United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Case No. F-2015-11786
Segment: EAN-001

Mr. John Greenewald
[redacted]

MAY 31 2017

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

In response to your request dated July 03, 2015 under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552), we have initiated searches of the following Department of State record systems: the Central Foreign Policy File (the principal record system of the Department of State).

The search of the records of the Central Foreign Policy File has been completed and has resulted in the retrieval of two documents responsive to your request. After reviewing these documents, we have determined that both may be released in full.

We have now completed the processing of your case. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

for Eric F. Stein, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

[redacted]

SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING: CONTEXT AND CONTENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING; CONTEXT AND CONTENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING: CONTEXT AND CONTENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Project Outline

This project analyzed Soviet national television by investigating the following topics. All programming was taped from First Program (channel) received in real-time (Moscow time) from the Ghorizont geostationary communications satellite.

1. The broadcast day: two full days of First Program--October 22 and 24, 1987 (approximately twenty-eight hours of programming)--analyzed in detail.
2. The newspaper base-line: television and the newspaper system--consistency and disparity in stories and themes between television and individual newspapers. Compared were Central Television and Literaturnaya Gazeta, Moscow News, and Pravda.
3. Lag-time and news coverage: comparison of Soviet and American news for July 27-31, August 10-17, and August 11-17, 1988 in order to determine:
   (a). The degree to which the same stories were covered by the two television systems;
   (b). The degree of simultaneity of news coverage;
   (c). The "spin" on the stories both systems covered.
4. Detailed analysis of non-news programs depicting the United States between September 1986 and October 1988.
5. Soviet television news flow: analysis of the authoritative evening news program, Vremya, for August 1988: 690 individual news stories, analyzed in terms of countries covered, subjects treated, format, people on the news, degree of explicit bias.
6. Guide to use of the weekly Soviet television programming listings and descriptions, Govorit i pokazyvaet Moskva.

Organization and Structure of Soviet Television

There are two nation-wide channels on Central Television: First Program, with nearly total penetration of the country, and Second Program (established 1982), with between one-half and three-quarters of the potential audience.

Oversight of national television is exercised by the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting (the equivalent of a governmental ministry) and the Ideological Commission of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

The broadcast day for First Program begins at 6:30 a.m. and continues until approximately midnight or 1:00 a.m. On weekdays, there may be midday breaks; on weekends, programming is continuous.

Findings

I. The Function and Agenda of Television

A. Socialization

The most important function television serves in the Soviet system is as a vast and powerful socializer or teacher, in the broadest sense. That mission has not changed. What has changed since Gorbachev came to power is the official understanding of how television can play a decisive role in society and what the content of that role should be. That has changed the look and content of television; that can galvanize the television viewing audience, as, for example, when the nation followed the events of the Armenian earthquake or the meetings of the new Congress of People's Deputies and, before it, the Nineteenth Party Congress. It is also the case, however, that change does not come all at once; that many elements of what is now called "stagnation" survive and coexist or even compete.

Television, as socializer, presents official policy and attempts to persuade or teach the huge national audience of the correctness of this policy. It seeks, further, to attain the loyalty and compliance of the population. Under Gorbachev, this function has been filled with a very different content. No longer is a single viewpoint the norm; no longer are dry lectures divorced from reality the convention. Therefore, attempting to enlist support for the Gorbachev policy is a much more complicated task, since it is, in many ways, open-ended and admits the coexistence of different and opposing views. It is also based on a much more sophisticated notion of how media communication really works.

The observer of Soviet television should be prepared for the duality in Soviet television: for the clear remnants of a stubbornly maintained old system side-by-side with a bolder, more risk-taking, and innovative new style and content. Generally, the different profiles are associated with the leadership of the different departments (redaktsii) within the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting--the Ministry-like body in which is vested authority over both programming and technical development. It would be misleading to conclude from isolated examples of the old style of programming that the change is merely cosmetic. The trend is clearly toward more creative and modern programming. Recent leadership changes, both in overall direction of the Soviet television industry and in its news and information department should be seen as support for the broadening of the policy of glasnost, although it will take time for the new officials to redirect and replace the staffs they have inherited.

B. Protocol in International News Coverage

To a decreasing but still significant degree, Soviet television has a protocol function in the coverage of foreign events: t acts, especially in the authoritative nightly news, as an fficial arm of state policy. This internal contradiction etween protocol and newsgathering creates clear aberrations, uch as, for example, the recent coverage of the pro-democracy emonstrations in China and their aftermath. This coverage was n affront to the canons of journalism, in that for the most part t simply appropriated the official handouts of the Chinese overnment in order to assist (or at least not undermine) the ebuilding of the relationship with the PRC. Until such time as oviet television either: (a) develops the distance and utonomy to take issue with the official governmental position in nternational matters by reporting fully and accurately on its vening news; or (b) creates an alternative news program that as the latitude to do so, the area of foreign affairs reporting, enerally improved though it be, will be held hostage to official olicy. For reasons given below, that official policy is at resent extremely favorable regarding the United States and has esulted in both heavier and more varied coverage. But globally, he solution still has not been found. A new "alternative" or parallel" news show would likely be the near-term strategy.

C. Mobilization

Political institutions through which Mikhail Gorbachev can mplement his revolutionary policies are either nonexistent or eak. Many of the existing institutions--such as the local Party pparatus or the educational system--are actually recalcitrant bstructionists. It is the role of the mass media, in particular f television, to effect real change in institutions. By going ver the heads of the intractable bureaucrats to mobilize the opulation at large, television puts pressure on uncooperative nstitutions and assists in the formation of new, more adaptable nd more responsive institutions. It should be noted, however, hat this is the Gorbachev program and that television is following the official lead. It is paradoxical that the official function of Soviet television as mobilizer and socializer is in the ervice of a policy that in fact decrees more autonomy, lexibility, and professional independence. Only television eaches the entire country; only television can command, with its isuals, the kind of attention it does; only television can ppeal alike to the well-educated elites and those with very ittle education, the barely literate. It is no wonder that the iveting coverage of the Congress of People's Deputies and the upreme Soviet caused work stoppages throughout the country. No ther medium can produce this impact.

D. National Integration

Central Television broadcasts in Russian; local television uses the languages of the ethnic minorities. Television has an integrating mission to the extent that it furthers Russian-language capability and focuses attention on national events and helps to create a national identity. At the same time, however, the new nationalism among the ethnic minorities, itself partly a result of glasnost, calls for increases in programming in the native language and programming more responsive to ethnic concerns. Since republic-level television is more effectively under the control of republic-level Party organizations than of the Moscow-based State Committee, the degree of responsiveness will vary with the type of leadership of the republic. In the Baltic republics, television has been virtually captured by the forces of ethnic sovereignty.

Two different "pulls" are being exerted simultaneously: toward national integration and toward ethnic identity. For the time being, until the entry into the world market of the regional television studios, Central Television is significantly advantaged in terms of equipment (most of which must be foreign if high quality is an issue) and facilities, and therefore in terms of "production values." On the other hand, Central Television must address the problems of the minorities if it is to succeed in its mission of integration. Coverage of the ethnic disorders has changed markedly and, though still not up to Western standards, is radically improved over the past. The proposal to start a new national channel devoted exclusively to the ethnic minorities and their programming appears to have been scrapped because of lack of technical capability and money. Not even the second national television channel (transmitting since 1982) reaches the entire country. In the future there will be more programming from the republics and an increasing number of programs on the lives of the non-Russian ethnicities on Central Television--a poor substitute for the kind of cogent, focused, and visually sophisticated programming that is urgently needed. The television system has not yet come to terms with the complex and profoundly conflictual nature of the ethnic question.

Credibility

None of the functions presented above can be implemented successfully if television lacks credibility. Credibility is more difficult to achieve to the degree that the viewer can independently evaluate what is presented on the screen. Where life experiences contradict what television transmits, the credibility of the medium will suffer. That is why in the past Soviet television enjoyed much less credibility in its coverage of domestic news than of foreign news. Gorbachev recognized that his grand strategy of mobilization and socialization would work only with a highly authoritative and trusted television system.

The new push toward credibility has resulted in a huge ıcrease in live programming, where the censor can only lament :ter the fact. In addition, there are now multiple and opposing ɔints of view presented on large numbers of issues, both ɔmestic and foreign. In the absence of 'jamming', Western posi-ions are known, and even before the jamming ceased, Western ffficials, former and current, were being invited on Soviet ɛlevision for free-wheeling debates. Areas once forbidden to ıe cameras have been reduced sharply: accidents, natural dis-ɜters, economic problems, medical mismanagement, ethnic strife re all shown and talked about.

Finally, there is the obvious and visible change that Soviet ɛlevision programming has undergone in the tempo of editing, ıtroduction of computer graphics, production of rock videos, and ıe expansion of foreign news bureaus. The change could be char-cterized as penetrating but not fully replacing the type of rogramming that preceded it. Thus, one sees modern graphics, usic videos, and hard-hitting investigative reporting coexisting ith militant youth choirs, praise of the harvest, and truck fac-ory production documentaries. The process of change is never otal and rarely complete; the old exists interpenetrated by the ew.

Censorship still exists, though now decentralized and nearly ully within the competence of the State Committee itself (except or security matters, such as showing secret military production lants or facilities which must be cleared with an armed forces ensor). In part constraints on the provision of information ome from the top political leadership. There is evidence that olitburo members have a strong interest in the way they are ortrayed and how much time they get on the national and local ews. Politburo members can also be facilitators for Soviet elevision: when there was an accident on a Soviet nuclear sub-arine in June 1989, Soviet television resolved to send a camera rew to cover it. The attempt was blocked by the military, as it ad always been before. However, a call to Politburo Secretary aklanov, who has jurisdiction over military matters, resulted in he necessary permission.

In part, constraints are related to the reluctance of ureaucracies to reveal their shortcomings to investigative elevision journalists. The new Law on the Press (see below) ill address these issues.

II. Impact

While we have no fully reliable measure as yet of the impact of television across the vast and demographically differentiated Soviet state, there is evidence of effects, both intended and unintended.

1. Changes in Consumption of Information

(a). The saturation of the country by television and the new programming strategy has resulted in sharp declines in certain other leisure time activities: movies and theaters registered lower box office receipts; hobbies and sports have fewer participants; reading books is down dramatically, especially among the young--the television generation; declines in school performance are directly related to amount of television viewing. Newspaper reading since glasnost is up dramatically, but the largest newspaper circulation of 20 million can hardly be compared to the average size of prime-time television audiences--150 million.

(b). People who were traditionally "left out" of the information system in the Soviet Union are now fully included, because of television. This includes people with little education, for whom reading newspapers is difficult; people who live in remote and inhospitable areas, especially in rural parts of the country; and women, who, because of the burdens of domestic and professional obligations, have less time to read newspapers, but who can watch television after work while looking after home and children.

2. Persuasive Impact

Five categories of effects related to the new television programming can be distinguished.

(a). Rejection of non-traditional values.

For some viewers, television is leading the way toward the breakdown of the traditional Soviet values that had reigned for over 70 years and in the name of which the Revolution had been fought. The television system is said by some to have been captured by "liberal, petty bourgeois" elements of the Party. They object to the criticism (which they consider denigration) of established institutions, such as the armed forces and internal security; they oppose the increased presence and positive coverage of the West; and they dislike the new cultural and social values they regard as cultural imperialism from the West. What is shown on television is, because of its reach and power, accorded far more importance than is the more narrowly bounded world of newspapers and journals. And this is especially true of those who are deeply concerned about what they regard as the deviance of the new youth culture.

(b). Social class antagonism.

On television, as in daily life in the Soviet Union, the intellectuals are disproportionately beneficiaries of the Gorbachev policies. It is they who enjoy the benefits of travel abroad, consumption of foreign products, psychic gratification from new conditions in which to work, and prestige as authoritative advisors, commentators, and shapers of national policy. If television did not show them and their advantages as much as it does, the average worker or peasant, whose standard of living has actually declined under Gorbachev, might not measure his or her life against that of the intellectual. But television brings those distant intellectuals into the homes of people much less privileged, and the result has been a sharpening of dissatisfaction and antagonism vis-à-vis that narrow stratum of intellectuals. The intelligentsia, though vital to the Gorbachev program, are vulnerable. They are relatively few in number and historically have had to pay the price for their remoteness from the masses.

(c). Non-judgmental confusion.

The dramatic change in television content and appearance has resulted in confusion among some parts of the population. Particularly those with little education had been accustomed to the presentation of a single point of view within a clear explanatory system. The new policy of presenting multiple or opposing views has caused consternation and confusion among some parts of the population, who feel insecure and unequal to the task of drawing the conclusions themselves after sorting out and weighing the arguments.

(d). Positive identification with leaders.

A more savvy and capable political leadership is learning how to use television to its advantage and to develop a relationship with viewers. Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov's trip to Armenia after the earthquake was heavily covered by the Soviet news and resulted in a much more positive identification with this leader. He became a "personalized" leader. The election process depended heavily on the personalization of the candidates, and this was effected largely by television. Conversely, those party and government functionaries who cannot operate in the relatively loose atmosphere of television and respond convincingly in a debate or question-and-answer situation will be disadvantaged. In short, those who cannot appear to be responsive and effective to the viewing public will, under the new system, be increasingly sidelined. Television politics has arrived.

(e). Rising expectations outdistancing current policy or available resources.

For some viewers, changes in television content and format become assimilated very quickly and result in rising expectations. The demands on the system increase more rapidly than even the current tempo of change in the media system can accommodate.

* One type of viewer affected in this fashion is the well-educated professional with knowledge of and sympathy for Western, particularly American, forms of television public affairs coverage (the "liberal" intelligentsia), which demands an unceasingly steep upward movement in boldness and innovation and complains when a plateau is reached.

* Other types of affected viewer are very different: as television becomes increasingly central and powerful in the Gorbachev strategy, more and more people look to the medium to satisfy their demands, and are disappointed when they do not see evidence of it. Thus nationality groups demand to see <u>their</u> concerns and <u>their</u> events aired on national television. Strikers are surprisingly articulate and eager in addressing the national television news teams. Performing groups charge discrimination if <u>they</u> are not given airtime. Editing is subject to charges of censorship, in some cases with justification.

An important point to remember is that as television <u>succeeds</u> in attracting audiences with its hard hitting new mission it also focuses attention on itself as a crucial resource for all of the varying and competing interests unleashed by glasnost. That will put enormous pressure on the system, both at the national and local levels.

Policy Implications

<u>The Centrality of the United States</u>

The United States has an increasing importance in the Soviet television system in both news and non-news. The United States is <u>the</u> other country in the world; it enjoys a breadth and intensity of attention unmatched by any other country. This is related in part to the power this country can wield and in part to the positive impact that examples drawn from <u>American</u> experience can have on the Soviet population. They are clearly meant to be emulated.

The United States government and its official and unofficial emissaries should be aware that exposure on Soviet television, with its vast audiences, may be granted with relative ease to those individuals who are traveling in the Soviet Union, but especially to those in Moscow, where television headquarters are located. This means that:

1. Access to Soviet television audiences could be pursued vigorously, probably with positive results and with a fair and balanced treatment.

2. Americans on Soviet television would have to compete with increasingly lively Soviet television personalities and should be prepared in terms of (a) knowledge of the Soviet television audience; (b) methods of communication--the question of Russian language and the question of how to utilize television skills. Since this is a rapidly changing television environment, it is critical that American representatives not lag behind the new "television culture" or they will appear to be more closely

related to the "old" Soviet system (pre-Gorbachev) than to the current one.

The Image of the United States

The portrayal of the United States has changed dramatically since the conclusion of the INF Treaty. Television news no longer reserves nasty epithets for America, and non-news programs are much less vitriolic. In fact, there may be a problem of a too-positive image of the United States on Soviet television; viewers have complained that the pendulum has swung so far in the other direction that those problems have disappeared. We may expect some move toward the middle in the months ahead.

Official and unofficial America are such strong targets of interest for Soviet television that events in the United States that have some relationship to the Soviet Union will almost surely be covered by Soviet television and transmitted to the multi-million person audience. As a result:

1. Such events, if it is desirable that they be covered, should be made known to Soviet television correspondents or officials.

2. Access to Soviet correspondents and crews should be facilitated. It is possible that encouraging or granting such access may conflict with other requirements, such as security interests (for closed areas), and if so, then the benefits of each should be carefully weighed.

Law on the Press

During 1989, it is expected that a draft Law on the Press will be published and discussed by the Supreme Soviet. It is expected to reduce the scope of "state secret," and thus make more areas open to journalistic investigation. It is expected to provide sanctions for the failure of public agencies and bureaucracies to provide information requested by journalists. It is also expected to delineate the responsibilities of journalists for the accuracy of their products. Finally, it is expected to clarify the legalities (currently restrictive) concerning the right to publish or produce television programs on the part of cooperatives, individuals, or other non-official entities not affiliated with official organizations.

The United States has an interest in this legislation in terms of the following policy questions:

1. The degree to which the legislation conforms to the Helsinki Process and the Vienna Agreements.

2. The degree to which American correspondents, including those representing governmental interests, such as Voice of America, will benefit from an enlargement of the permissible scope of their activity.

3. The appropriate role of the United States government in assisting non-official publication, should such an option be legalized.

4. The evaluation and coordination of responses to direct initiatives from the media systems of the non-Russian republics.

The United States should make known its interest in the outcome of this legislation by public attention to the draft law in terms of internationally accepted standards of broadcasting.

Reading Signals on Soviet Television

As a source of information concerning Soviet policies and positions, Soviet television is of major importance. It is true that some newspapers and magazines are far more daring and innovative. For example the newspapers, Moscow News and Literaturnaya Gazeta, Argumenty i fakty, and the journals, Novy Mir and Ogonek, are all well out in front of Central Television in taking controversial positions. But there is a crucial difference: because of the emotional power of visuals, tremendous reach and rapidity of signal transmission, and the audiences it commands, television occupies a unique place. In Soviet parlance, it is the only medium of "large caliber." All other media are referred to as "small caliber." Even the well educated, who once were contemptuous of the medium (as they had been in the United States decades ago) have not only become avid watchers but also seek to disseminate their positions through television. Many claim to have won their seats in the Congress of People's Deputies thanks to television.

The leading role of television as medium of socialization does provide early signals of policy reorientation. It is precisely because television is a medium of such "large caliber" that the signals it gives are so important. Originality on Soviet television, as contrasted with newspapers and journals, is much less likely to be tentative or probing; it is intended to signal irreversible change. In the absence of political structures and procedures by which the Gorbachev reforms can be implemented, the only way to assure the durability of glasnost is by the principle of inclusiveness--involving so many individuals in the process, that their collective stake in it would render reversal unlikely.

Close attention should be paid to what is presented on Soviet television and the presumed relationship between content and audience. For example, what time-slot has been allocated--is it prime time? Which public figures are included? Is the show live or taped? When Egor Ligachev essentially commandeered the airwaves on August 5, 1988 the viewer could put together certain obvious signals:

(1). Appearance on Vremya, the nightly news, constituted the most important and high-prestige and power signal;

(2). Ligachev was given an unusually large slice of the total time of the news for presentation of his speech in Gorky;

(3). A format had been chosen for Ligachev's remarks that closely paralleled an authoritative "leader's" speech: the remarks covered, in the conventional order, both domestic and foreign policy.

It would not have escaped the notice of the television viewer that an attempt at alternative leadership was being made. Even though Ligachev had been associated with oppositionist attempts before (the famous Nina Andreyeva letter, for example), his demotion occurred after the television event.

Early signalling on television of major policy change could be seen in the advocacy of grass-roots organizations to bypass official bureaucracies. These would later be known as "informal organizations." The new policy of access to American viewpoints, even if adversarial or hostile, came in a January 1986 telecast and was followed by a rapidly increasing flow of Americans, including the startling Donahue/Posner space bridges and the later Congress bridges. These examples predated, of course, the cessation of jamming, but the logic of that cessation was clear from these early broadcasts.

Mikhail Gorbachev has chosen a high-risk strategy for his policies: to attempt through glasnost to dislodge deeply embedded institutional and career patterns and interests, leading to structural change. The key vehicle for this strategy is television--the country's only truly mass medium. But to mobilize the masses without delivering the expected rewards creates increasing pressure. That pressure, in turn, is intended to accelerate institutional change. There is considerable room for unintended consequences and there is as yet no consistent and reliable way to measure any of the consequences.

In this time of flux, the new model of television still coexists with elements of the old, and new initiatives do not necessarily succeed on the first try. It is the trend that it is important to evaluate.

It is also the case that there is receptivity to an increased American presence, both for purposes of the credibility of the medium and for the provision of examples to be imitated. Americans should not underestimate the profound importance they have for the Soviet mass media system.

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SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING: CONTEXT AND CONTENT

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[1989?]

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SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING: CONTEXT AND CONTENT

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SOVIET TELEVISION PROGRAMMING: CONTEXT AND CONTENT

PART 1. THE BROADCAST DAY

Introduction

Television has become the most important source of information and news for the population of the Soviet Union. Spread out over eleven time zones, differentiated by language and tradition, this public of over 280 million is, nonetheless, focused on television. Although television developed much later in the Soviet Union than in the United States, it is now the leading medium for the dissemination of information. It also exerts a powerful influence on the choice of occupation for young people. The full impact of television in the Soviet Union has not yet been documented.

Analysts of television, both in the United States and in the Soviet Union, no longer hold the position that messages are received just as they are broadcast, or that all the information presented is assimilated. Audiences are not made up of plastic minds to be molded at will. There are a number of factors that aid--and inhibit--assimilation. But that does not mean that content is irrelevant. On the contrary, it is essential to understand the content--what is broadcast--if we are to understand

what is filtering through individual schemas of organizing and storing information.

The content and context of Soviet television are presented below: two entire broadcast days (weekday and weekend). In reviewing this body of programming the reader should keep in mind certain themes, which appear time and again and are important elements of the persuasive function of television. One, of course, is glasnost and how it works. Some manifestations are obvious, such as the investigative reports on the news and in Prozhektor perestroiki, a ten-minute program that follows the news. But some are more subtle, such as the kinds of books and authors featured in the report on the International Book Fair in Moscow. Such recently rehabilitated literary figures as Pasternak and Bulgakov are presented as ordinary examples of publishing.

During the broadcast day, attention is also paid to corruption and illegality, all part of the new campaigns. The adequacy of medical care--help for the elderly, support for effective, if unorthodox, medical practices--finds a voice on the broadcast day. Quality of life and social mobility are treated throughout the programming: from education to housing to transportation to consumer goods. The list is long. There are also several contributions from the national minorities during these program days, but relatively few problems of the ethnic minorities are treated explicitly. The most detailed and effective treatment

of the ethnic minorities during these two days is the movie from Azerbaidzhan--a fascinating social document (though really quite remote from the kinds of divisive issues that resulted in the eruption of national demands in riots and demonstrations).

The context and content of Soviet television programming for these two days reveals, too, the significant weight of public affairs and news broadcasts. The attached charts display it in graphic form, but they do not convey the socializing or mobilizing messages that are in virtually all broadcasting and that are, in sum, the particular function of the mass media in the Soviet Union.

Context and Content

We have chosen a Thursday and a Saturday to describe the general pattern of Soviet television. Because the pattern of broadcasting shifts on the weekend, it is important to include one weekend day. During the week, there is a considerably shorter broadcast day and a different mix of program types. We make no assumption that the two days of our "sweep" are typical or strictly representative of Soviet television broadcasting generally. However, we have tried to avoid seriously skewing events. The days we chose were October 22 and October 24, 1987. These dates are still well in advance of the Washington Summit, held in December of that year. The period of our sweep is also

free of other unusually problematic superpower stories: there are no large-scale superpower interactions to skew the broadcast day. Earlier research has shown that during a period of intensive interaction the character of news broadcasts changes markedly (a copy of the article describing that research is appended). In addition, we have chosen two days which are relatively free from unusual anniversaries and commemorations in the Soviet Union. From our experience we have concluded that it is, in fact, very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid this potential skewing factor altogether. The number of commemorative days and celebrations in Soviet society is very large, and, in fact, one of the days we analyze is Automobile Workers' day. The practice reflects the attempt to impose rituals of the revolutionary society and to replace those that had preceded it. During our two days, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution is still over two weeks away, but some early thematically linked broadcasting is evident.

What follows is a descriptive analysis of the two days. It is important to present this kind of analysis so that the context of Soviet television broadcasting can be clarified. All purely "information" messages that reach the Soviet people are embedded in a larger pattern of messages, or, to put it temporally, in a broadcast day. To focus on the news alone and try to draw conclusions about the likely impact of those "pure" information programs fails to fill out the picture--that the pattern of news,

its tone and method of presentation, as well as the subjects with which it deals, is part of an overall system of messages to which it is related. This system of messages fulfills certain functions specific to the Soviet system, and the news and information programs must be understood as part of that larger message system. Increasingly, in the modern world, television is a cognitive environment, presenting a re-creation of the world for individuals who rely on this medium more than on any other medium, traditional or modern. Although the Soviet Union acquired the capability of genuine television saturation of its vast land mass and population only relatively recently, television has rapidly surpassed the traditional media for many dimensions and has also become a formidable instrument with which General Secretary Gorbachev intends to reform and remobilize his country. I shall return to these points later.

The Weekday on Television

Morning Programming

On Tuesday, October 22, 1987, the broadcast day began, as do all weekdays on First Program, with the live show 90 Minutes (later extended to 120 minutes, and renamed). Live television programming has come to Soviet television with impressive commitment. Before Gorbachev came to power there was only one live program, the nightly news program, Vremya. Even this program was

composed of much material on tape; it is reasonable to assume that it was live only because last-minute insertions had to be made. In general, the notion of live programming was uncongenial to the authorities at the State Committee for Television and Radio. Live programming always presented the possibility of uncontrolled and uncensored messages. However, after Gorbachev came to power one very high-profile change in television programming was the introduction of more live shows. In 1987 alone, over 13 live programs were introduced. Live programs were aired not only in the early morning and late night slots, but also throughout the day. The question might be raised here as to why this has occurred: after all, the pattern in the United States, where television saturated the population much earlier than in the Soviet Union, has been quite the opposite. From an early use of live programming, American networks changed to near-total use of taped programming, with two principal exceptions: early morning and late night shows and live coverage of major news stories (such as Presidential addresses and news specials, of the type of the Challenger tragedy). In the opinion of American broadcasters, there is no overwhelmingly clear advantage to live television. There is no apparent advantage in terms of persuasion of the public, attraction of its attention, or enhancement of its emotional involvement. In addition, the production values--the "look" and smoothness of live television--are often inferior to the previously taped, more secure method. Soviet

television has moved in the opposite direction and very decisively. It has made a clear, articulated commitment to providing live programming. The rationale is that the persuasive power of television broadcasts will be strengthened considerably. Ninety Minutes, thus, represents a major new move, one of the first, in the direction of live programming. It also represents something else--the lengthening of the broadcast day. Strictly speaking, it is not quite accurate to say that the broadcast day has been lengthened, since there is a longer mid-day break. But it is accurate in terms of popular perception: the television day begins earlier and taps a new market, the pre-school, pre-work family.

Before 90 Minutes was inaugurated on First Program, that network began an hour later and carried an update (largely repeat) of news of the evening before. The format for the morning Vremya was identical to that of the evening Vremya: a formal 30-to 45-minute program. Ninety Minutes represents a sharp departure from that model: it combines news, information, and entertainment (mainly music). Moreover, the news segments, instead of being presented as a cohesive whole, are broken up into short "bites." Perhaps the most unusual aspect of 90 Minutes is its evident target of an audience with a very short attention span. The kind of thinking that considers the audience's psychological characteristics has not been much in evidence throughout Soviet history. Quite the opposite: the

setting and context of communication in the Soviet system has implied a passive audience with an attention span dictated by the communicator and usually very long and relatively monotonous. Ninety Minutes is a product that suggests that Soviet thinking about how to maximize the communicative potential of television has changed dramatically. This program assumes, one may conclude from its format, an audience of mixed ages, mixed social and economic level, and mixed levels of educational attainment. It tries to target each in separate segments. This in itself is a major departure for Soviet media.

The media in the Soviet Union have been differentiated in a superficial way and may be said to target different audiences in a formal manner. It is true, of course, that there has been a clear division between mass media and more specialized media. Pravda has been expected to reach the masses, while Gudok is intended for a narrow-profile workforce. But among those media designated as truly mass there has been little differentiation. Numerous studies have called attention to the high degree of repetition among the mass media and to the fact that the same sources reappear throughout. In the Soviet communications literature there are frequent calls to differentiate and vary the media according to the needs of the audience. If this is not done, they warn, there is a real danger of not reaching the intended audience.

Ninety Minutes is an experiment that consciously appeals to an audience that is differentiated; it is, therefore, a mixture

of items for that early morning audience. Many of the viewers will be children preparing to go to school; most of the rest will be adults (often young adults) preparing for work. The program has a direct utility in terms of helping to assure that the school-day and work-day begin more effectively and decisively. It is a program that, every weekday morning, "launches" the population on its daily tasks.

The segments of 90 Minutes are often extremely short and change abruptly: for example, a three-minute segment of domestic political news can be followed by a children's cartoon. On the Thursday of our sample, 90 Minutes took the following form. The first segment, almost three minutes, is a brief news report about the Party plenum, followed by a weather report. The viewers are asked to drive carefully to work and to leave a little earlier to avoid having to drive too fast. Weather reports normally have an entirely self-evident utility and do not need comment. However, I would like to point out the importance of weather reports in the Soviet Union, where the weather is often a hostile and difficult part of life. Radio, which, in the Soviet Union as elsewhere, lost much of its audience with the introduction of television, maintained an advantage because of its ability to provide information, such as weather, of direct utility to the audience. The weather reports on Radio Liberty are said by Soviet observers to provide useful information to audiences; because of their utility, the audience is then attracted to the other Radio Liberty programming.

The next segment, approximately eight minutes, is an aerobics work-out. As is well known, these fitness exercises are important in the morning programming of Second Program. They have never taken much time on First Program. There is, apparently, viewer demand for them; the weekly television guide Govorit i pokazyvaet Moskva publishes information about the exercises that will be featured on television for the week, so that the viewer can accompany them at home. Before the program day was lengthened, letters were published in the weekly guide asking for earlier programming and the expansion of fitness-training programs. At the time, the response published in the weekly referred to the greatly increased costs associated with extension of the broadcast day.

After the aerobics, a cut back to the studio provides another news segment. News about the Party plenum is repeated, and there are a number of short segments on the economy, originating from various districts (raiony). A final story in this two-minute news segment relates to Soviet-American arms negotiations. Stories about the domestic economy are, of course, of critical importance on the Soviet news. It is not just in the Gorbachev period, with the overt emphasis on overcoming "stagnation" and rousing the economy to more intensive production, but in the pre-Gorbachev period as well, that television emphasized the economics story. These stories, typically, led the news broadcasts. There would be a series of such stories, and altogether they

formed a large bloc of the entire news period. Because the format of the news was so predictable--the division into news blocs changed only when matters of overriding importance to the leadership were shown--the viewing audience has been adept at avoiding the less informative (and less credible) news stories and concentrating on those of greater salience. Foreign affairs, for example, is an issue-area that attracts the public. The economics bloc has had much less attraction for the viewers. The economics stories themselves have been changing on the evening news and on other public affairs programs. In addition, the break-up of the bloc on the morning "information-musical show" (as 90 Minutes is officially categorized) enables the programmers to avoid the predictable bloc sequence and to appeal to audience interest.

An eight-minute children's cartoon follows. "Masha is not a Lazybones Anymore" is a cautionary tale--rather frightening to watch. It tells of a child who is spoiled, waited on by her grandmother, who does everything for her: wakes her in the morning and brings her breakfast on a tray. The grandmother asks the little girl (what she must ask her every morning) to help. But the little girl refuses, saying that her hands or feet just refuse to do it. "But are you not boss of your hands and feet?" The girl's excuses become reality, as, in fact, her limbs take on a life of their own, catapaulting her around the house and, eventually, into a bus from which she does not escape until

nightfall, when she runs, helplessly, into the woods. Terrified and exhausted, she has a change of heart and is, again, the mistress of her limbs. She is reunited with her family and neighbors, who have been looking for her, and says she is no longer a lazybones. This short cartoon is certainly heavily didactic: it imposes a frightening world--a punishment to effect desired behavior.

After the cartoon, the program cuts to the studio, where the hostess warns children to walk carefully to school, and news from abroad is given in short capsule form. This moves directly into a musical number (called "Dr. Watson"). A word should be said here about the "host" and "hostess" innovation. Throughout the history of Soviet television, those who represent the broadcasting organization have been, on the whole, faceless and depersonalized. On Vremya it has been customary to have readers instead of anchors. By that I mean that the newsreader conducts the program and he or she (they are usually a pair) simply reads (from visible papers) what others have written for them. There is never the intrusion of the use of the first person in speech, nor does the viewer see any examples of personalized expressions or gestures. The attitude is one of utmost seriousness. The two newsreaders alternate, and the only "stars" are the political observers, well-known commentators who provide personal remarks on screen directly to the camera and only rarely in an interview context. The depersonalized reader model is not unique to Soviet

television; it is common in European systems. However, the Soviet broadcast officials, in their quest for media efficacy, have begun to reconsider the role of the television host. Not only in entertainment programs, it is argued, but also in news and information, it might well be preferable to personalize the messages. It is argued that viewers respond more readily and more emotionally to a figure to whom they can relate. The new live shows, particularly the early morning and late night ones, are the first to develop the new notion of the more personalized purveyor of information.

The musical number entitled "Dr. Watson" is the bridge back to the studio for a ½-minute information piece on the 100th anniversary of the first appearance of Sherlock Holmes in literature (explained by the host). A female sportscaster (as is common on Soviet news and information programs) gives the sports news for the next four minutes, followed by a musical interlude of almost two minutes. Back in the studio, there is more news (roughly three minutes) about the Party plenum, followed by news commentary concerning domestic news (accompanied by a filmed report) of the harvest.

The weather bureau gives a two-minute report, followed by a rock-video of a song sung in English.

This dizzying pace and change-up is followed by a nearly four-minute survey of the newspapers of the day. It is a preview of what the viewers will see on the newsstands. The hosts read

directly from the national newspapers. After this a signal change of pace, with a film on flamenco dancers in Spain (two minutes) and a cut back to the studio, where the program host informs the public about the contents of the latest number of the journal, Television and Radio.

A 2½-minute filmed report shows the Ukrainian Day exhibit at the VDNKh (Exhibition of Achievements of the Soviet Economy) exhibition in Moscow. This is followed by a cut to a sports report, which lasts just under five minutes. Back in the studio, the hostess shows a short film which warns of the the dangers of speeding, and the viewers are told that driving is especially difficult because of heavy fog. The public service, or didactic, aspect of television is on view in the next short segment--a cartoon tells citizens to keep their apartment doors closed in order to conserve energy.

The next piece is a human interest/health story--a filmed report on a physician who is called a "magician" for his success in treating his patients. He sees 450 patients a day; the film shows lines of people waiting outside his office. He could, he says, see one or two thousand people a day, if he had more time. As it is, he sleeps only 2 or 3 hours a night. The doctor is something of a chiropractor. He is shown manipulating the spinal column of a patient. Until very recently, his technique (which, it is said, "has not found a scientific basis as yet") was not approved by the medical profession, and he was not recognized as

a physician. Now, his unorthodox practices have been fully and officially recognized as worthy medicine. There are many areas of Soviet life, at present, in which there is a willingness to support something that works--new methods that are departures from the officially approved and rigid models of the past. This is as true of the educational system as it is of new forms of retail trade. Pushing the established bureaucracies to recognize--and even support--individual initiative if it seems to work (that is, if it promises significant return without massive capital expenditures) is becoming a widespread practice. How to assess the utility of the venture is not yet clear. It is seen primarily as a way to liberate productivity.

A music video (just under two minutes) precedes a review of the foreign news (almost six minutes) in the studio. The review begins with protests in Japan against Nakasone and the United States; activities of the CIA with respect to Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Central America; new computer systems for Japanese airlines; Surgeon General Koop talking about AIDS cases in the United States at the UN conference on AIDS, followed by officials from other countries; floods in Ireland; and fashion. These are followed by a two-minute filmed report on a seafood market. A female cook is interviewed in this film; she tells the audience how to use ordinary fish (as opposed to more expensive or rare fish) in everyday cooking. Cutting back to the studio, the hostess continues the cooking topic. Then a three-minute music

video is followed by a two-minute story on a citizen who still uses a World War II-vintage truck for his work. With ingenuity and motivation he makes this near-antique perform. Both this story and the one on utilizing fish for nutritious meals have the same message: without increasing capital investment, without net additions to the economy, it is still possible decisively to alter the level of productivity. It is possible to improve diet and expand food choices by using different products; it is possible to extend the life of old vehicles and make them work productively. It takes information and encouragement on the part of those who guide and commitment, motivation, and effort from those who perform. In short, what is involved is a re-orientation or re-mobilization--a change of relationship between worker or consumer and the system.

The "antique" truck story cuts to a Twenties-style silent film with dance-hall music (two minutes),then to another weather report (1½ minutes). After the report the hosts reappear in the studio to announce the end of the program. They introduce the engineers and others who have collaborated on the program.

Ninety Minutes is an important innovation, not only because it represents a considerable amount of broadcast time, but more importantly because the communications theory or philosophy behind it influences the formats of many of the new programs in the Gorbachev television revolution. It aims for a very heterogeneous audience, from the youngest preschoolers to adults

on their way to work. In order to keep this inter-generational mix, the decision has been made to vary the contents of the program. However, the pattern of variation has to accommodate the very short attention spans of the young, and the result is the rapid pace of a constantly moving kaleidoscope. The "information" dimension of the program--very important to its mission as the morning replacement of Vremya--is packaged as short segments, broken up by "entertainment" pieces. The individual stories (such as harvests) are recognizable as the kinds of pieces that would have run in the first third of the 'old' morning Vremya, but now they are mixed in with other material to render them more lively and thus keep the audience. It is not at all clear, to the observer, how effective the rapid-paced mix of items (often with no bridge or connecting tissue) is. At present the broadcasters do not seem to have institutionalized a systematic, reliable, and accessible method of tapping audience reaction. The efforts thus far may be termed more experimental or pilot than routine and large-scale. Without such solid data from scientifically designed surveys, it is impossible to tell whether new shows like 90 Minutes have succeeded in forming a multi-generational audience and in presenting news and information in a much more effective format, or whether the rapid-fire succession of widely differing and extremely short subjects, formats, and segments targeted at generationally separated audiences is confusing, difficult to remember, and frustrating.

The discontinuous elements may provide a "modern" attractiveness or a jarring and alienating environment, and the generations may differ in this assessment. As yet, there is no reliable way to draw conclusions about the audience, but the creators of this and similar shows have obviously assumed that the more positive outcome has been guaranteed.

Ninety Minutes displays another characteristic of the Gorbachev media revolution: its forward role in the campaign to remobilize the Soviet population. Many of the stories are intended as object lessons--some are quite directly presented as lessons--to heighten productivity by the exercise of more care in utilizing scarce resources, more attention to physical well-being, and more involvement with daily life. The program has a rousing aspect, one that is magnified by the innovation of Western-style anchors--individuals to whom one can relate.

After 90 Minutes, the schedule is read for about two minutes, and then a roughly 42-minute children's program is broadcast. This program, We Invite Children to the Screen, is a documentary about children's choirs in Moscow. The members are interviewed, and a choir performs. This is followed, at 9:14, by the very popular science show, Incredible but True. This long-running show was made popular by its host, Sergei Kapitsa, son of the Nobel laureate, Peter Kapitsa. On the day of our sample, the

program was about physics. There is a documentary film about a Soviet physicist, member of the Academy of Sciences, who talks about what he considers to be misconceptions about physics. He argues that because theoretical physics is thought to be boring, it is rarely discussed on television, a mistake that could be harmful ("this silence could bring great harm to people"). He goes on to say that everyone should have a knowledge of physics, however minimal, and that if the residents of Chernobyl had had at least a little knowledge of the causes and effects of radioactivity they would not have looked at the reactor through open windows. The scientist is shown at work: it is the moral law within, he claims, that becomes a matter of life and death. Science has carried man to the edge of the precipice, and must be linked to morality. He quotes Dostoevsky and argues that "moral beauty" is necessary; that man must develop inner moral laws for the continuation of mankind. The planet supports billions of people; there are problems of disease and warfare. Science itself is neither the solution to all problems nor intrinsically evil. In itself, science is neither moral nor immoral; the discoverer of the nucleus cannot be blamed for nuclear weapons; the discoverer of radioactivity cannot be blamed for Chernobyl. Science is utilized by individuals, and it is essential to recognize the interdependence of science and art, science and moral obligations.

This popular science program (popular in two senses: it attracts large numbers of viewers and it is intended to make

science both more attractive and understandable) often draws links between science and other dimensions of life. It has shown the operation of physical principles in dance; it has shown how physics plays a role in art.

After Incredible But True, there is a newsbrief of about fifteen minutes. The stories, covered in capsule form, are both domestic and international. The first is about growing corn; the second about a school in Riga to teach machine-building (students earn money); the third story is about a Subbotnik day, when citizens volunteer to clean up the city. The next four stories are international stories: first, on the United Nations' support for superpower bilateral INF talks. Second is a story on the stockmarket crash in the United States. Senator Albert Gore is quoted; the weakness of President Reagan's economic policies is cited. The next story announces a governmental reorganization in Brazil. The last international story cites the Secretary-General of the United Nations' support of the observer status of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The capsule concludes at 10:15 a.m. with a short weather report, and First Program shuts down until late afternoon.

Afternoon Weekday Programming

The program day resumes at 4:00 p.m. with another news capsule of about 12 minutes. This newsbrief treats the following

stories: Gorbachev sends a congratulatory telegram to a UNESCO meeting in Paris. Ryzhkov, in the Kremlin, greets the Austrian minister of economics, who will be in the Soviet Union to develop economic and technological cooperation between Austria and the Soviet Union. A filmed story shows the construction of a new gas pipeline together with a new housing micro-raion. It is announced that plans are being fulfilled in this project. In the Alma Ata oblast, there is a report--also on film--of a successful harvest and increases in milk production. An AP report is given next, concerning the explosion in Kuwait, in which three are wounded. The next report concerns the meeting in Athens of the 20th Conference of Communist Workers' Parties of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East and Red Sea countries. A Greek Communist Party speaker points to the particular significance of this meeting in light of the recent "terroristic" military actions of the United States in the area. The next story is a commentary about Burkina Faso. Cabinet members of the former president were arrested during the military coup. Reference is made to economic and social problems and the deprivation of human rights. Next is a filmed report from Tallinn, showing a seminar on cooperation on the basis of perestroika and describing enchanced opportunities for commercial ties between Finland and the Soviet Union. The remaining two stories are culture stories: the reception given in Moscow in honor of the visiting author Gabriel Garcia-Marquez and a filmed

report of a folk art festival in the Ukraine.

Following the news capsule, and after a run-down of the schedule by an announcer, the program Up To 16 and Older is shown. This series has been on Soviet television for some time. It is a production of the youth programming department and it employs a magazine format. It is just under 45 minutes, running from 4:18 to just after 5:00 in the afternoon. It is composed of six segments, none of which is fiction. It could be termed a public affairs program for adolescents.

The first segment is called" Telephone of Trust," a piece about a helpline. It chronicles the problems of a 13-year-old boy who is beaten up at his school. He lives with his grandmother (who is interviewed and identified). The boy is considered a "mama's boy" by his classmates, the beating has resulted in a concussion. The Komsomol district committee has begun a helpline (Telephone of Trust). Although intended originally to deal with drug-related problems, its mandate has broadened to include social problems of maladjustment and conflict of the type described here. The Gorbachev media revolution involves the lifting of prohibitions on reporting a number of serious problems in society. In the past these problems had gone unreported, since it was felt that the mission of socialization--or molding new citizens--would be undercut by the display of negative phenomena in society. That earlier approach was decisively changed, and the new policy dictates coverage (the

limits of which are still unclear) of such social problems as drug abuse and prostitution. This story accepts as given that young people will have drug problems and that the youth organization must develop ways to respond to its constituency. The story also treats a problem raised by the very popular and controversial film "Scarecrow," in which the problem of social maladjustment and conflict was related to vigilantism and informing. Both that film and this story call attention to the problem of youth socialization.

The second segment is an interview with the chief editor of the Molodaya Gvardia publishing house. He discusses new books for young readers. He asks that potential young readers respond to the publisher with criticisms and/or suggestions. He goes on to announce a review competition: students would write reviews of children's books published by Molodaya Gvardia in the last two or three years. The deadline for the competition will be January 1, 1988, and the winning reviews will be published in a collection. This story, too, is an example of the Gorbachev leadership's use of media. The Soviet Union, along many dimensions, has an enormous feedback deficit. There are very few channels for the transmission of opinion back to (and up to) the center, where to a very large degree decision-making is still concentrated.

There are actually two related problems: one is the problem of amount of feedback (how feedback-poor the system is) and the

other is the problem of the representativeness of feedback (how accurate or reliable the feedback is). The former question may seem to be solved: the practice of letter-writing is highly developed and officially encouraged. The numbers of letters flowing in to the media are enormous: Central Television receives over a million a year--actually over 1½ million. The central newspapers receive, on the average, a half-million letters annually. There are huge full-time staffs at all media organizations who are responsible for the collection, summarization, computerization (where there are sufficient resources, letters are put into a data base from which names, addresses, and themes may be extracted), and response. Obviously, this kind of feedback does not cover all contingencies, and this story represents an attempt to open up another channel. In addition, this story represents another characteristic of the Gorbachev use of media--and of its social policy in general. The user is asked to judge the product. Other systems employ market forces to attain user judgment. In the absence of those mechanisms, it is often difficult to determine user satisfaction.

Moreover, in the area of youth publication, it is not necessarily considered desirable to elicit satisfaction information: the publisher has the task of guiding the mental and moral formation of youth, and that may be not at all congruent with meeting the demands of youth. It is obviously an interactive process: the publisher that meets few of the demands of the potential

readership has little chance of fulfilling the socialization mission. Therefore, some middle ground has to be sought, but that middle ground cannot even be identified until there is some sense of user satisfaction and evaluation. That is one of the utilities of this proposal aired on the television screen. There is still another reason for this kind of proposal: the very involvement of the potential readers in a competitive program is itself a socializing function. This competition will, if successful, help to activate or mobilize the youthful audience. On the other dimension of feedback noted above--representativeness--this initiative does little to improve the current problem. The reviews, though they may well provide genuinely interesting inputs, cannot be considered representative of youth opinion in general, or even in a given locale. They are self-selected. It would be unwise to engage in policy-making on the basis of this kind of information.

The third story shows a positive model for youth to emulate. It is about a boy who is an auto mechanic and driver and, at the same time, contributes to culture. He is a folk-dancer; he is devoted to poetry; and he wants to be a guitarist. He appears to be the desirable combination of productive blue-collar worker and participant in culture. Moreover, the culture in which he participates is officially valued. With the advent of television--and with the accompanying changes in the youth culture in the modern world--Soviet young people have become more passive, in the sense

of aspiring more to become consumers than fabricators (in the Marxist sense of doers and makers of things). The rate of participation of young people in hobby circles, clubs, and sports groups has declined. The officially sponsored folk-culture societies are waning. In all of these, the proportion of activists and "professional" youth organization or Party members is relatively very high, while the coverage of the "ordinary" youth society is thin. There is a perhaps fundamental contradiction between what this story teaches and the sixth story, with which the program concludes, which I treat below.

The fourth story is a discussion of school reform. The discussion takes place at the summer camp, Orlenok, where the television program has brought a crew and has engaged many of the boys and girls in talks about the new proposal to regulate the activity of the schoolroom. The document under discussion (and published) intends to spell out the spheres of activity and interaction of the three components of the school: students, teachers, and Komsomol. One of the first points at issue is the question of the budget: who should have access to the budget and what kinds of procedures ought to regulate allocations. The young people argue that they have the right to be involved. The discussion involves questions of formal schooling, the activity of local Komsomol groups, and the local industrial enterprises. The discussion elicits criticism of the curriculum in the schools. One girl says that "foreign language is our chief

ideological weapon" and that there are hardly any resources in her school--they have only one hour for foreign language and "it's ridiculous." The students complain that they have little access to teachers' meetings and are shut out of the process of what might otherwise be termed partnership. They argue that their vocational education is wanting and that they are not adequately compensated by the economic enterprises for the work they do.

The points brought up in this story are typical of the very serious problems now illuminated in the media. The entire area of education has become of central concern to Gosteleradio. It has become a concern in the most fundamental way: a questioning of the basic relationships among teachers, parents, and students. Those relationships are being questioned; the amount and kind of participation of each group is at issue. The very notion of the authoritarian or dictatorial method of transmission of knowledge versus the arrangement of partnership and mutual responsibility for decision-making is at the heart of the discussions. Twelfth Floor, the path-breaking youth program begun in the winter of 1986, showed (and thereby encouraged the image of) adolescents who questioned, ridiculed, and pressed their teachers and youth organization officials. It also showed these young people putting forth their own ideas, their own projects, and arguing that they had more merit (because they came from users who understood local needs) than those dictated from on high. This story is a

less bold (and probably less effective) version of this drama, the outcome of which has real significance for the quality of the labor force and productive potential of the economy.

The next, or fifth, story is about a group of young American ballet dancers who visit the Soviet Union. They are interviewed about why they came to the Soviet Union and not to another country. The answer is that there is a great dance tradition in the USSR. There are film clips of the dancing, which is distinctly amateur (at the end of one dance, the dancer is unable to hold her position), and an interview with the leader of the group, Judith Williams. She mentions the Reykjavik summit and states that the aim of the dance company is to further goodwill through dance. When asked about their impressions of the USSR, she says that the dancers feel they are ambassadors of peace. Members of the company also say that break-dancing is no longer in fashion. This story underscores the importance of America in the Soviet Union and in Soviet media. I have written elsewhere that there is a near obsession with America in the Soviet media, television in particular. The visit of young Americans to the Soviet Union would therefore be a likely candidate for coverage, even though little is particularly newsworthy or unusual in this event.

The final story--one that can be contrasted in some ways with the auto mechanic/folk-dancer story described earlier--is about a youth theater group. They do American Fifties-style rock and

roll. The segment shows clips from the play they put on and shows them selling their own tickets and renting their own theater space. This segment has two aspects of great interest. One is the "other" form of culture that is hereby validated: the "low culture" of rock music. As I noted above, there is an officially recognized hierarchy of culture. Certain types of expression of culture are accorded more respect, and the hierarchy runs from classical down through folk, romance, and gypsy, and finally to pop. But in the past rock music had been beyond the limits of the officially recognized hierarchy. Then, rock began to enter, but with certain limitations. The most violent of rock--"heavy metal"--was off-limits. However, under Gorbachev that is not necessarily the case. Though there had been cautionary programs about the dangers of heavy-metal rock and the "outlaw" character of its practitioners, they have given way to a different approach--an attempt to understand what young people draw from the music and what their needs are. Rather than suppress the movement, it will be co-opted. Rather than driving young people into more politicized expressions of their tastes, it is better to accept some forms of heavy metal and keep the ramifications more limited. On a World and Youth program, for example, there was a sympathetic discussion with "metalheads" (<u>metalisty</u>, in Russian), who argued that they had no political interest in heavy metal (the accoutrements--the nail-studded leather wristbands and collars, the chains--were not, they said, fascist), in fact they

could not understand the words. This program also showed ordinary (more conformist) youth arguing that they did not have clubs or music magazines. The adults present concurred that it was time for the system to provide outlets for young people.

The second aspect of this last segment relates to individual initiative. Much has been written about the development of individual initiative in the economy. This trend is not confined to the economy; it is part of the overarching concern of the Gorbachev leadership with changing the relationship between the individual and society. It is seen as critically important to remobilize the population, to reorient its attitude. It is assumed that a remobilization would result in the liberation of real resources, both human and material, and effect real growth. To the extent, then, that the encouragement of individual initiative frees hitherto un- or under-utilized resources, the need for new and additional investment is reduced. This is true for cultural organizations as well. Thus this story about a grassroots, self-financed theater is an important one. But it is important in still another way. The development of individual, relatively autonomous initiative does create new resources, by increasing the amount of labor input. But in this case it also means something else--the approval of cultural values that are generated by the users and not by the state providers. That there is potential tension here is undeniable, but the tension is really the familiar one between the function of guidance or

socialization and the efficacy of the medium. The grassroots theater described here is a move to enhance efficacy--to reach the audience, and an acknowledgment that the audience of young people has been largely left out or have left the more traditional, officially approved channels.

From 5:00 to 5:49 p.m. there is international (European) soccer. The international championships in sports (particularly soccer) are shown on First Program, which in general shows rather few sports, as compared to Second Program. During the half-time there is another Novosti (or news capsule) of about 12 minutes. The soccer game then continues until Today in the World comes on, at about 6:50 p.m.

Evening Weekday Programming

The late afternoon Novosti begins with Ryzhkov greeting the Austrian economics minister. It then goes to Kiev for a report on a housing construction project nearing completion. The next story is about a new consumer-services complex. International news comes next, with a story on the Persian Gulf and the attack on the Iranian oil platforms. President Mitterand is shown in the Federal Republic of Germany, and it is announced that the

fighting in Sri Lanka continues. A Philippines story is next, about the continuing problems facing President Aquino. The last foreign story is about Bulgaria and economic administration. The last information piece concerns domestic ecological problems: degradation of quality of lakes and loss of fish.

At 6:50 p.m. the first edition of Today in the World is shown. This survey of items selected from the day's international news is usually broadcast twice daily on weekdays. This pattern had obtained for several years when, during 1987, the administration of Gosteleradio decided that the viewing audience could not maintain its interest for both programs. It was thought that the total volume of stories of both daily editions was boring the audience. This conclusion was reached, apparently, after internal discussions by broadcasters. The decision was made, therefore, to remove this early edition of the program. The broadcasters were inundated with protesting telephone calls and letters; the audience objected to the removal of the first edition and pressed for its return. The broadcasters considered this feedback so overwhelming (though it was, like most of the other feedback received, high in volume and probably relatively low in representativeness), that Today in the World returned in this slot as well as in the later one. On the day of our sample, there were eight stories in this fifteen-minute program. The first showed George Shultz arriving in Moscow for talks. Then more on the continuing tensions in the Per-

sian Gulf. A United Nations discussion of AIDS was next, followed by another UN story: talks on limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Rajiv Ghandi was shown in Washington with President Reagan, and another India story followed--the Festival of Lights holiday in India and sabotage by Sikh terrorists. Next were protests against United States military bases in Australia, and finally, a disaster story--hurricane in the British Isles.

Za slovom delo (Words After Deeds), the next program, is a public affairs program of a little less than a half-hour. The program displays examples of economic productivity for emulation. This edition concerns a complex in Siberia (Irkutsk). Composed of some 42 independent enterprises, it engages in lumbering and paper production (much of it for export to the COMECON countries) and other types of production, including fruit and vegetables. The story begins with a look at their unorthodox methods of fruit-growing (watermelons hanging in slings in greenhouses). There is an interview with the director, who says that his agricultural complex yields 3 million agricultural products per year, and that there are "excellent conditions" for workers. The unit borrows money from the state, with repayment obligations. Ten years ago there was "nothing but cold," now there is a vast complex, with a very low rate of labor turnover. The director says "frankly, there was little built in the 70s" (an example of the pervasive criticism of the Brezhnev years). There is sig-

nificant attention paid to quality of life, the director says. The buildings (both apartment houses and individual houses) are "built with soul," humanely. In addition there is great attention paid to the well-being of the workers. In order to retain the labor force and to enhance its productivity, the complex has built sanitoriums, children's camps, parks, and a covered, heated swimming pool. The viewer sees facilities for hobbies and individual creativity, such as ballet and choirs. One aim, the director says, is to provide all the vacation opportunities on the spot, so that the workers will not go to the European part of the Soviet Union. This movement, across several time zones, is inefficient for production. It is estimated that it takes about two weeks for adults to readjust when they return; it is costly, and it overburdens transportation. With the proper facilities the workers can vacation at home. These expenditures can be made with a combination of state money, profit, and individual earnings. Labor conditions here represent a model: turnover is very low, no more that 8.2 per cent overall. Inefficient economic practices, such as "storming," are absent. The complex is successful because it has avoided the problems of Bratsk. "The Bratsk experience is not very positive," the director says. The differences in Irkutsk relate first to the use of new technology and equipment. Second, there is close attention paid to the quality and preparation of the labor force. Ties are maintained with all of the surrounding technical institutes (lumber, zoo-

logy, polytechnic). These institutes are aware of the complex's requirements for specialists some five years in advance. Blue-collar workers are highly qualified here, as well, and, given the high technology component of the complex, that is necessary. There are three shifts in the factories--they work non-stop. A brigadier is interviewed who says he prefers to work at night, when it is peaceful. Hot food is provided by the factory. This complex can serve as an example. It is successful; materials are available for housing and other consumer needs. Perestroika and the new law on the enterprise will, in the view of the director, make it possible to acquire materials more simply and efficiently. Related to this, he says, is the operation of the brigade form of labor, which creates a new kind of worker--a worker who is motivated, committed, and strives to achieve.

Again, the "mission" of this program is both information diffusion and model development. The encouragement of labor migration to Siberia and, more difficult, the retention of labor resources there has been a continuing problem in the Soviet Union. The attractions of work in Siberia have been minimal--at least in terms of what are called cultural/social values (i.e., provision of amenities and entertainment). Television can help to disseminate this new image of Siberia.

The premiere of a theatrical film from Azerbaidzhan (1981) follows for the next 1½ hours. "In Front of the Closed Door" is a film about contemporary Baku. In brief, it is the story of

Murat, who returns to his home in Baku after having served part of a prison term (he is released on parole). He had been imprisoned for fighting and badly hurting a young man. By the end of the film he has again been in a fight, violated the terms of his parole, and perhaps will be punished. However, this is not a film about delinquency; quite the contrary; it is about conscience and social awareness. It is a film about the collective and about responsibility for others, even if that sense of responsibility is not shared. Through a series of flashbacks it is apparent that Murat had gone to a dance and had stopped a group of bullies from forcing a young girl to dance. In the fight that ensued Murat did not strike the blow that hurt the bully--that was done by Murat's friend, who misrepresented the scene in court and was released while Murat was blamed. After prison, when Murat returns to the apartment of his father in Baku, he hears something the other residents of the apartment building have heard daily-- (but have tried to ignore) the frantic, sobbing screams of a woman who is abused by her husband. Locked in her apartment by her husband, she screams constantly for help. The other residents of the apartment building react in different ways: one closes his window, one plays a record. But Murat cannot allow this injustice to continue. He takes it upon himself to right the situation. He breaks down the door and confronts the tyrannical husband and, after the inevitable fight, he is told, again, that he must report to the police. At the end of

the film we see the imprisoned wife who now--for the first time--slowly and hesitantly opens the door.

The film is, of course, more complex than this skeletal plot suggests. The most important theme is this one of social consciousness and apathy--mobilization and alienation. But it is also about social class distinctions in a changing traditional society. Murat is an engineer; his father is a school principal. At the opening of the film the father is facing a problem: he fired his physical education department because of poor performance by the students. In turn, he has been accused of poor administration. The matter is now under investigation. At the end of the film, the school's collective votes to oust the father. The 'perks' of the job have already ceased. A neighbor remarks that the big black car no longer comes for him. In fact, status is so important to the father that he refused to speak up for his son at the trial, for fear that his job might be compromised. At the beginning of the film, he says that it is not a good time for his criminal son to be coming home. Murat and three of his friends in the apartment complex have studied in Moscow--they enjoy higher status, but one of them, a young woman, has married a bus driver. The driver, whose appearance is more traditionally Caucasian than the four who had been in Moscow, is clearly a worker, he is jealous of his wife's past friendship with one of the four "Muscovites," a young intellectual. Related to the status theme is the traditional patrimonial theme. The

imprisonment of the wife, whom Murat eventually frees, the proprietary behavior of the bus driver; the total dominance by her husband, of a woman to whom Murat brings greetings from her brother in prison, are all examples. With the exception of students, none of the women in the film appears to have any life apart from home and children, though most are eligible for the labor force. The extended family is much in evidence; three generations live in one unit. Motherhood is never intruded upon by day-care centers. It should be recalled that the film does take place in a large city, not a small backwater, and is set in the early 1980s. In the courtyard of the apartment building are geese and chickens. The street-side is a modern city; the interior is rural. This intermixing of traditional and modern is what gives the film its complexity. The liberation of women is not an altogether clear message: when the bus driver hears of his wife's past friendship in Moscow with the young intellectual, he forcefully hits his wife across her face--eliciting her powerful admiration.

The Nightly News--Vremya

Vremya is aired at 9:00 p.m. Moscow time. It goes on live; until recently it was the only live program on Soviet television. Moreover, it is live to all the time zones of the country, though broadcast in somewhat different editions. On the night of

October 22, 1988 there were twenty-six different news stories, then sports and weather. The program lasted about 50 minutes. The order of news stories followed the pattern of all news broadcasts: first, news of the top leadership; second (and first, if there is no story about the leader) is economic news; third comes international news; and finally, the news of culture and science.

On this night the news led off with Gorbachev's greeting to UNESCO, read at the opening of the UNESCO meeting. Then, in the economics bloc, there were economic stories. The first group consisted of generally upbeat, positive stories: the winners of a workers' competition; the return of a Soviet ship after a long expedition; the "struggle" to grow cotton in the early days of the Revolution and subsequent events; how agricultural workers are overfulfilling their plans; and the potato crop--it is flourishing and being supplied efficiently to stores. The next story, however (the seventh story and the sixth on domestic economics) is an investigative reporting story. It details how the editorial staff received word of gross mismanagement at the construction site for a new Moscow Metro station. The film report begins with a shot of a foggy Moscow scene, and the correspondent notes that Muscovites are tired of the fog, but what they will show the viewer can take place only if hidden by fog. People had actually called the program to complain about the gross mismanagement they had seen on the construction site--materials left lying about; broken, rusted through, useless. The correspondent

notes that only the best materials go to subway construction sites--highest quality cement, bricks, etc.--materials of which there is an acute shortage elsewhere in the economy. The shoddy workplace and the lost supplies are evidence, the correspondent notes, of the absence of someone in charge (khozyain). There is no leadership, and the only answer, the correspondent says, is that we, ourselves, must be leaders. Again, the answer is individual initiative, a change of orientation that moves the worker from individual to contributor, who sees his own profit and satisfaction in the collective enterprise. Improvement by exhortation is certainly this message; later, in Prozhektor perestroiki, there is the other side: the problems of leadership in an economic system choked with rules and constraints.

The entire economics bloc is presented in a format involving film, three with correspondent on location, and one with voice-over by the anchor. The first story--the greeting by Gorbachev--is read by the anchor in the studio. In the next story, still on domestic issues, Andrei Gromyko presents the Lenin and October Revolution awards.

The next bloc is the international news bloc. The first is the story in which Ryzhkov receives the Austrian finance minister. This is a story using film of the event, with voice-over by the anchor. The next, which is read by the anchor, is a story about the People's Republic of China. The Chinese leader thanks the Soviet Union for the message from Gorbachev. Previous

research shows that coverage of China had been fairly light on the Soviet news. The use of visuals has been rare. It was not until the opening of a Soviet news bureau in Beijing, and then Gorbachev's trip to China, that coverage increased substantially.

The China story is followed by an India story, in which Rajiv Gandhi thanks the Soviet leadership (read by the anchor, without film). George Shultz and Frank Carlucci arrive in the Soviet Union in the next story. They are to negotiate with Eduard Shevardnadze concerning intermediate nuclear forces. A press conference is held. This story uses film and voice-over by anchor. In the next story--still on the general theme of INF, the United Nations General Assembly approves the Soviet-American effort on INF (read by anchor).

Vremya shifts to the Persian Gulf in the next story, detailing a rocket attack on a Kuwaiti oil platform (film, with voice-over by anchor). The Persian Gulf is the subject of the next story as well, in which 6 U.S. ships are shown in the operation of the policy to escort Kuwaiti ships. This too is a filmed story, with voice-over by the anchor.

American stories are next, with a piece about the stock market. It is said that it is stabilizing somewhat. This story shows film, with voice-over by the anchor. A second American story describes the work of scientists in California in detecting underground nuclear activity. This development is said to run counter to President Reagan's intransigent stance. This story is

read by the anchor. It should be noted that in neither of these stories is a correspondent used. Both of the stories would be considered "hard" news, in American terms: both are time constrained; neither is a feature or backgrounder that can afford delays. It is this type of story--the story most typical of the American news--that is most difficult for Soviet correspondents to cover, because of problems with mobility and equipment. When a correspondent story originates from the United States it is most often a feature rather than hard news.

The next bloc is still international, but the focus has changed to science and technology. There is an international AIDS conference in Paris, which 115 nations attend, including the USSR. This is a piece using film, with voice-over by anchor. American astronauts begin training for a Discovery space flight in June 1991 (also film, with voice-over by anchor). Japan is shown in the next story. The first train travels the world's longest underground tunnel. This too is a filmed story with voice-over by anchor. It is likely, in all three of these stories, that the film was purchased from a foreign agency and then narrated by the Soviet anchor.

The centenary of the birth of John Reed is the subject of the next two stories. A correspondent reports with film, from Washington, D.C. There is a meeting sponsored by the Washington chapter of the Soviet-American Friendship Society and the Daily World to commemorate the centennial. The meeting is described as

"modest," "quiet," "touching," and it is certainly small. Some sing songs Reed liked; one official of the society is interviewed. He speaks approvingly about perestroika and against nuclear weapons. A second story shows a wreath from the American Communist Party laid at Reed's grave in Moscow.

An obituary follows. The well-known Russian mathematician Kolmogorov has died, at age 85. Typically, this is a piece read by the anchor.

In the next piece the president of Peru is interviewed, and that is followed by Ukrainian Day at the VDNKh. This is a piece keyed to the upcoming celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Finally, the news portion of Vremya closes with a culture story: the tour of the Soviet Union by an East German dance troupe.

The news is, as usual, followed by sports and weather. As sometimes occurs, the weather portion leads with weather-related news. These short pieces can be very important. They report the kinds of natural disaster/social effects of weather stories that American news puts up front in broadcasts. Moreover, they have not, in the past, been considered newsworthy. Although they are not very often moved up into the news broadcast proper, they do now have legitimacy as useful news. On this day there was a report from the Moscow airport indicating heavy fog and delays of flights. Weather predictions for the entire country then follow.

About three months after this edition of Vremya was recorded, the news studio was changed. The set-up of the anchors was mod-

ernized and streamlined. The space devoted to graphics and film in back of the anchors was enlarged, redesigned, and improved. The logo was modernized. The anchors became slightly more personalized, but with no real difference, thus far, in their news-reading function.

With the advent of perestroika came a new daily program on Soviet television (later supplanted by reports from the Ministry of Internal Affairs). Called Prozhektor perestroiki (Spotlight of perestroiki), it was the closest thing to investigative reporting, on the model of the CBS program 60 Minutes. Of course the analogy is inexact, but there was often a contentiousness and candor on Prozhektor that was new for Soviet television. The importance of this program may be judged by its placement: it was directly after the nightly news. The after-news evening slots are the most important in prime time. Prozhektor took on a kind of national aura that was in fact very similar to that of 60 Minutes. It became not unusual, in Moscow, to hear references to this program (it was used to threaten: "This is going to get on Prozhektor perestroki"). It seemed not only to have attracted a very interested adult audience but also to have had an effect on those whom it investigated.

On this night Prozhektor treated the efficiency of collective farms; it went to the Kuban. The program pointed out that

there was a shortage of storage facilities and of the rail cars that supply construction materials. Further, the program argues, there is a plethora of construction organizations that fail to coordinate their work, thus causing the collective farm unneeded and excessive costs. There is a shortage of lumber, and of labor for the lumbering industry. Migration of workers and young people to the city has left the countryside with a labor deficit. However, even when there is extraordinary leadership, as the host of the program informs the viewers, creative managers must buck the leaden system of rules, regulations, uniformities, and tutelage that has stifled much production. Thus, one sovkhoz chairman was responsible for a "beautifully built" complex and excellent living conditions, but to do it he had to work around laws and regulations that would have stymied a lesser man. As it is, the strain eventually weakened his heart. The Kuban example is one of a creative solution to the problem of coordination. They have started a district-wide construction organization. That way, they can coordinate work and materials, and all of the people on common projects are concentrated in one place.

Post-Vremya Evening Weekday Programming

At the end of Prozhektor, as was customary, an announcer described upcoming programs. The next one on First Program (beginning at about 10:00 p.m.) is "Grand Pas," a filmed concert

of a ballet collaboration between the Soviet Kirov ballet and the company of Maurice Bejart. Bejart is, of course, immensely popular in the Soviet Union. Maya Plisetskaya was guest artist with the Belgian company for years. Although there is certainly a good deal of contrasting opinion in the Western dance world about the aesthetics of Bejart, his work does have particular resonance for the Soviets. In this program are film clips from a number of ballets and clips of Bejart working in Leningrad. There are interviews with Soviet dancers, who express their gratitude to Bejart for his choreographic skills. Bejart is interviewed and describes his artistic philosophy (with Russian sound-track over the French). The clips of the dances are artfully, even spectacularly, produced. They take place at St. Isaac's cathedral, on the bank of the Neva river, and by the Winter Palace. From time to time there is commentary by Bejart. This hour-long show is an attractive, well-produced arts program. In American terms, it would be classified as "high" culture; it features the music of Bach, Berlioz, Verdi, and many others. It is visually often stunning. It should be noted that this program runs on the most important Soviet national network in the most important prime-time slot. It is not a PBS special playing to a narrow-profile audience.

After this program comes the second edition of Today in the World, the daily survey of international news. On this night's

edition the lead story is the speech by the UN Secretary-General in anticipation of United Nations Day (two days later). In the second story, French President Mitterand meets with Helmut Kohl in West Germany to discuss arms control. The third story covers the U.S. Congress and its vote to limit the time allotted to debate about the Persian Gulf. The next story, also involving the U.S. describes plans for the U.S. to loan weapons to Great Britain. The commentator calls it "rockets for rent"; the U.K. will rent Trident II missiles from the U. S., further evidence, some Britons are quoted as saying, of British cession of sovereignty to the U.S. In the next story the rebellion in Sri Lanka is covered--the continuation of Indian-Tamil fighting. America returns in the sixth story, in treatment of stock market troubles. America is also present in the seventh story, which is about the Iranian use of American stinger missiles against the Iraqi enemy. The stingers, it is said, come from American supplies to Afghanistan, and two American senators (Glenn and Wilson) are troubled by this development. America is shown on the next story as well: surgery is performed in New York on German Siamese twins. The last two stories on this edition of Today in the World are ecology/science stories. The first is about rhinoceros-poaching in Africa and the threat to the species; the second story is from Tokyo, covering a conference of inventions and inventors. The final item of the broadcast day is a world gymnastics championship.

The Weekend on Soviet Television

Morning Programming

Saturday, October 24, begins at 7:00 a.m., with 90 Minutes. The two hosts remark, in their introductory comments, that in two weeks the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated. One of the first decrees of the new government was for peace. They tie this to the World Peace Wave in several countries, beginning in Japan: a global anti-war movement for the total elimination of nuclear weapons in this century. Much of today's program will be devoted to the various anti-war meetings and movements all over the world.

Then comes a short news capsule, leading off with Gorbachev meeting with George Shultz in the Kremlin. This is followed by a meeting of the Council of Ministers and reference to their discussion of disarmament and agriculture. The next story covers high-level policy questions of computer literacy in schools and the need to improve training in electronics. The next story covers an automobile workers' holiday (there is a day designated for many different branches of the economy). The last two stories are international: a Laotian delegation visits the USSR;

the Sejm meets in Warsaw, and East Germany celebrates the 700th anniversary of Berlin. There is then a short weather announcement.

The scene shifts to aerobics, or morning workout--a nearly nine-minute segment. There are then eight minutes of cartoons for children and, at 7:23, four minutes of international news. On this day, the World Peace Wave begins in Japan, and that is the lead story. Next, in Brussels, an opposition party claims that a Soviet-American treaty would be the first step to full nuclear disarmament. This is followed by coverage of President Reagan's press conference, in which he states that progress has been made in the area of medium-range missiles, but is said to refuse to budge on SDI. A United Nations story is next, with the General Assembly condemning terrorism. A Persian Gulf story follows: a Greek tanker under Panamanian flag has been attacked by an Iraqi boat. In Paris, leaders of European socialist parties voice their concerns about an impending world economic recession because of the effects of recent stock market fluctuations. In the United States, the Senate has defeated the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. Finally, there is a short piece on a Laotian holiday.

The news is followed by a three-minute rock music performance by a Hungarian group and in the next five minutes the viewers see a sports digest: chess, gymnastics, soccer, and other sports. Chess, as is well known, is a leading "sport" in the Soviet Union

and is nearly always covered in the sports news. More light fare follows, with two minutes of dancers (called "Dance Machine") dancing to "In the Mood."

At 7:37, back in the studio, the hosts read the morning newspaper round-up. The newspaper stories chosen for airing begin with the Gorbachev-Shultz discussions and the session of the Council of Ministers of the USSR devoted to the economic plan. Then comes computer literacy in the schools. A Pravda editorial comes next. It concerns perestroika and youth and argues that perestroika is itself a patriotic duty. Thus, the usual linking of patriotism and youth socialization (which is most often portrayed in its sense of military preparedness) is here directed to the non-military sphere of economic productivity. Selskaya zhizn carries an article on the economic success of a farmers' market in Vitebsk, and Sovetskaya Rossia runs a piece on a new technology of urban transport. Sovetskaya kultura is cited next, about the union of theatrical workers, which has been in existence for more than a year. Trud has a piece on the opening of a new kind of hospital in Moscow, and Sovetskaya kultura has a column devoted to the life of the Russian artist, Petrov-Vodkin. The newspaper also carries an article on the aftermath of the December riots in Alma Ata. A trial of five students from the theatrical-artistic institute has just been concluded. Their names are given, and all are said to be members of the Komsomol. The details, the viewer is told, will be found in the article

entitled "Atonement." Finally, Sovetskaya Rossia announces that Melodia records plans to issue a new Vysotsky album. It is, in many ways, extraordinary that this cultural figure--poet, musician, political commentator--moved from officially unrecognized popular hero to subject of official news announcement in a mass-broadcast television news segment.

After the newspaper round-up there is a two-minute rendition of a popular folk song and then a four-minute samo-kritika piece on an agricultural supply problem. The question investigated is why it is difficult to find certain vegetables--in this case, tomatoes--for sale. State farms are paid in terms of quotas, with the result that they load as much as possible on ships, including spoiled and unripe tomatoes, unfit for consumption, just to fulfill the plan. The result is often that the entire load of tomatoes rots and cannot be distributed for sale.

This heavy-hitting critical piece is quickly followed by a 1½ minute musical interlude (something like ragtime) and then the weather from the weather center. In short order, a three-minute piece from a Dutch rock group follows, and then another three-minute piece from the studio, where the hostess introduces a filmed report on a Moscow school in which teachers and students organize an international rally--they make national dishes and wear national garb.

The next piece (it is now 8:00 a.m.)is a short feedback segment, in which the host and hostess read letters from viewers and

show some of the children's artwork the program has received. For the next two minutes, there is a dance/balalaika troup performance.

The news returns at 8:03 and lasts four minutes. The Persian Gulf story is repeated and an update is included (the reaction of Secretary of Defense Weinberger). A story of domestic political violence in India is next, detailing the activity of Sikh extremists. In a United Nations story, there is General Assembly discussion of SDI. Finally, the show presents a report from Tokyo about the World Peace Wave: Begun two hours before, in Hiroshima, it is now in Tokyo. Some 60 million people, or half the entire population of Japan, are expected to sign a petition to end nuclear weapons. The wave will go around the world; it will be celebrated at noon in each participating location and will finish in Japan at noon the next day.

A performance by a Komsomol choir follows, for two minutes. It is a militant performance of a song that says that the sun, from which come truth and friendship, reflects from the Kremlin star, and each year the friendship grows stronger and truth becomes more invincible. Again there is news. This time, there is a four-minute report of provincial news from Khabarovsk: farming, culture, and folklore research in the countryside. The next two minutes provide a rundown (from the studio) of additional news stories: Gorbachev and Shultz talk in Moscow; the Council of Ministers discusses the plan; CPSU consideration of

plan fulfillment and the issue of computer literacy in the schools; the visit by the Laotian delegation to the USSR; the peace wave rolling throughout the world; and, finally, a meeting in Baku to discuss ways to improve consumer goods and services.

At 8:15 there is another musical interlude, followed by a two-minute sports report, mainly on chess and women's gymnastics. A culture segment comes next, with a 3½-minute piece on the Moscow Art Theater. Oleg Efremov, director of the theater, is interviewed. This is followed by a different kind of culture piece: 90 Minutes moves from elite culture to pop culture with a 1½ minute rock video. This popular culture bloc then continues, with a roughly two-minute piece on an exhibit at VDNKh. This filmed report is about "people's creativity"; it features collectors (of such things as labels), people who work out brainteasers, and in the next 1½ minutes there is a filmed report on new fashions in great demand. This closes the program, after a run-down of the weather and a reading of the names of those who have worked on the program.

After the day's schedule has scrolled on the television screen, there is a program relating to Automobile Workers' Day. This program, running from 8:35 to nearly 9:00 a.m., is composed of three short documentary films. The first, 16 minutes, is a film about test drivers working for an Ulyanovsk auto factory. The narrator notes that this is a "difficult time" for all car factory workers, since it is a time of perestroika. There are

film clips of test drivers at work, checking on brakes in trucks and ambulances. The head of the bureau is interviewed, and there are more clips of test drivers at work, driving on dirt roads and over difficult terrain in jeep-like vehicles. The test driver, the narrator explains, is usually an athlete, who must know not only how to drive cars but also how to maintain, build, and clean vehicles. The new vehicle in development will give the Soviet Union its first capability for a 4-wheel drive jeep, said to be particularly good for city deliveries. There are film clips of an All-Union competition, in which this factory usually collects several trophies.

The second documentary film in this series comes from Kiev. The film narrator explains that cars and trucks are a preferred form of transportation for the delivery of goods, since they can go directly to the user and can travel 24 hours a day. To illustrate, they follow one driver from one firm making one trip. The narrator provides information that the transportation of goods is now being handled by a new organization that provides coordination. Statistical data are given; the number of trucks, the number of storage containers, and how they are efficiently managed and coordinated by the central headquarters of the organization. The driver in the film is shown loading his truck, making last-minute safety checks, and saying goodbyes to his fellow drivers. The film uses the occasion of the trip to make several points about freight transportation generally. For exam-

ple, it is noted that the shortage of spare parts represents a serious problem that is very frequently encountered. Still another problem is generated by the uneven distribution of automated equipment. Thus, some dispatchers along the way have computerized equipment, while others do not. All republics have not been included into the computerized system.

The film next presents a biography of the driver: he was in the armed forces in the Second World War, after which he went to drivers' school. He is shown arriving at his destination, and the narrator remarks that serious problems persist in coordinating routes and schedules, because of equipment breakdown or maldistribution. Computers are necessary and efficient, but must blanket the area; otherwise dispatchers are unable to send parts and repair crews to help stranded truckers. This film ends with the driver's return to Kiev.

The last of the three docufilms linked to Automobile Workers' Day was produced in Kirgizia. This one shows drivers in the Soviet East, battling the elements: blizzards, snowdrifts, winds, and poorly maintained roads. It focuses on one tractor driver, who clears snow from roads to come to the rescue of two stranded trucks.

There are several points of interest in these rather mundane films--films of the sort that draw extremely small numbers of viewers. First, all the activities relate to official institutional use of the automobiles. The vehicles are trucks,

ambulances, and jeeps; they serve institutions rather than individuals. Second, there is an attempt to render the work of those in this sector of the economy dramatic and esteemed. Each segment elevates the job of the worker; these films create worker-heroes. Film is, perhaps, the most effective medium for the creation of heroes, and each personalizes the economic activity by linking it with an individual worker. Finally, there is the clear implication that a combination of individual and institutional effort is required for successful completion of the task: the drivers must be both skilled drivers and conscientious participants in the repair and maintenance of their vehicles. On the other hand, the contributions of individual effort are constantly undercut by systemic deficiencies, most of which are related to problems of modernization. As the transportation network becomes more complex and more critical, the provision of automated equipment is essential. The uneven distribution of this equipment--the spotty modernization--is a serious and potentially debilitating problem.

The television schedule continues with entertainment: a competition of amateur musical performances (song) from Tbilisi. The program is amateur in every sense. This thirty-minute show beginning at 9:35 a.m., is followed by a program on books and the 6th International Book Exhibition and Fair in Moscow, which took place in mid-September. Sunday, September 13 was officially a

"Day of Book Lovers." Large numbers of people attended the fair; some 80 trade outlets were present; three thousand publishers from 100 countries participated. There were interviews with visitors as well as publishers, both Soviet and foreign. Soviet visitors leaving the exhibit are asked what they liked: some noted children's books; one liked the American exhibit, calling it a reflection of life in that country. Some were about to enter the exhibit, looking for French or Spanish books, books about journalism and science. Inside the exhibit, the camera pans over Lenin's works and Gorbachev's Perestroika. Then East German and French publishers are interviewed. The latter show books by Soviet writers (for example, Astafyev) available in French translation. In the Spanish section, a Soviet visitor remarks that books on the Spanish Civil War particularly interest him; another mentions Picasso. Later in the show, the Spanish publisher reads a long list of Soviet writers soon to be available in Spanish translation (Astafyev, Bykov, Evtushenko, Aitmatov).

The American publisher of Golden Books points out learning books with audio cassettes for children. These have all been sold to the Soviet Union. Another publisher talks about books she is showing: Pat Conroy's The Prince of Tides, John Updike's Roger's Version, and Anna Lee Waldo's Prairie. At the request of the television reporter, she also displays two important scientific books that have been bought by the Soviet Union: Computers in Medicine and Expert Database Systems.

At the Soviet book center the viewer sees books for Soviet readers: works of Alexander Blok, Master and Margarita, and icons of Rublev are among them. A Soviet official discusses what will be forthcoming: in 1989, works of Pasternak, Bulgakov, two novels of Platonov. We cannot satisfy the demand, he says, our supplies of paper are simply too meager.

At the Chinese booth there is a lengthy and exceedingly positive and polite exchange of goodwill sentiments between Soviet officials and the Chinese publishers. The former thank the latter for their gift of books. The latter shows Russian and Soviet authors in Chinese translation.

Another American is interviewed: a participant in a Soviet-American dialogue for peace, dedicated to the destruction of stereotypes. An American Marxist publisher speaks out against SDI. A more mainstream publisher speaks with approval of his plan to publish Tatyana Tolstaya and Anatoly Pristavkin and notes with satisfaction a plan for the joint publication of Soviet and American short stories and poems, to appear simultaneously in both countries. The representative from Pergamon Press says that it was an honor to publish Gorbachev.

Soviet visitors are asked about their impressions. This time the tone is critical. They are unable to buy what they want. There are too few books, and one man says that the shortage of paper is not a sufficient explanation. After all, he goes on to say with some heat, there are plenty of unsold books in stores.

Finally, a Soviet official speaks of a forthcoming exchange of exhibitions arranged with the USIA and then refers to the notices at some American stands to the effect that books have been removed by the Soviet hosts. That is true, he notes, and among them was Hitler's Mein Kampf. The decision was correct and fully in keeping with the prohibition of propaganda on war, violence, and racism.

After a twenty-minute piano recital of the music of Franz Liszt, a well-known program begins at 11:30: For Everyone and For Each Person. This half-hour public affairs program is hosted by an Izvestia reporter. Today's program presents follow-up stories relating to three problems explored in earlier shows. The first segment treats the question of how to exchange an apartment. This issue was discussed on this program on September 5, 1987. Today's segment announces that two cooperatives in Moscow will soon (by January 1, 1988) help people to find and exchange apartments. It gives particular insight into the formation of cooperatives under the new laws. The head of the cooperative, a guest in the studio, was asked if he had already registered. The answer is yes. How long did it take him to get an official seal? Only 2 to 3 weeks is the answer. That is treated with some surprise by the other officials in the studio, who remark that usually it takes much longer. The real delay has been in purchasing an automobile for the cooperative. Work is going on in remodeling the space for an office.

The entire area of housing is certainly one of chronic concern in the Soviet system: it is tied to problems of well-being and quality of life, but also to more large-scale problems of labor turnover and birth rates. The use on national televison of a case in Moscow, although it refers to a single locale, is intended to function as a model. As in so much of the information broadcast by the national television networks, the diffusion of problem-solving techniques is central to the intended effect. In this case, the need to coordinate and make extremely efficient use of a very scarce commodity of critical concern to the Soviet population could not be clearer. That the suggested solution is institutionalized with methods that are very new and previously judged as unorthodox is extremely interesting. It is an example, too, of the official recognition and co-optation of practices that had been ongoing, but not strictly legal. Legalizing them, it is assumed, will create revenues that can be tapped and provide a service more systematically.

The second segment is addressed to the question: Who will help the elderly? This raises the question of nursing homes, which are badly needed. Attention is drawn to two new Centers for Social Assistance in Moscow. They provide what is essentially day care for the elderly. There is also one in Kaluga, and two more are planned for Ulyanovsk and Cheliabinsk. There are 3 million elderly people living alone in the Soviet Union. It is asserted that most of them do not need or want such a

facility, but the problem is likely to grow. A new charitable organization has been created (the rise of the old--and previously denigrated--practice of personal philanthropy is part of the Gorbachev program) for help at home for invalids and old people.

The last segment answers the question about new rules for purchasing on credit. There are still contradictory regulations and inconsistency, and later programs will have to treat the legal clarifications of the process.

These segments present useful information bearing directly on the personal lives of viewers. None of the three segments deals with a trivial problem. But all of them show in what an early stage of development governmental policy is. It is indeed telling that these three areas, so important in the life of a citizen (how to make housing arrangements; how the elderly should live; how to purchase big-ticket items on credit), should only now be the subject of some kind of institutionalized or official effort. Moreover, in each of the cases, there is only a rudimentary--almost a pilot or experimental--quality to the solutions, and the solutions are mainly results of some kind of limited local initiative, rather than of overarching governmental policies and large-scale budgeting. Some are frankly approximations and first steps.

Afternoon Weekend Programming

At noon there is a program about the Soviet space program, now 30 years old. The first sputnik marked a turning point in the development of space science and is related to larger notions of human civilization. The program describes an international space forum in Moscow--collaboration in space in the name of peace on earth. More than 400 foreign scientists and more than 200 Soviet scientists are in attendance.

A fifteen-minute program comes on at 12:35. It is more coverage of the World Peace Wave, beginning a "week for disarmament." The peace wave is shown in Tokyo and then the USSR. Young people are asked: Will the planet survive? It depends on you.

After a reading of the program schedule, a documentary film begins (at 1:00 p.m.). This is another example of a program on an important subject, one featured a great deal on Soviet television: pedagogical methods. This, as I have noted earlier, is not a remote or dry topic, but rather a fundamental exploration of basic relationships of authoritarianism (the old pedagogy) and mutual respect and inputs (the new, developing pedagogy). This half-hour documentary film, "Krylov was Here," recounts some events in the life of Krylov, a tenth-grader in Minsk. It expresses the need to change the attitudes and methods of teachers and to struggle with formalism and bureaucratism in education. It is a subject in which television takes a leading

role. Problems such as these are viewed as essential to the Gorbachev reform. If the early socialization of children is not changed, it is argued, then the creative impulses of the citizens they grow up to be cannot be realized. Television, a leading medium of socialization, presses for major reform of another powerful form of socialization, education.

At 1:30 a long-running half-hour program is shown. Sodruzhesvto (Cooperation) is an international public affairs program about cooperation among COMECON countries. On this day it begins with discussion of a problem that is said to be important to the Soviet Union and to all of its socialist allies: the diffusion of innovation. The slowness with which technological innovation is applied in the economy is a serious impediment to economic progress in all socialist systems. This program points to the lack of information among COMECON countries and argues that the utilization of new inventions remains insufficient. The first report comes from East Germany and shows a successful model to be emulated: a petrochemical plant that utilizes new technical and scientific advances. The program notes that at the 43rd session of COMECON agreement was reached that scientific research organizations attached to economic enterprises will participate directly in collaboration. A report from Prague discusses new methods of cooperation, in particular about a firm that functions as liaison between domestic and foreign enterprises. Its functions are principally two: information and service. The com-

mentator underlines the need to promote young scientists and inventors and criticizes the lag in the preparation of a new law governing invention. This is an example of the absence of glasnost, it is said. There has to be more openness, more information, more distribution of information, if the problem of production and diffusion of technology will be solved. I should add, as observers of the Soviet Union have noted increasingly, that in the modern world the overwhelming majority of factors relating to economic growth are generated by technological innovation. The program ends with a report from Hungary, where a bank is trying to stimulate technological innovation by granting loans to talented inventors.

At 2:00 there is a program from the 7th International Festival of Television Programs--Raduga (Rainbow). Today's program is from Zambia, about folk arts. This is followed by a 15-second musical interlude and then, at 2:30, more coverage of the world peace wave.

The ten-minute Peace Wave coverage has the Soviet commentator showing a 15-page list of the Soviet cities and towns participating in this global effort. There are reports from Moscow, Tokyo, Vladivostok, Novosibirsk (where a soldier speaks for peace), and Tashkent.

At 2:40 an installment in the series called The Unfading Lines of History is shown. This film, titled "Hope and Support," is about Nikolai Kurkov, the chairman of a collective farm. He

is the new kind of administrator--the kind of official to implement glasnost and perestroika. He is young, well-educated, and committed to the new principles. He has disagreements with his friend, the first secretary of the district Party organization (raikom). There are frustrations, but in the end Kurkov is successful. This is another example of a type of program so central to the mission or function of Soviet television: the presentation of role models for emulation. The people are usually quite ordinary; the average viewer would encounter them frequently in the course of life and work. The ordinary person is shown encountering reverses and difficulties. With the advent of perestroika, the sense of embattlement is very much enhanced. Perestroika can work only if each television viewer (who are counted in tens of millions) can replicate in his or her own life the example of the ordinary advocate of perestroika who successfully overcomes obstacles.

From 4:36 to 5:20 there is a music program, performances of "dance collectives" from different republics. At 5:20 there is another public affairs program: a documentary film entitled "Our Century." This 55-minute film continues the emphasis placed on science of technology. Produced by the Erevan television film studio, it is a film with music track but no dialogue or narration. It shows footage from recent space flight, intercut with examples of early flight: airplanes, balloons, dirigibles, and others.

Evening Weekend Programming

At 6:15 there is a cartoon made in Georgia. Entitled "Optimistic Miniature," it portrays hope for peace. This short feature also has no words, only music. It shows, in a calligraphic, brush-stroke technique reminiscent of Eastern art, a third-world farmer resting and working in a bucolic setting. A bomber flies overhead and bombs the land. In the craters the farmers sows seed. As the seedlings appear, again the bomb flies overhead and destroys the growth. Again the farmer comes back; he plants bushes in the bomb craters. The bushes grow into trees that form a protective canopy which repulses the bomber as it returns, and destroys it. The plane is a delta-wing jet, probably appearing to be American or at least Western to Soviet viewers.

At 6:25 there is another short piece on the peace wave--this one is five minutes of reports from Alma Ata, Sochi, and England. From 6:30 to 9:00 p.m. there is a filmed play of Ten Days that Shook the World. This Taganka production, shown to commemorate the John Reed centenary, is presented in two acts, with a short (2-minute) chess update in the intermission. The play features music, pantomime, and circus, and is experimental in the tradition of Meyerhold.

The Nightly News--Vremya

The first news story on the night of October 24 is on economics: concerning the laying of a gas pipeline in the Caucasus. The three stories that follow are also economics stories and also upbeat: the first, from Kiev, announces that Kievans will receive 2,500 new apartments by the time the November celebration of the October Revolution arrives. After that comes a story from Karaganda on a new agricultural machine-building plant which is under construction. From Belgorod oblast a story is aired about plan fulfillment ahead of schedule in production of livestock. The last story in the economics bloc is different: not an upbeat traditional story, but one oriented toward illumination of problems. Called "Sharp Signal," it sounds the alarm about the provision of vegetables. It is the same report shown in the morning about the ship carrying rotten tomatoes.

The international bloc begins with more on the world peace wave. It is seen as the beginning of a global anti-war action. There are reports from Tokyo, Vladivostok (these from earlier broadcasts), Stalingrad/Volgograd (postwar reconstruction takes place in Stalingrad, while Volgograders march today--a peculiar and nagging diachronic problem related to the change of name of this city), Moscow, Tashkent, New Delhi, Minsk, Prague. In addition it describes such countries as East and West Germany, Poland, and Sweden. The peace effort continues with the next story, "Peace and Disarmament," about an international exhibi-

tion in Geneva. A meeting there of representatives of governmental and international organizations works toward the twin goals. The next story continues the peace wave coverage--in the United States. Filmed stories are shown about New York and New Haven, where Wilbur Cross High School students march for peace. Continuing the peace theme, the next story originates in the Kremlin, where Andrei Gromyko receives the leaders of the Soviet Peace committee and fund. Altogether this group of global mobilization for peace stories is given roughly eighteen minutes. That is a very large bloc of stories (or alternatively, a single macro-story) that accounts for a full 45 percent of the entire news broadcast, exclusive of sports and weather.

The international bloc continues with a report from the Soviet consulate in Helsinki on the occasion of the presentation of Gorbachev's book Perestroika. The next story, a brief announcement, tells of the CPSU Central Committee sending a communication to the 13th Party Congress in China. The next story states that preparations are being made for the 13th Party Congress in Beijing and that the agenda has been adopted.

In Washington, President Reagan meets with West European journalists and discusses the results of Secretary Shultz's visit to Moscow. Once again it is said that Reagan will not reconsider his position on SDI. In a related story Shultz meets with the NATO Council special session in Brussels, to report on the results of his negotiations with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. Shultz is shown rejecting another Soviet moratorium proposal.

Another report in London covers mass demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa. A related story shows the general secretary of the union of miners in South Africa receiving an award in Stockholm.

There are Middle East stories next. In one a Greek tanker has been attacked in the Persian Gulf; Secretary Weinberger explains U.S. policy in the region; Kuwait is bolstering its defenses with additional American-made anti-aircraft guns. The explosion of a bomb in the Pan American Airways offices in Kuwait is the last of this set of stories.

There is a coverage of New York and the Wall Street crash. It is said that the Reagan administration is incapable of taking the drastic measures needed to deal with the problem. This is a peculiar story in that it is set to dramatic, theatrical music, giving the impression of a historical documentary in the style of Eisenstein films, replete with expressionistic cuts.

In South Korea, students demonstrate against the government; there is more violence in India, where troops cut off supplies to Sikh "extremists."

In Paris, there is a story about the new system for protecting taxi drivers. The back seat is fitted with wires to produce a non-fatal but powerful electric shock.

An international story on a lighter note is the international fashion show in Havana.

The international news bloc ends with a familiar format. On the independence or national day of a country accredited to the

Soviet Union there is usually a television commentary or short speech delivered by the ambassador in Moscow. On this Saturday it is the turn of Zambia. The last story shows a diorama of one of the battles of the Napoleonic wars. Sports and weather follow.

Prozhektor perestroiki, as is customary, follows the news. This day's edition is particularly hard-hitting. It is about a national park under the jurisdiction of the Kaliningrad city council (ispolkom). On the territory of the park there are now some 2,500 illegal private dachas and garages for automobiles. The owners are called barbarians for despoiling the natural inheritance of the people. The ispolkom is explicitly criticized. During the course of the ten-minute program the reporter stops these illegally ensconced users and asks them how they got permission to build and who granted it. The answers are disingenuous and exculpating--and very nervous. No one had any idea it was a park; all had permission; no one could say who had granted the permission, but it had to be legal.

Post-Vremya Evening Weekend Programming

The next hour and fifteen minutes is taken up by an "estradnaya programma" (musical variety show). These programs are immensely popular with Soviet viewers. After it is shown an hour

and twenty minutes of international gymnastics championships competitions. Finally, beginning at 12:15 and lasting ten minutes, is the last news of the day, a late-night capsule, Novosti.

On this Saturday night the news begins with more on the global peace wave--Helsinki and Greece are featured. The next story is about a meeting of the Polish Sejm and then about the move in Kampuchea to include Prince Sihanouk in a peace settlement. It is said the government is ready to grant him a high position in the "state apparatus."

From Venezuela there is a story about negotiations between rebels and the government in El Salvador. No agreement is reached, but another meeting is scheduled in Mexico. In Paris the socialist party leaders of 12 European countries warn about a possible recession in the world economy due to the turmoil of the stock market. France, in the next story, is reported to have carried out a nuclear test in the Pacific. In Mexico there is a meeting of the international association for participants in space flights, and in the Kremlin military and civilian pilots receive awards from Petr Demichev.

The last story in this news capsule is from Moscow--a report on an international exhibit, "Oil and Gas 87." Moscow weather and a run-down of the Sunday television schedule conclude the broadcast day.

Overview

This characterization of two days of Soviet television broadcasting, as I have written above, is not meant to be either definitive or representative of all Soviet television broadcasting. However, there are some elements that are relatively stable and durable. The most central is the socializing role television plays. It is difficult to distinguish public affairs from entertainment programming precisely, because they often look so much alike. Indeed, with the exception of sports and music (and music can be didactic), there is little identifiable "entertainment." The themes are consistent, as, predictably, is the explanatory mode (or grid) into which they are put. Glasnost, perestroika, privilege, corruption, education, and a number of themes associated with quality of life (such as housing, consumer goods, leisure and recreation, medical care) all figure in the broadcasts of these two days, and all are key areas of concern for the Gorbachev leadership. Then there is the news itself, making up about 1/5 of the weekday programming (which is consistent with my earlier research done in 1984 and 1985). The agenda of news programming is heavily international and many of the stories are drawn from what might be termed the Western media agenda--i.e., stories that are of importance to the West as well.

Finally, there is the obvious and visible change that Soviet television programming has undergone. However, that change could

be characterized as penetrating the type of programming that preceded it, but not fully replacing it.. Thus, one sees modern graphics, music videos, and hard-hitting investigative reporting coexisting with militant youth choirs, praise of the harvest, and truck factory production documentaries. The process of change is never total and rarely complete; the old exists interpenetrated by the new. Soviet television displays this dual identity within its continuing socializing and educating function.

PART 2. THE NEWSPAPER BASE-LINE

Soviet television, though it reaches a far larger audience than does any other mass medium, nonetheless exists within a larger media system. Many viewers are also consumers of the press; some, though fewer, listen to the radio; others attend movies and theater productions. Since it is the newspaper that provides the other most important source of information for the Soviet public, it will be useful to analyze the "newspaper baseline" analogous to the Soviet broadcast-day study.

The Soviet television study used a weekday (Thursday, October 22, 1987) and a weekend (Saturday, October 24, 1987). To add the newspaper dimension we analyze Pravda, the country's most authoritative newspaper--the newspaper of record--for October 22, 23, 24, and 25. Since the authoritative nightly news is broadcast on television at 9:00 p.m. Moscow time, we have used two issues of the newspaper to correspond to each of the television broadcasts. It is possible that some of the news and information on television is related to events that would have been reported in that morning's Pravda, though some might certainly have appeared too late for same-day publication and would appear in the next day's Pravda. In addition to Pravda we selected Literaturnaya Gazeta (hereafter referred to as LG) and Moscow News. LG

is a 16-page weekly paper. Its audience is the most highly educated of all newspaper audiences. A survey done nearly twenty years ago indicated that at that time 73% of the readers of LG had college education. A decade later that percentage had dropped to 64%, as the readership expanded. Nonetheless it is clearly a newspaper for the intelligentsia. By contrast, in 1970 only 39% of the readership of Pravda had higher education. Trud attracted the least-educated readership: only 25% had higher education in 1970.

The issues of LG analyzed here are those of October 14 and 28, 1987. A full listing of articles and themes in all of the newspaper sources used in this paper may be found at the end of this part (p. 99).

Moscow News is a very different type of source. It too appears weekly, but because of the publication date we have included two issues, that of October 18-25 and of October 25-November 1, 1987. Inclusion of only one issue might have overlooked some items related to the broadcast day of October 24. This newspaper is published in several different languages and distributed in those countries. However, some quarter-million are published in Russian and are available in Moscow. Although expansion of the Russian-language edition is planned, at the time of our study it was still in short supply in Moscow, and sold out quickly. Clearly, unlike the other two newspapers used in this analysis, Moscow News (hereafter referred to as MN) is not a

"national" newspaper, distributed across the Soviet Union. However, its utility for this study lies precisely in its unrepresentative character. Both the paper and its editor, Egor Yakovlev, are considered as harbingers of change. They test the limits of glasnost; they foster exhanges of views between foreign observers and Soviet journalists; they are often first to give a public forum to Soviet dissidents on their way to rehabilitation.

The Common Agenda in International Affairs

The weeklies, MN and LG, are obviously in a special category. The first question we might ask concerns overlap in the international news coverage agenda between television and these print sources. (Naturally, I exclude the actual summarization of the various newspaper stories broadcast in the live morning television show.) First it should be noted that, although not an international affairs story, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is part of the agenda of television and of the later issue of LG (and, of course, of Pravda). It does not appear in either issue of MN, however.

Issues relating to the ongoing discussions on intermediate nuclear arms reduction appear prominently in all four sources (television, the weeklies, and Pravda)--as news and/or commentary. The World Peace Wave, a sequential demonstration against nuclear weapons that began in Hiroshima and moved around the globe, was displayed very extensively on television, with

continuing updates and film from location. It was covered also in Pravda and LG, but not in MN, which, given its "export" market, may be considered unusual. Television, LG, and Pravda, though not MN, covered the Persian Gulf conflict, Secretary Weinberger's discussion of American policy in the area, and the Tamils in Sri Lanka. A story about French nuclear tests in the Pacific is picked up by LG as well as by television. This is the common agenda for international affairs. As can readily be seen, the overlap between the weeklies and television on this dimension is slim. Clearly, the functions are considered to be very different. The case of Pravda, however, is quite different. Here, the overlap is greater. As noted above, several stories were covered by Pravda in addition to one or more of the weeklies. The list could be expanded, as the following examples illustrate: General-Secretary Gorbachev's congratulatory telegram to a UNESCO meeting in Paris is covered on television as well as in Pravda, though not in LG and MN. Ryzhkov's reception of the visiting Austrian Minister is, equally, covered by television and Pravda, and not by LG and MN. The stock market crash in New York is covered by television and Pravda, not the other two sources. Again, coverage of the meeting in Athens of Communist Parties of South Europe and the Middle East is confined to television and Pravda. The John Reed centenary is covered by television and Pravda (though other issues of the other two newspapers might have devoted space at other times). We will return to the question of

Pravda's agenda below.

In part, this might reflect only a pattern of distribution of items, domestic and foreign. Averaging the proportion of materials in LG, MN, and Pravda, one finds the following distribution of domestic/international stories.

Percentage of International Stories

LG*	MN	Pravda
19	63	33

*Note: only the later issue of LG is included in this percentage. The earlier issue had too little overlap with the issues covered by television.

The Special Agenda of Moscow News

Moscow News, as a newspaper primarily oriented to foreign markets, certainly may be expected to have a markedly different proportion of foreign or international stories, when compared to Pravda and Literaturnaya Gazeta, both of which are oriented to domestic publics. The foreign agenda of MN is rather different from that of Soviet television, with which there is little overlap. Although it is possible that other television broadcasts contained material that MN published, as well, (and we have no way of ascertaining that with the two broadcast days under

review), it is clear that the items carried on television for the two days did not appear in MN. This is particularly surprising with respect to the Peace Wave, which received extensive coverage on television (and in Pravda), gaining some 45 percent of the entire nightly newscast on October 24. What, then, is the foreign agenda of MN?

The first category of international story in MN is one dedicated to instances of cooperation. Thus, in the issue of October 18-25, there was a story on the visit of foreigners to observe Soviet chemical weapons works; a story about the potential for cooperation in space, with Carl Sagan prominently mentioned and American efforts to prevent export of technology to the Soviet Union criticized. There is a story on Soviet Friendship Societies and a meeting in Edinburgh to talk about peace and survival in the nuclear age. Bernard Lown and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War organization are covered, as are French visitors to Moscow. The new Czech ambassador to Moscow is interviewed in an upbeat article. A Soviet colonel argues that INF withdrawal needs to be supplemented by more ambitious reductions. An international figure-skating competition brings athletes to Moscow. From the issue of October 25-November 1, there are such stories as the donation of an Italian painting to the Soviet Children's Fund; more on INF; Soviet and Danish writers establish contacts; Bruno Kreisky's introduction to the Austrian edition of Gorbachev's book; Soviet-

Italian literary exchanges; initiation of direct telephone dialing between Moscow and France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Finland, Switzerland, Austria, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

There is also a good deal of space contributed by foreigners either in the form of letters to MN or as guest columnists. In the October 25-November 1 issue, there were letters from British visitors (praising Soviet health care); an American reader (complaining that the American government sets up obstacles to listening to Radio Moscow on short wave); a Cuban reader who praises Soviet society and criticizes Western propaganda; a Syrian, praising a Soviet exhibit; a Japanese reader supporting improved relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, and a Spanish reader who detects an anti-Soviet bias in the Western press after meeting Soviet sailors face-to-face. In that issue, too, there is a piece by Martin Walker, Guardian Moscow correspondent.

As the editor, Egor Yakovlev, once remarked on Soviet television, he considers it the special function of Moscow News to develop a form analogous to the spacebridge that Soviet television pioneered and whose purpose it is to join the Soviet Union to large populations in other countries in a common form of communication. One of the reasons for lack of overlap, then, is that many of the pieces in MN are created by MN as a unique communication between it and its audience. Thus in a certain sense they are proprietary forms of interaction and simply not part of

the general informational universe. This is equally true of many of the articles on domestic issues, where MN is making a statement and creating its own information environment. Such, for example, was the invitation to historian Roy Medvedev and other well-known dissidents. That is also true of the exposés in which MN leads the way, such as material from the Moscow City Party Committee's meeting in which Boris Eltsin was expelled or, as in the October 25-November 1 issue, the piece on the three-day work stoppage at the Likino bus plant, where workers refused to see their bonus held hostage by the mistakes of others.

The second category of international story is the official document. MN may be seen as the newspaper of record for translations of major official Soviet texts. Thus, the October 18-25 issue, in its supplement (a form frequently found in MN) reproduces two Gorbachev speeches and a Soviet-Brazilian communique.

The third category of international story may be called the critical point of view piece. In the October 18-25 issue, MN charges that the United States is deploying missiles in South Korea and, in violation of the Helsinki Accords, has denied an entrance visa to a Soviet Latin Americanist. The United States is also criticized for its aid to the Afghan rebels. Commentary on Stephen Cohen's book on the Soviet Union approves of the author's position on distortions in much American Sovietology. The October 25-November 1 issue charges Western complicity in

inciting Crimean Tatars to protest.

The International Agenda of Literaturnaya Gazeta

Of its sixteen pages, LG devotes approximately three to international stories. On page 9 of the October 28th issue there are 11 international stories (if one includes a story on female military conscription in Israel--a captioned photograph entitled "Emancipation, Israeli-Style" and referring to young women who have become tank soldiers). Several of the stories on these pages did turn up, as we saw in Part 1, on Soviet television during the two days of viewing the entire broadcast day. It is entirely possible that the essential subject matter of virtually all of them would have been seen on television if the entire week had been surveyed. These are stories that, unlike the MN stories described above, are news in the Western sense of hard news or commentary on hard news. Thus one finds stories also covered by television: the Persian Gulf, Secretary Weinberger, the Tamil troubles in Sri Lanka, INF, French nuclear tests, and the Peace Wave.

The material on pages 14 and 15 continue international subjects. However, they are now rather different stories, better described as features. For example, there is an interview with Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez. There is another article about the dysfunctions of superpower stereotyping, in which the author, N. Popov, discusses the mind-set that is responsible

for the invasion of Grenada and the creation of such movies as "Red Dawn" and "Amerika." The critical tone continues in another article, called "Careful--Trained Bacteria!" This piece, based on an article in the Italian Communist Party newspaper, L'Unità, details some sixty contracts the Pentagon has concluded with universities for the purpose of developing chemical and biological weapons. Two other stories (page 15) are more leisurely pieces: one is an interview with the 86-year-old French writer Vercors, who reminisces about war and literature. The other is a visit to Spain and comments about changes since the time of Cervantes.

In the earlier, October 14 issue of LG, the international stories are: Panama, Noriega, and American involvement in what LG terms "Panamagate"; the problems of the American space program and prospects for NASA (and a related piece about Washington's opposition to a joint Soviet-American space flight, in spite of support from some American leaders, General Electric, and General Motors); and Afghanistan--the process of national reconciliation and the obstacles to peace created by American training and support of opponents of the rebels. Feature or background stories discuss world newspaper reaction to Rejkyavik; a proposal for antiwar activist Brian Wilson to visit Moscow (if his health permits) and discussion of his odyssey from conservative to soldier in Viet Nam to American dissident; and the problems of a French communist journalist and the anti-Soviet stance of the

French media. Two others discuss the growing interest in the Russian language in Syria and the persecution of an American child with AIDS. The rest of the foreign information in this issue of LG relates specifically to the arts.

In general, and to a greater degree than MN, LG carries items about foreign affairs that are also covered on television. LG is a more typically domestic organ of information. Its material is not primarily for the export market, as is that of MN. Nonetheless, because of the focus of LG and its overwhelming orientation to domestic affairs (particularly issues of literature), it remains functionally distinct from television and must be considered to relate to a supplementary audience. Thus a subset of the television audience, which is the most heterogeneous public for any medium, constitutes the readership of LG. It is unlikely that the latter information source can substitute for the former.

Pravda: Functional Similarities in the International Agenda

A much larger longitudinal study would have to be conducted to ascertain the degree of overlap in the international news agenda of Pravda and First Program. That is not the purpose of the present effort. Here, we look at the likelihood that newspaper readers will find in the source the same general type of information they see on television. The visuals that television employs make the presentation of that information very different, and, in turn, the length and detail of newspaper reporting pro-

duces a very different effect with respect to the criterion of completeness. Notwithstanding these differences, it is clear that Pravda, unlike the other two newspaper sources, does provide the same kind of international information that central television does. To generalize further, newspapers of the type of Pravda, such as Izvestia and Trud (large circulation, national, Russian-language dailies), are likely to display the same pattern of duplication that Pravda does.

As noted above, television and Pravda devote considerable attention to the New York stock market crash and its reverberations around the world. Similarly, General-Secretary Gorbachev's greetings to UNESCO receive significant coverage. Overlap continues with the high profile given the INF talks and and the Shultz/Shevardnadze meetings. The Peace Wave, the Persian Gulf (as well as the various participants in the conflict), and the internal disorders in Sri Lanka appear both on television and in Pravda. In addition, both cover terrorism in India and both give Rajiv Gandhi significant coverage, particularly his support for the INF talks. Both cover the visit of French President Mitterand to West Germany, CIA support of Nicaraguan contras, and the reaction (negative) of the United Nations to the American plan to remove PLO offices in New York.

Further overlap occurs with stories on the Chinese Communist Party meeting; the visit to Moscow of a delegation from Laos; the meeting in Athens of Communist Parties of Southern Europe and the

Mediterranean; results of the NATO meeting; publication of Gorbachev's book in Finland; Afghanistan; visit of the Austrian Finance Minister; the John Reed centennial and new methods of economic organization in Bulgaria.

Some items, such as those about the stock market crash and the Persian Gulf, are the subjects of multiple stories. If additional television broadcast-days were covered there would be even greater overlap, although as a print source exclusively devoted to news and information (which is only part of the mission of television) Pravda no doubt carries a greater absolute volume of information. The point to be made here is that there is significant overlap; the international news agendas do have a much greater similarity than do those of the other press sources we have examined. The base-line in this case, unlike the case of MN and LG, is close.

Domestic Life: The Soviet Union in Moscow News

Moscow News devotes less space than do the other print sources to purely domestic issues. In the space they have, they concentrate on three kinds of issues: economic, political, and cultural. In the economics stories, MN covers, for example, obstacles to perestroika and cost-accounting methods. One story, about a Lithuanian collective farm chairman, describes his innovative methods and the penalties he paid in pre-Gorbachev times for his initiative. The theme of this piece (in the

October 18-25 issue) is very close to the Prozhektor Perestroiki that aired on television on October 22. That program was about a sovkhoz chairman in southern Russia who battled nearly disabling odds to make his farm succeed. Other economics articles chronicle shoddy construction practices and use of materials, a theme that was familiar from the television programs of the two days. Still other articles discuss the problem of industry's subordination to central command planning--a serious obstacle to perestroika. There is an article about the bureaucracy of sloth and support for workers and another that calls for more worker initiative and the eradication of the "servant" mentality. There are also success stories: cooperatives, newspapers sold on the honor system, the comprehensive plan for Moscow. These are familiar types of issues for Soviet television, as well.

The political stories are generally not those that appear on the television broadcasts of the two days. The MN issue of October 18-25 devotes space to the question of freedom of the press. For example, on page 3 there is a piece by Boris Pankin in which he calls for more candid reporting and reforms in journalism. On page 13 there is an article by Leonid Likhoyedov, taking issue with officials who decline to provide full information to investigative reporters, fearing that the journalists are after sensationalism. The issue of October 25-November 1 continues this theme, urging the media (in an article on page 14) not to compromise and accept a quasi-perestroika, but to publish

full reports and expose the anti-democratic forces. These political stories are generally absent from the two television days we analyzed. According to a Soviet foreign correspondent with whom I spoke, MN provides a map of the territory of the permissable for Soviet journalists; it defines the limits of the role of journalists; and it is closely observed as it develops indicators of journalistic flexibility. Television, much more cautious and much more visible, does not provide these indicators.

The final major story category in MN is the culture story. Some of them are uncontroversial, similar to the type of story one would see on television. An article about Moscow Art Theater director Oleg Efremov ("Perestroika Suits Him"), is an example, as is the article about a dance troupe from India. But more characteristic of MN is the polemical culture story--the story about Vitaly Grossman's troubles with the censors; the commentary about conflicts between creativity and authority; the excoriation of those who made Pasternak a pariah; the distortions of art and the effect of massive interference with artistic freedom in the life and works of Meyerhold, Bulgakov, Platonov, Shostakovich, and others. On television, it is more muted. It is true that in the two days of television there is a program on the International Book Fair in Moscow, and in that program the viewer sees and hears references to some of these same writers. But the references are much more subtle, indeed, barely grazing the sur-

face of the real issues. The audience to which television is targeted is much more massive, and caution is much more visible.

Literaturnaya Gazeta and the Domestic World

LG has been famous for years for its sixteenth page, devoted entirely to satire and caricatures. Until the introduction of glasnost its Aesopian language conveyed some telling points; now direct language can be used outright for much more critical materials. The sixteenth page could be characterized as "entertainment."

Another entertainment-related feature is the "7 X 7" column, in which seven experts are asked to comment on seven days of television. They are asked to pick the shows for which they had the highest and lowest regard during the previous week. For example, in the LG issue of October 28, the daily 10-minute program, Prozhektor Perestroiki appears prominently in the choices of the critics. It continues to attract large audiences and to appeal to diverse groups in the population. The writers who discuss the week's programs in LG very often bring up a particular edition of Prozhektor or individual programs. Their discussions of them display a genuine involvement in the subject matter, as well as the treatment. They apply high standards to the program and are disappointed when, as in one case in the October 28, 1987 issue, Prozhektor was judged too superficial; it

was not "serious." Another writer said approvingly that he found Prozhektor to be sharp and topical, even though it continued to depress him. But another writer, a director of a school for orphans, disliked the confrontational investigative style of the program.

Naturally, much of LG is devoted to an issue directly related to the readership: literature. The name of the writer Bulgakov surfaces in both LG issues, as it did on television and in MN. In the October 14 issue of LG is an article, "About Bulgakov and Not Only About Him," that looks at the life and works of Bulgakov and notes that this is becoming a year of "literary debate." The author refers to the American publishing house Ardis and its work on Bulgakov, and proposes the establishment of a Bulgakov museum. An earlier article in this issue of LG raised an interesting question relating to the evaluation of the literary art: for works that are suppressed, what is their proper context for evaluation--the context of the period in which they were written or that in which they were published?

Other stories in LG typically treat the question of satire as genre; reviews of current poetry; notable dates and anniversaries in literature; current celebrations and displays. These relate not only to Russian-language literature, but also to that of the non-Russian peoples.

There are also more polemical articles. They relate to problems of perestroika, to loosening the bonds of micro-management

and the inhibiting influence of Stalin's control of the arts. On pages 2 and 3 of the issue of October 28 political commentators are asked to respond to such questions as: What would you select as the greatest accomplishments of the Soviet people over the past seventy years? What are the most important concerns relating to perestroika? What, if anything, keeps you from speaking out? Few of the responses grapple seriously with the issues. For example, with respect to the last question, one writer says his own stereotypes inhibit his expression. Another says that an editor without scissors is a contradiction in terms; the question, he writes, is naive. Still another says he still can't believe his good fortune--being able to write what he thinks. Others point to the inertia still present, though glasnost is becoming more pervasive. Many of the responses are couched in abstract rhetoric; many speak of having to work from the bottom up and not rely on movement from the top down. These are themes we have seen on television. LG presents them as tied to notable individuals.

One writer issues a blistering condemnation of the education system. He calls the teaching power-structure dense and perfidious. He writes that Soviet pedagogy was trampled in the 60s. He condemns the organ of education administrators, Teachers' Gazette, as deliberately stifling all criticism of teachers and the education system. This is a favorite subject of Soviet television. In the two broadcast days we examined there was a

program precisely on this subject. Both the youth and the children's departments at the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting have quite consciously and explicitly assumed the role of crusader for a particular type of pedagogy and individuals associated with those new forms. The LG article fits that direction.

More controversial articles do appear in LG. Nearly 75% of page 8 of October 28th is devoted to a discussion of how distorted and unreal Soviet films about the October Revolution have been. The authors claim that Soviet film--and the arts in general--have yet to deal with the two million Russians who emigrated after the Revolution. Nor is the story of the rank-and-file White soldier examined anywhere. Actually, the article notes, only very few works of art, Dr. Zhivago among them, touch on these themes. All of page 12 is devoted to two exposé articles: one about speculators and the hard-currency Beriozka stores (which were about to be phased out for Soviet citizens who are paid in foreign currency) and the other about the Soviet Academy of Sciences--an insulated host to idlers, whose devotion to 'perks' and remoteness from industry keep them from being productive, in contrast to the National Academy of Sciences in the United States.

The theme of the ethnic minorities noted above is presented in a frank article in the October 14th issue of LG. Here, on page 2, a Central Asian author takes Russians to task for their

depreciation of the national culture of Kazakhstan. He notes that Russian correspondents in Kazakhstan have yet to learn the native language and that the teaching of Kazakh history, culture and language is underdeveloped. However, he quotes from letters he has received from all parts of the Soviet Union--responding to an earlier article about the ethnic disorders in Alma Ata--noting that most praised the unity of all nationalities during the Second World War. Still another article, entitled "The Great October in Contemporary Literature," takes Abramov and Bykov to task for their "nationalistic" trends and argues for true bilingual education in the non-Russian republics. A third article--an interview with the editor of the journal Soviet Literature--notes that he plans an issue featuring the literatures of the republics.

The October 14th issue, as does the later one, devotes a great deal of its space to the rehabilitation and rediscovery of the whole corpus of literary works suppressed by Stalin and his successors.

Pravda and the Domestic World

Like television, Pravda devotes considerable space to stories about the domestic economy. Often they are upbeat stories in which models for emulation are presented. As noted in the analysis of television, this is a mode of presentation favored by many of the programs. I would expect, however, that the visual, per-

sonalized communication of practices to be emulated would be more effective than the typical newspaper article.

Other economics stories present statistics about fulfillment of plans or projects. Still others cast a negative light on economic practices, such as the one on October 23, 1987, in which mismanagement of the cotton harvest in Uzbekistan required schools to close and students to be sent to the fields. Another critical story relates to the life and hardships of an elderly female farmworker who ran into problems with the Party; and another is critical of the design of city neighborhoods near Saratov, where, it is said, poor planning and lack of resources have created problems. More critical stories are those contained in letters to the editor. This is the traditional site of kritika and samo-kritika. Critical stories in Pravda are most often those that relate to economic organization and administration. They are much more common than are those critical stories that are purely political. LG and MN, as may be seen, are more inclined to tackle the politically critical story; television and Pravda, less so.

Like television, Pravda conveys information about state ceremonies and official activities of the Soviet leadership. It, like television, is an organ that represents the state. Certainly it is true that all media of communication are centralized and controlled by the leadership. Further, all see their goals as supporting and disseminating the official party direc-

tion. However, within this overall consonance of purpose, Pravda occupies a somewhat different position. It is considered the most authoritative newspaper. In discussions with Soviet media personnel I heard from several sources about the special position Pravda holds. I was told, for example, that when newspapers are criticized the decision is consciously made to exclude Pravda because of its special status. That is why any criticism of Pravda commands extraordinary attention. This was certainly the case when Egor Ligachev criticized the newspaper (February 28). I do not mean to suggest that official representation is Pravda's exclusive domain; it is not, but that paper does have a status that is very different from that of other newspapers. Angus Roxburgh described this status in the following terms: "Pravda ... is the most important of the central newspapers, because it is the organ of the Communist Party. Given the primacy in the Soviet system of the Communist Party over the Government, it is slightly more authoritative than Izvestia . . .published by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet" (Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine, New York: Braziller, 1987, p. 55).

Thus, in the issues under review, such state activities are covered as visits of official delegations from Canada, Poland, Laos, Zimbabwe; summary of the Communist Party Central Committee Plenum; Soviet greetings to the congress of the Chinese Communist Party. In all of these, Pravda and television function similarly. Television, too, in the view of its high officials,

is an organ of state and must function as an adjunct to state policy and protocol.

To underscore the similarities between central television and Pravda it is useful to look at the Sunday, October 24 coverage of the World Peace Wave, a story that occupied a great deal of time on television. Nearly a third of the front page was devoted to Peace Wave stories. Moreover, they were continued inside the paper, constituting 9% of the space on page 3 and 15% of the space on page 5.

Conclusions

The newspaper base-line tells us something about the differences and similarities between the worlds of television and newspapers. It does not, of course, tell us very much about the whole area of entertainment--of music, sports, cartoons, and film. To be sure, there are "culture stories" in the newspapers, and I described them above. And the sixteenth page of LG is very close to pure entertainment, though in an intellectual mode. The newspapers also cover sports news. Primarily, as might be expected, the newspapers focus on news and information. Pravda's agenda runs close to that of television, in both the choice of subjects and boundaries of expression. Many of the subjects are identical; many of the themes are similar, though drawn from different events (in this latter category I would put the treatments of youth and education). Both Pravda and television observe a

more limited range of polemic, though both have undergone very significant change in the Gorbachev era. LG and MN go by different rules, creating features of particular interest to their targeted audiences and engaging in more free-wheeling debate. MN's range is the widest.

There are, in my view, three dimensions of difference. In part, these differences may relate to the mechanics of information dissemination: Pravda and television are engaged in the daily transmission of information; MN and LG are weeklies. Second, Pravda and television share status unlike that of any other organ of communication: both are the official and most authoritative sources of information. That fact not only determines much of the agenda but also dictates a particular kind of treatment. However, it should be noted that television, with even an even less controversial agenda than MN, produces visuals. These visuals create an impact that for the average viewer that far exceeds the printed word. Thus, similar stories in Pravda and on television about corruption or malfeasance may be transmitted with a much different emotional intensity. The impact of Prozhektor Perestroiki is undoubtedly greater than a story with similar subject matter in the newspaper. Finally, there is a difference in audiences. The four sources I discussed, MN, LG, Pravda, and television, all have different target audiences. MN's audience is the most marginal, consisting mainly of foreign readers, but its Moscow audience includes some of the most atten-

tive and careful of the communications intelligentsia. LG's audience is highly educated and oriented to cultural affairs. Even Pravda's readership is more highly educated than the average and includes in its numbers a high percentage of Party members. Though its circulation is high it cannot compare to the 100-200 million viewers of television. The publics for Pravda and television are less specialized targets of attention and much more heterogeneous than are the audiences for MN and LG.

Soviet television officials consistently refer to their medium as "large caliber," and the print media as "small caliber." That is the fundamental difference in their conception of their function and their audiences. Pravda, among the newspapers studied here, is the "largest caliber" of the print media, and, as such, it shares something of the responsibility--consciously identified--attending the most authoritative of official sources. It provides more points of comparison to television than do the other print sources. The functional similarities create an agenda and mode of discourse that are familiar, though the potential emotional loading of television has no equal.

THE CONTENTS OF SELECTED NEWSPAPERS:

PRAVDA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, AND MOSCOW NEWS

PRAVDA 10/22/87 (Day after Plenum)

PAGE 1

- Announcement about recent Plenum which covered issues associated with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and other topics. Gorbachev, Eltsin, Ligachev, and others spoke. Aliev has been relieved of his duties as a Politburo member due to his health
- Harvest '87--report on the potato harvest near Mogilev and bad weather conditions on sovkhoz near Novosibirsk
- Agricultural Review--Statistics about the potato and sugar cane harvests and problems with the sunflower harvest. Cold weather caused problems with the cotton harvest; problems with silk and linen production
- News from the Fields--Efficient harvest techniques in Moscow Oblast; khozraschet and grain production in Stavropol; modified machine in Donetsk
- October Calls--Oil production is ahead of schedule in Tiumen; workers have finished the plan for two full years in Orel; workers in Sverdlovsk ask to do more than the amount of

production planned for them
- Telegram to 3rd annual meeting of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania with praise for their role in fighting racism and apartheid, colonialism, and the threat of nuclear war
- Announcement of an increase in leave-of-absence time for parents to care for their sick children
- Deputies give impressions of the Plenum

PAGE 2
- Success of a fashion design house in Volgograd
- New market opens in Dushanbe
- Letter to Pravda discusses the successes and problems of a farm chairman
- Bad weather has had a negative impact on the harvest of north Kazakhstan, but there is help from the city residents
- Construction of Slavutich, a new city for workers of the Chernobyl Power Plant
- Council of Ministers of USSR orders closing of an economics institute in Azerbaidzhan due to poor quality of the graduates and inefficient use of resources
- Creation of a computer database for use by professors and educators to introduce uniform methods

PAGE 3
- Life and hardships of an elderly female farm worker, now re-

tired and helping youth in the countryside

- Letter on small private gardens on the rocks in Baku
- Letter on the lives of orphaned children
- The search for a military ship sunk 68 years ago
- Problems with the design of city neighborhoods include poor planning and a lack of resources (Engels, near Saratov)

PAGE 4

- Peace demonstration in Italy
- Friendship and cooperation between USSR and GDR
- Soviet delegation in Canada meets with members of Parliament
- Proposed United Nations conference on terrorism
- Europe on its way to the 21st century--focus is the Common Market, plant closings, improved relations with COMECON, and trade with USSR
- Gorbachev's book published in Turkey
- Soviet delegation visits Tanzania
- Party conference in Afghanistan
- New human interest magazine in Afghanistan
- Saturday Volunteer Work Day in Cuba
- Meeting of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society
- Exchange of articles between Soviet and West Berlin newspapers
- Remarks by Austrian Communist Party leader
- Soviet orchestra (folk music) in Finland

PAGE 5

- Effects of the stock market crash on other markets in the US and overseas
- Effects in London
- Effects in Tokyo
- Warsaw Pact-NATO meeting in Vienna on conventional weapons in Europe
- (photo) Demonstration in New York City against South Africa
- Commentary--South Africa does not provide statistics on trade and production of resources
- Military plane crashes in Indianapolis
- Terrorist act in India
- Remarks from Charles Wick of the US Information Agency about the role of Radio Free Europe
- Mitterand's visit to West Germany
- Party demonstration in Peru
- Rumors of a possibility of the spread of radioactivity in Peru are false
- New election law in Turkey
- Creation of a new computer center by COMECON countries
- New methods of customer service in Hungary
- New agricultural watering systems developed in Cuba
- Polish factory produces MI-2 helicopters
- Interview with the Director of the Center for International and Strategic Studies in Los Angeles about SDI, Gorbachev's

proposals, and US-USSR cooperation in space

PAGE 6

- Krasnoyarsk--radioactive substance found in a school yard. Readings within allowed limits, but school closed for 3 days
- Military ships on border patrol
- Soviet clown loved by Soviet and foreign children (photo)
- Czechoslovakian firm displays its products
- Exhibit of war papers
- TV, sports

PRAVDA 10/23/87

PAGE 1

- A call to increase productivity and effectiveness in the country's economy
- Moscow Oblast meets its promise in agricultural production
- Story about an electrician in the Soviet Far East
- New effective methods of cotton harvesting in Tadzhikistan
- School is interrupted and students are sent to harvest cotton in Uzbekistan (criticizes Uzbek practices)
- Day of Ukraine at VDNKh
- Economic friendship of COMECON countries
- New housing in Ordzhonikidze

- Gorbachev's book published in Finland
- UNESCO conference in Paris hears remarks sent by Gorbachev
- Text of remarks to UNESCO
-'Thank you' telegram from China

PAGE 2

- Telegram from Rajiv Gandhi
- Government awards medals, including the Order of Lenin
- Ryzhkov meets in Moscow with the Austrian Minister of Economics
- (photo) Technical education school
- Party Control Committee deals with those responsible for problems at a chemical plant in Ufa; executives reprimanded
- Dramatic turnaround at a factory in Gorky
- Effects of perestroika according to a Lipetsk party chief

PAGE 3

- Paintings by Nadia Pusheva have not been displayed in several decades despite their excellent artistic quality
- Letters to Lenin from workers now being researched
- Soviet exhibit travels to India
- Construction of a steel mill almost complete
- Modifications for cold conditions made to KamAz truck
- Success at oil pipeline headquarters in Ukhta after change-over to self-supporting payment plan
- Death of mathematician Kolmogorov

PAGE 4

- Luxembourg communists celebrate Revolution's 70th anniversary
- Hungary communists celebrate Revolution's 70th anniversary
- "Ten Days that Changed the World" shown on TV in UK
- Soviet-Syrian Friendship Society
- Shultz arrived in Moscow October 22nd for talks with Shevardnadze on arms control and the Geneva arms negotiations; Shultz has a news briefing
- Report from Zhivkov of Bulgaria on his meeting with Gorbachev
- Delegations from the Congo in USSR
- Soviet party delegation in Romania
- Meeting of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania
- New cabinet in Belgium; improvement in Afghanistan; and talks in Venezuela
- Soviet delegation in Canada
- Soviet-Austrian discussions on trade
- Discussion of results of COMECON meeting in Czechoslovakia
- Day of the United Nations - meeting in Moscow
- 100th anniversary of birth of John Reed
- October Revolution's effect on the "history of mankind"
- Review of newspapers from Socialist countries:
  use of robots in GDR
  importance of self-criticism in Bulgaria
  construction of plants in Romania

khozraschet in Mongolia

PAGE 5

- Computer technology has a role in decision-making in the Japanese business world
- Ariane rocket spy case in France involves a Soviet woman
- Need to cut bureaucracy in China
- Israeli raid in Lebanon
- Crime in Detroit (photo)
- Goetz and Howard Beach cases in US courts are examples of racism in American society
- Commentary--the worsening situation in Northern Ireland
- Turkey buys new military jets
- Secret CIA aid to the Nicaraguan contras
- Reacting to a US Senate bill, the United Nations sends a reminder that the PLO has observer status at the UN
- Mitterand in West Germany
- Gandhi approves of US-USSR talks on intermediate-range missiles
- Meeting in Athens of South Europe and the Middle East Communist Parties
- Multiple reports on the Persian Gulf situation

PAGE 6

- Use of satellites to locate resources on Earth
- Renovation of Tvardovsky house (2 photos)

- Renovation of an old mill on a sovkhoz
- New Arctic research ship leaves port
- Artist's exhibit
- Moscow airports are closed due to fog; 2000 people stranded in Tashkent awaiting flights to Moscow
- TV, sports

PRAVDA 10/24/87

PAGE 1

- Review of readers' letters responding to a recent Pravda article on patriotism
- Employee council at work in a Leningrad scientific institute (photo)
- "News from the Orbit"--Romanenko/Aleksandrov
- Success of khozraschet at a coal mine in Donetsk
- Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting--The two discuss intermediate- and short-range missiles, the Geneva talks, and SDI (photo)
- Grain production in Elista
- New agricultural techniques in Kursk
- Sugar cane near Kuibyshev
- Scientific research and corn production

PAGE 2

- Council of Ministers of USSR--a discussion on completing 1987 economic plans and planning for 1988
- Council of Ministers of USSR--a new plan for the center of Moscow in the year 2000
- Problems in party operation due to self-interest and the desire for quick promotions
- A call to make computers part of everyday life by increasing production of school and personal computers

PAGE 3

- A positive letter about a TV film of Lenin
- Lenin's house in Podolsk
- A letter from an old Party member remembering the 1920s
- Vilnius Youth Theater
- Order of October Revolution given to Tolstikov
- Day of Autotransport Workers
- Aliev is removed from his duties for reasons of health
- Leather waste from shoe and other factories should be used
- Workers are involved in designing ways of using factory resources more efficiently
- New medical gelatin factory opens
- Lack of social life for military personnel

PAGE 4

- End of Shevardnadze-Shultz talks

- Shultz's news conference in Moscow
- USSR-Poland party meeting
- Soviet delegation in Canada
- Day of solidarity with Afghan people in Moscow
- Radiobridge Moscow-Sofia for newspaper reporters
- Review of an article in New Times magazine about a Yugoslav party official
- Party meeting in China
- Polish Party official in Moscow
- Party delegation from Laos arrives in Moscow
- Delegation from Zimbabwe arrives
- Exchange of diplomatic papers with the Japanese ambassador
- Soviet Party delegation leaves for West Germany
- Interview with French Communist Party officials
- Conference of Communist Parties of the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries
- The "Peace Wave" initiative
- Soviet official meets with a US State Department official in Washington, D.C.
- Reception at the Chinese Embassy
- Soviet women discuss peace initiatives

PAGE 5

- South African air raids on Angola
- Bomb explodes in Lebanon

- Activity in the Persian Gulf (including the use of dolphins to locate mines)
- Prime Minister of Iran blames the US for escalating the situation in the Gulf
- Museum in Budapest
- Bananas grown in Cyprus
- New technological advances in Japan (including talking wrist-watches and cordless telephones)
- Increased interest in Russian language at American universities
- Nuclear test in US
- Date is set for Presidential elections in France
- New NATO agreement to protect military ships
- International Day at the United Nations
- Peace marches in Italy
- Reagan's news conference on economic questions
- How the New York Stock Exchange crash affects France
- Market is off thirteen per cent in Holland
- New York Stock Exchange down 77 points on October 23rd
- British military jet remained in the air for 90 minutes without a pilot

PAGE 6

- Day of Ukraine in Moscow
- Fog has closed all Moscow airports since October 18th; Aeroflot lost nearly 2 million rubles because of cancelled flights

- Sports education in a local high school
- 150th anniversary of Georgian writer Chavchavadze
- New satellite "Cosmos 1893"
- Replacement of Ambassador to Thailand
- Funeral of mathematician Kolmogorov
- TV, Sports, Weather

PRAVDA 10/25/87

PAGE 1

- Help of foreigners in the first days of the October Revolution (photos)
- Two new specialty stores open in Kostroma
- Success on sovkhoz in Primorsky Krai
- United Nations initiative, "Peace Wave," moves through Tokyo, Vladivostok, New Delhi (photo)
- Soviet telegram to the Chinese Communist Party conference
- Gromyko meets with "Peace Wave" representative

PAGE 2

- Lives of Bulgarian workers in the USSR immediately following the 1917 Revolution
- Article on the life of the only living Chinese who met Lenin
- Talk with an old revolutionary

- International Division of the Red Army
- Statistics on the help of foreigners in the Revolution
- Help of internationalists in World War I
- Memories of a member of the French military mission in Petrograd

PAGE 3

- "Peace Wave" representatives in Moscow
- New payment plans at a transport base (photo)
- Use of computers in telegraph
- Sovkhoz grows crops for use in medicine
- Films of young directors
- Poetry
- Problems and joys of long-distance telephone operators in Novosibirsk
- Vavilov's role in science and agriculture
- Soviet pilots are praised
- New Lenin monument near Tomsk
- Party meeting in Baku

PAGE 4

- Shevardnadze news conference
- Soviet delegation returns from Canada
- Delegation from Mozambique leaves USSR
- New edition of Problems of Peace and Socialism magazine

- 750th anniversary of Berlin (East Berlin only)
- Decisions of Polish Communist Party
- Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party opens

PAGE 5

- Paris newspaper publishes articles about the Revolution
- Remarks by Irish Communist Party leader
- Lectures, discussions, etc. in West Germany
- Revolution's effects on India
- Review of Gorbachev-Shultz meeting
- Situation in the Persian Gulf
- Panic in stock markets
- "Peace Wave" story continued from Page 1
- Opposition group leaders in Kampuchea agree to meet in France
- Soviet-Argentine trade agreements
- American scientists disagree on SDI
- Communist Party meeting in Tanzania
- Turkey expresses concern over Persian Gulf situation
- NATO base in Holland
- Disinformation in Japanese newspapers about Soviet military power
- US Supreme Court rules it is illegal to deny entry visas to foreigners because of the person's communist involvement

PAGE 6

- Photo contest--two entries shown
- Folk arts in Russia
- Editor of a paper offers his services in writing of memoirs (for money)
- Letters from young readers
- Leningrad youths suspended from school after talking to TV reporters about the closing of a sports club
- Change of ambassadors to Portugal
- TV, sports

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 10/14/87

PAGE 1

- A call from the Central Committee to literature and the arts authorities actively to participate in perestroika
- Announcement: LG to print excerpts of the speakers' remarks at the recent Leningrad conference
- "The Great October and Contemporary Literature"--the demarcation lines between "humanism" as brought forth by the Revolution and "dehumanization" engendered by anti-socialist forces have been drawn
- "A Library at the Foot of the Mountains"--a library is built and filled by the prize-winning poet G. Safierain Kishlaka-yakhch
- "Perestroika--Step-by-Step"

-People's firm--it helps in providing dairy products

-The new store, "Building Materials"

-PHOTO: Caption: "On October 12th, M.S. Gorbachev arrived in Leningrad for meetings with party members, war veterans, and city workers"

- "Notes on Inside Pages"

-p.6-About Bulgakov

-p.10-"Hundreds of thousands of passengers are in the air at all times: their fate rests in the hands of air-traffic controllers"

-p.11-"Garden Beyond the City--the country is undergoing a 'gardening boom' - who hinders the necessary work?"

-p.14-"A Difficult Road--from the Afghan Notebook of a Writer"

PAGE 2

- "The Art of Mutual Understanding"--An article about the role played by writers; the intelligentsia and the working class forging close ties between "Russia" and Kazakhstan. Complains, however, that Russian correspondents in Kazakhstan have yet to learn the native language, and that teaching of history, culture, and language is lagging in Kazakh schools
- PHOTO: Soviet writer, Yuri Bondarev, meets with Soviet sailors stationed in the Far East; "Russian Literary Days in the Far East"

TV 7 X 7: Readers comment on the best and worst TV programs of the past week

PAGE 3

- "The Great October in Contemporary Literature" (con't from P.1) Claims earlier Soviet literary works written under Stalin, during the Cold War and the Thaw, help readers to understand

the need for perestroika. Examples of works cited are "By the Truth of Memory," "Children of the Arbat," and earlier works such as "Requiem" and "Heart of a Dog." Author lauds contemporary writers for focusing on such themes as the absurdity of life, its complications and conflicts. Author discusses "nationalistic" trends in Soviet literature and calls for bilingual education in the 14 non-Russian republics (3 photos)

PAGE 4

- "The Belated" - "Concerning Literary Debts in General and Concerning A. Azolskii's book 'Stepan Sergeeich' in Particular"--The author discusses the problem of categorizing those literary works published decades after their creation. Should they be judged in comparison with those composed at the same time, or those published at the same time?
- "In Mediation of the Study of Fiction"--Author wishes to deviate from the common approach to literary analysis, i.e. "grouping" and judging the books' juxtaposition. He favors evaluating works individually, before comparing them
- Drawing of Jonathan Swift honoring the publication of Gulliver's Travels

PAGE 5

- "Masters and Apprentices"--(problems of literary continuity)

Author criticizes the dated methods by which new talent was discovered--at seminars and conferences of the Writers' Union There is too much imitation of the "masters" and a lack of a "creative atmosphere"

- "By Attempting a Confession..."--Author claims that artists' circles are full of egomaniacs engaging in mutual or self-congratulations; these artists lack the generosity of spirit of Pushkin, who found time to aid the insignificant poets of his day. Author was denied membership in Writers' Union 5 times-once for somewhat favorable references to an American president in a poem. Praises the promise of perestroika
- PHOTO: Lithuanian poet, Vatsis Reimeris
- "LG Informs"

-The Commission of Literary Heritage requests readers to send photos, documents, letters, on the life and work of Maksimova, Novikova-Priboya, and Lifshitz

PAGE 6

- "About Bulgakov and Not only About Him"--A year for the life and works of Bulgakov--reading works that weren't allowed to be published in the past

(The following is a discussion about Bulgakov led by Marietta Chudakova, who has written authoritatively on Bulgakov)

- The author discusses the difficulty of constructing a literary

biography and notes Bulgakov's problems in publishing "Heart of a Dog"

PAGE 7

- "And What Do you Have?"--(part of a series of interviews with the editors of literary magazines)
  The editor of "Soviet Literature" discusses in which languages and in which countries he publishes his journal and future plans to highlight literature of the republics
- The 500th editition of the Lithuanian journal "Victory" is published
- "LG Reports"
- Union of Children's Literature meets and discusses children's literature and its circulation
- "Uzbekistan Day" celebration - with a discussion of the influence the Revolution had on the development of Uzbek literature
- "Day of Uzbek Literature and Art" celebration in the Ukraine
- Literary reading dedicated to Khlebnikov in Astrakhan
- V. Noskov unanimously chosen director of the Fadeev Central Literary House
- Awarding of the Yanush Korchek Literary Prize
- List of contestants in the competition for Governors' Honors in Literature, Art, and Architecture for 1987
- Letter from Soviet Writers' Union to GDR Writers' Union on the

latter's 38th anniversary

- "Writers' Contacts"

-Soviet-French literary agreement sets meetings, discussions

-Danish-Soviet literary delegates meet

-Poetry evening held in Yugoslavia

-Seminar near Minsk for translators of Belorussian literature

- "We Congratulate the Birthday Celebrators" - birthday wishes to five Soviet writers

PAGE 8 (Letters page)

- "Is Such a Monopoly Necessary?"--A complaint that orchestral directors have a monopoly on their positions
- "The Cinema and its Followers"--Though attendance at some movie theatres is down, interest in cinema runs high, as evidenced by the video boom. Suggests that in order to bring the patrons back to the theatres, owners should add such niceties as live music and spacious lobbies
- "Defend the Word"--A complaint about a recent TV film in which the words of a Tsvetaeva poem were changed
- "Truly It's Difficult to be God"--a visiting film-maker from West Germany writes that he will be working with Goskino on a joint project to film a Strugatsky novel. Production is lagging behind schedule due to Goskino's constant schedule and personnel changes

- "Self-financing Song?"--A criticism that the Soviet music industry is controlled by a clique of administrators unconcerned with consumer demands

PAGE 9

International Life--Seven Days in October

- "The World after Reykjavik: A Year Later"--Author quotes newspapers and politicians in the West regarding the arms agreement
- "Hello, San Francisco! Brian Wilson will come to Moscow"--Crippled protestor describes his background as conservative, soldier in Viet Nam, and antiwar activist. Criticizes silence of American press about his case
- "The Truth about Human Rights"--"By Sword or Pen"--a discussion of a noted French investigative reporter who lost his job after his television station moved from state to private ownership. Discusses anti-Soviet slander in French media
- "Panama: Undermining the Canal"--Authors claim that the US orchestrated anti-Noriega campaign (combining CIA and Drug Agency operatives) is designed to maintain US control of the Canal
- "Afterword for 'Panamagate'"--North, Poindexter, and Abrams engineered the anti-Noriega campaign, providing false documents to link Noriega to drug traffickers

- "Attraction to Russian"--A report on the growing interest in Syria in the Russian language
- PHOTO FACT: 8-year-old AIDS sufferer, Randy Ray, Arcadia, USA has to be escorted home from school by a sheriff to protect him from harassment by neighbors
- "Yerosha from Washington"--Anti-Soviet inclination of many in D.C. are hindering joint US/USSR space flights despite protestations to the contrary by US leaders and corporations such as General Electric and General Motors
- "What's Happening to NASA?"--(From the "Los Angeles Times" newspaper) NASA's lofty plans deflated by recent failures

PAGE 10

- "Be Calm, Rely on Us!"--A story about the increasing number of collisions and near-collisions (many in the US) and the pressures of being an air-traffic controller. Recommended work week is 36 hours; Aeroflot's is 41 hours

PAGE 11

- "Garden Beyond the City"--Formerly private gardeners were scorned as capitalists or kulaks, even lost their homes for it. Now, with changing times, there is a "gardening boom"
- "The 101st Kilometer"--The story of a group of gardeners who, confronting lack of cooperation and condemnation from local

Soviets, formed a "gardening community." Now they are criticized by the local factory, even though garden work is done in their off-time. The original "garden community" is now being destroyed for a parking deck

- "The Battle of the Unequals"--Recent government decrees about private plots require equal allocations. However, a machine worker was recently granted a plot only to find it fenced off when he went to work it. The land, located near a railroad facility, had been appropriated by the widow of a railroad official and is twice the amount of land authorized by decrees.

PAGE 12

- "A Cry of Pain"--A exposè of doctors who take advantage of patients who need pain-killing injections by extracting gifts and favors in return
- "Responsibility for Smoking"--Smoking in the USSR is on the rise and, unlike the US, Brazil, and Sweden, the government is doing nothing to combat the problem
- PHOTO: "Matters of the Heart" (3 recent heart transplant survivors)
- "Museum Battle"--A 1918 geological museum full of meteorological and paleontological finds is being moved by bureaucrats from its architecturally famous building to the VDNKh
- LG announces a page devoted to health issues

PAGE 13

- "Good Feelings"--Co-workers whose testimony sent an innocent man to prison asks LG to help them recant. Letters call for a revamping of the judicial system and for a clearing of the jailed man's name
- A discussion about a specialist in rare instruments. The professor sold some items to an exhibit for 4 times their worth and was jailed
- "Crumbs of Experience"--food stands are operating alongside the road throughout Estonia (photo)

PAGE 14

- "By a Different Path: Afghanistan"--Some thoughts on the process of national reconciliation. Who is furthering and who is hindering it? Counterrevolutionaries prevent refugees from returning. The US and other nations train the counter-revolutionaries
- A Soviet Dictionary in Chinese"

PAGE 15

- "What to Bequeath to the Young"--An interview with head of the Deutsche Bank and a collector of Soviet avant-garde art. He hopes for a key role in future USSR-FRG economic ties

- "The Use of Cross-country Skiing"--Profile of a Canadian businessman and writer. His firm, Social Engineering Associates, will finance and equip a ski trek by a Soviet athlete-mathematician into northern Canada
- PHOTO: American sculptor of Armenian descent donates a work to the Armenian museum

PAGE 16

- A compilation of satirical verse and cartoons

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 10/28/87

PAGE 1

- Report of the Plenum--Agenda, approval of the resignation of Aliev from the Politburo due to poor health
- "Images of Time"--Photo album of 1947-1987
- PHOTOS:
  - postwar apartment construction
  - bread store
  - Moscow's 800th birthday
  - Fireworks for peace celebration in Moscow for youth/students
  - Yuri Gagarin, German Titov and Liula Timofeevna Kosmodemyenskaya
  - Pushkin's 150th birthday - photo of Pushkin's great-great-grandson with daughter
  - opening of a new drift station (1987)

PAGES 2-3

- "The Revolution Continues"

Current Affairs commentators respond to the following questions:

1. The greatest accomplishments of the Soviet people in 70 years?
2. Your greatest concern and what is the most important facet of perestroika? What is on the "tip of your pen?"
3. What, if anything, prohibits your speaking out?

(a disclaimer follows, warning the reader that the responses are critical and sharp, but true democracy cannot exist without such remarks)

Stanislav Kondrashov--"Return of an Ideal"--Preservation of a spiritual community through the October Idea of world transformation is based on justice without persecution or debasement

Leonid Ivanov--"What Works, What Doesn't"--The greatest victory was preservation of rights, such as work and education, and choosing leaders from the masses. There are, however, still problems in the agricultural areas

Anatoli Ivashenko--"Who voluntarily...?"

1. He was born too late to participate in the great victories such as the Revolution, the Civil War, Spain, and World War II. His own victory has been in the literary field
2. When he criticized the first building of communism, he himself was criticized
3. He wrote without an "inner editor"

Genadi Lisichkin--"People, Ideas, Things"

1. The defeat of Hitler was socialism's greatest triumph
2. Ideas of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party
3. Perestroika must find individuals who can lead others

Guram Pandzhikidze--"Getting to the Heart of the Matter"

1. Education
2. The democratization of society

3. A lot hindered him from speaking out fully

Ivan Vasiliev--"The Dialectics of Victory"

1. Much was won, but he will not rank the victories

2. Those lulled to sleep sleep soundly, but the journalist "on duty" is not allowed to sleep

3. A naive question--nature has not created an editor without scissors

Simon Soloveichik--"House and Spirit"

1. Answer raises another question--What have the people gained and what are their needs? A home and a spirit. Home is love, children, a roof over your head; spirit is creativity and a drive towards truth, beauty, and good inherent in all people. The revolution's major victory was to raise the spirit of the people

2. Perestroika has the same aims - home and spirit

3. Nothing is "on the tip of my pen." As correspondent for the Teachers' Gazette, he sees much hypocrisy in the educational system. Soviet pedagogy was trampled in the 60s; teachers and students must be saved. The newspaper will publish anything from the teachers as long as they (the teachers) are not criticized

Vladimir Drozd--"By Mind and Conscience"

1. The elimination of class privilege is the greatest victory

2. Calls for a constitutional guarantee that perestroika be made irreversible; changes in leadership are good for the Party as well as the people. He worries that implementing perestroika could affect the future for the children and grandchildren of

laborers if wages are reduced. Urges the percentage of now-silent intelligentsia to engage in perestroika. "On the tip" of his pen is a novel about the fate of a Ukrainian village over the last 10 years

3. He is concerned that he is held captive by the stereotypes he created in the decades of his own moral and spiritual stagnation

Yevgeni Bodinas--"An Idea is more Important than a Voice?"

1. This is a time of optimism

2. His concern is the discrepancy between lofty slogans and practical deeds; perestroika is like trying to heat a lake from above. The danger could come from the large number of "intermediate" regulators who cannot refuse meddling in all spheres of society, such as economics, agriculture, and literature, and depend on privileges. "On the tip" of his pen is journalistic research under the name of "intermediate person"

3. Ideas do not hinder speaking out. "Ideas" are more important than "a voice" for the writer; the current task for the writer is not to howl about pain, but to find the cause of that pain

Yuri Chernichenko--"To Write What you Think"

1. The victories of April, 1944

2. A society undergoing democratization must have a true delegation of authority from top to bottom and accountability of those elected. It is also a primary economic concern

3. He still cannot believe in the good fortune of being able to write what he thinks

Yuri Rurikov--"Understand Today the Day after Tomorrow"

1. There is only one way to the world of ideals - instill in ourselves the most humane achievements of all epochs and peoples

2. Three swords of Damocles hang above the world: atomic death, ecological disaster, and the moral degeneration of people. He proposes solutions in his new book, "The Honey and Poison of Love

3. Two foes: 1. incompetency and stagnation of those in the press who do not understand that lives are tied to revolution; without acting, disaster is imminent. 2. fragmentation of intellect and wisdom; these must be re-connected

Vasilii Selyunin--"Government is the Worker"

1. Discussing victories brings the start of stagnation

2. Passivity of people in perestroika and isolation of reformers

3. Much hinders speaking out as this is still the inchoate stage of glasnost. He is dependent upon the editor for balance through positive commentary

TV 7 X 7

What shows of the past week did you remember and why? Which shows upset you?

Sergei Baruzdin--Praises one film, disliked another. "'Prozhektor Perestroiki' continues to depress me, although I appreciate its sharpness and topicality"

Igor Dzeverin--"a few things were of good quality last week, especially 'Prozhektor Perestroiki' and the chess matches"
Ruslan Kireev--liked one film

Tatiana Kuzovlova--praised the broadcast of an interview with the director of a school for orphans and was upset by the sharpness of "Prozhektor Perestroiki"

Yanis Peters of Riga writes that he liked one film and enjoyed the "musical-informational" program, a talk with Swedish writer, Astrid Lindgren, and a conversation with a Moscow hippie. He finds "Prozhektor Perestroiki" very interesting and wants it to widen its scope as the enemies of perestroika are many. Felt "Days of Literature and Art of the RSFSR" was a weak program

Vitautas Petkyavichus from Vilnius felt that "Prozhektor Perestroiki"'s coverage of buyers waiting in line to use a computer to determine which items to buy was useless, not serious. He also commented that recent footage showing all operating smoothly in Lithuania was set up for the cameras only

Georgi Semenov found the evening musical-informational program interesting. Enjoyed one film; felt a documentary was both terrifying and beautiful

PAGE 4

- "What Does Perestroika Mean for the Man of Letters?"-B. Bialik (This is part of an ongoing debate between author and O. Mikhailovskii, who had previous articles in LG on this theme)

A Question of Moral Accuracy

Gaps in literature are due not only to emigration or persecution in the 30s, or even censorship. Further, author discusses Gorky's support of Sholokhov, Pilnyak, Babel, and Bulgakov and his battles against the censors

O. Mikhailovskii's response--Yes, Namely about It--Author claims he was writing years ago in the style of perestroika, mentioning some of his earlier letters to Gorky, Bunin, and Zamyatin

MAIL:

-the Pushkin Literary Prize should be resurrected and awarded on an international basis

-the new expository investigative journalism is good, but not in such large doses; would like more "people" news and less about events

PAGE 5

- "In Praise of Spite"--praises the satirical genre and hopes Soviet satire in the 20th century will be as useful as was that

of Gogol in the 19th

- "To be Considered Someone or Considered to be Someone"--a review of the poetry of Yuri Voironiv
- "That Which is Unseen"--a review of the poetry of A. Lobadonov

PAGE 6

- "Everywhere and Always"--An elegy and eulogy of Georgian poet Ilya Chavchavadze, who, like Pushkin, died from a bullet in 1908 (photo)
- "Singer of Spring"--The 125th birthday of Lithuanian poet Maironus, considered the poet of Lithunian national rebirth (photo)
- Tolstoy's house opened as a museum in Moscow (2 photos)

Literaturnaya Gazeta informs:

- 110th birthday celebration for Dagestan Gambat Tsadasa
- Turgenev celebration
- sculpture display "Gorky and Makarenko"
- Voronezh memorial plaque commemorating A. Platonov
- bronze memorial construction in house of Ukrainian poet, Bazhan
- Kirsky region literary reading in honor of Vorobyev
- Tashkent and Samarkand: 85th birthday of Sergei Borodin of Uzbekistan

PAGE 7

- "Talking with the Future"--Literary celebration in Tbilisi in honor of Ilya Chavchavadze
- "Dedicated to the Great October"--Writers and artists from the republics display works at the Writers' Central House
- "In the Motherland of A. Koltsov and I. Nikitin"--A report on the "Literary and Art Days" in Voronezh
- Red Banner award for Comrade Toburokov
- "Sarcophagus" opens in Los Angeles with great success; interview with playwright V. Gubarev
- Korean and Soviet writers discuss literary ties
- Plenum in Kiev of the Union of Writers--Awards presented, resignations accepted, new officers elected
- Meeting in Leningrad--A visit by editor of the Polish paper "Realnost"
- "We Congratulate the Birthday Boys, Vladimir Nemtsov (80) and Grigori Levin (70)"--A tribute to their works (photo)
- Alexander Ivanchenko: Conversations Behind the Desk--"To Preserve Life"--An interview with emerging author

PAGE 8 "ART"

- "We Start with October"--A dialogue between a critic and historian of how early films and textbooks dictated to the artists "political concepts" and how Kerensky was portrayed as primary foe of the Revolution when tsarism and the bourgeoisie

were the principal enemies. Eisenstein and Shatrov praised for correct portrayals

- Photos: Collection of portraits of the Masters:
- "Echo of a Premiere--a Difficult Truth"--review of a new opera, "April Second"

PAGE 9

- "Echo of the Week"
- 10/24 a bell in Hiroshima clanged the beginning of "Peace Wave"
- France conducts nuclear tests
- "A Commentator's Opinion: Where to go Further"--Commentary on US/USSR arms talks and calls for further reduction of all offensive nuclear weaponry
- "A Timely Interview: A Living Memory of the Cities"--5th anniversary of the creation of the International Union of Cities Victimized by War

The LG Reports:

- What is shown on US television about the US/Iran confrontations in the Persian Gulf; Weinberger's and Bush's threats to the Ayatollah
- Iran is not so foolish as to engage in a frontal assault with the US
- Agreement among the USSR, US, and Japan on landing rights in emergencies

Radio Station of Literary Gazette

- "They are Surprised in Erevan"--reports in the Western press are incorrect; the right of assembly is guaranteed by Article 50 of the Soviet Constitution; economic problems will be solved there
- "Faces Through Facts"--journalistic scandal in Bonn

Photo: "Emancipation Israeli Style"--mandatory military service for women in Israel

- "We Report in Detail"--Tamal leader Prabkhakaran is wanted by India for his guerrilla activities in Sri Lanka

PAGE 10

- "Perestroika Step-by-Step"--a round-table discussion of the Soviet electoral system and other urgent matters. Authors feel that many readers favor a further democratization of the country's electoral process--the people need representatives

Photos: One problem solved, another created. Having received approval to sell their wares in Moscow, entrepreneurs have no room to display their goods. Proposal to set up tables (5 photos)

PAGE 11

Resonance

- "Tested by Truth"--response to an earlier article about

problems with perestroika in agriculture and ecological problems in Moldavia

- "Mandated by Conscience"--Moldavian native writes that the ecological problems in his republic and the use of chemicals in agriculture result in tainted water
- "Is Such Comfort Necessary?"--Complains there is no policy for dealing with agricultural products after having been sprayed with chemical poisons. In Japan, where situation is worse, specialists have been assigned to handle the problem
- "Lines from Letters"--concerning the above topics

PAGE 12

- "In the Shadow of the Beriozka"--Criticizes people who congregate around these stores hoping to get goods or passes to shop there
- "Why I Don't Want to be in Academia"--Claims academicians often stagnate after receiving positions of influence. Compared with the US, where the National Academy of Science offers significant prestige but few material privileges, Soviet scholars aspire to top posts so that they can become idlers

PAGE 13

- "Morality and Right"--A eulogy to Viktor Vasilievich Naidenov and his work as procurator (photo)

PAGES 14-15

International Life

- "A Timely Interview" and "In Order to Survive and Live"--An interview with Nicaraguan Vice President Ramirez discussing the Central American peace plan recently signed in Guatemala. Asserts the US attempts to destroy the Sandinista Revolution, which has benefited neighbors Brazil and Peru
- "We and the Americans"--A discussion of a new method of thinking about international affairs and new approaches in the relationship between the superpowers. Acknowledges that both sides use stereotypes and slogans to characterize each other

PAGE 15

- "Return to the Anverse Tiger"--An interview with 86-year old French writer-artist, Vercors. The former partisan during World War II is author of "The Anverse Tiger" published 30 years ago
- "Careful!--Trained Bacteria!" (from Italian paper L'Unità) the Pentagon has 60 contracts with universities to develop chemical weapons and engage in genetic engineering experiments.
- "A Guest at Dulcinea's Toboso"--La Mancha no longer resembles the area described by Cervantes.

PAGE 16

This page is a compilation of mostly apolitical satirical verse and caricatures

MOSCOW NEWS 10/18-25/87

PAGE 1 (Summaries of issue contents)

- Report on Gorbachev's trips around the country (photo)
- Foreigners visit chemical weapons site at Shikany (photo)
- Let's Talk about Perestroika: Opinions on a new model car (photo)
- TV film about Oleg Efremov
- Downtown Moscow in the year 2000
- International Figure-skating Competition--Lenin Stadium
- About Feeling Guilty--thoughts by A. Borshchagovsky

PAGE 2

- Letters to the Editor about the death penalty
- Letters in response to a previous story about a planned monument to Georgi Zhukov

PAGE 3

- "The World on my Personal Computer" by Boris Pankin (photo) Supports journalistic reform through more candid reporting
- "Political Diary" by Dmitri Kazutin (photo) In order to have successful economic reform, Soviets must change their attitudes about political reform
- "What the Muses Say" by Alexander Kamensky (photo) Comments on the "Artist and Time" exhibit in Moscow

PAGE 4

- "Events, Facts, Commentaries" (photo) Gorbachev's world travels are more than just propaganda; he is curious to hear opinions of other world leaders
- Faberge cup donated to Peterhof State Palace (photo)
- Observers from 45 countries, including a US doctor, visit a chemical weapons site at Shikany

PAGE 5

- "Two-Dimensional Space: Possibilities for International Cooperation"--questions the reasoning behind the US embargo of technology to USSR and notes Soviet readiness to lease satellites to other countries. Discussion of a joint US-USSR venture to Mars, an idea fully supported by US scientist Carl Sagan
- Union of Soviet Friendship Societies-Edinburgh--Anglo-Soviet gathering discussed peace and survival in the nuclear age
- USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center--Reports on the US deployment of Lance missiles in South Korea; also charges that US violated the Helsinki Accords in denying a visa to Soviet-Latin American scholar Viktor Volsky
- "To Slow Down in Order Not to Speed Up"--discusses US aid to Afghanistan

PAGE 6

- "Observer's Notes"--Visiting French citizens mingle with Muscovites and offer favorable comments about Gorbachev (photo)
- "Diplomatic Life"--Interview with the new Czech ambassador to USSR (photo)
- Third annual meeting of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The US group is lead by Dr. Bernard Lown

PAGE 7

- Comments on Stephen Cohen's book, Rethinking the Soviet Experience, in which he accuses many US historians of rewriting the past to accommodate the present and to serve US policy
- Commentary by Col. Vladimir Chernyshev about the pending disarmament treaty in which he calls for the removal of more than medium-range missiles from Europe

PAGE 8

- Report on the Moscow City Soviet session says school construction and public services lag, and that flooded basements in public housing are due to poor construction
- Collective farm chairman relates how he was punished in the past for his innovative farming methods, and now welcomes

perestroika

PAGE 9

- "Economic Glossary of Socialism"--Industry has suffered from subordination to central command

PAGE 10

- "In the First Century of the New Era, or Science becoming More Rational"--comments on the transition of technology (photo)
- "License for Initiative"--Medical use for bee poison

PAGE 11

- Young Lithuanian theater director is a success in Moscow
- Novosti Press Agency Reports--December concert to feature a recitation of Akhmatova's "Requiem" to Shostakovich music
- TV film about artistic director Oleg Efremov (photo)

PAGE 12

- Opinions from workers at Volga auto factory and comments on these opinions (photo)

PAGE 13

- Article on how those who made Pasternak a pariah should feel guilty (photo)
- "Sensation"--Officials who refuse to talk with investigative journalists are wrong in thinking that journalists seek only sensationalism

PAGE 14

- City Centre in 2000 (with two sketches)--Interview with the Deputy Chief of Planning discussing the urban renewal plans
- A kiosk is closed, but newspapers still sold in an open bin, on the honor system
- Soviet ship converted into a restaurant

PAGE 15

- International Figure-skating Competition November 11-15; athletes compete for the Moscow News prize
- Four photos which will appear in A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union are presented, along with an interview with the book's publisher

PAGE 16

- World War II veteran and noted film-maker Y. Gabrilovich expresses unhappiness about not having had complete artistic freedom; relates how he would "re-do" Lenin films

Supplement to MOSCOW NEWS - October 18, 1987

PAGE 1

- Gorbachev's speech to representatives of the French Republic, 9/30/87. He discusses USSR foreign policy, perestroika, and what it will mean to his country economically, politically, and spiritually. He criticizes anti-Soviet posturing in the French press

PAGE 3-5

- Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk 10/1/87. He views Reykjavik as pivotal to world history, but claims that Western Sovietologists and members of the military-industrial complex oppose reforms in the Soviet Union

Specific Proposals:

1. nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe
2. restriction of naval activity in northern European seas as proposed by the president of Finland
3. peaceful cooperation in developing resources of the North and Arctic Seas
4. scientific study of the Arctic
5. cooperation of the Nordic countries in environmental

protection

6. open a northern sea route to foreign ships via Soviet ice-breakers

PAGES 5-6

Two Views of Democracy

- "There Must be a Whip!"--Accuses management and bureaucracy of sloth, adding that idlers must be punished and good workers rewarded

PAGE 8

- "There is no Going Back" (another view)--A call for democratization and worker initiative. The "servant" mentality should be eradicated
- "Moscow Encounter"--Russian language course

MOSCOW NEWS 10/25 - 11/1/87

PAGE 1 (Summaries of issue contents)

- Gorbachev in Leningrad (photo)
- Children's conference in Moscow (photo)
- "What the Greens Want"--new ideas in Western countries
- Kazakhstan--USSR-China border trade is on the rise
- "Why We must Learn History"
- "Eltsin Meets with Foreign Diplomats"
- "Ron Reagan, Jr. in the USSR"
- V. Grossman's new novel as told by the author's close friend
- The Young Guard--48th anniversary of the underground fighters

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

- Foreigners and Soviets alike complain and comment about poor hotel accommodations and poor restaurant service under the auspices of Intourist. Reply from an official of the State Committee for Foreign Tourism

FROM READERS' LETTERS

-British visitors laud Soviet health care

-US reader complains that the US government tries to prevent Americans from listening to Radio Moscow via short wave

-Cuban lauds Soviety society and criticizes Western propaganda

-Syrian praises Soviet exhibit

-Japanese reader supports better Japan/USSR relations

-Spanish reader detects an anti-Soviet bias in Western press

- Radio Moscow advertisement

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- "The World on my Personal Computer"--reflections on Gorbachev's Murmansk speech in which he stresses the importance of Northern territories to the USSR in light of the US "incursion" into Arkhangelsk in 1918 (photo)
- "Political Diary--Main Slogans of Today"--today's slogans reflect the ideals forgotten in the 70s and early 80s
- "What the Muses Say---Theatre People are Learning Democracy"--There is now more actor participation in selecting artistic directors (photo)

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- "Returning to the Sources"--Gorbachev's trip to Leningrad is symbolic as it pays homage to the birthplace of the Revolution and site of the first announcement of perestroika
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are Blind"--Crimean "protectors" fail to acknowledge recent positive policy changes

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- "Peace Mailbox--A Meeting of Soviet and American Servants of Justice"--Ten Soviet lawyers and ten US state attorneys general gather. Among the topics discussed were Sharansky and Danilov
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- "What the Greens Want"--A discussion of ecological and environmental problems and how the Green Party experience may be helpful in creating solutions
- Drawing--"Day of Joy at the Close of the 20th Century"

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- "The USSR: The View from Aside. An Honest Interlocutor"--Bruno Kreisky writes the introduction for the Austrian edition of Gorbachev's book

- "First-hand Information: At the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center:"

-Comments about USSR/Israeli talks

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-Appeal of Matthias Rust: question about pardons

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- Production at Siberian fluoric aluminum plant is good, but quality is mysteriously lacking (joint Soviet-French project) (photo)
- "Energetic People from Lenivka Street"--report on Moscow's first shop operated on the basis of family contract

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- "Sverdlovsk: Uralmashexport--The Hard Road to the World Market"--The firm suffers from foreign competition due to geography and poor public relations
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- "Economic Glossary of Socialism: Law of Value"--a discussion of Marx's law of value

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- Preview of novel about publishing during Khrushchev's time
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- "Why We must Learn History-The Past Lives On"--lauds USSR's recent attempts to come to terms with its past and recommends the UK and US do the same
- Interview with Ron Reagan, Jr. on his life and career plans

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- "Avoiding Ambiguities"--In meeting with foreign diplomats, Eltsin praises perestroika and democratization in Moscow, but lists remaining problems. Eltsin also answers questions about Moscow's ecological problems
- "Dialing, Dial Direct"--A new automatic telephone exchange will permit direct-dialing between Moscow and France, Italy, UK, Finland, Switzerland, Austria, and FRG

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- Dnepropetrovsk soccer team announces its own "perestroika" designed to raise funds through the sale of advertisements and souvenirs
- North and South Korea must decide about site of '88 Olympics
- sports commentary about sports rivals being politically based
- Photo of USSR-GDR soccer match

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- 48th anniversary of the establishment of Komsomol in Krasnodar; the story of the Young Guards is the origin of Fadayev's novel and Gerasimov's film
-"The Only Take"-- T. Makarova (Gerasimov's wife, who played in the film) gives her thoughts on Stalin's desire to shorten the film
-"Merits of the First Book" compares and comments on Fadeyev's 1st edition and the 2nd, which was "ordered" by Stalin

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- Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk on 10/1/87 lauds citizens for courage during the Civil War and during World War II. He also praises British and US seamen who aided the city during World War II and awards the city the Order of Lenin prize. Gorbachev details perestroika and praises a list of "Stakhanovites"
- Gorbachev's speech in honor of the president of Finland outlines the importance of the northern countries and praises Finland for giving refuge to Lenin prior to the Revolution
- Joint Soviet-Argentine communiquè calls for better relations between the two and for expansion of trade and scientific cooperation
- Joint Soviet-Uruguayan communiquè. The South American country praises Gorbachev's reforms and invites him to visit; states the anti-SDI position of Uruguay and its support of the Soviet proposal of nuclear-free zones in the Atlantic

PART 3. LAG-TIME AND NEWS COVERAGE

US AND USSR

This chapter addresses a question that has long concerned followers of the Soviet media: Do the Soviets lag behind the United States in their reporting of events? Or, put somewhat differently: Does the Soviet news cover events only after they have broken in the West and some information has seeped back into the Soviet Union, thus, in effect, forcing the hand of those who determine news agendas? The most dramatic example of this dynamic in recent times was the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. In the time periods of our analysis there were no such dramatic events. We are looking at a more "normal" period, a more typical period. What we are asking is how "on top of" the news is Vremya. We will begin with the assumption, which, the analysis will show, is quite problematic: that the standard of measurement is provided by the American news, that the American network news will determine for us what news is "out there," and thereby determine what the Soviet news is either missing or lagging behind in reporting. Naturally, the fact that

the two countries are separated by eight hours creates situations in which next-day reporting is, in effect, no lag at all. If one takes that time-zone difference into account, then, does the Soviet television news system follow a pattern of same-day coverage or significantly lagged coverage? One other qualification is in order: in determining whether a time lag exists, we define as "story" some coverage of the same event, even though the kind of coverage, or the spin, might be different. We are interested in whether or not the news publics in both countries have the opportunity to become aware of a particular event. In addition, as I will show below, there are classes of events which are parts of ongoing and very complex processes: for example, the turmoil in Burma in the summer of 1988 was a process that produced "news" virtually daily, with demonstrations, riots, deaths, abrupt changes of leadership, public reaction, etc. Different news systems might "dip into" the flow of these micro-events making up this macro-event (domestic unrest in Burma) at different times, but clearly they are "covering" the unrest in Burma.

In order to explore time lag in Soviet and American news we shall look at July 27-31, August 10-17, and August 22-27 of 1988. On the American side we use ABC's World News Tonight, with the exception of Sundays, when ABC is not available and NBC has been substituted. Our choice of ABC was dictated by the greater interest of ABC in international news, though we should not

exclude the possibility that some relevant news might have turned up on other networks. However, if a story was not covered during the period under review by all networks, particularly the one most attuned to foreign news, then the salience of the story for the American television industry and, by extension the American audience, is certainly questionable. As is well known, the news agendas for the three networks are, in general, remarkably similar over time. For the Soviet side, we use the single nightly news program broadcast on all networks and local channels, Vremya.

For the five-day period from July 27 through July 31, 1988, stories about the Iran-Iraq war and the attempts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to negotiate a settlement were covered both by the American networks and by Vremya. They were on the news in both systems for three of the five days in the United States and every day in the Soviet Union. There was no lag time that the difference in time zones would not explain. On July 27 the stories on the two systems covered the same event: the meeting between the Iraqi Foreign Minister and the UN Secretary-General. On the next day ABC covered Jesse Jackson's involvement in the matter, while Vremya stayed with the Secretary-General. On July 29 the projected peace talks were the focus of both news broadcasts.

There were in addition a number of stories that were broadcast on the television news in both systems. A round in the talks on the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict came to an end and the event was reported on the same day (July 28) in both countries. Winnie Mandela's house was burned and that event made the news on the same day in both countries. A terrorist bomb in a shopping area in South Africa was reported on July 30 in both countries. President Reagan's statements about supporting further aid for the contras were also reported on the same day (July 31).

Two stories were reported first on the American news and the next day on the Soviet news: one was a story on Congressional action for drought relief (July 28 on ABC and July 29 on Vremya); the other was related to the problem of American beaches, which were being closed because of pollution (July 30 on ABC and July 31 on Vremya). Clearly the lag time is a product purely of time zone difference.

Both Vremya and ABC covered the visit of Secretary of Defense Carlucci to the USSR. Vremya, however, devoted more attention to the preliminaries, such as the intermediate stop in Helsinki.

For the eight-day period of August 10 through 17 there were relatively few stories that both ABC and Vremya covered. When they were covered there was virtually no time lag whatever. Some stories were covered the next day by Vremya, but these were largely explained by the eight-hour time difference between the Moscow and the American East Coast.

In particular, the continuing story of the protests and demonstrations in Burma made the news on both countries' networks on August 10, as did the story about the dying seals in the North Sea. Those were the only stories that both systems covered; and the next day, August 11, the story about Richard Thornburgh's swearing-in as Attorney General turned up on Vremya on August 13--the longest lag-time for Vremya that we have seen.

On August 12 there were three stories that were covered in both the United States and the Soviet Union: they were the results of a Dukakis/Bush poll and the resignation of Burmese strongman Lwin, with a third story--Noriega accusing the Americans about aid to the contras--aired in the United States that day, but on Vremya the next day. On August 13 there was only one story in common: another poll in the presidential campaign. On August 14 both countries covered the opening of the Republican Convention in New Orleans. Both also covered the finding that no discipline would be forthcoming for those who were judged responsible for mistakenly shooting down the Iranian passenger plane. On August 15 both systems covered the Republican Convention, with ABC reporting on President Reagan's upcoming speech, an event Vremya would cover the next day. On August 16 there were two stories that ABC reported and Vremya would report the next day: the decision by the UN to raise money for and deploy a Persian Gulf peace-keeping force and the diagnosis of Nelson Mandela's tuberculosis. No stories were reported the same

day. On the last day of this sample, August 17, two stories were covered on both systems: the death of President Zia of Pakistan and the visit by representatives of the Soviet Union to watch an underground nuclear test in Nevada.

The basic fact of the superpowers' news coverage for this eight-day period was an extraordinary American preoccupation with its own news. Thus, during this week that included the opening of the Republican Convention, nearly three-quarters (73%) of all the stories were devoted to domestic issues. The individual stories, were, moreover, much longer than usual and left much less airtime to the rest of the world.

What international stories went totally unreported by the Soviet news? One difficulty in approaching this issue is that there are events that are without end, playing on in the world, and these may be covered at any time. Thus, although the American network, on August 10, covered the different factions among the Palestinians on the West Bank, the basic story, Israeli problems in the occupied territories, has been an ongoing one in both countries, though with a different spin. The same could be said of the continuing protests in Burma and Korea: sometimes the same story is covered, sometimes the two systems sample the ongoing events at different times. Thus, Korean students rioting turned up on August 10 on the American network and on August 12 and 14 on Vremya. They were different stories, but all part of the same larger event.

There were two stories related to the Soviet Union carried on the American news and not on Vremya: they were the report on August 12 that American observers, in the Soviet Union as part of the INF agreement on verification, were caught with prohibited items they intended to take out of the country, called espionage by Soviet officials and souvenir-gathering by the Americans. This was not covered at all by Vremya. Also not covered was the speculation, aired on August 13 on the American telecast, that there might be another Reagan-Gorbachev summit early in the fall.

Different aspects of Afghanistan were covered on the two news systems: On August 14 the American network announced that the rebels had captured a provincial capital and that the Soviets would not help the Afghan government retake it. The previous day on Vremya there had been an interview with Najibullah; on the 14th there was an Afghanistan story on Vremya, but it was an announcement of the Soviet government that Pakistan was still violating the accords by sending weapons to the rebels and that the Soviet government reserved the right to do whatever necessary to correct the situation. The next day Vremya's Afghanistan story announced the completion of the first stage of Soviet troop withdrawals and said that "if attacked, we will respond." Capture of a provincial capital was not included in any of these stories.

All of the remaining stories on the American news either were covered--within very close time frames--by both systems, or were

were part of much larger continuing problems of unrest that were dipped into at various times by both systems. The Soviet news, however, continued to cover a much wider range of countries and international issues during this week.

Our final sample covers six days, from August 22 through August 27, 1988. The most durable story during this period was the situation in Poland: the strikes were the subject of stories on every day during this period in both countries. On August 22, both countries carried stories about the earthquake on the Nepal/India border. On that day ABC carried a story on a terrorist killing in Belfast; the same event turned up the next day in a story on Vremya. Similarly, the announcement of a new date for the launching of the Discovery shuttle was made on the American broadcast of August 22 and on Vremya's of August 23.

It is not until August 25 that the next case of the same story on both television news systems can be found. On this day both cover the beginning of the Iran-Iraq talks in Geneva and both also cover the devastating fire in Lisbon. Protests in Burma are the subject of an August 25 story on Vremya and the next day's news on the American network. Finally, on August 27, both television news broadcasts carried a story about the twenty-fifth anniversary and re-creation of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Washington march.

During this period there were also a number of stories about ongoing trouble spots that were markedly different. On August 24

Vremya carried a story on demonstrations by the Palestinians against the Israelis. It said that 17 people were killed and that there were mass arrests. The American story that day focused on American opposition to the Israeli practice of deporting Arabs from the area. On Vremya there was no mention of deportation or the American disapproval. On August 26 Vremya carried a story about protests in Lebanon against Israel and the United States, while the American news that day carried a story on Israeli efforts to stifle protests on the West Bank. On August 27 both news systems carried a story about the IRA and Northern Ireland, about the bomb explosions in Northern Ireland. However, the main focus of the American story was the fight over extradition of an IRA leader; for the Soviets it was the futility of British efforts to subdue the uprisings. There were also South Africa stories: on August 26, ABC carried a story of Bothe's visit to the Crossroads settlement, where he was warmly received. This same footage, though without identifying the Crossroads community, was shown as part of an August 27 story on Vremya. The Soviet story that day reported that while Western media were spreading the image of a friendly Bothe, close to the grassroots, people were being hanged in Pretoria. On August 26, there was another South Africa story on municipal workers striking in Johannesburg.

Looking back, it is clear that there is no appreciable lag-time in the transmission of information that a particular event

has occurred, when that event is covered in both countries. It is not the case that the Soviet news reports on events long after they have broken in the Western media. However, there are stories that go unreported in both systems, so the issue of lag-time simply does not arise.

What are the stories that the American network covers and Vremya does not? We look first at stories about international events. In defining international events I exclude those stories that are actually stories about American involvement, such as the problems with General Noriega in Panama. I also exclude stories about a continuing problem, if Vremya covered it at some time. For example, I exclude a story on ABC on July 27 that treated the Vietnamese-Cambodian talks, an event which both ABC and Vremya covered the next day.

In the period of July 27-31, the following international stories did not turn up on Vremya: the film "Cry Freedom" was banned in South Africa (July 29); in the Philippines an American guard was shot on his way to the American airbase (July 30); feature or backgrounder story on the rise of murder and violent crimes in the Philippines (July 30); feature on British celebrities work for AIDS research funds. There was one story from the USSR that was not on the Soviet news, and it clearly had much more central meaning for the American public: the arrival of Israeli diplomats in Moscow and their appearance at the Jewish synagogue. During this period, the only "hard news" interna-

tional event covered on the American network and not on Vremya was the banning of the film in South Africa. The Filipino terrorism backgrounder story was mainly an American story and not hard news.

In the period of August 10-17, as I indicated above, Vremya did not choose to cover the charges of espionage leveled against American verification observers in the Soviet Union (August 12). That omission is an extremely interesting one and suggests that the Gorbachev leadership, having claimed so much success from the INF treaty and the new reduction in tension between the superpowers so essential to domestic economic reform, was reluctant to tarnish the image it had so carefully burnished. Still another omission was the speculation carried by the American news that another US-Soviet summit might be scheduled before President Reagan leaves office (August 13). The reason for this is very likely that the news was basically without substance for the Soviet side. The Soviets also did not carry an ABC story about South Africa's announcement of her capability of producing nuclear weapons (August 13). The news on NBC of the capture of a provincial capital by Afghan rebels was, as noted above, missing from the Soviet news (August 14), clearly the kind of bad news that is not part of most current Afghan coverage on Vremya. Enzo Ferrari's death was also not covered by Vremya (August 15).

In the period of August 22-27, ABC ran a story that, according to the State Department report, terrorism is on the rise and

that Soviet-Afghan agents in Pakistan were responsible for many of the incidents (August 22). This was neither reported nor commented on by Vremya; it is the kind of story that the Soviets would consider fabrication, although they occasionally assign a political observer to deny it. Vremya did not cover an escape from East Germany (August 22). A light piece on ABC on British pubs and their longer hours did not make the Vremya broadcast (August 22). A story from China that Deng is cracking down on pornographers, with execution as punishment, did not appear on Vremya (August 23), perhaps an early sign that the re-establishment of Soviet-Chinese relations would be more important for Soviet television than showing the more draconian sides of Chinese reality--a practice that would reach its apogee in the events of 1989, when Soviet television effectively refused to cover the massacre of Chinese students by their government. A light feature on the high cost of weddings in Japan also did not appear on the Soviet news (August 23). On the August 24 broadcast of ABC news there was a story on mass demonstrations in the Baltic republics; Sam Donaldson reported that Soviet television had covered it that day and, in fact, showed the American audience Soviet television footage. However, the footage he showed was <u>not</u> drawn from the Soviet <u>national</u> news. Undoubtedly he was referring to local television. The event was not covered on Vremya. Another omission was the story about Clyde Lee Conrad, an American military officer accused of spying for the

Soviet Union (August 25). The Soviet news rarely carries stories about charges that it is conducting espionage operations. One exception to that rule was the coverage of the French expulsion of a female Soviet national. Finally, a piece on the Glyndebourne Opera Festival did not appear on Vremya (August 27).

On the whole, the number of clear omissions is small. Some are basically human interest stories. The story about the Israeli diplomats in Moscow is not hard news; the banning of a film in South Africa, though important symbolically, is not a major news story; the State Department's terrorism report is basically a domestic story; the speculation about a possible superpower summit is also fundamentally a domestic story. The pubs, opera, Japanese weddings are all light features. Only seven stories in this entire period could be considered hard news that Vremya did not carry--and even from these seven one could subtract the murder of an American in the Philippines as basically of domestic interest. Out of a total of 231 stories on the American news during these three periods, only seven (3%) were hard news stories that were not covered at all by Vremya. However, two qualifications should be made. As I have noted above and in other work, the American television network news is basically in the business of providing news about America to the American public. News executives at the networks do appreciate the importance of foreign news, but regard domestic news as having higher priority. At election time this emphasis becomes much more pro-

nounced. The other qualification I would make relates to ongoing world events that are really a seemingly endless flow of many micro-events. The disturbances in Korea, Burma, Israel, the West Bank, Lebanon, the strikes in Poland, the Vietnam-Cambodia talks, the Iran-Iraq war and the negotiations to end it--these are not single events, but large aggregations of many everyday occurrences. Both the American and Soviet news broadcasts covered these macro-events, though at times there were aspects or micro-events that the two countries covered quite differently, thus providing a different 'spin.'

If one excludes human interest stories, backgrounders, and domestic stories (including visits of foreign dignitaries to the Soviet Union and visits by Soviets abroad), one finds the following: Vremya, during this period, was much more attentive to all of the stages of the implementation of the INF agreement, covering, for example, the arrival and activity of Soviet inspectors in Holland (July 28 and 29), Belgium (August 10 and 12), West Germany (August 13), and Italy (August 24). Related thematically is the visit of Turkish officers to a Soviet military base (August 23). For American networks each step in the process is a repetition of the one before and unless it is distinguished by a novel attribute, it will cease to be covered. For Vremya, it is essential to show a reassuring and continuous development of a more secure and less threatening nuclear world, a world that has been "tamed" by the agreement and, according to Vremya, by Soviet peace initiatives.

There were, during this period, a number of stories about the United States on Soviet television that were not carried on the American network news we observed. There was an accident in Utah in which nearly 100 metal barrels of granulated potassium cyanide fell off a truck (July 29). Another American story was about talks between leaders of black youth gangs in Los Angeles and the continuing problems there (July 30). Brazil's debt, owed mainly to the United States, is becoming increasingly burdensome (July 31, basically a feature). A Greek publication names Israel and the CIA as responsible for terrorism in Greece (July 31). The American mass media are spreading false accusations about the Soviet Union's intentions with respect to the Krasnoyarsk radar facility (August 11). A fire in the Empire State Building results in no injuries (August 13). Anti-military demonstrations take place in the Philippines, directed against the United States (August 16). A drug 'bust' in New York captures a large amount of cocaine (August 22). A plane crashes near Miami (August 26).

Another area of concentration on the Soviet news during this period was Italy. Although the United States has always been a significant part of the Soviet news agenda, Italy has not. The stories that were broadcast were all "bad news." One treated cases of corruption involving former government officials (July 28). Another story was broadcast on July 30--a backgrounder about problems in the Italian economy, and another one that day on failure to reach agreement with trade unions. On July 31

there was a story about terrorism in Italy and the responsibility of neofascists. On August 11 there was a story about the appointment of Domenico Sica as head of the anti-Mafia effort. Violence in Verona breaks out as a result of a soccer defeat (August 22).

Other stories about the world were carried on Vremya but not on the American network: the Swedish Prime Minister calls for preservation of the environment (July 31). Mayors of nuclear-free cities meet in Greece (August 10). Singapore is expanding its territory by 10% (July 30). Namibia confirms the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola (August 11). A new president in inaugurated in Ecuador (August 11). Pakistan is interfering in Indian internal affairs (August 11). Rains in India create economic problems (August 12). A hurricane in Egypt kills Italian tourists (August 12). Flooding in China devastates the oil industry (August 13). Vice President Laurel demands the resignation of President Aquino (August 13). Wolfgang Otto, former SS guard, is on trial in West Germany (August 13). Daniel Ortega urges a peacekeeping force on the Honduran border (August 14). Floods create severe problems in the Sudan (August 15 and several subsequent days). A new organization, the Northern Security Forum, meets in Stockholm (August 16). Supporters of peace meet in Athens (August 16). In an unusually bad accident, more than 30 automobiles collide in France (August 16). A story is aired on the presidential election in Lebanon (August 17). A

story on Pinochet and Chile is shown (August 22). The Pakistani military is on alert for Suni-Sufi strife, according to a story in the Guardian (August 24). An accident takes place, with deaths, in an alcohol distillation plant in Spain (August 25). Forest fires burn dangerously in Corsica (August 26).

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We began with the assumption, which, as noted above, we regarded as perhaps problematic, that according to the standard of measurement derived from the practice of American network news, the Soviet news would lag behind in the airing of fast-breaking news. What we discovered was, first, that on the whole this did not occur. When both systems carried the news of the same events, there was really no lag-time. In virtually all cases on the Soviet side the difference in time zones accounted for the lag. In one case the American network lagged. Second, we see that the American networks, particularly preoccupied with American news at this time, left relatively less time for the rest of the world. My previous work has shown this to be a pattern, more extreme at election time (which is becoming a more and more elastic period, as news coverage and campaigning begin increasingly early), but still an important feature during non-election periods. Third, Vremya carried many more international

stories than did the American network, and not all of them were "soft," or feature stories.

However, there were two important classes of news stories that went unreported by Vremya, and, therefore, lag time was removed as an issue. First, prominent on the Soviet news is an unfurling of the positive consequences of the Soviet-American INF treaty. This is the centerpiece of General Secretary Gorbachev's international stature and legitimacy as peace-maker. As I noted in an earlier work, the accession of Gorbachev to power in the Soviet Union was marked, in television terms, by a much greater personal presence of the General Secretary and one that was, moreover, linked to successful activity on the international front. His visits, his peace initiatives, positive world reaction, public opinion change in the West--all of these preceded coverage of the domestic front and, as it were, built legitimacy by displaying the leader who would tame the international threat and make the Soviet Union safe for the much-needed domestic reform. Thus Vremya does not report the charges of espionage the Soviet Union leveled against American INF inspectors, and Vremya does cover, in very positive terms, each visit of its own inspectors to sites in Europe and the United States, and features warm relations with American military hosts.

American observers of the Soviet Union have argued that with the removal of Andrei Gromyko, Anatoly Dobrynin, and the generation for whom America was the only other major player, the

Soviets are turning away from what had been an "America-centric" policy. In the period under review here there are some stories about America that both news systems cover, and these are mainly about the coming election. There are also other stories, covered only by Vremya, and they are either about accidents and crime within the United States or about American involvement in negative events abroad. That such negative stories are covered is certainly not new and cannot be shown to be part of a shift in policy. But what is new is the positive coverage related to American collaboration in INF and, together with it, suppression of the news of espionage charges, which the American news did report. It is difficult to view this as a new anti-American slant or even as a turn away from a preoccupation with the United States. That Soviet foreign policy has become much more flexible, creative, and probably effective is obvious and affects its relations with a large number of countries, perhaps reducing the bi-polar intensity, but the central presence of the United States is still there. It is a presence that is both positive and negative, and the positive aspects are precisely those that are judged to help the General Secretary in his plans for his own country.

There is another class of events that are not reported on Vremya: during this period, the American news gave prominent coverage to battlefield failures of the Afghan government. These were not reported, although Afghanistan was the subject of

several news stories. I do not mean to indicate that Afghan stories are always upbeat and optimistic. They are not. There is very often a brooding threat and sense of embattlement that is part of the story, such as, recently, when the arrival of ground-to-air missiles was shown. They ringed the capital, and the viewer could see the fiery launching of the missiles in the dark Afghan night--the pictures, though showing Soviet support and aid, clearly conveyed the sense of fear and danger from rebel forces. Nonetheless there are obviously limits to the presentation of bad news, and Vremya does not report beyond them.

The story about Clyde Lee Conrad, the retired Army sergeant accused of passing important secrets to the Soviets, was not reported during this period, as is the case with most similar espionage stories. Finally, the peculiar case of the American news picking up a story about the Baltic republics from local Soviet television--a story that went unreported on Soviet national television--is an interesting example of current trends. Local Baltic television has had a very free hand to cover large-scale demonstrations and meetings of unofficial organizations. National television, though it sometimes reports on these events, does so with much less frequency and often with many fewer visual materials. There is an insulating quality to this kind of two-tiered coverage, and we shall see more of it in the future.

The study of lag-time tells us a great deal about Soviet policies and priorities, as well as something about our own news

system. There are considerable differences of spin in the Soviet and American coverage of the same events, but many of the events are very much the same. And, as we have found before, the universe of countries that appears on the Soviet news is significantly larger than that on the American news.

PART 4. TELEVISION NEWS FLOW: VREMYA--AUGUST 1988

We sampled a month of the Soviet news program Vremya to determine the pattern of news flow. August 1988 provided us with 28 days (due to technical and weather problems August 2, 3, and 18 are missing) and a total of 690 individual news stories. Altogether, these programs provided us with 16½ hours of material for the coding process. The average number of stories on a news broadcast for this month was 25. On two days 29 stories were broadcast and one day 17 stories were broadcast. These represent the upper and lower limits of the newscasts. An average story was 1½ minutes, but there is a good deal of variation in individual stories. The longest story during this period--long by a very wide margin--lasted almost 19 minutes. It was the occasion, on August 5, on which Egor Ligachev presented from Gorky his extraordinary "leadership" speech, in which he took issue with and flatly opposed Mikhail Gorbachev's policies in both domestic and international affairs. The next longest story was a little over 7 minutes, and there are several that cluster in the six- and seven-minute range.

Our coding scheme permitted us to analyze Soviet television news broadcasting in terms of the universe of countries covered. We coded for the three most important countries featured in each individual story. Just under half the stories had more than one country in a story, and approximately one-fifth of the stories

covered three countries. We used, as we have in the past, a classification scheme based on the Singer-Small standardized country codes. We added separate classifications for areas under dispute, such as the West Bank, Namibia, and Northern Ireland, as well as certain collective bodies such as the United Nations, the European community, OPEC, NATO, and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The Palestine Liberation Organization receives a separate code.

In addition our coding scheme analyzed up to three subjects for each story. They were ordered in terms of their importance in the story. A high proportion of the stories had at least two subjects, and fifty-four percent of the total number of stories had three subjects.

We coded for up to four newsmakers, identifying for each the citizenship, occupation, and gender. Not all of this information is available for each newsmaker and we include it only if our degree of certainty is very high. To qualify as newsmaker an individual may be identified by name but not necessarily shown on the news or may be identified by name and shown. An unidentified person will be counted as newsmaker only if he or she actually speaks on camera. We think it important to note what types of people actually are given time onscreen to speak, and below we analyze which countries' citizens are more likely, as we put it, to "speak for themselves." This kind of apparently unmediated communication is clearly more effective than the newsreader's paraphrase or citation.

International and Domestic Stories

The first finding is that 66% (458 stories) of all stories may be classified as "international," that is, some country other than the Soviet Union (perhaps, though not necessarily, in addition to the Soviet Union) is featured). Thus, 1/3 of all stories are purely domestic Soviet news stories. This figure is exactly the same as that yielded by an earlier study of news flow which analyzed five months: three in the fall of 1984 and two in the fall of 1985. In general this is higher than the comparable figure for American news flow, and certainly so for the period of August 1988, when the political parties held their nominating conventions.

Countries on the News

Using primary, or most important, country featured on the news, the U.S. is treated in 9.1% of all stories. This figure represents a substantial increase from the 7.5% recorded in the fall of 1985 (early in the Gorbachev period), which was itself a marked increase over the Chernenko period (Fall, 1984) figure of 6%. As a percentage of international stories, the U.S. as primary country is given 13.8 percent. As second country, the United States claims some 12.4% of the news stories, and as third country, 12.2%. As before, the U.S. is second only to the Soviet

Union in its weight on the Soviet news. In August 1988 the country that followed the U.S. (as most important country in a story) was Poland, which was covered in some 3.8% of the total number of stories--a distant third in terms of percentage of stories.

Soviet foreign policy in the Gorbachev era is certainly more flexible, versatile and open than in any period in the past. The Soviet leader has achieved rapprochement with major powers to the East and the West. He canceled or scaled back the Soviet regional presence that served as an irritant to other major powers. He has viewed the coming of 1992 as the process in which the European "home" is formed--a home he argues that should not "lock out" his country. Some Western scholars argue that the old bipolar policy of the Gromyko years has been replaced with a policy that will relegate Soviet-American relations to the background. Soviet television, however, presents a radically different view. The U.S. is becoming even more central than it had been before. Coverage has increased. There is no question that in terms of images and models the U.S. is in a class by itself, and its importance to the Soviet Union cannot be overemphasized.

Countries of heavy coverage are those that account for at least 1 percent of the stories. Poland, which is second to the United States on this list, was not among the news leaders in the earlier samples of 1984 and 1985. The events of August 1988, with the prominence of Solidarity and strikes that eventually

brought about the legalization of the union, were covered with considerable frequency on the Soviet news. As will be seen below, some of the most negative, opinionated newswriting and polemical expressions were reserved for opposition groups in Poland. Following Poland, in order of coverage, were United Nations, Iran, Afghanistan, Burma, Union of South Africa, India, Northern Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, and Italy. But the list of news leaders does include many countries and events that were at the top of the news in the United States; for example, the domestic disorders and ouster of the leadership in Burma, terrorism in Northern Ireland, and apartheid and its reaction in South Africa.

As noted above, about half of all the stories we coded in August 1988 were about more than two countries. Therefore, if we look at the most important countries among those that were second in importance we should receive significant additional information. Sometimes stories with two countries covered are really about a dyadic relationship, in which both countries are nearly equal in importance. The list of those countries covered in at least 1 percent of the stories is topped, as before, by the United States. The next in order is <u>not</u> Poland, since the Polish stories were almost entirely about domestic politics and did not by definition place Poland as second country; it is Afghanistan that follows the U.S., with almost 10% of the stories featuring a second country. The third most important secondary country is

Iran. Then follow the United Kingdom and Iraq: the Iran-Iraq war, still providing a great deal of news, is the subject here. Then, in order of weight of coverage as second country, follow Israel, Pakistan, Italy, South Africa, Rumania, Angola, and North Korea. North Korea, Angola, and Rumania are equal in coverage, with 1.2% of the stories about second countries. Israel, it should be noted, is still covered as it was in the 1984 and 1985 periods coded earlier: it is rarely covered as first country, but often as second or sometimes third country. Israel as a nation-state, with all of the processes and institutions of normal politics, or as a cultural or economic actor domestically or internationally, is rarely the subject of a news story on the Soviet news. Israel figures on the Soviet news to the extent that it is involved in activities, usually the imposition of occupation and its attendant difficulties, in areas outside its borders--and for the purposes of this study the West Bank is outside its borders. The West Bank was covered as primary "country" in nearly 1 percent of the stories (0.7%).

We also pooled all the countries covered. In this method of analysis we find that the United States again produces 10.8 percent of all coverage of all countries (adding primary, secondary, and third countries), while the USSR accounts for 38.1 percent. The next in order--a distant third after the United States--is Afghanistan, with 4.3 percent. Thus, even if one leaves aside the importance of the country in a story and merges all coverage,

the extraordinary bipolarity of Soviet coverage is clear. It should be borne in mind too that during this period of analysis the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was in full swing, and yet, though third, Afghanistan represents far less coverage than does the United States.

One final figure if of interest: If one takes the coverage of the United States as primary country as a percentage just of international stories, then the weight is even greater: some 13.8 percent. Thus, of all stories that are not purely domestic stories, the United States takes up almost 14 percent. Next in order is Poland, with 5.7 percent of international stories.

Polemical Newswriting: The Balance of Affect

We also coded for "affect." We wanted to see how polemical or opinionated (or the contrary, how balanced or neutral) individual stories were. To qualify under our coding scheme for inclusion on this variable there would have to be a clear use of words that are "loaded." A sarcastic smile or ironic emphasis would not be enough. We divided the affect variable into two sections: one related to emotion or polemical words as applied to a country and the other related to these words as applied to subgroups or individuals within a country. Further, we distinguished between the use of emotional newswriting by the broadcaster (the reader, commentator, or correspondent) and such use by people in the news giving their opinions.

Broadcaster Affect

In our earlier work, from the five-month period in 1984 and 1985, we found that, with respect to a characterization of a country as a whole by the official broadcaster or the correspondents employed by Gosteleradio, approximately 17% of all international stories had a heavy overload of emotion. This figure includes affect as applied to the primary and the secondary countries in a story. In the 1988 sample a remarkable reduction had occurred: only 6% of all international stories contained clear affect. The move to a more neutral broadcaster, one much more patterned on Western news practices, had occurred. In the earlier study, about three-quarters of all affect was applied to the United States, and it was overwhelmingly negative. In the 1988 sample, only 23 percent of the references were to the United States. They were all negative, but there were very few of them--a total of 4 cases during the month.

In looking at opinionated newswriting by the Soviet broadcaster referring to subgroups or individuals within a country, we find it present in 10 percent of the international stories. Half were negative references, and the United States accounted for only 4 negative instances, 16% of the total negative references. There was also one positive one. Interestingly, there were 5 cases of polemical writing directed against groups or individuals in Poland.

Thus, the very practice of polemical newswriting--the frequent and belabored use of such words as "criminal regime" or "racist leader" or other traditional epithets--has declined dramatically. It is not entirely absent, but the environment of news writing has shifted toward standards employed in the West.

Newsmaker Affect

We also coded for the use of emotionally loaded language on the part of people who figure in the news. There is much more of this: some 27 percent of all international stories. This figure includes affect toward a country as a whole and toward subgroups or individuals within it. Negative affect was present in 6 percent of all international stories. Negative newsmaker affect directed against the United States was present in only 0.4 percent of all international stories. In fact, positive newsmaker affect toward the United States was 1.7 percent of all international stories.

Interestingly, among the international stories with newsmaker affect, 2 percent presented multiple viewpoints.

Subjects of News Coverage

The subjects of Soviet news stories were also coded as most important, second in importance, and third. Looking at primary subject, we find 26 that were covered in at least 1% of all news stories. Leading the list were international politics stories,

covered as primary subject in one-fifth of the 690 stories we coded. That was followed by stories on domestic economics (still a very significant cluster at 13.3 percent of all stories) and national politics (10 percent). The domestic economics stories are still very large claimants of newstime. For the most part they are upbeat stories about the introduction of new technology or the harvesting or sowing of agricultural land or production in the industrial sector. They are stories that are most reminiscent of the pre-Gorbachev era and have continued with some tenacity through his tenure in office.

The fourth most important subject on the Soviet news is surprising. It is the story on the arts, covered in 6.2 percent of the stories. These are the traditional "closers," the stories that wind up the day's news. They provide a kind of upbeat end to the news. They are about musical performances, openings of museums and art shows, tours of Soviet companies. Slightly more than half are related to domestic Soviet news; the rest involve other countries, sometimes in connection with the Soviet Union. They account for far more of the coverage on the Soviet news than does the equivalent story on the American news. The Soviet versions are formulaic, typically involving a look at the art in question and an interview (often with one of the few female correspondents seen on the news) with the artist or artists and occasionally some of the public. In our August 1988 sample there were 43 such stories. It is difficult to imagine an American

broadcast television news program devoting so much attention to what is quintessentially "soft" news. Perhaps as a way of "humanizing" the news, Vremya has actually increased the weight of these stories: which had declined to only 2 percent in 1985 (from 4 percent the preceding fall). The durability of this kind of story and its very significant share of the total news stories may well be evidence of the attempt by central policy-makers to shore up an eroding hierarchy of norms relating to popular and elite culture. Although rock and its variants are much in evidence on Soviet television, they are notably absent from these stories, still the preserve of the "high culture" of the Soviet past.

The primary subject that follows these four news leaders is the category called economic problems, accounting for 4.3 percent of the stories. These stories are more characteristic of the Gorbachev approach. They send what are called "sharp signals" and are addressed to rooting out inefficiency and malfeasance in the economy. They are often object lessons and send a message of mobilization.

Still another economics story follows in sixth place. With 3.3 percent of the stories, the category of economic progress is a major object of attention on the Soviet news. These are stories about technological innovation in industry and agriculture and about successful labor practices.

Altogether, the economics stories are primary subjects in some 17 percent of the stories on the news. These stories may

refer to any country covered on the news. Using primary country and primary subject in a story, we find that they are overwhelmingly about the Soviet domestic economy. Thus, 90 percent of the domestic economics stories are about the Soviet economy. Eighty-seven percent of the economic problems stories are about the Soviet Union, as are 70 percent of the economic progress stories. These percentages do not change very much if all three countries and all three subjects are used.

The next most important subjects as primary subject in a story on the Soviet news are arms control and military issues. The second is covered in 2.8 percent of the stories; the first in 3.2 percent of the stories. Both of these figures represent increases over the five-month period of 1984 and 1985.

Following these subjects is the protest against one's own country, taking up 2.8 percent of the stories on Vremya. All of them were about a country other than the Soviet Union: for example, Burma and the Union of South Africa.

Accidents and natural disasters, the first accounting for 2.5 percent and the second for 2.2 percent of the stories, are newcomers of the Gorbachev era. Under the Chernenko coding period they were virtually absent. Now they are major claimants of attention, together amounting to nearly 5 percent of the total number of stories. It is true that the vast majority are about countries other than the Soviet Union. If one merges all subjects and countries, slightly under 10 percent of the accident

stories and close to 18 percent of the natural disaster stories are about the Soviet Union itself. There is more about the United States during this month. Nonetheless, since Gorbachev has come to power, the attention Soviet television has drawn to problems of natural and industrial misfortunes at home has been unparalleled in its history.

Space stories come next, with 2.3 percent of the stories. They have always been important to the Soviet news. Whether, if the Soviet space program is scaled back and if there continue to be technical setbacks, the centrality of these stories and the obvious pride with which they are presented will be maintained, is a real question. However, they have manifested great durability and their downgrading would be clearly noticed.

Political violence within a country is the next category of importance, taking up 2 percent of the total number of stories and accounting for 14 stories. During this coding period none of the stories was about the Soviet Union.

Some fifteen stories, or 2.2 percent of the total during this month, treated economic protests such as strikes and demonstrations. All were about countries other than the Soviet Union.

Twelve stories were devoted to nature and ecology, which has become a major claimant of newstime. The focus of these stories was not necessarily domestic: Just under half (when countries and subjects are merged) were about the Soviet Union; the rest were about other countries or about the Soviet Union as part of an international relationship.

The next primary subject in order of importance is the story on science and technology, taking up some 1.6 percent of the total number of stories.

The next is the story about leisure--with the same percentage: 1.6 percent of all stories, quintessentially "soft" news. The importance of this kind of story on the Soviet news is actually greater than our coding scheme suggests. We did not code the sports and weather, segments that follow the news proper. Thus, when leisure time activities "make" the news, they are over and above the emphasis devoted to them during the prime-time analysis following the news. Somewhat more than half of these leisure time-use stories (which are by no means confined to sports) are about the Soviet Union.

Two political subjects follow; each accounts for 1.4 percent of the stories: party operations and elections and campaigns. The first is evenly divided between Soviet domestic stories and those involving other countries. The second, during the August period, is primarily about countries other than the Soviet Union, and the American presidential campaign and conventions figure prominently in these stories, accounting for half of the merged coverage of countries and subjects.

International economics also made up 1.4 percent of all stories and, as the title implies, it is about economic interactions between or among states. However, in many of the stories the Soviet Union is a prominent player.

International political violence is the subject of 8 stories as primary subject and 48 stories when all three subjects are considered. The Soviet Union was in the story under 10 percent of the time. Iran and Iraq each claimed between 20 and 30 percent of these stories during this period.

A category we call "subnational," mainly domestic Soviet stories, legal issues, terrorism, education, and health and medicine round out the list of subjects treated in at least 1 percent of the stories as primary subject. The terrorism stories were mainly about the Union of South Africa, Northern Ireland (43 percent, or 3 cases), the United Kingdom, and Lebanon.

Altogether, the twenty-six primary subjects that claim one percent or more of the total number of stories make up 91 percent of all stories.

If one looks at the second subject in a story there are three new categories, led by "media" stories. Very often a news story is about the media coverage of some event. The event might be given in the primary subject list, but the media coverage as newsworthy would appear as second subject. An example of this would be the foreign news reaction to a Gorbachev initiative in arms control or coverage of a visit. These kinds of stories make up 3.1 percent of the total number of stories with second subjects, a total of 18 stories during this period.

Other new entrants--as second subjects--are education, with 2.4 percent; law enforcement (none of them are Soviet domestic

news stories), with 1.9 percent; and stories about family life (all of them Soviet domestic stories), with 1.2 percent, and nuclear weapons, with 1 percent (6 stories).

But the most interesting new entrant as an important story with a second subject is the story about minorities. These are stories primarily about another subject, but minority issues become the second subject covered in the story, also with 1.2 percent of the stories (7 stories). There are five such subjects (considered as primary, secondary, or third) in the period of our coding, and the Soviet Union is covered in two of them.

Roughly half of all the stories have a third subject. The role of media stories is even greater here, with 5.1 percent of all stories. Clearly, the legitimating role of media, particularly foreign media, continues to be an important part of Soviet newscasts. Similarly, family issues rise in importance as third subject, rising to 4.8 percent of news stories with third subjects.

Subjects and "Talking Heads"

Choice of subjects and their treatment on television news broadcasts in the United States are closely linked to the availability of pictures. Some subjects on the American news may use pictures for a "low" of 75% of the stories, and the percentage increases to 92% for some subjects. American viewers do not spend much time looking at the talking head of an anchor. On the

Soviet news there has been a great deal of comment in the press about the need to add pictures, and this has happened. However, there is still a great deal for the newsreaders to do. About 21% of all stories are simply read by the newsreader in the studio.

The category of "commentary" is one that is attracting more attention on Soviet television, and this relates to the whole problem of the newsreader. I have used the term "newsreader" instead of "anchor" because the former is the dominant mode on the Soviet news and the latter has not yet entered that arena. The newsreader is just that: a person who reads a script without intruding his or her own personality into the news. Typically there are two newsreaders on every edition of Vremya: a man and a woman. Each one in turn either introduces a correspondent's story or reads the story or does the voice-over for film footage. They regard themselves as the keepers of the language and pride themselves on their excellent command of Russian and on their ability to set the standard for the spoken language. Those who favor the development of the anchor system see the anchor as creating a more effective and emotional bond between audience and broadcaster. They look for a more dramatic and personalized approach to the news which, they conclude, will gain audience attention and support retention of the news. If the anchor, drawn from among the correspondents or political observers, is less punctilious in his use of the language, he is nonetheless more energizing and vivid. As the debate continues and as the

newsreader system continues, a kind of news within the news has been fashioned. The use of commentators is growing, and is creating a kind of island of anchors within the news. Commentary now accounts for 13% of all stories on Vremya and 16 percent of all international stories.

Even in the midst of perestroika and the volatile change that reform brings in its wake, the more effective anchor system is being used with respect not so much to domestic news (which badly needs authoritative interpretation) but rather to international news. Studies in the West have shown that the guidance provided by the anchor or expert as authoritative interpreter is extremely effective in forming public opinion. If this relationship holds true in the Soviet Union, it suggests that the interpretation of foreign news will be the beneficiary. In fact, to the outside observer, it is probably in the domestic news, where rapid change and discontinuities must be disorienting to the Soviet viewer, that such interpretive guidance is most needed.

People on the News

We coded for people who appear on the Soviet news. To be counted the newsmaker would have to be identified by name, either in written or spoken form, whether or not he or she appears on screen. In addition, those people who speak onscreen are also coded, whether or not they are identified. We have not included

people who are shown but do not speak and are not identified. We coded for up to four people in a news story, and this gave us a pool of 866 newsmakers.

One of the most interesting findings of past research relates to the leaders of the superpowers. During the three months of the Chernenko period we coded earlier we found that the Soviet General Secretary accounted of 8.5 percent of the newsmakers. That figure was significantly increased in the fall of 1985, when the new General Secretary accounted for 12 percent of all newsmakers. During August 1988, however, when Gorbachev was reported to be on vacation, we find that the figure plummets, as he accounts for only 2.6 percent of all newsmakers whose citizenship and occupation are known (858 cases). It should be recalled that our coding scheme allows us to count as newsmakers those individuals who are referred to but not shown. Therefore, even if Gorbachev was on vacation for some of that period and could not be shown, his name could still be invoked in a variety of situations and he would still turn up as newsmaker. That was not happening.

The American president accounted for 2 percent of all newsmakers in the Chernenko period and rises substantially to 3.3 percent in the fall of 1985, under Gorbachev. However, he too declines as a percentage of newsmakers, with only 1.5 percent in August 1988. It is likely that President Reagan's own behavior, staying in the background as George Bush campaigned, and Reagan's

wish not to upstage Bush at the Republican convention accounted for the drop.

For 871 newsmakers we have a clear indication of the country of citizenship. Soviet citizens make up the majority of newsmakers, 54.4 percent. The next largest category--and it is a very large one--is made up of Americans, who are 11.4 percent of all newsmakers whose citizenship is known. During the month under review 99 Americans were on the Soviet news. Only five other countries contributed newsmakers in excess of 1 percent: Afghanistan, with 4.7 percent; Poland, with 2.5; Pakistan, 1.8 percent; India, with 1.6 percent; and Rumania, with 1.4 percent. I would make the point again, that the importance, the visibility, indeed the pervasiveness of Americans on the Soviet news cannot be overestimated. Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India are related to the Soviet presence in that part of the world at that time. Poland and Rumania are obvious choices for significant presence on the Soviet news. Yet these five countries' newsmakers combined almost equal the American presence. The countries of Western Europe fall far below the American share, with the United Kingdom taking up 0.6 percent of the newsmakers; France, 0.5 percent; Spain, 0.6 percent; West Germany, 0.7 percent; and Italy, 0.5 percent.

The presence of newsmakers is enhanced and made more authoritative as they speak for themselves. We coded three varieties of "appearance" by a newsmaker: whether he or she is

referred to; whether he or she is quoted or paraphrased; and whether he or she actually speaks in the story. Forty-seven percent of all newsmakers are referred to or named; forty-two percent speak for themselves; and the rest are quoted or paraphrased. Naturally, the vast majority of newsmakers who speak for themselves are Soviet, with two-thirds of all newsmakers who have the opportunity to speak on camera. The American presence is not only substantial, as we saw above, but also represents a considerable proportion of the newsmakers who do speak for themselves: some 11 percent of them. Of all the cases of American newsmakers, about half are simply referred to in the story; 11 percent are quoted or paraphrased; and close to forty percent speak for themselves.

There are nine other countries that are given a noticeable share of the newsmakers who speak for themselves (at least three cases, 0.89 percent), Afghanistan (1.48 percent), Federal Republic of Germany (1.18 percent), Italy (1.18 percent), Poland (0.89 percent), India (0.89 percent), Nicaragua (0.89 percent) South Africa (0.89 percent), France (0.89 percent), Portugal (0.89 percent). West Germany accounts for 1.1 percent of newsmakers who speak onscreen. The West German overall share of newsmakers is under one percent, but two-thirds of all of their newsmakers speak on camera. Italians who are on the Soviet news (4 cases) always speak for themselves, although they account for only 0.5 percent of all newsmakers. Afghanistan is more often represented

by newsmakers who are referred to or identified, but who do not speak on camera (over two-thirds of all of their newsmakers).

If one looks at regions of the world and newsmakers who speak for themselves, the rank order is as follows (excluding the United States and the Soviet Union): Asia (5.9 percent), the NATO states (4.6 percent), Warsaw Pact states (3.5 percent), the Middle East (1.6 percent), Central America (1.6 percent), South and East Africa (1.3 percent), non-NATO/non Warsaw Pact European states (1.1 percent), South America (1.1 percent), Central and West Africa (0.5 percent), and tied, with 0.3 percent of the newsmakers who speak, are the South Pacific and the Caribbean.

What kinds of newsmakers represent countries and regions of the world? American newsmakers, whether referred to or actually speaking on the news, are distributed during the month under review such that the largest percentage were political candidates; next came people who were in the national executive branch--typically cabinet officers. Together these two categories made up over two-fifths of the entire pool of 99 American newsmakers. The President added another 13 percent; national legislators--Senators or Congressmen--another 5 percent; and American ambassadors, another 4.4 percent. These groups of officials account for two-thirds of all American newsmakers. Government spokesmen make up another 4 percent, and military officers account for 3.1 percent. This brings the total to nearly three-quarters of all American newsmakers--all of whom are

officials. Two other groups make up a sizable portion of American newsmakers. Astronauts are 4 percent of the American newsmakers, and although they are not officials in the same sense of those named above, they do have a similar kind of national status. The only group represented significantly among American newsmakers who do not have official status are people in the arts, who constitute 5.1 percent of all American newsmakers. American political activists who are not officials make up 3 percent of the American newsmakers. Scientists make up only 1 percent of the American newsmakers, as do journalists. Ordinary people who are not identified but do speak on camera constitute 1 percent of the American newsmakers (one case).

The Soviet newsmakers, naturally, are much more varied. Some 3.6 percent of the 468 Soviet newsmakers are people who are not identified, but speak onscreen. Industrial, agricultural, and service sector workers make up 9.2 percent; 1.3 percent are teachers; about the same are journalists. Over 1.5 percent are medical doctors, and a large 4.3 percent (20 cases) are scientists. People in the arts constitute an exceptionally large category, with 9 percent of the total Soviet newsmakers. Cosmonauts make up 3.6 percent.

Newsmakers at the national executive level make up 13.3 percent of the newsmakers; national-level party officials, 11 percent; ambassadors, 1.1 percent; national legislative officials, 1.3 percent. Thus about a quarter of all Soviet newsmakers are

national officials. Another 15.2 percent hold responsible positions in the economy, but they can be national- or local-level officials. Military officers are a fairly well-represented group with 3.2 percent, and soldiers, only 0.9 percent. Cosmonauts are 3.9 percent of all Soviet newsmakers.

How Much Time for Countries?

Looking at the Soviet news in terms of elapsed time is another important dimension of analysis. Up to this point we have focused on the percentage of stories. Here we will look at percentage of total time. Earlier research indicated that domestic stories (those that treated only the Soviet Union and no other country) had fallen from 36 percent of total newstime in the Chernenko period to 30 percent the next year. Our August 1988 sample reverses this trend with a very significant upsurge in time devoted to the Soviet Union: some 46% of total newstime. Thus, although in total number of stories, exactly the same ratio has been maintained over time, the weight of time has changed very impressively. This makes the centrality of the United States on the Soviet news even more substantial: as time for other countries is declining, that devoted to the United States has actually risen.

Vremya allocated 6.1 percent of its total time to stories in which the United States played a part. During the five months of our earlier study, in 1984 and 1985, that figure was only 5 per-

cent. The 1988 figure results in a total of seventy-six minutes during the month. If we take the elapsed time of stories in which the United States figures as a percentage of international stories, then the figure is 11 percent of total elapsed time of international stories.

No other country matches this block of time. The closest is Afghanistan, with nearly 5 percent of international newstime, and Poland, with virtually the same weight. Eighteen other countries are given at least one percent of total international newstime. In descending order, they are as follows:

Japan	2.5
Switzerland	2.2
Iran	1.8
China	1.7
Czechoslovakia	1.7
Italy	1.6
United Nations	1.6
India	1.5
Lebanon	1.3
Mexico	1.3
Pakistan	1.3
Rumania	1.3
West Germany	1.2
Burma	1.1

Nicaragua	1.1
Portugal	1.1
United Kingdom	1.1
France	1.0

There are impressive differences in story length for different countries. Some of the countries with the smallest share of Vremya's newstime have the longest stories. For example, there is one story on Burkina Faso, and it is 3.33 minutes long.

More countries surface in total newstime when they are considered as second countries in a story. Here we see many of the newsleaders we looked at earlier in the discussion of percentage of news stories. Thus, additional countries gaining more than one percent of newstime are: Iran, the United Nations, Burma, India, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, France, China, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Portugal, and Mexico. As noted above, since so many international stories are dyadic in nature, covering relationships between two countries, it is perhaps more accurate to look at the leading newsmakers in terms of elapsed time as consisting of both primary and secondary country.

The sample of a month of television news broadcasts provides a large number of cases. We have been able to see the shape of news flow and the geography of coverage. The central role the

United States plays for Soviet news has been increasing, since our first sounding in the fall of 1984. Similarly, among newsmakers--those who are referred to or shown on the news--Americans dominate. During this same month of August 1988 the United States was engaged in the campaign for president. It was a time of unusual concern with internal politics. This happens every four years, but the televised campaign stretches out each election and is now shutting out international stories to increasingly great degrees. The central role that the United States plays on Vremya has actually been increasing during Gorbachev's administration.

The decrease in polemical or emotionally tinted coverage of foreign countries constitutes a major change from the Brezhnev and, undoubtedly, previous eras. The move to more neutral broadcasting has resulted in a sharp reduction of negative epithets assigned to the United States, which had accounted for about three-quarters of such emotionally negative coverage under Chernenko.

Clearly, the current Soviet leadership has a strategic stake in good relations with the United States. Such cooperative relations permit the Soviets to reallocate resources and to concentrate on domestic priorities. Television coverage reinforces this image.

PART 5. AMERICA ON SOVIET TELEVISION: EIGHT PROGRAMS FROM 1986-1988

The portrayal of the United States on Soviet television is undergoing a very significant shift. The result of this shift, in terms of its impact on the viewing public, cannot be estimated without the kind of systematic, rigorous, and fully national study that is not yet available. However, we do know that the programs depicting the United States, especially those analyzed below, played to impressively large television audiences, at least one hundred million for most. It is also clear that the content of messages about the United States since Gorbachev has come to power has been in some ways contradictory. Part of the contradiction lies in the fact of evolution: a changing policy of communications that puts some earlier images at variance with later ones. But part of the contradiction lies in what must be differences in the views among those responsible for what is propagated. In the earlier discussion (Part 1) of two days of Soviet television broadcasting I noted the intermixture of old and new; or traditional, rather ritualistic programming, and newer, more experimental and effective programming. In a similar way, images of the United States to some degree show evidence of a duality: the older images coexist to a diminishing degree with the newer ones.

The television viewer has not been newly hatched. New images and new messages must enter a cognitive framework that has been formed in the context of previous experiences and previous policies. It is important, therefore, to understand the baseline of the portrayal of the United States. The programs analyzed below were all broadcast during the period of Gorbachev's leadership: between September 1986 and October 1988. They do not represent a universe of broadcasts in which the United States is prominently featured. Many of those have been amply covered by research and journalistic reports. Nor are they drawn from the evening news program, Vremya. The nightly news has been accorded the status--both formally and informally--of official protocol. The programs analyzed below are outside that protocol; they represent the public affairs side of Soviet television--documentaries, discussions, films that constitute such a large portion of the viewing day.

Analysis of the eight television programs that follow reveals important trends and interesting dilemmas. The programs are arranged in chronological order of date of broadcast. This places at the beginning the most virulent and brutal of all programs treating the United States. "Babi Yar" is not only the most anti-American of the group of programs analyzed here, it is also the most corrosive and objectionable of any I have ever seen on Soviet television. It is ironic that its creator is Vitaly Korotich, leader of the liberalizing intelligentsia and editor of

Ogonyok; it is also a measure of the degree to which intellectuals apparently were forced to subvert their own belief systems in the service of political requirements then in force. "Babi Yar" was made before Gorbachev came to power, but, significantly, it was broadcast to the huge audiences that television commands, on the eve of the first Soviet/American summit meeting.

It is important to note that the cautionary adversarial subtext of this program, though very markedly attenuated, can be seen also in one of the latest of the programs analyzed here: "Warning," broadcast in March 1988. By that time, portrayals of the United States had changed dramatically, but the element of concern about subversion of the Soviet way of life, of its manners and morals, is still present. Moreover, it is depicted as a directly political subversion, tied in this case to military means. The theme of subversion can be seen in other kinds of less dramatic programs, for example, the one treating the spread of American mass culture around the world and the resultant obliteration of national indigenous culture. American culture is treated not only as a source of degradation of national standards but also as a form of extension of American political values and, inevitably, of political power.

The thread of this theme of threat grows thinner as the Gorbachev leadership consolidates its hold on the media and as glasnost is extended. The broadcast of "Warning" in March 1988 is unusually bold and harsh in the climate of increasing cooperation

that marks depictions of the United States. However, there is a kind of dualism that continues. The programs analyzed below illustrate both the base-line and the shift that is taking place in the way that the United States is presented. One of the early harbingers of that shift is Vladimir Dunaev's piece on McDonald's, broadcast in November 1986. In that story, a segment of a weekly international news commentary, entirely positive elements of American life are presented and explicitly praised. In this piece Dunaev states that the prototype he intends McDonald's to be serves all classes and all races equally. It is a class-neutral employer, producer, and socializer. The assumption is clearly that examples to be emulated can be detached from the social, political and economic base from which they spring. Moreover, the United States provides the most persuasive (though not the only) source for such examples. Two years later the Soviet media were the scene of struggles between Alexander Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze on the one hand, and Egor Ligachev on the other, regarding the class basis of Soviet foreign policy. Ligachev argued, in print and on television, that class conflict still forms and must continue to form the basis of the relations of the Soviet Union with foreign countries. Yakovlev and Shevardnadze, and later Gorbachev at the United Nations, argued to the contrary, that the concept was outmoded in contemporary circumstances. The Dunaev piece, some two years earlier, presents a vivid example of the Gorbachev thesis that the devel-

opment of the Soviet economy--as well as the solution of some of its social problems--can be powerfully assisted by the example of the United States.

The problem with this thesis, as the analysis below shows, is that the examples are in fact embedded in a particular context, and this context may also have elements that are considerably less desirable for Soviet society. The programs about the American desert and about American mass culture are cases in point. They display an intermixture, a confounding of positive and negative elements. The key, in terms of Soviet policy, must be careful disentangling of the elements and judicious and prudent calculation of the costs and benefits. For the Soviet viewing audience, whose base-line of programs is anchored in the harshness of the pre-Gorbachev era, the confusion must be profound: if there are now positive elements in a system previously characterized as wholly negative, how are those elements to be extracted from the contamination of the surroundings. Even more confusing may well be the subsequent evolution of the presentation of those positive elements without reference to their coexistence with contradictory elements. For example, the discussion of Alcoholics Anonymous with Carol Burnett, prior to the airing of "Beatrice," essentially leaves aside the foundation of that movement in religion. The course of glasnost is such that the cautionary notes are increasingly muted and the calculus is left up to the audience. The tendentious narrator setting the

scene and delivering the authoritative interpretation is being replaced by a more open-ended scenario. The Soviet press prints complaints from viewers and readers who find this reduction of interpretive closure frustrating and alarming. As the analysis below shows, the base-line mode of interpreting the world has been marked by clarity, consistency, and simplicity. Intellectuals may have been offended by those dimensions--and surveys show that the higher the level of education, the more demand there is for multiple points of view--but many others may be confused by the contradictory valences to which they are now exposed.

The current period in Soviet politics is one of defining boundaries. There are those who argue that only few and very remote boundaries should be instituted, that the free play of forces--market forces, means of expression, modes of participation--is the most salutary of developments and that limitations depress the recovery potential of the system. Boundaries to activities, therefore, should be invoked only in very extreme, very narrowly defined, and very few cases. The program "Warning," broadcast in the spring of 1987, is a dramatic alert and a plea for more rigorous application of restrictions. In the spring in Moscow News, in response to queries about current customs rules, the airport official made it plain that the publications of the National Labor Union's (NTS) Posev were not admissible, and in general gave a much more restrictive view of what might "subvert" the Soviet way of life.

In 1986, Vladimir Pozner noted in a conversation that Soviet journalists were told by the Party leadership that they may and should take varying positions on matters of foreign policy. It was understood that domestic policy was an arena for contentiousness and disputation, but decisions of the Soviet state in matters of foreign policy was naturally considered more problematic. But, there has been little of the give-and-take about foreign policy that has been characteristic of journalism relating to domestic affairs. During the 1988 American presidential campaign, one edition of the television discussion program Rezonans did have a muted disagreement between Alexander Bovin and Valentin Zorin. The latter noted that Kitty Dukakis was Jewish and equated Judaism with Zionism, clearly prejudicial in the Soviet context. He went on to talk in rather ideological terms about Jewish control of American media. Bovin, however, quickly pointed out that American Jews were associated with liberal views. He gave the impression that this association was a positive element in Soviet-American relations. Soviet television has yet to extend the format of 12th Floor, the rapid-fire highly polemical program for youth, to questions of foreign policy. Interestingly, however, the official responsible for that program, Eduard Sagalaev, was appointed, at the end of 1988, as senior executive of the nightly news. He is sure to import some of his techniques and certainly his philosophy, but how flexible and versatile the authoritative news can be remains to be seen.

The development of Soviet foreign policy is certain related to the portrayal of the United States. In the Jurmala "town meeting" broadcast in October 1986 (analyzed below), the theme of "images of the enemy" was raised repeatedly. This increasingly figures as an essential component of the portrayal of the United States. As the notion of genuine, irreversible, and profound Soviet/American enmity is markedly reduced on Soviet television, the question of responsibility for lingering characterizations of enmity is thrust into the foreground. Thus, the Jurmala program and the programs on mass culture and the American desert all raise the question of insistence of some in the West on a culture of enmity and propagation of a crisis mentality. This is a strategy that is said to serve the economic interests of the military-industrial complex; it is a strategy of the few who benefit and profit.

Cooperation and exploration of mutual interests will increasingly isolate those in whose interests images of enmity are transmitted. That is the message that Soviet television has brought into focus. Thus, the second program on American mass culture, broadcast in the spring of 1987, takes a rather different look at American culture, stressing how the stereotypes can be overcome and the divisions resolved.

In many ways, as I have argued earlier, the Gorbachev strategy has been the establishment of his legitimacy and efficacy as world leader--and most particularly as carrier of

peace and the elimination of the nuclear threat--to precede and support his authority and power (as well as resources he can command) for domestic reform. The signing of the INF treaty and the opening to the West are seen on Soviet television as Gorbachev's triumphs. Paradoxically, this strategy also requires that the United States cannot be criticized as it was before, since that would undermine, if not eviscerate, the achievement Gorbachev wrought in altering the course of world politics. If that course has not actually been altered, if the United States continues its negative course, then Gorbachev's triumph is not only hollow, but perilous as well. The portrayal on Soviet television, given this logic, must show a changed America. Part of that change is certainly real: exchanges and cooperative ventures of all sorts have grown by an order of magnitude and more substantial nuclear arms agreements appear to be on the horizon. But part of the change is a change of image only, as Soviet viewers remark and about which they complain in some bewilderment.

An article in Pravda in November 1988 attempted to deal with backlash created by a television program entitled "Secrets of 3rd Basket." This program essentially showed Soviet compliance with the provisions of the 3rd Basket of the Helsinki Agreement. It detailed changes in Soviet policy regarding freedom of travel, freedom of religion, and the misuse of psychiatric prisons. But after the airing of the program Pravda had effectively to apologize for its tone--one of the Soviet Union's justifying

itself to the West. In addition, viewers wrote that the negative side of the West, about which they had seen ample evidence, had somehow disappeared, and Soviet television had gone too far. Have unemployment and homelessness in the West really ceased to exist? (the letters say). The response of Pravda refers to President Reagan's talk at Moscow State University. Let the viewer hear for himself or herself about the "fairy tale" of the wealth of American Indians and their oil; let the Westerners reveal themselves as lacking in "objectivity or honesty when discussing human rights."

In an edition of the Rezonans in the spring of 1989, one of the participants referred to the American "opponents." He quickly corrected himself and said "partners." Other Soviet journalists have asked if acknowledgment of problems in the West is now considered "anti-perestroika."

The dilemma of editorial balance is related to the dilemma of the personal investment of Gorbachev and of his policy of seeking better and more productive (politically and economically) relations with the West. The portrayal of the United States has certainly changed markedly, but the tempo has been extraordinarily rapid and perhaps confusing to a very large audience (97% of the Soviet public now watches First Program), most of whom have not completed college and who were accustomed to a readily understandable mode of interpretation. Then, too, there are elements of newer and older strategies intermixed in the

programs that portray the world to the Soviet viewer. Eduard Sagalaev has said that half of television is a "reflection of the time of stagnation: in structure, style of work, and realization." He wrote this comment in October 1988.

"Babi Yar: Lessons of History"
Broadcast September 29, 1986
19:45-20:40 p.m.

This film was made by Vitaly Korotich (identified as a poet), currently editor-in-chief of Ogonyok. It is a curious production from the man who has so pushed the limits of glasnost and whose magazine has become the forum for bold new ideas. Korotich made the film in 1981. It was aired on television some five years later, but the introduction was done by Korotich himself for the 1986 broadcast. It is a Korotich whose vision then is clearly at variance with his behavior now; it is an exceptionally hard-hitting, even brutal film, and it does not display the tolerance and distance from ideological thinking of Korotich's later Ogonyok period. I shall concentrate on those aspects of the film that relate to America and Americans. Ostensibly it is about Babi Yar; ostensibly it is a bold public homage to the massacre that could not be acknowledged, and perhaps that is what Korotich

really intended. But in addition, it is a graphic and heavy-handed condemnation of the United States as the continuation of Nazism, as the source from which new horrors are generated. The majority of the running time of the film is, in fact, about the Soviet Union, about the Second World War, and, of course, about Babi Yar, but the treatment of the United States, as will be seen below, is a major part of the conceptual foundation of the program, and a leading element of the "lessons" in the title.

As I noted above, Korotich introduces the film. He gives a projection of what population growth would have been if the Second World War had not taken place. He speaks of the German attitude toward Babi Yar as similar to the neutron bomb. It is typical of capitalist thinking to develop a neutron bomb that destroys people, not buildings. At Babi Yar, as the footage will show, people were killed and things remained. Babi Yar has been repeated, Korotich says, in a Vietnamese village, where Lieutenant Calley killed innocent civilians. There is a reference to a Vietnamese village and the crimes of Lieutenant Calley. Korotich goes on to say that according to a New York Times poll some 28% of the people in the United States think that the Soviet Union and the United States were on opposite sides in the Second World War. There is a deliberate campaign to make people forget, to prevent people from remembering. This film, then, "is for younger generations." The lessons must be transmitted.

The beginning of the documentary film shows footage of Kiev today, then of pre-war Germany, including Hitler. The narrator refers to the role of the "military-industrial complex of capitalism" in Hitler's rise, and says, of Hitler and his power: "this is a lesson for the century." Spliced in, for 53 seconds is footage of American contemporary neo-Nazis marching with signs saying "Hitler was right." It is said that they wait for and seek their Hitler.

The scene turns to the Ukraine, where witnesses, now middle-aged or older, recount the horrors of Babi Yar and the German occupation. "People were killed for being Ukrainians, Jews, Russians, Cossacks--for being Soviet." For the first five days, the film states, only Jews were victimized. In the next 740 days, it was everyone. The victims thought they were going to the railroad station. The footage shows the round-up of people, long lines waiting to enter the infamous railroad cars.

The film shows the Germans looting and destroying while the native population goes hungry and grieves. There are piles of shoes, clothing, personal effects--the meticulous inventory of the barbarous German forces. There is footage of children: they had to be killed, the narrator says, in order to prevent the vengeance of a future generation. There are more shots of Nazi horrors: the ovens, the piles of bodies, the naked women lined up to go their death. There is a deceptively "normal" side of these horrors: shots of German troops relaxing, having fun;

their sentimental side and their fondness for animals, but this is tied to their brutal dogs, and references are made to South Africa today. "The Neofascists, the heirs of Hitler are also laughing today." There are shots of people with signs supporting "White Power" and there are numerous swastikas.

Eighteen million went through concentration camps, and seven million returned. The narrator equates the anti-Semitism of Germany with apartheid in South Africa and Zionism in Israel. There is more horrific wartime footage of bodies and a note that the population of Kiev was reduced by 717,000 between 1941 and 1943.

Throughout the film there are three fundamental messages: the first recreates as graphically as possible the horrors of Babi Yar, and warns that its heirs are very much alive in the world; the second asserts the existence of a deliberate campaign on the part of the United States to wipe the slate of memory clean. The third message ties the horrors of Nazism and movements like it to a single generative motive power: it is anti-communism that initiates and drives these movements. "The majority of the baseness of our century began with anti-communism."

The film is nearly over now, and images of horror become denser and denser. The wartime footage shows bulldozers dumping so many bodies the viewer can't begin to count them. Imperialism gave birth to all of this, the narrator intones, and continues to give it birth. These images are then followed by a long splice,

5 minutes and 26 seconds, showing footage of the Ku Klux Klan marching and burning crosses. It will do anything, the film says, to hurt the Soviet Union. There is footage then of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of the Vietnam War (particularly graphic footage of beatings of Vietnamese, of firing squads, of a man set on fire, writhing in death throes). There are shots of American planes unloading their supplies of bombs over Vietnam. There is footage from Chile, where, it is asserted, General Pinochet is aided by former Nazis. The same pattern is followed in El Salvador. Clashes in Israel are shown next. The narrator announces that Israel has been censured by the United Nations for its "racism and terrorism." Zionism is even willing to make friends with the Ukrainian Black Hundreds, and footage follows of demonstrations in the United States by Ukrainian nationalists. The Ukrainians come together because "their hate for the USSR is greater than their hate for each other."

The last images of the film show some hope: the people rising up against their oppressors. There are shots of blacks in the United States demonstrating, though being beaten for their activism. There are people all over the world protesting their degradation. A flower has been placed in a huge gun barrel.

The message of the film is given at the end by the narrator: "We did everything so that Babi Yar would not happen in America, so that German troops would not land in England." The Soviet Union thus absorbed these unimaginable horrors and sacrifices to

stop the forward thrust of fascism, and the pictures are extremely powerful and scarcely bearable. But that is not the only message of the film. The most serious "lesson" of Babi Yar is that fascism has continued, primarily in the United States, the site and source for such activity, and in South Africa, Israel, and Chile. It is there that fascism continues.

Fascism, according to the film, has a double face. On the one hand, it is racism, and reference is made to the United Nations' determination that Zionism is a form of racism. Thus the actions of Israel, South Africa, and the American neo-Nazis and the Klan display graphically the visage of militant racism. But there is another lesson to be learned from the contemporary heirs of the Nazis. The goal of fascism is the destruction of communism in the USSR. This goal is also part of the activities of those states which are shown in the film. The technique of montage, of splicing without lead-in, has been a staple of propaganda films since Eisenstein, and it is effectively used here. This is a powerful film.

The virulent anti-America message of this film, it seems to me, is a clear response to the initial thrust of the Reagan administration. The message of the film does relate to the effect and consequences of militant anti-communism and seems directed, without mentioning the Reagan administration, to the new posture of the United States. It seems to relate, too, to the more energetic and aggressive campaign of information dis-

semination (called by Chernenko "information intervention" and by Gorbachev "information imperialism") on the part of the American government. In visual terms the impact of this film was undoubtedly great, and the audience can be estimated at over one hundred million viewers.

Jurmala: Two Positions

Broadcast October 5, 1986

5:40-6:40 p.m.

Like other of the programs that Vladimir Pozner hosted in 1986, this was a breakthrough. Earlier in the year, in January, he had presented to the Soviet viewing public the first genuine adversarial debate with an American. The next month, he hosted the first--and most astonishing--of the Pozner/Donahue "Citizens' Summit" programs. Unlike other well known and highly visible journalists of the important "political observer" rank, Pozner developed programs that were quite fair representations of both sides' point of view. The Jurmala program pushed the notion of debate even further: unlike the January and February programs, this one involved public officials and former public officials from each country. The level of debate was thus more informed and professional, and the numbers of the debaters was sufficiently large to ensure that the Soviet television audience was exposed at some length to several different--and sometimes hostile--points of view. Pozner, who edited the program, picked a certain mix and presented a certain emphasis (in terms of allotted time) of the points of view and participants. Later talks with American participants suggested to me that this overall allocation of time and views was representative of the Jurmala meeting itself.

The program began, as do most Soviet public affairs "specials," with an introduction by the host. Pozner in the studio

tells the television audience that this is a unique program, where citizens were able to learn about each other not from newspaper, radio, television, or other mediated forms, but from each other. He then described this "town meeting," the continuation of the Chautauqua event held the year before. This meeting, in the Latvian resort town of Jurmala, brought together some 2,000 people, 250 of whom had come from the United States. The meetings lasted for five days and produced some 25 hours of videotape. The program Pozner is to present is organized by topic, since each day was devoted to different topics.

Day One: Soviet-American Relations.

The televised version of this session begins with Vladimir Petrovsky, a deputy foreign minister. Petrovsky notes that relations are at a low point, and that both sides influence these relations. The United States, he argues, often displays a gap between public rhetoric and actions, and he would want these meetings to have a real impact on relations, to produce a concrete result. His own government feels what he calls a "deficit of trust" in American policy, and he adds that there is no anti-Americanism in the USSR and hopes that there is no anti-Sovietism in the United States.

Petrovsky is followed by Jack Matlock, who was given three and three-quarter minutes (long, by television standards) to argue--in Russian--the American position. He thanks the

organizers and asks why these two nations, who have never fought each other, have no territorial conflicts, and want peace so much, are nonetheless so often opponents. Matlock answers the question by going back over history. He begins with the October Revolution, and notes that tension increased when the Soviet leaders, following the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, proclaimed their system to be the enemy of other systems and viewed the world as a battleground which would end with the victory of their model. It is because of this worldview, Matlock goes on to say, that Americans expect that in the foreseeable future the two countries will continue to be competitors in many fields. Matlock also registers an objection to the use of force to incorporate Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and upholds the refusal of the United States to recognize this action. Continuing to review history, Matlock talks about what he regards as a beneficent, peace-keeping action: in the 1950s the United States took part in the United Nations effort in Korea, and later, at the request of South Vietnam, assisted that country against North Vietnam. This comment produces laughter in the audience. Because of the editing that had to be done to reduce a very long meeting to one hour, it is difficult to know exactly when the laughter was produced. However, it is likely that the justification of an American military intervention, couched in terms so close to the justification of an unpopular Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, did indeed provoke laughter at what might well have

been thought the transparency of the rationale.

Matlock ends his contribution by citing some important principles of the American belief system: principles at variance, he believes, with Soviet practices. For example, Americans feel that citizens of any country should have freedom of travel; that they should be able to enter into contact with others; that they should be guaranteed freedom of religion; and they should be able freely to express their opinions.

After Matlock's speech, written questions were passed to the stage from the large audience in the hall. Pozner read one that told Matlock that his facts were wrong: it was the United States that acted against the Soviet Union (the Intervention). Matlock replies to this that Soviet ideology is not accepted by other countries, but that after the First World War the Americans prevented shipments of arms to Germans in Arkhangelsk and prevented the annexation of the Soviet Far East by Japan.

Vitaly Zhurkin, of the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada, calls Matlock's speech destructive and says he counted 21 errors in the portrayal of historical facts. He refers to the image that Americans hold of the Soviet Union as the enemy and says that even the invasion of Grenada is explained by the American government as a move to stop the Russians.

The microphone is then given (for almost 2 minutes) to an elderly American woman in the audience. She says that our planet is terminally ill, and the panelists are just like little boys

jockeying to get ahead of each other, unaware of the looming problems of a far more serious nature. Perhaps your governments should fire all of you, because under your stewardship the dangers have been increasing. Both countries, she argues, need better housing, more goods, and women ought to have been members of the panel.

Day Two: The Arms Race

Strobe Talbott leads off with a two and a quarter-minute talk, beginning in Russian and changing to English. He presents some American complaints: that the USSR has too large an arsenal and that suggests first-strike capability. He next points to the fact that the USSR has three times the number of American land-based nuclear warheads. He supports SDI because it will allow reductions in number of warheads without compromising security. He next questions the sincerity of the Soviet moratorium (then in effect), saying that it was scheduled at a time most beneficial to the USSR and least beneficial to the US, and that is why it remains unrealistic.

General Nikolai Chervov, who responds to Talbott, argues that solutions must be found, but that Talbott failed to mention that the US has three times the number of submarine-based warheads and many times the number of bomber-based warheads. SDI, Chervov says, would allow the United States to threaten the Soviet Union from the protection of space and would eliminate the Soviet

Union's second-strike capacity. SDI is not defensive; it is an offensive weapon, and, with respect to nuclear testing, the United States is trying to tip the balance in its favor.

An American woman in the audience is given the microphone for 47 seconds, to ask why not start an arms race in the opposite direction: the race to disarm?

General Mikhail Milshtein (Rtd.) announces that the USSR is for complete disarmament, including conventional and chemical arms.

Day Three: Regional Conflicts

Helmut Sonnenfeldt leads off; like Matlock, he is given a considerable slice of time (almost three and a half minutes). He lists the areas of the world in which the Soviet involvement creates threats to stability. He begins with Central America and argues that the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are no better than the the Somozistas. In Angola, with Soviet support, one of the three contending groups took control of the country. "Whether I like it or not, or whether you like it or not, South Africa will not allow Angola, with its Cuban backers, to reach the borders of Namibia." As for Afghanistan, the solution to that war must include a government that would allow the refugees, who number some 25 percent of the population, to return voluntarily. Next on the list are Soviet bases: he argues that Soviet military bases exist where none had been before. What your constitution

calls support of National Liberation movements, we call Soviet imperialism. It is obviously a very adversarial speech.

Nikolai Shishlin counters that domestic conflicts can grow into regional conflicts and in our times can develop into global conflicts. The Nicaraguan revolution would have remained a domestic problem, had not the United States intervened. He asks: "How can this tiny country march 2,000 miles through Mexico to threaten the United States?" He goes on to ask "Who needs war in Afghanistan?...Does the Soviet Union need war when it is losing people?...War is needed by those who want the Soviet Union to experience more difficulties."

A question to Sonnenfeldt read by Pozner asks if the American can name any regions that are not related to the national security of the United States. In his 36-second answer, Sonnenfeldt argues that there are many such regions, but with the presence of Soviet forces, regions become questions of American national security.

A question is put to the Soviet panelists: Why doesn't the Soviet government allow the Baltic peoples to vote freely whether or not they wish to remain part of the Soviet Union? Shishlin answers: "The Soviet Union is not a region of national security to us" (laughter in the audience). " Now we find regional conflicts inside the USSR" (laughter). He dismisses the question by saying he does not want to lecture on popular history.

But Georgi Kornienko, of the International Department, does answer: Even though the United States does not formally recognize

Latvia as part of the Soviet Union, all of the Americans implicitly recognized Soviet authority by traveling to Latvia with Soviet visas. As to the other points raised by Sonnenfeldt, Kornienko argues that when the American returns home he should read Congressional documents indicating that the CIA was responsible for the beginning of the disintegration of the government in Angola.

After this sparring, an elderly American woman in the audience asks plaintively is there is anything that can unite the two adversaries again--anything that can produce the alliance of the Second World War.

Jeffrey Kemp answers that at that time both countries cooperated to fight the same enemy, and he hopes there will not be another war. But we can work together in the battle against terrorism.

If one were to follow the written record of this often very sharp debate, it would not be possible to appreciate the visual dynamics and thus to estimate its impact on the very large audience that watched it. Shishlin, in my view, was one of the most effective spokesmen on the Soviet panel. He was fully at ease, casual, almost collegiate (as was Pozner) in appearance. They were, moreover, very agile in responding in a reasonable and low-key manner. If one may judge "winning" and "losing" from afar, the Soviet side may well have won this round in the battle for the larger television public. What went on in the hall, and

who swayed whom there, may be another matter. It underlines the problem of addressing two audiences at once: the live audience in the studio or the auditorium and that unknown, much larger audience of unseen television viewers. The most successful of the participants were able to address both simultaneously. However, in order to do that the participant must have a good sense of the predispositions and contours of that larger, unseen television audience. Very few public speakers have the ability to do so in a foreign country, a different culture. It is precisely that ability that makes Pozner so effective on American television (until he suffered from overexposure--another problem, altogether).

On another issue, looking back at Shishlin's dismissive remarks about Soviet nationality issues, it should be said that while these issues have now come to the fore with explosive intensity, one must wonder about the depth of Shishlin's perceptions and his sensitivity to both issues and audiences in the Soviet Union. At that time, of course, he was echoing the long-standing policy and position on the issue, but clearly the perception and understanding of the problem should have been growing a year and a half after Gorbachev's accession to power.

Day Four: The Mass Media

It is a significant indicator of the Soviet strategy of media change--even media revolution--that one-quarter of the conference

was devoted to the role of the mass media. On this day, Vladimir Lomeiko (former press secretary and then special ambassador) began with a reference to John Steinbeck's Travels with Charley. He recounted how, in a small town in Minnesota, since nobody had ever met a Russian, the Russians could be blamed for everything. Linus Pauling, the double Nobel laureate, Lomeiko says, argued in his speech at Hiroshima that Americans allow increases in military spending because they simply do not know the truth and are frightened of the Soviet threat. The role of the mass media, in Lomeiko's view, is to increase mutual trust.

There are two major American speakers on this panel. The first, to whom is accorded the larger part of the time, is Ben Wattenberg, editor of Public Opinion. Wattenberg devotes his time to citing findings of polls: when asked which country is most likely to use force to achieve its goals, 81% in the United Kingdom said the USSR; and that figure for France was 77%; for Italy, 75%; and for West Germany, 77%.

Lomeiko appears at ease in countering this presentation. He argues that American domestic propaganda maligns not only the Soviet Union's government, but its people, as well. Some 44% of Americans polled did not know that the Soviet Union and the United States were on the same side during the Second World War; 28% thought they were enemies. Besides, Lomeiko said, many war criminals still work at Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, and one can hardly expect to hear the truth from them (Wattenberg was identified as a member of the board of RL/RFE).

Pozner next reads a question: Who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima? Some 44% of Japanese children and 70% of French children believe it was the USSR. Does Wattenberg consider the mass media responsible for the misperception?

Wattenberg's reply: the bombing of Hiroshima saved the lives of thousands of Americans, millions of Japanese, and, since the Soviet Union was also at war with Japan, the lives of Soviet citizens as well. This is greeted with mixed signals from the audience: applause as well as whistles of opposition.

An American woman in the audience asks a question: since so many Soviet commentators appear on American television, when will American commentators appear on Soviet television? Pozner answers that it is true that Soviet journalists do appear more often, but personally, he says, we should allow American views more often and, if I had the power, I would invite Mr. Wattenberg. Pozner has been instrumental in enabling the American presence to be seen and heard on Soviet television. He began the practice in January 1986, and it has developed rapidly since. His wish to invite Wattenberg does accurately reflect the television dynamics of this panel, in which Wattenberg's rather aggressive presentation of statistics was effectively countered by the more telling--and to Soviets, shocking--statistics about the degree of ignorance--or animus--of American citizens.

The next speaker is Frederick Starr of Oberlin College. He tries to suggest a new framework for interactions, based on the

notion that both sides need new rules and that both sides are cognitively impaired in their views of each other. First, both must accept the existence of differences in views; second, both must accept the premise that the mental abilities of representatives of both sides are equal; third, everyone makes mistakes; fourth, compromises are necessary; and fifth, treat others as you would want them to treat you.

Questions and Answers

The last section of the program is devoted to questions and observations from people in the audience. An American woman says that she has received excellent hospitality; a Soviet woman, in response to a question about parenting, answers that the mother is most important, although the school helps. Pozner has to add that fathers are important, too. An American questioner asks what Russians like most about Americans, and the answer is their relaxed manners, humor, and that they are practical (thinking to bring blankets to the cold hall). A Latvian woman asks how American women feel about pornography and violence on television and in the press. The American responds that as mother and grandmother she opposes them, and that there are many groups trying to curtail them. However, it is difficult to achieve in a country of unlimited freedom, where there is no censorship of these materials. An American male asks the Soviets if one must be a member of the Communist Party in order to receive a good

apartment or car. A young Soviet woman answers that she is not a member of the Party, but has an apartment and car, "which I can show you." The last question comes from a Soviet woman, who asks all women who are for war, for the killing of their children, to raise their hands. No one does. The woman continues: if women had to decide the question of war and peace, this question would be decided in the hall right now.

Pozner closes the program by saying to the Soviet viewing public that there is a line from a popular song that says "I can't give you anything but love." No, he says, there is much more the two sides can give each other, and the exchanges he has shown on this program should make us optimistic.

"Travelers' Club: The Subjugated Desert"
Broadcast October 19, 1986
11:30 a.m.- 12:30 p.m.

This travel documentary, a show from the very popular series, "Travelers' Club," features the American desert. In the studio are host Iu. Senkevich and guest scholar, Igor Malashenko, from the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada. The program alternates between film, taken from a French series called "Great Deserts of the World," and in-studio comment from the host and guest. During the filmed portions it is sometimes possible to hear the soundtrack of the French narration, with Russian-language soundtrack recorded over it. At times, perhaps most of time, the Russian narration replicates the French; at other times it departs from the French. Because the sound levels are not constant, it is not possible to analyze this aspect of the program systematically. However, the practice of interspersing portions of the French documentary with studio discussion permits the Soviet hosts to add questions they think important to highlight for the Soviet audience.

In the studio, Malashenko is introduced--a serious, owlish young man who has traveled in the United States and has studied the West.

The film portion begins by noting the extremely high temperatures encountered in the desert in America and goes on to give

something of the history of the movement West. It describes conflicts with American Indians and the history of the Mormons as a major resettlement. The film is partly contemporary documentary and partly clips from Western movies.

Back in the studio, the discussion focuses on the Mormons. It is said that this is a religion established by Americans (and therefore, the most "American" of religions) and that their work ethic is a positive element, as is their spirit of self-sacrifice, especially for material results. They do not consume alcohol or caffeine, the Soviet audience is told. The host asks Malashenko if, perhaps, the Mormons should then be regarded with sympathy. Malashenko observes that, as in common with new sects, the Mormons were the object of religious persecution, but it is also true that they invited it. The discussion turns to the question of polygamy, a less attractive aspect of the Mormon faith.

The French documentary has reenacted what the original Mormons must have looked like in their trek West, but the Soviet narrator doubts it was as picturesque. It is said that Mormons control Salt Lake City and the state of Utah. They have missionaries in many foreign countries; with their aggressive conduct, they sometimes alienate other religions.

After shots of the Grand Canyon, the narrator of the film describes what happens when land-use practices are unregulated: the result is the dustbowl of the 1930s, the setting for The

Grapes of Wrath. Scenes from a dust storm in a black-and-white movie follow. Then old newsreels show the construction of the Hoover Dam and its dedication by President Roosevelt. A number of water conservation and irrigation techniques are shown and described; the water question, however, remains a critical issue. Aerial shots show swimming-pools in back of virtually every house in a suburban community. This part of the film ends with a shot of a cowboy.

We go back to the studio for a discussion of cowboys: there are two types, Malashenko tells the viewing audience: the real ones and the Hollywood kind. The real ones are shown in a book of photographs he has brought back from the United States. Here the viewer sees the ordinary work of cowboys. The Hollywood variety, though, is said to spring from the romanticization of crime. These cowboys were actually "bandits." Billy the Kid killed 21 people, but in Western movies he is portrayed as a "Western Robin Hood," blurring the distinction between good and evil. It is, the host remarks, quite subtle propaganda. The guest agrees that the advertising industry uses this in, for example, the ads for Marlboro cigarettes, which are based on the propaganda of the image of the cowboy.

Back in the French film, clips from Western movies are shown, and they feature violence: the white hats versus the black hats. At the same time, the beauty of the desert is stressed. Here, it is said, economic development is outpacing that of the rest of the country, especially in electronic industries.

Back in the studio, talk turns to the "militarization" of the desert. The host observes that this is a "reflection of the general militarization of the economy of the United States." Malashenko notes that the largest factory in Tucson produces "toxic rockets"; that nuclear tests have changed the appearance of the desert, leaving huge craters. A Stealth plane crashed near Las Vegas.

The French documentary continues, describing the use of solar energy in Phoenix. Most of the people who live in the Southwest moved there to escape the noise and dirt of New England. Recreation is now an industry (specifically El Mirage, which features dune buggy racing and motorized gliders). The preservation of the desert has become an issue, as it degrades daily. The film shows an interview with an activist about the importance of preservation.

The effects of capitalism can be seen, on the one hand, in the ghost towns left from the Gold Rush, and on the other, in modern Las Vegas, called one of the poorest cities in the country, in spite of the gambling industry. Many Americans, the film reports, are still moving West to catch "the always elusive American dream." The French film ends here, with a sequence of shots of cars pulling recreational vehicles as they seek happiness in the West.

In the studio, Malashenko adds a final note. Indeed, the desert has been subjugated, and that was the task of the last

century. The task of the present, though, is to save the desert.

The Camera Looks at the World (Mass Media in the United States)
Broadcast October 30, 1986
20:00-21:00 p.m.

The Camera Looks at the World is a popular and interesting program. Each broadcast looks at a different topic; the American mass media were the subject of this day's program. It was hosted by political observer Dmitri Biriukov, host of the later program, "Warning."

It begins with shots of people in Texas destroying their television sets to protest the negative influence of the medium. Biriukov interviews another political commentator, Grigory Oganov, from the newspaper Sovetskaya kultura. Oganov declares that violence dominates American television programs, citing "The A Team" as an example. It contains 47 acts of violence in a 30 minute segment.

The effect on the world outside the United States is discussed next. In fact, American mass media penetrate the globe, with unhealthy effects. A Swedish office worker, Anita Berg, says that she finds that many people are influenced by these programs, in which it is force that solves problems. The young are especially vulnerable to the message of violence. A Greek journalist finds that these films teach people to be violent and disrespectful.

Not only do American programs spread the cult of violence; in their wake they destroy native values. Thus Valentin Gubernatov, Soviet television correspondent in Sweden, finds that, because of the new technologies of satellite transmission, television has introduced so many new channels that Swedes are in danger of forgetting their own cultural values.

After a clip from a Billy Joel video, Biriukov turns the monitor off to address the audience: "We will talk about informational imperialism...we will focus on how American mass culture is exported through film and television." He describes something of the technical aspects of cable and satellite television, noting their vastly increased reach. He follows the path of the imperialism of mass culture, from Coca-Cola, at first, then Pepsi-Cola and American cigarettes. Now, however, the export of mass culture has become much more sophisticated, and youth are the main target.

A montage follows, showing bits of a Crystal Lite commercial, Good Morning, America, and CNN Headline News. Then Oganov states that in an American survey people were asked what television is, and they responded that it is "chewing-gum for the eyes" and "the most effective marketer of products." But the effects on foreign countries include more overtly political and anti-communist directions: An expert in Vienna argues that American propaganda in Europe has intensified and cites "Rambo" and "Red Dawn." The message, in his view, involves hatred of Russians and the sense

that war is normal. "The aim of the Americans is to modernize Goebbels." Film clips from "Rambo" follow. The identification of Americans with Nazis is more vividly displayed in the televised film of Babi Yar, but the "lesson" is the same here.

Oganov argues that television programming is one of the causes of the increase in anti-Sovietism, and shows clips of a Rambo cartoon. The creator says that Rambo is an authentic hero, that he kills for a purpose, as did those heroes who served kings and governments in the past.

The scene changes back to Europe, showing an American army store in Vienna, American films showing in movie theaters there, and in Athens and Madrid. "If movie posters were the only indicator, then you couldn't tell one capital from another." Such is the spread and the reach of the imperialism of American mass culture.

An interview with a Spanish actor and producer, Ferdinando Gomez, tells the audience that now cinema means American films, and that even though Hollywood has produced many classics, the majority of its films are not good ones. A West German theater manager reveals that the majority of the customers are young and that they come to see American films, while West German films are mostly for families with children: a healthier, if less popular alternative.

Correspondent Vladimir Kondratev visits the official West German office that is charged with monitoring mass media with a

negative influence on youth. The head of this office tells the Soviet correspondent that it is against German law to influence the production of films. But after the release of a film, if people complain about it, the office can review them. Some 1,111 films have been withdrawn; over 400 of them were American. To an American viewer, that only 1/3 of the withdrawn films were American might well contradict the movie's thesis about the overwhelming influence of destructive American images.

After clips from a James Bond movie and other films, the television viewers are told that West Germany is the largest importer of American films, followed by France, Japan, the United Kingdom and Canada. Every second ticket sold is for an American film. A West German teenager says that he likes American films because they are filled with action. A Spanish teenager likes the action and the fighting.

After more clips from "Rambo," the commentator offers an important theoretical connection: "The action is not as unfamiliar to Americans as it is to us [in the Soviet Union], because they see it in different variations during their news programs." This is an important statement, one that, according to media research in the United States, is correct in locating the culture of news transmission within the overall culture of entertainment television. A great deal has been written about the interplay between news and entertainment. In part it relates to form: the use of the narrative form within each day's indi-

vidual news stories. In part, it relates to a commercial requirement to end news programs with upbeat "closers" to maintain the audience for the entertainment news stories to follow. But perhaps the clearest and most openly articulated connection between entertainment and news was the philosophy of CBS's Van Gordon Sauter, who sought to blur the line between the two. It is a point that could have been developed in a more thoughtful and probing program, but the thrust of this Soviet broadcast is confined to broader brushstrokes of information imperialism and anti-communism.

Oganov remarks that Hollywood has been training actors like Stallone for a long time; his job is to fight "reds." He turned down an interview for this program. Stallone represents the democratization of Superman, not tall or blond, but of Italian descent.

The Gosteleradio correspondent in Greece interviews a Greek university student, who concludes that American films influence Greek life because of their portrayal of the American way of life, thinking, and attitudes, including, attitudes toward the Vietnam war. After some footage from a CBS Evening News story on violence in prime-time programming, a Greek man says that violence on television concerns many Greeks. Sometimes, he notes ruefully, we hear the Greek language only on the news programs.

A Swedish media professional finds that some of the cable programs broadcast in his country are good; some are not. The

influence of American mass media is very strong, and cable merely adds to it rather than offering a genuine alternative. The solution would be the production of more programs in "our language."

The theme of language imperialism and the resultant decline of the indigenous language is carried to a Greek video store, whose owner informs the Soviet correspondent that, of the 1100 cassettes in stock, only 20 have Greek names. This is an upscale neighborhood, where American films are preferred. One-third of the clients are between 16 and 18, and they prefer action movies such as "Rocky" and "Rambo."

In his concluding remarks Biriukov links television and violence in the United States. He argues that this link has been established by research. Children are influenced by what they see and some might well wish to replicate the actions they watch on television. In an interview with noted German film director Margarete von Trotta, the issue of imperialism is brought up very directly. She finds that the West German movie market is economically dependent on the United States. However, she does not see a linear effect: although American films are immensely popular, "we also have the strongest peace movement." Biriukov comments that von Trotta is optimistic, but he doubts that it is warranted. He closes by posing a question: What will the Europeans say when they realize the full danger of such technological progress?

"McDonald's" (Segment of International Panorama, November 9, 1986)
Length of segment: 8 minutes 5 seconds.

International Panorama is shown every Sunday at 6:00 p.m. It has a magazine format, with a number of individual filmed segments on various international issues. On this day one of the segments was devoted to the American fast-food chain, McDonald's. The correspondent was Washington-based Soviet correspondent Vladimir Dunaev, a veteran journalist, who before his sudden death two years later, effectively reoriented the substance and image of coverage of the United States for Soviet news programs.

In his brief lead-in, Dunaev announces that he is going to the street for the rich to find one place everyone can afford. The street is Fifth Avenue. Many in the Soviet viewing audience would have seen a Soviet documentary, aired twice during the spring of 1986, called "The Man from Fifth Avenue." That documentary drew sharp distinctions between the lives of the very rich at one end of Fifth Avenue and those of the poor, mainly minorities, at the other end. However, Dunaev, who did not do that documentary, is here drawing a positive example--one to be emulated--from the experience of another Fifth Avenue establishment, the McDonald's at Fifth Avenue and 34th Street.

Dunaev first notes that although this is one of the busiest places in America, this is not a fashionable restaurant (i.e.,

not upscale). Further, Dunaev does not find much choice: French fried potatoes, hamburgers, drinks (including, he says, iced tea, a weakness of Americans). The question he poses himself--and the viewer--is the following: How can this expensive real estate be occupied, not by a luxury shop or high-priced restaurant, but by a zabegalovka (fast-food place)? The answer is profit and volume: some 3,000-3,500 people eat here every day, and it is open from early morning to late at night. Dunaev supplies more figures: McDonald's has 7,000 restaurants in the United States and 2,000 in 40 other countries. Some seventeen million people are served every day in the United States.

Dunaev arrives at the Fifth Avenue McDonald's in time for lunch. He looks around and notes that although this is a very busy hour there is no line--surely an observation that is not lost on the Soviet audience. Dunaev discusses the attractions of McDonald's with the people eating there. It appears spontaneous, casual and very candid. He asks a young female office-worker why she comes here. She answers that McDonald's serves good, inexpensive, and fast food. She works around the corner and finds this location very convenient. A housewife with two small boys finds McDonald's quiet, not crowded; her mother says her grandchildren, the two boys, like McDonald's. They have come in to the city from Long Island. A young black businessman finds McDonald's clean, good, and inexpensive. He goes on to tell Dunaev that it would be good for you (the USSR) to have

McDonald's. When Dunaev asks him if he has visited the Soviet Union, the answer is no, not yet. Two female tourists from Australia are among the people eating at McDonald's, and they are surprised that Dunaev asks them if this is the first time they have eaten at a McDonald's. No, they answer, there are some very near where they live in Australia. They, too, say that eating there is fast and inexpensive.

What are the secrets of McDonald's? In this well-organized piece of reporting, the next part takes Dunaev into the kitchen. He notes that everything is prepared in advance; it works like a conveyer belt. He asks: "Remember our food factories of the 1930s and house kitchens of the 1950s? Why did we lose the experience?" The next "secret" is disposable packaging and serving. The third "secret" is labor: he finds young people working there: teenagers between 14 and 19. It is, he says, an American tradition to teach children independence, to prepare them for adult life. Moreover, the opportunity for young people to work provides additional income for needy families, while children of wealthy families learn the value of money and the importance of an occupation. Dunaev announces that statistics show that the rates of unemployment are much lower among those who, at some time, have worked at McDonald's. Rather than stunting the development of young people, this work experience enhances their lives. They are not, Dunaev makes sure to state, locked into an onerous schedule; there is flexibility and freedom. The young

people tell the manager one week in advance what their schedule will be. Generally they like to work as many hours as they can. True, Dunaev notes, their wages are the minimum, but any income, he says, is important to the teenagers. An additional positive element of this practice, Dunaev says, is that the schools are also pleased, because McDonald's provides work experience for the young people: i.e., it could be looked at as adjunct education.

The holder of this McDonald's franchise is a young man. He has been in the business for thirteen years. He pays the company for all products and equipment and keeps all the profits. He employs, in his three franchises, five managers and sixty teenagers. The managers must be prepared to do everything: accounting, instruction, labor management. To break even there must be 20,000 customers a week, and if a customer has a complaint he receives a new tray immediately and without question.

It is obvious that, in this eight-minute piece, Dunaev has put before the Soviet television viewing audience a series of lessons: they involve the role of individual initiative; the importance of labor organization; the benefits of inducting younger people into the workforce on a flexible basis; the impact of the profit incentive; the energy released by removal of targets, plans, and micromanagement from above; the absolute necessity for cleanliness; the effect of consumer satisfaction, rather than producer-driven practices. There is also a message about labor: the receipt of profits and the attainment of suc-

cess require hard labor and dedicated attention. This is set against unemployment, increasingly an element discussed in economic reform in the Soviet Union. The message about the American work ethic could not be clearer.

There is also another broad conclusion to be derived from the lessons of McDonald's, and that relates to the acceptability of experience such as this for a socialist society. All classes, all races, are equally served and equally satisfied by the McDonald's product and process. It is a broad and, apparently, class-neutral employer, producer, and educator. Thus the potential for transplantation of this feature of American life and its economy is presented as entirely possible without the distorting or disabling (in the socialist sense) effects of the system in which it exists. Dunaev's last line in this story announces to his Soviet audience that the report he has just given is not for tourists who plan to come to the United States and eat in restaurants, but rather with the hope that perhaps "we" in the Soviet Union can utilize some of what we have seen. If the example is one drawn from the United States, the most important magnet for the Soviet viewer, it is that much more effective. It is the United States that can be the educator, with the lessons properly drawn, the context properly defanged, and the effect shown clearly in the most visual of media.

What is There in Bright Packaging?
What Does the Mass Culture of the West Serve?
Broadcast April 21, 1987
17:20-17:51 p.m.

Unlike its predecessor of the fall before, this program on American mass culture is a superficial account, basically unresearched, of the influence of American mass culture and, in the eyes of the Soviet broadcasters, its aggressive anti-Soviet activity. Yuri Filonov, host of the program, addresses it to Soviet youth, who write so many letters to Komsomolskaya Pravda asking about the contradictions in capitalist culture. This program deals with rock music and film.

In the first part, the subject is music. Attention is focused on a trio of personalities, American jazz musician Paul Winter, American actor Kris Kristofferson, and Soviet child pianist Polina Osetinskaya. In an interview, Polina says that she "hates" contemporary music, with the exception of jazz. She plays a "cool jazz" duet with Winter. Winter and Osetinskaya understand each other very well through the music, they say. "Music unites people." But, the host asks, can music also divide people?

Cut to screaming rock videos and hysterical fans, bursts of flame. The host talks about British antiwar rock group, Red Wedge. Rock is, the Soviet host remarks, a protest--against the

generation of the fathers. Rock can fan hatred; it can be anti-humanistic and anti-socialist, a narcotic, erasing emotions. But there is a type, like Red Wedge, that marches for peace, that is against "nuclear madness" and "racial injustice." It can unite in its ranks people of very different political directions. There is next an extended clip from the Sun City video against apartheid, showing RUN-D.M.C., Nona Hendrykh, Bruce Springsteen, and others.

The next part deals with film, in particular, American anti-Sovietism. The showing of "Amerika" earlier that year is discussed, and footage is shown, together with the harsh Wendy's ads. Kristofferson has been seduced, the program says, to betray his principles. Kristofferson is interviewed next. He talks about "Amerika" and his role in it. He states that yes, he can imagine such a film being done in the Soviet Union, but he hopes that it would elicit the same protests and that the same number of people would object to it. He argues that the Russians sincerely want peace and since they have suffered from war much more than have Americans, Russians understand the consequences much more than do Americans.

The program ends on a theoretical note. There is a profound paradox or contradiction in capitalist culture. A person such as Kristofferson may propagate certain individual views that he himself holds, but he is required to act in a film at variance with those views. He cannot free himself from the cultural frame in

which he is trapped. Others do try to fight it, but most must operate within the frame of the culture that dictates their politics.

There are shots of "Rambo" next, and the Soviet program host talks about the violent anti-Sovietism and chauvinism it preaches. The purpose, just as the origins of the Cold War, is to construct an enemy: to shape public opinion, to frighten the public so that vast military budgets will be possible. It is all in the service of that military-industrial complex that profits so handily from the false images of the enemy.

There are those who can penetrate the logic of this stance, and these are the demonstrators and honest people who say no. There are shots of antiwar rallies in Western Europe, as the program concludes.

"Warning"

Broadcast March 19, 1988

11:23 p.m. - 12:12 a.m.

On March 19, 1988 a one-hour program, "Warning," was broadcast in the late evening. This show was well-produced, visually interesting, and fast-paced. It contained numerous arresting images, many of them (and the accompanying music) threatening. By the end of the program it became apparent that the title refers to two kinds of warnings: one warning is addressed to those who might be enthralled by mystical Eastern cults. The other sense in which the title is used is a warning--mainly to Soviet youth--of the legal boundaries beyond which they must not go.

"Warning" targets the United States in many different ways; even the segments primarily about the Soviet Union touch on the West or the United States. Thus it is important to analyze in some detail the many dimensions of this recent program.

The host of the program is political observer Dmitri Biriukov. The theme is identified right away: Mysticism as enemy of Marxism. The threat from the West is put simply: "Better mysticism than Marxism." If the reason is stupified, the narration goes, "the person ceases to be a person." There are exotic, but also frightening, images of flames, masks, hands, Eastern dances. The program will expose the mystical religions and their "attempts to create branches in our own country."

What is the motivation? According to Biriukov, "certain foreign circles" want to propagandize the non-materialist view. The magazine Glasnost is cited (and shown): the issue of September 1987 is devoted to the study of religion and religious believers in the USSR. Biriukov notes that in its style and typography it resembles "such publications as NTS's Posev." It should be noted that a year later, in Moscow News, queries about customs regulations brought the response that, although numerous changes had been made and the list of prohibited items made much more restrictive, the publications of Posev were still to be confiscated at the airport. In "Warning" a major theme of the program is that foreign subversive sources are supporting the demands for religion that seemingly emanate from Soviet sources.

The first of the seven sections of the program is called "Going Astray" (Zabluzhdenie). It is about the introduction of Hare Krishna practices into the Soviet Union and the results there among youth. The section begins with a statement that the Krishna sect became popular in the United States in the 1960s. People were diverted from taking hold of their fate, from productivity. Certain Western and especially American sources are making attempts, the program states, to spread this among "our youth." There are pictures of women chanting, pictures of Indian religious figures. In "some of our large cities," the program goes on to say, this has led to "violations of laws." It reflects "contacts with foreign emissaries." There follows

footage of physical contortions associated with mystical religious practices.

The program goes on to note that the Soviet followers of this cult often end up on trial and in jail. They are taught by their newfound religion that "communism is a big deceit." The viewer sees followers of Hare Krishna repeat endlessly a few words, chanting hypnotically to free themselves of all problems. A woman is interviewed. She calls the cult a form of bourgeois ideology against Soviet society. It was shameful, she said, to see a 22-year-old Komsomol member destroy his membership card. Young people under the spell of the Krishnas do not read newspapers or listen to the radio. She paints a picture of young people totally removed from the channels of socialization--a fully developed alternative, a counterculture.

A mature Armenian woman, dressed in black, is interviewed at length, speaking in her own language while the Russian narrator does a voice-over. She was a happy mother, with two sons, Karen and Armen. They were good students and received higher education. They started to grow distant, to come home late. They began to associate with "doubtful people." They began to say that the most important element of life was the soul, not parents. Everything but the soul is mere material, superfluous. In her words: "Then I hear that Lyuda, whom Armen was to marry, was coming to Erevan. He had no desire to see her, his fiancée. So as not to leave her on the street, I went to the airport."

She told her son: "'Is that any way to behave?' He said that fiancée--that understanding does not exist." That is material substance, only the soul matters. In 1984 Karen went away to visit a friend, Mikhail Mukundadates, and never returned home. One of Armen's girlfriends was also taken there and told people that she was given strange food and was poisoned. There is more footage of people chanting.

A pediatrician is shown, in white coat, discussing the nutritional problems that result from adherence to the mystical cults. Because of the beliefs about transmigration of souls and the notion of animals and their souls, the cult neglects the needs of its children, who are becoming undernourished. This eventually affects mental development, and it has been found, she says, that children of parents who are Krishna followers are from 1 to 1½ years behind their peers in school. In vain the cult followers are told to look to the future, and the care of their children, instead of to Hare Krishna and their own souls.

The next section begins with the statement that it appears that spiritual life is a cover for illegal activities. "Pokushenie" (Assassination Attempt) is the title of this section. It is about the activities of Mikhail Sorbuchev, leader of a religious sect, who has been arrested and is on trial. The religious organization was a cover for a criminal organization. It did publish brochures and leaflets, and it is not accidental, the narrator says, that the Chinese figure, symbol of the sect,

has a swastika in the center. The members of the organization practice karate and other martial arts and, it is said, Sorbuchev uses the "practice of leaders of certain foreign sects" and the "experience of illegal brochures." A schoolchild is shown: witness at Sorbuchev's trial; his face is obscured, and he speaks of abuse and beating.

The next section is called "Murder" (Ubiistvo). This part shows a trial in the Karakalpak ASSR. Mirza Kumbarbaev works on the psyche of his followers. Using telepathy, telekinesis, and other mystical methods he has gathered a group which is actually involved in killing and robbery. The murder is reenacted, using a dummy of a women.

The rest of the program shifts the scene to the sources of the practices that have infiltrated the Soviet Union to such ill effect. Called "Love Moves the World," this part is an examination of the activities of Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church. "The philosophy of ancient India is very interesting and deep," begins the narrator, but its manipulation had a very strong impact on a particular generation, "the so-called 'lost generation'" in the United States. Moon formed his empire with former citizens (refugees is the term used) of South Korea. His mission, he says is to free the world of communism to create heaven on earth. He is a businessman with an interest in military conflicts. There is footage of Vietnam, children suffering, planes overhead. Moon's ties with the CIA are described, and he

is shown in a photograph with Bo Hi Pak, identified as a former colonel in the South Korean army, an intelligence official. The seal of the CIA is shown next, and it is said that Moon supports cruelty in many forms.

The Moon empire, as it is called, is involved with the military-industrial complex. Specifically, "a factory belongs to him that produces the famous rifle, M-16." There is footage of military conflicts, dead bodies, and the rifle. The narrator informs the viewer that the Soviet military found a sample of this rifle. "This is the infamous M-16." It was sent to Indochina and later to the contras. The narrator shows how it works: "It can kill a woman or child in Indochina." But the main point, he argues, is that the plants belonged to religious organizations "preaching about eternal happiness of man and spiritual bliss."

There are angled shots of New York skyscrapers, and the viewer learns about Moon's ideas. He is quoted in Newsweek as saying that the task of America is to fight communism on all fronts. These words are blended with scenes of a foxhunt, with obvious wealth--be-ringed fingers, chauffeur pouring punch from a silver punchbowl. The "right wing" of the United States, the narrator continues, embraced Moon. Typically, in the manner of politically motivated religious frauds, Moon lives in luxury and preaches asceticism.

Moon is shown to be extremely aware of and skilled in the use of the mass media. He publishes magazines, newspapers, and video

cassettes. Moon's notion of the enemy in Central and South America does not accord with that of the program. He terms enemy, "those who, on the Latin American continent, started the struggle against the anti-popular, dictatorship of fascist juntas." However, Moon assists the Nicaraguan contras with his arms, as well as the "fascists in Paraguay." The camera roams over areas of poverty in Latin America. Nonetheless, in spite of these well-financed oppressors, according to the narrator, "adherents of the idea of peace have penetrated many branches of financial, economic, and ideological research in Latin American countries." This remark is left undeveloped, but suggests a changing balance of forces, though at a very slow pace.

As this section on Moon continues it focuses on what it calls Moon's political organ, CAUSA. The president of CAUSA International is Bo Hi Pak, that same one, the narrator announces, shown earlier and connected to the CIA. A film produced by CAUSA is excerpted, with voice-over by the Soviet narrator. Pak says that "our task is to put an end to communism." Anti-communism is not enough; it is too defensive, too passive. CAUSA uses the latest information technology (shots of computer terminals). The Moon organization owns the Washington Times, a newspaper, the program states, that was created to oppose the Washington Post. American conservatives, the Soviet narrator says, "support the Times, because they cannot forgive the Post for Watergate."

The CAUSA film displays graphically the threat posed by communism. It shows speakers in front of maps. Then the narrator

says that CAUSA propagates falsehoods. There follows black-and-white footage of Lenin, firing squads, famine, dead bodies ("killed by leftists" the CAUSA spokesman announces, according to the narrator), and Stalin. "Of the whole history of the USSR, they chose the most bitter pages," the Soviet narrator observes, and there is film of Stalin in uniform reviewing troops. The Soviet narrator goes on to identify these bitter pages: "the famine on the Volga, the destruction after the Civil War" (footage of destroyed buildings). The footage, however, continues, with more pictures of Stalin (older now), waving to a parade. The narrator continues: "and all these are called inalienable features of socialism (shots of groups of corpses). Naturally, there isn't a word about perestroika or that we ourselves have frankly denounced the mistakes of the past." What is particularly interesting about this segment is that the footage comes from the CAUSA film program; the narration paraphrases the CAUSA spokesman, in part, and adds the Soviet perspective, in part. Stalin is not named, though his face is seen repeatedly in footage of various stages of his rule. He is part, indeed the exemplar, of the bitter pages for the Soviet narrator, but not named.

The CAUSA film shows a map of the world, with the red blot spreading over the continents, and the theme is communist expansionism. "It turns out," the Soviet narrator says, "that fascism was not to blame for the annihilation of tens of millions

of people, but rather communist expansion." A shot of Le Figaro is shown, with such a feature story.

The Soviet narrator argues that although CAUSA talks about people escaping from communist countries it does not mention that most who do so are "under threat of criminal punishment." In Cuba they call such people "worms." The narrator concludes that CAUSA confesses that it is unable to defeat communism, as the experience in El Salvador and Nicaragua shows.

The next section features the attempts of religious organizations, mainly Western, not Eastern, to penetrate and subvert Soviet youth. There are shots of planes, ships, and trains arriving with tourists in the USSR. There are shots of customs searches and the discovery of considerable contraband religious literature. This literature is said to be very carefully calculated to appear to groups defined by age and level of education. Brochures for children are mixed with Mein Kampf. The people who send leaflets have Soviet youth as their main target. There are shots of several books and magazines, including Kontinent. "Criminal elements are hiding behind the martyrs of persecuted churches." In this part, as in so much of the program, a line is drawn--a fine line, to be sure--between the acceptable, which now occupies greater ground, and the unacceptable. In according a wider field of legal activity and legitimacy to religion, the boundaries must be redrawn or redefined, since boundaries still exist and overstepping them is still a serious crime.

The final part of the Moon section is a particularly militant one: Moon is shown performing the mass marriages his organization has arranged by pairing activists from the world-wide church organization. They will produce a race; they will rid the world of communism. The film of Moon is shown; he is saying, "I want the congregation to obey me, not their parents or the President." Then they will be ready to go out into the world as anti-communists.

Section V tells the strange story of Rajneeshpuram (Oregon) and its hypocritical hedonist leader. But here, too, although the film and narration focus very explicitly on the loose sexual practices of the group, the more important weight is put on the military/violence connection. There are armed bodyguards present. Rajneesh says that he is a follower of Hitler. Accompanied by black-and-white footage of Hitler, Rajneesh says, "I love this man; Hitler was a saint." After Rajneesh's arrest for tax evasion, the authorities found an arsenal of weapons created by Sheila Silverman, said to be his bodyguard and lover (shots of Silverman, armed). The narrator develops the background of the movement. Near Bombay, where the sect was organized, thousands of "god-seekers" came from the United States and West Germany (again the German-American connection, as the Hitler figure surfaces repeatedly). They were said to be socially upscale: doctors, psychologists, journalists, university trained "intelligenty." They lived in barracks and almost all contracted

venereal diseases. The film footage shows ecstatic crowds, dancing, waving hands in a vague disembodied way. Rajneesh, though expelled from the United States, has not changed his convictions; he still believes in fighting socialism, it is said, but not one country has accepted him, and he is profoundly fearful of AIDS.

The next section, called "Idols Replace Each Other," is devoted to surrogates for religion. It begins with a statement that French doctors and psychologists have proved that "rock music produces psychological and moral harm." American clergymen go further: saying that rock is the work of the devil. The narrator asks, "But what do they want to put in its place?" There follow scenes of highly emotional church meetings, with tearful, transported people, beyond reason. They pray for deliverance, but create violence (shots of warplanes and deaths from an automobile accident). And throughout there are many shots of these fanatics burning books and records and exulting in the process.

Then there is Satanism--for "those who do not find profit in the religion business turn to the Satan business." There are numerous shots of skulls, flames, potions, and the rituals that trap "inexperienced souls."

Biriukov returns, to say that in the Soviet Union "ideological diversions are implemented under the guise of spreading freedom of conscience." This introduces the last section, "Falsification." The purpose of the program, the host says, is "to

show how people seeking philosophical aspects in these or other kinds of beliefs fell under the influence of something totally different: namely the efforts of ideological enemies to convert them to their faith, which has nothing in common with religion." There is a shot of the journal issued by the Hare Krishna organization, "Back to Godhead." This particular issue contains an article "pretending to be a manifesto on Krishna in the USSR. The terminology is completely standard." It deals with "violations of human rights." The article concludes by urging change of the system itself.

Biriukov, in his closing remarks, says that it would be incorrect to term all those interested in these religious movements and practices as "automatically violating Soviet laws." Only those who engage in illegal activities, such as distributing illegal literature or proselytizing children, are in violation of the law. With this program, "we want to help to define that boundary beyond which the right of nontraditional world views and convictions end and contradictions with our image (obraz) of life and principles begin."

This program is intended to perform a critical function. With its visual material--its images and the accompanying sound track--and its mass audience, it will be able to draw the boundaries it seeks to impose with more effective means than any other medium. It is a serious task for a changing system.

"Beatrice: Life of the Party"

Broadcast October 4, 1988

This American film, made for television, stars Carol Burnett as the founder of halfway houses for female alcoholics. It was shown in its entirety. What is interesting for our analysis is the introduction. Before its airing on Soviet television, a roundtable was shown with Burnett, her daughter Carrie Hamilton, an American Alcoholics Anonymous official, and the Soviet host. This collaborative Soviet-American effort initiates the activities of Alcoholics Anonymous in the Soviet Union. Discussion concerns the American understanding that alcoholism is an inherited illness; that shame and concealment are not the appropriate responses; that decisions, choices can be made in terms of both alcoholism and drug addiction: Hamilton made both choices and is drug- and alcohol-free. Burnett's parents died of alcoholism-related illness and she herself has confronted the problem. Burnett stresses that the film about to be shown is based on a true story, and the Alcoholics Anonymous representative concludes by telling the Soviet viewing audience that they may receive further information about Alcoholics Anonymous by sending a letter marked "AA" to Komsomolskaya Pravda.

The high profile of the film and its American stars--and the repeated references to the United States and the welcome cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union--is another example of the Soviet programmers' conviction that the American example is

the most powerful and effective instrument in implementing Soviet policy with the vast audiences that watch television.

Portrayals in Flux

The odyssey that Soviet portrayals of the United States have undergone over the course of the period covered by this analysis is indeed impressive. As noted in the introduction, the dilemmas and paradoxes are still present, as the needs of an increasingly complex foreign policy confront the product of that highly consistent and standardized system of interpretation that television had provided for the understanding of the world, but most particularly of the United States. The shift from the base-line has created problems for viewers, but also for those who saw some truth in the old portrayals or who feel constrained to err in the opposite direction by the new policy.

At this point, the benefits of a lower temperature in the nuclear competition, fewer investments in the military sphere, increased emulation of American examples to lift the economy, and, not least, of an enhanced international stature of the Soviet leader who must initiate and monitor implementation of major structural reforms from above require a very different world view. As Nina Andreeva's letter showed, older views persist and coexist with newer ones, and their strength is difficult to judge. A system in flux contains the kinds of contractions and intermixtures that we have seen on the most pervasive of Soviet media, television. Its leading role as medium of socialization does provide early signals of policy reorientation,

and in the representation of the United States we see that reorientation most powerfully portrayed. As I have noted earlier, we should not expect a fully linear development. There are too many overlays from the past and consensus is not unlimited. Nonetheless, the movement of this huge medium has been clear, and its direction--toward a more neutral presentation of news and public affairs and toward an increasingly activist role in system change at home--has been strengthened through personnel and programming policies. They may not be irreversible, but the numbers of Soviet citizens drawn into the process, through their participation as the most massive media audience in Soviet history, has never before been possible. It will take the construction of new institutions in society--real power devolution to the soviets, for example--for the process to be consolidated. And television is clearly a critical element in that process, as well.

APPENDIX: STUDY OF GOVORIT I POKAZYVAET MOSKVA

Introduction

Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva (GPM), founded in 1925, is a weekly publication of Gosteleradio, the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television. The edition used for this study contains Moscow metropolitan area listings for television and radio programming as well as descriptive, critical, and other articles related to program content.

GPM is formatted as a popular tabloid containing generally short journalistic pieces and a profusion of photographs, drawings and other illustrations. The writers tend to use a familiar, easily accessible style. As will be seen later, this publication favors entertainment pieces over those concerned with politics or public affairs.

The article sections are classified by content ("The Arts," "For You, Kids," "For Young People," "Sports," "This Week's Films," and "Current Themes"), although occasionally the categories overlap. Letters and transcribed telephone calls to the publisher, responses to readers' concerns, and notices from various Gosteleradio agencies appear irregularly in the back pages. The sections that accommodate them are inconsistently labeled, giving the impression that the editors cannot decide what to call them.

All listings are contained in two central pull-outs for radio and television. The pull-out sections vary according to the area

of the USSR where Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva is distributed. The version of GPM mailed to foreign subscribers lists broadcast schedules for the Moscow metropolitan area.

The Radio Listings

The radio listings in Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva can be found in the center of the publication, usually on pages 9 through 12. They, in turn, are surrounded by the television listings; together they comprise a "pull-out" section similar to those found in many US entertainment tabloids. Unlike American publications, however, the Moscow edition of GPM does not give the radio and television listings section its own identity. The beginning of the radio schedule is identified by a large Cyrillic "R" and the headline "Schedule of Broadcasts from (date) to (date)."

Under the heading "ezhednevno" ("daily"), the Monday schedule includes a daily block of broadcasts carried by all three networks, such as a short newscast called "Poslednie Izvestia" ("Latest News") at 5:04 and 6:04 AM and midmorning gymnastics for the workplace ("Proizvodstvennaya Gimnastika") at 11 AM). In addition, programs which are broadcast daily are listed next to the Monday heading for each network.

Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva reflects radio listings for the Moscow metropolitan area. It contains schedules for national

networks 1 and 3, Moscow 4, Moscow City Radio, Moscow Regional Radio, and Leningrad Radio. National network 2, a music and news service called "Mayak" ("Lighthouse"), is not listed.

First Program is general in content and is relayed in five editions for different time zones. Third Program, with its general popular content, is broadcast in four identical time-shifted versions. Moscow City Radio programming consists of local news and public affairs shows, as does Moscow Regional Radio. The latter, however, stresses programming with an agricultural emphasis. Moscow Program 4 and Leningrad Radio have cosmopolitan schedules consisting of foreign and domestic rock and classical music as well as short literary readings, audio plays, and serialized novels. They broadcast in stereo.

Next to the time and title, the listings offer content and other relevant information about each broadcast. The names of participating artists, a description of subject matter, the episode number (in the case of serials), and the source of the broadcast (such as local or Republican stations) are included. In addition, the listings usually indicate whether the broadcast is in stereo and if it is live or on tape from location.

The Television Listings

Weekly television listings are found in the central section of Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva usually on pages 7, 8, 13, and

14. The section is simply labeled "Televidenie" ("Television") and headlined "Schedule of Broadcasts from (date) to (date)." It contains the programming schedules for national networks 1 ("Pervaya Programma," identified by a large Arabic numeral 1) and 2 ("Vtoraya Programma," identified by a large Arabic numeral 2) as well as for the Moscow Channel ("Moskovskaya Programma" or "MP"), the Educational Channel ("Obrazovatel'naya Programma" or "OP") and the Leningrad Channel ("Leningradskaya Programma" or "LP").

First Program airs the most important and topical series, such as "Vzglyad" ("Viewpoint"), "Dvennadtsatyi Etazh" ("Twelfth Floor"), "Aktual'nyi Ob'ektiv" ("Contemporary Lens") and Pozitsiya" ("Position"). Second Program carries a large number of feature films as well as concerts, children's shows and repeats from First Program. In addition, Second Program broadcasts simultaneous versions for the hearing-impaired of the nightly newscast "Vremya" ("Time") and other selected shows such as "Prozhektor perestroiki" ("Spotlight of Perestroika").

The Educational Program offers everything instructional, from Spanish lessons to the biographies of great composers. Some of its programming, such as the popular science series "Ochevidnoye-neveroyatnoye" ("The Obvious Is Unbelievable") and the frequently controversial and serious "Filosofskie besedy" ("Philosophical Discussions") are repeats from First Program.

The Moscow Channel, in addition to the already mentioned "Good Evening, Moscow," broadcasts children's shows and a local

news and feature series called "Panorama Podmoskov'ya" ("Moscow Suburban Panorama"). The Leningrad Channel providesa bit more variety: it offers musicals, sports analyses, talk and entertainment shows, movie festivals and commercials. Its studios also produce the highly popular public affairs series "Pyatoe koleso" ("Fifth Wheel").

The nightly newscast "Vremya" ("Time") is shown at 2100 (9 PM Moscow time) by all stations except OP, which broadcasts foreign language lessons during that time. For the national networks, breaks ("pereryvy") in the broadcast day are indicated by three asterisks.

Although the television listings are less detailed than the radio listings, noteworthy programming is usually highlighted elsewhere in the periodical in the form of reviews, previews, interviews or press releases submitted by the broadcasters. Separate space, however, is often devoted to MP's programming in an individual subsection headlined simply "Moskovskaya Programma," submitted by the city's channel. In this subsection the reader may find detailed content descriptions of broadcasts such as the nightly "Dobryi vecher, Moskva" ("Good Evening, Moscow"), a current affairs call-in talk show. During the 1989 electoral campaign "Dobryi Vecher . . ." carried live debates between candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies.

In addition to time and title, individual television listings indicate the genre of the broadcast (musical, educational,

documentary, fiction film, etc.), whether it is a rerun, and the national origin of the broadcast if it was not produced in the Russian Federation. In the case of theatrical releases, Soviet (from any republic) and foreign, the cast is listed and the production date and studio name are given. The listings also notify readers of the presence of commercials; even when exact times are not given, viewers are alerted that, for example, "commercials will be shown during the break."

The Categories

Sample issues of Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva were selected for the months of October, November, and December, 1988 and January, 1989. For the present analysis a total of 395 articles and 47 cover mentions in 7 categories were examined for content. Cover mentions are defined as illustrated or specially designed front-page notices intended to call the reader's attention to specific articles inside the publication. Advertisements placed by cooperatives and state enterprises for products and services were not considered; neither were listings sections.

One category of articles which sometimes appears in the back pages of GPM was not included in this study: direct notices from producers and broadcasters. These are simply lists of addresses

and telephone numbers for various "redaktsii" (departmental offices), suggestions for attendance in audience-participation shows, casting calls, technical guidelines, and notices of employment opportunities in broadcasting. Although certain variables such as layout and word count, could not be taken into consideration, they will be discussed later.

The categories examined were:

Entertainment

This category includes articles and cover mentions related to the classical and popular arts. The articles may be previews, discussions, reviews, interviews, and background articles. They may highlight theatrical releases shown on television, films made for television (miniseries or single), taped stage productions, operas, ballets, variety shows, contests, comedy shows, and conversations with artists. It does not, however, include children's programming such as cartoons and puppet shows. As in the other categories, the cover mentions usually consist of captioned and/or headlined photographs calling the reader's attention to articles inside the publication.

Public Affairs

Public affairs articles and cover mentions are defined as those highlighting talk shows, discussions, round tables, all-in

shows, interviews, documentary films, health and science broadcasts, and "telebridges" of contemporary social relevance. Articles on shows such as "Do 16 i starshe" ("Up to 16 and Older") and "Eto vy mozhete" ("You Can Do It"), which GPM sometimes classifies as children's programs, are included in this category instead, as are pieces on certain documentaries related to, but not necessarily for, children. Curiously, our samples contained no articles at all on news programs such as "Vremya" and "Sevodnya v Mire" ("Today in the World," a short international newscast shown twice daily).

Children

Other than as relates to certain shows such as the ones mentioned above, which are clearly public affairs broadcasts, the articles in this category are easily discernible as being about children's programs. They include reviews, previews, interviews and backgrounders on cartoons, puppet shows, children's feature films and musicals.

Sports

Articles in this category are about both team and individual sports and may contain previews, recommendations, and interviews with sports figures.

History/Biography

This category comprises articles which highlight programming covering or examining the history of the USSR or other countries. They may concentrate on biographical portraits. Thus, for example, an article about an episode of "Pozitsiya" ("Position"), which consists only of a long interview with a surviving member of the Russian nobility would be included in this category whereas an article on an episode of "Pozitsiya" which consists of a documentary on the Armenian earthquake would be counted as Public Affairs.

Letters/Polls

This category is defined as letters or transcribed telephone calls from readers, as well as opinion polls and their results. Single letters or calls were not counted or subcategorized and specific subjects or opinions were not taken into account.

Politics

For the purposes of this study, this category includes only articles and cover mentions that specifically highlight programming which covers traditional political functions. These are:

Communist Party operations; government affairs, including electoral campaigns and elections such as "Vlast sovetam" ("Power to the Soviets"), "Navstrechu vyboram" ("Toward the Elections"), "Ya sluzhu Sovetskomu Soyuzu" ("I Serve the Soviet Union"), etc.; and openly didactic shows such as "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya" ("The All-Union Census"), a miniseries exclusively concerned with convincing citizens not to be afraid of revealing personal information to census-takers.

The Results

From the total of 395 articles studied, 163 (41.3%) are exclusively concerned with entertainment programming. Of these, 29 or 61.7% received cover mentions to call them to the reader's attention. These cover mentions, usually consisting of some sort of photograph or drawing capped by a headline, tend to be large, bold and prominent. They frequently appear in one of the upper corners and sometimes take up one third or even one half of total cover space.

After entertainment, public affairs programming seems to draw the most attention from GPM's editors. They devoted 143 articles, or 36.2%, to this category. Public affairs articles received 13, or 27.7%, of the total cover mentions. The mentions appear to play on the public's interest in the physical appearance of

celebrities (commentators, hosts, and others), since their photographs are often displayed. Although the month of November shows an almost 10% decrease (from October) in public affairs articles, despite the November 7 celebrations, cover mentions related to this category are disproportionately high: they account for 28.6% of the total.

Articles on children's programs account for 9.8% of the total and rate no cover mentions at all. Nonetheless, cover photos of entertainment programming often display children. Sports articles account for 5.3% of the total and articles on historical or biographical programming for only 1.7%. Neither of these two categories was represented by cover mentions.

In what may be a trend reversal, articles on political programming amount to only 16% of the total. It should be remembered that, for our purposes we have defined political (as opposed to public affairs) programming as that which is strictly informational in nature and not participatory or interactive. Quantitatively, political articles take fifth place in importance after entertainment, public affairs, children's shows, and sports. They do, however, take third place (after entertainment and public affairs) in the number of cover mentions received; 10.6% of all cover mentions are political. These are invariably displayed with prominence, usually consist of drawings, and are very traditional in style.

TABLE 1

	E	PA	C	S	H/B	L/P	P	Totals
10/88 Art.	46	51	10	4	3	2	6	122
10/88 Cov.	6	3					2	11
11/88 Art.	41	28	10	4	1	1	3	89
11/88 Cov.	9	4					1	14
12/88 Art.	36	40	10	4	1	3	1	95
12/88 Cov.	8	4						12
1/89 Art.	40	24	9	8	1	1	6	89
1/89 Cov.	6	2					2	10
Total Art.	163	143	39	21	6	7	16	395
Total Cov.	29	13					5	47

Key:

Art.: Article
Cov.: Cover mention
E: Entertainment
PA: Public affairs
C: Children
S: Sports
H/B: History, biography
L/P: Letters, polls
P: Politics

TABLE 2

	E	PA	C	S	H/B	L/P	P	
10/88 Art.	37.7	41.8	8.2	3.3	2.5	1.6	4.9	
10/88 Cov.	54.5	27.2					18.1	
11/88 Art.	46.	31.4	11.2	4.5	1.1	1.1	3.4	
11/88 Cov.	64.3	28.6					7.1	
12/88 Art.	37.9	42.1	10.5	4.2	1.1	3.2	1.1	
12/88 Cov.	66.7	33.3						
1/89 Art.	44.9	27.	10.1	9.	1.1	1.1	6.7	
1/89 Cov.	6.	2.					2.	
Tot. % Art.	41.3	36.2	9.8	5.3	1.5	1.7	4.1	99.9
Tot. % Cov.	61.7	27.7					10.6	100.0

Key:

Art.: Article
Cov.: Cover mention
E: Entertainment
PA: Public affairs
C: Children
S: Sports
H/B: History, biography
L/P: Letters, polls
P: Politics