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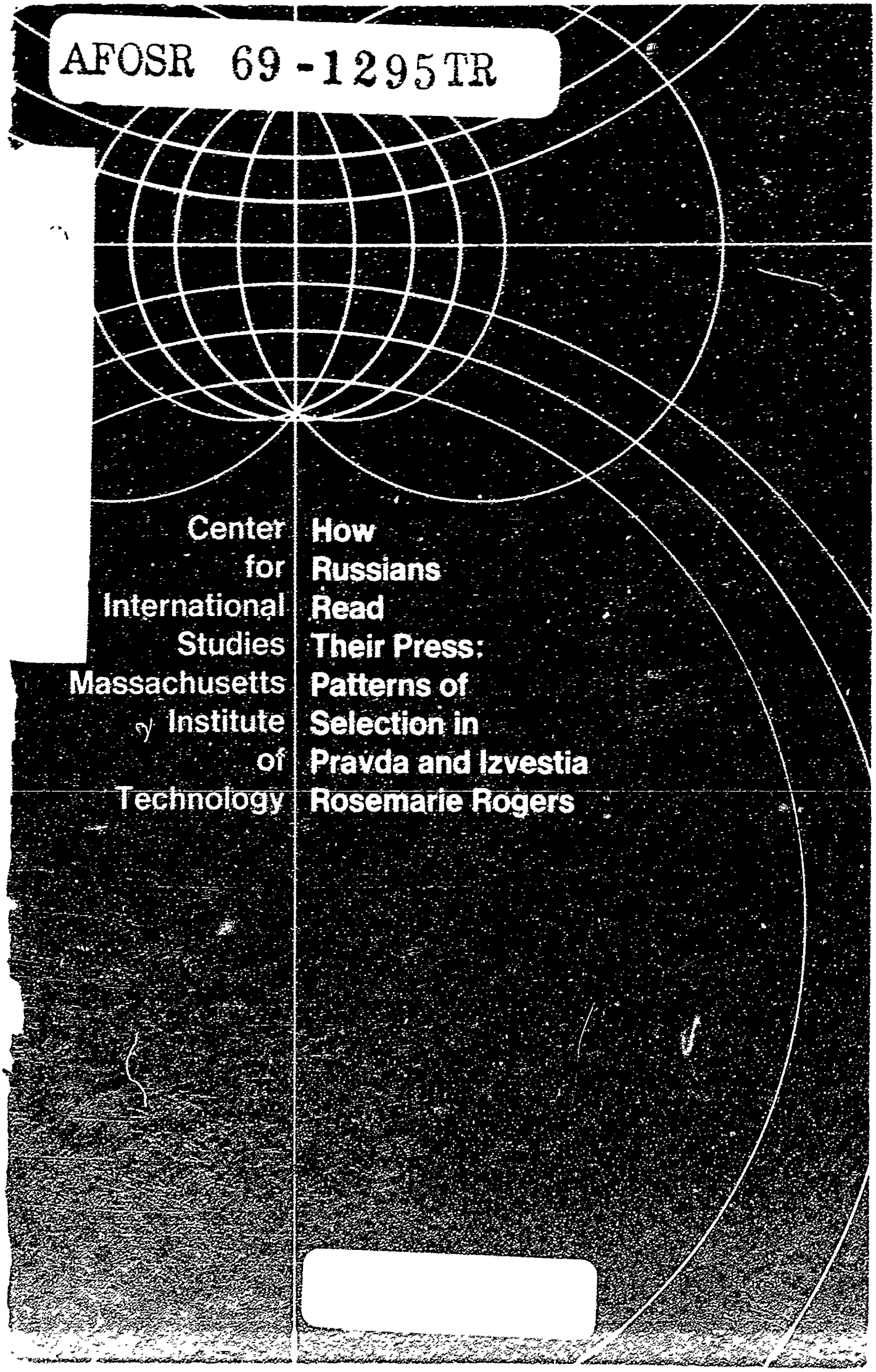

Center for International Studies
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How Russians Read Their Press: Patterns of Selection in Pravda and Izvestia

Rosemarie Rogers

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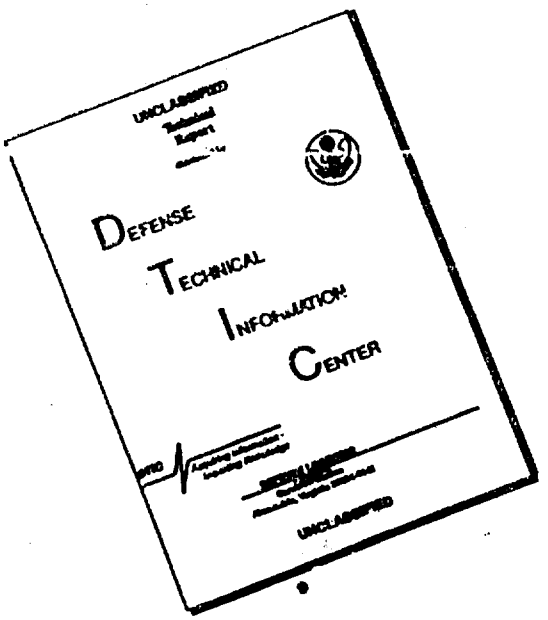

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December 1968

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This research was supported by the Behavioral Sciences Division, AFOSR, SRLB under Contract/G [redacted] AF 49(638)1237

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Preface

The study reported in this monograph was undertaken as part of the work for my doctoral dissertation, which I submitted to the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in June 1967. It was supported by a grant under contract #920F-9717 of the Advanced Research Projects Agency at the Department of Defense, which is administered through the Center for International Studies at M.I.T.

I wish to thank Professor Ithiel de Sola Pool for helpful criticism and suggestions at various stages of the data analysis and of the writing. I would also like to thank Professor Donald L. M. Blackmer for his critical reading of a later draft of the paper. To Miss Nancy Poling and Mrs. Christian van Panhuys I am grateful for valuable editorial help.

Rosemarie Rogers

Cambridge, Massachusetts
September 1968

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This paper reports an investigation of two aspects of newspaper consumption in the Soviet Union. A first concern was, to discover what kinds of reading matter attract readers with various levels of education and political involvement. Second,we were concerned with how significant and authoritative articles in Soviet newspapers are read. For our study we used *Pravda*, the central Communist Party organ, and *Izvestia*, the central Government newspaper. These are by reason of their sponsorship the two most important Soviet newspapers. They are distributed throughout the Soviet Union, as are the other central newspapers. Students of Soviet society agree that it is in speeches, editorials, and certain signed articles in these two newspapers that the reader is most likely to find statements foreshadowing or announcing new policies in the political, social, or economic sphere, or indications of conflicts over policies, or other kinds of sensitive information. These are the significant and authoritative articles whose readership we studied.

Six issues of *Pravda* and four issues of *Izvestia* were shown to forty-one former residents of the Soviet Union. Each issue contained one article that may be labeled particularly significant. The respondents were asked which articles in these newspapers they "would have read when reading such a paper in the Soviet Union." If they selected any of the ten significant articles, the respondents were then asked to read that article and to indicate which passages in it they considered "particularly important or interesting." Various aspects of the respondents' styles of reading such articles were observed in detail.

The respondents' choices of articles to read in the ten newspapers differed according to their education and how politically involved they had been while in the Soviet Union, as well as according to article types. Certain types of articles, among them short news items and human interest materials, were chosen with nearly equal frequencies by all respondents. Other types of articles, among them speeches, editorials, political and economic analyses, and letters, were chosen most frequently by respondents with more than secondary education and with high political involvement

(whom we shall refer to as "Leaders"), less frequently by respondents with more than secondary education but with low political involvement ("Nonleaders with higher education"), and least frequently by respondents with primary or secondary education and low political involvement ("Nonleaders with lower education"). There were not enough cases to form a group of "Leaders with lower education."

Among passages of varying types of content within the articles the Leaders isolated relatively more analytical, critical, and policy-relevant-material and less general information and propaganda material as "important" or "interesting" than did the Nonleaders with higher education, and still more than the Nonleaders with lower education. Selections of such content by students of Soviet society at Harvard and M.I.T., which we also obtained, most nearly resembled the selections made by the Leaders.

The Leaders alternated in most articles between skimming some passages and reading others closely, while the Nonleaders with lower education read all passages in all articles word for word, if they read the article at all. Both styles of reading were represented more nearly equally among the respondents in the middle group, the Nonleaders with higher education. The clues which led those readers who alternated between skimming and close reading to switch from one mode to the other came more often from the article's content than from its structure. (What they read closely was the content that they also designated as particularly important or interesting.) We observed further that these readers omitted parts of an article only in the case of two long speeches of standard format, and they indicated that they knew what they were omitting. They tended to omit the same passages. The readers who did not skim but read all material that they looked at word for word tended to skip passages in a greater variety of articles, and there was little correspondence between their omissions.

In this chapter, we shall first discuss briefly the literature that is relevant to our concerns and describe the procedure we used.

The results of the study are reported in Chapters 2-4, followed by a concluding chapter.

Literature

In the work of the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System,

three groups of factors were found to be the best predictors of frequency of exposure[1] to the print media, as of other media behavior: education, occupation, and social group membership (all three of which are highly intercorrelated); residence; and political involvement and attitude to the regime.[2] The results of a recent study of the Soviet mass media audience also show that differences in frequency of regular exposure to newspapers, and in the average number of newspapers to which exposure is reported by regular readers, coincide with differences in education (or occupation or social group membership) and Communist Party membership.[3] The data further suggest that these particular aspects of newspaper exposure no longer differ with residence, an observation which would be consistent with the increase in Soviet newspaper circulation and improvement in distribution since the Second World War.[4] In another report, based on a recent poll by the Soviet youth paper *Komsomol'skaya pravda*,[5] the data on communications activities are cross-tabulated with one demographic attribute at a time, without simultaneous controls. The largest differences in frequency

[1]Percentage of respondents in a given group who report exposure.

[2]Alex Inkeles and Raymond A. Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), Ch. VII ("Keeping Up With the News"); Peter H. Rossi and Raymond A. Bauer, "Some Patterns of Soviet Communications Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1952), pp. 653-670; Raymond A. Bauer and David B. Gleicher, "World-of-Mouth Communication in the Soviet Union," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 3(1953), pp. 297-310.

[3]The study was undertaken by the COMCOM Project at M.I.T., under the direction of Professor Ithiel de S. Pool. It consists of interviews with 107 former Soviet residents who left the U.S.S.R. between 1956 and 1966. The interview schedule ("Leisure Study") was designed by Professor Pool with the assistance of various members of the project. Most of the data on media exposure from these interviews were analyzed in Rosemarie Rogers, "The Soviet Audience: How It Uses the Mass Media," M.I.T. doctoral dissertation, 1967, Chs. II and III. Chs. IV and V report the findings of a series of more intensive interviews dealing with various psychological aspects of media use, which were undertaken separately by this author.

[4]We state these findings with caution, since the group of respondents is small, and in comparison with the total Soviet population rural residents are underrepresented.

[5]B. Grushin, "How You Spend Your Free Time," *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, February 24-26, 1966. The newspaper undertook a survey of how people spend their free time and of opinions on how opportunities for spending free time could be improved. Two samples were used. One, representative of the Soviet population with regard to size of residential community, occupation, sex, age, and education, consisted of 2,730 respondents; the other, a self-selected sample from readers of the newspaper, in which men, young people, and the more educated were over-represented, consisted of 10,392 respondents. In the presentation of the results, the data for both samples were apparently combined.

of newspaper exposure occur in the breakdowns by education, occupation, and age. Differences by sex and residence are smaller (and in the case of residence, inconsistent); Communist Party membership is not considered.

There is also an indication of differences in exposure, by education, with regard to the administrative level at which Soviet newspapers are published. Among the respondents of the "Leisure Study," all Russian language newspaper readers with complete or incomplete higher education cited at least one *central* newspaper among the newspapers they read while in the Soviet Union, while Russian language newspaper readers with only primary or secondary education did not necessarily cite a central paper among the newspapers read.[6]

We know little as yet about patterns of exposure to different content within newspapers. *Komsomol'skaya pravda* and *Izvestia* recently polled their readers on questions concerning access to and consumption of their own newspaper. No results of the *Komsomol'skaya pravda* poll are as yet published,[7] and only preliminary results of the *Izvestia* poll have been published so far.[8]

Various literature that can be loosely grouped together as dealing with Soviet "esoteric communications" is also relevant to our problem. These studies have been made by Western analysts of Soviet texts. At least two different definitions of "esoteric communications" are used, depending on the authors' view of what types of audiences these communications are aimed at. Rush defines such communications as "hidden messages, which enable factional leaders to communicate quickly, safely, and decisively with the sub-elites whose support they solicit."[9] In his work Rush has indeed relied primarily on the analysis of such esoteric "partisan elite communication."[10] Other authors do not

[6]Rogers, "The Soviet Audience," p. 65. This finding was true regardless of the respondents' republic of residence.

[7]The study began with the publication of a questionnaire in October 1966. It was to go on over one and a half to two years. ("The Reader About Himself and His Newspaper," *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, October 12, 1966, p. 4.)

[8]"Poll of *Izvestia* Readers," *Nedelya* (*Izvestia's* weekly edition), No. 11 (March 5-11, 1967), p. 4. The article is translated, in condensed form, in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 19, No. 16 (1967), pp. 27, 34.

[9]Myron Rush, "Esoteric Communication in Soviet Politics," *World Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1959), p. 614.

[10]See Myron Rush, *The Rise of Khrushchev* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958), pp. 88-89.

confine the concept of esoteric communication to situations of elite conflict. According to Griffith, "normally, esoteric elite communication is the major routine means of transmitting guidance to sub-elites; and its ideological language is sufficient to conceal its true meaning from the masses and from most of the West."[11] Zagoria argues similarly that esoteric communications are used because restricted channels of communication do not meet all the requirements of the Soviet Union or the international Communist movement:

> The requirements of control and of political action force the Communists to use open channels, however guardedly, to supplement strictly private ones. A vast empire, comprising almost one billion citizens, millions of Communist party members, and thousands of Party activists cannot be effectively guided on the basis of secret channels of communication alone.[12]

We prefer to follow Griffith and Zagoria, and not to restrict the definition of esoteric communications to situations of elite conflict, although the latter are important occasions for such communication.

The media which are most authoritative in laying down the general line are the centrally published Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* and Party magazines such as *Kommunist* and *Partiinaya zhizn.* Central newspapers and magazines are as a rule considered more authoritative than those published on the various regional levels.[13] Documentation of the fact that elite conflict finds expression in the press also refers generally to the central press. Ploss cites examples of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* supporting

[11]William E. Griffith, "Communist Esoteric Communications: *explication de texte,*" M.I.T. Center for International Studies, C/67-18, 1967, p. 4.

[12]Donald S. Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict 1956-1961* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 24.

[13]See, for example, Franz Borkenau, "Getting at the Facts Behind the Facade," *Commentary*, April 1954, p. 399; Griffith, "Communist Esoteric Communications," pp. 6-7; Wolfgang Leonhard, *The Kremlin Since Stalin* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 21-22.

different policy positions during the Khrushchev era. Until Malenkov's fall, *Izvestia* supported a more liberal line than *Pravda* in the dispute over the priority of heavy industry versus consumer goods. Similarly in the discussion over appropriations to the military.[14] Since one of our interests in the present study was patterns of consumption of the most authoritative and significant materials in the Soviet Press, we decided to use issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* for our investigation. There is general agreement on the types of articles, within these newspapers, which are most likely to contain significant new information: official Party or government resolutions, speeches by official leaders, editorials,[15] articles at or near the bottom of the inside pages of *Pravda*,[16] other signed

[14]Sidney I. Ploss, "Political Conflict and the Soviet Press," paper delivered at the 1964 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 9-12, 1964, passim. See also Sidney I. Ploss, *Conflict and Decision-Making in Soviet Russia: A Case Study of Agricultural Policy, 1953-1963* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), passim; and Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict*, p. 31.

We do not know the intricacies of the process by which it is decided what gets published in the different papers. [On this question see also T.H. Rigby, "Crypto-Politics," *Survey*, No. 50 (January 1964), p. 193, and Rush, *The Rise of Khrushchev*, p.92.] Ploss concludes from his analysis (up to 1964) of the contents not only of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* but also of such newspapers as the organ of the R.S.F.S.R. Bureau *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, which generally stood for the same policy as *Izvestia*, and the defense ministry organ *Krasnaya zvezda*, whose position resembled that of *Pravda*, that

> this phenomenon. . . suggests continuation (since the post-Stalin 1953-1957 power struggle) of the non-autocratic practice of dividing up shares in the press among competing groups in the party leadership. ("Political Conflict and the Soviet Press," p. 12.)

Of course, discussion of a particular problem in the course of which different viewpoints are suggested is sometimes encouraged by the recognized leadership, possibly as preparation for an impending change in policy. Wolfe points out, therefore, that

> A distinction must be made between officially encouraged expressions of variant viewpoints, such as one occasionally finds for example in Soviet military journals, and the unsolicited interplay of competing views, the special pleadings, and the bureaucratic axe-grinding that find their way into print from time to time in the Soviet Union. [Thomas W. Wolfe, *Soviet Strategy at the Crossroads* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 27.]

[15]Unsigned articles, appearing on the first page.

[16]These articles, called *podval* ("basement") if printed at the bottom of the page, are signed articles.

articles or letters that critically discuss a problem.[17] Hence our choices of the ten particular articles that were used in the second part of the investigation.

Most of the literature on esoteric communications deals with the methods used by the Soviet elite to convey hidden meanings in public documents, or, seen from another vantage point, with the clues by which the reader knows that such hidden messages are present. The authors base their discussions mainly upon their own experiences in interpreting esoteric communications. Their claim to authoritativeness lies in the fact that in the past their interpretations have been validated by later events.

Much of the esoteric communication concerns ideology. Certain formulae come to refer to definite policy positions. Quotations from classic texts are used. Criticism of an individual and his policy may be by proxy, presented as criticism of a certain ideological position, or in the form of an historical argument, or it may simply be criticism phrased in general terms ("certain people. . ."). The authors agree that protocol is of significance: alphabetic versus nonalphabetic listing of leaders and positions in photographs. Other devices are omissions, distortions, length of a document, a polemical tone. Some methods operate not within articles but on the "macro level": failure to print an important speech may be significant, as may be the printing of an article of self-criticism by a Soviet leader, or of an article by a "private" individual suggesting changes in policy, or the reprinting of critical material from another, for instance a foreign, source.[18]

[17]See, for example, Borkenau, "Getting at the Facts Behind the Facade," p. 396; Griffith, "Communist Esoteric Communications," pp. 6-7; Leonhard, *The Kremlin Since Stalin*, pp. 19-21; Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict 1956-1961*, pp. 28-29. Zagoria relates a comment by Seweryn Bialer, a former Polish Communist, on Polish *apparatchiki* studying key speeches and articles in *Pravda*.

[18]See books and articles referred to on p. 7 ff; also Myron Rush, "Khrushchev and the Stalin Succession: A Study of Political Communication in the U.S.S.R.," Project Rand Research Memoradum, RM-1883, 1957; Robert Conquest, *Power and Policy in the U.S.S.R.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), Ch. 3 ("Questions of Evidence"); Alexander Dallin and Zbigniew Brzezinski's Introduction to Alexander Dallin and Zbigniew Brzezinski, eds., *Diversity in International Communism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. xxxvii-xliv; Arthur E. Adams, "The Hybrid Art of Sovietology," *Survey*, No. 50 (1964), pp. 154-162; Alec Nove, "The Uses and Abuses of Kremlinology," *Survey*, No. 50 (1964), pp. 174-182.

Understandably, due to the difficulty of obtaining such data, there is almost nothing in the literature on esoteric communications that deals with the question of who is in the actual audience of such communications. Rush suggests that the question will be answered partly by the level of "difficulty" of the symbols: "many such [esoteric] messages, being designed for relatively wide audiences, are slimly veiled and thus readily observed; but the most sensitive and politically significant ones are extremely elusive."[19] Most authors think in terms of communication from a handful of leaders to sub-elites. In an earlier monograph, Rush defined sub-elites as two broad groups:

(1) "Persons in high positions in a chain of command";
(2) "Influential persons outside the command structure." [20]

In his secret speech to the 20th Party Congress, Khrushchev suggested an example of an esoteric communication that was understood by "everybody": in the attempt to dissociate himself from Stalin's crimes in his own republic, he recalled how he had learned in the late 1930's about the deposition of Kosior, one of the Ukraine's leaders. A radio station bore this leader's name. When one morning it no longer identified itself as "Radio Kosior," then "everybody" knew that Kosior had lost Stalin's favor.[21] Rush concludes that the sub-elites are doubtless more sensitive than "everyone." They will decipher more heavily veiled messages as well.

Other examples of official or semi-official admission of the use of esoteric communications which are cited by different authors have their source in East European countries or in non-ruling Communist parties in West Europe. Several of these examples refer to the Soviet Union. We cite some others as well:

(1) In Hungary, Nagy was blamed in a Central Committee Resolution for his failure to use certain formulae in his speeches. These omissions were interpreted as deliberate and as signifying a specific political attitude.[22]

[19] Rush, "Esoteric Communication in Soviet Politics," p. 615.

[20] Rush, "Khrushchev and the Stalin Succession," pp. 209-210.

[21] Related in Rush, *The Rise of Khrushchev*, p. 90.

[22] *Ibid*, pp. 90-91.

(2) Leonhard reports that on February 8, 1958, the Italian Communist newspaper *L'Unita* drew attention to the significance of nominations in Soviet elections. It pointed out that the number of nominations a leader receives is an indication of his power.[23]

(3) Dallin and Brzezinski report that the Italian Communist Pajetta, and later also British Communists, explicitly recognized the fact that esoteric communications were used in the Sino-Soviet dispute.[24] Recent analyses of the history of relations among socialist countries and of questions of Soviet foreign policy by Kotyk in Czechoslovakia are in part explicitly based on such communications.[25]

(4) A most explicit recognition of the use of esoteric communications comes from a Catholic columnist writing in a Polish newspaper. He was first cited by Conquest.[26]

Inkeles and Bauer discuss certain techniques which their respondents reported they used to interpret the messages in the official media, techniques "based on a combination of the degree of distrust for the official media and a series of implied assumptions about the nature of the Soviet system, particularly as it regards its communications policy."[27] These techniques are referred to

[23]Leonhard, *The Kremlin Since Stalin*, p. 28.

[24]Dallin and Brzezinski, *Diversity in International Communism*, p. xli.

[25]Vaclav Kotyk, "Some Aspects of the History of Relations among Socialist Countries," *Ceskoslovensky Casopis Historicky*, No. 4, 1967, translated in Radio Free Europe, *Czechoslovak Press Survey*, No. 1937; and "Problems in the Development of U.S.S.R. Foreign Policy," *Mezinarodni Vztahy*, No. 3 (1967), translated in U.S. Department of Commerce, *Joint Publications Research Service*, No. 43, 580.

[26]In our public, political, and intellectual life, in our organizations and newspapers, there exists a special figurative speech. It consists of the usage of certain turns of phrase. . . . All that is needed is a clue. Those who have guessed that clue are able to read public utterances as if they were an open book and thus learn a lot of things. It goes without saying that one has to read between the lines, to follow hidden ideas. And this reading between the lines is not illegitimate: on the contrary, the texts are construed in such a way that reading between the lines is the only way to grasp their meaning. To be able to follow the figurative speech one has to possess many years' training in reading it, one must have lived for years in milieus indulging in this form of speech, one must have lived for many years in our country. Those who cannot read our special language are as naive as little children. . . (J. Kisielewski, in *Tygodnik powszechny*, July 6, 1958, cited in Conquest, *Power and Policy in the USSR*, p. 51.)

[27]Inkeles and Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen*, p. 181.

by the authors, as they had been by their respondents, as "reading between the lines." Examples are given of respondents who operated on the principle that the Soviet Government would always prepare the people in advance for unpleasant developments or a change in policy. On this basis, news of unpleasant developments in another European country would be taken as foreboding the open admission of such a development in the Soviet Union, and criticism of an internal situation would be taken as an indication of an impending change in policy. Another technique of interpretation was to assume that the Soviet government projects its own motives onto foreign governments. For example, a statement about a foreign government's aggressive intentions would be taken as reflecting the intention of the Soviet government. Other readers reported that they would take the facts presented in the Soviet media as true, but would disregard the interpretation given and substitute their own.

At first glance, it may seem fruitful to distinguish between communication proper on the one hand, and inference on the other, among all these instances of gleaning from public Soviet texts information that is not expressed by the manifest text. In other discussions of communications problems such a distinction seems useful to this writer.[28] But in the present case the problem with such a distinction is twofold. First, the meanings of the "signs" used in "esoteric communications" are less firmly established than those of the "signs" of everyday language. There is a constant process of different expressions becoming meaningful "signs," others changing their meaning, others dying out. There would be many cases in which it would not be clear whether a transfer of an "esoteric sign" is involved, or simply an inference.

[28] Following Frederick W. Frey, we would define communication as an "interpersonal relationship involving the transfer of meaningful signs." (Class notes, 1963.) The sign is representative of something else; it acts as a mediator. In the case of inference, on the other hand, that which is perceived, and from which the inference is drawn, is the situation itself, not a sign that stands for something else. For example, if you see me coming in from the street with my coat and shoes wet, you will probably infer that it is raining outside. But I may also choose to communicate this fact to you by saying "My, it's raining heavily!" or "Did you know it's raining outside?" (This is not to say that all communication is verbal, however. But, by the above definition, nonverbal communication is not synonymous with perception. Nonverbal communication must involve the transfer of meaningful nonverbal signs.)

Or one might choose to approach this question from the perspective of the author's intention. Did the author in fact intend to convey this or that particular meaning? But for the analyst this question is not fruitful operationally, and a number of authors would further argue that in Soviet society motives are treated as irrelevant to the evaluation of behavior, and that this consideration makes our question therefore meaningless.[29] If an inference is drawn from the particular content, or from the presence or absence of a statement or of a whole article, the author or editor will be considered responsible for this fact, regardless of whether in his own judgment he was engaging in the transfer of meaningful signs. Western analysts of the Soviet press tend to agree that the most fruitful hypothesis upon which to proceed is to treat as deliberate anything that might signal a particular meaning.[30]

By investigating patterns of selection of Soviet newspaper articles that are likely to contain such esoteric communications, our study addresses itself to the question of who is in the *potential* audience of these communications. Selection to read the article means that the respondent would have chosen to expose himself to at least a part of the article's content, although it does not mean that he necessarily would have attended to all communications in the article, or that he would have recognized any particular esoteric communication. Our study deals also with attention to different types of content within articles.

[29] See particularly Nathan Leites and Else Bernaut, *Ritual of Liquidation* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954), Chapter 11 ("The Irrelevance of Motives").

[30] See, for example, Rush, *The Rise of Khrushchev*, pp. 91-92; Borkenau, "Getting at the Facts Behind the Facade," p. 399.

Procedure

The study reported here was undertaken between May 1965 and September 1966, with forty-one former residents of the Soviet Union.[31] A person had to meet the following criteria to qualify as a respondent: he had to have left the Soviet Union not earlier than in 1956; he had to have been at least 18 years old in his last year of residence in the Soviet Union; he had to have lived in the Soviet Union as a citizen or resident since childhood. Most of the respondents had in fact left later than 1956. The group's median year of leaving was 1961, the modal year 1964. Thirty-six of the 41 respondents had been born in the Soviet Union, the others had come there as children under the age of ten. Two had a Soviet language other than Russian as their mother tongue, but were nearly bilingual with Russian and had been using Russian exclusively in the last years of their residence in the Soviet Union, since they had lived outside the republic of their nationality.[32] All respondents were accustomed to reading Soviet

[31]All but two of these respondents were also given the "Leisure Study" interview mentioned in footnote 3.

[32]The reasons for which these people left the Soviet Union, and the occasions that allowed them to leave, vary greatly. The majority left the country legally. They were allowed to rejoin a close relative who lived abroad or they were allowed to leave because they or their spouses had been born in an area that is, or at the time of their birth was, outside the Soviet Union. There are also among our respondents several who, although they had been born in the Soviet Union, were nationals of another country. For these respondents Russian was the native language, and some indeed did not speak the language of their nationality well. Several remarked that nothing except their second language had distinguished them from Soviet citizens, and that people at their places of work had generally not even been aware of the fact that they were not Soviet citizens. Several years ago it became possible for these people, as well as for people who themselves had immigrated to the Soviet Union (at various ages in their lives), to obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union for their countries of origin. Among the reasons that the respondents, whether defectors or emigres, cited for leaving, the ideological component, if it is present at all, seems to be the weakest. They reported leaving because of personal dissatisfactions; because of urging on the part of relatives outside the U.S.S.R.; because their parents or spouses were leaving; out of curiosity; and also out of opposition to the regime. In such a varied group, attitudes to the regime cover a wide spectrum.

newspapers and all were familiar with *Pravda* or *Izvestia*, although 8 of the 41 respondents did not mention either title among the newspapers they reported reading with any regularity during their last year in the Soviet Union. Six of these eight reported reading other central newspapers, such as *Komsomol'skaya pravda* or *Trud*; the two others were readers of republic-level newspapers.

There were six former Communist Party members in the group and four persons who had been in occupational roles that demand a relatively high level of ideological training, regardless of whether the individual is a Party member or not. We shall use these two attributes, Party membership and membership in such occupations, as indicators of high political involvement (as against low or no political involvement).[33] Dichotomizing the attribute "education" into "more than secondary (ten-years) education" and "secondary education or less," we have then four sub-group which differ in education and/or political involvement:

a. high political involvement, more than secondary education. ($n = 9$)

b. high political involvement, secondary education or less ($n = 1$)

c. low political involvement, more than secondary education ($n = 16$)

d. low political involvement, secondary education or less ($n = 15$)

In the analysis we reassigned the respondent from cell b, a former Communist Party member with complete secondary education, to cell a. The members of this cell are referred to as "Leaders." The members of the two remaining cells are referred to as "Nonleaders with higher education" (c), and "Nonleaders with lower education" (d).

Ideally we should like to distinguish between more than two levels of education. We should like to separate in cell d the respon-

[33]The use of certain occupational roles as indicators of degree of political involvement is based on findings from our intensive interviews with former Soviet residents ("The Soviet Audience," Ch. V), as well as on indications from Soviet time budget studies. The four respondents were two secondary school teachers, an economist in a leading position in a state publishing house, and the director of a factory department.

dents with secondary education from those with a seven-year education or less. Evidence from audience studies shows rather large differences in exposure to the print media between these groups.[34] But the numbers we are dealing with are too small to warrent such a split. We must, however, keep in mind that cell d is weighted toward respondents with a complete secondary education.[35]

Originally our main concern in this study was with how readers of the Soviet press read the most significant material in newspapers—that material which the various authors whom we cited earlier agree is the most likely to throw light on any changes that might occur, any new policies that might be adopted, or on any conflicts regarding policy, in the political, economic, or social spheres of Soviet life. In order to study consumption of this material, we needed to inquire first into patterns of article selection.

We used six issues of *Pravda* and four issues of *Izvestia* (dated between November 1964 and May 1965), each of which contained an article that we considered particularly significant for the discussion, criticisms, and policy-relevant statements it contained. There were five speeches, one editorial, two *podvals*, and two other signed articles. We attempted to cover a cross-section of topics: Party organization, Party-intelligentsia relations, economic problems (incentives, organization of agriculture), international relations, and regional news. Most of the ten articles deal with one of these problems in particular, but two

[34]In *The Soviet Citizen* the data on exposure are broken down by social group rather than by education. We reanalyzed these data from the Harvard Project using breakdowns by education. See Rogers, "The Soviet Audience," Chapter II. (Also for breakdowns by education of exposure data from the "Leisure Studies.") See also Grushin, *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, February 25, 1966, p. 3, and various time budget studies, for example, V.G. Baykova, "Svobodnoye vremya i povysheniye naucho-tekhnicheskovo urovnya inzhenyerno-tekhnicheskikh rabotnikov" ("Free Time and the Raising of the Scientific-Technical Level of Engineering–Technical Workers"), *Voprosi filosofii*, No. 7 (1965), p. 70; M.P. Goncharenko et al., "Metodika i nekotorye resultaty konkretnovo sotsial'novo issledovaniya byudzheta vremeni trudyashchikhsya" ("Methodology and Some Results of Concrete Social Research of Time Budgets of Workers"), *Nauchnye doklady vysshey shkoly: Filosofskiye nauki*, No. 1 (1963), pp. 35-38.

[35]Nine of the 15 respondents in the cell have a complete secondary education, two have $<10, >7$ years, three have 7 years, and one has <7 years of education.

speeches are general policy statements and analyses. Our subjective judgment that these were significant articles is supported by that of the editors of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press:* from the same issues of *Pravda* or *Izvestia*, they selected only these ten articles for inclusion in the *Digest.*[36]

The newspapers were covered by a transparent acetate jacket, so that four pages were visible in each case. (If a newspaper had six pages, the fourth and fifth pages were not visible.) We showed the newspapers in random sequence to a respondent and asked him to identify all the articles that he "would have read if [he] had been reading such an issue of *Pravda* or *Izvestia* while in the Soviet Union."[37] In a few cases, we were not able to show all ten newspapers to a respondent, because of limits on the time available for the experiment. In 25 out of a total of 410 instances we did not find out whether a respondent would have chosen to read a given article among the ten most significant articles in the newspapers. More frequently it happened that because of time pressures we asked a respondent for his selections of articles in only two or three rather than all four pages of a newspaper. (In these cases, we started in at varying places in the newspapers so that different pages were omitted with different respondents.)

Due to the way in which the experiment was structured, the respondents made their decision on whether they "would have read" a given article or not essentially on the basis of the article's

[36]We tested our judgment also against that of the Communist Party member in our sample who had the highest education and highest exposure to the print media: at a point in the experiment when our question would not prejudice his later performance, nor his answers be prejudiced by that part of the experiment that was already completed, we asked him to identify "the most significant article" in each of the ten newspaper issues. Without hesitation he pointed in each case to the article we had chosen. (The question was asked of the respondent after he had pointed out in the newspapers all articles he "would have read," but before he was asked to actually read the ten "experiment articles.")

[37]A problem with studying outside the society the particular aspects of media exposure that we investigated in this experiment was, of course, the fact that time had elapsed since the respondents had last read a Soviet newspaper in a natural situation. To our surprise, this did not seem to disturb them. It is also true, as we noted earlier, that several respondents were more regular readers of another central newspaper, or of a regional newspaper, than of either of the two central newspapers used, but every respondent in the experiment had *some* familiarity with *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

title, format, and position in the newspaper. Essentially, what they were asked about, then, was whether they "would have *begun* to read" a certain article; not how closely they would have read it or whether they would have finished reading it. A respondent could look briefly at the text itself if he wanted to, but he was not urged to do so.

In the analysis of the respondents' article selections, all articles in the ten newspapers were classified into types on the bases of form and content by two student research assistants with several years of Soviet studies, who read Russian fluently. Agreement was better than 95 per cent. All those article types of which there were at least four instances in the ten newspapers were included in the analysis.

When the respondent had finished noting the articles that he "would have read" in the newspapers and if among the ones that he noted there were any of the ten "experiment articles," he was then asked actually to read these. He was asked to follow with a wax pencil alongside the column, holding the pencil at approximately the line which he was reading at the moment. He was asked to mark a solid line alongside the column if he was reading the passage closely, a broken line if he was skimming. If he skipped certain parts of the article, absence of a line at the particular column indicated this fact. (The interviewer was present at each experiment, and had before her photocopies of the articles that were being read, in order to be able to note any faulty marking on the part of the respondent.) Finally, the respondent was asked to mark, by underlining or framing or otherwise noting a particular sentence or paragraph, those parts of the article that he considered "particularly important or interesting."[38]

We are also able to compare the data on the respondents' evaluation of different passages within articles with parallel data obtained from another group: ten staff members of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University and the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

[38]These conventions might be modified by the individual respondent. If the respondent, for example, did not skip any of the material, he might mark only the passages that were read closely, and absence of a line would indicate skimming.

who are engaged in research on the Soviet Union were asked to read the ten "experiment articles" in translation, and to mark in them those passages that they considered "particularly important or interesting."

Chapter Two

PATTERNS OF ARTICLE SELECTION

Selection of All Article Types

We should make explicit here a problem with the analysis of this part of the data. As we noted earlier, the responses on the selections of all types of newspaper articles across the board are less complete than those on the selections of the ten articles that were used in the later parts of the experiment. This is because the primary focus of the experiment was on the techniques used by Soviet readers to read significant materials in the newspapers, rather than on general patterns of article selection. This particular aspect of the experiment is therefore less carefully designed than in retrospect we should like it to have been. We therefore should note here that in the analysis we simply added up all positive and negative responses concerning selection of an article type, regardless of the fact that one respondent may have been confronted with all articles of a given type, while another may not have been. We should stress, however, that with the exception of fewer omissions of the ten experiment articles, the omissions of articles from those to be shown to the respondents were not systematic.

We found that the politically involved and most educated selected a larger volume of material to read in the newspapers than the uninvolved and less educated, and the choices of articles by the three reader groups tended to fall into the pattern shown in Table 2.1. Of eighteen article types, ten were chosen with highest relative frequencies by the Leaders, five by the Nonleaders with higher education, and three by the Nonleaders with lower education. Note the large differences, in most rows in the middle columns of Table 2.1, between the frequencies of the three groups' choices (more than twenty percentage points in eight out of ten cases), and the smaller differences for all cases in the right-hand columns (at most nineteen percentage points).

The materials from which students of Soviet society claim to learn most concerning policy changes and conflicts over policies in the political and social life of the Soviet Union were all chosen with

highest frequencies by the Leaders: editorials (1),[1] speeches (2),[2] analyses and commentaries dealing with political (internal or Soviet foreign relations) or with economic questions (6,7).[3] The table shows the same pattern for choices of letters with political or economic content (3,4). For all types of articles mentioned so far the choices by the Nonleaders with higher education resembled more closely those by the Nonleaders with lower education than those by the Leaders.

Aside from "human interest" stories (9), the choices with the highest absolute frequencies by the two groups of Nonleaders were registered for commentaries on international political events (5). Among the most popular articles in this category were two which contain paraphrases of speeches by foreign leaders (Lyndon Johnson, Chou-En Lai). The respondents' strong interest in events outside the Soviet Union was reflected again in the fact that of all types of short news items and "announcements" only those dealing with international political topics (11) were chosen with relatively high frequencies (more than 30%) by the Leaders and the Nonleaders with higher education. Since this is the category of articles with the largest number of instances

[1]Two of the four editorials were primarily political in content. The frequencies with which they were chosen (69%, 15%, 19%) were practically the same as those that we calculated for all four editorials. The two other editorials dealt with Soviet agriculture and education respectively.

[2]A number of different materials are included in this type, but all deal with Soviet internal politics or Soviet-foreign relations or both. Two speeches are major policy statements made by Soviet leaders on important national holidays. Another deals primarily with Party matters. Among those dealing with Soviet foreign relations are two speeches made in Moscow on the occasion of a "Soviet-Indian friendship meeting" by Kosygin and by the late Indian Prime Minister Shastri. (In the newspaper, the two speeches are preceded by a short introductory article and all three items are presented under one major heading. The readers treated the two speeches as a unit. We do the same when we discuss the respondents' choices and styles of reading of the "experiment articles.") Included in this category is also the transcript of a press conference held by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Moscow.

There is only one instance in the ten newspapers of a reprint of a speech made outside the Soviet Union by a non-Soviet source and dealing primarily with the politics of another country. We did not include it in the analysis.

[3]Another category often mentioned as important by analysts of Soviet society are communiques (articles bearing the title *komyunike*). We did not include this article type in the analysis, since there were only two instances of communiques in the ten newspapers. *Feuilletons* were omitted for the same reason.

Table 2.1
Selection of Articles to Read in Ten Issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*

		Articles Most Frequently Chosen by Leaders			*Articles Most Frequently Chosen by Nonleaders*		
	(*n*) †	Leaders	Nonleaders With >10 Years of Education	Nonleaders With ≤10 Years of Education	Leaders	Nonleaders With >10 Years of Education	Nonleaders With ≤10 Years of Education
Editorials: *							
1. All	(4)	s ‡ 63 %	14 %	23 %			
Speeches:							
2. Political (U.S.S.R.)	(10)	s 62	31	24			
Letters:							
3. Political (U.S.S.R.)	(4)	60	32	26			
4. Economic	(4)	42	16	21			
Analyses, Commentaries:							
5. Political (International)	(14)	58	53	41			
6. Political (U.S.S.R.)	(6)	s 52	22	9			
7. Economic	(10)	s 48	27	12			
8. History	(5)	41	18	27			
9. Human Interest	(11)	54	49	50			
10. Culture, Science and Technology	(11)				s 32 %	41 %	22 %

Short News Items:							
11. Political (International)	(75)	s 42	33	19			
12. Political (U.S.S.R.)	(42)				11	11	13
13. Economic	(32)				9	9	10
14. Human Interest	(6)				8	7	23
15. Culture, Science and Technology	(30)				15	21	20
16. Sports	(15)				s 6	25	23
Announcements:							
17. Political (U.S.S.R.)	(4)				14	27	26
18. Human Interest	(6)				s 0	17	15

*Editorials = unsigned articles on the front page, generally set in wider columns than the other articles.

Short News Items = news items of one or two paragraphs. A dateline is frequently given.

Announcements = items of one or two paragraphs appearing under one of the following headings: *ukaz* (8 instances), *prikaz* (1 instance), and *khronika* (1 instance).

Analyses, Commentaries = longer articles which are not editorials, speeches or letters, nor appear under the headings "communique" or "feuilleton." They are generally signed articles.

Political (U.S.S.R.) = content is primarily political, dealing with the Soviet Union, or the Soviet Union and her relations with other countries.

Political (International) = content is primarily political, dealing with situations in or relations between countries other than the Soviet Union.

† *n* = number of articles of this type occurring in the ten newspapers.

‡ s = by the chi - square test the differences in the frequencies of the selections by the three groups are statistically significant at better than the .05 level (2 d.f.). Absence of "s" indicates either that there was a lack of statistical significance at or below the .05 confidence level, or that one or more of the expected frequencies in a cell was <5 and we did not apply the chi - square test.

in the ten newspapers (almost twice as many as in the next largest category), a frequency of 19 per cent for the choices by the Nonleaders with lower education represents a large absolute number of selections of such items also for this group. It is possible that these choices reflect in part the peculiar nature of our group of respondents. Since they eventually left the Soviet Union, it is likely that they were highly interested in news and commentaries about foreign countries while they were still there. How much they differed in this respect from other readers of Soviet newspapers we do not know. And, of course, we undertook this experiment with them after they had in fact left the Soviet Union. It is possible that their memory of what content they usually read in Soviet newspapers was distorted. There seems to be less of this danger, however, in a situation in which they were actually confronted with issues of Soviet newspapers rather than merely asked to generalize about their behavior.

The remaining categories of short news items and the "announcements" either received equal attention from all groups of respondents (12, 13, 15, 17) or, as in the case of sports (16)[4] and "human interest" materials (14, 18), they were selected more frequently by one or both groups of Nonleaders.

The choices of which articles to read were made on the basis of various clues. The respondents looked at the article's title for an indication of the content, some looked at the author's name, or determined on what occasion a particular speech was held. Several, particularly from among the less educated respondents, turned first to the last page of the newspaper. This is the page which contains most of the short news flashes, announcements and "human interest" stories, although short news (political and economic, but not sports) also appear on the first or the inside pages. A few among the less educated respondents remarked with regard to two long policy speeches by Brezhnev and Demichev, which are also included among the ten "experiment articles," that they "never" read such "long" and "difficult" material.

In summary, we found important differences between respondents of differing education and degree of political involvement

[4]Attention to sports is higher in the younger than in the older age groups, but our above statement is still fulfilled when we divide our respondents into two groups of those 29 years old and younger, and those more than 29 years old.

in their selections of what materials to read in ten issues of two Soviet central newspapers. Commentaries on international politics and "human interest" stories have a high ($> .40$) probability of being chosen by respondents across the board. For *all* other (sixteen) types of articles in the table, the probabilities of being selected by Nonleaders with lower education are consistently lower ($< .30$). To this the Leaders' selections present a striking contrast. Half of the sixteen types of articles have a high probability ($> .40, \leqslant .63$) of being selected by the Leaders. These are editorials, speeches, letters, analyses and commentaries (with one exception), and one type of short news item. The other half of the articles are selected with probabilities similar to those of the choices by the Nonleaders with lower education ($\leqslant .32$). These articles are one (nonpolitical) type of analysis-commentary, and all but one type of short news item and "announcements." The probabilities of the selections by the Nonleaders with higher education fall most often between those of the two other groups. But they resemble more closely those of the Leaders rather than those of the Nonleaders with lower education.

The interest in these results is in the consistent patterns of differences which they suggest, not in the absolute figures in the table. We have to recall above all that nine of the fifteen Nonleaders with "lower education" have a complete secondary education, which is by no means a "low" educational level.[6]

[5]As might be expected, analyses and commentaries of cultural and scientific topics represent the most definite exception to the pattern. They were chosen with highest frequency by the Nonleaders with higher education (p = .41), next by the Leaders (p = .32), and lastly by the Nonleaders with lower education (p = .22).

[6]In 1959, the Soviet population of age 16 and above was distributed over five educational levels as follows:

$<$4 years:	48,398.440	(34%)
$\geqslant$4, $<$7 years:	40,975.568	(28%)
$\geqslant$7, $<$10 years:	32,018.775	(22%)
= 10 years (complete secondary):	17,806.044	(12%)
$>$10 years (complete or incomplete higher)	6,132.461	(4%)
	(145,331.288)	

Calculated from John F. Kramer, "The Population of the Soviet Union, Broken by Age, Sex, Urban-Rural, Education and Social Class," M.I.T. Center for International Studies, November 22, 1965, Table 1 (mimeographed). Kramer adjusted the 1959 census figures for the age breakdown $<$16 years, $\geqslant$16 years.

The Ten "Experiment Articles"

In our previous analysis, the data on readers' preferences among the ten "experiment articles" were included with the data on all other selections. Here we discuss separately the selection pattern of the ten articles. The choices of this material, which consists of the single most significant article in each newspaper (according to two independent judgments), differ significantly with the respondents' political involvement and education in ways that are consistent with our previous findings.[7] Eight of ten Leaders chose five or more of the ten "experiment articles," while only four of sixteen Nonleaders with higher education chose five or more, and not one of fourteen Nonleaders with lower education chose as many.[8]

The Leaders with the lowest scores on the selection of the "experiment articles" were, interestingly, the three former Communist Party members whose careers had been in state administration and intelligence, as opposed to the Party members whose careers had been in the professions, and to the non-Party members among the Leaders. One of the three Leaders with low selection scores, who had a secondary education, had been chairman of a state farm; another, a graduate of a naval academy, had been a navy intelligence officer; and a third, with secondary and two years technical schooling, had been an intelligence officer in an army unit. These three respondents had also been less exposed to the print media in general than had the other Leaders, both

[7]Percentage of ten most significant articles selected to read in ten issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*:

Leaders	72%
Nonleaders with >10 years of education	34%
Nonleaders with $\leqslant 10$ years of education	16%

($X^2 = 76.280$ $p < .001$ 2 d.f.)

[8]There are few "nonaskeds" in the case of these articles, so that this statement can unambiguously be made for all but one respondent (a Nonleader with lower education). He is excluded in the above statement.

One Nonleader with higher education chose none of the "experiment articles" shown to him, as did six Nonleaders with lower education (the four with a seven year education or less, and two with a ten-year education). Some of these respondents were, however, asked only about nine of the ten articles.

Party members and nonmembers. The state farm chairman and the naval officer in particular commented that they had felt little pressure to read their Party newspaper (or *Izvestia*), to keep up with important information and policies. Apparently they had felt less of a need to be highly and swiftly informed than had the other Leaders, and apparently they had relied primarily on intra-Party channels, formal and informal, for their information needs. These differences may, of course, be accidental. If they are not, they might be explained by a variety of factors or their combination: by differences in education (the Communist Party members with high selection scores all had a complete university education); or by residence (rural versus Moscow[9]); or, most interestingly, by differences in the demands of the particular Party-occupational roles.

A look at the choices of individual "experiment articles" shows that the categories in Table 2.1 comprise materials of varying appeal to the readers. But the overall differences in frequencies of selection according to education and political involvement are preserved throughout. Among the speeches, those most frequently chosen by the Leaders were two policy speeches made by Brezhnev and Demichev on major Soviet holidays.[10] Both speeches cover a wide range of topics: Party organization, ideological work, the Soviet economy, the international communist movement, the U.S.S.R.'s relationship with the West, and her reaction to the United States' presence in Vietnam. Besides lengthy passages on the Soviet Union's and the socialist camp's achievements in most of the sectors enumerated, the speeches contain criticisms of Khrushchev's reorganization of the Party structure and of failures in agriculture, as well as analysis and policy state-

[9]The three Communist Party members with low selection scores had rural residence; the Party members with high selection scores lived in Moscow. (However, only two of the four nonmembers lived in Moscow; one other lived in a provincial capital, another in a small town.)

[10]L. I. Brezhnev, "47th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" (report at the formal meeting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, November 6, 1964), *Pravda*, November 7, 1964, pp. 1-3, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 16, No. 43 (1964), pp. 3-9; and P. N. Demichev, "Leninism Is the Scientific Foundation of the Party's Policy" (report at the formal meeting in honor of the 95th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth), *Izvestia*, April 23, 1965, pp. 1-2, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 17 (1965), pp. 3-8.

ments on auxiliary plots of farmers, on the U.S.S.R.'s conflict with China, etc.

The speeches most popular among the Nonleaders, but which were widely chosen by the Leaders also, were one speech and a set of speeches dealing with Soviet foreign relations. These speeches contain statements on foreign policy, but also vivid accounts of leaders' travels abroad and to the Soviet Union, and vignettes of "human interest" material.[11] For some of the Nonleaders with lower education these speeches were the only material chosen, if they chose any of the "experiment articles" at all.[12] Material similar to these speeches which is not included among the ten "experiment articles" was also widely popular, for example, the transcript of a press conference with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.

A fifth speech, which deals with an event in the Soviet Union that has no more than regional importance,[13] evoked little interest except among the Leaders.[14]

[11] A. N. Kosygin, "On the Trip to Socialist Countries of Asia," *Izvestia*, February 27, 1965, p. 1, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 9 (1965), pp. 3-9; and a set of speeches made by Kosygin and Shastri on the occasion of the late Indian Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union. We consider these two speeches, together with the introduction to them, as one item here, since in the newspaper they are presented as a unit under one title: "May the Friendship and Cooperation between the Peoples of the Soviet Union and the Republic of India Develop and Grow Stronger!" (Soviet-Indian Friendship Rally), *Pravda*, May 16, 1965, pp. 1-2, translated (the introduction as a condensed text, the speeches in full) in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 20 (1965), pp. 7-11.

[12] Of the fifteen Nonleaders with lower education, nine chose between one and four articles each. Of the three who chose only one article, each chose one of Kosygin's "Asia speech" or the Kosygin-Shastri speeches.

[13] "In the Friendly Family of Peoples of the USSR: Toward New Successes in the Building of Communism. Presentation of the Order of Lenin to the Azerbaidzhan Republic," *Izvestia*, May 22, 1965, pp. 1-2, translated (condensed text) in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 21 (1965), pp. 3-5.

[14] Percentage of respondents in a given group who chose:

	Leaders	Nonleaders with >10 years of education	Nonleaders with ≤10 years of education
(1) The Brezhnev Speech	100	37	21
(2) The Demichev Speech	80	19	0
(3) The Kosygin "Asia Speech"	80	64	42
(4) The Kosygin-Shastri Speeches	67	43	36
(5) The Podgorny "Azerbaidzhan Speech"	56	0	8

The patterns of selection of the remaining five "experiment articles" illustrate a distinction among "political" materials that we should have liked to have made in our analysis above if we had been dealing with larger numbers of articles. The distinction is between articles dealing specifically with Party matters and articles of more general "political" content. The latter type is not well represented among the remaining five articles: the only article in the category is an analysis of the relations between the Party and the intelligentsia.[15] We find it selected with high frequency by the Party and intelligentsia respondents. The other political *podval*, which deals with questions of Party organization,[16] was selected only by the Leaders.

An editorial deals with the same topic as the second *podval*, i.e., Party organization.[17] The data on selection, and the respondents' comments suggest that the respondents expected to learn more on the topic from an editorial than from the *podval* (which is by an author who is "not well-known"). All respondents who selected the *podval* also selected the editorial, and there are others who selected the editorial only.[18] Those who later read both articles said that they found their predictions confirmed.

The last two among the ten "experiment articles" are two

[15] A. Rumyantsev, "The Party and the Intelligentsia," *Pravda*, February 21, 1965, pp. 2-3, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 7 (1965), pp. 3-4, 35.

[16] V. Stepanov, "Organization Is a Leninist Principle," *Pravda*, January 12, 1965, pp. 2-3, translated (condensed text) in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1965), pp. 3-4.

[17] "Fidelity to Leninist Organizational Principles," *Pravda*, November 18, 1964, p. 1, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 16, No. 45 (1964), pp. 3-4, 16.

[18] Percentage of respondents in a given group who chose:

	Leaders	Nonleaders with >10 years of education	Nonleaders with $\leqslant 10$ years of education
(6) The *podval* on "Party and Intelligentsia"	80	87	14
(7) The *podval* on Party organization	44	6	0
(8) The editorial on Party organization	78	6	7

economic analyses which were chosen with similar frequencies.[19]

[19] L. Kassirov, "Problems of the Economics of Agriculture: Material Incentives and Production," *Pravda*, January 22, 1965, p. 2, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1965), pp. 10-11. (This article is a strong statement in favor of a new farm price policy and the profit system.)

G. Lisichkin and A. Dolenko (special correspondents), "Letter with Commentary: Wasteful Haste," *Izvestia*, April 29, 1965, p. 3, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 17, No. 17 (1965), pp. 9-10. (An article challenging hasty conversion of collective farms into state farms, criticizing the inefficiency resulting from certain administrative measures on state farms.)

Percentage of respondents in a given group who chose:

	Leaders	Nonleaders with >10 years of education	Nonleaders with $\leqslant 10$ years of education
(9) "Material Incentives"	67	47	13
(10) "Wasteful Haste"	60	43	21

Chapter Three

SELECTION OF CONTENT WITHIN ARTICLES

After the respondents had finished selecting articles, they were asked to read those from among the ten "experiment articles"[1] which they had selected. In this chapter we present our findings on the modes of reading which we observed, and on the respondents' evaluation of which content within the articles was "particularly important or interesting."

There were two basic modes of reading. The first was that of reading the material word for word, whenever it was looked at at all. In this mode there appeared to be no difference in the speed of reading throughout the article. The second mode was an alternation between skimming (or "reading quickly") and reading slowly and thoroughly. This alternation involved units of size from part of a paragraph to any number of paragraphs in the article. The respondents fell into two groups, depending on which mode of reading they primarily used. The members of one group read every article in the same way: word for word. In the second group, a reader would either alternate between skimming and reading closely in every article he read, or he would do so in all but one or two of the articles. The exceptions were a couple of articles which contain mainly or only analytical material (discussion, criticisms, policy-relevant statements), and little or no filler or propaganda: the *podval* "Party and Intelligentsia," (6), and the two articles on economic problems, (9) and (10).

Table 3.1 shows that styles of reading differ with education and political involvement. Alternation between skimming and reading closely was typical of the Leaders, while the Nonleaders with lower education typically read the material word for word.[2]

[1]Because of time limitations, five respondents who had chosen one or more "experiment articles" were, however, not asked to participate further in the experiment, and others could not always be asked to read *all* the articles they had selected.

[2]The one exception in this group is a respondent who left the Soviet Union after graduation from secondary school and became a university student first in another communist and later in a non-communist country. With regard to methods of reading his responses belong more properly with those of the higher educational group.

Two thirds of the Nonleaders with higher education were skimmers, one third were close readers.

We should note that we are dealing with a continuum of reading skill, not a dichotomy. For example, the respondent in the group of Leaders who tended to read the material word for word read more quickly than did the respondents in the lowest educational group. With minor exceptions, the skimmers identified the material that they read closely as the same as the material that they considered "particularly important or interesting." The ratio of material skimmed to material read within the same article varied from respondent to respondent. The close readers, who read all the material in the same way, marked certain passages separately as "particularly important or interesting."

Table 3.1

Styles of Reading the "Experiment Articles"

	Mainly Alternated Between Skimming and Reading	*Read Articles Word for Word*
Leaders ($N = 8$) *	7	1
Nonleaders with Higher Education ($N = 12$) †	8	4
Nonleaders with Lower Education ($N = 9$) ‡	1	8

*Two Leaders wery not asked to perform this part of the experiment. This group now includes only respondents with > 10 years of education.

†Three Nonleaders with higher education were not asked to perform this part of the experiment. One other respondent in this group did not choose any of the ten "experiment articles."

‡Two fifths of the Nonleaders with lower education are eliminated at this stage, since they did not choose any of the ten articles. This leaves in this group seven respondents with a ten year education, and two with >7, <10 years of education.

In some cases, a respondent skipped part of the material in an article completely. He might either pick up reading again at a later

point in the article or stop reading the article altogether, noting that it was less interesting than or different from what he had expected it to be. We will discuss these patterns in the next chapter, when we analyze the respondents' styles of reading in more detail. The rest of the analysis in this chapter is based on the material that the respondents actually looked at.

Each of the ten articles used in the experiment contains a mixture of different types of content. There are policy statements, criticisms of domestic matters or of a foreign country, other analytical statements, routine statements and propaganda. The ratio of analytical-critical-policy content to general information-propaganda content among the material chosen by different groups of readers as "particularly important or interesting" was higher among the Leaders and the American students of Soviet society than among the Nonleaders.

For the purpose of our analysis, six judges[3] classified the content of the ten articles into six content categories. The unit of measurement was generally the paragraph in the text; but in a few cases in which a paragraph clearly contained two themes it was split into two units. The six content categories were defined as follows:

C_d *Criticism* of a domestic situation or policy.

C_f *Criticism* of a particular situation in, or of the actions or policies of, a *foreign* country.

P A *policy* statement or suggestion, referring to a domestic issue; or, in international affairs, to a position held by the Soviet Union.

A *Analysis* of a point which is central to the article; factual material presented as an integral part of the analysis.

I *Information* not central to an argument in the article;

[3]The judges were five graduate students at M.I.T. or Harvard University, in political science or Far Eastern history, who had some experience in reading the current communist press; and one recent emigre from an East European country, where this person had worked as a teacher.

often routine statements, e.g. introducing a speech, or presenting facts which may be presumed to be widely known; restatements of Marxist-Leninist doctrine which are not part of a central argument; general expression of good wishes; "human interest" material (few instances).

C Interpretation of a fact or of a claim in terms highly favorable to the U.S.S.R. or the socialist camp, generally presented in strongly emotive language. (*C* stands for "achievements *claimed.*") This category may also include negative comparisons between the capitalist and the communist systems. (Factual comparisons without interpretation, however, were scored I. Critical references to other countries, when no comparison was involved, were scored C_f.)

In the analysis presented below we grouped this material into two categories. The first category consists of analytical material: domestic criticism, policy-relevant statements, and analysis (C_d, *P*, *A*). The second category consists of general information-propaganda material: noncentral information, highly emotive interpretations favorable to the U.S.S.R. (claims or propaganda), and criticism of foreign countries[4] (*I*, *C*, C_f).[5] All except the two economic articles (9) and (10), were found to contain both types of materials. The economic articles were classified as containing only analytical material. The data on how these two articles were read are therefore not included in the following analysis.

A further note on the coding needs to be included here. Some of the material that was classified as analytical material is also, according to all or at least to several of the six judges, esoteric

[4]While we had *a priori* grouped together the categories *A*, *P*, and C_d on the one hand, and *I* and *C* on the other (a grouping which was confirmed as meaningful by the patterns of the respondents' choices), the assignment of C_f to the cluster of *I* and *C* is strictly empirically derived: we had no hypothesis as to the pattern into which the choices of this category would fall.

[5]The six judges agreed in their classification of the articles' content into the two major categories in 80% of the cases. Where there was incomplete agreement on any of the six categories, three judges then discussed the case and together arrived at one classification.

communication. For example, all judges asserted–as did the respondents who read the article–that in the *podval* on Party organization the passages criticizing the shortcomings of the earlier reorganization of the Party structure refer to Khrushchev. Had this reference not been recognized, these passages would still have been coded in the same manner (C_d). But there were a number of paragraphs which might have been classified as general information-propaganda material, but were in fact classified as analytical material, since they were judged to contain formulae the use and the exact wording of which "is not accidental" (to use the appropriate phrase from Soviet language). An example of such a formula is the terms used to evaluate meetings with foreign delegations in the U.S.S.R. or with foreign heads of state abroad ("In a friendly, comradely atmosphere we exchanged views. ..."; "We consider the meetings and talks with the Chinese leaders to have been useful" [6]).

The results presented in Section 1 of Table 3.2, and in more detail in Appendices A and B, show that the ratio of analytical to general information-propaganda content among the passages selected as "particularly important or interesting" in the eight articles is lowest in the case of the Nonleaders with lower education, and rises as we go from this group to the Nonleaders with higher education and then to the Leaders. We observe further that by this measure the Cambridge group turn out to be the most critical readers.[7] This is an interesting finding, although it is perhaps not surprising after all, since these respondents are analysts of Soviet society by their profession, and have never lived the daily lives of members of Soviet society. When we tabulate these data for each article separately, as we did in Appendix B, we find that with one minor exception (a reversal of the pattern by one percentage point, in the case of one article) the results go in the same direction in every case.

[6]Kosygin's "Asia speech," (3).

[7]The figure in Appendix A shows these results broken down by all six content categories, and shows also how the total content of the articles breaks down into the six categories.

Table 3.2

Content of Passages Chosen as "Particularly Important or Interesting" Material in Eight Soviet Newspaper Articles, by Three Groups of Former Residents of the U.S.S.R. and by a Group of American Analysts of Soviet Society

	(N)*	(n)†	*Percentage Analytical Content*	*Percentage General Information--Propaganda Content*
1. Nonleaders				
Education ⩽10 years	(10)	(144)	39	61
Education >10 years	(22)	(303)	60	40
Leaders	(29)	(466)	63	37
Cambridge Group	(74)	(854)	72	28
(X^2 = 67.850 p <.001 3 d.f.)				
2. Nonleaders with Education >10 years				
Close Readers	(3)	(25)	52	48
Skimmers	(19)	(278)	61	39
(X^2 = 0.803 p>.30 1 d.f.)				

* N = number of articles read.

† n = number of units marked in N articles as "particularly important or interesting" material = figure on the basis of which the percentages were computed.

Within the group of Nonleaders with higher education we can also compare the choices of the skimmers with those of the close readers. The skimmers adjusted their style of reading according to the interest the material had for them. We therefore ask ourselves whether these differences go together also with differences in critical reading, i.e., in the ratio of analytical to general information-propaganda material designated as "particularly important and interesting." The results, as shown in item 2 of Table 3.2, go in the expected direction (the ratio is higher for the skimmers), but they are not statistically significant.

Chapter Four

HOW THE "EXPERIMENT ARTICLES" WERE READ

In this chapter, we show in detail the various ways in which the ten "experiment articles" were read. Before the articles are treated individually, some general assessments of the style of skimmers and close readers can be made.

More often than not the skimmers—particularly the Leaders among them, who were the respondents most highly socialized into the newspapers- began an article by skimming and read more closely later on. However, the last paragraphs in an article were most frequently skimmed; they are indeed generally merely restatements of a point made earlier, or fillers or propaganda statements. (This last observation disproves a claim that has been made: that it is generally the next-to-the-last paragraph in such Soviet newspaper articles that contains the clue to the whole article, and that it is therefore this passage that sophisticated Soviet readers pay particular attention to.) The decision to switch from one mode of reading to the other within an article seems to have been governed more by content than by structure. Breaks in the layout of an article were ignored by sophisticated readers when, in fact, the argument continued across such breaks.

The skimmers hardly skipped material except in the speeches given by Brezhnev and Demichev on the two most important Soviet holidays. Here the standard format of the articles was generally used as a guide. The skimmers seem to have known from the subtitles and probably also from the position of the different sections of the speeches which sections would contain some new information and which they should therefore read. We observed high agreement among these readers on which sections to skip, and some commented spontaneously on why they were omitting a given section of the speech. Speeches given on unique occasions rather than on recurring holidays (which are not similarly structured) were, on the other hand, generally looked at in their entirety, as were the shorter articles.

The close readers skipped entire segments within an article more frequently and in a wider range of articles than the skimmers, and even in some instances gave up reading an article altogether part-way through. While the skimmers tended to skip large parts

of an article if they skipped anything at all, the close readers skipped small units—a paragraph or a couple of paragraphs—and frequently used various typographical features of an article to determine the points at which they would stop reading or pick up again. Such features were, for example, the section markings in the Brezhnev and Demichev speeches; the word "applause," in heavy type and between parentheses, after various paragraphs in the same speeches; breaks in an article that were indicated by a typographical device but did not correspond to the organization of the article's content; sentences or paragraphs set off in heavy type; or simply numbers that appeared somewhere in a paragraph. But there was no observable pattern, from one respondent to another, of what these readers skipped in a given article, nor did their comments indicate that they were generally aware of what type of content they were omitting.

Some articles contained quotations from Lenin's writings and from Soviet Communist Party resolutions and other Party documents. These quotations were generally short and were presented as integral parts of the argument in the article. We cannot say that such quotations were generally more or less closely read than the rest of the article. It seemed that it was the context in which the quotations appeared that primarily accounted for how they were attended to.

As we noted in Chapter 3, the skimmers generally indicated that the passages which they read closely in an article were also those which they considered particularly important or interesting. The close readers indicated their selections of such passages by marking them separately. We have noted also that the Leaders' choices of particularly important or interesting material contained the highest percentage of analytical, critical, and policy-relevant material, while the choices by the Nonleaders with higher education contained a somewhat lower percentage of such material and those by the Nonleaders with lower education the lowest of all. We turn now to the individual articles and shall show in some detail how they were read.

(1), (2), *The Brezhnev and Demichev speeches.* There are no more festive occasions in the cycle of the Soviet year than those at which these two speeches were made: the anniversary of the October Revolution (Brezhnev's speech), and the anniversary of Lenin's birth (Demichev's speech). The speeches are similar in

length, structure and content. Each takes up at least two pages in the newspaper and is divided into several sections. In the following summary of the individual sections we also indicate the order in which the sections appear in the speeches and how they are subtitled.

Brezhnev Speech:	*Demichev Speech:*	
Section 1: (no subtitle)	Section 1: (no subtitle)	Introductory; mentions the occasion for the gathering, welcomes the guests.
Section 2: "The World-Historic Victories of Great October"	Section 2: "Marxist-Leninist Science, Transforming the World"	Comments on virtues of Marxism-Leninism. The Brezhnev speech enumerates achievements, international and domestic, since the October revolution; the Demichev speech is more general, mainly stressing that Marxism-Leninism is the only theory of development that has stood up to the test of history. Mentions the then recent reorganization of the Party structure.
Section 3: "By the Leninist Course to the Victory of Communism!"	Section 3: "Leninist Principles of Guiding the Economy"	Discussion of economic policies. The Brezhnev speech deals with a wide variety of issues: the raising of the quality of industrial products, the question of economic stimuli, agricultural policies, housing, services. The Demichev speech deals primarily with the agricultural sector.
Section 4: "The Banner of October is the Banner of Struggle	Section 5: "For Strengthening the Unity and Solidarity	Discussion of the U.S.S.R.'s relationship with other socialist countries; methods of settling con-

Brezhnev Speech:	*Demichev Speech:*	
Section 4 (cont.): for Peace and Socialism"	Section 5 (cont.): of the Socialist Commonwealth of Peoples"; and Section 6: "Fight in a Leninist Way Against Imperialism, Strengthen the Unity of All Revolutionary Forces"	flicts in the international Communist movement; the U.S.S.R.'s relation with the developing countries; her position on the "struggle for national liberation"; the U.S.S.R.'s relation with the capitalist world (trade, arms, race, etc.).
Section 5: "The Communist Party Is the Militant Vanguard of the Soviet People"	Section 4: "Leninism and the Upbringing of the Working People"	Discussion of ideological work; rearing of the "new Soviet man."

The least-read sections in the two speeches were clearly the first and the second: the introduction, and the section dealing with the merits of Marxist-Leninist theory and the victories of socialism since the October Revolution.[1] The two Party members who skipped both sections in both speeches remarked with regard to section 2 that they "did not need to read this"—they "knew this from school." The generally most read (versus skipped) or most closely read sections were those dealing with the economy and with international relations. One respondent called the last section in the Demichev speech, which deals with the U.S.S.R.'s relations both with capitalist and with socialist countries, the "reason" for the speech. The Leaders did not skip the section on ideological work while the Nonleaders did.

[1]Number of respondents who read the two speeches, (1) and (2), in the experiment:

	Both Speeches	*Brezhnev Only*	*Demichev Only*
Leaders	5	1	1
Nonleaders with higher education	3	3	0
Nonleaders with lower education	0	3	0

Five out of seven Leaders looked at the speeches' entire text, two skipped large portions. Among six Nonleaders with higher education one strongly anti-Soviet respondent stopped reading after three paragraphs in the introductory part to the Brezhnev speech. Another, a close reader, skipped around in one of the speeches in rather "haphazard" fashion: the several sections of the speech are arranged across two columns; in more than one instance this respondent jumped from one section across a subtitle down into another section, and then, in the next column, back to the earlier section. Most respondents in this group, however, skipped larger portions of the two speeches; we recorded only two out of six readings of the entire text without skipping. Two Nonleaders with lower education read the entire Brezhnev speech, while a third frequently skipped small portions of the text.

We turn now to the styles of reading observed with the other speeches in the experiment. Kosygin's "Asia speech" (3), Kosygin's and Shastri's speeches taken together (4), and Podgorny's speech (5), each make up about one page in the respective issues of the newspapers. The speeches are not formally subdivided into individual sections. We observed little skipping of large segments of these speeches. On the other hand, we observed that the skimmers skimmed no other material as quickly as these three articles.

(3). *Kosygin's "Asia speech."* Its content can be outlined as follows:

Four paragraphs:

> A Soviet delegation has just returned from their visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. On their way they stopped over twice in Peking. This trip has shown very vividly to the travelers how great and boundless the commonwealth of socialist countries is. The purpose of the trip was an exchange of opinions and the strengthening of fraternal relations with North Vietnam and North Korea.

Twenty-nine paragraphs on the delegation's visit to North Vietnam, followed by twelve paragraphs dealing with the visit to Korea. These two passages are similarly structured.

> Statements concerning the warm welcome the visitors received and their impressions of the country, which has risen from a downtrodden colonial possession to a proud builder of communism.

A statement on the character of the meeting ("delighted to meet with Comrade Ho Chi Minh . . . ," "friendly, comradely atmosphere" of the talks in North Korea).

A set of statements on the international political situation as it impinges on the country, criticisms of the United States' actions in this context, and promises of Soviet assistance (in the case of Vietnam, unspecified of what kind; in the case of Korea, specified as military assistance). Most attention is given to the war in Vietnam, to the nature of the liberation movement in the South, and to United States interference. The parallel passage in the report on the Korean visit is shorter; there is the assertion that the Soviet Union considers the "Korean question" an internal affair, and that U.S. troops should be withdrawn from South Korea.

Expressions of gratitude for friendly, comradely talks and the warm welcome received.

Two paragraphs:

The meetings enhanced the unity between the Soviet Union and the countries visited. The speaker brings to the Soviet people the greetings of their Vietnamese and Korean friends.

Ten paragraphs dealing with the delegation's two "stopovers" in Peking:

There was "frank exchange of opinions on problems of mutual interest" (the international situation, the world Communist movement, the relations between the Soviet and Chinese parties and countries). Restatement of the Soviet position on such issues as the possibility of prevention of a world war, the possibility of peaceful coexistence, and the methods of achieving unity in the world Communist movement. The talks are described as having been "useful." Call for unity. No statement praising the Chinese.

The speaker thanks the audience for its attention.

There was no agreement among the skimmers as to how they would begin to read the speech. Some of the five skimmers among the Leaders[2] began by reading it closely, as did some of the four skimmers among the Nonleaders with higher education,

[2]Number of respondents who read Kosygin's "Asia Speech," (3):

Leaders	6
Nonleaders with higher education	5
Nonleaders with lower education	4

while the other skimmers in these groups started out by skimming. Within the speech, we recorded that the two groups read less closely and marked fewer passages as "particularly important or interesting" in the sections on the delegation's welcome and the countries' progress in economic construction and building socialism, than in those concerning the seriousness of the war in Vietnam and assurances of Soviet assistance. The short section on the meeting with the Chinese leaders at the end of the speech was read closely or marked as "important" by all six Leaders, but by only two of the five Nonleaders with higher education.

The last two paragraphs, which are routine statements—reiterating the need for unity in the international Communist movement, calling for peace in the world, and expressing the speaker's thanks for the audience's attention—were skimmed by the skimmers and remained unmarked by the two close readers in the two groups.

One of the four Nonleaders with lower education stopped reading less than half-way through the speech without having found any passage "particularly important or interesting." His comment was that he "knew already what the article was about and how it would go on." The two other close readers in the group found "particularly important or interesting" material in the passages dealing with Vietnam. One marked general information and propaganda passages dealing with North Vietnam's general achievements in building the society, as well as passages analyzing the political and military conflict in South Vietnam; the other selected only among the latter, more analytical, material. The only skimmer in the group behaved like the Leaders, reading closely the more analytical and policy-relevant passages in the sections on all three countries. He began by skimming the article, and he also skimmed the last three paragraphs.

(4). *The introductory article and two speeches on the Kosygin-Shastri meeting.* When indicating in the first part of the experiment what materials in the newspapers they would have read, half the respondents who chose any of this series of items chose both the introductory article and the two speeches and the other half chose the speeches only. The introductory article, about a quarter of a page in length, contains no analytical, policy-relevant, or critical material; it merely states the occasion for the speeches and presents short excerpts or summaries of the greetings extended to Prime Minister Shastri by various Soviet officials and other

guests at the Moscow meeting. The content of the two major speeches, by Kosygin and Shastri, can be outlined as follows:

Kosygin Speech	*Shastri Speech*
Welcome to the visitors and hail to Soviet – Indian friendship. Nothing in the development of Soviet – Indian ties is directed against other countries.	The speaker is honored to be at this meeting. Hail to Soviet – Indian friendship. Nothing in the development of Soviet – Indian ties is directed against other countries.
The U.S.S.R. provides an example (victory over fascism) as well as support for the national liberation movement. Praise of India's and other nations' liberation. But certain countries are still struggling.	India supports the aspirations of peoples under colonial rule (Angola, S. Africa, etc.). The U.S.S.R. and India agree on this issue. They must cooperate to strengthen peace.
Criticism of U.S. interference in the internal affairs of other countries, e.g., the Congo, South Vietnam. The United States opposes the national liberation movement. But it hides this opposition by speaking about a "Communist threat." The cause of all freedom-loving peoples is at stake in Vietnam. The Soviet Union, therefore, is aiding Vietnam to strengthen its defense capacity.	Statement of alarm over the situation in Vietnam. (Danger to peace.) All outside interference in Vietnam should be ended. No military solution is possible there.
The U.S.S.R. respects a country's policy of nonalignment (which is not the same as narrow "neutralism").	
The U.S. welcomes strife between liberated states.	
The Soviet Union wishes peace. But it is not frightened by the might of any country. The U.S.S.R.'s military capacity is high.	The spread of nuclear weapons is the most serious threat to peace. China recently exploded a nuclear device. Certain countries are trying to violate India's borders. India is always ready for discussions, but also for armed defense, if necessary. India favors disarmament and

Kosygin Speech	*Shastri Speech*
	congratulates the U.S.S.R. on her initiative regarding the test ban treaty.
	There are hard times ahead in the Indian economy.
Praise and examples of Soviet - Indian friendship and cooperation. Best wishes to the Indian people. The Soviets are pleased with the talks of the last few days. May the Soviet people's friendship with the Indian people grow stronger.	Expression of confidence that the friendship between the Indian and the Soviet peoples will grow stronger. Need to work to restore peace. Thanks for warm welcome. The Indian people sends its greetings.

Because of limitations of time only eight of the seventeen respondents who had selected to read these speeches were in fact asked to do so.[3] The only Leader, a close reader, showed no consistent pattern in how she read the two speeches. In Kosygin's speech she marked the least analytical passages (the beginning of the speech up to the comments on national liberation, and the concluding passages on Soviet-Indian friendship) as "important" while in Shastri's speech she selected a larger number of passages as well as a higher percentage of analytical passages (neither the introductory nor the concluding passages; rather those dealing with threat of war, disarmament, and India's border problems).

One of the skimmers among the Nonleaders with higher education read the Kosygin speech in a manner similar to that of the Leader. However, he read only up to the passages on national liberation and then stopped reading, commenting that he would not go on to read Shastri's speech because he knew on the basis of the Kosygin speech that he was not to "expect anything from Shastri's." Two other skimmers read closely a mixture of passages in the two speeches. Most frequent attention was paid to questions of the United States' relations with other countries, Soviet military

[3]Respondents who read the speeches on the Kosygin-Shastri meeting, (4):

Leaders	1
Nonleaders with higher education	4
Nonleaders with lower education	3

affairs, nonalignment, and the defense status of developing countries. These two readers began by skimming both speeches, one also skimmed the last paragraphs in the two speeches, the other read them closely. The last respondent in the group, a close reader who chose to read only Shastri's speech, marked a passage on every major theme in the speech as "important."

Three Nonleaders with lower education read closely or marked as "important" most frequently the less analytical and critical passages in the speeches, particularly the first and the last paragraphs. One of them, a close reader, marked also a number of the more analytical statements on international issues.

(5), *Podgorny's "Azerbaidzhan speech."* An introductory article of slightly more than a quarter of a page states the occasion for the festive gathering (presentation of the Order of Lenin to the Azerbaidzhan Republic) at which Podgorny spoke and summarizes shorter speeches made before Podgorny's. This introduction contains no analytical or critical or policy-relevant material. The following is a summary of Podgorny's speech:

> Expression of joy that the Azerbaidzhan Republic is given the Order of Lenin. Discussion of Azerbaidzhan's development in the economic, educational and cultural sectors. Some criticism of the Republic's economy.
>
> Enumeration of improvements in the Soviet economy as a whole. Comparisons with the economies of several Western European nations. Discussion of the tasks faced by the Soviet economy. The unity of the Party and the people, their labor traditions, are the guarantees that new successes will be achieved.
>
> Discussion of the growth of the world system of socialism and of successes of national liberation struggles. Azerbaidzhan's contribution to aid to the developing nations. Socialism is winning the minds and hearts of the people by example. Criticism of the U.S.: as "world gendarme." The U.S.S.R. is taking concrete measures to strengthen Vietnam's defense capacity. United, the working class and the peoples of the whole world will defend peace on earth.

Three of the six respondents who were recorded in Chapter 3 as having selected either or both items on Azerbaidzhan said that they would look at the introduction only "just to see why

Azerbaidzhan was given the Order." Two others chose both the introduction and the speech, and one the speech only. The latter three (all Leaders) were asked to read the speech.

The passages that most consistently found interest among the three respondents were those dealing with problems in the Azerbaidzhan and/or the entire Soviet economy, and the beginning of the criticism of American involvement in Vietnam. (But only one skimmer continued to read this last passage closely. The close reader stopped reading the speech at this point altogether, noting that this topic had no place in a speech honoring Azerbaidzhan.) Two of the three respondents read closely or marked as "important" also various passages praising Azerbaidzhan's development. The two skimmers passed quickly over both the introductory and the concluding passages.

We turn now to the five shorter, more analytical articles, beginning with

(6). *The podval on "Party and Intelligentsia."* This article was selected by a larger number of Nonleaders with higher education than any other of the ten articles. It was also selected by a large number of the Leaders, but only by one Nonleader with lower education.[4] The article consists of a brief introduction, which is followed by three sections numbered 1 to 3, without subtitles. Its content can be summarized as follows.

Introduction:

> The intelligentsia is a large and important stratum in Soviet society, and the Communist Party devotes a great deal of attention to it.

Section 1 summarizes the Marxist-Leninist view on the intelligentsia as a social group. (It is interspersed, as is also section 2, with two or three short quotations, of a sentence or a phrase, from Lenin):

> Under capitalism the intelligentsia is not homogeneous . . . At different stages of the struggle of the working class, the Party has different policies toward the intelligentsia: first, win it over. Then, with the victory of revolution, create a new people's intelligentsia.

[4]See Chapter 2. The Nonleader with lower education was the young secondary school graduate who continued his education after leaving the Soviet Union at the age of eighteen.

> From that point onward there is no longer a need for a *special* policy toward the intelligentsia.

Section 2 recognizes the importance of the intelligentsia as a stratum in society and criticizes leaders who, unqualified, set themselves up as judges of the intelligentsia's work:

> The Party rejects vulgar notions about science, which would ostracize a line of scientific investigation because it is not *directly* linked with practice. Nor must such concepts be transferred into the field of social relations. The Leninist tradition opposes subjectivism, highhandedness, and a scornful attitude toward scientists. Yet "there have been occasions when those figures in science, and also in art, who made the most noise were trusted most, although in fact they gave little or nothing to our society . . . "

Section 3 presents an ambiguous concession to the intelligentsia of freedom in its work:

> "The fruitful development of science, literature and art requires the existence of various schools and trends, . . . competing among themselves and yet joined in the unity of the dialectical-materialist world-view . . ."
>
> Examples of Lenin's considerate attitude toward the intelligentsia are given.
>
> Time is the test of the richness of a work of literature or art. The Communist Party has another criterion as well: does the work enhance the truly human in man? The Soviet People's intelligentsia cannot conceive its existence outside Communist ideals . . .

In observing how the respondents read this *podval*[5] we had the impression that the skimmers, whose speed of reading appeared to vary over the different articles, read and skimmed this article more slowly than the speeches, particularly the three last discussed speeches. A former member of the Party *apparat* and two Nonleaders stopped reading the article after they had looked at the introduction and the beginning of the first section. The two Nonleaders found that the article was going to be "too political."

[5]Number of respondents who read "Party and Intelligentsia," (6):

Leaders	6
Nonleaders with higher education	11
Nonleaders with lower education	1

The respondents who read the article were all similar in education. (See preceding footnote on the Nonleader with "lower" education.) Differences in degree of political involvement between these respondents were not reflected in different patterns of reading of this particular article, as they had not been reflected in different frequencies of selection of the article. The passage most closely read or marked as "important" in the first section was that regarding the intelligentsia's equal status with other social groups. In the second section, the passage which affirms the intelligentsia's functional role in society and criticizes certain leaders' attitudes toward this group was closely read. Of the three sections, the third was the most closely read, in particular the argument dealing with the problem of freedom in the intelligentsia's work and the criteria for its evaluation.

All skimmers among the Leaders passed quickly over the first and the last paragraphs, which were also skimmed more frequently than read closely by the skimmers among the Nonleaders. There was no consistent pattern to the reading of initial and final passages of the individual sections within the article, except that skimming was more common than close reading in all groups. Quotations from Communist sources were either skimmed or read closely, depending it seemed, on the total argument of the paragraph in which they appeared.

(7), (8), *The podval and editorial on Party organization.* As was shown in Chapter 2, these two articles, which deal with the reorganization of the Party structure after Khrushchev's fall, were for all practical purposes chosen by Leaders only. They are short articles, each taking up about a quarter of a newspaper page. They are unified in their structure, without division into sections. The *podval,* (7), entitled "Organization is a Leninist Principle," contains a mixture of statements on organization. Most are rather general and do not say anything that could have been new to the readers. The different paragraphs do not seem to hang together as parts of a carefully constructed argument. The sequence of the main statements is as follows:

> Soviet organization - a new type of organization -- "has the task of enlisting the entire population to a man in the administration of the economy, the state and the entire public life of the country." People who try "to live at public expense" must not be

> allowed to succeed in doing so. The Party and the country are "creating a new world." The Party is intolerant of stagnation, but equally of overhastiness in making reorganizations. An example of a hasty change was the 1962 reorganization of the Party structure. A return to the earlier Party structure is now taking place. A resolute war must be waged against shortcomings in the Party's work: fascination with the bustle of meetings instead of with living organizational work, petty interferences in the activity of economic agencies, neglect of Party conferences. The Party is the people's leader. Marxist-Leninist theory is a scientific guide to action ... .

The editorial, (8), which is entitled "Fidelity to Leninist Organizational Principles," can be briefly summarized as follows:

> Report, in the first paragraph, of the decision to reorganize the Party structure that has been taken in the Central Committee on the previous day. Second paragraph: quotation from this decision. The rest of the article enlarges upon the decision. There is criticism of the earlier (i.e., Krushchev's 1962) reorganization of the Party structure, which is now being undone; citations of practical examples of how the earlier change in the Party structure has worked out badly; announcements of the steps that will be taken to return to the former situation. A few "propaganda" statements are interspersed, as well as statements about Leninist norms of Party and state life, which do not add anything new to the argument.

All respondents who chose the *podval* also chose the editorial. We are summarizing here the behavior of four individuals, three of them Leaders.[6] One Leader stopped reading the *podval* after he had skimmed the first eight paragraphs. He noted: "This article is by an unknown author. He took pieces from various other articles and made up this one; he is afraid of saying anything new." The second Leader also remarked that he expected little from the *podval.* He skimmed quickly over most of it. Among

[6]Number of respondents who read the articles on Party organization:

	(7) *Podval*	(8) *Editorial*
Leaders	2	3
Nonleaders with higher education	1	1
Nonleaders with lower education	0	0

the passages which he read closely were those which indirectly criticize Khrushchev, as well as a number of passages printed in heavy type, although these are not the most analytical or critical material. The Nonleader was also influenced by this typographical device. He skipped most of the material in the article, reading only the passages in heavy type.

We turn now to the editorial. Except for the Nonleader, who stopped reading the editorial entirely after the second paragraph, where the topic had been identified, this article was read more carefully than the *podval.* One Leader read it word for word. The first paragraph was skimmed by one of the skimmers, read closely by the other. Both read the second paragraph (quotation from the Central Committee resolution) closely, and the close reader marked it as "important." After this passage the skimmers read most closely the passages which criticize the attitudes behind the earlier reorganization ("subjectivism, harebrained scheming"), and those which show in which way the reorganization had worked out badly. Both merely skimmed the last paragraph, which praises the strength and guiding role of the Party.

(9), (10), *Articles on economic issues.* Of the ten articles, the two economic ones, "Material Incentives" and "Wasteful Haste," alone contain only analytical material and no propaganda or general information filler. They were generally read most slowly of all the articles in the experiment. "Material Incentives," (9), about a third of a page in length, covers the following ground:

> A statement that it is advisable to introduce economic incentives not only in the industrial sector (a question that, the author says, is widely discussed at the time of his writing the article), but also in the agricultural sector. Suggestion that profit might be the best single criterion by which to evaluate the work of each farm, and that the farms should have more autonomy in the decisions of what to produce. Changes in the current farm price policy are suggested, and the considerations behind these suggestions are presented.

At four points in the article, besides the beginning of the article itself, three or four words at the beginning of a paragraph are printed in capital letters, thereby indicating a break in the article. But there are no spaces between these sections, nor are there numbers or subtitles. In fact, the argument is continuous, and

it does not naturally fall into sections at the places where the form suggests a break. With the exception of one Nonleader with higher education, the respondents seemed to pay no attention to this layout.[7] That respondent, a close reader, skipped most of the article and read only the passages at the beginning of three and at the end of one section of the article. She concluded that she did "not find anything important in the article."

In general, we observed the most systematic reading by the group of Leaders. Two of the five Leaders read the entire article closely, and one skimmed only three paragraphs, although in other articles, for example in the speeches, all had alternated between skimming and reading closely. The passages that were designated as "particularly important" by all Leaders were two paragraphs, at different points in the article, in which the suggestion to make profit the single criterion for evaluating the work of each farm is most clearly and explicitly stated. A passage which criticizes certain officials in the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee who object to changes in the price system, and which analyzes their objections, was singled out with almost the same consistency. The first and the last paragraphs in the article were merely skimmed or, respectively, read closely but not marked as "important."

Two Nonleaders with higher education showed a pattern of reading similar to the Leaders'. They read closely or marked as "important" one or the other, though not all of the passages that the Leaders had singled out most consistently. The skimmer passed lightly over the first and last paragraphs of the article. The behavior of another Nonleader with higher education has already been described. A fourth respondent in this group stopped reading the article after the first two paragraphs, which define the problem. She remarked that it was "going to be too political."

The article was read least systematically by the Nonleaders with lower education. One respondent in the group read the entire article word for word and marked nothing in it as "important."

[7]Number of respondents who read "Material Incentives," (9):

Leaders	5
Nonleaders with higher education	4
Nonleaders with lower education	2

A second respondent read the first column fully, but found nothing important in it. Then she began to skip. What she read (and marked as "important") were two passages containing numbers, which were merely illustrations to general points made in the article. She remarked that this was interesting to her because it represented "something concrete."

The second economic article, "Wasteful Haste," (10), which fills less than a quarter of a page, challenges the notion that conversion of collective farms into state farms will automatically improve the farm's economy:

> Two paragraphs: letter from a worker on a farm which has recently been converted from a collective farm into a state farm. He describes the wasteful increase in administrative personnel and procedures that has gone along with this change.
>
> Eleven paragraphs: upon this letter, two *Izvestia* correspondents visited other collective and state farms to study the problem firsthand. Report and analysis of their observations.
>
> Six paragraphs: the authors generalize from the specific cases which they have observed.

When asked to read the articles they had selected, the respondents gave up reading this article with highest frequency.[8] Those who gave up reading—all the Nonleaders with lower education and more than half of the Nonleaders with higher education—missed the last section of the article, which contains the general analysis of the problem. They stopped in the first third of the article or at the latest half-way through, in passages which state the problem and illustrate it by individual examples.

Four of the six Leaders who finished reading the article read it closely throughout, contrary to the pattern in the other articles

[8]"Wasteful Haste," (10):

	Respondents who:	
	Began to Read the Article	*Finished Reading it*
Leaders	4	4
Nonleaders with higher education	5	2
Nonleaders with lower education	3	0

(for example in the speeches), where all but one Leader alternated between skimming and reading closely. Most close reading or marking of important material was observed to be in the last third of the article, the part which contains the general analysis of the problem and which was missed by the readers who stopped reading the article part-way through.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS

This study is based on an experiment with forty-one former Soviet residents. The composition of this group differs in several respects from what would have been our decision under circumstances allowing more choice in method and execution of such a study. One such respect is, of course, the fact that our respondents are people who have decided to leave the Soviet Union, legally or illegally, for another country. We have not been too concerned about this, however. The respondents left their country for a variety of reasons and under quite diverse circumstances. They were by no means uniform in their attitudes to the Soviet regime; nor did any one subgroup as a whole appear to be particularly hostile or favorable. We should like to recall also the introductory chapters to *The Soviet Citizen,*[1] in which the authors have carefully discussed and documented the important role of such "positional" factors as education, occupation and social class, and (at the time of their study) residence, in predicting communications behavior, as opposed to "accidental" factors such as arrest experience of the respondent or origin in disenfranchised classes (factors which might be or might have been particularly characteristic of defectors and emigres, and which, where they have important effects, would make it difficult to infer from subgroups in such a sample to subgroups of the Soviet population). To their surprise, the authors found that these "accidental" factors seemed to have virtually no effect on the respondents' generalized political and social attitudes, for example, on their evaluation of the reliability of the Soviet press. Willingness to be politically involved, as indicated by membership in the Communist Party or by the desire to have a career, was found to have an independent influence on communications behavior. We used this attribute and the attribute education to group the respondents in our analysis.

[1]Alex Inkeles and Raymond A. Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen. Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), Chs. 1-3.

The respect in which we should have liked the composition of our group of respondents to be different is educational levels. The level above secondary education is well enough represented, but the other levels are not. We had to combine all respondents with a ten-year education or less into one group. There were no respondents with as little as or less than a four-year education. We cannot say anything, therefore, about the behavior of newspaper readers of the lowest educational level. And our grouping together individuals with a seven-year education (and one respondent with less than seven, but still more than four years of education) with individuals who have a complete or incomplete secondary education is misleading, since it suggests that the differences between these levels are not important. Other findings on newspaper exposure, however, indicate that they are. In this experiment, the four respondents with a seven-year education or less did not choose any of the "experiment articles" that they were shown. Consequently, these respondents were not included in the later part of the experiment. The findings on styles of reading therefore refer only to individuals with more than a seven-year education.

We discovered definite differences between the three groups of readers: Leaders; Nonleaders with higher education; and Nonleaders with lower education. Readers with more than secondary education and high political involvement are the most highly socialized into the newspaper. They choose their reading matter in the newspaper from all types of articles, but in particular they tend to select a high proportion of the speeches, editorials, letters, and analyses. These are the types of articles from which Western students of Soviet society claim to learn most about political and economic developments in the society, about recent or impending changes in policies, and, occasionally, about conflicts over policies. Since some of these messages are likely to be in more or less esoteric form, the Leaders are most likely to be the consumers of esoteric communications. These are then the readers with whom the top Soviet political elite communicates most effectively. This is of course what we would expect to happen among Party members, and among individuals in occupations that demand a similar or even higher degree of ideological training and knowledge of current events than is demanded of the Party rank and file. The exceptions in this group point in an inter-

esting direction, but our scarce data do not allow us to draw any conclusions.

The Leaders have characteristic styles of reading long articles such as speeches, editorials, and political or economic analyses. They are likely to adjust their style of reading according to the interest and importance the material has for them by alternating between reading passages word for word and skimming. They rarely skip entire parts of an article they select to read. The passages within an article that they consider particularly important or interesting are for the most part analytical, policy-relevant, or critical of domestic issues.

At the other end of the spectrum, there is the group of readers with less education (from more than four up to ten years) and with low political involvement, who are much less highly socialized into the newspaper than are the Leaders. The readers with less education choose primarily short news items of varying content, "human interest" stories, and political analyses dealing with international topics; and only the last two are selected with probabilities as high as .50 or .40. All other articles (including speeches, editorials, other analyses, and commentaries) have low probabilities of being selected. The most popular among the political analyses dealing with international topics were reports on and paraphrases of speeches by foreign leaders. When the Nonleaders with lower education did select a speech, it was not among the heavily ideological discourses but rather contained some lively, descriptive material: accounts of Soviet leaders' travels abroad or of foreign leaders' visits to the Soviet Union, or the transcript of a press conference.

The article types occurring most frequently in the ten newspapers used in the experiment are short news items of one or two paragraphs, particularly those that we grouped together under the headings of "political," "economic," and "culture, science, and technology." These articles therefore stand out strongly among these readers' selections, even though individual items were selected with lower probabilities than human interest stories and one kind of political analysis. Short news items are indeed often the sole choice of a Nonleader with lower education in a given issue of a newspaper.

The styles of reading long articles generally observed with this group differ also from those of the Leaders. The group tends not

to skim, and either reads an entire article word for word or skips entire parts of it. The patterns of these readers' omissions, as well as their comments, indicate that they generally cannot predict what they will be omitting if they choose not to read the entire article. They have therefore less control over what they read closely than have the readers who skim. They are significantly less critical readers than the Leaders, if by "critical reading" we mean the ratio of analytical, critical, and policy-relevant material to general information-propaganda material identified by them as particularly important or interesting.

What we have just sketched is the behavior of two extreme types of newspaper readers. We must keep in mind, however, that the phenomena we are discussing are continuous in distribution. We were able to study only one other group of readers. This group, which resembles the first in educational level (its members have more than secondary education) and the second in low political involvement, falls between the two extreme groups in almost all aspects of newspaper consumption that were investigated.

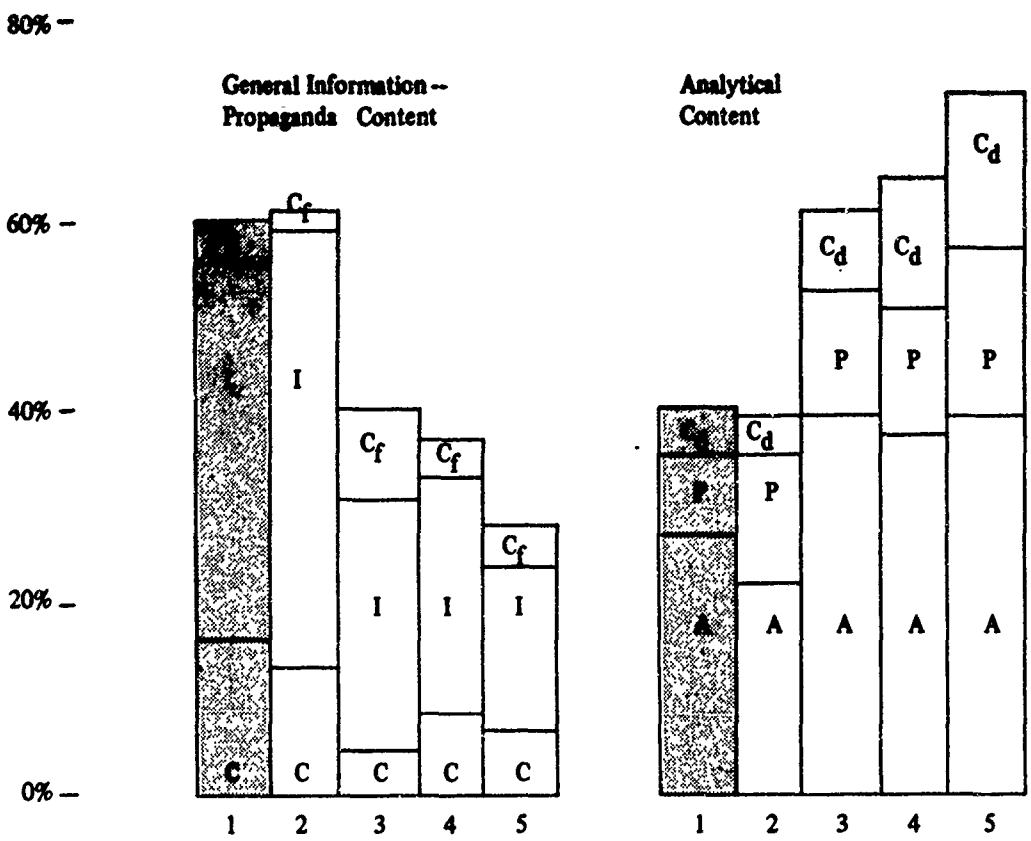
The differences that we observed between the three groups of differing education and/or political involvement have parallels in other areas of press exposure. Thus it has been shown that the *percentage of newspaper readers* in different groups differs with education and political involvement. Similarly, the more educated and politically more involved newspaper readers are exposed to a higher *number* of newspapers than are the less educated and politically less involved readers.

In discussing selection of articles in the newspapers, we have shown what kinds of readers are likely to be found rather consistently, and what kinds of readers only more or less occasionally, in the audience of esoteric communications. We have also investigated "critical" reading generally. We do not claim to have studied recognition of all esoteric communications contained in the "experiment articles." If we were to design such an experiment, it would differ from the present one in at least two respects. First, we would choose texts between which there is continuity in subject matter over time. For it is then that differences in formulations stand out most clearly and, in fact, take on their full meaning. Second, we would ask the readers to comment on the content of the entire article, or on their selections of "particularly important or interesting" passages within

the article, in order to know how they actually interpreted given passages. Much work still remains to be done on the study of this process of communication which, though historically not a phenomenon unique to the Communist world, is today most typically exemplified in that world.

Appendix A

GRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF CONTENT OF PASSAGES CHOSEN AS "PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT OR INTERESTING" MATERIAL IN EIGHT SOVIET NEWSPAPER ARTICLES*



1. Total content of all articles:			$\bar{n}^{\dagger}$	=521
2. Choices by Nonleaders with lower education:	$N^{\ddagger}$	=10	n^{**}	=144
3. Choices by Nonleaders with higher education:	N	=22	n	=303
4. Choices by Leaders:	N	=29	n	=466
5. Choices by Cambridge group:	N	=74	n	=854

* "Experiment articles" (1)–(8). Content categories are defined on pp. 29-30.

† $\bar{n}$ = total number of units in the text of all eight articles.

‡ N = number of articles read by respondents in the given group.

** n = number of units marked in N articles as "particularly important or interesting."

The percentages shown in the figures were computed on the basis of $\bar{n}$ and n.

Appendix B

ARTICLE-BY-ARTICLE ANALYSIS OF CONTENT OF PASSAGES CHOSEN AS "PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT OR INTERESTING" MATERIAL IN EIGHT SOVIET NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, BY FORMER RESIDENTS OF THE U.S.S.R. * AND BY AMERICAN ANALYSTS OF SOVIET SOCIETY

			Percentage of Analytical Content†	Percentage of General Information-Propaganda Content†
(1) *Brezhnev Speech*				
Nonleaders	(N‡=6)	n**=135	40	60
Leaders	(N=5)	n=92	54	46
Cambridge Group	(N=10)	n=189	74	26
(2) *Demichev Speech*				
Nonleaders	(N=3)	n=69	68	32
Leaders	(N=6)	n=119	71	29
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=156	76	24
(3) *Kosygin "Asia speech"*				
Nonleaders	(N=7)	n=79	63	37
Leaders	(N=5)	n=61	62	38
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=99	77	23
(4) *Kosygin-Shastri Speeches*				
Nonleaders	(N=7) and			
Leaders	(N=1)	n=82	37	63
Cambridge Group	(N=10)	n=95	57	43
(5) *Podgorny "Azerbaidzhan Speech"*				
Leaders	(N=3)	n=28	39	61
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=60	52	48
(6) *Podval on "Party and Intelligentsia"*				
Nonleaders	(N=9)	n=109	65	35
Leaders	(N=5)	n=93	68	32
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=119	77	23
(7) *Podval on Party Organization*				
Leaders	(N=1)	n=8	63	37
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=56	73	27
(8) *Editorial on Party Organization*				
Leaders	(N=3)	n=38	79	21
Cambridge Group	(N=9)	n=80	84	16

* Since in some cases we were not able to ask a respondent to read all the articles he had chosen, and since in a number of cases the respondents did not mark any material within an article as important, we must, when we present the results for the articles individually, as we do in this appendix, combine the Nonleaders into a single group regardless of education, and in some cases even combine the Nonleaders and the Leaders.

† For a definition of these categories, see pp. 29-30.

‡ N=number of articles read.

** n=number of units marked in N articles as "particularly important or interesting" material = figure on the basis of which the percentages were computed

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Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

2a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

2b. GROUP

3. REPORT TITLE

HOW RUSSIANS READ THEIR PRESS: PATTERNS OF SELECTION IN PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA

4. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES (Type of report and inclusive dates)

Scientific Interim

5. AUTHOR(S) (Last name, first name, initial)

Rosemarie Rogers

6. REPORT DATE	7a. TOTAL NO. OF PAGES	7b. NO. OF REFS
December 1968	63 p	32 r

8a. CONTRACT OR GRANT NO. AF49(638)1237 ARPA	9a. ORIGINATOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)
b. PROJECT NO. 920F-9717	B/68-6
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13. ABSTRACT

A study of newspaper consumption in the Soviet Union with former Soviet residents. The respondents' choice of articles to read differed according to level of education and political involvement. Short news items and human interest stories were chosen with almost equal frequency by all respondents. Speeches, editorials, analyses and letters were chosen most frequently by those with higher education and high political involvement, who read such articles more purposefully and isolated in them relatively more analytical, critical and policy-relevant materials, including the esoteric messages frequently contained in them. It appears that Soviet political elite can, through the mass media, communicate effectively with such persons. The monograph concludes with a discussion of parallel findings on other aspects of press exposure in the Soviet Union and suggests the design of an experiment dealing particularly with exposure to, and recognition of, esoteric communications in the Soviet media.

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