero, a rower champion at Montreal and Moscow, got his third medal," Pravda reported. "He is second only to Vyacheslav Ivanov [of the USSR], the thrice-decorated Olympic champion according to rowing records." (In 1980 Pravda heralded Finnish President Uhro Kekkonen's Olympic visit to Moscow in three separate short articles in three issues.) The article went on to announce the imminent track and field competitions and made special mention of "E. Moses (USA), who claims victories in 104 competitions in a row."

Negative news characterized 19 articles totalling 558 square inches. All pertained to hosting the Games. Two neutral items focused on the performances of athletes from East Germany, France, Japan, Sweden, Rumania and China. Also recounted was the collision between Zola Budd and Mary Decker.

Positive items occupied 13,080 square inches (48 percent of total space) in the 1984 Post coverage, but less than a third of the items was positive. A total of 261 neutral items occupied 7,302 square inches. This disparity came from the large number of short box-score items that were categorized as neutral.

One hundred ninety-six negative items occupied the remaining 6,825 square inches. Of these, 71 reported on negative subjects concerning American athletes and 41 reported on negative aspects of Game hosting. The latter represented 55 percent of the commentary on that subject area. Negative classification did not necessarily imply criticism. Most negative items about American participants reported injuries, disqualification, or disappointing performances. Negative articles regarding hosting the Games concerned security problems or threats, accidents, smog conditions, high ticket prices, traffic problems, and judging disputes.

Western Bloc and Third World subjects also received more negative than positive coverage by the Post, as did the Olympics in general. No articles featuring the Soviet Union were positive. Of nine items focusing on the USSR, seven were negative, two neutral.

The rankings of 1--positive, 2--neutral, 3--negative, in terms of space, was the same in 1976 and 1984 for the Post. In 1980, most space was occupied by negative items, followed by neutral and positive. TABLE IV on the following page presents comparative data for positive, neutral, and negative coverage by Pravda and the Post for 1976, 1980, and 1984.

Photographs. Pravda sent no photographers to the Los Angeles Olympics, nor did TASS. The newspaper did not avail itself of American wire service photos, as it did in Montreal. Consequently, no photographs were published about the 1984 Games by the Soviet newspaper.

The Post's pictorial coverage in Los Angeles far surpassed that of the previous two Olympiads. A total of 216 photographs appeared,

TABLE IV

THE DIRECTION OF NEWS COVERAGE AS REFLECTED IN SPACE AND NUMBER OF ITEMS IN 1976, 1980, AND 1984

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	
PRAVDA 1984				
sq. in.	10.94	32.81	557.11	total
% total space	1.82	5.46	92.72	600.86
# of items	1	2	19	total
% total space	4.55%	9.09%	86.36	22
PRAVDA 1980				
sq. in.	4287.20	624.41	128.40	total
% total space	84.76%	12.70%	2.54	5058.01
# of items	110	41	5	total
% total items	70.51%	26.28%	3.21%	156
PRAVDA 1976				
sq. in.	1716.22	410.73	--	total
% total space	80.69%	19.30	--	2126.95
# of items	17	16	--	total
% total items	51.52%	48.48%	--	33
WASHINGTON POST 1984				
sq. in.	13,030.19	7301.99	6825.14	total
% total space	47.98%	26.89	25.13	27,157.32
# of items	224	261	196	total
% total items	32.89	38.33	28.78	681
WASHINGTON POST 1980				
sq. in.	1493.25	1822.33	3202.08	total
% total space	22.91%	27.96%	49.13%	6517.66
# of items	24	42	68	total
% total items	17.91%	31.34%	50.75%	134
WASHINGTON POST 1976				
sq. in.	4628.07	3863.52	3057.66	total
% total space	40.07%	33.45%	26.47%	11,549.25
# of items	84	108	104.5*	total
% total items	28.33%	36.42%	35.24%	296.5*

*Fraction produced by averages for missing July 28 issue

occupying 5,523 square inches, or more than 20 percent of Olympic space. Nineteen percent of Moscow's and Montreal's Olympic space in the Post comprised photographs. An average 325 square inches was devoted to photographs each day and photo mean size was 25.57 square inches, compared with 23.09 square inches in 1980 and 27.02 in 1976.

Average number of photographs rose from 3.11 per issue for Moscow Games and 7.88 for Montreal to 12.71 for the home Games. Americans were highlighted in 125.17 photographs (58 percent of the total). In Montreal, Americans were featured in 46 percent of the photos; in Moscow, 21 percent. Western Bloc participants garnered the next highest number of photos--38.83. In Moscow, this group also constituted the second highest ranking, behind the front-running Eastern Bloc. Rumanians and Yugoslavians fared less well in Los Angeles, featured in only 4.17 photographs (only 2 percent of the total), despite their delegations' scoring third in total number of medals won. Hosting the Games characterized 28 photographs, followed by 7.5 for Far Eastern subjects. Other geopolitical groups were pictured in 2 percent or less of photographs. No Soviet subjects appeared.

Data representing rank-ordering of Pravda and Post coverage of the 1984 Games is shown in TABLE V. These figures are preceded by lists of medal winners by geopolitical affiliations, also rank ordered.

Presentation and Discussion

Of Political Content

Pravda

General Characteristics of Coverage. Pravda's coverage of the 1980

TABLE V

RANK ORDER OF MEDAL WINNERS AND MEDIA DATA BY GEOPOLITICAL CODES--1984

Medal Winners by Geopolitical Code

RANK	Code	Nations	Medals *	%/Total
1	5	Western Bloc	315	46%
2	3	The United States	174	25%
3	7	Far East-Pro West	85	12%
4	6	Eastern Bloc	71	10%
5	9	Latin America	25	4%
6	8	3rd World in Africa, Asia	17	2%
7	4	The Soviet Union (boycotting)	0	0%
			387	99% (rounding error)

*Some duplicate medals were awarded

Square Inches of Space by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	Sq. In.
1	1	Host Games	557.11
2	5	Western Bloc	25.00
3	2	Gen'l Olym	18.75
			600.86

Square Inches of Space by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	Sq. In.
1	3	USA	12,440.90
2	2	Gen'l Olym	6,550.35
3	1	Host Games	3,876.22
4	5	Western Bloc	2,104.29
5	6	Eastern Bloc	608.50
6	7	Far East	590.50
7	8	3rd World	427.72
8	4	USSR	307.06
9	9	Latin Amer.	10.37
			27,157.32

Number of Items by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	Items
1	1	Host Games	19
2	5	Western Bloc	2
3	3	USA	1
			22

Number of Items by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	Items
1	3	USA	256
2	2	Gen'l Olym	215
3	1	Host Games	75
4	5	Western	18
5	7	FSSR Bloc	64
6	8	Far East	17
7	6	Eastern Bloc	15
8	9	Latin Amer.	10
9	4	Far East	9
			681

Photographs by Geopolitical Code--"Pravda"

Rank	Code	Nations	# Photos

(No Photographs)

Photographs by Geopolitical Code--"Wash. Post"

Rank	Code	Nations	# Photos
1	3	USA	125.17
2	5	Western Bloc	38.83
3	1	Host Games	28.00
4	7	Far East	7.50
5	2	Gen'l Olym	5.00
6	6	Eastern Bloc	4.17
7	9	Latin Amer.	4.00
8	8	3rd World	3.33
9	4	USSR	0.00
			216.00

Moscow Games unquestionably was the most extensive, thorough, balanced, and positive of the three Olympiads. Readers were treated to a bonanza of stories and features. The traditional "upbeat" tone, which typified coverage of the first two Olympiads was reversed sharply in accounts of the American Games.

The first-person, plural voice intermingled freely with the third-person in all of Pravda's Olympic coverage. Soviet athletes sometimes were referred to as "our fellows" in the Montreal accounts, and "our Olympics" was recalled fondly in Los Angeles stories comparing the 1980 and 1984 Games. When Soviet teams scored victories, the news was conveyed often as, "'we' scored victories." A 72-point headline appearing in the July 25, 1976, issue read, "The Leaders Are Our Olympians."

This was a criticism leveled against ABC in 1984, a failing acknowledged by ABC news and sports president Roone Arledge, but blamed primarily on inexperienced athlete-broadcasters brought in for technical expertise. In an interview with the Post, Arledge explained, "I put out a memo my second day here (in Los Angeles) aimed at our color commentators saying I don't want to hear the we's and our's and us." The practice and criticism continued throughout the Olympiad, nevertheless.

Saccharine rhetoric was employed by Pravda throughout coverage of the 1976 and, particularly, 1980 Games. Repeated and simplistic lauding of the Olympic spirit, peace, brotherhood, friendship, international cooperation, and friendly competition is far more grating to American readers than it is to the Soviet audience for whom it was intended. Citizens of the USSR are accustomed to elevated phraseology,

since such language is used on a regular basis by the press and government in describing economic plans, accomplishments of workers, and goals of the society as a whole. Soviet citizens, when speaking with foreigners, frequently sprinkle their conversations with political and social platitudes, which, to unaccustomed American ears, sound naive if not ingenuous. Such usage, in fact, is now a matter of habit and custom.

First mention of Soviet or Eastern European athletes' names in a story usually included their initials and last name. Subsequent references often used the first name only or sometimes a nickname. This practice also was extended from time to time to foreign athletes, including Americans. However, it was more common to use the last name only. This "home-town" approach in the world's largest circulation newspaper is not reserved for Olympic coverage, but is used throughout Pravda on a regular basis in news stories as well as editorials.

As might be expected from the mouthpiece of the Communist Party, Pravda's approach was more team-oriented than the Post's and less likely to focus on individuals. The Soviet newspaper deviated from this norm in its 1980 coverage and, for an American, the accounts were by far the most informative, readable, and, in fact, the most credible of the three years of Pravda's Olympic coverage.

The word "boycott," which exists in Russian, was never used by Soviet officials, editors, or citizens to refer either to the American- or the Soviet-led protest. The TASS release announcing the Soviet withdrawal from the Los Angeles Games assiduously avoided use of the term. Its use in Pravda was restricted to quotations from foreign newspapers or quotations from foreign individuals. The avoidance of

"boycott" was a pointed etymological stance whose significance was lost on most non-Soviet analysts.

Day by Day Summary of 1976 Coverage. Pravda's treatment of the Montreal Olympics particularly is important to this study because the Soviet Union's and America's participation that year was relatively unaffected by external political pressures. It was, in fact, still in the "detente" period.

It may be assumed that Pravda's handling of the event represented the "norm" for Soviet reportage of Olympiads when the Soviet Union is not acting as host and when athletes are in competition. The most salient characteristics of the 1976 coverage were the heavy emphasis placed on Soviet athletes and their victories, the preponderance of positive news, and the glossing over or omission of unpleasant incidents.

July 17. A short page-one message from Soviet Chairman L. I. Brezhnev appeared in Pravda on the opening day of festivities. The congratulatory message to the IOC, the Canadian Olympic Committee, and participants in the XXI Olympiad reiterated the importance of sports in promoting friendship, cooperation, and peace on the planet. Brezhnev also praised Canada for its efforts in hosting the event and added the reminder that the 1980 Games would be in Moscow.

In the same issue, in a long article describing and praising the Olympic facilities and chronicling the progressive journey of the Olympic torch, the Moscow Olympics was mentioned again. At the end, a paragraph was inserted decrying the IOC ruling which allowed the "subversive" station, Radio Free Europe, to broadcast the Games. Pravda took some comfort in the knowledge that the IOC had taken on the

responsibility of controlling the broadcasts, and that "according to the conditions, broadcasts are to be of a purely sports character, and are not to be directed against any nation." The comment concluded, "For enemies of friedship and cooperation between peoples, it has become all the more difficult to carry out their subversive maneuvers. Nothing today . . .disturbs the elevated, holiday atmosphere in Montreal."

July 18. On the following day, in an article headlined, "Hello, Holiday of Sport," Pravda described the opening ceremonies and festivities and the patriotic pride of Soviet athletes. Near the end of the lengthy piece, brief mention was made of the Taiwanese sports delegation's withdrawal from the Games after refusing to compete under the Olympic flag. Also noted was announcement by a Nigerian official that Nigeria was not participating in the Games as a protest against New Zealand's "contact with racist South Africa."

July 19. This slim account of the African boycott was repeated and expanded on July 19 to include two additional sentences: "To the position of Nigeria was joined a number of other African and Arab countries, whose teams did not come to the stadium (for the opening parade of athletes.) Representatives of the African states observed that the team of New Zealand must be excluded from participation in the Olympics for countenancing athletic contact with the racist Republic of South Africa.". No further explanation of either incident appeared in future issues. The account also included a short interview with a Canadian workman, who explained that he had been the first worker to arrive at the construction site of the Olympic Stadium and would be the last to leave.

July 20. This issue marked the first day of detailed coverage of sporting events. At this point a boxed "Table of the Games," made its first appearance. The Table and a surrounding single long story became the pattern for daily coverage. Included in the Table were the scores and ranking of the top three teams for every event. Athletes' names were included for individual events; national names were recorded for team contests. The names of all Soviet participants were recorded in team contests such as swimming relays and team rowing. Although gold, silver, and bronze medals were awarded to the top three competitors only, the Table cited the names and rankings of all Soviet participants in all events, whether or not they placed in the top three.

Primary attention was focused on Soviet athletes. However, prize winners from Eastern Europe also were praised effusively. Short interviews with victorious sportsmen, almost always from the USSR or Eastern-bloc countries, appeared regularly.

July 21. "So a Victory Is Born" was the headline of the lead story, which highlighted spectacular gymnastic feats of Rumania's 14-year-old Nadia Comaneci. The Soviet woman gymnasts had won a team gold the previous day and team members were interviewed. Superstar Olga Korbut, a member of the winning team, described the victory as an attempt "to make a gift to all admirers of Soviet sport." Little was said in ensuing issues of the disappointing performances of the popular Korbut, who was outshown by newcomers Comaneci and by 18-year-old Nelli Kim, also of the USSR.

July 22. Pravda commentary was rather gloomy, as both the United States and East Germany pulled ahead of the USSR in total medals won and gold medals won. Most disappointing was the elimination of

world-class Soviet cyclist Edward Rapp because of a false start in the 1000-meter race. Another blow was the upset victory of Japan in the men's gynastics competition over the second-place Soviet squad.

Referring to Rumania's many victories in women's gymnastics, Pravda rationalized philosophically, "Of course, our gymnasts might have expected to do better. But as we observed yesterday, competition at the Olympics offers many unexpected occurrences. The Olympic Games demand not only maximum exertion of strength, but also exacting--to the hundredth fraction of a point--teamwork."

July 23. "'W-e-l-l D-o-n-e' They Shout in Montreal," was the headline of the July 23 article which signaled the upturn in competition for the Soviet teams and an upturn in Pravda's mood. Thrilled with capturing all three medals in the women's 200 meter breast stroke, coverage began with the exultant statement, "Such is the success of our women swimmers that it has never before been achieved in the history of the Olympics." The presentation of the medals was described, with particular emphasis on "the moment, when on all three flag poles are raised the national flags of our Motherland."

Announcing retirement of Olympic veteran gymnast Liudmila Tourishcheva, Pravda quoted her in an interview: "I am leaving the great sport and I am glad that I shall walk away as the possessor of new medals. I am happy for my teammates, worthy representatives here of Soviet gymnastics." She said she planned to help gynastics coach L.S. Latynina in training the younger generation.

July 24. On the sixth day of the Olympics, Pravda's main headline proclaimed, "The Olympics Ascend to The Zenith." The USSR won 13 medals and Pravda rejoiced in the gold medals won by Kim and three

Soviet fencers who took the gold, silver, and bronze prizes.

July 25. The Soviets leaped to the top of the medals scoreboard, and a new feature was added to the "Table of the Games." From this point on, the ranking of teams by medals won was included in almost every issue. The USSR consistently headed the list, followed by East Germany and the United States. Once the Soviet Union was established to be clearly in the lead over its major rival, East Germany, Pravda's tone became paternal and extremely warm toward the Socialist countries.

Included in the long article headlined, "The Leaders Are Our Olympians," was a long quote attributed to Gunter Ehrhardt of the Agency ADN, presumably an East German news service. Ehrhardt first commented on the strength of the Soviet, East German, and American teams, but then continued: "But still more important to note is the fact that almost all the highest positions in the Table [of scores] are occupied by athletes from the socialist countries--the USSR, GDR [East Germany], Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. It really is not so surprising since in these countries so much attention is given to the development of sports, the physical upbringing of the people of the new society." Three small cartoons, relevant to the Olympics, were included under the heading "Smile of the Artist."[6]

July 26. The continuing shower of medals on the Soviet team was hailed by Pravda in this issue with the headline "The Record Step of Soviet Hero-Athletes." In ten categories of wrestling, the USSR took seven gold medals, two silver, and one bronze. Twenty-seven of the 30 prize-winning wrestlers were from socialist countries, Pravda pointed out. Soviet discus thrower A. Baryshnikov was praised for his

distinctive wind-up. The "Baryshnikov style," Pravda predicted, would become as famous as the "Fosbury flop," a reference to the high jump technique of American Dan Fosbury. It was also pointed out that because of poor performance in the qualifying races, there would be no American sprinters in competition. U.S. athletes traditonally excel at this event. Pravda also reported an official reception held by the Organizing Committee for "Olympiad 80" aboard the Soviet ship Alexander Pushkin, anchored in the Montreal port. I. T. Novikov, head of the Soviet Olympic Organizing Committee (Orgkom) and assistant president of the Soviet Council of Ministers, hosted the event and said, "Soon the capital of the Soviet Union will receive the Olympic baton from Montreal. We look forward to this event with joy."

July 27. Pravda noted the passing of the half-way point in the Games. Cuban runner Alberto Juantoreno was warmly congratulated for his victory in the 800 meter race. His Polish coach, Z. Zabezhovski, also was praised for turning Juantoreno from a basketball player into a track medalist in just four years.

"In all arenas of the Olympiad, athletic activity continues in an atmosphere of honorable competition, mutual understanding, and friendship between athletes of different countries," Pravda observed. The United States, England, and other Western countries were not sharing in this spirit. Instead they tried to put themselves in the limelight. Pravda criticized the reactionary Western press which destructively continued to question the "fate of the Olympics," --whether or not the festival could survive in the nervous political environment.

July 28, 29,30. For the next three days, victories by Soviet and

East German athletes and teams dominated coverage. Special tribute was paid to coaches, "many of whom must sit at home in front of their televisions, agonizing over the performance of their pupils."

July 31. Under the headline, "Intensity of the Struggle Doesn't Weaken," attention was focused on the Polish woman track star, Irina Shevinski, who won the gold in the 400 meter race and set world and Olympic records in the process. The Olympic veteran had competed in three previous Olympiads and her success in Montreal proved, in Pravda's words, that "there was still powder in the powder box."

The track and field contests were considered valuable training grounds for the Moscow Olympics. "My biggest dream is to participate in the Olympics in Moscow," Cuban medalist Juantorena was quoted as saying. Disappointment was expressed in the performance of Soviet boxers, although unexpected victories in judo (two gold medals and a silver) partially made up for the boxing letdown.

August 1. For the third Olympic Games in a row, the USSR's Victor Saneev won the gold in the triple jump, Pravda announced. Five pictures featuring Soviet winners made this the largest photo day of the Olympics. Pravda also had words of praise for Bruce Jenner, the American decathlete, who came in first with a world record 8,618 points, over third place Soviet competitor Nikolai Avilov, who scored 8,369 points. No mention was made of second place victor Guido Krachmeyer of East Germany, whose victory was recorded in the "Table of the Games."

August 2. On the seventeenth day of coverage, Pravda expressed pride in the final standings, which gave the Soviet team a total of 125 medals: 47 gold, 43 silver, and 35 bronze. Next was East Germany with

90 medals: 39 gold, 25 silver, and 26 bronze; followed by the USA with 95 medals: 34 gold, 35 silver, and 26 bronze. (The Soviet ranking was based on the number of golds awarded). "It has become a tradition already, that before the flames are extinguished they burn brightest. So it is in Olympic competition...," Pravda explained, describing the many medals in canoeing, wrestling, and track and field events won by Soviet athletes on the final day of the Games. Special note was taken of the "cascade of world and Olympic records" set at the Montreal Olympiad.

The Montreal News Team. Pravda's at-the-scene crew comprised three veteran sports reporters, including sports director V. V. Smirnov. Three Pravda photographers were in Montreal, as well as two from TASS. Photos were also provided by the United Press. TASS was responsible for the Table of the Games feature; all other stories, except the Brezhnev message on the first day of the Games, were written by the Pravda correspondents.

Omissions. Worthy of mention are two items omitted from Pravda's coverage of the Games. The defection of 17-year-old Soviet diver Sergei Nemtsanov, who disappeared July 29 after applying for permanent resident status in Canada, was not reported. Also not mentioned were the defections of five Rumanians, reported in the U.S. press. Pravda ignored the disqualification of Boris Onishchenko, the Soviet pentathalon favorite, who was ejected from competition for using an illegally-wired epee in the fencing portion of the contest. Soviet officials dismissed Onishchenko (nicknamed by American athletes and newsmen "Dishonestchenko") from the team and sent him back to the USSR. No mention was made of doping and drug incidents involving American,

Czech, Polish, and Monacan athletes.

Both Pravda and the Post chose to delete mention of the nude man who appeared in the central arena during the closing ceremonies of the Games and pranced among the Olympians until hustled off by security personnel--a televised happening witnessed by millions of viewers.

Day by Day Summary of 1980 Coverage. The exuberant and extensive verbage which typified Pravda's coverage of the Moscow Games reflected Soviet pride in being selected host country for the XXII Olympiad. Throughout the festival, the newspaper seemed determined to minimize the dampening effect of the American-led boycott upon the multi-billion-dollar extravaganza.

Pravda's most remarkable achievements were the balance of its coverage, the relatively even-handed treatment it gave to athletic achievement by all participating nations, and its restraint in not overemphasizing its bitterness over America's attempt to rain on the USSR's long-anticipated parade.

July 19. The Moscow Games were heralded by Pravda with a welcoming message from Brezhnev directed to participants and guests. In a short statement the Soviet leader stressed the importance of the Games as the "highest level of international athletic life, reflecting the goal of people for peace, agreement, and beauty." Noted in separate page-one articles were the arrivals of Bulgarian and Czech leaders who had come to Moscow for the Games.

A page-three story described a concert performed in the capital featuring the theme song of the Olympics, "Ode to Sport," by Baron de Coubertain, father of the modern Games. The theme was sung to a melody composed by Shostakovich. Under the general heading "We Wish Success,"

four former Soviet Olympic athletes gave the Games their blessing. Two photographs accompanied a detailed and emotional account of the bearing of the Olympic torch from Greece through Bulgaria, Rumania, Moldavia, and the Ukraine into Russia and Moscow.

July 20. Speeches delivered by dignitaries at opening ceremonies were reported in detail on page one of the July 20 issue. Among the speakers on the podium were Brezhnev, Orgcom president Novikov, and Lord Killanin, retiring IOC President. In his remarks, Killanin welcomed those who "have demonstrated their total independence, having decided to come to the competition, despite the strong pressure upon them." Two other speakers were not on the podium--two Soviet cosmonauts whose live greetings from outer space were transmitted over the public address speakers.

Continuing onto page six, the 357-square-inch story described the opening ceremonies which had taken place in V.I. Lenin Central Stadium the previous night, noting again and again the spirit of peace and friendship which pervaded the "holiday of sport." A page-one editorial hailed the great patriotic effort which had gone into staging the Games. Thoughts of the Bulgarian president, T. Zhivkov, whose arrival had been noted the previous day, were expressed in a by-lined story lauding the opening ceremonies, which could not fail to touch "even a disillusioned skeptic or reactionary." Zhivkov also expressed his disgust at those who, by boycotting the Games, had brought politics into the Olympics. Throughout the coverage, Pravda used foreign speakers', newspapers,' and interviewees' comments to strike out at boycotting nations. Only rarely was America's absence noted by Soviet citizens or by Pravda correspondents. Three TASS by-lined articles

condemned the United States for politicization of the Games.

July 21. Pravda initiated four of five standard features that would appear regularly throughout the coverage: the page-one "Diary of the Olympiad," a sketchy summary of the previous day's events, liberally laced with praise for the Games and for Olympic ideals in general; and on the back-page "Pedestal of Honor," the box-score summaries; "For a Place in the Finals," results of preliminary contests or elimination heats; and "Opinion of a Guest," interviews with foreign visitors. Another standard feature, "Interview with a Champion," would appear the following day. Frequently, under a variety of headlines, a selected round-up of opinion, as expressed by the world press, would appear.

July 21 coverage also included a long article, headlined "Olympics 1980 Has Gotten Underway," in which the first athletic events were recounted, including bicycle races taking place at the new Velodrome in Minsk, in Byelorussia. A report on sailing competition at Tallinn in Estonia mildly lamented the lack of wind, a theme that would become recurrent in the reports of the Tallinn correspondents.

In the world press review filed by TASS, the Washington Post was reported to have observed, "The Soviet Union opened the 22nd Olympic Games with a cascade of such spectacles as has never been in Olympic history." United Press International was quoted to have observed American tourists at the Moscow Games holding a sign that read "Let the Soviet people know that by far not all Americans agree with Carter, who has prevented American athletes from their legal right to be in Moscow, participating in this magnificient sports forum." Another item, from the Chicago Tribune, stated that the alternative games staged for

American would-be Olympians in Philadelphia had turned out to be "a fiasco." In an adjacent column to the world press review was a large cartoon drawing of "Mishka," the smiling bear cub mascot of the Moscow Games, lifting a dumbbell bearing three weights on each end. On the weights appeared the words "peace," "friendship," "detente."

July 22. Pravda's coverage included a TASS story, datelined Washington, which blasted the Carter administration for its non-participation in the Games and reported Americans' disappointment that they were provided only minutes of videotaped Olympic coverage during evening news programs. Another story listed cultural opportunities available to athletes at the Olympic Village complex. These included plays, concerts, films, a museum, and exhibits, all offered in Russian, French, and English. In addition, athletes had access to a 7,000-volume Village library with books in 45 languages.

The longest article, entitled "World Sport Is Winning," was devoted to very thorough review of the previous day's competition. Similar umbrella articles summarizing outcomes of sporting events dominated each day's coverage for the remaining period. Although Soviet athletes were treated more affectionately, more familiarly than other athletes, reporting was objective and allocation of space within the round-up article was remarkably even-handed, considering that Pravda's readership could have been expected to take greater interest in the performance of Soviet athletes.

July 23. "Never before has such technical excellence been shown!" rejoiced the front-page "Diary of the Olympiad." "Without a record, there's no victory!" The number of world and Olympic records broken and set would be a continuing theme for the remainder of the Moscow

Games, a possible indication of the Soviet Union's fear that the Games would not offer much quality competition without the boycotting nations' participation. The world press review continued to heap praise upon the organization and spirit of the XXII Olympiad from the West German, French, Bulgarian, Czech, and Yugoslavian press.

A short feature reported the camaraderie of athletes from many countries enjoying good Russian tea at an outdoor restaurant in the Olympic Village. It was accompanied by a photo showing a group of young people gathered around a giant samovar. Another article reported on the "Appearance of the Queen," a reference to track and field events which were scheduled to begin on the following day. Track and field, or "light athletics," as the Soviets and Germans call the sport, is known affectionately as "the queen of sports" in the Soviet Union.

Briefly noted in a separate news item was departure from Moscow of Portugal's Communist Party chief A. Kunala. (Pravda routinely makes special efforts to include Western Communists in the Soviet family.)

July 24. The "Diary of the Olympiad" championed the cooperation among athletes, pointing out that Soviet track and field athletes advised less-experienced sportsmen from Botsuami, Viet Nam, and other developing nations. In fact, the column concluded, the Olympics were actually "a university for athletes of five continents." This theme was expanded in the major story on page six, entitled "Olympic Universities." In keeping with the theme of unprecedented records being set, the article stated that the Moscow Olympics "are rewriting the world record book." The newly-built swimming pool was nicknamed affectionately "the record factory."

A light-hearted interview with English swimming champion Duncan

Goodhew revealed that the shaven-headed athlete always wore a cap, not out of vanity, but as a "talisman." Goodhew went on to lament that the British flag could not be flown nor "God Save the Queen" played at the ceremony at which he received the gold medal for his victory in the 100-meter breast stroke. "Nevertheless, I dedicate my victory to my country, because in all competitions I defend her honor and never forget about this. . . ," he said.

July 25. Pravda paid tribute to thousands of Soviet workers who had created the many new and renovated facilities which served the Games. The TASS world press review quoted a Philadelphia Inquirer editorial which stated, "There are 81 nations there (at the Moscow Games.) We're not. It's a loss for Americans, not for Russians."

Pravda repeatedly stressed the impact the Olympics were having on millions of people throughout the world watching the Games on television. Every major article included quotes from foreign and frequently Western athletes and spectators who praised not only the level of competition and the organization of the Games, but also the city of Moscow and the Russian people. One article, datelined Bonn, was devoted to the plight of sports-loving West Germans, who, unable to watch the Olympiad on their own channels, tried to pick up signals from East Germany where the Games were being broadcast.

July 26. In a world press review titled "A Grand Holiday," TASS made a particularly thorough canvass of the globe, quoting reports from the People's Republic of China, Sri Lanka, Portugal, and Finland. Among individuals quoted was Los Angeles Games coordinator Grady Dougherty, who expressed his indignation at the Carter administration's actions. The "Diary of the Olympiad" noted that never before in history

had the Olympic slogan, "Faster, Higher, Stronger," been taken so literally.

July 27. Pravda reported that an additional 40 Olympic and 23 world records had been set. That day's coverage included a brief article noting the arrival in Moscow of Finnish President Uhro Kekkonen. In the main article, headlined "Sports--An Arena of Cooperation," attention was focused on the cooperation in athletics between the industrialized and developing nations. Examples cited included Soviet coaches who worked with Algerian, Guinean, and Congolese athletes; a Hungarian coach who helped train Cuban soccer players; and an American track coach who guided Tanzanian athletes.

July 28. "For All the World, for the Sake of the World" was the main story headline. Summary of the preceding day's events included an account of the victory ceremonies of British trackmen Steve Ovette and Daley Thompson. As at previous British award presentations, the Olympic banner and hymn replaced the flag and national anthem of Great Britain. However, British spectators at Lenin Stadium produced their own Union Jacks and stood waving them in the stands, drowning out the Olympic hymn with their own unaccompanied rendition of "God Save The Queen." The story was accompanied by a photograph of flag-bearing British fans taken in the stands.

A feature story in same issue, entitled "Evenings in the Olympic Village," described the nighttime activities of young athletes, many of whom gathered at the Cultural Center where a German disc jockey played popular dance records to capacity crowds. In an article headlined "Through the Keyhole," a Pravda correspondent in Bonn again reported on West Germans' frustrations with the television blackout of the Olympics

in their country, and indicated that many were making visits to Austria, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia where they could watch the competitions. Brief mention was made of Polish party chief E. Gerek's and Finnish President Kekkonen's continuing Olympic holidays in Moscow.

July 29. Reiterating the emphasis on new records being set, Pravda coined a new slogan, "Not a Day Without a Record" in its "Diary of the Olympiad" column. Although reporting all sports activities and victories, Pravda placed relatively little emphasis on the huge number of medals being accumulated by the Soviet team. This was in sharp contrast to its treatment of Soviet victories in 1976.

In the "Diary" it was noted that 11 countries had received at least one medal in the Moscow Games at midpoint, whereas eight countries had shared the gold by the midpoint of the Montreal Games. A short article reported that a group of Soviet Georgian mountain climbers had scaled a theretofore unconquered peak in the Mt. Pamir range in Tadzhik,and named it "Olympiad 80." (Other peaks in the range are Karl Marx, Lenin, and Communism.)

July 30. The yachting competition in Tallinn Bay was the focus of "Diary of the Olympiad." Soviet sailors did not do as well as hoped, and, except for the USSR's Valentin Mankinn, the focus was on the more successful Italian, Brazilian, Finnish, and Australian teams.

A third update was provided on the Olympic visit of Finnish President Kekkonen. The lead paragraphs of the main story were devoted to reminiscences of veteran Italian newsman Massimo della Pergola, who was in Moscow for his ninth summer Olympics, having attended all since 1948. Citing the most prominent contribution of each Olympiad, he credited the Helsinki Games for giving the USSR its start as a world

athletic power; the Tokyo Games for incorporating electronics into sports; Mexico for its folklore and gaity; and Moscow for international brotherhood and excellent organization.

A TASS article datelined Washington, appeared in the same issue and reported a White House reception for American athletes who had expected to participate in the Moscow Games. TASS ridiculed the medal presentation ceremony conducted on the steps of the Capitol and said most of the athletes were ashamed of the "ersatz" awards, which were seen by TASS as a symbol of the "anti-Olympic mentality" of the Carter administration. The article also told of a check for $5 million presented by U.S. Trade Secretary Phillip Klutznik to the USOC for the development of the Olympic movement in the U.S.. USOC President Don Miller reportedly accepted the gift with bitterness.

July 31 In "Diary of the Olympiad," Pravda noted the fifth anniversary of the Helsinki accords, which brought unity to Eastern Europe, just as the Moscow Games had brought unity, peace, and joy to the world in the past weeks. Special mention was that medals had been awarded to teams representing all five continents.

Among other last-page items was a brief article reporting Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's congratulations to all British sportsmen who had participated in the Olympics. Thatcher had accepted reluctantly the decision of Britain's Olympic Committee to send British athletes to Moscow. The world press review included laudatory words on the conduct of the Games by Spanish, Czech, Rumanian, and Ethiopian newspapers. A quote from the Los Angeles Times observed that the number of Olympic and world records being set indicated not much had been lost by America's absence.

August 1 The "Diary of the Olympiad" was inexplicably absent. The major back-page article, headlined "Athletes Give the Fire of Their Hearts," devoted its lead paragraphs to Olympic workers, food service personnel, student volunteers, drivers, and "thousands of others" who helped make the Olympics run. Athletic coverage focused on wrestling, track, and equine sports.

Pravda scoffed at reports by Western journalists that the Olympic gates were being manipulated to control wind currents for benefit of Soviet discus and hammer throwers. "Freelance journalists from the United States and Western Europe have gone to laughable extremes in order to minimize the success of the Games," Pravda claimed. To Western press reports that judging was being criticized, Pravda responded that superior quality of judging could be verified by the fact that only two protests were filed in the Moscow Games, compared to 15 in Montreal.

Anticipating the closing ceremonies, Pravda explained the Los Angeles flag would be flown at that point in the ceremony when the national flag of the host country was traditionally raised. It also explained that the Olympic hymn, not the American anthem would be played. It was not stated that the prohibition of the American symbols was decreed by the Carter Administration and reluctantly accepted by the IOC. In an article entitled "The Failure of an Anti-Olympic Farce," TASS re-reported the Carter administration's attempt to honor American Olympians. A quote from the Philadelphia Inquirer concluded that American athletes "belong in Moscow, not at class dinners at the White House."

August 2. At the Kremlin, Pravda reported, awards were given to

"those architects, constructors, engineer and technical workers, party workers, society workers who participated in building the Olympic facilities." Among the awards presented were the Order of Lenin, Heroes of Socialist Labor, Order of the October Revolution, Order of the Red Banner of Labor, Order of Friendship of the People, Badge of Honor, Medal of the Glory of Labor, and others.

In the main article, "Olympics--Straight to the Finish," Pravda noted that the long-awaited Games were drawing to a close. Special attention was focused on medalist Elisabeth Theurer, the Austrian equestrienne, and others who participated in the equine competitions. In the world press review, praise was heaped upon the Moscow Games for the international brotherhood and goodwill they had fostered. Quoted were newspapers published in Czechoslovakia, France, the Philippines, West Germany, and Morroco. One reported the disappointment of Mainland Chinese athletes who, until the boycott was announced, had hoped to rejoin the Olympic competition after many years' absence. A short feature discussed qualifications of 80 young women representing the 15 Soviet republics who danced in native costume during Olympic ceremonies. The account included an interview with a Georgian dancer who was studying English at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Tblisi.

August 3. The "Diary of the Olympiad" concluded with the realization that many names would be forgotten, those of the workers who built the stadium, and those who served during the Games, as well as the names of athletes, but the the memories of camaraderie and friendship would live on. "Indeed," the column continued, "the Moscow Olympics showed that the desire of the people of the earth to

communicate with each other, for world contact, for cooperation cannot be destroyed."

A back-page article paid special tributes to those Third World athletes who would leave the Games without medals. "All athletes are heroes," the story said, pointing out that valuable experience is gained simply by participating in world-class competitions. A 13-year-old female swimmer from Nigeria was quoted saying, "The Moscow Olympiad will remain in my memory for my whole life. Participation in such a large and complex competition was very useful." Other athletes from Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Jamaica expressed similar thoughts.

Throughout coverage of the Games Pravda made special efforts to praise and publicize performance of athletes from Third World countries. Also included were four captioned cartoons of unmemorable humor.

August 4. Final coverage focused on the closing ceremonies in Lenin Central Stadium. Page-one headlines over a large photograph of the soon-to-be-extingushed Olympic flame proclaimed, "In the Name of Peace, for the Glory of Sport." Games highlights were cited by Pravda and various outstanding athletes' names were listed under the Olympic-slogan categories "swifter" (Soviet, British, and East German runners, Soviet and East German swimmers, Swiss bicylists); "higher" (Polish pole vaulter, East German high jumper); and "stronger" (Soviet weightlifters).

After a closing statement by Killanin expressing his regret for those who could not be there, the Los Angeles city flag was raised over the stadium and the Olympic hymn played over loudspeakers, Pravda reported. A giant balloon in shape of the Mishka, the bear cub, was

released to float high above the crowd. The Soviet card section flashed "Until Our Meeting at the Olympics of '84." "The Moscow Olympics have passed into history," the article concluded. "Its inimitable success has reaffirmed the fact that development of international Olympic movement is invincible."

Interviews. To take a closer look at the "Opinion of a Guest" feature that appeared frequently throughout Pravda's Olympic coverage, it should be noted that in the 17-day period, there were 18 interviews with foreign guests from 17 countries. Only Mexico was represented more than once. All had positive comments about the Games, the competition, Moscow, and the Muscovites. Interviewees often were sports professionals, delegation chairmen, officers in international sporting associations, or Olympic Committee members in their own countries. Some were Communist Party officers in their homelands and one was a Japanese author in Moscow to gather material on the Olympics.

The only subject whose title read simply "tourist" was American Nick Paul. The 88-year-old New Yorker, quoted in a TASS article the previous day ("Enemies of Olympics in a Knockout"), claimed never to have missed an Olympiad. "We would like to say that American citizens also were present at the opening of Olympiad-80 and from all of our hearts we extend our greetings," Paul was quoted in the guest opinion interview. He also said many American citizens deplored Carter's actions and thought that the President was motivated by a desire to help his own reelection campaign. Paul also added the Moscow air was much cleaner than New York's smog and that he was pleased to see there were fish to be caught in the Moscow River.

Countries represented in the interviews were (in order of their appearance) Tanzania, Mexico, France, Poland, USA, Italy, Iceland, Switzerland, Austria, Nicaragua, Brazil, Finland, Spain, Yugoslavia, Ireland, Kuwait, Mexico again, and Japan.

Many well-known Olympic winners appeared in the "Interview with a Champion" column, among them Englishmen Steve Ovette and Duncan Goodhew. Other interviewees were from Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Switzerland, Rumania, Italy, Brazil, and France. Their observations also reflected positively on the Games.

The Moscow News Team. The Pravda staff assigned to the cover the Moscow Olympics appeared to have been much larger than that in Montreal. Four reporters' names regularly appeared in credit lines below the daily main story; two of these had also been in Montreal. Four other writers received by-lines for Moscow stories. Two correspondents were stationed in Tallinn and one in Kiev, where soccer matches were held. Three photographers received credit lines and two artist/cartoonists. TASS by-lines appeared on 24 of 156 stories.

Omissions. Not included in the coverage was any mention of the visit of Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who came to see the Games. Also ignored were charges that security was obtrusive and excessive and allegations of censorship by the foreign press. Excluded was the arrest in Red Square of an Italian tourist protesting Soviet laws that make the practice of homosexuality a felony in the USSR. Accounts of this event appeared in the Western press.

Though emphasizing the wide distribution of medals to 37 countries and five continents, Pravda neglected to point out that of the twelve nations that finished with ten or more medals, eight were Communist

countries. Six of the top ten medal-winning nations were Communist. No note was taken of a victory-less five-man Puerto Rican boxing team who participated under the Puerto Rican flag, in defiance of the American boycott.

Day-by-Day Summary of 1984 Coverage. All superlatives that Pravda had employed so exubertantly in describing the "holiday of sport" in 1980 were turned inside out four years later when the United States became the Olympic host, and Los Angeles the site of the international Games. No longer were the Olympic Games "the highest level of international athletic life." No longer was the "development of the international Olympic movement invincible."

Gone was the "brotherhood of nations," the "spirit of friendly competition," and the "desire of the people of the earth to communicate with each other." In short, gone was the high-flown rhetoric which had characterized the coverage of the 1980, and, to a lesser extent, the 1976 Games. Pravda's 1984 Olympic coverage was acerbic and bitter.

The author of more than half of Los Angeles coverage was Genady Vasilev, Pravda's bureau chief in Washington. He was the newspaper's sole representative at the Games. Although, as Vasilev pointed out in a telephone conversation, the Los Angeles Olympic Committee limited the Soviet Union to only five journalists, only four were present at the Games--two from TASS, one from the Novosty Press Agency, and Vasilev. "There was going to be another," Vasilev recalled, "but he decided to take a vacation." Lack of man-power was given as the reason no photographs accompanied the Los Angeles coverage.[8]

The disparity between Moscow and Los Angeles coverage was remarkable. Contrast between hometown coverage and away Games was, of

course, to be expected. However, the difference between the reporting of the Canadian and the American Games also was significant. As observable as the decrease in quantity of coverage was the change in tone from that which had characterized the previous two sports festivals.

July 28. No announcement of greetings or congratulatios from Chairman Brezhnev heralded the opening of XXIII Olympiad. The only reference to the games was buried in an interview with the President of the National Olympic Committee of East Germany, conducted by Pravda sports director V.V. Smirnov. In answer to the question, "What do you expect from the international Olympic movement?," the East German responded, "At this time the Olympic movement is suffering from a serious strain, particularly because of the government of the USA and its imperialistic circle. America and her allies and the Olympic Committee in Los Angeles are inflicting their own views on the Olympic Charter. This is particuarly against the socialist countries."

July 29. Vasilev's commentary began in an article headlined "Under the Smog of Commercialism." In the 30-square-inch article, he launched attacks against America's chauvinism, rampant commercialism, the California heat, imperialstic foreign policy, flies and garbage in the streets, and the arrest of 2,000 local thieves and narcotics addicts shortly before the Olympics. "But did they get them all?", the article asked rhetorically. Vasilev also lamented the smog, which he knew would arrive even though it hadn't come yet. "But even though it (the smog) isn't in the air, there's another fog caused by politics and commercialism," he said.

It was observed that a bus carrying coaches in the Olympic Village

had been fired upon by unknown persons. Vasilev also reported that "an extremely hostile act was carried out on the eve of the Olympics in relation to Libya. U.S. authorities not only denied visas to Libyan journalists, they accused three journalists of being terrorists." In an adjacent article, "Sad Chronicle of the Olympiad," TASS reported that a terrorist-driven car veered into a crowd in the Olympic Village, killing three and injuring 51, including children. "No arrests were made," it concluded.

"A frankly political spectacle" were the words used to describe the opening ceremonies. "In the worst tradition of Hollywood there were cowboys, floats, and barelegged girls with a great number of American flags. The only thing missing was the idea of the Olympics as a holiday of sport and friendship between peoples." Vasilev took particular offense at a comment by Ueberroth that the best athletes in the world were at the Los Angeles Games, "omitting mention," Vasilev added, "of those sportsmen who were unable to participate in the Olympics because of the vulgar and belligerent flaunting of the Olympic charter by the Americans." He added that the absence of athletes from the socialist countries would lower the standard of this Olympics.

July 31. The death of "Bomber," the unfortunately-named bald eagle trained to fly over the stadium and land on one of the Olympic rings, was reported. "It is believed the free son of the wide-open spaces of Alaska perished as a result of lack of food, stress, and the Los Angeles smog. The trainer is being criticized by friends of nature," Vasilev wrote. The article then discussed the significance of the eagle, a bird of prey, as a fitting symbol for the United States.

Other items reported slashing of a Brazilian horse's neck at the

Olympic stables, a bomb threat at the pentathalon competition, and the mass media's constant onslaught of chauvinistic Americanism. Also noted were gold medals awarded to a Korean weightlifter and a Chinese pistol shooter. Swimming victories of two Americans also were reported without comment.

August 1. In a story headlined, "Whom Do the Police Fear," the presence of 17,000 local police and 10,000 secret police at the Games was reported. Also noted was the fact that 77 FBI helicopters had been brought in for the Olympiad and that a dirigible with welcome banners trailing behind it was probably keeping a close eye on those on the ground. No mention was made of the fact that one reason for the Soviets' boycott was fear that their athletes would not be protected. The article concluded with accounts of victories for the West Germans, Canadians, and Americans. A short article from an Australian correspondent reported that Australian journalists much preferred the non-political atmosphere of the Moscow Games.

August 2. "The Ku Klux Klan Joins In" was the headline of an article describing a press conference called by the president of the Klan, Tom Robb of Tuscumbia, Alabama. Under Vasilev's by-line it was reported that for the past two weeks klansmen had been "streaming into Los Angeles." Robb was quoted as saying that the klan was at the Olympics "to defend U.S. athletes, who were klan sympathizers." The report said that Robb had threatened reprisals against (Robb's words) "Communists, Jews, and all enemies of White Christian America." Most important, The article claimed that Robb said the klan was responsible for writing threatening letters directed to athetes of developing nations to keep them away from the Los Angeles Games.

The press conference was not reported by American media. The Post on August 7 printed a page-one story under the head "U.S. Ties 'Klan' Olympic Hate Mail to KGB." In the Post account, U.S. Attorney General William French Smith said the Soviets concocted forged racist letters in name of the Ku Klux Klan, threatening Olympic athletes from 20 Asian and African nations. Smith added that "a thorough analysis--including linguistic and forensic techniques--had revealed the source of the letters as the KGB." Existence of the letters came to light in July. The letters were mailed from Southern states in the United States. Smith said the Klan and the Soviet government denied involvement.

Efforts by the author to locate by telephone the Tom Robb mentioned in the Pravda account revealed no such person lived in Tuscumbia, Alabama. The Ku Klux Klan office listed in the local telephone directory had closed and no klan members could be reached for comment or clarificaton. Questioned about the reported press conference, Vasilev had no memory of such and did not know how this account appeared in Pravda under his by-line.[9] San Francisco-based TASS correspondent Yuri Ustimenko, who also covered the Los Angeles Games, had no knowledge of the klan press conference or Robb.[10]

Los Angeles Times sports reporter Ken Reich, who covered Olympic political activity, likewise knew nothing of such a press conference.[11] Sports editors at the Washington Post and ABC also denied knowledge of the event.[12]

In light of these statements by Soviet and American newsmen, it seems reasonable to assume no press conference was held by the Ku Klux Klan in Los Angeles. Vasilev and Yustimenko's failure to claim credit or knowledge of the story, furthermore, indicates embellishment or

invention of the story under Vasilev's by-line probably took place at Pravda offices in Moscow.

In another article, TASS questioned the fact that American athletes had won seven of ten medals awarded at that time and that not one of them represented a world record. When scores were reported, comparisons were made with higher performances at the Moscow Games. The article concluded with a warning that if one should take the wrong bus by mistake in Los Angeles, one easily could become lost in a dangerous part of town.

August 3 In a first-person narrative story, Vasilev detailed his meeting with Richard Pearlman, president of the LAOOC. In a jocular manner offensive to the Soviet journalist, Pearlman told Vasilev he would have experiences in Los Angeles he would never forget. This was quite true, the correspondent assured his readers. He then chronicled his unpleasant experiences as a guest at the Cockatoo Inn, a motel located near the airport, far from the Olympic events. The taxi ride into the press center cost $25 one way, and Vasilev was forced to ride into the city on a school bus provided once an hour by the LAOOC.

He and other foreign journalists recalled how more convenient it was getting around Moscow. "The 1984 Olympians are fatigued with travel, he observed." Los Angeles, Vasilev wrote, was not so much a city as a collection of town and roads. Other comments criticized Olympic facilities and the fact that the town fathers were unwilling to give "a cent" to the Olympics.

August 4. A TASS story, entitled "Medals in a Mesh of Business," decried private funding of the Los Angeles Olympics and claimed the high cost of services at the Games was a direct result of Capitalist

greed. Endorsement of products by athletes also was criticized and ridiculed. Scores were reported for Japanese, West Germans, Costa Ricans, and Italian athletes.

Americans were criticized for a number of "dirty tricks," which Americans considered humorous and others considered criminal. Among such incidents was the tampering with an oarlock on a French racing shell, which resulted in a loss for the team. TASS expressed particular disgust at Jack Ford's attempted theft of an Olympic emblem from an official stable. It was noted that Americans considered the behavior of the former President's son amusing.

August 5. TASS again reported scores of Western and pro-Western athletes--including West German, Italian, French, and Mexican. Sports coverage was very limited and included no box scores. No mention was made of Rumanian, Yugoslavian, or other Eastern-bloc participants. The story also included reference to the IOC protest against ABC-TV for its slanted, pro-American coverage of the Games.

August 6 Coverage featured an article by Moscow-based journalist B. Balayan in which examples were cited of international cooperation and assistance rendered by athletes to each other in other Games. "The Americans don't know how to lose gracefully," Balayan maintained. He chastised the American athletes for what he regarded as their lack of sportsmanship and lashed out at judges who, he claimed, were intimidated into favoring the host teams.

Reference was made to a forbidden device which enabled an American boxer to score a victory over a Swiss competitor. The device was visible to television viewers, and yet the judges' decision was not reversed. Vasilev, in an adjacent article, ridiculed a "superman"

figure who soared into the stadium and landed in the center of a green field. "This is a symbol of American 'superiority' over all the world," he added. A mugging incident was reported by TASS, in which an American coach was attacked by young thugs who cut him in the neck with a knife. The agency also noted a high amount of thievery in the Olympic Village, despite tight security precautions.

August 7. TASS expanded its coverage of athletic events, reporting victories of two Rumanians and exclaiming over the performances of American track star E. Moses and Finnish rower Pertti Karppinen.

August 8. TASS continued to provide Pravda's coverage in an article headlined "They Measure by the Dollar." "In the pursuit for the 'long green'," TASS noted, "Americans have forgotten the Olympic ideals." The article then moved on to the subject of the Olympic Village, where, reportedly, athletes were afraid to leave their rooms at night. Thievery in the Village had reached epidemic proportions. A French Olympic official had caught one thief in the act, only to discover that the culprit was one of the American guards assigned to protect the Village.

August 9 TASS blasted the judges, whose decisions in favor of the United States had aroused a wave of international criticism. Many athletes were eager to leave Los Angeles and return home, the agency reported. Further criticism was directed at ABC-TV for its wanton disregard of achievements of non-American athletes and teams.

August 10. America's "hurrah brand of patriotism" was again the object of Pravda's scorn. U.S. newspapers were quoted saying that Americans didn't care what the event was as long as their countrymen

won. The commercialism of the Games was criticized and Pravda warned that Los Angeles "must stand as the last warning for the IOC regarding the commercialization of sports." The article concluded with a summary of sporting events and especially high praise for a Moroccan hurdler. Also included in the wide-ranging article was criticism of the Olympic press organization and an expression of exasperation at the LAOOC's response that it should not have been necessary to take care of journalists like a nanny.

August 11. "Victory at Any Price" was the headline and the theme of a story that reiterated the claim that scandalous judging was a primary ingredient in the United States's success at the Games. Journalists and athletes from other countries were quoted supporting the claim. Equestrian events were summarized as well as a winning broad jump by a Rumanian sportsman. Also included in the article was the collapse of a set of bleachers, which resulted in injuries to 10 persons.

August 12 Pravda's report consisted of a short article headlined "There Was No Competition." Despite the misleading title, the story provided no scathing commentary and reported results of canoeing, discus throwing, high diving, and Judo competitions.

August 13. Vasilev returned to write the concluding story of the Games. "The Olympics: Smog and Politics" headlined the bombastic wrap-up piece which again chronicled America's and the 1984 Olympic's perceived flaws. The smog had arrived and British runner Steve Ovette was taken to the hospital. "Doctors tried to say he was suffering from chronic lung ailment," Vasilev said, implying it was actually the smog that incapacitated him. "America, America!!" he continued. "It rang

out in thousands of voices, colored pictures in newspapers, on television screens."

"America should have been humble, with such easy victories," the Soviet journalist maintained. Instead, he said, a second "gold fever" had gripped California and spread across the country. The assault had continued with American and foreign advertising signs. Vasilev particularly objected to advertisements of those corporations who financed the Los Angeles Olympics in an effort to make even more profits for themselves. He concluded by describing an outdoor billboard, which read "The U.S. Navy Needs Good Men," adding one more aspect of discomfort for Pravda's readers to contemplate.

Omissions. Again, Pravda's coverage was significant for what it chose to omit. Medal standings never appeared, nor was there any attempt systematically to report all athletic events. Western athletes received more attention than did athletes from Soviet-bloc nations. Rumania's third-place finish in a field of 140 countries was not noted. No figures were given on the number of countries participating in the Games, the number of athletes competing, or size of the crowds attending. Most peculiar, perhaps, was Pravda's failure to provide photographs or to avail itself of American wire service photos, as it had done in Montreal.

The Washington Post

General Characteristics of Coverage. Immersion in Pravda increases awareness of the tremendous daily volume of an American metropolitan newspaper such as the Post. This characteristic obviously

affects the amount and kind of coverage the Post can assign to a multi-faceted event such as the Olympics, which combines such compelling subjects as sports, celebrities, high finance, patriotism, foreign customs, and, of course, international political intrigue.

Available space allows the Post to indulge in high "fluff" content without jeopardizing straightforward accounts and analyses of athletic events. If nothing else, the Post was thorough. Very little escaped notice of its diverse news teams. At times this thoroughness led to seemingly endless repetitions of the same news item, as seen through the eyes of numerous Post newsmen. The tears of joy shed by Jeff Blatnick, a recovered victim of Hodgkins disease, when he won the gold medal in Greco-Roman wrestling, were recounted in five separate articles.

Carl Lewis's decision to settle for the distance achieved in his first two (out of a possible six) long jumps not only riled Los Angeles ticket buyers, but annoyed some Post sports writers. Others thought it made sense. LAOOC chairman Ueberroth was disappointed, but considered Lewis's performance "electric."

In The Imperial Post Kelly describes the freedom Post writers have to say or write what they feel. He quotes Peter Braestrup who came to the Post after having worked for the New York Times. "We had freedom," Braestep recalled. "You just did your thing. They might bury your story but they didn't attempt very often to impose a superior wisdom on you....It was very unlike the Times, where they were constantly second-guessing the reporters."[13]

The result was a surfeit of lively copy in the Post , often redundant or repetitive, sometimes contradictory. Its Olympic coverage

was, in this respect, the antithesis of Pravda's, which, though it might vary greatly in tone and treatment from year to year, was, nevertheless, monolithic for each Olympiad. Editors of Pravda and members of the Politburo, the Soviet equivalent of the publisher, obviously spent long hours in committees creating policy for each year's formula of reportage. It would appear that Post editors spent little or no time coordinating their approach. The exception was the Moscow Games, which were accorded a skeleton crew. The result was a more unified voice and, unquestionably, the least interesting, least thorough, and least credible of the three press performances.

Another feature of the Post's Olympic coverage was an emphasis on individuals, "superstars," who charm or alarm readers and consequently sell newspapers. When those heroes happened to live in the Post's "ADI" (area of dominant influence), as in the case of Sugar Ray Leonard or Lloyd Keaser in 1976 or Theresa Andrews in 1984, emphasis became obsession. Localism was an important criterion in the Post's selection of news in reporting the Montreal and Los Angeles Games and lack of local participants certainly had an impact on coverage of the Moscow Games by the Post and all other American media.

Although results of all events were amply reported and re-reported by the Post, coverage of events and athletes was in no way "equal." Although all superstars were winners, not all winners were superstars. Colorful personalities prevailed and captured the headlines. These personalities were not always American. Substantial space was devoted to such foreign athletes as Britain's Daley Thompson in 1984, Ethiopian Mifyuts Yifter in 1980, and, of course, Nadia in 1976. Americans Bruce Jenner and Mary Lou Retton, among others, also received

star billing.

Graphically the Post is somewhere between the New York Times and USA Today on the scale of American newspapers. Standard column width is 12 picas, six columns to a page. Pravda's standard column width is about ten-and-a-half picas, eight columns to the page. Post heads were set in Bodoni, both roman and italic, throughout all sections. Pravda's headlines varied from story to story and included Soviet versions of Helvetica, Optima, Bodoni, Times Roman, Railroad Gothic, Hobo, and Copperplate, among others.

Photograph size for the three Olympic years consistently averaged about 26 square inches and occupied 23 percent of space. In the two Olympiads in which Pravda published photographs, they averaged a little more than 14 square inches and occupied 20 percent of space. Post coverage, therefore, was more picture oriented than Pravda's and photos played an important part in "selling" Olympic news. Large pictures encompassing 50 square inches or more were not uncommon. Use of photographs in the Post also was enhanced by offset production. Pravda is printed letterpress.

Day by Day Summary of 1976 Coverage. July 17. "Games Open With Prayer, Problems" headlined the lead story that began Montreal coverage. The main problems, as the Post saw them, were withdrawal of the Taiwanese delegation and the looming boycott by African nations.

Other problems noted were the threatened boycotting by a group called the Montreal Citizens Movement in protest of the $1.4 billion price tag for the Games. Also in question was presence of 16,000 security personnel, committed to preventing another terrorist attack as occurred in Munich four years before. Attention was drawn to

incompletion of the new $800 million Olympic Stadium, which had fallen behind construction schedules, and the U.S. shooting team's protest that the rifle range was exposed to winds that would produce low scores.

Ken Denlinger's eclectic and nationalistic "This Morning" column was devoted to the Games, as it would be throughout the XXI Olympiad. Another regular feature, "Montreal Notebook," a collection of short observations on the Games by Robert Fachet, made its debut.

July 18. Pageantry and the official opening of the Games by Queen Elizabeth dominated coverage, but ample note was taken of the departure of 24 African teams in protest to New Zealand's participation. Denlinger was sharply critical of the administration of the Montreal Games and asked, "How significant is the Olympic movement without Mainland China and assorted African countries, the IOC and USOC without nerve enough to stare down an uncertain Canadian prime minister?"

The Post reported that "African athletes took their countries' decisions to pull out of the Olympics today mainly with resignation born of a fear of reprisal, but one said: 'I'm disgusted. The whole thing hasn't a bit of logic.'" Philip Ndoo, a Kenyan marathon runner, was quoted saying, "The African countries say New Zealand must pull out because they played South Africa in rugby. But so did some 22 other countries--France, Britain, etc., and nobody is complaining. There is never any logic in politics."

July 19. Nadia Comaneci first appeared in the Post under the headline "Romanian Comaneci's Perfect Score Irks Soviets." After noting the unprecedented 10 scored by the gymnast, the article quoted Soviet gymnastics coach Larissa Latynina who was critical of the

judges' decision: "I question the performance," she said, shaking her head in disgust. "I can see a 9.5, but it should not have been a 10. There were some flaws. It was not perfect." Considerable space was devoted to the U.S. victory over Italy in basketball. The pull-out of the 16-member Guyana team in compliance with the African boycott was noted in two separate articles. Guyana was the only Western Hemisphere nation to join the boycott, depite pressure from the Africans on Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago.

The first of the daily box scores was introduced at this point listing results of qualifying heats and competitions. Gold medal winners also would be listed separately each day. Also included was the schedule of the day's competition, which would become another daily item. Pictures featured Comaneci, American and East German swimmers, and Soviet cyclists.

July 20. A long feature beginning on page 1 recalled the terrorist tragedy in Munich in 1972 which resulted in deaths of 11 Israeli athletes. Staff writer Sally Quinn focused on the widow of one victim who came to Montreal to urge Olympic officials to proclaim one minute of silence at the opening ceremonies to honor the fallen Israelis. Quinn wrote, "She says the head of COJO, the local Olympic Committee, told her it wouldn't hold a moment of silence because it didn't want to become involved in politics." The Jewish-Canadian community arranged a memorial service independent of the official Olympics, Quinn reported.

Sports page accounts concentrated on the record-breaking performances of U.S. swimmers John Naber and Bruce Furniss, and on Nadia Comaneci. Considerable space went to the disqualification of

Soviet pentathlete Boris Onischenko, who was pictured looking on as a judge examined his illegally-wired epee. Accounts of competition in yachting, boxing, and diving appeared on inside pages of the Sports section.

July 21. A head shot of Nadia Comaneci accompanied a brief front-page account devoted primarily to U.S. victories in swimming, diving, and basketball. On the editorial page, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, "the great censor of the Olympics," was criticized and ridiculed for his strong stand against Taiwanese participation. "Mr. Trudeau has stepped forward as a sort of international grand censor, to rescue the nations of the world from their deceits and delusions," the editorial stated. "It's only good luck for the rest of us that he has not--so far--got any farther down the alpabetical list of Olympic contenders than C for China, Republic of versus People's Republic of."

The sports page featured Nadia Comaneci in a 65-square-inch photograph accompanied by an article headlined, "Newest Pixie Poses Threat to Korbut's Hold on Fans." In addition U.S. victories and losses in swimming, basketball, diving, and other events were reported.

Denlinger, struggling unsuccessfully to accept the Soviets' victory over U.S. basketball players in Munich four years before, ridiculed the 1976 Soviet team. Describing their playing style, he wrote, "They still have their ether offense, the one that puts you to sleep, and bump-and box-out defense."

July 22. A 51-square inch photograph of Nadia Comaneci and a 26-square-inch photograph one of Olga Korbut dominated the sports page. Denlinger authored a detailed account of the Yugoslavian-U.S.

basketball match, the American team emerging victorious to continue "its unbeaten march to a rematch with the Soviet Union." His column was a local "fluff" piece, an update on Davidson College athlete Perry "Rocky" Crosswhite, who played high school and college ball in the Post's ADI. He went on to the Olympics in Munich and ended up coaching in Australia.

An article by Quinn described the chemical test women athetes must take to prove they are female, and then cited examples of discrimination against women athletes. Competitions in various events were reported on the inside Sports pages and the first installment of a "Fan in the Stands" feature appeared, authored by a professor of English at the University of Maryland who was attending the Games. The column headline was "If the Price Is Right, A Fan Can Always Find a Ticket."

July 23. Victories of American male swimmers, who continue "to rival Fort Knox in hoarding gold," dominated coverage. The victory of light welter-weight Sugar Ray Leonard of Palmer Park, Maryland, in qualifying competition over the Soviet world champion also was highlighted.

Television critic Joan Ryan attacked ABC's coverage of the Games, stating that viewers were subjected to a continuous barrage of unnecessary verbiage. "The network that introduced 'Monday Night Football,' narrated by its own version of the Three Stooges decided to inundate us with every bit of trivia available to a staff of 500," she said.

Another item reported officials investigating a charge by U.S. swim officials that the Soviets attempted to arrange a "deal" with U.S.

judges to support each other's athletes in diving competition.

July 24. An exhaustive examination of ABC's television coverage continued in two lengthy articles which provided a defense of the network by Quinn and criticism by J.W. Anderson. The beginning of track and field competition was reported, as swimming events drew to a close. Washington area gymnasts pointed out flaws in Comaneci's performances, supporting contentions of the Soviet coach. However, they continued, "Nadia didn't deserve some of her 10s. But when they gave Olga Korbut a 9.9 for a routine with several flaws, where else can they go?"

July 25. Princess Anne, on her Olympic mount, and her nervous mother looking on were subjects of separate photographs on page one. Anne fell from her horse in cross country competition, an event reported on page one Sports. A banner headline on that page declared U.S. performance in track and field to be "dismal." In his column, Denlinger bemoaned the vast distances separating Olympic ideals from Olympic reality, noting among other unpleasantries the disqualification of a 65-year-old trapshooter from Monaco for flunking the dope test. The upcoming race of Washington area swimmer Melissa Belote was noted in a separate article and picture.

July 26. The longest story of the entire Montreal Olympics appeared in the Style section. Authored by Quinn, it was headlined "A Royal Olympics" and gave a detailed account of the British royal family's visit to the stables where Princess Anne's horse was kept. Four photographs illustrated the story. Included were minute descriptions of Elizabeth and Phillip's apparel and direct quotes of the utterings of the royal family, such as the Queen's greeting to her

husband: "Good morning," and the Princess's response when Prince Andrew stepped on her toes: "Ouch, watch it, you stepped on my toes."

On the Sports page, the first article touting decathlete Bruce Jenner appeared over Denlinger's by-line. The fifth-place finish of Belote was headlined as was the further advancement in the qualifying rounds of fighter Sugar Ray Leonard.

On the last Sports page, a small item noted that "Ukrainian" demonstrators tore down and burned a Soviet flag at the Olympic Stadium. The Post article did not say the Ukrainian demonstrators were actually Canadians who claimed Ukrainian descent. The large Ukrainian population in Canada, referred to in the article, is made up primarily of descendants of immigrants to Canada in the late teens and early 1920s.

July 27. Denlinger's heralded rematch between U.S. and Soviet basketball teams was quashed when Yugoslavia beat the Soviets in the semifinal rounds--as announced on page one with a lengthy follow-up in the Sports section. Special attention was focused on Finland's Lasse Viren who won his second consecutive gold medal in the 10,000 meter. Other Sports section articles reported on the performance of U.S. women in track and field. Success of East German women swimmers prompted an article pointing out that U.S. women's training programs in swimming were not as strenuous as those which created the victorious U.S. men's squad. A stronger program was advocated.

July 28. No copy of this issue could be obtained.

July 29. The victory of Guy Drut of France over 33-year-old U.S. Olympic veteran Willie Davenport in the men's 110-meter high hurdles was announced on page one and reported in detail in the Sports

section. Denlinger's column was titled "Europeans Prove Commercialism Can Coexist With Amateurism." He praised Finland's Viren for having courage to take his victory lap around the field waving the Tiger shoes he was paid to advertise.

Other items focused on boxing. A long feature reported arrival of Sugar Ray Leonard's family in Montreal for his final match. In a long story in the Style section, Quinn established that life was hectic at the Montreal Olyimpics and not as organized and orderly as it appeared on TV.

July 30. Editorial writer Stephen S. Rosenfeld noted the tales of cheating by Soviets at the Olympics and pondered whether "Russians don't have the internal inhibitions on cheating that are built into the open politics and competitive economics, if not the moral traditions of Western societies." The Post exulted in the double victories of Cuba's Juantorena and Teofilo Stevenson over American competitors. Denlinger in his column implied that Stevenson's unimpressive American opponent, John Tate, might well go "back to drive a garbage truck in Knoxville."

Also reported was the newest furor--blood doping, the practice of injecting athletes with red blood cells from their own frozen blood samples in order to minimize fatigue. The article said the procedure, though not illegal at that time, was questionable on morality and safety. Long-distance runner Lasse Viren was reported a probable user of this process. (Viren won golds in the 5000- and the 10,000-meter runs and finished the marathon, although he did not place.)

July 31. Bruce Jenner's long-anticipated decathlon victory was the number-one story. Also in the news was the gold-medal finish of Sugar Ray Leonard and successes of other American boxers. Careful

attention was given to the progress of Marine Lieutenant Lloyd Keaser, of Annapolis, Maryland, in wrestling semi-finals.

The defections of Soviet diver Sergei Nemtsanov and two Rumanians were also noted. "More are expected in the aftermath of the Games, since 119 persons, mostly tourists from East Europe, sought asylum in West Germany four years ago after the Munich Olympics," the Post reported. (The total number was to come to six.)[14] The "Fan in the Stands" feature urged that in the future, flags should be left at home and the Games should be returned to the athletes.

August 1. Sugar Ray Leonard's victory was accorded full glory by the Post, but Lloyd Keaser, another favorite local athlete, fell to a world champion Soviet wrestler. Continuing U.S. disappointments in track and field were reported, including the victory of East German marathoner Waldemar Cierpinski over the U.S.'s Frank Shorter.

Special note was made of American Dwight Jones's attempt to win with crowds with a special tee-shirt that read "I love French Canadians." A slip of the tongue earlier in the week had made that fact questionable. Denlinger, continuing his disillusionment with Olympic ideals, advocated that the Olympic flame be "doused after Sunday night until the world gets a better grip on itself. We argue this not because we expect perfection, but because the louder oficials preach Olympic ideals the further they drift from them."

August 2. Sugar Ray Leonard's homecoming ranked two front-page photographs and a full account in the Metro section. A wrap-up story by Fachet chronicled the impact politics had had on the XXI Olympiad. In another story Fachet (1976, p. D5) criticized the hosting of the Games.

> "This is not the Montreal of normalcy, of friendly people with a happy-go-lucky attitude and a sense of joy at the mere act of breathing. This is a Montreal where human beings are treated terribly, where price gouging and ticket scalping and rudeness and indifference are dominant."

He continued to lambast the Canadians, attacking the unprecedented and obtrusive security precautions, the mishandling of Taiwanese athletes, and Trudeau's failure to stand for the Olympic anthem until prompted by Killanin. Also noted in a small item was expulsion of American weightlifter Mark Cameron when steroids were detected in his blood. Teammate Bruce Wilhelm objected to the random administration of the test. "I'm positive the East European lifters are on steroids," Wilhelm was quoted as saying. "Look at (USSR champion) Alexeev. He weighed 264 in 1968 and he weighs 350 now. That's not just eating."

The editorial page looked ahead to the 1980 Olympics and observed "unless some major changes are made there may never be a XXII Olympiad. The Post acknowledged that "Most governments look on the Olympics as an irresistible opportunity for politicial public relations. It is not realistic to tell the Olympic managers to keep politics out of it." The editoral submitted an alternative: the selection of a permanent neutral site in Switzerland or Scandinavia or a site that would rotate among Tokyo, Munich, Montreal, and Moscow--cities where expensive facilties already had been built. The editorial (1976, p. A18) in contrast to Fachet's analysis, concluded:

> Much more has gone right in these games than has gone wrong. The Olympic tradition has demonstrated itself once again to be very much worth preserving and protecting. That is why it is necessary to begin thinking now about the Olympiads to come.

The "Post's" Montreal News Team. Staff writers Robert Fachet, Ken Denlinger and Sally Quinn were in Montreal for the Games. Also on

hand was Neil D. Isaacs, University of Maryland English professor and writer of the "Fan in the Stands" features. Other Post writers contributed materials from Washington, such as television analysis and accounts of Sugar Ray Leonard's homecoming. Photographs of the Olympics were provided by the Associated Press and United Press International.

Day-by-Day Summary of 1980 Coverage. July 19. Staff writer Barry Lorge (1980, D1) filed an opening-day story from Moscow that set an ominous tone for the Post's coverage of the XXII Olympiad. The lead painted a bleak picture that would grow gloomier in the course of the article:

> The politically-scarred Moscow Olympics officially begin here Saturday with opening ceremonies that are certain to be grandiose, spectacular in their their pageantry but hollow and joyless--inevitably haunted by the Soviet military presence in neighboring Afghanistan that has prompted the United States and approximately 50 other nations to stay away.

Denlinger, also in Moscow for the Games, focused his "This Morning" column on Soviet athletic programs, taking readers on a bantering tour of the Central Moscow Swimming Center. "Ample Food in Moscow; Shelves Bare Elsewhere" was the headline of another Moscow-datelined story. This one, by Kevin Klose, discussed economic hardships of Soviet people, which were being camouflaged under a guise of prosperity to mislead foreign tourists.

July 20.. A front-page story reported the opening ceremonies which correspondent Klose described as "a burst of pageantry unequalled in Olympic history, a spectacle that dazzled a crowd of 103,000 at Lenin Stadium and millions elsewhere--but could not escape the bitter impact of world outrage over the Afghanistan invasion." An edited

portion of this quote was reprinted in Pravda's review of the world press. Accompanying photographs showed the Afghanistan delegation, which "drew wild applause from 103,000," and a picture of two British representatives bearing the Olympic flag, instead of their national flag, in protest--as a Soviet television crew looked the other way.

In the Sports section, a story reported unfurling of the American flag by American spectators in the stands. "It was the only time the U.S. flag would be displayed here today, and the Soviet crowd responded spontaneously," the Post reported. Pictured with the flag were a 22-year-old merchant seaman from Howard, Ohio, and 88-year-old Nick Paul of New York. Paul was the subject of an "Opinion of a Guest" interview that appeared in Pravda July 23. "Today's Slate of Olympic Events," a daily feature, made its debut.

Denlinger's column ridiculed opening ceremonies, which he characterized as "outrageously gaudy," and "whose only theme could be: 'Look, world, we also can play better than anyone.'" He took further note of athletic programs in the USSR and observed that, in such a large field of talent, a "hybrid" athlete like Edwin Moses "is not likely to be developed here. Their system seems based on rigid performances, and with so many exceptional athletes in so many events, the stragglers probably are disregarded rather than encouraged to try another event," he said.

Olympic Village life was described in a feature by Lorge, describing various aspects of life in the newly-built high-rises.

July 21. Palestinian guerrilla leader Yasir Arafat's Moscow visit was reported and readers were reminded it was Palestinian terrorists who killed 11 Israeli athletes in Munich. It was noted that

Arafat was interviewed on Soviet television and told viewers the Games would strengthen international cooperation and friendship. A long umbrella story reported competition in shooting and swimming. Records of would-be American Olympians were compared with the results.

Denlinger reported security at the Games was "stifling, the most elaborate of any Olympics." This same charge was made at both non-home Games by both newspapers. Denlinger regaled readers with a semi-humorous account of his numerous attempts to pass through an airport-type electronic searching device to gain entrance to the press center.

July 22. On page one an account was given of Afghan athletes' denials they were seeking asylum in Pakistan through auspices of a British journalist. In the Sports section a headline proclaimed, "Comaneci Picks Up Where She Left Off." And so did the Post, providing an exuberant account of Comaneci's performances, featuring a 38-square-inch photo of the 18-year-old Rumanian gymnast on the balance beam. The story then turned into a detailed round-up of all the previous days' competitions. Box scores under the heading "Summer Olympics 1980" appeared for the first time. Another new feature was "Moscow Notebook," human interest items put together by Denlinger.

Denlinger's column was titled, "Australian Team Goal: Leave 'Em Laughing," and spoke of the efforts of the fun-loving Aussies to "get a Muscovite to laugh or even to smile. It has not been easy." Source for this insight into Russian misery was Australian immigrant Rocky Crosswhite, originally from Bethesda, whom Denlinger had featured in a 1976 column.

An interview with Sebastian Coe, which would be reported in Pravda

July 29 in "Interview with a Champion," appeared in the Post. The Post account measured more than 91 square inches; Pravda's, slightly less than 18.

July 23. A three-line Sports page headline saluted Soviet Vladimir Salnikov, who broke the 15 minute barrier in the 1500-meter freestyle. This became the umbrella story for reporting of previous day's competitions. All these stories were laced with political commentary. Apparently still smarting from the USSR's triumph over the U.S. basketball team in 1972, Denlinger wrote an open letter to Buck Williams, a would-be member of the 1980 U.S. team: "When you dream of the basketball medal that would have been yours here, don't consider anything but gold. Nobody still plays the American game as well as Americans."

July 24. Klose reported that Soviet Orgkom vice president Vladimir Popov threatened to expel journalists whose stories were "offensive to the national dignity of the host country." Popov claimed the journalists were there to cover the Games, not to criticize the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Klose noted that restrictions had eased and "security at the writers' press center was noticeably looser today," in apparent response to journalists' protests.

Popov refused to comment on the arrest of the Italian gay rights activist. Dismissing the question, he called it, "too ugly to talk about, a disgusting case, a framed-up incident." Soviet victories in gymnastics were hailed in the Sports section and two photographs documented Comaneci's fall from the uneven bars.

Denlinger gave an account of field hockey competition, observing that the Tanzanian field hockey team was "a collection of agreeable

klutzes who help make these Games unique." He said the absence of boycotting athletes had narrowed the field to enable many unskilled teams to qualify for medal competitions--sometimes with humorous results.

July 25. Ugandan Akii-Bua's participation in the Moscow Games was hailed in Denlinger's column, a tribute to his surviving the Idi Amin regime rather than to his performance in preliminary heats. Denlinger recalled Akii-Bua's triumph in the 400-meter hurdles in Munich and suggested that his "last glorious athletic moment also was a point of demarcation for the Games, when they sank from the modern Olympics to the political Olympics."

An adjacent story described the women's gymnastic competition as "a ludicrous soap-opera," as it took a panel of judges 25 minutes to decide that the USSR's Yelena Davydova had triumphed in all-around gold medal competition over "gallant" Nadia Comaneci. The increasing Soviet gold hoard also was acknowledged in other events.

July 26. On the editorial page a Mark Peters cartoon showed a row of runners at the starting line, one weighted down with several suitcases. A Soviet militiaman nearby was saying to his colleague, "Keep an eye on that one from Afghanistan." The Post rejoiced at two golds collected by Comaneci. Her performance was described and illustrated by a 48-square-inch photograph.

British trackmen were congratulated on victories in the 100-meter. Their prospects for future gold medals were discussed in the main article, which also reported events in boxing and other sports. A five-day, Carter Administration ceremony, recognizing the absentee American Olympic team was mentioned for the first time.

July 27. Under the headline "Remote Olympiad: No Camaraderie in Moscow," Klose reminded readers "that there is something remote and disconnected about the Olympiad that makes it almost seem as if it is happening somewhere else." He proceeded to list a series of complaints about hosting of the Games, ranging from "the chilling presence of more than 200,000 uniformed and plainclothes police" to the "certain forlorn quality to city life."

The first contest pitting Steven Ovett against Sebastian Coe was reported, with Ovett emerging the victor. Denlinger's column featured an interview with Britain's colorful decathlete Daley Thompson. In the account Denlinger reported British spectators' drowning out the Olympic hymn with an unaccompanied rendition of the British anthem and unofficial unfurling of the British flag in the stands.

The unprecedented eight-medal sweep of Soviet gymnast Alexandr Dityatin was attributed to absence of Japanese, Chinese, and U.S. teams. Another story reported that USOC officials believed the $1 million tribute to U.S. athletes in Washington was "well worth it." It was reported that 92 percent of the athletes planned to attend and that the feared boycott of activities had not materialized.

July 28. An editorial by R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. satirized Killanin's criticism of Carter for ordering the boycott. Ethiopia's Miruts Yifter was lionized for his victory in the 10,000-meter run over Finland's Lasse Viren. Denlinger in his daily column looked forward to the basketball contest between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, conjuring up an image of possible defeat for the USSR, "the most intriguing possibility in years." He referred to the Soviet team as the UCLA of the East.

July 29. Denlinger further disparaged the quality of Olympic competition. In another story, judging controversies in track and field events were noted. Considerable space went to a round-up story which began with Italy's Pietro Mennea's triumph in the 200-meter dash over favored Allan Wells of Scotland.

July 30. Style section coverage focused on Washington ceremonies and events in Washington honoring American Olympic athletes. Denlinger detailed the basketball upset which pitted Yugoslavia against Italy for the championship. The second contest between Coe and Ovett, the 800-meter run, was anticipated in a background story by Lorge. A "Moscow Notebook" item described an incident in which an American early-morning jogger was detained briefly by Soviet security officials for running in an off-bounds area of Moscow's Lenin Hills. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was quoted congratulating British athletes for performances in the Olympics, despite her wish for her country to participate in the U.S.-led boycott.

July 31. About 400 U.S. athletes, comprising "the team that didn't go," received "Olympic Medals" on the steps of the Capitol, the Post reported. Several athletes, "though refraining from any overt protest against Carter's boycott action, were still angry, feeling that they were 'used.'" Denlinger attacked Soviet judges and cited examples in track events where bias might have affected the outcome of competition, including reports that Olympic gates had been manipulated to contol the effect of wind on athletes' performances. Noted in an adjacent article was the victory of Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz of Poland, whose world-record pole vault drew jeers from a pro-Soviet crowd.

August 1. Special mention was made of an American athlete who

took out dual-citizenship in Italy six years before, enabling him to be the only American competitor in the 1980 Games. Also mentioned were two American coaches, associated with foreign teams. "Moscow Notebook" featured the prowess of "majestic" Cuban boxer Teofilo Stevenson, whose opponents routinely were afflicted with "'Stevenson's disease'--constant backward movement and hands frozen close to the face."

Lorge discussed charges against Soviet judges, particularly in track. He questioned numerous decisions and pointed out that, in the triple jump, "nine of the last 12 jumps were called fouls, arousing suspicions of bias." The round-up story focused on the upcoming 1500-meter run and qualifying heats won by Coe and Ovett.

August 2. A Denver Post political cartoon on the editorial page depicted a gymnast on parallel bars with a ball and chain attached to her ankle. From the loud speaker came the announcement, "...and now representing Afghanistan..."

The long-heralded 1500-meter race between Coe and Ovett highlighted the Sports section. Coe's victory was declared in a banner headline. Denlinger's column again disparaged the quality of competition in light of America's absence. He noted, however, that 16 Olympic and seven world records in track and field were "compelling" and observed that "with the Americans here, the nine-day meet...would have been memorable." Apparently not memorable to Denlinger was the disappointing performance of American track and field athletes in Montreal. In a separate article, he noted that illnesses of three Soviet runners "at exactly the right time" enabled the USSR "to field the best possible men's and women's 1600-meter relay teams--and both

won gold medals."

August 3. Dramatically Klose reversed his opening-day stance declaring the boycott had been "no match for Soviet Pride." In a front-page story, he extolled many features of the Games and spoke of the Soviet people's stamina in enduring many sacrifices to have "whatever pleasure can be obtained from knowing that sports events involving athletes from 81 nations have taken place on the soil of the motherland." Klose stated, "It is clear that the American-led boycott has done virually nothing to discredit the Kremlin or raise popular doubts within the Soviet Union about the invasion of Afghanistan." He said this view was shared by people attending from the United States, West Germany, Japan, and other boycotting nations. Almost an entire page in the back of the first section was given to world reaction to the Moscow Games. Responses varied but most seconded the opinion of Klose. Reports were filed from London, Bonn, Paris, Tokyo, Mexico City, and six Third World capitals. In an introductory paragraph, foreign correspondent Dusko Doder said the "magnetism of the international Olympic spectacle...tended to obscure, at least temporarily, the high moral arguments heard when the boycott was organized, according to a survey of the world press conducted by a Washington Post correspondent."

A second gold medal for Ethiopia's Yifter was hailed in a long feature story and special note was taken of Teofilo Stevenson's third heavy weight title in Olympic boxing. In a separate item, U.S. swimmers' best times were compared with Moscow's and headlined, "U.S. Swimmers Best Olympic Times."

August 4. A lengthy wrap-up story beginning on page one presented

positive and negative aspects of the Moscow sports festival. Killanin's request that "all the sportsmen of the world unite in peace before a holocaust descends" was included with other remarks directed more pointedly against the United States' action. It was noted that "the Soviets were careful not to flaunt their monopolization of medals to the rest of the world, however. They are much too diplomatically savvy for that." At the end, athletic highlights of the Games were reviewed.

An adjacent article reassessed the previous day's conclusion regarding the hypothetical performance of U.S. swimmers and concluded "the United States would have maintained its supremacy in the pool but not by the margin it once enjoyed." Contrasting photographs showed the American flag being waved in the stands by a spectator and the Los Angeles city flag atop the official flag pole in closing ceremonies.

The Moscow News Team. Almost all stories were by-lined to Post staffers in Moscow, Ken Denlinger, Kevin Klose, and Barry Lorge. Only Denlinger was a sports journalist. Lorge was a political analyst and Klose was on the foreign service staff. Moscow photographs were provided by American wire services.

Day-by-Day Summary of Political Coverage in 1984. July 28. Opening of the Games was announced in a page-one story by Jane Leavy and Jay Mathews that focused on "bigness" of the festival. It was reported that 8,000 journalists would be in Los Angeles to cover competition among 7,800 athletes. The long article carried numerous details on arrangements for the Games, many reported later in Pravda.

Among these were the death of the 22-year old eagle, Bomber, from vascular collapse and the decision to not substitute a golden eagle

named Fluff. Round-up and arrest of 690 prostitutes and drug dealers in an effort to "clean-up" the city was described. "Four years ago, Soviet officials moved undesirables out of town for the entire summer for its Games," the Post account added. Price hiking by local merchants also was noted, as well as descriptions of elaborate security precautions.

Another first-section account described a car veering into a sidewalk crowd in the Olympic Village, "killing three people and injuring at least 39 others, 12 critically." The Los Angeles Fire Chief was quoted as saying, "It appears to be an individual intentional act." This incident was reported in Pravda the previous day under the headline "Sad Chronicle of the Olyimpiad."

A Post editorial urged that politics be put aside and the Olympic "experience be appreciated for its own sake." An editorial by William P. Pacer recalled the horror of the Munich Games. Another item on this theme appeared on the first page of the Sports section. Denlinger and his column were back. In his opening foray, the columnist described pre-Game decision-making as "the tap dance by a collection of ancient playground directors known as the International Olympic Committee."

In another article, the rejection of Libyan journalists was explained on the basis that they were known terrorists. The Libyan boycott was announced and linked to the expulsion of the journalists.

July 29. The phrase "new patriotism," coined by President Reagan in a "campaign-style" speech to American athletes, made its initial appearance in the Post. "Only in America," were the words used by Jane Leavy to describe the opening ceremony. "After all the hype and the recriminations, the pomp and the pomposity, the 1984 Summer Olympics

are finally, in the best Hollywood tradition, a dream come true," she continued.

Another section-one article returned to the car driven into a sidewalk crowd. One death was reported, not three. The Post reported that the 21-year-old driver "gave no indication that his act had anything to do with the Summer Games," his motive having been established as an attempt "to get revenge on the police." Police said the man was charged with murder and would be arraigned July 30. The Pravda account had concluded, "Police arrested no one." A Joseph Kraft editorial decried the vulgarity of "going for the gold" and lamented lack of emphasis on "how the game is played." "Paying ridiculously large sums to 'amateur athletes' makes the hypocrisy visible. Charging $50 for a ticket to a track meet shows how little the great celebration is for Everyman." In a facing column, Jack Anderson urged the Olympic movement to "free itself from the interference of governments that want to use the games as a sounding board."

Tony Kornheiser's column appeared and would become a regular feature of light commentary. Discussing opening ceremonies, he wrote, "I think the tone of the production was set early with the midair arrival of the rocket man, flying into the Coliseum through the archway underneath the torch, and landing gently on the track." Pravda correspondent Vasilev concurred in similar words in an August 6 story. "Superman" appeared ...equipped with motorized devices strapped to his back, a man in a silver diving suit and helmet, similar to a cosmonaut.... This set the tone for the Olympic Games." It is probable that Vasilev, who lives in Washington, used the Washington Post as

source material in his accounts.

TASS' correspondent Yuri Ustimenko, who lives in the San Francisco area, said the Los Angeles Times and San Francisco Examiner were sources for many Olympic stories he filed. "With only two of us there (in Los Angeles) from TASS, it was impossible to be everywhere at once and the American newspapers were very helpful in this regard," Ustimenko said. The other TASS correspondent was Washington Bureau Chief Mikhail Beglov.[15]

A long story in the Sports section over Mathews' byline focused on the extensive security precautions necessary to protect the safety of 7,800 athletes and 93,000 spectators. After encountering a number of security people on a stroll along the perimeter of the Olympic Village, Mathews observed, "It was nothing like the dour soldiers who kept every corner of the 1980 Moscow Games under a tight blanket of watchfulness."

Numerous Olympic-data features appeared for the first time. Among them were "Today's Events," "Preview," "Highlights," "Recap", "Upset", "Wow!!!," "Upset," and ""Medal Standings." Other regular features of Los Angeles coverage would be "Postcard from LA," "Notebook," and "Olympic Diary"--all light in content and tone.

July 30. A page-one story exulted in the unprecedented "tie for the gold" achieved by American swimmers Carrie Steinseifer and Nancy Hogshead. Opening of the Olympic soccer competition in Annapolis, Maryland, was described on page one of the Metro section.

The Style section covered a party given by opening ceremony producer David Wolper at "deliciously rich" Bel-Air Country Club. "Three hundred of Hollywood's cream, the covers of People magazine," including LAOOC president Ueberroth, were in attendance. The first of

numerous reviews and examinations of ABC television coverage appeared in "Style." Focusing on broadcast of opening ceremonies, Tom Shales reported that "ABC technicians, directors and camera pesonnel brought it all dazzlingly and even movingly into the nation's living room."

Los Angeles businessmen were reported "crying the blues" over what Mathews called "a tourist bust." Business experts had projected a $3- to $4-billion boon to local businesses from the Games. Results of swimming, field hockey, gymnastics, and other competitions were reported.

July 31. Experts reportedly were confounded by a 7 percent drop in rush-hour traffic. A California transportation official attributed the drop to "'tremendous public response' to pleas for carpooling, vacations, and busriding during the Olympics."

With competition well under way in many events, coverage focused on gymnastics, basketball, swimming, rowing, weightlifting, archery,and cycling. Special attention was focused on West German swimmer Michael Gross and his second gold medal in the 100 meter butterfly.

A "Notebook" item reported that Nadia Comaneci, not competing in Los Angeles, had agreed to join the IOC athletes commission, which looks after interests of competitors. Denlinger disparaged of ever finding an objective way to judge gymnastic competitions or avoiding chronic judging disputes. ABC was commended by Shirley Povic for efforts of its 3,500-man staff in putting together 180 hours of Olympic broadcasts.

August 1. Swimmer Theresa Andrews of Annapolis, Maryland (in the Post's ADI), received a gold in the 100-meter backstroke and was featured in a photograph on the front page and in two in the Sports

section. U.S. victories in men's gymnastics and swimming were touted highly.

The first of many boxing disputes was reported, this one involving the close victory of John Tate of Knoxville, Tennessee, over Sweden's Lotfi Ayed. Headlines hailed victories by Chile and Italy. A long feature noted China's stunning victories after its 32-year absence from the Games. (At the time the article was written China ranked second.) "The Notebook" included excerpts from the Pravda story describing the death of Bomber the eagle.

August 2. U.S. victories dominated coverage as American women took the silver in team gymnastics, two days after U.S. men got the gold. American cyclists won three gold medals, the first ever for the United States. Other stories focused on wrestling, shooting, rowing, water polo, weightlifting, and field hockey competition. Also reported was the police's 30-minute detainment of Jack Ford, son of former President Gerald Ford, after he was seen removing an Olympic sign at an equestrian event. This "crime" was noted with disgust by Pravda in a TASS article two days later.

Denlinger provided a humorous account of a trip to Dodger Stadium with the two TASS correspondents to watch the baseball demonstration game between the United States and Taiwan. Denlinger claimed that Einstein had an easier task explaining the theory of relativity than he did explaining baseball to the Soviets. After the first inning, with no score, Ustimenko insisted they leave. "There is nothing to watch," he said. "Why don't we admit it and go. What is all the pretense about?" Later Ustimenko advised Denlinger, "Tell you how to begin your column. Say we left the game after one inning, whatever an inning is."

August 3. New York Greco-Roman wrestler Jeff Blatnick, who had surgery for Hodgkin's disease in 1983, wept openly after winning a gold medal by defeating Sweden's Thomas Johansson. "I never thought I wouldn't wrestle again," Blatnick was quoted as saying. "But it was hard. But I've always thought of myself as someone who comes back from setbacks." In the next two days, Blatnick was headlined in four articles and cited in many more.

Denlinger exulted in the arrival of the basketball finals and the prospects for the American team. He reported an exchange with a rival coach: "What chance, say, did Uruguay think it had before Wednesday's game? 'Perhaps if we played five against seven," Coach Ramon Etchamendi admitted.'" Carl Lewis made his Post debut in the coverage on the eve of track and field events.

On the fourth page of the Sports section a small item in "The Notebook" mentioned disqualification of Swedish pentathlete Roderick Martin for cheating. Little further mention was made of the incident, which parallelled the widely-reported disqualification of Soviet pentathlete Boris Onischenko in 1976 for cheating.

Also noted was China's accusation that TASS reports from Los Angeles ridiculed Chinese athletes. "The Tass News Agency has lost its senses," a commentary in the Communist Party People's Daily was quoted as saying.

August 4. Mary Lou Retton made front-page with her gold-metal victory in all-round gymnastics competition over Rumanian Ecaterina Szabo, a first for the U.S. in Olympic history. A feature on the challenges of security in the Olympic Village reported that more than 1,000 private, county, city, and federal security guards were assigned

to protect the Olympic athletes. According to the account, about 10 private guards themselves had been arrested on charges ranging from drug possession to theft.

Three long Style section items discussed aspects of ABC's Olympic productions. Roone Arledge, president of ABC News and Sports, said he was aware of criticism charging topheavy media treatment given to the achievements of American athetes, but explained, "You have to go with the main story, and unfortunately, it's all been American."

In a fourth story about ABC coverage, it was reported that members of the IOC and a number of foreign athletes were unhappy with television coverage of the Games. A letter was sent to Ueberroth by IOC President Samaranch, asking his help in get ABC more neutral in coverage and to focus more attetion on non-American athletes. Samaranch later met with Arledge and came away saying he was satisfied with the network and its "excellent electronic coverage."

Internal squabbles surfaced among Olympic boxers caught in a power struggle between coach Pat Nappi, and trainer Emanuel Steward, reported in detail by staff writer Michael Wilbon. Denlinger focused on Japanese gymnastics champion Koji Gushkien, defending his decision to go with a conservative routine in the all-round competition. Track coverage began in earnest with stories featuring U.S., West German, Mexican, and Ugandan athletes. A large photograph pictured Carl Lewis running in the 100-meter quarterfinal.

August 5. Carl Lewis was the focus of numerous stories. Denlinger discussed the inflated value of 1984 medals and concluded that "without the Soviets and their ideological playmates, the 25-sport Olympics are as watered-down as the Moscow Games Americans boycotted."

He concluded, however, that "pinpointing exactly how the medal distribution has been altered this first week, had Eastern Bloc athletes been here, is just slightly tougher than tackling mercury." He did hold for validity of basketball competition, however. An accompanying chart compared scores of participating and boycotting athletes' best scores in track and field and swimming.

Kornheiser's column focused on Mary Lou Retton and her coach Bela Karolyi, "the mad monk of women's gymnastics." Kornheiser lamented the fact that Karolyi was "exiled" from the competition floor because he was not an official coach on the U.S. team.

A "Notebook" item reported a Lebanese and an Algerian weightlifter had been suspended for life from international competition after drug tests revealed they had taken anabolic steroids. The International Weightlifting Federation had ruled earlier that any lifters failing tests at the Olympics would receive lifetime suspensions.

August 6. Mary Lou Retton, Edwin Moses, and the U.S. boxing team dominated the coverage. American Joan Benoit's victory in the marathon was eclipsed partially by the controversy surrounding the staggering finish of Switzerland's Gabriella Andersen-Schiess, who was allowed to continue although obviously ill and dazed. Boxing-squabbles underwent further scrutiny in Kornheiser's column. A Swedish wrestler was disqualified and his second-place victory was rescinded when he failed to pass a drug test.

August 7. Lewis's winning long jump shared the front-page with Attorney General William French Smith's accusation that the Soviet KGB had forged threatening letters to Third World athletes. Lewis got off his winning jump on first attempt, fouled his second, and opted not to

try again. American victories in the new Olympic sport of synchronized swimming were reported, as were the results of other competitions. But U.S. boxing victories were the focus of athletic coverage. Two long articles continued to query the advisability of permitting Andersen-Schiess to complete the marathon.

August 8. A feature story beginning on page one examined Rumanian athletic prowess in the context of the country's political and social history. Although the country would end up in third place, at the time the story was written, Rumanian athletes had garnered 16 gold medals, second only to the United States. "With an army of 127 gymnasts, boxers, rowers, weight lifters, and track-and-field athletes, a country with a population slightly less than that of California has bested nearly every other nation at the Summer Olympics."

The report, authored by Mathews, continued by describing how Soviet pressure to boycott the Games had "made the prospect of sending a team to Los Angeles that much more delightful" to the Rumanian "Russiaphobes." A 55-square-inch photo of the gold-medalist Rumanian women's gymnastic team accompanied the account.

Kornheiser's column criticized Carl Lewis for letting down the fans by stopping after two attempts in his winning long-jump performance. Another front-page Sports section item focused on sports such as handball and water polo--considered "exotic" by Americans but widely played in other parts of the world.

In the "Notebook," Ueberroth was reported saying the biggest problem the LAOOC had faced was that no one seemed to want to go home. This presented a seating crisis for final ceremonies, since in past Games, a large number had left before then. The next day Pravda would

report that "Many athletes are eager to leave Los Angeles. And they don't hide their dispeasure with the conditions which they had to put up with." ABC again was the subject of a long commentary, in which George Solomon reiterated charges of pro-America bias and characterized coverage in the headlines as "plenty of show, and excess of tell."

August 9. Decathlete champion Daley Thompson shared the limelight with U.S. track stars and boxing champions. Controversy mounted over judging of the boxing competition, which many alleged had favored American competitors. British coach Kevin Hickey was quoted as saying, "The dice is [sic] very much loaded toward the North Americans...especially the Americans. We knew beforehand what it was going to be like. It's part of the political setup, the commercialization of the Olympic Games."

One of very few accounts of soccer competition appeared on page 10 of the Sports section. Despite scanty media coverage of this sport and the poor performance of U.S. athletes, the Post reported record crowds of 1.2 million at the four sites in Annapolis, Maryland; Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Pasadena and Palo Alto, California.

Two Yugoslavian track stars found it financially impossible to continue participation in the Games when their national athletic federation required them to wear shoes made by Adidas. Although the federation had a contract with Adidas, the two athletes had independent contracts with other shoe manufacturers. A third Yugoslavian athlete in a similar predicament solved the problem by covering the markings on his shoes, the Post reported.

August 10. A Style section item on foreign journalists' impressions of the Los Angeles Games echoed a number of complaints

enumerated by Pravda's Vasilev. The account confirmed his complaint about transportation difficulties and the school busses used to haul journalists around the metropolitan area. "Most sportswriters spend hours being driven to events on old, yellow school busses outfitted with unyielding vandal-proof seats that barely have room for a full-sized adult," the Post reported. "'I spent my Olympics on a bus,' moaned Michael Beaudin, a Canadian journalist from Grande Prairie, Alberta. 'And once you get in one place you don't know what's happening someplace else. You just have to decide in the morning where you want to go and hope you pick the place where there's a story. If you don't, you're sort of stuck."

Most journalists relied on ABC's coverage for source material and the LAOOC placed television sets at work areas so journalists could catch more than one event at a time. Some American newsmen felt the Games really belonged to ABC. "It ends up what we're really doing is shilling for ABC by writing about their games," said Steve Jacobsen of Newsday. Often athletes gave their first and sometimes only interviews to the television network.

Press access to the Olympic Village purposely was restricted. Olympic Village administrator Anita De Frantz said, "We designed it intentionally so that the media would have limited access and we think the athletes are grateful for that."

In addition to accounts of continuing competition in track and boxing, the Sports section had a long feature story on Canada's participation in the Games, which included an interview with Canadian technical director Jack Lynch. Commenting on the 26 medals, seven gold, which put Canada in sixth place, Lynch said, "In '76 when we

hosted the Games in Montreal, we won 11 medals, but none of them were gold. That was very disappointing. We've come a long way since then."

August 11 and 12. Mary Decker's fall, Zola Budd's anguish, Carl Lewis's fourth gold medal, and the disqualification of American boxer Elder Holyfield dominated Olympic coverage. Final wrap-ups for many sports were also included.

August 13. The Post concluded its 1984 coverage with accounts of American Greg Louganis's double victories in diving competition and Portugal's Carlos Lopes' record marathon run. ABC-TV got another lengthy mixed review and Washington area athletes' achievements were summarized.

A page-one summary of the XXIII Olympiad by Kornheiser revealed the "Star Spangled Banner" had been played about 45,000 times during the Games. "From an athletic standpoint, these Games will be remembered as the largest single excuse to wave the American flag since the Bicentennial," Kornheiser declared. He also pointed out that U.S. athletes won almost three times as many medals as any other nation and more than four times as many golds as its nearest competitor, Rumania. The account continued, "The United States won so many medals, in so many sports...that most foreign athletes seemed almost inconsequential to the Games."

The report also noted that, "It was only the rare, mediagenic foreign athlete, like Sebastian Coe and Daley Thompson of Great Britain, Ecaterina Szabo of Romania, Michael Gross of West Germany, and Koji Gushiken of Japan, who unlocked the virtual stranglehold American athletes held on the media." The Soviet-led boycott was acknowledged to have contributed substantially to American dominance.

In a companion story, citizens of Los Angeles were praised lavishly by Mathews, who quoted Mayor Tom Bradley as saying he was "ecstatic" at the success of the Games. Bradley was extolled by Post writer Mathews for manipulating the IOC into agreeing to a privately financed Olympiad "by well-timed threats by Bradley to pull out of the bidding for the games."

The Los Angeles News Team. The Post's extensive coverage was provided by at least a score of by-lined writers, many of them experts in various athletic events or other Games-related areas. Kornheiser, Denlinger, Fauchert, Mathews, and Wilbon were the primary writers. Photographs were credited primarily to the Associated Press and some to United Press International. Through affiliation with the Washington Post-Los Angeles Times News Service, the Post also was able to tap the special resources of the Los Angeles Times.

ENDNOTES

[1]"Summer Olympics," Facts on File (1976), p. 529.

[2]Ibid.

[3]"Summer Olympics," Facts on File (1980), p. 588.

[4]"Summer Olympics," Facts on File (1980), pp. 622-624.

[5]Ibid.

[6]One of these cartoons depicted an elderly man at a post office window handing over to the clerk a letter addressed to "Montreal, Olympic Village, Ivan Zhukov" (The equivalent of John Jones). The old man said to the clerk, "To the village, to my grandson." This puzzling inscription may be familiar to those who have read Anton Chekhov's "Vanka." In that short story a young boy is apprenticed to a cobbler in Moscow. Homesick and lonely, cut off from the village life he has known all his life, the youngster laboriously writes a letter to his grandfather back home. The sad tale ends on Christmas Eve when the boy drops into a mail box an envelope addressed simply, "To the village, to my grandfather." It can be assumed that Pravda's readers are familiar with Chekhov's writing and that this pun was "gotten" as readily by Soviet readers as Americans might understand a reference to Tom Sawyer whitewashing the fence.

[7] Encyclopaedia Britanica (Chicago,1980), Vol. VII, p. 705.

[8]Telephone conversation with G. Vasiliev, December 7, 1984, initiated by the author.

[9]Telephone conversation with G. Vasilev, March 8, 1984.

[10]Telephone conversation with Y. Ustimenko, March 13, 1984.

[11]Telephone conversation with Ken Reich, March 15, 1984.

[12]Telephone conversations with sports journalists at ABC-TV and The Washington Post, March 12, 1985.

[13]Tom Kelly, The Imperial Post (New York: 1983), p. 142.

[14]"Summer Olympics," Facts on File (1976), p. 562.

[15]See note 10.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

Quantitative Data Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine and compare the influence of cold-war politics on the treatment of the 1976, 1980, and 1984 summer Olympics by the American newspaper, the Washington Post, and the Soviet newspaper, Pravda. A secondary purpose was to determine if the newspapers' coverage had an effect on the political environment of the Games.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States participated in the 1976 Montreal Games. In 1980 the United States led a 65-nation boycott against the Moscow Games. The United States' withdrawal was in protest to Soviet military activities in Afghanistan. Four years later the Soviet Union initiated a 15-nation boycott against the Los Angeles Games. Primary reason cited for nonparticipation was fear for athletes' safety.

For each of the three Olympiads, the 17 issues of Pravda and 17 issues of the Post published during the Games were reviewed. News and feature items and photographs were counted, measured, and coded according to nine primary subject areas and by positive, neutral, or negative direction. The subjects by which stories were coded were: 1)

hosting of Games, 2) Olympics in general, 3) United States, 4) Soviet Union, 5) Western Bloc, 6) Eastern (socialist) Bloc, 7) Far East (nonsocialist) Bloc, 8) African, Arab, and Asian Third World, and 9) Latin America.

Thus, parameters considered were square inches of coverage per geopolitical designation per year; number of items per geopolitical designation per year; the positive, negative, or neutral direction of each year's coverage; and their interaction. Also noted was the geopolitical breakdown of photographic subjects for each year.

On the whole, the Post's Olympic coverage was more even-handed in direction than Pravda's. In 1976, a "normal year," when both the USSR and the USA participated and neither was host, 28 percent of Post items, comprising 40 percent space, was positive. Thirty-six percent of items was neutral (33 percent by space) and 35 percent was negative (27 percent by space). In contrast, 51 percent of Pravda items was positive in direction, (81 percent by space). Neutral items constituted 81 percent by number (19 percent by space). There were no items that were primarily negative.

When Moscow was host city in 1980, 71 percent of Pravda items was positive, occupying 85 percent of space. Neutral items comprised 26 percent by number (13 percent by space) and negative direction was present in 3 percent of items (2 percent of space.) Pravda's tone was ebullient throughout and negative aspects, heavily played in the U.S. press, were minimized or omitted. When the U.S. was host (1984), the Post's coverage, while more positive than during the two previous Olympiads, remained rather equal in direction. Positive items comprised 33 percent of the total (48 percent by space); 39 percent was

neutral (27 percent by space); 29 percent was negative (25 percent by space). The thoroughness of Post coverage is reflected in comparative evenness of direction.

In 1984, Pravda coverage of the Los Angeles Games produced only 4.5 percent positive items (2 percent by space) and 86 percent negative items (92 percent by space), a sharp reversal from the direction of the 1976 and 1980 Olympiads. Neutral items comprised 9 percent (33 percent by space). Post coverage of the 1976 Moscow Games was predominently negative and far more one-sided in direction than for the other two Olypics. Negative items comprised 51 percent (50 percent by space). Eighteen percent of items was positive (23 percent by space); 31 percent neutral (28 percent by space.)

Participation in and hosting the Games obviously influenced the direction of Olympic coverage for both newspapers. It appears that Pravda's doctrinal emphasis on "good" news prevailed in the 1976 and 1980 treatment of the Games, and that political issues overrode that stance in 1984. The U.S. political position against Soviet military presence in Afghanistan was reflected in Post treatment of the Games in 1980. A further breakdown showed 49 percent of 1980's negative items (52 percent by space) had hosting of the Games or Soviet athletes as primary subject.

Tests were conducted to measure the significant level of yearly variation in the percentage of square inches occupied by items devoted to each geopolitical subject area. Variations in Pravda samples from 1976 to 1980, from 1980 to 1984, and from 1976 to 1984 were all significant ($p<.001$). Variations in the Post's space allocations by these categories were significant to .001 from 1976 to 1980 and from

1980 to 1984. Variation from 1976 to 1984 was significant to.01, slightly less marked than the other five comparisons.

Likewise, tests indicated significant variations from year to year in the percentage of number of items as identified by geopolitical code. For Pravda, the variance between all years was significant ($p<.001$). In the Post, variance between all years was significant at $p<.10$ between 1976 and 1984; $p<.001$ between 1976 and 1980 and between 1980 and 1984. The variation, therefore, was less marked between the Post's distribution of items by subject in 1976 and 1984 than between other years of the study.

The quantity of the Post's coverage exceeded Pravda's in amount of space occupied by Olympic items, number of items, and number of photographs. The one exception was the Moscow Games when the Post published 132 Olympic items compared to Pravda's 156. Even then, space occupied by the Post's coverage exceeded Pravda's by 29 percent.

Participation and host status had a definite impact on quantity of treatment. Both newspapers had the most coverage in square inches and number of items when their respective countries were host--5,058 square inches, 156 items for Pravda; 27,157 square inches, 681 items for the Post. Conversely, coverage was least when their country's athletes did not compete--601 square inches, 22 items for Pravda; 6,518 square inches, 134 items for the Post. Pravda's coverage of the Montreal Games totalled 2,127 square inches, 33 items; the Post's, 11,549 square inches, 297 items.

Only in 1980 when the USSR hosted the Games, did Pravda publish items in all nine geopolitical categories. In 1976, Pravda items featured four of the geopolitical groups. These subjects were Soviet,

56 percent of space, 33 percent by number of items; Olympics in general, 29 percent of space, 55 percent of items; Eastern Bloc, 10 percent of space, 6 percent of items; and Canada as host, 6 percent by space and number of items.

In its coverage of the Moscow Games, Pravda devoted 48 percent of space and 32 percent of items to the USSR as host. However, reports featuring Soviet athletes ranked seventh, in space and number of items, reflecting an apparently conscious decision to downplay the hometeam. More coverage was given to Western Bloc, Eastern Bloc, Latin American, and U.S. subjects, in that order. Only Third World nations and Far Eastern nations received less coverage than Soviet athletes. (No nations from the latter category participated in the 1980 Games.) The distribution of subjects, the amount of space, and the downplaying of hometeam achievements combined to make Pravda's 1980 coverage the most comprehensive of the three years for that newspaper. It also exhibited the least nationalistic bias for both papers.

Pravda gave the Los Angeles Games token treatment, with only three Soviet journalists (two of them from TASS) on the scene and no photographer. Ninety-three percent of space (86 percent of items) was occupied by articles about the United States as host. The only other categories were Western Bloc, 4 percent of space, 9 percent of items; and Olympics in general, with 19 percent of space, 5 percent of items. The small number of reports made the difference in number of items insignificant in the last two categories. In contrast to 1980, Pravda's treatment of the Los Angeles Games constituted the least complete, most biased, and most negative coverage by either newspaper for the three Olympiads.

All subject areas were represented in Post items each year. In 1976 and 1984, U.S. subjects received more Post coverage than any other category. In 1976, American subjects comprised 37 percent of Olympic space and 34 percent of items; in 1984, 46 percent of space and 38 percent of items. In both years Olympics in general came in second and the USA as host third. More variation between 1976 and 1984 coverage occurred in the treatment of remaining categories, however, many of these differences in rank were not significant. In the 1976 Post, the USSR ranked fourth in number of items (sixth in space occupied). Western and Eastern Bloc subjects for positions near the midpoint, political bias toward the West being balanced by Eastern Bloc athletic achievement. Coverage of Far Eastern nations was determined largely by whether or not they participated in the Games. Third World and Latin American athletes received consistently low ranking in space and number of items.

The USSR as host country dominated the Post's 1980 coverage, occupying 32 percent of space allotted to the Games, and 25 percent of items. Next were Western Bloc nations, with 19 percent of space and 16 percent of items, and Olympics in general, 14 percent space and 16 percent of items. U.S. and Soviet subjects followed in that order for both space and number of items. At the bottom were Eastern Bloc nations, Third World, Latin America, and Far East.

For both Pravda and the Post, subjects of photogrphs varied from year to year at $p<.001$. The Post used a total of 403 photos in the three years, Pravda, 102.

In the 1976 Pravda coverage, 40 photos represented five geopolitical categories. By far the greatest number pictured Soviet

athletes, 34.33, followed by 3 photos of Olympic facilities or ceremonies in Montreal. U.S., Western Bloc, and Eastern Bloc subjects appeared in a lesser number of photos.

Soviet photo subjects also ranked highest in 1980 with 16.82 from a total of 62. Eastern Bloc athletes were shown in 13.18 photos, followed by 13 international-group shots. Other photo subjects were Olympic host facilities and ceremonies, Western Bloc, and Third World athletes. No photographs appeared in Pravda's coverage of the Los Angeles Games.

The Post's photo coverage for the three years was not only greater than Pravda's in quantity and space, but also more comprehensive in subject categories. In 1976 and 1984, American subjects far outnumbered other categories with 60.83 out of 134 photographs in 1976, 125.17 out of 216 in 1984. Even in Moscow, where U.S. athletes did not compete, American subjects ranked second with 11, behind Eastern Bloc with 14.33. The amount of photo coverage devoted to host facilities and ceremonies increased dramatically for the Los Angeles Games, over this category in 1976 and 1980. Western and Eastern Bloc subjects consistently ranked higher than Soviet, despite the latter's superior athletic achievements.

Spearman rho correlation analyses were run to determine how closely media coverage corresponded to the ranking of geopolitical groups by total medals won. The Spearman rho test establishes strength of relationship between rank orders of two sets of measures. It provides only an index of the magnitude and direction of the relationship in terms of rankings. It does not indicate quantitative variation between ranked items.

In these tests medal rankings provided a theoretical objective rating of each category's news value of athletic performance were the only criterion and if political considerations and localism did not color the selection or play of Olympic news. By omitting the two items which did not apply to medal rankings (code #1, Olympic Host Country and code #2, Olympics in General), rank-difference tests could be performed on seven paired items between the medal standings and each of the coverage parameters: amount of space, number of items, and subjects of photographs used in coverage.

In 1976 the Post's ranking of geopolitical categories based on space allotted and medals won correlated to a rho of .64, indicating a shared variation of 46 percent. In the same year, the correlation coefficient between medal rankings and number of items was rho .61 (37 percent shared variation). Between medals and picture subjects the coefficient was .54 rho (29 percent shared variation). All indicated moderately marked relationships.

The small number of geopolitical categories treated in Pravda in 1976 and 1984 minimized the value of the Spearman rho test. For the Montreal Games, only two pairs could be produced for ranking space and number of items with medal standings. Both parameters produced -1.0 correlations, indicating that space allotment and number of items for the USSR and Eastern Bloc nations were exactly opposite rankings by medals won. Four ranked pairs were produced when photo subjects were correlated with medal standing. The reult though still negative, was less extreme, -.30.

In 1980, Moscow Olympic coverage resulted in lower correlation coefficients for the Post when medal standings were compared with

quantitative coverage parameters. Spearman rho tests revealed a correlation of .32 between medal standings and space allocation according to geopolitical subjects. This accounted for 10 percent of the shared variance. Number of items correlated slightly higher with a rho value of .46 (21 percent shared variance), but dropped to a rho of .12 (1 percent shared variance) when photosubjects were ranked against medal standings.

Tests indicated that Pravda's coverage of the Moscow Games correlated with medal standings much more closely than did its coverage of the Montreal Games. In 1980 the ranking of geopolitical groups by square inches of coverage with medal standings, resulted in a rho value of .60, accounting for 36 percent of variance. The number of items by subject compared with the ranking by medals correlated .56 (31 percent of variance). Both of these were moderate relationships.

The highest correlation for all parameters in all three years for Pravda was between the subjects of photographs and the medal rankings. A correlation of .80 indicated that 64 percent of the total variance was shared. It should be noted that only four pairs of rankings were available for the latter comparison, diminishing the significance of the results.

In its coverage of the Los Angeles Games, the Post scored its highest relationships between the rankings of medals won by geopolitical groupings and quantitative coverage. Correlation of medals and square inches of pace produced a rho of .82, indicating 67 percent of variance was shared by the two rankings. Still higher was the relationship between medal rankings and number of items. A rho of .86 accounted for 74 percent of the variance. Highest correlation

existed between the subjects of photos and medals won: .96 and 92 percent of variance shared.

Pravda coverage treated only three primary subjects in 1984, producing only one category in common with the ranking of medal winners by geopolitical designation (Western Bloc). Thus, with no photographic coverage, Spearman rho tests could not be run.

No inter-newspaper correlation tests on any of the parameters studied produced significant results.

The Post's coverage consistently reflected the performance of teams in Olympic competition more accurately than did Pravda's coverage. During the XXI, XXII, and XXIII Olympiads, correlation of the three parameters--square inches of space, number of items, and subjects of photographs--produced an average correlation .60, indicating a moderate relationship with 36 percent of variance was shared.

In contrast, for the two years when correlations could be made (1976 and 1980) Pravda scored an average correlation of -.30, showing there was actually a small but definite negative relation between athletic performance and the amount of coverage allotted geopolitical categories. Had it been possible to correlate 1984 coverage, empirical observations indicate that the correlation would have been even more negative.

It is interesting to note that Soviet athletes placed second in number of medals in the 1980 geopolitical ranking, but that they were accorded seventh place by Pravda in square inches and fifth place in number of items. This downplaying of the home team may be assumed to have been the result of policy decision.

TABLE VI summarizes the results of the Spearman rho correlations.

Empirical Data Summary

Olympic coverage provided by the Post and Pravda in 1976, 1980, and 1984 reflected political stances of their respective governments. On balance the Post provided a far more complete picture of the Olympiads than did Pravda, as indicated by the far greater quantity of Olympic content. Pravda's coverage of the 1976 and 1980 Games included a thorough reporting of athletic events, scores, and rankings, but offered fewer features or soft items. Coverage of competition in Los Angeles was spotty and opinion commentary dominated.

Sheer bulk of coverage resulted in the Post's providing 1,460 more square inches of coverage of the Moscow Olympics than did Pravda. This figure is of some interest, but little significance, because of disparity in newspaper sizes.

The Post's editorial opinions, selection of news items, and word choice consistently conveyed strong anti-Soviet bias. In 1980 the Post's commentary was pointed particularly against the USSR and directed frequently at Soviet society, institutions, people, economy, and other non-Olympic subjects. However, this attitude did not extend to other Eastern Bloc nations. Performances by Rumanian Nadia Comaneci and Cubans Teofilo Stevenson and Alberto Juantoreno were heavily reported. Coverage of Western Bloc as well as other geopolitical categories, generally reflected attainments of athletes, although certain "personalities," such as Sebastian Coe, received disproportionately large amounts of attention.

Although the Post concentrated on American athletes and

TABLE VI

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS (rho)

Medal Rankings by Geopolitical Designations correlated with:	Washington Post	Pravda
1976 sq. in. per geopolitical code	.64	-1
1976 # of items per geopolitical code	.61	-1
1976 photo subjects per geopolitical code	.54	- .30
1980 sq. in. per geopolitical code	.32	.60
1980 # of items per geopolitical code	.46	.56
1980 photo subjects per geopolitical code	.12	.80
1984 sq. in. per geopolitical code	.82	---
1984 # of items per per geopolitical code	.86	---
1984 photo subjects per geopolitical code	.96	---
Mean r value for all parameters for the three years	.60	- .30

American-dominated events, support of U.S. political administrations in power was not consistent and individual writers expressed varying shades of agreement on such issues as President Ford's opposition to Canada's treatment of the Taiwanese delegation in 1976; the advisability and effectiveness of the boycott imposed by President Carter in 1980; and the morality of President Reagan's "new patriotism."

Washington area athletes received priority treatment from the Post, whereas Moscow athletes were not noted particularly by Pravda. This may have resulted from the fact that Pravda is much more a national newspaper than the Post. It is likely that localism was more prevalent in the reporting of the USSR's regional and city newspapers.

Pravda, in 1976 and 1980, had few words of praise for the United States, but blatant anti-Americanism was avoided for the most part. A conscious attempt to avoid politicization of the Games seemed to prevail in 1976 and a willful minimization of the United States' influence on the Games characterized 1980 coverage. The "Olympic ideals" were propounded earnestly throughout the three-year coverage.

The Los Angeles Games produced a continuing stream of anti-American commentary, which precluded reporting of competition. It represented a break with the relative restraint that Pravda had exercised in the previous two Olympics in choosing to ignore rather than attack and criticize the United States' participation in the Games. Unlike the Post, Pravda assumed a monolithic attitude toward each Olympiad and no contradictions were to be found in different stories by different authors.

Pravda's ill-will was reserved primarily for the United States and

did not appear directed at Western Bloc nations. Activities of athletes and dignitaries from Finland, on the USSR's northern border, were (over-reported) by the newspaper. Although the Post stated that Peking newspapers objected to TASS's "ridicule" of Chinese athletes at the Los Angeles Games, no examples were perceived in Pravda. The Soviet newspaper was more solicitous and complimentary of Third World and Latin American athletes than was the Post.

Both newspapers were true to their national journalistic stereotypes, at least as defined by an American observer. Pravda, as an arm of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, gave voice to the party's perceptions of each Olympiad. This responsibility of the Soviet press was defined by V.I. Lenin in the Revolutionary period and restated by subsequent leaders. Chairman Nikita Khrushchev, addressing the First Conference of Journalists, said to those attending:

> As soon as some decision [of the party] must be explained or implemented, we turn to you, and you, as the most trusted transmission belt. Take the decision and carry it on to the midst of the people.[1]

The Post's reporting was characteristic of an American newspaper's approach to major media events. There was something for everybody. It was written to appeal to the greatest number of American readers with the twin goals of providing full access to the day's intelligence and selling newspapers. Its pages and staff reflected American ideals, prejudices, preferences, obsessions, fads, and interests. Above all, the Post typified American diversity.

Conclusions

International politics clearly had a strong impact on the coverage of

Olympic Games by the Washington Post and Pravda in 1976, 1980, and 1984. Nationalistic bias colored the selection and treatment of news by both newspapers, obscuring the Olympic goal of lessening the tensions and animosities existing among the peoples of the world through the spirit of athletic competition.

Systematic study of the these two newspapers has provided another insight, an answer to a question not asked at the outset of the inquiry. Do the media actually increase international misunderstanding and widen the breach between opposing nations by their coverage of the Olympic Games? The answer to this question, the study revealed, is, unfortunately, yes.

In a final summary of the Moscow Games, Post writer Barry Lorge stated that Soviet citizens' impressions of the Games were formed by the "views reported in the tightly controlled Soviet media." To no lesser degree are Americans' views formed by the interpretations of the Games provided by its media. In Olympiads outside the United States, Americans' access to information is monopolized by a small number of American news organizations. The quadrennial sports festivals provide the world's citizens with their most pervasive exposure to each other on the individual, human level.

Because of their tremendous popularity, the Games present an unrivaled forum for the breaking down of international political barriers. The press should should exploit this potential. Instead the press of both the Soviet Union and the United States exploits the negative competive aspects, confirming existing prejudices and adding new fuel to the fires of mistrust and apprehension.

No nation has a monopoly on fine athletes. Sports heroes are

nurtured by every nation and need not be "created" by the press. Were the world press to inject a greater measure of objectivity into its coverage of the Olympics, genuine international superstars would emerge on the basis of their own merit without regard to their country of origin.

There is no doubt that, as a result of American media focus on Olga Korbut during Olympic coverage in 1972, the young Soviet gymnast quickly became more familiar to Americans than Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, who had been in the news for years. The popularization of Korbut brought about some small increase in understanding between the two superpowers, without diminishing the accomplishments of outstanding American competitors such as Mark Spitz. Even-handed treatment should not be restricted to periods of officially declared "detente."

"Localism" is inherent to a greater or lesser degree in all press interpretation of Olympic events. But positive coverage of the "home team" does not require scurrilous attacks on the opposition or the magnification of misdeeds ignored when committed by favored nations. Localism does not explain away the preferred treatment of athletes from allied countries, because these names are no more familiar to most readers at the outset of Olympic competition than those of athletes from rival nations.

In 1980, Douglas Roby, a U.S. representative on the IOC stated, "We have created the greatest arena in the world for political statement. What happens on our stage attracts more attention than what happens at the United Nations."[2] This writer proposes that the press leave politics to the politicians and strive to report without bias the events of that great arena on the basis of their own merit. If the

Olympics present an unrivaled stage for political statement, they present an equally unrivaled stage for non-political statement, for the expression of cooperation and collegiality between peoples and nations.

Recommendations

This study substantiated the obvious contention that the location of the Games introduces an almost irresistible potential for politicization. Had the 1980 Games been hosted by Canada, the United States would not have withdrawn in protest to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. Despite the numerous reasons cited for the Soviet boycott of the 1984 Games, retaliation for the U.S. boycott four years before undoubtedly was the primary motive. The USSR is reported to be considering non-participation in the 1988 Games in Seoul, in deference to North Korea's opposition to South Korea's hosting the Games.

The establishment of a permanent site for the summer Games--in Greece or Switzerland--would be a giant step toward the depoliticization of the Olympics. For several years the Greek government has proposed to the IOC that Greece become the permanent home of the summer Games. A comparable permanent location suitable for the winter Games also should also be named. Cost of constructing permanent facilities could be shared by participating nations.

In a further attempt to depoliticize the Olympics, this writer recommends that no nation be banned from Olympic participation--for any reason. Such decisions cannot be made objectively, as was demonstrated in Canada's handling of the controversy between the Republic of China

and the People's Republic of China in 1976. Nor should nations be prohibited from participation because of internal policies, as in the case of the banning of South Africa because of its apartheid stand. The line between moral and political positions is too fine to be left to the discernment of the IOC or any other body.

The Olympics was conceived to be an athletic competition between nations. Let it remain so, without the intervention or interference of any nation, administrative body, or media. In the words of a Post editorial which appeared at the end of the Montreal Games, "The Olympic tradition has demonstrated itself once again to be very much worth preserving and protecting. That is why it is necessary to begin thinking now about the Olympiads to come."

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[1]Mark Hopkins, Mass Media in the Soviet Union (New York, 1970, p. 20.

[2]"Are the Olympics Dead?" (August 2, 1976), p. 49.

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APPENDIX A1

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Pravda--1976

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ 120.10	1A* 2	1B+ —	1B* —	1C+ —	1C* —	2 Items/ 26.06% 120.10 In²/ 5.65%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ 205.05	2A* 2	2B+ —	2B* —	2C+ 410.73	2C* 16	18 Items / 54.55% 615.78 In²/ 55.66%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ —	3A* —	3B+ —	3B* —	3C+ —	3C* —	0 Items/ 0% 0 In²/ 0%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ 1183.73	4A* 11	4B+ —	4B* —	4C+ —	4C* —	11 Items/ 33.33% 1183.73 In²/ 55.66%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ —	5A* —	5B+ —	5B* —	5C+ —	5C* —	0 Items/ 0% 0 In²/ 0%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ 207.34	6A* 2	6B+ —	6B* —	6C+ —	6C* —	2 Items/ 6.06% 207.34 In²/ 9.74%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ —	7A* —	7B+ —	7B* —	7C+ —	7C* —	0 Items/ 0% 0 In²/ 0%
8	THIRD WORLD, ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ —	8A* —	8B+ —	8B* —	8C+ —	8C* —	0 Items/ 0% 0 In²/ 0%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ —	9A* —	9B+ —	9B* —	9C+ —	9C* —	0 Items/ 0% 0 In²/ 0%
		1716.22 In²	17 items	0 In²	0 Items	410.73 In²	16 Items	TOTAL: 33 Items
		80.70%	1.35%	0%	0%	19.31%	48.48%	2126.65 In²

APPENDIX A2

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Pravda--1980

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ 2392.39	1A* 47	1B+ —	1B* —	1C+ 23.83	1C* 3	50 Items/32.05% 2416.22 In²/47.77%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ 1211.56	2A* 20	2B+ —	2B* —	2C+ 512.64	2C* 28	48 Items/30.76% 1724.2 In²/34.09%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ 13.79	3A* 1	3B+ 128.40	3B* 5	3C+ —	3C* —	6 Items/3.84% 142.19 In²/2.81%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ 27.76	4A* 2	4B+ —	4B* —	4C+ 47.67	4C* 2	4 Items/2.53% 75.43 In²/1.49%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ 276.96	5A* 20	5B+ —	5B* —	5C+ 23.11	5C* 4	24 Items/15.38% 300.07 In²/5.93%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ 155.87	6A* 10	6B+ —	6B* —	6C+ 35.16	6C* 4	14 Items/8.97% 191.03 In²/3.78%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ 7.68	7A* 1	7B+ —	7B* —	7C+ —	7C* —	1 Item/0.69% 7.68 In²/0.15%
8	THIRD WORLD, ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ 58.04	8A* 3	8B+ —	8B* —	8C+ —	8C* —	3 Items/1.92% 58.04 In²/1.15%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ 143.15	9A* 6	9B+ —	9B* —	9C+ —	9C* —	6 Items/3.85% 143.15 In²/2.83%
		4287.20 In²	110 Items	128.40 In²	5 Items	642.41 In²	41 Items	TOTAL: 156 Items
		84.76%	70.51%	2.54%	3.21%	12.70%	26.28%	5058.01 In²

APPENDIX A3

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Pravda--1984

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ —	1A* —	1B+ 557.11	1B* 19	1C+ —	1C* —	19 Items/86.36% 557.11 In²/92.72%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ —	2A* —	2B+ —	2B* —	2C+ 18.75	2C* 1	1 Item/4.55% 18.75 In²/3.12%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ —	3A* —	3B+ —	3B* —	3C+ —	3C* —	0 Items/0% 0 In²/0%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ —	4A* —	4B+ —	4B* —	4C+ —	4C* —	0 Items/0% 0 In²/0%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ 10.99	5A* 1	5B+ —	5B* —	5C+ 14.06	5C* 1	2 Items/9.09% 25 In²/4.16%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ —	6A* —	6B+ —	6B* —	6C+ —	6C* —	0 Items/0% 0 In²/0%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ —	7A* —	7B+ —	7B* —	7C+ —	7C* —	0 Items/0% 0 In²/0%
8	THIRD WORLD, ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ —	8A* —	8B+ —	8B* —	8C+ —	8C* —	0 Items/0% 0 In²/0%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ —	9A* —	9B+ —	9B* —	9C+ —	9C* —	0 Items?0% 0 In²/0%
								TOTAL:
		10.94 In²	1 Item	557.11 In²	19 Items	32.81 In²	2 Items	22 Items 600.86 In²
		1.82°	4.55°	92.72%	92.72%	5.46%	9.09%	

APPENDIX A4

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Washington Post--1976

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ 20.59	1A* 2	1B+ 716.49	1B* 23.5§	1C+ 672.44	1C* 10.5§	1409.52 In²/12.205 36 Items/12.14%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ 543.95	2A* 6.5§	2B+ 384.58	2B* 8.5§	2C+ 2255.88	2C* 56	3184.41 In²/27.57% 71 Items/23.95%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ 2792.64	3A* 53	3B+ 1041.31	3B* 30.5§	3C+ 419.65	3C* 18.5	4253.6 In²/36.83% 102 Items/34.40%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ 39.73	4A* 5	4B+ 432.06	4B* 18.5§	4C+ 93	4C* 3	564.79 In²/4.89% 26.5 Items/8.94%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ 338.05	5A* 6	5B+ 183.17	5B* 9	5C+ 172.68	5C* 10	693.9 In²/6.01% 25 Items/8.43%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ 876.09	6A* 10.5§	6B+ 113.92	6B* 4.5§	6C+ 174.09	6C* 3	1164.10 In²/10.08% 18 Items/6.07%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ ———	7A* ———	7B+ 12.35	7B* 2	7C+ 13.62	7C* 3	25.97 In²/0.22% 5 Items/1.69%
8	THIRD WORLD. ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ ———	8A* ———	8B+ 99.08	8B* 3	8C+ ———	8C* ———	99.08 In²/0.86% 3 Items/1.01%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ 17.02	9A* 1	9B+ 74.70	9B* 5	9C- 62.16	9C* 4	153.88 In²/1.33% 10 Items/ 3.37%
		4625.07 In² 40.07 %	84 Items 28.33 %	3057.66 In² 26.47 %	104.5 Items 35.24 %	3863.52 In² 33.45 %	108 Items 36.42 %	TOTAL: 11,549.25 In² § 296.50 Items

§July 28 paper not available. News items' size and content estimates from means of July 27 and July 29 issues. The fractions appearing in the 'number of items' column are a result of the averaging process.

APPENDIX A5

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Washington Post--1980

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ 372.51	1A* 4	1B+ 1352.09	1B* 23	1C+ 330.93	1C* 6	2055.53 In²/31.54% 33 Items/24.62%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ 4.15	2A* 1	2B+ 195.02	2B* 3	2C+ 692.57	2C* 18	891.74 In²/13.68% 22 Items/16.41%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ 197.35	3A* 2	3B+ 487.66	3B* 12	3C+ 136.09	3C* 4	821.1 In²/12.60% 18 Items/13.43%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ 253.36	4A* 4	4B+ 326.86	4B* 10	4C+ 9.21	4C* 1	589.43 In²/9.04% 15 Items/11.19%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ 309.45	5A* 5	5B+ 368.33	5B* 11	5C+ 535.05	5C* 6	1212.83 In²/18.61% 22 Items/16.41%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ 136.44	6A* 2	6B+ 236.22	6B* 2	6C+ 90.37	6C* 2	463.03 In²/7.10% 6 Items/4.48%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ ——	7A* ——	7B+ 10.37	7B* 1	7C+ ——	7C* ——	10.37 In²/0.16% 1 Item/0.75%
8	THIRD WORLD, ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ 219.99	8A* 6	8B+ 201.17	8B* 5	8C+ 20.48	8C* 3	441.64 In²/6.78% 14 Items/10.45%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ ——	9A* ——	9B+ 24.36	9B* 1	9C+ 7.63	9C* 2	31.99 In²/0.49% 3 Items/2.24%
		1493.25 In²	24 Items	3202.08 In²	68 Items	1822.33 In²	42 Items	TOTAL: 6517.66 In² 134 Items
		22.91 %	17.91 %	49.13 %	50.75%	27.96 %	31.34 %	

APPENDIX A6

BREAKDOWN OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT AND DIRECTION

Washington Post--1984

DIRECTION OF ITEMS

		POSITIVE A		NEGATIVE B		NEUTRAL C		
		INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	INCHES²+	# OF ITEMS*	
1	OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	1A+ 2105.14	1A* 24	1B+ 1246.12	1B* 41	1C+ 524.96	1C* 10	3876.22 In²/14.27% 75 Items/11.01%
2	OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	2A+ 984.99	2A* 22	2B+ 1009.98	2B* 31	2C+ 4555.38	2C* 162	6550.35 In²/24.12% 215 Items/31.57%
3	US ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	3A+ 7654.37	3A* 123	3B+ 3085.91	3B* 71	3C+ 1700.62	3C* 62	12440.9 In²/45.81% 256 Items/37.59%
4	USSR ATHLETES, FANS, DIGNITARIES	4A+ ——	4A* ——	4B+ 207.40	4B* 7	4C+ 99.66	4C* 2	307.06 In²/1.13% 9 Items/1.32%
5	WESTERN BLOC, NATO, FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, W. EUROPE	5A+ 1138.57	5A* 26	5B+ 787.71	5B* 28	5C+ 178.01	5C* 10	2104.29 In²/7.75% 64 Items/9.40%
6	EASTERN BLOC, CUBA, WARSAW PACT, N. KOREA, VIET NAM	6A+ 448.72	6A* 8	6B+ 124.97	6B* 4	6C+ 34.81	6C* 3	608.5 In²/2.24% 15 Items/2.20%
7	CHINA, JAPAN, TAIWAN, S. KOREA	7A+ 386.07	7A* 11	7B+ 176.07	7B* 5	7C+ 28.36	7C* 4	590.5 In²/2.17% 20 Items/2.94%
8	THIRD WORLD, ASIA & AFRICA & TURKEY	8A+ 198.53	8A* 5	8B+ 122.00	8B* 7	8C+ 107.19	8C* 5	427.72 In²/1.57% 17 Items/2.50%
9	LATIN AMERICA EXCEPT CUBA	9A+ 113.80	9A* 5	9B+ 64.98	9B* 2	9C+ 73.00	9C* 3	251.78 In²/0.93% 10 Items/1.47%
		13,030.19 In² 47.98 %	224 Items 32.89 %	6825.14 In² 25.13 %	196 Items 28.78 %	7301.99 In² 26.89 %	261 Items 38.33 %	TOTAL: 27,157.32 In² 681 Items

APPENDIX B

BREAKDOWN OF PHOTOGRAPHS BY YEAR AND SUBJECT

PRAVDA

	1 OLYMPIC HOST COUNTRY	2 OLYMPICS IN GENERAL	3 UNITED STATES	4 SOVIET UNION	5 WESTERN BLOC	6 EASTERN BLOC	7 FAR EAST	8 THIRD WORLD	9 LATIN AMERICA	
1976	3	--	1.33	34.33	.33	1	--	--	--	40
1980	8	13	--	16.82	7	13.18	--	4	--	62
1984	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Totals	11	13	1.33	51.15	7.33	14.18	0	4	0	102

WASHINGTON POST

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1976	5	5.5	60.83	8.08	19.74	18.91	1.5	6	8.42	134
1980	3.33	2.5	11	4	10.67	14.33	--	6.67	.5	53
1984	28	5	125.17	--	38.83	4.17	7.5	3.33	4	216
Totals	36.33	13	197	12.08	69.24	37.41	9	16	12.92	403

VITA 2

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