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C/67-5

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Gayle Durham Hollander



RESEARCH PROGRAM ON PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNICATION AND SECURITY

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS

March 1967

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Introductory Remarks*

Since the early days of Lenin's ISKRA (the Spark) the Soviet newspaper has served as a vehicle for political organization as well as conveyor of ideological statements and Party policy to Party cadres and the masses. Among newspapers, PRAVDA (Truth), the official Party daily established in 1912, has remained the most authoritative and influential. As technological innovations led to the development of an extensive radio and television network, Soviet mass communications continued to be dominated by the heavily politicized newspaper genres of information. Competition with foreign radio finally forced a policy change in the early sixties, and PRAVDA yielded to radio its place as the most rapid conveyor of news bulletins. In spite of this change, the particular role of the newspaper in Soviet society has not seriously been altered; it remains the prototypical media channel in most aspects and continues to function as political organizer, educator, and legitimizer of the Party and government apparatus. As such it plays an integral role in the political system.

Although many authors, both Western and Soviet, have attempted to describe and evaluate the Soviet periodical press, the most successful and influential has been the effort by Alex Inkeles in his Public Opinion in Soviet Russia (Cambridge, 1953, 1957). The present work is an attempt to update and quantify some of the information introduced by him; it also reflects a good deal of research work on materials not available at the time his book was written.

*The research for this paper was sponsored by the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Department of Defense (ARPA) under contract #920F-9717 and monitored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR) under contract AF 49(638)-1237.

Chapter I. Organization and Policy Control

A. Organization of the Soviet Newspaper Network

1. Administrative Levels

Newspaper publishing in the Soviet Union operates on levels analogous to the Party and government apparatus:

1. All-Union¹ or Central--national newspapers for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
2. Union Republic--there are fifteen republics in all, each with their own newspaper publishing operations
3. Krai and oblast--subdivisions of republics, roughly equivalent to provinces and counties
4. Autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts--republics and oblasts which have identity as territories of minority nationalities; autonomous republics are subdivisions of Union Republics but have a slightly higher status than autonomous oblasts which may be also directly subordinate to Union Republics.
5. City or metropolitan newspapers
6. District and production administrations of collective and state farms (sometimes called inter-district)
7. Lower press or house organs of industrial enterprises, educational institutions, and collective and state farms.

Usually the newspaper in any given region is the official organ of the Party or government body for that region and level; sometimes it serves for both simultaneously. Thus, a city newspaper may be the official organ of the city party committee or the city Soviet or of both. Additional newspapers at each level are organs of particular organizations, such as the local trade union or

writer's union. As the level descends, however, there is less regularity among the types of newspapers. There is always a Party or government body, hence a newspaper of that sponsorship, but there is not always a local branch of the trade union or teacher's union. As the administrative levels descend the newspapers which do exist often serve as organs for more than one interest group.

The All-Union newspapers are expected to serve as prototypes in content, form, and political reliability for all lower newspapers. Thus, most trade union newspapers throughout the USSR are modelled on TRUD (LABOR), adopting its line on any issue and looking to it for content and emphasis. Among the central newspapers, however, there is one which leads the entire hierarchy of the Soviet press in terms of influence; this is of course PRAVDA, which, as the official Party newspaper is the ultimate source for the current political interpretation of any piece of news or organizational innovation. PRAVDA has served as a model not only for almost all Soviet newspapers, but also for major Party dailies in other Communist countries in Asia and East Europe.

Republic newspapers, which serve as the organs of central committees of Union Republic Communist parties, Supreme Soviets of Workers' Deputies of union republics, and other republic bodies, are usually published in several languages. Ordinarily there are several separate newspapers in various languages, depending on the national make-up of the republic. For example, in the Tadzhik republic in central Asia, the following are all republic newspapers:

SOVIETSKIY TADZHIKISTAN (Russian)
TOCHIKISTON SOVETI (Tadzhik)
SOVIET TOCHIKISTONI (Uzbek)
KOMSOMOLETS TADZHIKISTANA (Russian)
KOMSOMOLI TOCHIKISTON (Tadzhik)
PIONERI TOCHIKISTON (Tadzhik)
MAORIE VA MADANIYAT (Tadzhik)

Generally speaking, the Russian republic has fewer republic newspapers than do other republics. Since this is the largest, most diverse, and the most powerful of all union republics, to operate a large number of purely republican organs would involve much wasteful duplication. All-Union newspapers serve the purpose.

Since the newspaper is so often the official party organ, problems may arise when Party reorganization takes place. During the recent period of dual Party structure (Party organizations were split into industrial and agricultural bodies) which lasted from 1963 to 1965, the problem was solved by simply making the local newspaper the organ of both Party organizations. There were interchangeable pages for the industrial and the agricultural organizations, and pages which were pertinent for both. Thus, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA became the organ of the Leningrad industrial and agricultural oblast committees, as well as the organ of the city Party and government bodies. (In this case, the newspaper served not only two interest groups, but also two administrative levels; this is common only where the city within the oblast is so large that it accounts for most of its activity and population.) The sin of excessive duplication is thus avoided. When the Party was again unified into one section at each level, little reorganization was needed within the newspaper network.

The case of the district Party newspapers represents another phenomenon which can arise during Party reorganization. In the Spring of 1962 there was a move to curtail the vast influence of Party district secretaries. At that time, interdistrict committees were created, called Production Administrations of Collective and State Farms. The 3,119 district papers in existence were sharply reduced in number (to about 20) and in their place were established

979 interdistrict newspapers or organs of the production administrations. In November 1964, the Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU decided to reorganize the Party committees of production administrations into district Party committees again, and the newspapers again became organs of the resurrected district Party committees. Thus, even the structure of the press, as well as its content, can reflect political vacillation.

At the March plenary session of the Central Committee CPSU, whose decisions were unanimously approved by the entire Soviet people, the enormous importance of the reinstated district Party committees was emphasized once again. The district committees are called upon to solve in practice responsible tasks in the organizational and economic strengthening of the collective and state farms and to ensure the actual fulfillment of the measures outlined by the Party Central Committee for an upsurge in agriculture.

In the solution of these tasks it is necessary to make full use of such a powerful lever for the organization of the masses as the Soviet press. Recently the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the resumption of the publication of district newspapers.²

As of 1965, there were over two thousand district newspapers in the Soviet Union.

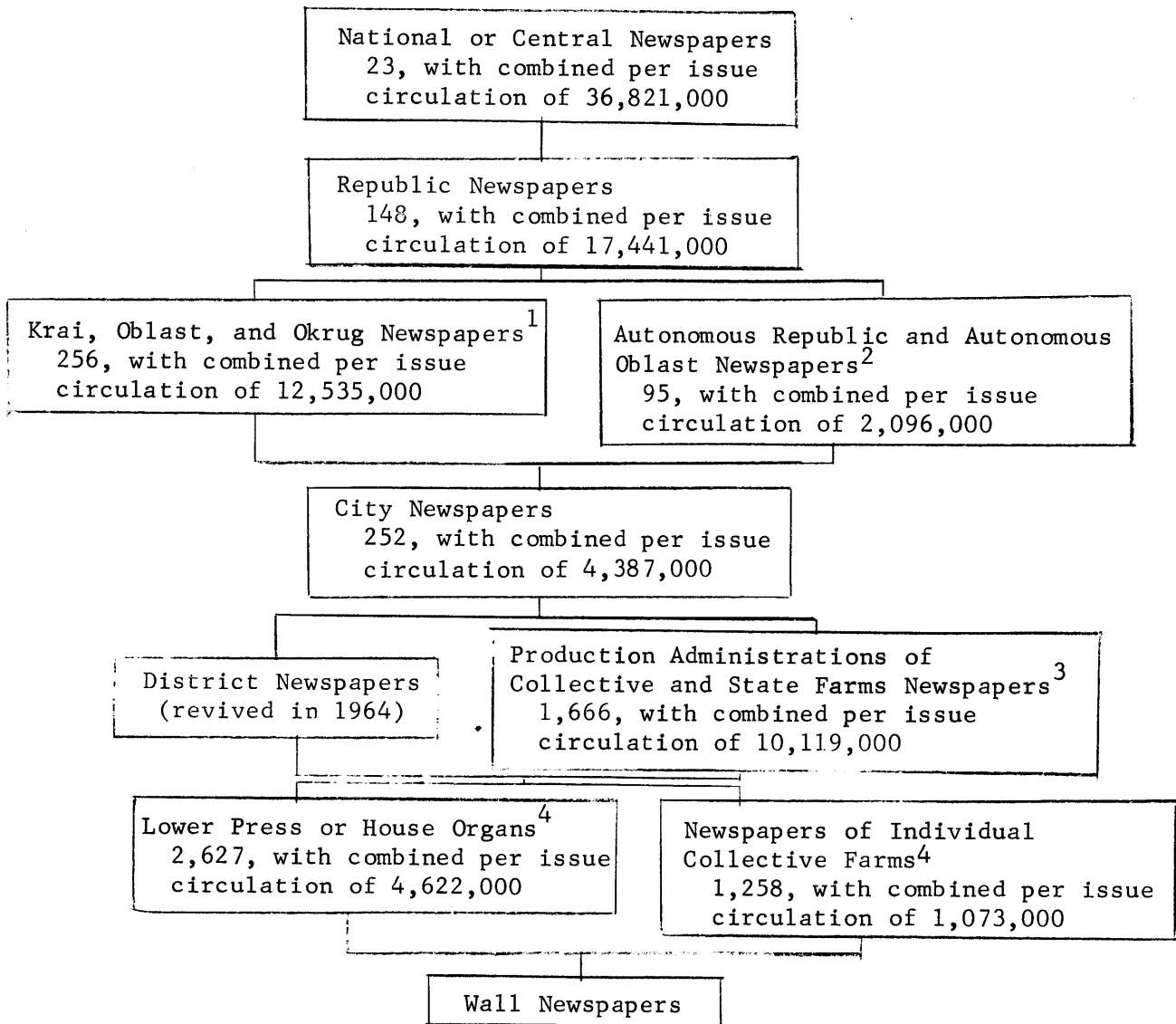
2. Structure of the Individual Newspaper Staff

The editor-in-chief of the Soviet newspaper answers for the ideological content and general effectiveness of the newspaper. The Journalist's Handbook lists his duties and qualifications as follows:

The editor sets the political line of the newspaper and directs the work of the colleagues of the editorial staff.... Indispensable qualities of the editor are high consciousness of principles, and Party commitment, and an ability to set the orientation for organizational and literary mastery....

The editor selects colleagues, distributes duties among them, directs the working out of perspective and working

Chart One: Newspaper Output by Administrative Level, 1964, USSR



1. Roughly equivalent to provinces and counties, respectively.
2. About equal to the krai or oblast, but with a separate identity as a minority nationality.
3. Aggregate of several farms; sometimes called "inter-district newspaper." The Production Administrations were formed in 1962 and eliminated in 1964.
4. Newspapers of factories, educational institutions, etc., which are printed in an edition of one copy per 3-4 workers and distributed to them.

plans, sees to the literary qualities of the materials, to the external appearance of the newspaper, worries about the attraction of a broad authors' collective, reads letters to the editors.³

In his capacity as ideological pace setter for the newspaper, the editor maintains contact with the local Party committee; this is an aspect of his work which will be discussed later. In central, krai and oblast newspapers the editor has one or more deputies. The editorial staff makes up the daily, weekly, monthly, and long-range plans for the paper, discusses important articles, listens to the reports of departmental chiefs, discusses plans with worker-peasant correspondents, works with letters to the editors, oversees financial matters and supervises the actual technical process of publication of the newspaper. In addition to these tasks, the editorial staff assists the editor-in-chief in matters of ideology, organization of correspondents and lower staff members, and takes part of the responsibility for the process of self-criticism⁴ (see Chapter II on content).

The second section of the newspaper is the Secretariat. The responsible secretary of the newspaper is the right-hand man of the editor, coordinating the work of departments and seeing to the needs and demands of workers; he is usually a co-host for visitors to the newspaper. He directs the secretariat of the newspaper, which usually consists of himself, a deputy secretary, a special "highly qualified corrector of materials" (also called the literary secretary), and two or three literary workers, such as specialists in satire, outline, or a special correspondent. The correctors and other workers concerned with organization and design of the paper, such as illustrators and photographers, are also under the direction of the secretariat. The secretariat seems to be the coordinating center for all of the work of

the newspaper, preparing materials which have been selected by the various departments, working them over and making mock-ups of the editions of the newspaper.⁵

Departments of the Newspaper

In editorial staffs of republican newspapers there are generally about 10 departments. Oblast and krai newspapers have about six to eight, city and evening and district newspapers have two or three. As a rule, there are from one to three people working in each department, making the total newspaper staff anywhere from three to thirty or forty people.⁶

Materials which are to go into the current edition of the newspaper are prepared and selected in the departments. The literary workers in each department are specialists in the theme of the department. General political newspapers may contain any of the following departments, which are more or less standard:

- Party Life
- Industry and Transport
- Agriculture
- Soviet Construction (concerned with state organization and discipline)
- Propaganda
- Culture and Daily Life
- Ideological Department
- Local Information
- Letters to the Editor
- Staff Correspondents Division
- Special Correspondents Division

There is some variation among the structures of even the major Central newspapers, as shown in the accompanying table (one).

A few of the departmental orientations are described below:

Party Life One of the most important departments of any newspaper affiliated with a Party organization is the publicizing of Party activities.

Table One: Structure of Six Major Soviet Newspapers

PRAVDA:
 Secretariat
 Departments:
 Party Life
 Propaganda of Marxist-Leninist Theory
 Industry, Transport, and Commodity Turnover
 Agriculture
 Letters and Work with Masses
 Information
 Literature and Art
 Presses
 Science
 Schools and Higher Educational Institutions
 Military
 Local Correspondents
 Foreign Departments:
 American Countries
 European Countries
 Socialist Countries
 Criticism and Bibliography
 Feuilletons
 Illustrations
 Magazine "Worker-Peasant Correspondent"
 Press Bureau
 Group "Pages of Party-State Control"

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA:
 Secretariat,
 Departments:
 Russian Literature
 Art
 Literature of Peoples of USSR
 Internal Life USSR
 Science
 Foreign
 Information
 Letters

IZVESTIYA:
 Secretariat
 Departments:
 Soviet Construction
 Economy
 Foreign
 Socialist Countries
 Internal Information
 Propaganda
 Science and Technology
 Schools and Higher Educational Institutions
 Literature and Art
 Letters
 Feuilletons
 Correspondent Network
 Illustrations
 "NEDELYA" Department

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA:
 Secretariat
 Departments:
 Propaganda
 Komsomol Life
 Working Youth
 Young Pupils and Pioneers
 Student Youth
 Science and Technology
 Rural Youth
 Literature and Art
 Internal Information
 Foreign
 Physical Culture and Sport
 Letters
 Feuilletons
 Local Network
 Illustrations

TRUD:
 Secretariat
 Departments:
 Production-Economy
 Trade Union Life
 Propaganda and Mass-Cultural Work
 Living Conditions
 Agriculture
 Social Insurance and Labor Preservation
 Literature and Art
 International Workers' Movement and Foreign Information
 Information
 Letters and Mass Work
 Science and Technology
 Physical Culture and Sport

SELSKAYA ZHIZN:
 Secretariat
 Departments:
 Science and Technology
 Land Cultivation and Animal Husbandry
 Propaganda and the Introduction of Technology by Zones of the Country:
 Southern Regions
 Eastern Regions
 Central and Northwest Regions
 Rural Party Organizations and Communist Education
 Culture and Rural Schools
 Information and Daily Life
 Foreign
 Peasant Correspondents
 Staff and Non-Staff Correspondents
 Bureau of Letters and Complaints
 Illustrations

Source: Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

This is the major responsibility of the Party Life department or section. The duties of this section are best indicated by the following quotations on the subject in a handbook for teachers of journalism:

Party departments are obligated to widely illuminate the meetings of the Party activists, of primary Party organizations, general meetings of workers in discussing the results of the XXII nd Congress of the CPSU,....

Party departments envelop such basic problems as: internal Party life, the condition and activity of local Party organizations, party-political work among the masses, Party leadership of the economy, and of cultural construction.

The department of Party Life is called upon to guarantee the deep and many-sided illumination by the newspaper of such questions as the raising of the ideological level of Communists, the raising of their avant garde role over all participants of Communist construction; it is necessary that our periodical press tell daily about the political and organizational work of production, of collective farm and territorial Party organizations, about the content and method of their activity, that it educates in Communists a feeling of responsibility before the Party and the people....⁷

Department of Propaganda.

As the basis of its work the departments of propaganda of newspapers should pose the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist study; the battle with survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of people and the influence of hostile bourgeois ideology; the education of workers in the spirit of the moral codex of the builder of Communism, of love and respect for work.⁸

Department of Industry, Transport, Construction, and Trade.

It is necessary to become familiar with the historical decisions of Party Congresses and Plena of CC CPSU, in which are posed tasks for the further improvement of industry, the speeding up of construction and the improvement of organization and leadership of industry. The documents of the XXI and XXII Congresses and the battle by the press to realize the decisions should receive particular attention.⁹

In the Central and local press much attention is devoted to the movement of brigades and shockworkers of Communist

labor. Criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in the work of various enterprises, collectives of construction, is widely developed; facts of bureaucratism, sluggishness, and non-fulfillment of plans and obligations are ruthlessly disclosed.¹⁰

Department of Culture and Life.

1. Propaganda of the indisputable advantages of the Soviet socialist social and governmental system over the capitalist, elucidation of the essence and character of Soviet democracy and its superiority over bourgeois democracy.

2. Propaganda of the further development of fraternal friendship among all peoples of the Soviet Union--the immovable foundations of the power of the Soviet system of government.

3. Detailed and developed information on the activity of local soviets and their executive committees, permanent commissions and sections, of the development of public principles in the work of the Soviets, on the extension of the rights of local Soviets.

4. Illumination of the practice of leadership of the Soviets in agricultural and economic construction, their role in the battle for raising of materials welfare of workers.

5. Criticism of the shortcomings in work of the Soviet apparatus, ...the strengthening of discipline in all its links.

6. Unending battle with bureaucratism and red tape in the work of the state apparatus, with careless and inattentive attitudes to the complaints and demands of workers.

7. Active and systematic participation in the strengthening of socialist legality and legal order.¹²

3. Public Participation in the Soviet Press

One of the basic tenets of the Soviet press has always been that every newspaper should at all times maintain active and continuous ties with the masses of the population. Throughout most of its history, this has meant extensive work with letters to the editor (see Chapter II on content) and the

RABSELKOR movement (see Chapter IV on journalists). In 1960, about the time of a great resurgence in ideological treatment of the future Communist society and its nature, there was a good deal of discussion about the feature of public control and participation in the running of the society. One of the preliminary forms of this public control, it was felt, should be public participation in the operation of the press. The Central Committee of the Communist Party CPSU adopted a resolution on June 28, 1960, called "On the Further Development of Public Principles in the Soviet Press and Radio." The thrust of the resolution was a recommendation that newspapers should "broaden their public participation" by means of the creation of (a) non-staff departments, and (b) RABSELKOR (worker-peasant correspondents) and authors' councils attached to departments and editorial staffs of newspaper, magazines, and radio. While by no means all Soviet newspapers have adapted themselves, these features are currently being emphasized.

While RABSELKORS (worker and peasant correspondents) had always been a basic feature of the newspaper apparatus, their participation was more or less peripheral and confined to the contribution of articles and the carrying out of "raids" (surprise inspection visits). The new non-staff departments and councils were intended to draw the volunteer participants into the actual administration of the newspaper:

Worker and peasant correspondents are now not only authors, writing articles, correspondence, notes on one theme or another, but organizers, full colleagues of the newspaper, journals, radio and television broadcasts. They take direct part in the daily work of the editorial staff through many organizations created on public principles.¹³

An example of a council such as that indicated above is that attached to the Ukrainian newspaper RABOCHAYA GAZETA. There is a general editorial

council consisting of twenty-five active volunteers. Of them, thirteen are workers with various industrial enterprises, and their job is presumably to guide the raids and advise the newspaper on industrial questions. Four others are workers in engineering and technology, two are writers, and several are scientific workers and trade union workers. Usually the editor of the newspaper or main editorial board is the nominal chairman of this council and works with it to educate its members in newspaper work and take their advice into account.

The first non-staff department in a newspaper was that of industry and transport, created in 1958 in the Stavropol newspaper KOMMUNIST. It was created to give the editorial board advice on professional matters involving those two fields. Usually a non-staff department consists of from five to seven people, and can be attached to any of the regular departments of a newspaper. The council, as indicated above, is more general, but also consists of specialists in some field or another.

At present, the tasks of the non-staff departments and councils seem vague and limited to general advice and the old activities of writing articles and conducting raids. It is possible that their more formal organization may serve to provide them with a lever for influencing the regular staff's activities and policy. Their overt purpose seems to be to keep the newspaper from becoming too professional in its journalistic outlook and too far removed from the needs and demands of ordinary workers.

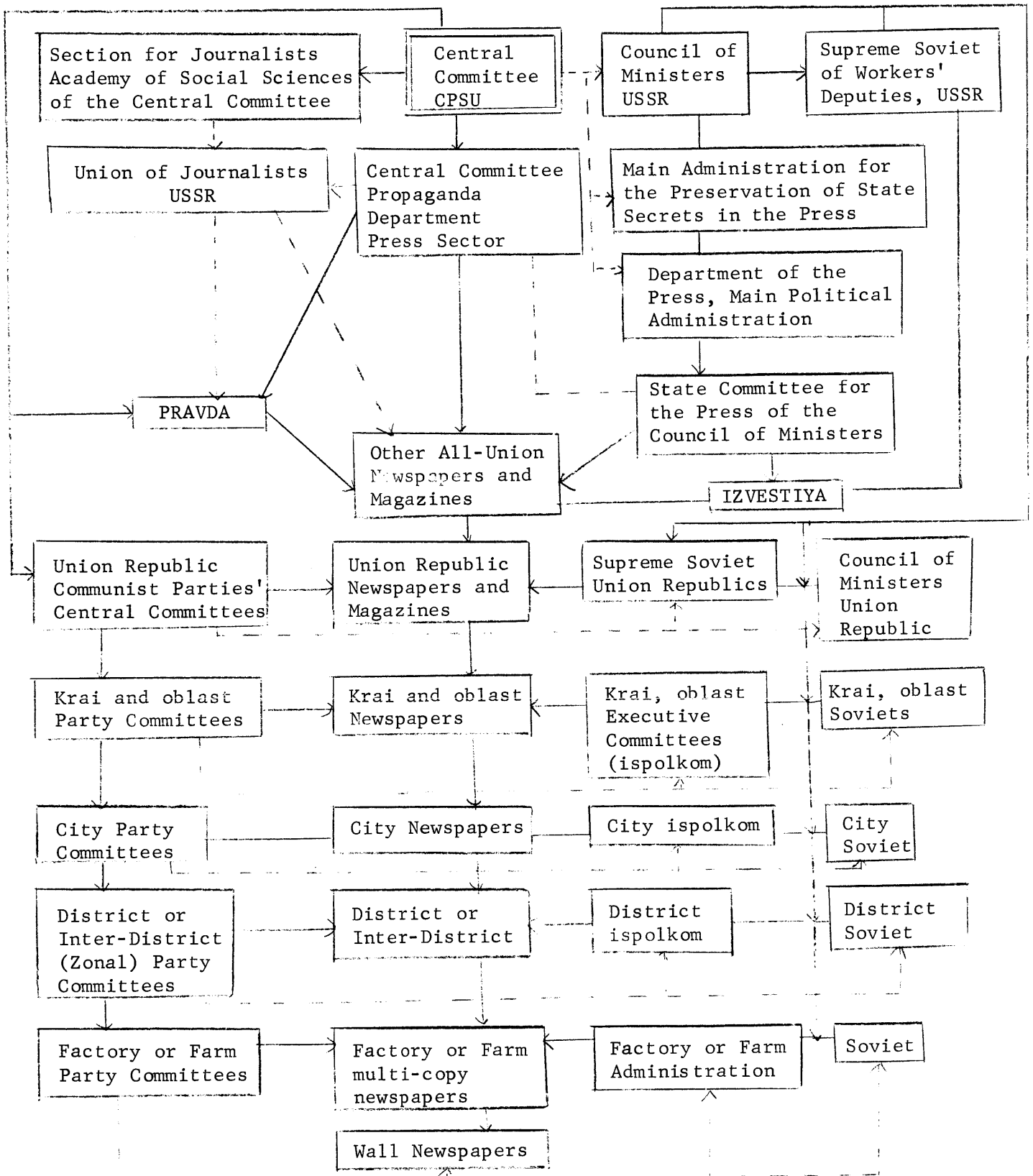
B. Methods of Party Control

The control of the content of the Soviet press is a rather complex and sometimes confusing process. This is partly due to the multiplicity of bodies and persons who have some voice in what is printed, who works on the press organs, and how the structure of publishing and newsgathering is organized. Ultimately it is the highest Party organ, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has the last word on any issue, however. Chart Two is an attempt to present the basic policy-making and informal censorship apparatus. Officially, the State Committee on the Press of the Council of Ministers, USSR, is the governing body for publishing matters; it serves as the censorship organ for the industry. It is a state body, and as such is always subject to direction by the Party, a circumstance true of any administrative body in Soviet society.

A review of the main ways in which the Central Committee guides press content and structure will help to form some idea of the flow of influence. At the Central or All-Union level the basic means of guidance is the policy resolution taken at a plenary session of the Central Committee. Another is a decree by the Supreme Soviet (the highest state body); the decree has its origins in Party Central Committee discussion also, but it has a more formal, public character than the resolution. (The difference is in form, rather than in effectiveness; both carry roughly the same weight.) Either the Party resolution or the government decree may be covert or publicly announced, and may deal with any one of the following areas:

- (1) Directions as to the general emphasis of information in the newspaper and propaganda (in all forms) for a certain time period, i.e., a

Chart Two: Policy Control Chart, Soviet Newspaper Network



———— formal organizational link
 - - - - control channel

campaign against "formalism in the arts," a campaign for using more chemicals in agriculture, and so on. These directives are usually quite public, unless they deal with some sensitive subject.

- (2) Directions as to the treatment of a certain news item. This may mean in practice the censoring of all news on a domestic item (such as the death or ouster of some high Party official), the playing up of actions of some foreign government considered hostile to the Soviet Union, or other restrictive measures. This form of directive is usually transmitted within Party circles and rarely is made public.
- (3) Directives governing the organizational structure of the publishing and newsgathering apparatus. This is usually in the form of a government decree.
- (4) The setting aside of thematic days such as "A tribute to Soviet space." Most items which appear in the press that day deal with the subject matter of the chosen theme, including letters to the editor, cartoons, feuilletons, lead articles, and so on.
- (5) Personnel changes in high positions. (A good example of this sort of action was the removal of Adzhubei as IZVESTIYA's editor after the ouster of Khrushchev.)

Party leadership takes direct forms of a more specific nature as well. The Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union state:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union...designates the editorial staff of the central newspapers and journals working under its control. (Section 35 IV)

The Party handbook for workers in journalism goes on to elaborate:

This of course does not mean that the CC CCPSU appoints all colleagues of central organs of the press. It appoints the leading workers of the press: the editor-in-chief, his

deputy, the responsible secretary of the editorial staff, all editors and chiefs of departments. The remaining colleagues are selected by the editors and the editorial colleagues.

The Central Committees of union republic communist parties, oblast and krai committees appoint the leading workers of republic, oblast, and krai newspapers working under their control; city committees of the party (appoint) leading workers of city newspapers; raion party committees (appoint) leading workers of local newspapers; factory, plant, higher educational institution and other Party committees (appoint workers of) multi-copy newspapers.¹⁴

This means, of course, that the Party has virtual control over the personnel of its press at every conceivable level. It is the Secretary of the Party committee who has the prime responsibility for working with the press.¹⁵

An old resolution of the Eighth Party Congress states:

Party Committees should give the editorial staff general political directives and decrees and see to the fulfillment of tasks, not interfering, however, in petty affairs of everyday operation of the editorial staff.¹⁶

What constitutes "petty" in the work of the editorial staff has sometimes been the genesis for dispute between the Party Committee and the staff, particularly of local newspapers. Other forms of direction include the holding of city-wide "letuchka"¹⁷ (flying meetings), requiring all journalists to attend special seminars and conferences given by the Party, specific talks between the Party secretary and the editorial staff, and in particular the requirement of Party approval of the plan for output that every newspaper must compile for a given period. One general check by the Party committee on the newspapers of its region is described:

A good method of Party leadership is the Surveys of the press, which many Party organizations send out. In these surveys the contents of newspapers are analyzed for a defined period, generalizing the positive work, and criticizing shortcomings.¹⁸

Since the strongest newspaper in any region is the local Party organ, its primary duties are to report on Party activities, and to further Party policy by various means. This may take the form of simply transmitting Party resolutions and government decrees, or policy may be transmitted in more Aesopian terms by means of the lead article, which no Soviet newspaper lacks (see Chapter II on content). Party propaganda campaigns may also be introduced by means of workers' letters to the editor on a given subject; these are usually written by the Party activists in the shop or district.

Although the newspaper's editorial board owes its prime allegiance to the local Party committee, it sometimes happens that there is no close relationship between the Party committee and the editorial board; often hostilities develop, and the editor will begin some campaign which does not meet with the approval of the local Party secretary. Most often these clashes occur over Party personnel who have somehow abused their positions. In such a case, the newspaper will embark on a critical campaign, mentioning the pertinent person, and asking that he mend his ways, or that the Party committee take action on the case. Where there is hostility between the editorial board and the Party committee, the Party committee may simply ignore the newspaper's commentary or, since the Party has control over personnel of the newspaper, the editor or some of his staff may be fired. This most often happens in cases where there is some "familyness" in the situation. This term, referring to a common ailment of the Soviet economic system, means that a group of Party or economic administrative officials makes use of mutual protection to cover up mistakes of the informal group's members. If the newspaper chooses to criticize one of these members, the reaction is often as described above: either to ignore the attack or to oust the offending critic. To admit the correctness of the criticism

would be to uncover the Party's own duplicity. Such situations were still mentioned on the 50th Anniversary of PRAVDA's founding in 1962:

It should be kept in mind, comrades, that we still have people who sing hymns to criticism and self-criticism, but when it comes to action give the critical comments of the press a hostile reception. And we still have workers who are prepared to contradict justified criticism when it is levelled at them. Such people think not about the needs of the situation, not about the people's interests, but about the honor of their departmental or localist "uniform." Here and there attempts are made to stifle criticism. A merciless struggle must be waged against cases of this sort.¹⁹

To complicate his work still further, the newspaper editor is subject to a number of other influences which are semi-formal or informal in nature. His professional activities are always subject to review by the Union of Journalists, formed in 1957. Under its statutes,²⁰ he may be removed from his position for breach of the professional code; this code is so vague that almost any activity undesirable from the Party's view can be the cause of removal and subsequent censorship so strong that the unfortunate fellow will be unable to find suitable employment for some time to come. The local Party control commission, which is charged with reviewing activities of all Party members, may also have criticism to make of the editor or reporter. Since the editor is often a Party member, he is always subject to this source of discipline. The editor also must answer for his staff's application of the six Party principles of the press (see Chapter II on content). It is up to him to interpret any given news item in these terms. As a prominent public official in his region, he is always subject to the approval of the local government officials, though these are usually themselves either Party officials or subject to Party censure themselves. By and large, the newspaper editor's prime worry is to please the Party committee. If he does not, or makes a

mistake in his estimation of Party demands, the local committee may make life extremely unpleasant for him. He may ultimately be backed up in his decision by higher Party or press organs, but this support may be long or never in coming. Thus, his most practical approach is to please the Party committee by keeping contacts with them open and viable at all times, referring to them when in doubt.

Another form of influence on the editor, though one which is rapidly disappearing with increased development of the wood processing industry, is economic sanction. Until the last few years, the circulation of his paper could be limited by the available amount of paper assigned to him for the printing of his paper. Supposedly, the paper shortage was eliminated throughout the USSR in 1964, and subscriptions were "unlimited." Apparently, however, there are still some problems, and the squeeze seems to hit lower level newspapers hardest. As late as the third quarter of 1965, the following complaint appeared in Sovietskaya Pechat:

The newspaper "Znamya Truda" has begun to come out since April of this year in Niloskom Raion, Penza oblast. Its circulation is 3,570 copies per issue--it could be twice as large, but there isn't enough paper.²¹

C. The Lower Press--A Case Study

The lower press, called in Russian "Nizovoi Pechat," includes organs of Party committees and/or administrative organs of factories and plants, collective and state farms, and other enterprises or institutions. These may be multi-copy editions distributed individually to workers of the institution or wall newspapers posted in a permanent location and appearing only in one copy.²² Such newspapers may also be the organs of subdivisions or shops of a plant and

brigades of a collective farm. The first factory newspaper of the multi-copy ("mnogotirazhka") type was MARTENOVKA, published since 1926 by the Moscow "Hammer and Sickle" factory. This level of the press seems to have developed first in industrial enterprises, with educational and other types of institutions modeling themselves after the industrial sector.²³ Individual collective farm newspapers appeared in 1956-1959 (see Tables A-1, A-2, and A-3 in Appendix). In recent years, aggregates of industrial enterprises of a single type in one city have been publishing their newspapers together; examples of this type are: ZNAMYA PROGRESSA (Banner of Progress, organ of the optical mechanics industry), and SKOROKHODOVIY RABOCHIY (Skorokhodovoiy Worker, of the footwear industry) in Leningrad. Multi-copy newspapers of factories are weeklies.

The official rules for publication of multi-copy newspapers were last announced in 1956:

The Central Committee ascertains that the publication of multi-copy newspapers may be allowed in enterprises and construction areas with a number of not less than two thousand workers and employees and in higher educational institutions with the same number of teachers and students, with a volume of two pages half the format of PRAVDA with a period of publication of one number a week, and with a circulation of one copy for every three or four persons. Taking into consideration that multi-copy newspapers should be run by the socially active core, there should be allowed no more than one paid employee (a responsible secretary) in the make-up of the staff of the editorial board.²⁴

To illustrate the organization of a factory press system, we can examine a Leningrad factory, the Kirov Freight and Transport Equipment Plant.²⁵ The plant publishes one weekly paper, a multi-copy newspaper called KIROVSKIY RABOCHIY (KIROV WORKER) which has been the factory Party Committee's organ for the past thirty years. A. A. Yuryev, editor of the newspaper since its inception, has been a Party member since 1925. Its editorial board consists of the following departments: Party Life (two staff members), Trade Union Life

(one person), Production Thematics (two people), Materials on Technical Progress (two people), Letter from Workers (three people), Survey of Wall Newspapers (three people), and the Literary Corner (one person). The members of this board are regular factory workers and do this work as outside voluntary activity; often they are the most active Party members, and fulfill part or all of their Party membership duties in this way. The factory trade union conference recommends people for the editorial board, and the Party committee of the factory "approves" them: "The Party committee, of course, applies its hand to the selection of the editorial board."²⁶ Weekly meetings of the editorial board ("Letuchki") are held to discuss the previous and the impending issue. A Diary of the Editorial Board has been kept for three years by the secretary of the editorial board. He also keeps a "Book of Accounts of Rabkors," which lists the number, type, and content of articles published in the newspaper by non-staff correspondents called Rabochiye Correspondenti (Workers Correspondents, RABKOR for short, see Chapter III on journalists).

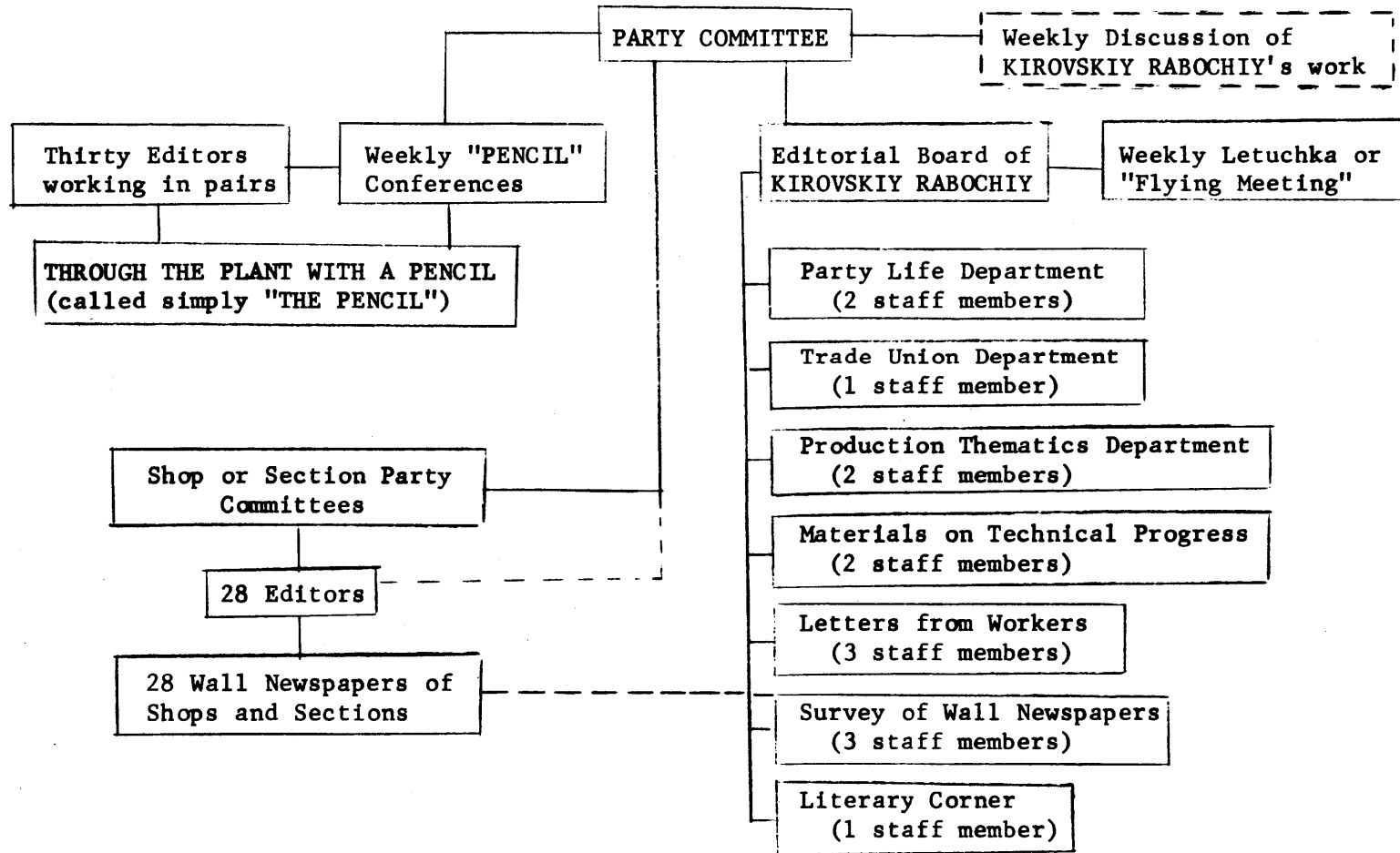
Since the newspaper is officially the organ of the Party committee of the factory, one of its prime responsibilities is to report on Party activities:

One of the problems which we entrust to the newspaper is informing the collective about Party resolutions and decisions made by the Party committee and at Party meetings.

On the eve of the factory Party committee meeting the paper usually presents a lead article dedicated to the event and soon after the meeting a detailed account of it....²⁷

Party propaganda and agitation on specific issues is also transmitted by means of the newspaper. Also featured are the activities of the factory's some 170 agitators. Officially, Party policy may be transmitted to the staff by a discussion of the newspaper's activities in the Weekly Party meeting. In fact, however, this is rarely done, since there is usually too much to

Chart Three: Newspaper Network of a Plant



discuss; unless there is some problem, Party policy is transmitted to the editorial board in the weekly "letuchka" by leading Party members, who constitute the bulk of editorial personnel anyway. Party members also have informal talks with workers during the course of the preparation of the paper. The newspaper should always be in direct contact with Party policy, and likewise, the Party is expected to support its organ in the criticism it makes of shortcomings in the factory; since these criticisms are usually made at the instigation of the Party committee members, and executed by them as members of the editorial board, there is usually no problem at all. The concept of controlled media, both for organizational and selected informational means, can thus be clearly seen.

After the 22nd Congress during the day and at night I was busy as I had never been before. Almost every day I had to present reports on the work of the Congress to enterprises, establishments, schools of the Lenin district, in military detachments. Every hour was scheduled. Nevertheless I tried to make time for writing in the paper on questions which it was necessary for the collective to decide in correspondence with the resolutions of the 22nd Congress.²⁸

Thus, one can also see that the factory newspaper is a vital link in informing the Party rank and file, as well as non-members, of current policy and the correct steps to take in accordance with that policy.

In addition to the weekly multi-copy newspaper, there is also a main daily wall newspaper for the factory, called THROUGH THE FACTORY WITH A PENCIL (S KARANDASHOM PO ZAVODU), more informally called "The Pencil." The editorial board of this wall newspaper consists of thirty people, divided into pairs, each of which takes responsibility for getting two issues out each month. On the left side of the paper (a bulletin board in the form of an open paper) there are usually political slogans, diagrams on the work of the plant (about 2-3 a month), short information about especially good workers or brigades and shops.

On the right side are caricatures and humorous satirical verses. Editors usually go about the plant looking for things to write about. Each week in the Party committee there are "Pencil" meetings, led by the Party secretary and his deputy. They discuss what items to emphasize for the week, and what shortcomings to criticize. The wall newspaper is clearly considered the fastest means of communication for short informational items.

There are throughout the plant twenty-eight other wall newspapers with their own editors. These are the organs of the shop or section Party bureaux:

We often gather them [the editors] in the Party Committee to instruct them on the most important political problems. Thus, we gathered the editors and their deputies to discuss the tasks of wall newspapers in connection with the elections to the Supreme Soviet USSR, and a little later in connection with the March Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU. Besides this, when members of the Party committee are around the shops, they make it their business to be interested in the wall newspapers, talking things over with the editors.²⁹

Wall newspaper editors are called upon to give reports to the Party committee once a year.

Chapter II. Orientation and Content of the Press

A. Principles of the Press

In guiding journalists, the Party has laid down seven identifiable principles which are meant to serve as determining features for content as well as organization. Most of these principles can be traced to the early days of Lenin's involvement with the illegal Bolshevik press, and are points of contrast with the so-called "bourgeois" press of capitalist countries. These principles are interesting not only because they help us to understand the guiding values of press activity in the USSR, but because they also reflect some of the basic conceptions of Soviets about their own, and about Western societies.

(1) Partiinost: This concept can be best translated as unconditional loyalty to the Party implying that the Party has the last word in any matters of organization or content of the press. It implies that the press is the handmaiden of the Party in all of its endeavors, and that this function extends beyond a newspaper's formal function as organ of the local Party organization. It is the justification for any interference by Party personnel in the affairs of the Press. In Soviet parlance, this "Partyness" means:

The Communist Party has never concealed the partyness of its press, its class tendency, always has come out against so-called non-partisan press. Lenin said that such non-partisanship is a hypocritical invention of the bourgeoisie.... Verbalizing about their own so-called classlessness, bourgeois journalists in actuality are serving the goals of the class whose interests they are serving....

Partyness gives our press powerful ideological force. Our press is "party" in character because in expressing the ideas of the Party it expresses the interests of the people. 30

(2) High Ideological Content (Ideinost): This "principle" simply means that one of the duties of the press is the ideological education of the members of Soviet society. This education involves not only the publicizing of the writings and statements of the founding fathers of the Communist movement, but the current interpretations of those writings and statements, indicating the current emphasis of Soviet policy in any given area. In the official jargon:

Our press ideologically arms the people, gives them spiritual food which helps them to see the significance of internal and external events to know well the tasks and the ways of implementing the great ideals of communist society. Our press daily educates the workers in the spirit of high idealism and intolerance toward any manifestation of bourgeois ideology; it leads the energetic battle with the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people. 31

(3) Patriotism:

The press, radio and television are called upon to daily inculcate in Soviet people, by means of concrete examples, a limitless love for the motherland, devotion to the Party and the government, to develop a consciousness of social duty, to show in a lively and attractive manner examples of selfless labor and creativity for the sake of our society. Our activity is rich with examples of the patriotism of Soviet people. To propagandize these examples, to make them accessible to the broad masses, is one of the noble duties of Soviet journalists. 32

(4) Truthfulness (Pravdinost): This means in journalistic writing the giving of the correct interpretations to any event or piece of writing in the press. The "correctness" of any interpretation is determined by the Party, and it is for the sake of this "correctness" that the Party so closely guides the activities of journalists and newspapers. Frequent subjects for criticism of newspapers, both central and local, are the "incorrectness" of the interpretations and materials presented in the newspaper.

The Soviet press is a truthful press. It follows the advice of V. I. Lenin always demanding from colleagues and correspondents of the press the correct elucidation of events.³³

(5)-(6): The next two principles of the press, Narodnost ("Peopleness") and Massovost ("Mass-ness") are sometimes difficult to distinguish from one another. Basically they both mean that the Soviet press is accessible to any Soviet citizen, and that the newspaper in the Soviet Union is called upon to maintain direct and constant contact with the masses.

In the Soviet Union all newspapers and magazines, radio and television belong to the Party, Soviet, Komsomol, trade union and social organizations. The popular masses of capitalist countries are deprived of these possibilities because there the press is in the hands of the exploiting classes constituting their private property.³⁴

It is rather in terms of actual participation, rather than ownership, that "massness" is defined: "The massness of our press is expressed in the fact that broad strata of workers take an active part in it."³⁵ Evidence of this activity is supposedly found in the large number of letters received by Soviet newspapers, and in the participation of worker peasant correspondents in the preparation of newspapers.

(7) Criticism and Self-Criticism: One of the most important "principles of the Soviet press," is actually a society-wide political institution in which the press plays a leading role. "Kritika i samo-kritika" is a process by which certain events or situations are chosen for "exposure" by the journalist; his article outlines the shortcomings, and identifies those he thinks are responsible for the existing state of affairs. This, basically, is the "criticism." The correct response, completing the process, is called "self-criticism": the person or persons accused admit their errors, state their repentance, and outline measures for correcting the situation. To challenge

the correctness of the criticism is not considered politically acceptable, since the journalist is not a free agent picking out areas which he finds faulty and relying on the arousal of public indignation for the motivation for correction. Rather, the journalist in Soviet society represents not only his newspaper but also the Party; it is more than likely that either he has previously "cleared" the whole article with the Party committee before embarking on the "criticism," or that the process was actually initiated by the Party organ and simply carried out by the journalist. With this authority behind the press, it is not difficult to imagine the impact it is expected to have on society. The call to criticize sometimes bears the tone of an old-fashioned witch hunt:

We journalists must constantly learn from the Party central committee how...to criticize shortcomings sharply and implacably. The press is called upon to instill in Soviet people intolerance of spongers, idlers, hooligans, money-grubbers and bureaucrats, hoodwinkers and bribetakers. The press must unmask and literally burn out the specific bearers of evil and must bring them out into the open and teach Soviet people to fight everything that impedes our movement toward Communism. Our press must stand guard over the sacred principle of socialism, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."³⁶

In practice there are two basic directions of criticism: that criticism which comes "from above" or from Party and government bodies; and that which comes "from below," from the masses. Criticism "from above" appears in the press in almost any form, most often as a lead article, a long article with commentary, or even a satirical drawing or article. Criticism from below is a variation appearing in the press mainly in the form of letters from workers to the newspaper, or in articles from worker and peasant correspondents. It would seem that such criticism would contain an element of spontaneity, coming from the broad masses of the population. Several factors operate, however,

to undermine any upsurge of popular criticism not deemed politically desirable. The first such factor might be called "self-censorship." Anonymous letters get very suspicious treatment: "In reading such letters, one must always stop to think why the author is afraid to tell the staff his name, his purpose for writing. Surely a Soviet person knows that he can openly and without fear come forth with honest criticism of shortcomings and be certain that he will find support in Party and Soviet organizations."³⁷ Unfortunately, practical experience has shown Soviet citizens that "honest criticism" is often taken as "hostile propaganda" or "slander," and so they are unlikely to be too daring in criticizing Party or government actions. Thus, political sensitivity is one form of self-censorship limiting the range of topics on which people write letters to the newspaper. Another limitation on the institution of "criticism from below" in the newspaper is the fact that no matter how many letters flow into the newspaper office on a given topic, the selection of letters to be published is still in the hands of the newspaper staff. Most of the time, letters printed have some content which is closely related to some current emphasis of Party propaganda, such as the achievements of the Soviet space program, a campaign against waste and inefficiency in management, and so on. Theoretically, of course, criticism can also be positive, but it rarely is. Most letters to the Soviet newspapers emerge as reflecting a general dissatisfaction with the system itself. It also happens that letters to the newspaper from workers are actually written by someone other than the person whose name is signed. A recent article in PRAVDA told of a situation in which members of a certain agricultural collective had written to the newspaper pledging to create fodder reserves for the district livestock, and appealing to all other workers in the region to follow their example. Representatives from the

newspaper visited the collective and asked them about the appeal:

"Yes, we have read the appeal," he (the secretary of the collective farm Party organization) said.

"In other words, you composed and adopted it?"

"No, I meant what I said. We saw this document for the first time in the newspaper. Now we have to tell the livestock raisers about their own pledges through the newspaper. It's embarrassing..."

How then did the document originate? It was ascertained that officials of the district agricultural administration had taken figures from pledges assumed by the collective and state farms at the beginning of the year, gathered some data for the last few months, did some sums on an abacus, turned the handles of adding machines and on the basis of these calculations drew up the appeal.... But those on whom the success of the fodder procurement directly depends not only did not authorize the province newspaper to speak in their name, but knew nothing about it.³⁸

The reasons for the difficulty in assessing the number of times false letters, appeals and pledges appear in the Soviet press is precisely that the newspaper carries a certain amount of authority; those who are reported by it to have made statements often do not deny it, but feel it is their political duty to assume the responsibility which they feel has been imparted to them by the Party organization which the newspaper represents. Challenging the Party might very well lead to accusations of insubordination and political unreliability.

Almost all Soviet newspapers have a department for handling letters to the editor (see Chapter I on structure) and often it is considered one of the most important politically. The editor of the newspaper and his deputies are expected to sample the letters received by the newspaper, and to keep some survey of the content of the letters, so as to have a continuous source (even if a crude one) for measuring public sentiment. Quite often, of course, letters

pile up and are stacked away with no action having been taken. Theoretically, however, all letters coming into the letter department are supposed to be registered and sent to the agencies appropriate to their content. Various methods for recording letters are used by Soviet newspapers, among them a journal, an alphabetical index, and the most modern, a card system recording the following information on each letter:

Front of card:

Theme of letter
Number assigned to letter
Name of writer
Address of writer
Contents of letter
Who read the letter

Back of card:

Where the letter was sent
Whether published, and on what date and page
What action was taken
Whether the author received an answer³⁹

The number and type of letters to the editor printed in the Soviet press has been the subject of several Western studies.⁴⁰ It is fairly rare that one gets an idea, however, of the actual number of letters received by a newspaper. One recent Soviet source indicates that the local newspaper SOVIETSKAYA KUBAN received in April of 1962 a total of 2,056 letters. Of these, 528 were concerned with industry and construction, 523 dealt with "Soviet construction," 397 were on culture and art, 103 were on Party matters, and 199 concerned personal matters.⁴¹ This list does not, however, give us any indications of the tone of the letters (critical or laudatory) or the professions of the authors. We therefore carried out our own study of published letters to the editor in order to gather some information on these points. We sampled ten issues at random from the four years 1956, 1959, 1962, and 1965 of IZVESTIYA and ZARYA

VOSTOKA.⁴² Of the 80 issues examined, thirty-seven contained letters. The total number of letters read was 87, of which 67 were single-authored and 20 were signed by a group of persons. The professions represented (when indicated) were:

Party and government workers: 5 people
Scientists and engineers: 14
Technical personnel: 10
Workers: 9
Professors: 5
Teachers: 4
Economic workers: 2
Students: 2
Tourist employees: 2
Housewives: 2

The following areas of comments, with the tone of the letter are summarized in the following table:

Content	Negative Comments	Neutral (Information, etc.)	Positive Comments
Agricultural methods and equipment	1	2	0
Technical development of society	9	1	0
Education	3	1	0
Public services	9	1	1
Consumer products	6	0	0
Social problems (handling of)	3	3	0
Sports	0	1	0
Job-related problems (finding one, working conditions, etc.)	3	1	0
Economic management and bureaucracy	23	1	3
Thanks for receiving the Order of Lenin	0	0	2
Professional literature	1	0	0
Cultural facilities	6	0	0
Science	0	1	0
Others* (one each):	0	4	1
Total	64	16	7

* Asked for more information on article in AMERIKA magazine
 Thanks for remembering professor's 75th birthday
 What is proletarian internationalism?
 Request to name street after poet Yesenin
 The responsibility of invalids in kolkhoz life

An over-all view of the number of letters received by IZVESTIYA in recent years is:

	Letters	Circulation	Ratio of Letters to Circulation
1959	77,000	--	--
1960	211,000	2,300,000	1:10
1961	318,000	--	--
1962	425,000	4,300,000	1:10
1964	482,000	5,400,000	1:11
1965	500,000	8,300,000	1:17

For comparison, PRAVDA received 362,000 letters in 1964, as compared with IZVESTIYA's 482,000.⁴³

While as an institution the letter to the newspaper is not wholly effectual in any of its roles, it nevertheless is functional for the society in a variety of ways. Among these are: (1) providing the Party with a crude measure of public sentiment; (2) acting as a "link with the masses," thus supplying the Party with a basis for the claim to "freedom of the press" in the sense of access; (3) giving the Soviet citizen a sense (real or false) of participation in the governing of the society; and (4) providing a legitimate outlet for specific grievances, thus lowering the general level of frustration of the society.

B. The Content of Soviet Newspapers

It is in the area of content that most of the responses of the Soviet periodical press to modernization and an improved standard of living can be seen. In analyzing the content of the press, the first question we should ask is "What is news?" in the Soviet sense. We can begin answering this question by discussing what is not news for the Soviet journalist--those items which appear never or rarely in a Soviet newspaper.

Among those items which we would find frequently in Western newspapers an obvious one missing from the Soviet press is the Social Section. Such information would be directly opposed to the notion of the classless society. Beyond this, prominence in Soviet society is largely politically based; to discuss social or other activities of high Party officials would be considered imprudent and an intrusion upon their private lives. In addition, they presumably have a great deal of veto power over the press and its reporting of their activities. There is little of the public celebrity aura which frequently surrounds Western political figures.

Travel articles are almost entirely absent from the Soviet newspaper. While there are short feature articles on the fact that the mushroom picking or hiking season has just begun, or that tourism is on the upswing on the Black Sea, there are no feature articles designed to attract people to exotic or interesting places. The reasons are fairly obvious; foreign travel is still severely restricted for Soviet citizens, being limited to visits for fairly specific purposes, and domestic facilities are grossly overtaxed as it is. Soviet citizens need no incentive to travel if they have the money and can find accommodation; the travel agencies are intended to provide all the necessary information. Therefore, the New York Times travel section would be

a superfluous and expensive luxury for the Soviet newspaper, creating aspirations among its readers which could not be satisfied.

A third area of content traditionally missing from the Soviet newspaper or magazine is advertising. Until recent years, this was considered one of the nasty features of exploitative capitalist society; Soviet products were supposed to sell themselves. This attitude reflects not only the ideological posture of the Party, but also the fact that most goods were in short supply; to advertise them would have been to increase the already excessive demand. As early as 1958, however, advertising began to infiltrate the domestic media; television tried to sell Khrushchev's famous corn flakes to the population. The standard of living in the country had risen to the point where some goods, at least, were in excess supply and advertising was called upon to help sell them. Many different varieties of products had appeared. Too, the Soviet economists were beginning to realize that advertising could help educate the consumer to differentiate among products and that this in turn would aid distribution.

As a matter of fact, who among us knows how to differentiate, except by name, between ZIL, Oka, Dnieper, North, and Saratov refrigerators, or between the numerous brands of washing machines? How convenient are they in operation, and are they suitable for the size of our apartment and the number of people in our family? More and more articles of clothing are being produced from synthetics now. How can they be preserved longer, how are they to be washed and ironed? And the various chemical compounds for everyday use? How are they to be used? The information customers receive about all this is extremely scanty and is presented in an illegible form.⁴⁴

Since the initial appearance of advertising there have appeared several official agencies to deal with its administration: the All-Union Association for Commercial Advertising under the USSR Council of Ministers' State Trade

Committee and a Chief Commercial Advertising Administration within the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives are two of these; an inter-agency Council on Advertising with representatives of trade, the press, film industry, radio and television, and other interested parties was set up in 1965. Early Soviet advertisements were bland soft-sell attempts: "Drink tea," or "Use railroad transportation." TRUD, the trade union newspaper was moved to ask in response to the ad "Drink the beer of the Main Beer Agency," "What other beer is there to drink?"⁴⁵ Improvements were slow: one ad placed by the Russian Trade Organization for Meat and Fish stated "this herring is in no way inferior to other brands of herring."

Soviet advertising is still a marginal activity, and is limited to informing the population about the product and where it can be bought. For goods that are in short supply, there is little information available; the perennial word-of-mouth message that "there will be Italian raincoats on sale in the Main Department Store on Thursday" is still the only way to find out about availability in time to do something about it, and lines are still normal for these short-supply items. Nevertheless, some consumer information is available, and this is a significant step forward. Newspaper and journal advertising appears mainly in the following types of publications: (1) trade and technical journals; (2) a journal devoted to advertising by foreign firms called Foreign Firms Offer published in 5,000 copy editions by V/O VNESHTOR-GREKLAMA, the Soviet Foreign Trade Advertising Organization; (3) in the Bulletin of Foreign Commercial Information (BIKI) read by business circles dealing with foreign trade; (4) in main Soviet newspapers and magazines. Most domestic advertising in the mass circulation newspapers and magazines is devoted to products about which the population is little informed or which

are in abundant supply. Foreign firms would be foolish to advertise to a population which is incapable of responding, and it is not likely that the Soviet government will change its policy of not allowing too much interest to be generated in items which cannot or will not be supplied to the consumer.

For most of its history, the Soviet press has also ignored any piece of news dealing with crime or accidents and disasters. The first category, crime, was avoided because its very existence was denied and ignored. In recent years, however, especially in connection with a general loosening up of censorship and a resurgence of sociological research, problems of crime and delinquency, from public intoxication to murder, have begun to be discussed at great length in the press. The thrust of the articles is of course remedial. As for news of accidents and natural disasters, several scattered announcements, though terse, have appeared in recent years. The Samarkand flood of 1963 went almost unreported in the Soviet press, but the Tashkent earthquake of 1966 was fairly well covered for a Soviet disaster. This is illustrative of the change. Usually no descriptive information is given, but merely the news that an accident or disaster occurred and was "being investigated by the proper authorities." Such announcements probably represent an official recognition of the fact that people are learning of such events through listening to foreign radio and talking with foreign visitors. Another great impetus has been the proliferation of rumors that has always surrounded any accident or disaster which has been hushed up or ignored by the press. Soviet citizens have developed remarkable facilities for becoming informed in the face of a near void of official news releases. One Soviet citizen told the author that she learned of accidents by reading the obituaries and making good guesses as to the number of people who died in such

and such an area; by making leading enquiries, she could usually test her guesses quite accurately.

Other categories of information which have begun to appear in the Soviet press during recent years are certain types of household hints, curiosities, and so on. The following is a summary of some of those new types of articles:

(1) VERCHERNAYA MOSKVA (EVENING MOSCOW) in November of 1965 printed photographs and charts of how to set one's hair at home to achieve a holiday hairdo--for those not fortunate enough to get into the crowded beauty shops.⁴⁶

(2) KOMMUNA (COMMUNE), in Voronezh province, has a new column called "Our Everyday Life," which has such headings as: "Beauty Secrets," "How to Care for Synthetics," "Care of Kitchen Dishes."⁴⁷

(3) SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE), the Central newspaper for rural communities has a column called "Bureau of Good Services" which instructs readers on how to make a winter coat, make preserves, select cloth, knit caps, deal with humidity, etc.⁴⁸

(4) The newspaper TRAKTOR of the Dzherzhinsky Tractor Plant in Volgograd has a column "Did You Know?" with such information as the following: "There are 90,000 Ivanovs in Moscow, and 1,000 are called Ivan Ivanovich," and "How many times a person blinks in a minute."⁴⁹

(5) IZVESTIYA in 1964 carried an article on the removal of an unexploded bomb found in one of the most heavily populated districts of Moscow. The bomb had been hidden underneath a small garden plot for many years.⁵⁰

(6) A 1964 article in SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT dealt with the question of whether or not newspapers should discuss the topic of premarital sex. Mentioned was a column in a Perm newspaper called, "About Delicate Topics."⁵¹

Of course, most of these innovations occur in newspapers which are less orthodox than PRAVDA. IZVESTIYA has become noticeably more diverse in layout and content since its transfer to an evening edition in 1961. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in particular has in recent years added new features which have made the paper much more popular among its youthful audience. Among these are such continuous features as "Club of the Curious," and reports on the activities of the newspaper's "Public Opinion Institute," which carries out surveys among its readers on questions particularly interesting to young people.

For a more systematic survey of Soviet press content we chose a random sample of twelve issues for four years of PRAVDA: 1956, 1959, 1962, and 1965. The categories of content, and the amount of space devoted to those categories (measured in column inches) is summarized in Table Two which follows. For comparison, a republic newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA was also covered for two of those years, 1963 and 1965 (limitations of time precluded an analysis of all four years, and it was felt that these two years give some basis for comparison).

For the four-year period covered in PRAVDA, several features are apparent. There is a steady decline in international news in general, with an understandably sharp decrease in news about China and Albania. A more gradual decrease until 1965 is noticeable in news about non-Communist countries. Latin America received little attention as a whole, but shows up in the attention to "Other Communist Parties." It is common for Soviet newspapers to restrict much of their news about developing countries to activities of Communist Parties and proletarian dissatisfaction in those countries, making it appear that they are all on the verge of revolution and thus bearing out the Communist ideological phase of the "struggle for national liberation." There

Table Two: Sample News Coverage of Two Soviet Newspapers
(Column inches)

Content Classification	PRAVDA				KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA	
	1956	1959	1962	1965	1962	1965
International:	4476.5	4116.9	3496	2947	832	1252
A. Communist:	1569.5	1793.5	1628.5	920	269	544.5
China and Allies	570.5	509.5	66	12.5	7	20
East Europe, Cuba	921	1056.5	1037.5	598	230	460
Other Communist Parties	78	227.5	525	309.5	32	64.5
B. Non-Communist:	2643	2309.4	1601	1955	563	707.5
United States	297.5	667.4	634.5	546	84	221.5
Latin America	6	33	30	173	62	--
Europe and NATO	1019	559.5	476.5	731	193.5	89.5
Africa	83.5	516.5	81	228.5	131	57
Middle East	977.5	408.5	171	93.5	28.5	33
Far East	259.5	124.5	208	183	64	306.5
C. United Nations, Disarmament	264	14	267	72	218.5	42
Domestic:	4940.1	5734	5921	6980.5	6591	5836.5
A. Political:	1480	540.5	1757.5	1849	1027.5	413
Long Article with Commentary	611	128	1008.5	737.5	1272	48
Speech	610		340	620	80	68
Editorial	103	307	346	235	322	250
Announcements	156	105.5	63	256.5	133.5	47
B. Economic:	2419.5	3431.5	2608	2116	3014.5	2778.5
Short article	405.5	237.5	357	604	510.5	222.5
Long Article with Commentary	1653	1638	1767	1428	1920	2071
Speeches		788				
Editorial	361	768	484	84	578	485
C. Public Welfare, Housing	276	23.5		132.6		20
D. Arts, Literature, Culture	347	1140.5	654.5	677	386.5	845.5
E. Science, Education	154	280	346	1093	622	354
F. Sports	133.5	157	139.5	236	161	490
G. Military	58	30	119	125.5	150	282
H. Crime			36		3	41
Feature:						
History			114	509	85	156.5
Information (theater, radio)	72.1	131	147	242.5	342	386

is also a steady increase in domestic news, especially of political, but there remains more economic news than purely political. (Of course, it is difficult to separate the two, since economic news always carries political significance in Soviet society.) There is also a noticeable increase in military news. This is probably related to the crystallization of the Vietnam war and to the twentieth anniversary of the Second World War. Keeping alive memories of wartime horrors experienced by the Soviet population is one source of support for the government's foreign policy, which is always presented as protective of the motherland and eminently peaceful at the same time. There is also an increase in news about science and education; this, of course, is related to the development of Soviet space vehicles, publicity about which has become more and more intense in recent years. There is also an increase in information about theater and film schedules, and radio and television programs, a direct result of the development of the mass broadcasting media in the Soviet Union, which has been particularly rapid in the past several years.

In comparing KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA with the Central Party organ, one should keep in mind that the central paper serves as the ultimate model for the republic paper. What differences we note, therefore, are present in spite of this relationship. In general, there is less international news in the republic newspaper, and a little more domestic economic news, Kazakhstan being the home of the Virgin Lands territory. There seems to be more military news in the republic paper, and this may be due to the proximity of the republic, which is Central Asian, to China and the Mongolian border. In general, there is also more short information about theater, cinema, radio and television schedules.

C. Style of News Presentation

The observation that ideology, or its current official interpretation, pervades the content of the Soviet press is not a new one; yet it is sometimes difficult for the non-reader of Russian to grasp the flavor of ideologically oriented content. We have selected a few articles which convey this most clearly. The first is an article which deals with defectors. The underlying assumptions are that a defector is a traitor to the motherland, that he seeks an easy life and is willing to defame Russia's good name in order to "buy" it, and that he will inevitably wither away in unhappiness at not being allowed to return to the homeland. The following excerpt is from an article about two recent defectors (1964) and gives an example of what happens to those who leave the motherland:

A few years ago, Vasily Chikoidze, a geologist, made a tourist trip to the F.R.G. and did not return to the homeland. Just like Midny and Berukshtis, he lied and slandered the homeland. He renounced his mother, he betrayed his people for the sake of foreign soup. But its taste proved bitter. The "easy life" turned into searching for work, unemployment, fear and the utmost loneliness. And Chikoidze turned to the Soviet Embassy, asking that it help him return to the Soviet Union. "My life during those seven years was not a life but a torture," he wrote. "I know perfectly what awaits me in the homeland, but it is better to be dead than to live like this."⁵²

The idea that one could honestly be unhappy living in the Soviet Union and would simply want to live somewhere else is inconceivable.

A second article deals with the accusation of a Soviet citizen that one of the guides on the American exhibit in his home town was a former Nazi intelligence officer. The ideological tone is unmistakable in its self-righteous indignation; the style is exemplary of just how graphic Soviet newspaper jargon can become:

To follow the fate of human offal is not a pleasant business. But when poisonous dung beetles crawl out of the manure pile of history elementary rules of hygiene demand that precautionary measures be taken.

It is not difficult to guess what goals and intentions bring such types to our country. Obviously, not in order to openly repent their crimes before the people; such courage is not theirs. They come to us in a cowardly manner and in secret, under new guises, having changed their passports and their bosses, but with the same souls of spies and provocateurs. How can they contribute to cultural exchange between the two countries?⁵³

Our third example shows how even a seemingly apolitical event like an earthquake is treated from an ideological point of view. The following is an excerpt from the reporting on the 1966 Tashkent earthquake mentioned above:

An earthquake, when it occurs, is a natural disaster that lies like a heavy burden on people's lives. The burden, depending on the social system and on the way the society as a whole is organized, can be alleviated and the consequences can be ultimately eliminated....

Let's admit it, we sometimes rail rather vehemently against bureaucratic thorns in our institutions--whether actual or illusory. But in days such as these, even somewhat to our own astonishment--we should have known it all along, after all!--one suddenly sees with one's own eyes all the organizational complexity and flexibility of our society, all the extraordinary fast-acting and reliable mechanisms of its self-administration. And one is filled with respect for it, as a powerful and rational force capable of counter-acting terrible ordeals, of defending man against them. And one understands in a special way, not dogmatically, but in an immediate perception, what Soviet collectivism, community of interests and fortunes, means.⁵⁴

An outstanding feature of Soviet news handling is the selection of news. The rule is simple: that which illustrates ideology and Party policy is printed, and that which contradicts it is always omitted. One of the most outstanding examples of this is the Soviet news coverage of the East-West German border situation. No defections from East to West are treated as

such; they are either ignored or treated as "kidnappings." Border guards are there for the purpose of defending East Germans from attack and such "kidnappings." The following article is typical. It appeared in PRAVDA, December 28, 1965, on page 1:

(Tass)--In the last few days a number of provocations have been committed against the borders of the G.D.R. from West Berlin. As reported by the ADN wire service, on Dec. 24, at about 3:40 p.m. local time, a man from West Berlin tried to cross the border and provoke the G.D.R. border guards. The provocateur was accompanied by another civilian, a serviceman of the American occupation troops and six West Berlin policemen. At about 5:15 p.m., eight servicemen of NATO troops stationed in West Berlin undertook a provocation in the form of an attempt to destroy a border fortification structure. Thanks only to the vigilance of the G.D.R. border guards, the spread of the conflict was successfully prevented.

On the night of Dec. 26, at the Heinrich-Heinestrassen border crossing, a new attack on the G.D.R. state border in Berlin was made. Two West German citizens, under instructions from secret-service centers in West Berlin, tried to kidnap G.D.R. citizens and take them to West Berlin by forcibly breaking through the border in a truck.

As shown by the initial results of the investigation, the plan for this operation, which was to be carried out with the use of passes issued for Christmas holiday visits, was drawn up several weeks ago.

The G.D.R. border guards were forced to resort to firearms in order to stop the forcible break through the border. During this event, one of the provocateurs was wounded. However, he succeeded in escaping to West Berlin.

The presentation of news in an orthodox manner, with the obvious problems of control inherent in such attempts, have led to the creation of a style of newspaper jargon based on ideological phrasing. The result has been a significant contribution to the dull tone of the Soviet press. Leo Gruliov quoted a major Soviet newspaper figure in 1956:

Before me lie several issues of province and territory newspapers published on the same day. Above all, one is arrested by the striking similarity of the papers. Like

twins, they can hardly be distinguished from one another. If it were not for the masthead and the names of districts, factories and collective farms which are mentioned, any one of the papers could be substituted for another, and neither the reader nor the staff itself would notice.⁵⁵

While the variety of types of content to be found in the Soviet newspaper is certainly more varied than in 1956, the cliches of newspaper jargon continue to pervade and give a grey quality to news reporting. A 1960 article evaluating the style of newswriting still applies:

Newspaper language is especially corrupted and distorted by its formal, bureaucratic style....

Let us recall how frequently we see stereotyped locutions in newspaper articles and notices! Words that express great thoughts and deep feelings are, as a result of their immoderately frequent and mechanical repetition, fossilized into stock phrases that desiccate and disfigure our speech.⁵⁶

D. Illustrations

While the observation is that more variety has been injected into the format of the Soviet newspaper, we have done no systematic analysis of illustrations. The general impression is that there has been little change in the type and number of illustrative materials. One can still see pictures of factory workers and farmers cutting wheat in one front page of any week of PRAVDA, and the usual anti-imperialist cartoons still abound on pages three and four. Only the specific targets change, never the propaganda thrust. The next two pages contain some of these illustrative materials printed in PRAVDA over the last ten years.



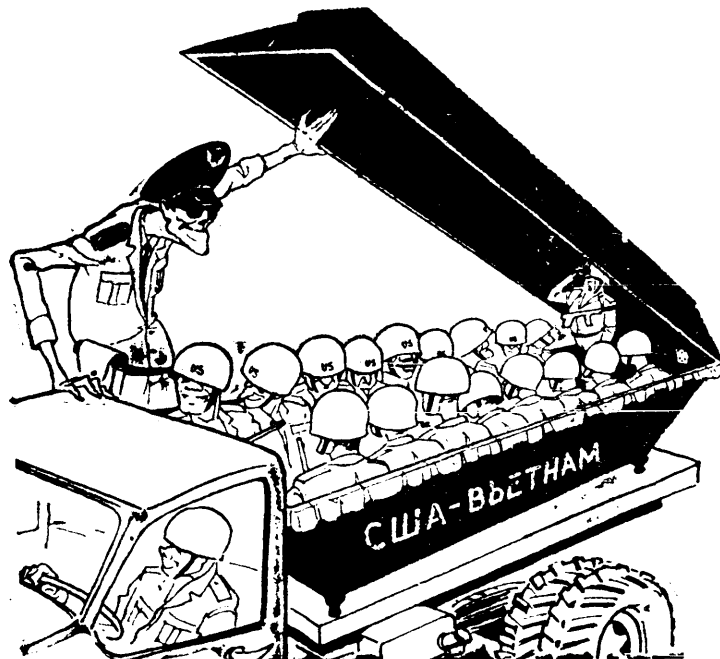
Caption reads:
 "What will you have, citizen?"
 "A cup of coffee, and a smile, if you can manage it." PRAVDA, Jan. 15, 1965.



The plans of the Horthy fascists to re-establish a bourgeois order in Hungary have been foiled by the workers. PRAVDA, Nov. 18, 1956, p. 5.



Paper reads: "We are for disarmament." Caption reads: "He sings well, but look at his accompaniment." Music score reads: "Nuclear testing." PRAVDA, March 17, 1962.



Coffin reads: USA-Vietnam. Caption: "Okay, fellows!" PRAVDA, Dec. 4, 1965.

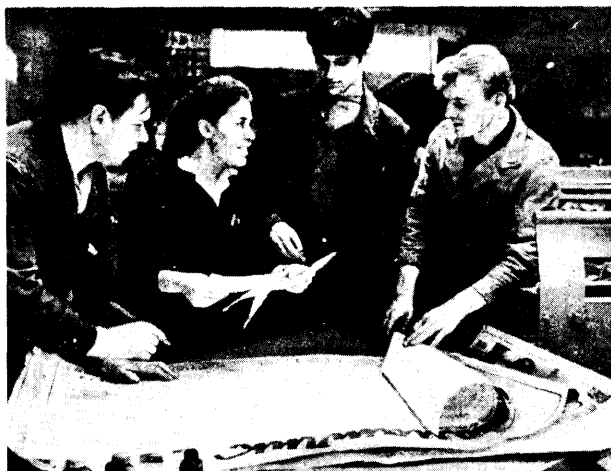
Typical Soviet News Photographs



Workers receiving news about new pension laws.
PRAVDA, May 10, 1956, p. 1.



Moscow, October 28. The evening shift
at the Moscow "Hammer and Sickle" Factory.
The news of the Kennedy-Khrushchev com-
munique on the Cuban Missile situation
has just been transmitted by radio. Shown
is an agitator leading a discussion among
workers about the communique. PRAVDA,
Oct. 29, 1962, p. 1.



Wall Newspaper in preparation.
IZVESTIYA, May 5, 1966.

Chapter III. Soviet Magazines

The fact that magazine production in the Soviet Union has tended to be viewed together with newspaper publication is partly due to Soviet statistics, which do not separate magazines from other serial publications; this makes it difficult to determine the exact number and circulation of magazines. Nevertheless, it is interesting to view magazine publication separately, since it is a good reflection of changing political emphasis during the Soviet period and of the modernization of all Soviet mass media of communication.

Although magazines began to be published immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, the real impetus for founding new journals was provided by a Party resolution of the Eighth Party Congress in 1919. Soon afterwards, a host of Party journals began to appear, among them IZVESTIYA GUBISPOLKOM (News of the Gubernia Executive Committee), SPUTNIK AGITATORA (Agitator's Handbook), and VESTNIK AGITPROPAGANDA (Herald of Agitation and Propaganda). In 1918-19 the so-called "mass political" journals began to appear, such as PLAMYA (Flame) and PROLETARSKAYA KULTURA (Proletarian Culture). At this time also there began to be produced political journals for young people, a major target for political indoctrination; among these were MOLODOI KOMMUNIST (Young Communist) in 1918 and MOLODAYA GWARDIYA (Young Guard) in 1922. In the early twenties magazines appeared which were intended for general audience groups, such as women, peasants, or young workers; these included RABOTNITSA (Female Worker), KRESTYANKA (Peasant Girl), and SMENA

(Shift). In the middle twenties the emphasis on a new, "proletarian" culture was reflected in the establishment of literary journals such as OKTYABR and NOVY MIR (New World). These journals in form resembled the Russian "tolstiy" or "thick" literary journals of the late nineteenth century. A humor magazine, KROKODIL (named for a Chekhov story) and a general popular magazine, OGONYOK (Little Flame) also appeared in 1922 and 1923, respectively. The late twenties and early thirties saw the establishment of journals on popular science and technology, such as NAUKA I ZHIZN (Science and Life) and TEKHNIKA MOLODYOZHI (Technology for Youth), and of physical culture magazines such as FIZKULTURA I SPORT.

Table B-1 of the Appendix gives the annual growth figures for Soviet magazines and their circulation for selected years between 1940 and 1965. The most notable feature is the cutting down of publication during the war and early post-war years; most journals published at the time were military or para-military in character. By 1956, publication had almost reached the 1940 level. The greatest growth occurred after Stalin's death in 1953. Between 1955 and 1957, more than three hundred new titles appeared, many of them in minority languages of the Soviet Union.

Magazine publication by content or audience orientation is shown in Table B-2. The tremendous increase in number of titles dealing with agriculture reflects Khrushchev's preoccupation with the subject. Technology, Industry, Transport, etc., follows with an increase of 178 titles; Mathematics and Science places third with over 80 new titles. When we look at growth in terms of "circulation per issue" figures, however, the picture is quite different. Here we see that Literary and Artistic journals jumped phenomenally in circulation from 48,000,000 copies per issue in 1950 to over 300,000,000

copies per issue in 1964! Next, Political, Social, and Economic journals increased by over 215,000,000 copies per issue. Much farther down the scale are Technology and Industry, etc., with a 50,000,000 copy increase; Agriculture with a 28,000,000 copy increase, and Health and Medicine with a 27,770,000 copy increase. These changes are of course indicative of the change in official concern, from industrialization and defense of the country to the aesthetic and educational needs of the population.

A review of some of the most recent Soviet innovations in magazine production will help to illustrate the change in content from dull, politically dominated content, to a more popular diet:

INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (Foreign Literature), founded in 1955, prints translations from selected stories, novels, and poems previously published in other countries. The material selected for the journal is always concurrent with Soviet ideology, but nevertheless offers a tantalizing change from the heavy dogma of "socialist realism," the formula for domestic creative writing. No doubt this sample of foreign literature is stimulating to young Soviet writers as well.

NOVIYE TOVARY (New Products), begun in 1957, is a limited circulation (75,000 copies in 1966) journal introducing its readers to the latest in Soviet consumer products and some of those from abroad. Needless to say, this type of journal would never have appeared during Stalin's time, when purchasing power was low and products in short supply.

ZA RUBEZHOM (Abroad), founded in 1960, reprints foreign journalistic articles for Soviet readers in translation. The selection is again geared largely to Soviet policy, but it does offer some alternative information about life abroad and is extremely popular with the Soviet reader. Its

over 650,000 copies (1966) are usually sold out within a few hours of its weekly release.

SLUZHBA BYTA (Service to Everyday Life) discusses consumer services for the population. Published in over a million copies a month, this journal is another evidence of increased attention to consumer needs.

KRUGOZOR (Outlook) is one of the most unique Soviet magazines in terms of format. Introduced in 1964, KRUGOZOR combines twenty pages of stories in color on general topics with seven two-sided recordings. Published jointly by the State Committee on Radio and Television of the Council of Ministers and the All-Union Recording Studio, the magazine sells for one ruble, and is issued monthly.

TURIST (Tourist), founded in 1965, provides information on popular tourist spots in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and also informs readers about the latest in hiking equipment and travel products. It occasionally has features on Western countries as well.

SPUTNIK (Fellow Traveller), started in December 1966, is a unique publication. Although it is not intended for domestic distribution, it is mentioned here as a direct reflection of the modernization of Soviet printed media. It is an attempt to compete with Western mass media, and can hardly be distinguished from them in format. It reprints diget articles from Soviet journals, and avoids those that are overly tendentious. It is distributed to 59 countries, and sold 12,000 copies in the United States in 1966.

We may classify all existing Soviet magazines today into twelve fairly distinct groups according to content:

(1) Party journals: Here we refer to those which deal with questions of Party organization, propaganda, agitation, current policies, and other practical

matters, relating these sometimes to low-level theoretical discussions. Examples are: KOMMUNIST, PARTIINAYA ZHIZN (Party Life), and AGITATOR. KOMMUNIST VOORUZHONNYKH SIL (Kommunist of the Armed Forces) is published for military Party organizations.

(2) Ideological or theoretical journals: These deal with current policy or historical approaches to ideological questions. They include VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS (Problems of the History of the CPSU), and VOPROSY FILOSOFII (Problems of Philosophy).

(3) Literary journals: These publish literature and literary criticism and are sponsored by the USSR and Republic Writers' Unions. They are often forums for polemical debates between "liberals" and "conservatives" and as such are good instruments for assessing the ideological moods and strains of the artistic world. They include NOVY MIR (New World), YUNOST (Youth), OKTYABR (October), MOSKVA (Moscow), and NEVA (The Neva).

(4) Trade or professional journals: These are often organs of the professional associations and occupational groups. Among them are BIBLIOTEKAR' (Liberarian), VESTNIK SVYAZI (Herald of Communications), and ZHURNALIST (The Journalist).

(5) Health and sports journals: Examples are ZDOROV'YE (Health) and FIZKULTURA I SPORT (Physical Culture and Sport).

(6) Those oriented toward a subsection of the population, such as youth, women, etc. Among them are MOLODOI KOMMUNIST (Young Communist), SOVIETSKAYA ZHENSCHINA (Soviet Woman), SELSKAYA MOLODOZH (Rural Youth) and RABOTNITSA (Female Worker).

(7) Humor magazines, such as KROKODIL (Crocodile) or PERETS (Pepper).

(8) Journals for foreign distribution: Examples are NEW TIMES (on questions of Soviet foreign policy), SOVIETSKIY SOYUZ (On Life in the Soviet Union), and SPUTNIK.

(9) Popular science: ZNANIYE SILA (Knowledge and Strength) and TEKHNIKA MOLODYOZHI (Technology for Youth).

(10) Digests of translations from foreign publications such as INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (Foreign Literature) and ZA RUBEZHOM (Abroad).

(11) Academic and scholarly bulletins: These are published either by the Academy of Sciences such as VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK: SERIYA YAZYK I LITERATURA (Herald of the Academy of Sciences: Language and Literature Series) or by an institution, such as a University, like VESTNIK LENINGRADSKOVO UNIVERSITETA: SERIYA EKONOMIKA FILOSOFIYA, I PRAVA (Herald of Leningrad University: Economy, Philosophy, and Law Series).

(12) General popular magazines, such as OGONYOK (Little Flame) and RADUGA (Rainbow).

While the format and content of Soviet magazines has markedly changed, it would be a mistake to conclude that they are destined to become like their Western "bourgeois" counterparts. First, paper shortages in the Soviet Union are only now beginning to be overcome; subscriptions to magazines were limited for this reason until a few years ago. More than ninety percent of all periodicals, including magazines, are still printed on paper roughly equivalent to newsprint stock. Second, layout and design, though they have begun to improve in the last ten years, suffer from the general backwardness of Soviet "commercial" art and the poor quality of materials available. The gap created by ideological restrictions on art is still evident in these areas. Third, the basic purpose of magazines and newspapers in Soviet society has not changed,

and both will continue to be highly political in content no matter how attractive the form of the propaganda.

Chapter IV. Soviet Journalists

A. The Union of Journalists

Early Soviet attempts to organize the journalism profession were ridden by difficulties which at that time beset the entire society in its attempts to restore order and cope with the challenges of development. The first six meetings of journalistic personnel which took place in the early days of Soviet newspaper work may be summarized as follows:

First Congress of Soviet Journalists, Nov. 13, 1918
Second All-Russian Congress of Journalists, May 6, 1919 (58 delegates)
Third All-Russian Congress of Workers of the Press, Jan. 28, 1922 (246 dels.)
Fourth All-Russian Congress of Workers of the Press, Feb. 6, 1923 (239 dels.)
Fifth All-Russian Congress of Workers of the Press, May 19, 1925
Sixth All-Russian Congress of Workers of the Press, Feb. 20, 1928

Up until 1927, the section of workers of the press was part of the Educational Workers' Union; afterwards, it became part of the poligraphical industry. Since it was felt that duplication resulted from a separate organization of journalists, the section was liquidated in 1930. In this period newspaper people were affiliated with the Unified Congress of Printers and Papermakers, a single trade union organization for production facilities workers, having little to do with the professional needs of journalists per se. The question of journalistic organization was not fully faced until after the war; no doubt the purges of the 1930's, and the sensitive position of the press, had something to do with this backwardness in creating a journalists' union.

By the early fifties, journalistic training had become more professional, and the first steps were taken toward the formation of the Union of Journalists; an organizational bureau was set up in the spring of 1956. By the middle of 1957, the orgbureau had worked out the regulations of the union, the order for receiving memberships, and other organizational problems. At the session of the orgbureau of June 20, 1957, the first group of journalistic personnel became charter members of the Union of Journalists. After the publication of the temporary regulations of the union, there were created organizational bureaus in union republics, and orgbureau departments in krajs and oblasts. Before November 1959, 23,000 journalists had been accepted as members of the new union. A congress was then held at the union republic level for each new union, and bodies to administer them were set up. On November 12 through 14, 1959, the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Journalists took place in Moscow. It was attended by more than 700 delegates. The main work of the congress was to accept and approve the regulations and order of membership drawn up by the organizational bureau and to elect the members of administrative bodies. The Second All-Russian Congress of the Union of Journalists USSR was held in October of 1966. By this time the membership had grown to 43,000, making this the largest professional union in the country. At this congress the original statutes adopted in 1959 were extensively revised (see Appendix C-1). The Union of Journalists, USSR, is one of the constituent members of the Communist-dominated International Organization of Journalists (MOZh, for the Russian name).

Soviet newspaper journalists can be sharply divided into two groups, professional and non-professional. The first is the category which corresponds most closely to the Western conception of "journalist"; the second, which is a peculiarly Soviet institution, would not be considered such in the West. We

shall discuss professional journalists first and treat the non-professional journalist as a special subject.

B. Professional Journalists

Probably the "basic tasks" of the Soviet journalist have not changed drastically since the beginning of the profession; certainly the official view of his professional goals has not. Early Soviet journalists, of course, were faced more directly with the task of agitation and propaganda, and since they were confined largely to the field of newspaper journalism, were a readily identifiable and fairly closely controlled group. With the development of broadcasting media, however, and the rapid expansion of the Soviet newspaper network, the term "journalist" has come to apply to a large range of people working in not only newspapers, but in radio, television, and press agencies as well. Thus, while his basic tasks are more or less the same, the Soviet journalist (we are speaking largely of the domestic journalist though much of what we shall say applies to the foreign correspondent as well) has come to be more directly responsible to his own newspaper (or editorial board in the case of the broadcasting media) and its individual functional orientation and policy.

The Soviet journalist must first of all present events in such a way as to ensure that content emerges in illustration of the ideological descriptions of the current Party leadership. Thus, to be sensitive to this line is the most important quality for the journalist; he is in a vulnerable and responsible position, and his position is subject to review at any time by the Party. A recent PRAVDA editorial phrased the issue precisely:

Workers of the press, radio, and television must take a creative, not a routine, approach to individual facts, and must skillfully disclose the practical experience of our work taken as a whole. A journalist is an active fighter for the cause of the Party. It is not enough for him to have good intentions. He must also have clear views, a knowledge of life, and the ability to present his thoughts convincingly and brilliantly from Leninist positions. The journalist and the public activist writing in the press must constantly perfect his knowledge and skill in order to see life in all its diversity, to know how to single out at the right moment what is practically important and to focus attention on the unsolved tasks of the day.⁵⁷

Often these "tasks" are clearly outlined for the journalist, and his response involves little more than keeping up with the directives and suggestions communicated to him via TASS surveys, private talks, journalists' conferences, and so on. An example of a clearcut propaganda campaign is that for Chemistry begun by Khrushchev in 1963; a PRAVDA article reported:

The Secretariat of the Board of the USSR Journalists' Union yesterday passed a resolution on the tasks of Soviet journalists in carrying out the decisions of the December plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee.

The journalists were called upon to propagandize convincingly and graphically the Party's program for the development of the chemical industry and to take an active part in the struggle for implementing it as quickly as possible. Among the concrete measures recommended by the secretariat were trips by creative brigades of journalists, writers and artists to the enterprises and construction sites of the chemical industry and raids by workers and peasant correspondents.⁵⁸

Guidance by the Party can take more general tones, setting guidelines for the actual writing of articles as well. A 1964 conference summoned together press and broadcasting journalists for an "All-Union Creative Conference of Publicists" which gave journalists general directions for rejuvenating their propaganda techniques:

When our publicism is honest, frank, bold, dramatic, when it portrays life truthfully and summons people forward, the Soviet reader accepts it. He is strict and exacting, he

will not tolerate literary embellishments. And one must always write with a clear mental image of the person one is addressing.....

We must call the attention of all our journalists, and not merely the essayists and publicists, to the need for the attentive study of the processes that are taking place in the socialist countries and in our country.... Unfortunately, we have posed the problem of studying social changes very inadequately; we do not study, analyze, and interpret these changes properly, but often restrict ourselves to the mere setting down of facts....

All this does not mean that any problems should immediately be dragged into the pages of the press. This is a complicated question. It may happen that it is still too early to examine certain controversies in the press, even though they have already manifested themselves to some degree.⁵⁹

In addition to conferences, directives from above as described in Chapter I, and PRAVDA editorials, Soviet journalists have had another major reference for guidance on Party policy and currently desirable topics. This is the journal SOVETSKAYA PECHAT, published monthly by the Union and appearing in 1966 (No. 5) in 31,350 copies per issue. The lead article in each issue describes current emphases of Party propaganda, setting guidelines for the writing of articles on the particular subjects under discussion. Though this is often written in language which is somewhat vague to a Westerner, it is a form of communication which is fully understandable to a journalist who has grown up in Soviet society and been trained in Soviet newspaper work. The preceding article on the publicists' conference is one example. Beginning with January 1967, a new magazine, ZHURNALIST, began publication as a professional journal.

Early Soviet journalists, and indeed until the early fifties, latter-day ones as well, learned their trade in the school of experience. Often they began as trusted Party members and learned journalism after they were awarded

posts in newspaper work. In the early fifties, however, there began to be established schools of journalism; now about nineteen universities throughout the Soviet Union prepare people for newspaper work. About a thousand graduates of regular, evening, and correspondence schools enter the profession each year.⁶⁰

The Faculty of Journalism at Moscow State University is the largest journalism school in the country, with about 2500 students. There are eight hundred day students, who study five years for a diploma; 600 evening and 1100 correspondence students follow the same course of study, earning their diplomas in a minimum of six years. There are about thirty graduate students. Of the 1965 graduating class of 150 day students, 100 went to work immediately as reporters or editors of newspapers or magazines; fifteen went into radio, fifteen into television, and twenty into book publishing.

The course of study includes:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. The Revolutionary and Democratic Press in Russia (19th Century) | 30 hours |
| 2. The Creation and Development of the Bolshevik Press (1882-1917) | 24 hours |
| 3. The Party-Soviet Press in the Period of Struggle for Socialism and its Transformation into Communism (1917-1958) | 28 hours |
| 4. The Theory and Practice of the Party and Soviet Press | 72 hours |
| 5. The Contemporary Foreign Press | 30 hours |
| (Half of the time is spent on the Communist press in the major Western countries; for example, equal amounts of time are spent on <u>The Worker</u> and the <u>New York Times</u> .) | |
| 6. Seminars on Practical Problems of the Soviet press | 42 hours |

7. Seminars on Editorial Writing, Critical Reviewing, Make-up, and Lay-out	12 hours
8. On-the-job training with a newspaper or magazine	<u>100 hours</u>
Total	338 hours

Training of journalists is still very much a Party-supervised affair, and many of the faculties of journalism are located at Party schools. The Higher Party School in Moscow has an extensive correspondence course network for aspiring journalists. Graduates of the professional journalism course have begun to become well placed in the newspaper publishing hierarchy, and have undoubtedly been a factor accounting for a greater professionalization of the field, as well as its organization into a union. Two of the best-known graduates of the Moscow Faculty are Khrushchev's daughter and her husband, Alexei Adzhubei, who was editor of IZVESTIYA until Khrushchev's ouster in 1964. The professional training of journalists has by no means completely replaced journalistic apprenticeship as an entry into the profession, however. Its "ties with the masses" demand that the Soviet press be supported by many political workers and ordinary toilers as well. Particularly on lower levels of the press, many reporters and editors rise through the hierarchy by means of on-the-job-training.

C. Worker and Peasant Correspondents (RABSELKORS)

The peculiar function of the press in Soviet society, among them the "political education of the masses," necessitates some means of direct communication between the newspaper network and the broad strata of the general population. Because the staff of the newspaper is too small for carrying out this function, there was created during the early years of the regime a system

of non-staff correspondents attached to newspapers. This network is one of the bases to the Soviet claim of "freedom of the press" in the sense that by means of the RABSELKOR movement the masses have direct access to the medium. Inkeles' 1950 description still serves as an introduction to the function of the institution:

The movement of worker and peasant correspondents is based on this conception of mass participation in the work of Soviet newspapers. This movement is regarded in the USSR as having great socio-political significance, because it opens up a channel of communication between the masses of workers and peasants and the party leaders through the medium of the press. As such it is defined as a "conductor" along which the party diffuses its influence among the masses, and at the same time is enabled to determine the temper of the masses. The movement is also regarded as a school for training journalists for the Soviet press. Finally, the worker and peasant correspondents are supposed to serve as the eyes and the ears of the party press in every area of the nation's life. It is this latter aspect of their work which integrates the worker and peasant correspondents with the institution of self-criticism from below.⁶²

Workers and peasant correspondents are in some cases hardly distinguishable from those who write letters to the press, since this is one form of RABSELKOR contribution. However, there is usually a readily identifiable aktiv or active core of RABSELKORS attached to any newspaper, which is organized and trained by the regular staff. These "aktivs" are more or less volunteers, but there is a certain selectivity involved; not just anyone can decide to become a RABSELKOR. Since RABSELKOR activity involves the use of the Party organ, the Party organization has much to say about who belongs to the group. Often it solicits active Party members and highly productive workers to contribute on a regular basis to the newspaper and to participate in other RABSELKOR activities. Usually the RABSELKORS of a newspaper, especially on the lower levels, are simply the most active Party members in that organization or institution. Writing for the Party newspaper is one way of

fulfilling Party membership duties. RABSELKORS in general are Party members, or Komsomol members or sympathizers who are close enough to the Party group to be trusted to function properly in the Party's interests.

According to the official history of the RABSELKOR movement,⁶³ PRAVDA initiated the institution, holding meetings for its worker and peasant correspondents as early as 1918. Regional meetings were later held throughout Moscow. In November of 1923 PRAVDA held the first RABSELKOR conference, in which 42 delegates participated. As a result of this meeting, PRAVDA began in 1924 to publish RABOCHII KORRESPONDENT (Workers' Correspondent). In the summer of 1925, the number of RABSELKORS had grown to more than 200,000. On June 1, 1925, the organization bureau of the Central Committee of the Party adopted a resolution "On the RABSELKOR Movement" which designated the basic unit of the movement the "circle" in enterprises and hut reading rooms. The Third All-Union Conference of RABSELKORS held in 1926 was attended by 542 delegates, representing some 250,000 active correspondents. Two years later in 1928 the Fourth All-Union conference, representing some 500,000 active worker and peasant correspondents, was held.

In 1928 the Kharkov RABSELKORS initiated the so-called "RABSELKOR RAIDS." These raids were directed at industrial plants and agricultural collectives; essentially they amounted to invasions by RABSELKORS with the purpose of checking on efficiency and political reliability. Materials resulting from the raids would be published in the newspaper dealing with the organization or persons deemed responsible for the state of affairs. The correct response to this form of "criticism" was a reiteration of the shortcomings on the part of the individual or enterprise discussed, with a solemn promise to mend the situation and an outline of specific measures for doing

so. This response, called "self-criticism," completed the cycle of "criticism/self-criticism," a basic Soviet social institution referred to elsewhere. During the first Five Year Plan there were some five thousand raids carried out by the RABSELKORS of PRAVDA. Such raids remain a current facet of RABSELKOR activity throughout the USSR.

By 1930 the RABSELKOR movement consisted of some two million persons. On April 16, 1931, the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the restructuring of the RABSELKOR movement. The new emphasis was on increased economic and technical knowledge on the part of the correspondents who often found themselves out of their element in making raids on specialized industrial enterprises. For leadership in these matters, there were created commissions consisting of chiefs of cultural and educational departments of Party committees, editors of Party newspapers, representatives of the Peasant and Worker Inspection Boards, procurators, and instructors on the press. In February, PRAVDA was given general responsibility for the RABSELKOR movement. By 1932 there were about three million members; by 1939, the number had dropped to two million, no doubt in connection with the purges which terrorized many segments of Soviet society at that time. The war, and the immediate post-War period saw a neglect of the movement, and revival began only at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, the first since Stalin's death. In the beginning of July 1957, the All-Russian Conference of Worker and Peasant Correspondents was called by the bureau of the Central Committee of the RSFSR. More than six hundred representatives attended, but it is not known how many RABSELKORS they represented. This conference touched off a series of lower level conferences, from the union republics on down. In city conferences of correspondents in Armenia more than thirty thousand participated, and in

Azerbaidzhan, thirteen thousand. The trade union newspaper TRUD held such a conference for its own worker and peasant correspondents, and even initiated the monthly bulletin RABKOR GAZETY TRUD. The Central Committee in an August 1958 resolution undertook to improve the movement of RABSELKORS, emphasizing greater training.

Training of RABSELKORS is usually a combination of individual consultations combined with classroom instruction and large conferences. There are usually regular conferences between the editor of a newspaper and his RABSELKOR aktiv. Daily consultation occurs between members of the regular staff and the RABSELKORS. Sometimes editors communicate with their more distantly-located RABSELKORS by means of postal correspondence, outlining the current plan of the newspaper so that the correspondent can adjust his contributions accordingly. Regional and local city-wide conferences are commonplace, just as are those for regular staff journalists. The Leningrad House of Journalists has a two-year course for worker and peasant correspondents, and the Central House of Journalists in Moscow holds periodic lectures which RABSELKORS are invited to attend. Larger newspapers have RABSELKORS cabinets, or rooms where periodicals and books are available and lectures are held.

All in all, the work of the RABSELKOR can be considered anything from a part-time public activity or Party duty to a training ground in the journalism profession. His duties consist of trying to dig out objects for criticism and bringing them to the attention of the newspaper, hence to the Party organization. He is a sort of public reformer. His position is, however, somewhat more hazardous than that of a regular journalist since he is not really a full-fledged plenipotentiary, and has less than the total authority of the newspaper behind him in his work.

Several instances have been reported in the Soviet press in which RABSELKORS have gotten into real trouble because of their criticism, in spite of the admonition:

Letters from Worker and Peasant correspondents are the sap of life that enables the organism of the Soviet newspaper to live and develop properly. Without this life-giving sap a newspaper will wither away....

The question of criticism--healthy, businesslike, principled criticism--is a very serious matter. A worker or peasant correspondent must not be afraid to raise sharp questions that disturb the people among whom he lives and works, must not varnish reality, must not hush up defects and difficulties.⁶⁴

Obviously, the task of exposing one's neighbors, especially if the local Party Committee does not support the issue, is not always an easy one. The following incident from Gorkiy was reported in PRAVDA, March 4, 1966:

On an assignment from GORKOVSKAYA PRAVDA worker-correspondent [redacted] wrote the article "Convictions and Deeds" for the newspaper. In it he criticized A. Dubova, a worker at the Engine of the Revolution Plant who, owning her own house, sold it to her tenants and then contrived to get a communal apartment for herself. Despite the plenitude of factual evidence, Dubova called the article slanderous and declared that its author had defamed her. Comrade Safonenko, the assistant head of the department of the Gorkiy City Party Committee, to which she appealed for "aid" did not trouble himself to check the facts, but straightaway fell upon Comrade Isakin. The worker-correspondent was accused of "constantly looking for only the bad in people" and of striving to "blacken everything, to ridicule," etc.

"I can fix it so they won't print your articles any more!" Comrade Safonenko threatened in conclusion....

The case of Comrade Isakin is not the only one in Gorky. We received a complaint from worker-correspondent Nikolai Droshkhin of Sormovo, to whom the city Party committee also gave a tongue-lashing for a critical report he had published in GORKOVSKIY RABOCHIY. The editors of GORKOVSKIY RABOCHIY have not helped their worker correspondents in any way.

Worker correspondents raise important questions in their articles. It is incumbent upon Party committees and newspaper editors to react sensitively to each signal from worker-correspondents. Unfortunately, this is not always done in Gorkiy.⁶⁵

Chapter V. Soviet News Agencies

A. History⁶⁶

With the establishment of Soviet power in 1917, there was a brief period of uncomfortable coexistence between the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, the former Tsarist news service, and the newly created Press Bureau of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies. Since these two agencies were essentially in conflict, chaos resulted. Lenin attempted to resolve the struggle and alleviate confusion by creating a single agency out of the two in the spring of 1918; the result was the Russian Telegraph Agency or ROSTA. Initially, ROSTA was organized in two sections, one handling news distribution, the other concentrating on creating and distributing propaganda to combat military desertion, counter-revolution, and other threats to the new regime. It was not long before the agitation and propaganda functions of the agency were assigned to other bodies, and ROSTA began to open offices abroad, functioning as a full-fledged news agency. ROSTA handled the international aspects of Soviet news-gathering for several years, but it was finally replaced completely in 1935, when TASS was given the sole responsibility for gathering and distributing news within the Soviet federation. At this point TASS assumed complete control of the news agencies of the other constituent republics of the Soviet Union. Kruglak indicates the significance of this act in his study on TASS: "The move was meaningless in terms of communications efficiency. Politically, it

was one more indication of the growing centralization of power in Moscow by the Stalin regime. At last a monolithic state possessed a monolithic news agency" (p. 21, The Two Faces of TASS).

TASS retained its monopoly over news collecting and dissemination until February 1961 when a new Soviet news agency, Agentsvo Pechati Novosti, known as APN or NOVOSTI, was created. Officially a "public" not a government news agency, NOVOSTI is not financed by state funds. It acts as a sort of "public relations" agency for the Soviet Union.

B. TASS

The Telegrafnoye Agentsvo Sovietskovo Soyuz, attached to the Council of Ministers, USSR, remains the official Soviet vehicle for gathering and distributing news throughout the Soviet Union and the world at large. Most other Communist news agencies have been modelled on, and are strongly influenced by, TASS. Its official functions are:

(1) The gathering on the entire territory of the Soviet Union of information and photo-information about important events in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country, on the activity of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Union Republics, on international connections of the USSR, on decisions and activities of Party, state and economic organs and public organizations, on the course of the fulfillment of economic plans, on achievements of the Soviet people in economic and cultural construction, in the development of science, technology, literature and art, in all fields of Communist construction;

(2) The gathering in foreign countries of information and photo-information on the most important political events abroad, on foreign policy acts of foreign governments, on actions of state, Party, and public figures, on actions of the press and other organs of public opinion, on internal political and economic positions, and also on the development of science and technology in various countries of the world, on the successes of socialist construction in

socialist countries, on the class war in capitalist countries and the liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries, on the movement of peoples for peace, for peaceful co-existence and the avoidance of war;

(3) The dissemination over the entire territory of the USSR by press, radio and television of its own information and photo-information, and also of legal acts, decisions of the Party and the government, of other official documents, of the most important actions of leaders of the Soviet Union on domestic and foreign problems, of foreign policy documents of the Soviet government, communiques and declarations of various institutions and enterprises;

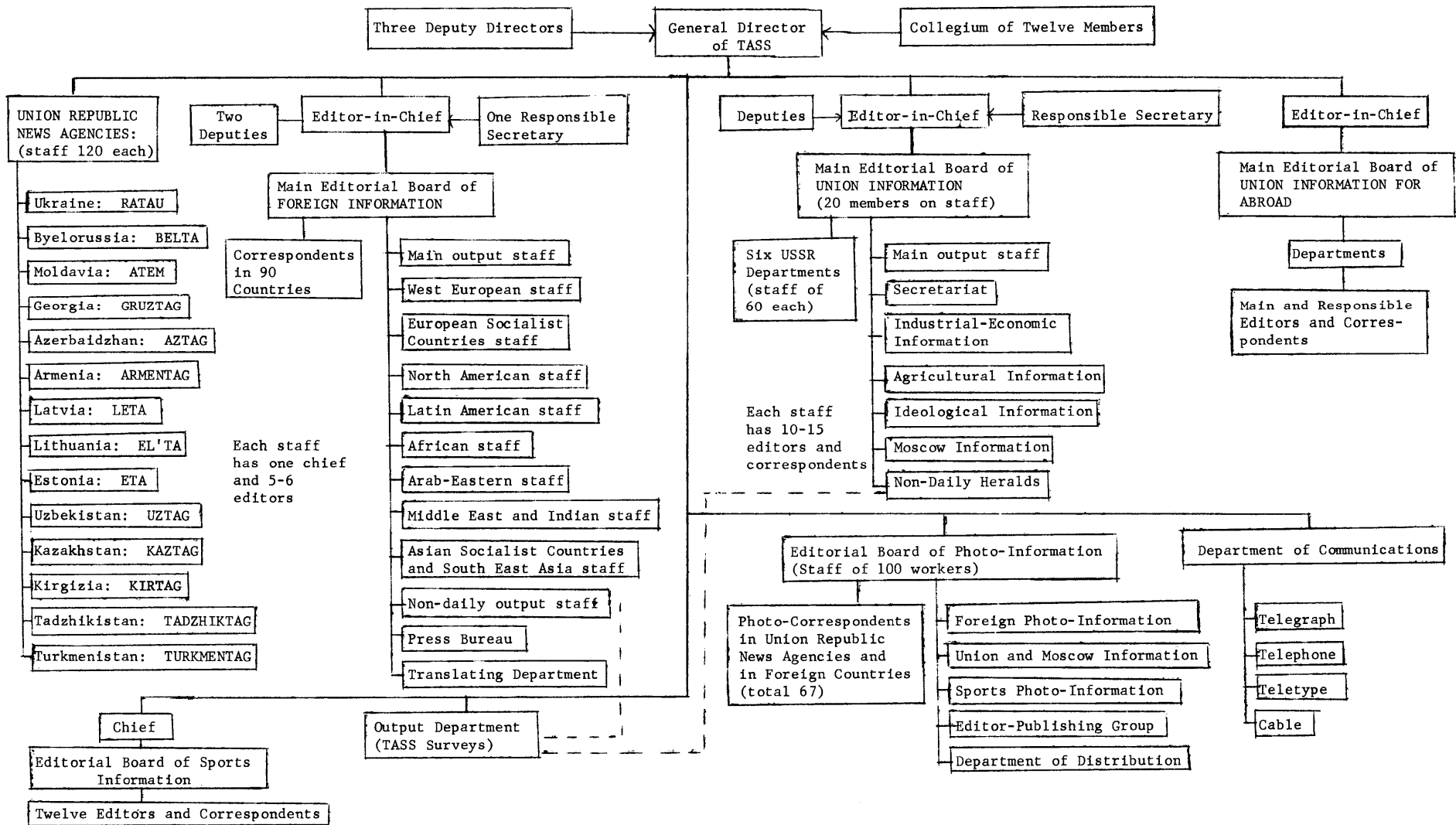
(4) The dissemination in the press of foreign countries of Union and international information and photo-information. In its special communications, TASS reflects the official opinion of the ruling circles of the USSR and is authorized to disprove the fictitious communications of the foreign press and the slanderous declarations of official representatives of bourgeois governments.⁶⁷

Organization of TASS⁶⁸

The General Director of TASS, now D. Gordyunov, is responsible for the entire operation of the agency; he is aided by three deputies and a Collegium created in 1962. Consisting of twelve members, this collegium gives advice on administrative and policy matters. The Central apparatus of TASS consist of three main editorial boards (Foreign Information, Union Information, and Union Information for Abroad) and several lesser editorial boards and service departments (see Chart Four following).

The Main Editorial Board for Union Information disseminates information received from Moscow and from its correspondents located all over the Soviet Union. The Leningrad Department, for example, receives information from Moscow, and transmits it by wire to Vologda, Archangelsk, Pskov, Novgorod, Petrozavodsk, Murmansk, and Kronstadt. Editors of Leningrad newspapers receive news directly from the Leningrad office. For Leningrad oblast newspapers

Chart Four: Organizational Structure of TASS



-73-

SOURCE: Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, SPRAVOCHNIK ZHURNALISTA, pp. 159-164.

and radio and television stations, morning and evening editions of a TASS herald (of about 20 pages each) of Leningrad and Leningrad oblast news are prepared; city and raion newspapers receive three special editions per week, consisting of about 8-10 pages apiece. The Leningrad office of TASS daily transmits information to Moscow about Leningrad and the oblast region. There are about 11 correspondents in the Leningrad office, and about 64 (one to two per oblast) on other regions of the Russian republic; Moscow has eleven correspondents for the capital region alone. TASS, therefore, serves as the national news agency for the Russian republic. Republic news agencies (listed in the Chart) employ from 120 to 135 persons, among which are included krai and oblast correspondents. In addition to the staff correspondents of TASS and other Union Republic news agencies run by TASS, there are also "non-staff authors" similar to RABSELKORS for individual newspapers.

All information received by TASS is transmitted directly to the central press in Moscow, and to the Main Editorial Boards of Union and Foreign Broadcasting of Soviet Radio. The Main Editorial Board of Union Broadcasts prepares from the information received the following survey heralds: for military newspapers, for KOMSOMOL newspapers, for PIONEER newspapers, for oblast and republican newspapers, and special editions for evening newspapers. These are sent directly to the indicated newspapers' editorial boards. Informational materials are also prepared for separate republics and oblasts, geographical zones (Far East, Central Asia, Polar), various fields of industry (metallurgy, chemistry, textiles) and agriculture (cotton-growing, animal husbandry, crop cultivation). The Main Editorial Board for Foreign Broadcasts transmits information to editorial boards for various countries or groups of countries; the information has by this time been translated into Russian and five foreign

languages. The board puts out a daily edition of the herald survey for the press, and other heralds of varying periodicity: "Around the World," "Cultural Life Abroad," "In the Scandinavian Countries," "In the Socialist Countries," "Herald for Military Newspapers," and so on. All of these materials are distributed by TASS through subscription. Within the USSR, there are about 5,000 subscribers to these materials; most of them are newspapers, journals, radio and television stations.

C. NOVOSTI (APN)

The highest governing body of the "public" news agency is its Founders' Council, composed of five members each from its four sponsoring organizations: the USSR Union of Journalists, the USSR Writers' Union, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge (ZNANIYE). NOVOSTI's stated tasks, according to the regulations adopted at its founding in 1961, are:

(1) To prepare for the press, information agencies, publishing houses, radio, television, public organizations of foreign countries article, commentaries, discussions, surveys, outlines, reportages, communications, photographic illustrations and other informational materials on questions of domestic and foreign policy of the USSR, of the social, economic, and cultural life of the Soviet people, and also materials reflecting the point of view of Soviet society on important events of internal and international life;

(2) To supply the Soviet press, radio and television with articles...and other informational materials interesting them on problems of politics, social life, economics, science, and culture of foreign countries;

(3) To prepare at the request of individual and Soviet newspapers, journals, television, publishing houses, information agencies, and social organizations articles, photographic

illustrations and other information materials on life in the USSR and abroad;

(4) To publish in foreign countries (in accordance with existing laws) journals, newspapers, brochures, booklets, and other literature with the goal of describing with clarity the life of the Soviet people, to show the development of Soviet economy, science, culture, the elucidation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.⁶⁹

In plain language, the purpose of NOVOSTI is to counteract what the Soviet Union feels is hostile bourgeois propaganda about life in the USSR; one of its main purposes is to provide foreign publications and government agencies with favorable material about Soviet society. The task of providing selective information for Soviet people about life abroad is not so concentrated in NOVOSTI, since such selectivity has always been a main feature of both TASS and the major Soviet central newspapers. NOVOSTI's general purpose is "to disseminate abroad correct information about the Soviet Union and to acquaint the Soviet people with the life of peoples of foreign countries in order to in every way influence the development and strengthen mutual understanding, confidence, and friendship between people."

A large part of NOVOSTI's activity is concentrated on the preparation of the publications mentioned above for foreign distribution dealing with life in the USSR. In 1963 NOVOSTI published abroad twenty-six Soviet magazines, five newspapers, and fifty-three bulletins with a circulation of 1.5 million copies. The largest publication of NOVOSTI is the publication STRANA SOVETOV (Country of the Soviets) for India and Nepal; it is published in 12 Indian dialects, Nepalese and English. For the United States, the journal SOVIET LIFE (formerly called USSR) is published in exchange for the privilege of distributing a similar American journal in the USSR. Other such publications by NOVOSTI include KRAI RAD (STRANA SOVETOV) for Poland, SOVIET WEEKLY for

England and SOVIETSKIY SOYUZ SEVODNYA (THE SOVIET UNION TODAY) for Japan.

Book publication is another activity of NOVOSTI. In 1963, it distributed abroad some seventy titles with a total circulation of 10 million copies. Materials on the Twenty-Second Congress was distributed in twenty-nine countries with a total circulation of four million copies. An example of NOVOSTI's taste is the little booklet "A Book of Facts About West Berlin," which in Soviet words: "shows into what the imperialist inciters of war have turned West Berlin."

For foreign correspondents and embassies in Moscow, NOVOSTI publishes a "Daily Survey of the Soviet Press" in English with supplement in French, Spanish, and German. NOVOSTI also prepares for the Soviet press the following surveys: "Through the Soviet Union" (6 times a week), "International Information" (6 times a week), "Science and Technology" (once a week), "Culture and Art" (once a week), and "Sports" (twice a week). Five hundred and fifteen Soviet newspapers, magazines, and editorial boards of radio and television stations subscribe to them. NOVOSTI puts out about 500 pages of text per day in fifteen languages.

NOVOSTI also produces films about the USSR for TV showings. At the beginning of this year it was reported that fifty countries subscribe to this service.⁷⁰

Chapter VI. The Distribution Network of the Soviet Press

A. Structure

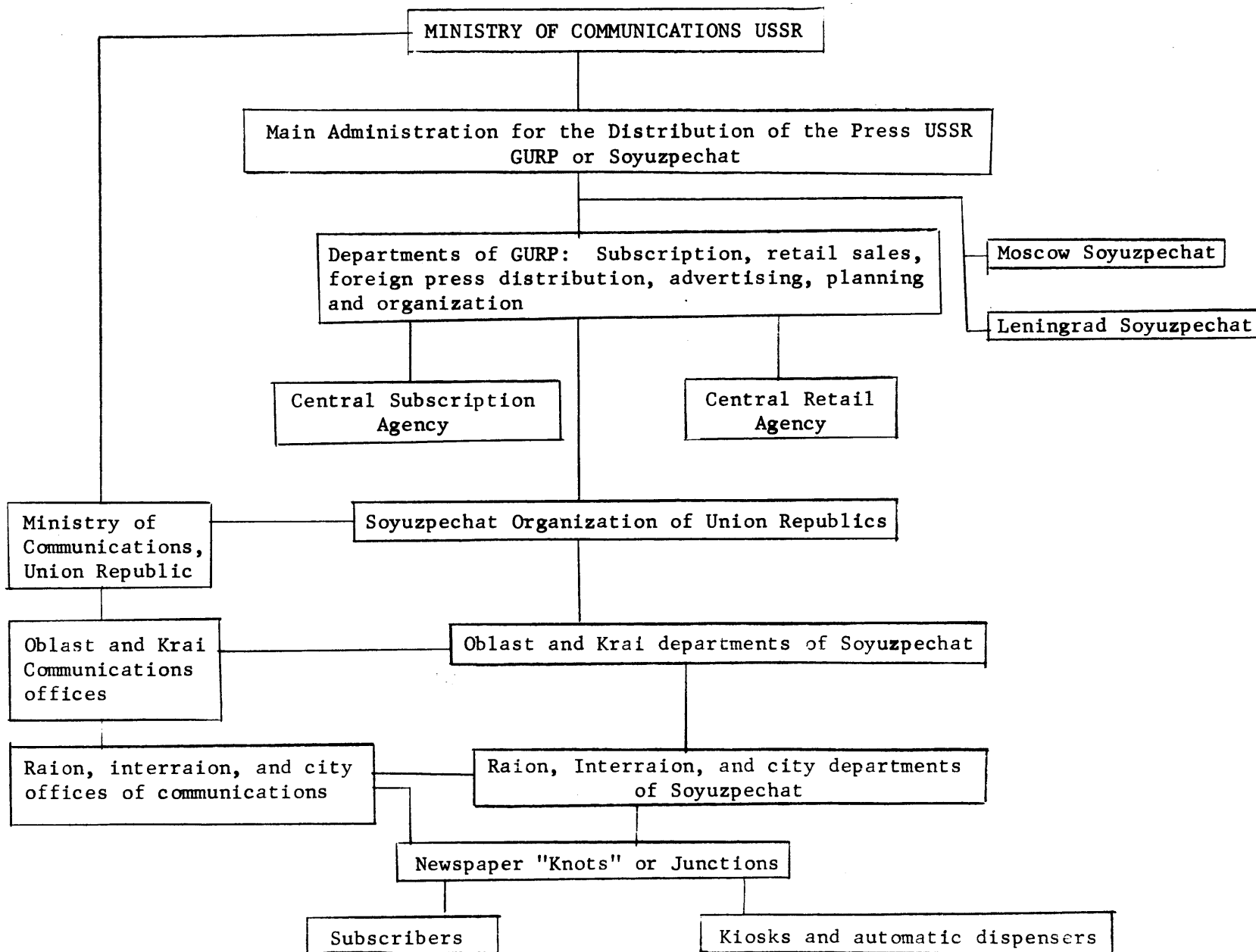
Under the USSR Ministry of Communications is the Glavnoe Upravleniye po Rasprostraneniyu Pechati (Main Administration for the Distribution of the Soviet Press), known colloquially as GURP or Soyuzpechat. Created by the Council of People's Commissars on August 16, 1930, Soyuzpechat is entrusted with the following duties:

The system of "Soyuzpechat" carries full responsibility for the fulfilling of Party and government directives, and orders of the Ministry of Communications on the distribution in the USSR of the periodical press and part of the non-periodical press....⁷¹

Organs of Soyuzpechat take orders for subscriptions to periodical publications (including magazines and serial publications as well as newspapers); about nine-tenths of the total periodical output is distributed through this organization, the remainder dispatched by Transpechat (railroad workers' organization) and other similar subsidiary organs of Soyuzpechat. Soyuzpechat is responsible also for the retail sale of newspapers and other periodicals through its system of kiosks and automatic vending machines.

The organization of Soyuzpechat follows the national administrative breakdown mentioned earlier for the publishing network. Since it is part of the Ministry of Communications, however, it is also subordinate to the analogous levels of the Ministry of Communications. This dual organization is intended to effect maximum control over distribution. Chart Five on the

Chart Five: Organization of the Newspaper Distribution Network



next page presents the general organization of the distribution network, and its relation to the Ministry of Communications. It should be noted that the Soyuzpechat organizations of Moscow and Leningrad are so large that they are directly subordinate to the National Soyuzpechat organization. There is no Russian Republic Soyuzpechat organization.

There are about 67,000 post offices and departments of communications in the USSR (1964). They are all divided into newspaper junctions and "appendage" enterprises. Newspaper junctions are responsible for transferring the newspapers from their means of conveyance (postal railroad cars, airplanes, ships) to postal employees for delivery. There are about 9,000 of these newspaper junctions in the entire country (1964). The remaining enterprises are called "appendage" enterprises merely because they are subordinate to the newspaper junctions and receive periodicals from them for distribution to postal employees, kiosks, or vendors. These lowest links in the distributive apparatus are under the supervision of both Soyuzpechat and the postal divisions of the Ministry of Communications.

B. Subscription

Although subscriptions are taken all year round, there is a general subscription drive each year from September to December. During this time, there is active propagandizing of periodical publications by means of so-called "press propaganda" groups which exist in most areas. Before 1962, there were limitations on subscriptions because of a long-term paper shortage, but at present any Soviet citizen can theoretically subscribe to any publication available in the catalogue. About 1,200,000 copies of this catalogue were published in

1963 for Soviet publications, and 300,000 copies for foreign periodicals, most of which come from Socialist countries.

Subscriptions are taken at all offices of communications, newspaper junctions, and by volunteer distributors who earn a percentage from the subscriptions they sell. These volunteer distributors take subscriptions on collective farms, in factories and institutions, and places designated as subscription points. In 1965 there were about 300,000 places so designated throughout the USSR. In more rural areas, most subscriptions seem to be taken by these volunteers, who reputedly save the government ten million rubles per year.⁷²

A more complete picture of the subscription campaign might be had by reference to two examples of widely diverse oblasts (counties) in the Russian Republic. Sakhalin Oblast,⁷³ located in a sparsely settled area (7.5 persons per square kilometer) of the Far East, had about 650,000 inhabitants in 1963. In the 1963 subscription campaign there were 964 subscription points in the oblast, and 3,300 volunteer workers. Of these, 2,500 worked in the rural areas (population 488,000), and 800 were working in urban areas (population 160,500). The ratio of distributors was about one per two hundred inhabitants in both urban and rural areas. In Belgorodskiy⁷⁴ oblast, in the more densely populated European section of the country (47.3 persons per square mile) there were about one distributor per 280 persons; of this number, there were one per five hundred of the rural population and one per 180 of the urban population. It is not claimed that these two areas are representative; they are, however, located in two vastly different areas of the country in terms of distance from the population center, and give some idea of the range of distributor-inhabitant ratios.

The process of subscribing to a Soviet newspaper, like most official or semi-official acts in the Soviet Union, is a process full of administrative red tape. Each subscriber copies out from the catalogue the name and number of the periodical to which he wants to subscribe. He must do this in the presence of a volunteer distributor or postal employee. For each periodical he receives a receipt showing the periodical's name, his term of subscription, his name and exact address, and the exact sum paid. All of this is done by hand, since there are few typewriters and office machines available. Obviously this can be a time-consuming process if the individual subscribes to more than one or two papers and magazines. The subscription agency then makes up orders on the basis of copies of this receipt (several copies are made for each). The orders are sent to the newspaper junctions or city departments of Soyuzpechat. The first copies of these receipts go to the editorial board of the local newspapers, and the second copies to the newspaper junction. In krai, oblast, and republic departments of Soyuzpechat are compiled combined orders cross-sectioning newspaper junctions by separate newspapers. In one oblast center, for example, there are prepared several combined orders from the indicated newspaper junctions. Local orders are directed to the oblast publishing house. Orders for central periodicals are addressed to the Central Subscription Agency of Soyuzpechat, and also to the publishing houses of the newspapers PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR, the main military newspaper). The necessary number of copies is printed in correspondence with these orders combined with retail sales orders from kiosk workers. Having received all orders, the Central Subscription Agency and the three publishing houses make up sorting tables or matrices for the dispatching process.

The mailing out of subscription copies takes place through the Newspaper-Magazine Dispatching Organ of the Post Office. The largest of these is at the Central Post Office in Moscow, which sends out 8.5 million copies of periodicals a day to the nine thousand newspaper junctions. Here they are sorted and sent to subscription postal departments. Workers there have receiving cards, which enable them to pick up their bundles and distribute periodicals among the subscribers.

Soyuzpechat is a profit-making organization, deriving its income from the percentage received from the publishing houses for distribution. The Leningrad city organization of Soyuzpechat, for example, receives: 6.5% of cost for newspapers published by PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA, 13% for magazines from those two publishing houses, 17% for remaining central newspapers and magazines, 7.5% for oblast, krai, and republic papers, and 6.4% for local papers. Another method of payment is by thousands of copies delivered. For example, for every thousand copies of one edition of PRAVDA the publishing house PRAVDA pays the communications office 3 rubles (about \$3.33), for every thousand of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 5 rubles (about \$5.60) and so on.⁷⁵

C. Retail Distribution

In general, retail sales of Soviet newspapers constitute from 25-30 percent of the total output sold. From Table A-7 in Appendix A, it can be seen that the proportion varies widely according to area. While it would be expected that there are fewer retail sales in rural areas, in fact this turns out not to be the case. In 1956 the proportion of rural retail sales in total retail sales was exactly the same as the proportion of the rural population to total USSR population.⁷⁶ There is no reason to assume that there is a great

difference in today's distribution. Thus, the rural population, constituting 47% of the total population, should account for about 47% of the retail sales for all Soviet periodicals combined. Obviously, there will be some variations in the urban-rural distribution for certain periodicals, but the total for all periodicals should be as indicated.

Newspapers are sold primarily in communications departments and kiosks, of which there were about 21,000 in the Soyuzpechat network in 1965. In Leningrad, there are approximately 415 kiosks located in parks, squares, and gardens, and about 155 in factories, institutes, theaters, and cinemas. Usually a kiosk is run by one person; in busy areas, two people may work in alternating shifts. There are about 22,000 kiosk workers in the USSR today. Local organs of Soyuzpechat supervise the work of these persons, some of whom are volunteers. A staff worker earns about 90-100 rubles per month, an average Soviet wage (about \$100-\$110 per month); a non-staff volunteer earns 10% of the total amount of periodicals he sells.

Apparently the number of non-staff volunteers is necessary because of a shortage of trained kiosk workers. K. Postnov, deputy chief of Soyuzpechat, indicated in a 1965 interview:

...We don't have enough kiosk workers. Seventy kiosks are empty today in Moscow alone. Not a single institute technikum, or educational establishment prepares cadres for us, because Soyuzpechat is under the Ministry of Communications USSR and the kiosk worker is a trade worker. We are organizing half year courses for kiosk workers, holding lectures and seminars. But this, of course, does not suffice.⁷⁷

Other means of retail sales are being tried as well. An average kiosk worker on a good day can sell 1,500 to 2,000 newspapers in three hours. In rush periods, this does not suffice. Therefore, automatic vending machines have been installed in many areas to supplement the kiosk network. Three hundred

such machines were reported in Moscow in 1965, and about 74 in the Caucasus resort town of Sevastopol. In other areas, streetcar conductors (who collect fares, but do not drive) also sell newspapers and magazines; in Leningrad about twenty conductors are involved in such sales. This seems to be a widespread means of supplementing one's income while in the official view fulfilling a worthwhile function for the society.

D. Problems of Press Distribution

Many of the shortcomings in Soviet press distribution seem to relate to the planned, centralized nature of the operation. When queried in some of these questions, Sazhin, chief of Soyuzpechat, replied:

Yes, there are shortcomings, and we won't try to excuse ourselves...but imagine for a minute that the whole country eats rolls baked in Moscow. Hard to imagine? And now recall that we must daily distribute from the capital a thousand newspapers to Nakhodka, Kushka, Tartu, and Tselinograd, and also try to make sure that they don't get stale on the way.⁷⁸

Mr. Sazhin has rather oversimplified the problem, but it is clearly a center-periphery one at heart. We shall attempt to trace the principal areas of difficulty, starting from the publishing houses and ending with the delivery of the paper to the subscriber or purchaser.

For all periodicals, there seems to be a problem with actually getting issues out on time. This naturally disrupts the schedule of distribution, and serves as the genesis of a whole range of inefficiencies:

Often the editors strive to put out a newspaper with the very latest news and the press run is two or three hours late. Such a newspaper will arrive to its buyers and subscribers significantly later than those which are put out on the deadline. The newspaper is late, and that means that the kiosk workers and postmen wait in vain...the airplanes, postal railway cars and automobiles have left, not waiting

for the tardy press. And tomorrow they will have to carry a new issue too, and it will take twice the workers' effort to make up the delivery.⁷⁹

Some central papers are now published in many cities throughout the Soviet Union in order to insure speedy delivery. Up to the present time, however, this has been accomplished by sending the matrices by air to the various points, printing them, and delivering them from urban centers on the population periphery. Problems occur with the transport of these matrices, as well as with the thousands of bundles of newspapers which are printed in Moscow and delivered to various cities throughout the USSR. Supposedly these matrices and output are to be flown directly by jet to the printing point and distribution points. Often, however, the weather interferes, or the space is needed for some other freight shipment on the airline.

The bulk of the problems with distribution, however, seem to occur on the next lowest level--that is, the transporting of newspapers from urban centers on the periphery to rural localities. Here the problem of transport facilities really comes into play. Local authorities often are much more concerned with local economy than with central newspapers. Quite often it happens that airplane space is used for other purposes, and that railroad and automobile space allocated for press distribution is used for other local interests.⁸⁰ The situation in rural localities is particularly bad. A 1953 resolution of the Central Committee, CPSU, stated:

District newspapers are distributed especially poorly.... In Kuibyshev oblast due to the low quality and lateness only a part of the newspapers are actually distributed, about 40-60 percent.... In Orlovskiy oblast, in the Novoselskaya district office of communications they receive newspapers daily, but send them out to rural localities only three times a month, in packages of 7 to 9 days each.... The poor distribution of agricultural newspapers and magazines has a

serious impact on the matter of introducing into agriculture the achievements of Soviet agronomical sciences and the experience of agricultural workers....⁸¹

Other problems have to do with the interests (or lack of same) of the buyers and subscribers. Often journals and newspapers for which there is little or no demand are delivered to kiosks, where they lie unsold and then are used for scrap paper. This relates, of course, to a more fundamental ill of the Soviet economic system, that of poor distribution in relation to demand; many people have heard the stories of tennis rackets delivered to the far north where they can never be used. In addition, the phenomenon of forced subscription is still apparently a problem in some places. A former resident of a collective farm recounts the following:

... Each kolkhoz was assigned a number of subscriptions which it had to take whether it wanted them or not. The district Party officials, in order to fulfill the subscription quotas which had been established for their area, would unload on the kolkhozes the publications with the poorest circulation. Thus some farms were ordered to subscribe to such expensive magazines as TEATR or SOVIETSKAYA MUZIKA. Expenses for such periodicals ran into real money; for example, in 1949 my kolkhoz ordered 1,130 rubles (about \$120) worth of periodicals, most of which were of little interest to the peasants....

The peasants were reluctant to spend money on newspapers and magazine subscriptions not only because they had no choice in the matter, but because the periodical often failed to appear, even though the subscription had been paid. This was particularly true of the major papers such as PRAVDA which we rarely saw.⁸²

While this account refers to the situation before 1950, other accounts indicate that there are still problems along these lines. The Ukrainian newspaper RADYANSKAYA UKRAINA indicated such problems in 1962 when it warned:

Any attempt to violate the principle of voluntariness of subscriptions must be considered as arbitrariness and drastically punished.⁸³

The Byelorussian newspaper CHYRVONAYA ZMENA indicated in 1960 that the principle of "voluntariness" had indeed been violated in Minsk. Noticing that many people at the Minsk Brick Factory did not subscribe to periodicals, the local Komsomol organization became alarmed. It decided to launch a campaign; all young workers in the district who did not subscribe were "listed" and each of them was subjected to several "personal talks" with members of the Komsomol activist committee. As a result, subscriptions increased by 500.⁸⁴

On the other hand, people in enterprises often use state or enterprise funds in order to subscribe to periodicals for employees which have no relation to their occupation. Over 31% of all subscriptions were delivered to such organizations in Riga last year. In other areas the situation is equally bad:

There are a lot of institutions in Yaroslavl and many of them subscribe to periodicals that aren't in the least use to them in their work. The management of the electrical equipment plant draws wisdom from ZHURNAL MOD (a fashion magazine) and MODEL SEZONA (STYLES OF THE SEASON) and the motor plant receives the magazines AKUSHERSTVO and GINEKOLOGIYA (MIDWIFE and GYNECOLOGY).⁸⁵

The important factor to keep in mind when making any assessment of the distribution or circulation of the Soviet press is precisely that all-pervading feature of which the influence does not stop at organization and content: ideological orientation. The newspaper is not a mere medium of information to which the citizen subscribes or which he buys at will on a streetcorner. It is an instrument of ideological education, the mouthpiece of the Party, and it is therefore to be distributed as widely as possible, forcibly if necessary. We have noted that there are often extra copies of journals lying around in areas where they are not wanted; it may be that there are shortages in other regions. The fact of the matter is, however, that one cannot judge distribution

on the same basis as in another country where the press is an entirely different institution, and where the supply is geared to the demand. The planned, centralized, and above all, the ideological nature of the Soviet press is a combination of factors not to be lightly dismissed.

E. Number of Newspapers and Magazines Available to the Population

One piece of information which interests us is the saturation of the population by the newspaper and magazine network, or how many copies are available in proportion to the population. To make some calculation of this ratio, we have constructed Table A-8 (Appendix A), which compares the population of each republic with the known number of copies of all newspapers and of dailies. One of the most striking findings from this calculation is the high saturation in the Baltic Republics (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania); this is probably attributable to the fact that historically these countries have had very high rates of literacy compared to the other areas,⁸⁶ and have long had a developed press, which pre-existed their incorporation into the USSR. The next most saturated area is the Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan); this is followed by the central European republics (Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia), with the Russian Republic and Central Asian Republics last and about equal. In magazine saturation, illustrated by Table B-5, the Baltic republics again come out first, with Central Asia in second place; Central Europe and the Caucasus follow up with about the same range of ratios.

Chapter VII. Readers of the Soviet Press

Studies on Readership

Readership of Soviet newspapers and magazines is probably the most difficult aspect of the Soviet press for a foreign scholar to study. It is virtually impossible for a foreigner to carry out research of this nature in the Soviet Union, and the few Soviet studies which have been completed have gone wholly or partially unpublished. This situation is due to several factors. First is the ideological sensitivity of the subject; social behavior has been described and explained by Marxist theory. The resultant attitude has been "Why should we do research to get answers we already know?" Implicit in this, of course, is that the results obtained might not coincide with the explanations of Marx. Further, Leninist theories of propaganda and agitation are based on certain assumptions about audience behavior and media effects; it is understandable that ideologists should want to suppress work which might disprove these assumptions and thereby undermine the traditional theories which are so important to the social and political education of the masses. Fortunately this attitude has now become somewhat outmoded, and while the inherent contradictions in the situation have not been resolved, a good deal of sociological research is being done today. The upsurge of empirical research on behavior, beginning with 1959, has, however, caught the Soviet publishing industry somewhat unprepared. The result is a great backlog of unpublished Soviet sociological research, some of which deals with mass media and its effects.

Previous to the renaissance of empirical sociology in the Soviet Union, Soviet newspapers relied on rather crude methods of audience feedback which had been institutionalized in the early days of Soviet power. Letters to the editor and worker-peasant correspondents, both of which were supposed to "strengthen the ties of the Soviet press with the masses," have been discussed above. Periodic "readers' conferences" at which newspaper personnel tried to communicate with readers, were another such crude instrument. Since most of the newspaper people were also Party people, the population often responded more in terms of political expectations than their own feelings and thoughts. There were also many complaints that the meetings were too infrequent to do any good, and that complaints voiced were never taken into account anyway. None of these methods, of course, gave any scientific information as to the size of the audience, its demographic profile, how it used various media as information sources, and so on. A 1958 article in SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT complained:

Year after year discussions occur in editorial offices-- sometimes quietly, sometimes vigorously--concerning the journal's subscribers, exactly who reads it, and toward whom it should be oriented. But no practical steps are taken to determine the nature of the subscriber or reader.⁸⁷

This remark, made on the eve of the policy change mentioned above, was being reiterated by other people in other places; such demands and complaints created the impetus for limited empirical investigation.

Currently the most used research methods in Soviet sociology are the time budget study and the questionnaire. Time budget studies carried out from 1958 to the present, largely by labor economists and more recently by social psychologists, have apparently contained categories which would yield exact information as to the time spent per day reading magazines, newspapers, and listening to the various broadcast media.⁸⁸ When these results are published,

however, they invariably aggregate the specific results obtained into categories like "time spent reading socio-political literature" (which can include books as well) or "time spent reading newspapers and magazines."

The Soviet Reader

In spite of the poor information sources we can make some generalizations about newspaper readership in the Soviet Union. Aside from the general studies which give us an idea of how certain characteristics (such as age, income, and party membership) influence reading in general, there are several other bases for our judgments. One is the estimate we can make about the number of copies of newspapers which are available to the population (see preceding Chapter). Another is a series of interviews with former Soviet citizens about their media habits carried on from 1963 to 1967 by the Center for International Studies at M.I.T. A third is personal observation; the author spent six months in 1964 in the Soviet Union, and much of her time was spent observing communications use and asking questions about it. Thus, while we have little "hard" data on newspaper readership, we can take at least the first steps toward describing the Soviet newspaper reader.

From the time budget studies we learn something about the effects of demographic variables on newspaper and magazine reading. As stated earlier, categories are aggregated, and thus either represent both newspaper and magazine reading, or reading in general (including some book reading). Thus, even though the amount of variation cannot be seen clearly from this data, some general trends are evident.

1. Effects of Age. Two studies, Beliaev et al. (Leningrad, 1961) and Goncharenko et al. (Kiev, 1963)⁸⁹ indicate that there is a definite increase

in reading time with age:

Beliaev, Table 7 "Time spent reading social and political literature":	Goncharenko, Table 6 "Time spent reading newspapers and magazines":
18-30 years...9.4 minutes/day	18-25 years...7 minutes/day
31-40 years..20.5 " "	26-30 years..12 " "
40 plus.....30 " "	31-40 years..20 " "
	40 plus.....23 " "

2. Effects of Sex Membership, Marriage, and Children. Beliaev and

Goncharenko both found that men read significantly more than women:

Beliaev, Table 5:

Men read social and political literature 22.7 minutes per day, while women read only 7.7 minutes per day.

Goncharenko, Table 5:

Men read 23 minutes per day (newspapers and magazines), and women only 7 minutes.

Goncharenko also found the following variations according to marital status and the presence or absence of children:

	Men	Women
Unmarried	11 minutes/day	6 minutes/day
Married, no children	30 " "	13 " "
Married, children	25 " "	7 " "

Thus, having a family seems to have a positive effect on the reading habits of both men and women with some time lost after the arrival of children.

3. Effects of Occupation and Economic Status.

Urban: Beliaev and Goncharenko found that workers spend less of their free time reading newspapers and magazines than do engineering and technical personnel. Beliaev's sample showed that though workers spent about the same time as engineering personnel (in fact a little more), the percentage of their free time was less:

Table 2: Workers spent 4.2% of their free time or 28.2 minutes per day, and engineers and technicians spent 7.5% or 22.2 minutes per day reading social and political literature.

Goncharenko (Table 4) found that workers in Kiev spent about ten minutes a day reading newspapers and magazines, while engineers spent twenty minutes.

Rural: Duchal⁹⁰ (1965, Stavropol Krai) found that farmers spend more time on study and self education in winter than in summer, due to the harvest and other field work. He compares his study with earlier ones by Strumilin:

1923, peasants spent 1.9 minutes per day on study and self-education

1934, collective farmers spent 58.4 minutes per day

1964, collective farmers spent 50.7 minutes per day

Income: Strumilin⁹¹ found (Krasnoyarsk, 1960) that reading time increases with income (Table 3, p. 40):

Up to 300 old rubles/month...	32	minutes/day	reading newspapers and magazines
301-500.....	38	"	"
501-1000.....	50	"	"
1000 plus.....	55	"	"

4. Effects of Education. Both Goncharenko and Petrosyan (Yerevan, 1965)⁹² found that reading time per day increases with education:

Goncharenko, Table 6:

Those with primary education read newspapers and magazines 7 minutes/day

Those with incomplete secondary education read 11 minutes/day

Those with specialized secondary and secondary education read 12 minutes/day

Those with higher and incomplete higher education read 24 minutes/day

Petrosyan, Table 21:

Those with an elementary education spent 15 minutes/day reading newspapers, magazines and books

Those with a higher education spent 35 minutes/day reading

5. Effects of Political Affiliation. Beliaev and Goncharenko both found that political affiliation affects readership. Party members read most, non-affiliates read next most, and members of the Komsomol or Young Communists read least:

Beliaev, Table 8:

Party members read social and political literature 28.2 minutes/day

Komsomol members read 6 minutes/day

Non-affiliates read 13.7 minutes/day

Goncharenko, Table 7:

Party members read newspapers and magazines 29 minutes/day

Komsomol members read 9 minutes/day

Non-affiliates read 11 minutes/day

The lower rate for Komsomol members may be due to the fact that they are young people just starting out in life and more than likely studying in addition to working.

From our interviews, conducted between 1963 and 1967 by the staff of the ComCom project at M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies,⁹³ we may draw a few tentative conclusions. Most people seem to spend between ten minutes and one hour per day reading newspapers and magazines (this concurs with the time budget data). The most popular place for journal and newspaper reading is at home, though almost as many read at their place of work or study as well. Fewer people read in transit or in libraries and clubs. The most read papers are PRAVDA, then IZVESTIYA, then local versions of the Party or government newspaper, then LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, then KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Among magazines, the most mentioned ones were OGONYOK (by far the most popular) and KROKODIL; both of these magazines have high circulation figures and are often quoted. Professional journals, popular science journals, and literary journals are also quite well read. People tend to rank the newspaper as a primary source for certain types of news only. It is the best source for domestic economic news, Party and government resolutions, practical information, and letters to the editor, which are widely read. For foreign news, radio outranks newspapers, with the possible exception of news about Eastern European countries.

Notes

1. Newspaper publishing houses at the All-Union or national level also act as book and magazine publishing houses in some cases. PRAVDA Publishing House is the most prolific of these. Additional information on this may be found in Boris Gorokhoff, Publishing in the USSR, Washington, D.C., 1959.
2. (Editorial) "Militant Detachment of the Soviet Press," PRAVDA, April 4, 1965, p. 1.
3. Bogdanov, V., and Vyazemskiy, B., Spravochnik Zhurnalista (The Journalist's Handbook), rev. ed., Leningrad, 1965, p. 250.
4. Ibid., p. 251.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 254.
7. Per't, V. D., and Mishuris, A. L., Teoriya i Praktika Partiinoi i Sovietskoi Pechati, Moscow University, 1962, pp. 88-89.
8. Ibid., p. 96.
9. Ibid., p. 99.
10. Ibid., p. 100.
11. Ibid., p. 109.
12. Ibid., p. 257.
13. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 283.
14. Ibid., p. 51.

15. Ibid., p. 53.
16. Ibid.
17. Literally a "flyer" meeting or brief editorial gathering.
18. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 56.
19. Satyukov, P. A., "Leninist PRAVDA is 50 Years Old," PRAVDA, May 6, 1962, pp. 2-3.
20. See Appendix C-1 for a translation of these regulations.
21. Yegorov, A., "Bedy svoi i bedy chuzhiye," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 8, 1965, p. 2.
22. A recent report indicated that there are now about 100,000 wall newspapers in Moscow and 50,000 in Leningrad, as of 1966. M. Zimyanin, "Dyelo nashei chesti," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 5, 1966, p. 2.
23. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 101.
24. "On the Order of Permission for Publication of Multicopy Newspapers and on the Changes in Name of Local Newspapers," Resolution of the CC CPSU of June 18, 1956, in Voprosy Ideologicheskoi Raboty, State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1961, p. 241.
25. Lunenko, P., Partiinaya Organizatsiya i Pechat, State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1962.
26. Ibid., p. 5.
27. Ibid., p. 6.
28. Ibid., p. 22.
29. Ibid., p. 32.
30. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., pp. 30, 31.
31. Ibid., p. 33.
32. Ibid., p. 37.

33. My emphasis. Ibid., p. 37.
34. Ibid., p. 41.
35. Ibid.
36. Satyukov, P. A., "Leninist PRAVDA is Fifty Years Old," PRAVDA, May 6, 1962, p. 2.
37. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 278.
38. "Rejoinder: In Their Name, But Without Their Authorization," PRAVDA, August 4, 1965, p. 2.
39. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 276.
40. See Wm. A. Cockell, Jr., Letters to the Editor: A Study of Self-Criticism in the Soviet Press, M.A. Thesis, Russian Institute, Columbia University, 1952, for a discussion of departmental organization and data resulting from the author's sample. A later but less comprehensive thesis is Carol Levine, Critical Letters to the Editor in the Soviet Press in 1956, M.A. Thesis, Russian Institute, Columbia University, 1957.
41. O Sovietskoi i Zarubezhnoi Pechati, Leningrad Higher Party School, Leningrad, 1964.
42. The survey was done by Miss Alice Cashman at the author's request.
43. 1959-1962 from Sovietskaya Pechat v Nashi Dni; 1964 from "To Our Readers," IZVESTIYA, January 5, 1965, p. 1.
44. Michurin, K., and Fedorov, P., "Trade and Advertising," PRAVDA, May 4, 1965, p. 2.
45. Bryan, Carter R., "Communist Advertising: Its Status and Functions," Journalism Quarterly, Autumn 1962, Vol. 39, No. 4, p. 501.
46. Shabad, Theodore, "Moscow is in Festive Mood for Anniversary," November 8, 1965, NEW YORK TIMES.

47. Pechersky, N., "Rejoinder: Button Talk," PRAVDA, December 7, 1965, p. 4.
48. SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 2, 1966, p. 11.
49. Klinkov, N., "Rejoinder: Did You Know?," PRAVDA, December 3, 1964, p. 2.
50. Belikov, V., "On-the-Spot Report: The City Did Not Hear the Explosion," IZVESTIYA, April 18, 1964, p. 4.
51. Motsenok, M., "'Delicate Topic'," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 4, April 1964, pp. 19-20.
52. Tess, Tatyana, "This is Who Will Play in Their Jazz Band," IZVESTIYA, September 11, 1964, p. 6.
53. Artemyev, B., "So There You Are, 'NIKON'," IZVESTIYA, August 28, 1965, p. 4.
54. Gribachev, N., "Tashkent in May," PRAVDA, May 15, 1966, p. 3.
55. From May 1955 KOMMUNIST, quoted by Gruliov in "The Soviet Press: 'Propagandist, Agitator, Organizer'," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1956, pp. 153-169.
56. Vasilenko, V., "In Search of the Right Word," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 1, January 1960, p. 28.
57. Editorial: "For a Businesslike Tone in Our Press," PRAVDA, July 27, 1965, p. 1.
58. "In Front Ranks of Fighters for Big Chemistry," PRAVDA, January 17, 1964, p. 4.
59. "The Publicism of High Ideas," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 7, July 1964, pp. 1-17.
60. Ivanova, L., "Before Beginning to Write," SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 1, 1960, p. 11.
61. Scott, John, The Soviet World, TIME, Inc., New York, 1966, p. 367.

62. Inkeles, Alex, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia, Cambridge, 1957, p. 204.
63. See Chapter "Worker and Peasant Correspondents" in Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit.
64. Shepilov, D., "Bring Worker and Peasant Correspondents Movement to the Level of Country's Political and Economic Tasks," PARTIINAYA ZHIZN, No. 8, April 1966, pp. 8-19.
65. "Story Behind a Letter to PRAVDA: Worker-Correspondent Summoned to Court," PRAVDA, March 4, 1966, p. 2.
66. Most of the historical information on TASS is from T. Kruglak's The Two Faces of TASS.
67. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., pp. 157-8.
68. Information on TASS's organization is from Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., pp. 159-164.
69. Ibid., pp. 166-7.
70. "APN-Public Press Agency," Rasprostraneniye Pechati, No. 1, 1966, pp. 12-13.
71. Stepanov, B. P., Rasprostraneniye, ekspedirovaniye, i dostavka gazet i zhurnalov v SSSR (Distribution, Dispatching, and Obtaining of Newspapers and Magazines in the USSR), lectures given in the Faculty of Journalism, Moscow University Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, 50 pp.
72. Shostak, M., "Put' k Chitatelyu" ("Route to the Reader"), NEDELYA, January 31, 1965, No. 6, p. 6.
73. Aleksandrov, A., "To Every Family--Newspapers and Magazines," RASPROSTRANENIYE PECHATI, No. 2, 1963, p. 6.
74. Melekhov, "Example of a Progressive," RASPROSTRANENIYE PECHATI, No. 2, 1963, p. 10.
75. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, op. cit., p. 686.

76. In Stepanov, op. cit., page 32 indicates that 47% of the Soyuzpechat kiosks are located in rural areas. On page 23 it is stated that rural subscriptions totalled 47% of all subscriptions, and on page 28 that total rural circulation accounted for 47% of all circulation. From this it follows that the same proportion accounts for retail circulation.
77. Shostak, op. cit.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Sovietskaya Pechat v Dokumentakh (The Soviet Press in Documents), Moscow, 1961, p. 289.
81. Ibid., p. 280.
82. Belov, F., The History of a Soviet Collective Farm, Praeger, New York, 1955.
83. From the October 26, 1962, issue.
84. November 12, 1960.
85. Vanyusha, A., "ZHURNAL MOD at State Expense," PRAVDA, September 18, 1959, p. 4.
86. Literary figures for persons aged 9-49 years in 1897 and 1939 are given on page 89 of the Itogi Vsesoiuzniy Perepis Naseleniya SSSR 1959 goda (Results of the All-Union Census of the Population USSR of 1959):

Republic	1897	1939
RSFSR (territory)	29.6	89.7
Ukraine	27.9	88.2
Byelorussia	32.0	80.8
Moldavia	22.2	45.9
Lithuania	*54.2	76.7
Latvia	*79.7	92.7
Estonia	*96.2	98.6
Georgia	23.6	89.3
Azerbaidzhan	9.2	82.8
Armenia	9.2	83.9
Uzbekistan	3.6	78.7
Kazakhstan	8.1	83.6
Kirgizia	3.1	79.8
Tadzhikistan	2.3	82.8
Turkmenia	7.8	77.7

* Compare with Tables A-8, B-5.

87. No. 1, 1958, pp. 45-6.

88. For example, the sample "Budget Form for the Worker and Employee" (suggested in the "Instructions for Researchers on Workers', Engineers', Technicians', and White Collar Workers' Time Budgets" included in the report of the time budget conference report of 1960, edited by G. A. Prudenskiy, Vnerabocheye vremya trudyashchikhsya, Novosibirsk) lists the following categories:

- (83) reading of newspapers
- (84) reading of magazines and fiction
- (85) going to lectures
- (86) listening to radio
- (87) watching television

89. Beliaev, E. V., et al., "Workers' Time Budget Research: A Method of Concrete Sociological Investigation," Vestnik Leningradskovo Universiteta, Seria Ekonomiki, Filosofii i Prava, 1961, No. 4. The sample consisted of 100 workers and technicians in a Leningrad factory. Goncharenko et al., "Methodology and Some Results of a Concrete Sociological Social Investigation of Workers' Time Budgets," Nauchniye Doklady Vysshei Shkoly, Filo-sovskiye nauki, No. 1, 1963. The sample consisted of 342 persons.

90. Duchal, A. S., "Svobodnoye vremya kolkhoznikov i yevo ispolzovaniye dlya vsestoronnevo razvitiya lichnosti," in Baikova, et al., Svobodnoye vremya i vsestoronnoye razvitiye lichnosti, Moscow, 1965. The sample was taken from the collective farm Rossiya in Stavropol Krai and comprised 531 people in 177 families.
91. Strumilin, S. G., "Problemy svobodnovo vremeni," in Prudenskiy, G. A., ed., Vnerabocheye vremya trudyashchikhsya, Novosibirsk, 1961.
92. Petrosyan, G. S., Vnerabocheye vremya trudyashchikhsya v SSSR, Moscow, 1965.
93. The interviews do not represent necessarily typical people in the Soviet population, since they are, after all, reflective of the attitudes of people who left the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, they do provide information on existing habits and as such are a significant source of information.

Appendix A: Data on Soviet Newspapers

Table A-1: Growth of Soviet Newspaper Output, 1918-1964

Year	Number of Newspapers	Combined Circulation (millions)	Year	Number of Newspapers	Combined Circulation (millions)
1918	884	2.7	1949	7,211	33.5
1923	889	2.7	1950*	7,831	36.0
1925	1,120	8.1	1951	8,195	39.8
1928	1,197	9.4	1952	8,299	41.7
1932	7,536	35.5	1953	7,754	44.2
1933	8,319	35.7	1954	7,108	46.9
1934	10,668	34.7	1955	7,246	48.7
1935	9,990	35.7	1956**	7,537	53.5
1936	9,250	38.0	1957	7,537/1,985	53.5/1.1
1937	8,521	36.2	1958	7,686/2,777	57.7/1.6
1938	8,550	37.5	1959	7,585/3,018	60.4/1.9
1939	8,780	38.0	1960	6,804/2,740	66.8/1.9
1940	8,806	38.4	1961	8,800/2,311	72.4 (combined)
1945	6,455	23.2	1962***	4,771/1,941	76.9/1.3
1946	7,039	29.6	1963 ⁰	5,167/1,624	83.0/1.1
1947	7,163	31.1	1964	5,067/1,528	87.9/1.0
1948	7,178	31.6	1965	7,687 (combined) 7,700	103 (combined)

* "Politotdels" (Political sectors) of machine-tractor stations (MTS) in Western Ukraine and Byelorussia (added during World War II) began to publish their own newspapers.

** In 1956-9 collective farms began to publish their own newspapers. The second number refers to these.

*** The sharp decrease in number of papers is due to the 1962 Party re-organization, during which district papers were severely cut back. They were revived in 1964.

⁰ Increase due partly to creation of "production administrations of collective and state farms" which publish their own newspapers.

SOURCES: 1918-1956: Pechat SSSR za sorok lyet, Moscow, 1957, p. 123.
Later years: Pechat v SSSR v 1960, ... v 1963, ... v 1964, Moscow.

Table A-2: Growth of Newspaper Output by Administrative Level, 1940-1964

		<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
Central (National)	No. of Papers	46	23	23	18	24	24	25	23	23	23
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	8,769	9,423	12,265	15,365	18,906	19,984	23,524	31,075	33,433	36,821
Republic	No. of Papers	135	137	147	148	176	180	180	173	148	148
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	5,284	4,819	5,888	6,683	10,581	11,170	13,187	14,430	15,492	17,441
Krai, Oblast, Okrug	No. of Papers	321	310	334	309	324	320	305	307	282	256
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	6,978	7,349	9,143	9,573	10,703	11,002	11,380	12,032	12,754	12,535
Autonomous Oblast and Republic	No. of Papers	119	71	87	87	107	108	96	96	92	95
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	1,197	838	1,054	1,149	1,607	1,706	1,691	1,809	1,884	2,096
City	No. of Papers	251	346	399	435	460	408	449	490	421	252
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	1,802	1,493	1,965	2,567	3,109	3,245	3,576	3,818	4,265	4,387
Production* Admin. of Collective & State Farms	No. of Papers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,098	1,751	1,666
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9,221	10,773	10,119
Raion (District)	No. of Papers	3,502	4,193	4,397	4,405	4,148	4,132	3,397	115	20	
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	8,647	6,903	7,234	6,940	7,927	8,776	8,630	254	34	
Lower Press (House Organs)	No. of Papers	4,432	2,751	2,367	1,844	2,447	2,413	2,352	2,469	2,430	2,627
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	5,678	5,139	6,675	6,411	4,862	4,543	4,691	4,291	4,434	4,662
Individual Collective Farms	No. of Papers	--	--	--	--	2,777	3,018	2,740	1,941	1,621	1,528
	Per Issue Circ. (Thous.)	--	--	--	--	1,628	1,946	1,882	1,357	1,151	1,073

* Aggregates of Farm Administrations, formed in 1961 and abolished in 1964.

Table A-3: Number and Combined Circulation of Soviet Newspapers by Level in Union Republics, 1964

Republic	National	Republic	Krai, Oblast, Okrug	Autonomous Republic & Oblast	City	District	Production Adminis. of Collective & State Farms	Lower Press (house organs)	Collective Farm	Total	
RSFSR	Number Circ. (000)	23 36,821	2 2,649	147 8,277	81 1,937	150 2,548	931 5,535	1,755 3,247	93 62	3,182 61,076	
Ukrainian SSR	--	--	16 5,183	55 2,833	--	53 945	--	225 1,865	583 734	1,374 965	2,306 16,525
Byelorussian SSR	--	--	10 1,942	6 252	--	9 139	--	68 442	29 67	3 2	125 2,844
Moldavian SSR	--	--	7 597	--	--	--	--	35 154	8 7	9 8	59 766
Estonian SSR	--	--	9 428	--	--	6 150	--	11 133	10 14	--	36 725
Latvian SSR	--	--	8 531	--	--	7 165	--	28 197	30 71	--	73 964
Lithuanian SSR	--	--	14 782	--	--	5 112	--	48 312	6 11	--	73 1,217
Kazakh SSR	--	--	15 1,217	28 802	--	1 17	--	158 595	51 142	1 2	254 2,775
Uzbek SSR	--	--	12 1,261	17 299	4 67	--	--	53 254	57 117	2 2	145 2,000
Kirgiz SSR	--	--	6 315	3 72	--	--	--	19 78	18 34	24 19	71 518
Tadzhik SSR	--	--	7 349	--	1 6	2 9	--	18 151	7 18	--	35 533
Turkmen SSR	--	--	7 285	--	--	3 29	--	12 87	8 33	--	30 434
Georgian SSR	--	--	11 854	--	7 66	7 125	--	21 145	20 42	14 8	80 1,240
Azerbaijdzhanian SSR	--	--	11 662	--	2 20	7 92	--	21 108	25 53	--	66 935
Armenian SSR	--	--	12 386	--	--	2 56	--	18 63	20 32	8 5	60 542
Total		23 36,821	148 17,441	256 12,535	95 2,096	252 4,387	1,666 10,119	2,627 4,622	1,528 1,073	4,155 5,695	

SOURCE: Scattered data in Pechat' v SSSR v 1964, Moscow, 1965.

Table A-4: Soviet Newspaper Production by Content Classification, 1950-1964

	1950		1956		1960		1963		1964	
	Num- ber	Combined Circ. (Thous.)	Num- ber	Combined Circ. (Thous.)	Num- ber	Combined Circ. (Thous.)	Num- ber	Combined Circ. (Thous.)	Num- ber	Combined Circ. (Thous.)
Komsomol (Young Communist League)	72	2,628	112	4,635	117	7,718	125	8,969	108	9,000
Pioneer (Children's Communist Organization)	21	2,154	23	4,570	23	7,494	24	10,686	24	12,377
Technology, Industry, Construction	2	50	14	682	6	605	6	830	6	965
Transport	--	--	--	--	71	952	--	--	--	--
1. Railroads	64	311	53	637	38	815	--	--	--	--
2. Water Transport	41	66	31	65	33	137	11	117	21	145
Agriculture	8	836	8	1,210	7	1,153	6	3,189	6	4,642
Culture, Literature, Art	11	652	13	1,218	16	1,242	15	1,227	16	1,139
Teachers	10	399	16	839	15	1,081	16	1,364	15	1,441
Physical Culture, Sports	5	180	12	490	12	1,101	11	1,377	11	1,513

SOURCES: 1950 and 1956: Pechat SSSR za sorok lyet, Moscow, 1957, p. 125.

1960: Pechat SSSR v 1960, p. 166.

1963: Pechat SSSR v 1963, p. 62.

1964: Pechat SSSR v 1964, p. 77.

Table A-5: Output of Newspapers in Union Republics by Period of Publication, 1964
(Excludes Lower Press and Collective Farm Newspapers)

		Daily	5 times per week	4 times per week	3 times per week	2 times per week	once a week
RSFSR	Number	100	88	213	879	45	9
	Circ. (000)	36,640	1,699	1,734	8,625	8,004	1,065
Ukrainian SSR	Number	16	46	37	242	4	4
	Circ. (000)	1,921	2,695	505	2,546	258	2,901
Byelorussian SSR	Number	3	8	--	77	3	2
	Circ. (000)	421	507	--	581	167	1,099
Moldavian SSR	Number	2	--	--	37	3	--
	Circ. (000)	343	--	--	267	141	--
Latvian SSR	Number	4	4	2	30	1	2
	Circ. (000)	388	170	33	226	49	27
Estonian SSR	Number	4	4	--	13	2	3
	Circ. (000)	315	81	--	163	73	79
Lithuanian SSR	Number	8	4	--	50	2	3
	Circ. (000)	409	105	--	466	159	67
Armenian SSR	Number	4	--	--	4	22	4
	Circ. (000)	224	--	--	224	167	26
Georgian SSR	Number	4	12	--	27	--	3
	Circ. (000)	440	266	--	287	--	197
Azerbaijdzhanian SSR	Number	8	--	--	29	3	1
	Circ. (000)	436	--	--	310	125	11
Kazakh SSR*	Number	9(6X)	24	--	159	3	5
	Circ. (000)	479	899	--	628	340	227
Turkmen SSR	Number	2	--	--	18	2	--
	Circ. (000)	126	--	--	177	98	--
Tadzhik SSR	Number	3	1	2	20	2	--
	Circ. (000)	228	6	9	220	52	--
Uzbek SSR	Number	2	19	--	57	8	--
	Circ. (000)	560	336	--	487	498	--
Kirgiz SSR	Number	2	2	--	22	3	--
	Circ. (000)	189	53	--	152	71	--
Total USSR	Number	171	212	254	1,682	83	38
	Circ. (000)	43,119	6,817	2,281	15,302	10,123	5,757

* Also has 2 monthly newspapers with a combined circulation of 58,000.

SOURCE: Compiled from scattered tables in Pechat SSSR v 1964, Moscow, 1965. More detailed breakdowns by administrative level may be found in that volume.

Table A-6: Data on Major Soviet Newspapers

Title	Publisher	No. of Issues Per Wk.	Date Founded	Price Per Copy 1966	Circ. (Th.) 1957	Circ. (Th.) 1965	Circ. (Th.) 1966
PRAVDA (TRUTH)	Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	7	1912	2-3 K	5,500	7,000	6,570
IZVESTIYA (NEWS)	Organ of Council of Deputies of Workers, USSR	6	1917	2-3 K	1,550	8,300	7,800
KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA	Organ of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League	6	1925	2-3 K	1,809	5,200	6,800
SELSKAYA ZHIZN' (RURAL LIFE)	Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	6	1929	2-3 K	700	5,100	6,130
SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA	Bureau of CC CPSU of RSFSR and Council of Ministers RSFSR	6	1956	2-3 K	1,500	2,900	3,230
TRUD (LABOR)	Organ of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions	6	1920	2-3 K		1,750	1,930
SOVIETSKIY SPORT	Committee on Physical Culture & Sport of the Council of Ministers USSR and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions	6	1933	2 K	375	1,600	2,200
UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA (TEACHERS' GAZETTE)	Organ of the Ministry of Education and the Central Committee of the Union of Workers in Education, Higher Schools, and Scientific Enterprises, USSR	3	1923	3 K		1,150	1,200
NEDELYA (WEEK)	Weekly supplement to IZVESTIYA	1				1,000	2,000
EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA	Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	1	1934	12 K	225	--	460
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA	Organ of the Union of Writers, USSR	3	1929	4 K	850		461
SOVIETSKAYA TORGOVLYA (SOVIET TRADE)	Journal of the Central Committee of the Union of Workers of State Trade and Consumers Co-operatives and the Ministry of Trade USSR	3	1937	3 K			665

SOURCES: PECHAT SSSR ZA SOROK LYET, Moscow, 1957; SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT, No. 2, 1966, pp. 4, 45.

Table A-7: Percentage of Retail Sales in Total Newspaper Sales,
Union Republics

<u>Republic</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>
USSR	27.4%	28.3%
RSFSR	29.3	30.2
Ukrainian SSR	25.3	25.7
Byelorussian SSR	20.4	21.7
Uzbek SSR	19.2	20.3
Kazakh SSR	19.8	21.5
Georgian SSR	30.5	31.6
Azerbaijani SSR	29.1	29.7
Lithuanian SSR	28.7	30.1
Moldavian SSR	25.8	25.4
Latvian SSR	45.2	46.1
Kirgiz SSR	18.2	19.4
Tadzhik SSR	19.2	19.1
Armenian SSR	26.2	28
Turkmenian SSR	24.7	25.7
Estonian SSR	42	42.5

SOURCE: Rasprostraneniya Pechati (Distribution of the Press),
No. 1, 1963; No. 3, 1964.

Table A-8: Newspaper Output in Comparison with Population, 1964,
in Union Republics

Republic	Population (Thousands) at End of 1964	Total Circulation per Issue-- All Soviet Newspapers	People per Copy-- All Soviet Newspapers	Total Circulation per Issue of Daily Newspapers	People per Copy of Daily Newspapers
Russian SFSR	125,768	61,014*	2.1*	36,640	3.4
Ukrainian SSR	45,100	11,560	3.9	1,921	23.5
Byelorussian SSR	8,533	2,842	3.0	421	20.3
Moldavian SSR	3,303	758	4.4	343	9.6
Lithuanian SSR	2,949	1,217	2.4	409	7.2
Latvian SSR	2,241	964	2.3	388	5.8
Estonian SSR	1,273	725	1.8	315	4.0
Georgian SSR	4,483	1,232	3.6	440	10.2
Azerbaijani SSR	4,518	935	4.8	436	10.4
Armenian SSR	2,134	537	4.0	224	9.5
Uzbek SSR	10,130	1,998	5.0	560	18.1
Kazakh SSR	11,853	2,773	4.3	479	24.7
Kirgiz SSR	2,569	499	5.1	189	13.6
Tadzhik SSR	2,482	533	4.7	228	10.9
Turkmen SSR	1,862	434	4.3	126	14.8
Total USSR	229,198	88,021	2.6	43,119	5.3

SOURCES: Census figures from Narodnoye khoziastvo SSSR v 1964.
Circulation figures from various tables in Pechat SSSR v 1964 godu.

* Note: Figures for RSFSR represent All-Union publication figures, which are distributed also to other republics. Therefore, some of the circulation should be subtracted from the RSFSR figure and distributed among the other union republics. Since we have no information as to the proportion involved, we leave the figure as reported.

Table A-9: Number of Copies of Newspapers Published in National Languages of Union Republics Compared to Number of Nationals Living in Those Republics

Republic	Percent of Newspaper Copies in National Language	Number of Newspaper Copies (per issue circ.) in National Language	Percent of Population Nationals	Number of Nationals Living in Republic	Number of Nationals per Copy of Newspaper in National Language (nearest whole no.)
Russian SFSR			83	104,387	
Ukrainian SSR	65	7,514	77	34,727	5
Byelorussian SSR	71	2,017	81	6,911	3
Moldavian SSR	46	349	65	2,146	6
Georgian SSR	68	838	64	2,869	3
Azerbaidzhanian SSR	67	626	68	3,072	5
Armenian SSR	85	456	88	1,878	4
Lithuanian SSR	43	523	79	2,329	4
Latvian SSR	66	636	62	1,389	2
Estonian SSR	75	544	75	955	2
Uzbek SSR	57	1,139	62	6,280	6
Kazakh SSR	33	915	30	3,556	4
Kirgiz SSR	43	214	41	1,053	5
Tadzhik SSR	69	368	53	1,315	4
Turkmen SSR	67	291	61	1,136	4

SOURCES: Census figures: Perepis Naseleniya SSSR v 1959 godu, pp. 206-8.
Circulation figures: Various tables in Pechat SSSR v 1964 godu.

Appendix B: Data on Soviet Magazines

Table B-1: Annual Growth of Soviet Magazine Publication

Year	Number of Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (Thous.)
1940	673	190,236
1946	393	82,900
1950	430	136,665
1955	547	278,200
1956	643	326,600
1958	875	465,973
1960	923	576,975
1963	997	796,143
1964	1,005	858,187

SOURCES: Pechat' SSSR za sorok lyet, Moscow, 1957, p. 111.
Pechat' SSSR v 1964 goda, Moscow, 1965, p. 68.

Table B-2: Soviet Magazine Output by Content

Content	1950		1956		1964	
	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (Thous.)	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (Thous.)	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (Thous.)
Political, Social, Economic	84	40,900	119	97,300	114	257,732
Military					17	31,784
Natural Sciences, Mathematics	46	3,800	80	8,500	129	18,924
Technology, Industry, Transport, Communications, Communal Affairs	66	4,900	104	18,900	224	54,533
Agriculture	32	6,500	66	15,600	316	34,534
Trade, Public Diet					6	3,308
Health, Medicine	31	2,200	61	8,400	94	29,970
Physical Culture, Sports	5	1,700	8	3,500	10	14,423
Culture, Education, Science	42	5,700	62	15,400	61	41,495
Linguistics and Literary Analysis					11	364
Literary, Artistic	75	48,600	113	129,800	128	336,552

SOURCES: Pechat' SSSR za sorok lyet, Moscow, 1957, p. 111.
Pechat' SSSR v 1964 godu, pp. 71-72.

Table B-3: Output of Soviet Magazines by Term of Publication

Term	1950		1956		1964	
	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (millions)	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (millions)	Titles	Combined Annual Circulation (millions)
Once a week	5	28.6	7	64.9	9	137.4
3 times per month	3	8.9	2	25.4	3	76.9
2 times per month	16	29.9	25	48.4	52	156.9
Once a month	268	63.3	423	175.7	667	470.2
8-10 times per year			23	2.3	9	1.3
6 times per year	114	5.2	117	9.2	208	13.2
4 times per year	12	0.2	39	0.7	47	1.5
3 times per year					7	0.02
2 times per year					3	0.7

SOURCES: 1950-1956: Pechat' SSSR za sorok lyet, Moscow, 1957, p. 117.

1964: Pechat' SSSR v 1964, Moscow, 1965, p. 69.

Table B-4: Data on Selected Soviet Magazines

Title	Date Founded	No. of Issues Per Year	Price		Publisher or Sponsor	Circulation (thousands)		
			Single Copy	Year Subscr.		1957	1965	1966
A. Party-Political:								
1. Partiinaya Zhizn (Party Life)	1919	24	13 K	3-00 R	Central Committee CPSU	520	661	846
2. Kommunist	1925	18	18 K	3-24 R	Central Committee CPSU	700	687	707
3. Agitator	1956	24	10 K	2-40 R	Central Committee CPSU	385	719	809
4. Politicheskoye Samoobrazovaniye (Political Self-Education)	1956	12	20 K	2-40 R	Central Committee CPSU	--	1,120	1,560
B. Special Field and Popular Journals:								
1. Rabotnitsa (Female Worker)	1914	12	10 K	1-20 R	PRAVDA publishing house	1,700	7,400	10,000
2. Krestyanka (Peasant Girl)	1922	12	10 K	1-20 R	PRAVDA publishing house	1,400	3,500	4,700
3. Krokodil	1922	36	12 K	4-32 R	PRAVDA publishing house	1,000	2,900	4,300
4. Ogonyok (Little Light)	1923	52	30 K	15-00 R	PRAVDA publishing house	1,200	1,930	2,000
5. Smena (Shift)	1924	24	20 K	4-80 R		300	--	1,000
6. Novy Mir (New World)	1925	12	70 K	8-40 R	Union of Writers, USSR	140	128	150
7. Znaniye-Sila (Knowledge-Strength)	1926	12	30 K	3-60 R	State Committee of Council of Ministers, USSR, on Professional-Technical Education	175	--	600
8. Vokrug Svyeta (Around the World)	1927	12	60 K	7-20 R	Central Committee of KOMSOMOL (Communist Youth League)	150	--	1,560
9. Tekhnika-Molodyozhi (Technology for Youth)	1933	12	20 K	2-40 R	Central Committee of KOMSOMOL	500	1,140	1,750
10. Nauka i Zhizn (Science and Life)	1934	12	35 K	4-20 R	All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge	150	1,750	3,100
11. Sovetskaya Zhenshchina (Soviet Woman)	1945	12	60 K	7-20 R	Soviet Women's Committee and Central Council of Trade Unions, USSR	78	--	--
12. Radio	1946	12	30 K	3-60 R	Ministry of Communications and Voluntary Society for Assistance to Army, Navy, and Air Force (DOSAAF)	205	--	1,000
13. Semya i Shkola (Family and School)	1946	12	25 K	3-00 R	Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR	300	1,050	1,330
14. Inostrannaya Literatura (Foreign Literature)	1955	12	80 K	9-60 R	Union of Writers, USSR	70	--	--
15. Yunost (Youth)	1956	12	40 K	4-80 R	Union of Writers, USSR	200	1,600	2,000
16. Za Rubezhom (Abroad)	1960	52	15 K	7-80 R	Union of Journalists, USSR			500
17. Sluzhba Byta (Service of Daily Life)	1962	12	25 K	3-00 R	Ministry of Everyday Services, RSFSR, and Central Committee of Union of Workers of Communal and Everyday Enterprises		1,050	1,540

Table B-5: Soviet Magazine Output in Proportion to Population, 1964, Union Republics

Republic	Population (Thous.) at End of 1964	Total Magazine Circulation per Issue	People per Magazine Copy
Russian SFSR	125,768*	45,474*	2.8
Ukrainian SSR	45,100	2,920	15.4
Byelorussian SSR	8,533	458	18.6
Moldavian SSR	3,303	136	24.3
Lithuanian SSR	2,949	630	4.7
Latvian SSR	2,241	686	3.7
Estonian SSR	1,273	345	3.7
Georgian SSR	4,483	284	15.8
Azerbaidzhanian SSR	4,518	246	18.4
Armenian SSR	2,134	125	17.0
Kazakh SSR	11,853	1,051	11.3
Uzbek SSR	10,130	979	10.3
Kirgiz SSR	2,569	179	14.4
Tadzhik SSR	2,482	155	16.0
Turkmen SSR	1,862	127	14.7
Total USSR	229,198	53,795	4.3

SOURCES: Census figures from Narodnoye khoziastvo SSSR v 1964.
Circulation figures from various tables in Pechat' SSSR v 1964 godu.

* The note to Table A-8 applies equally here.

Appendix C:

1. Statutes of the Union of Journalists, USSR
2. Course Outline for Students of Journalism

Appendix C-1

Statutes of the Union of Journalists, USSR

(Revised October 1966)

The Union of Journalists of the USSR is a voluntary creative social organization of professional journalists working in the periodical press, organs of information, publishing houses, radio and television.

In its activity the Union of Journalists, USSR, is directed by the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The creative organization of Soviet journalists in every way assists the party and the people in the Communist upbringing of workers and in the battle for the construction of a Communist society in our country. The Union of Journalists, USSR, considers it its sacred and honored duty to actively propagandize the great ideas of scientific Communism, of Soviet patriotism and Socialist internationalism; to cooperate in the strengthening of friendship among peoples of the USSR, of fraternal ties with countries of socialism, and of the friendship of peoples of all countries; to lead an incessant battle for peace, democracy, and progress, against inimical bourgeois ideology, colonialism, and imperialism.

The Union of Journalists, USSR, sees its calling and duty in truly serving with all of its activity the Soviet people in the name of its happiness and flourishing; in implementing the program and decisions of the CPSU in an undeviating manner; in clarifying the policy of the Party; in acting as target-shooter for all that is new and progressive; in supporting and widely disseminating progressive experience; in gravely uncovering shortcomings and striving for their elimination; in battling against showiness, complacency and conceit.

The Union of Journalists of the USSR sets as its aims:

--To promote the active participation of Soviet journalists in the battle for the victory of communism in the USSR;

--To educate journalists in the spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the Socialist Motherland and the Communist party, intolerance towards ideological vacillations, bourgeois ideology, dogmatism, and revisionism;

--To aid the periodical press, organs of information, publishing houses, radio and television in steadfastly carrying out their work;

--To concern itself with the raising of the professional skill of Soviet journalists, to develop their creative initiative in every way;

--To take an active part in the preparation of young journalists, to aid their creative growth and ideological tempering, to transmit to them the experience and best traditions of the older generation, to inculcate in them a love for their profession;

--To creatively work out problems of Soviet journalism, its history and theory, enrich its forms, style and genres, and to promote scientific-artistic work in every way;

--To summarize and distribute and creatively develop the best experience of the Soviet periodical press, radio, and television;

--To take an intolerant attitude toward violations of the journalistic ethic, to improve responsibility for the high and honored calling of the Soviet journalist;

--To strengthen ties with the masses; to develop public foundations in the work of the press, radio, and television; to render practical assistance to Party committees in organizing the study program of workers, rural, and public correspondents; to educate journalists in the spirit of a solicitous and attentive attitude towards the warnings and letters of workers;

--To support close cooperation with professional unions, to protect together with them the rights of Soviet journalists, to be concerned with the satisfaction of professional and cultural needs of journalists;

--To aid in every way the further strengthening of communications of Soviet journalists with journalists of foreign countries in the name of consolidating friendship and collaboration between the peoples of all nations, preservation of peace throughout the world; to study creatively and adopt the experience of journalists of socialist countries.

For the implementation of these aims the Union of Journalists, USSR:

1) Carries out mass educational work among Soviet journalists and worker-peasant correspondents, drawing them into active participation in all the activities of the Union.

2) Forms creative commissions and sections on the genres of journalism, on professional and other important problems, on creative communications, depending upon the wishes of the members of the Union and on concrete tasks.

3) Organizes seminars, competitions, exhibitions, conferences, evenings, reports, press-conferences, creative expeditions, exchange of experience in

the work of journalists and journalistic organizations, organs of the periodical press, radio and television.

4) Directs the activity of the Central House of the Journalist.

5) Publishes newspapers and magazines, socio-political as well as dedicated to the professional problems of journalists, literature on journalism, photo-albums, photo postcards and other publications on questions related to journalistic.

6) Is represented in state enterprises and public organizations.

7) Takes part in the work of international journalistic organizations, congresses, conferences, exhibits, and other enterprises; is a member of the International Organization of Journalists; organizes the exchange of delegations with foreign journalists' organizations.

Members of the Union of Journalists, USSR, their Rights and Duties

1) Those who may be members of the Union of Journalists are: professional journalists, photo correspondents, artists; those who are working in the periodical press, radio, television, in information agencies and publishing houses. A high professional mastery--experience as a staff journalist of not less than three years--is a condition of acceptance into the Union of Journalists. Note: As an exception an individual not working on the staff of organs of the press, radio, and television, but who has manifested a high journalistic mastery, has continuously and actively taken part in the work of organs of the press, radio, or television may be accepted into the Union of Journalists. His acceptance is carried out by the Secretariat of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

2) One who is aspiring to membership in the Union of Journalists, USSR, must present a statement and character reference from the organ of the press, radio, or television, in which he works and also the recommendation of three members of the Union of Journalists with a seniority of not less than five years. To the declaration should be attached a list of published works characterizing the creativity of the aspirant.

3) Acceptance as a member of the Union of Journalists is carried out on an individual basis: bureau of oblast and krai division of the Union of Journalists, USSR; presidiums of the directorates of the Unions of Journalists of the union and autonomous republics; of the Moscow city and Leningrad divisions; the secretariat of the administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

4) One who is accepted for membership in the Union of Journalists receives a single membership card and pays entrance and membership fees, the amount of

which is established by the administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR. The Union is establishing a member's badge for the Union of Journalists, USSR.

5) Expulsion from membership in the Union of Journalists is carried out by the same organizations to which are delegated the right of acceptance into the Union of Journalists. One who is excluded from membership in the Union may appeal the decision of these organizations before higher bodies of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

6) Expulsion from membership in the Union of Journalists is carried out in the following instances:

- infractions of rules of the Union;
- commitments of anti-social acts not commensurate with the calling of the Soviet journalist;
- a non-conscientious attitude toward one's own professional activity and a lack of correspondence between this activity and the goals and tasks of the Union of Journalists;
- a systematic avoidance of participation in the work of the Union; non-payment without worthy reasons of membership dues for more than a year;
- by one's own wish.

The decision on expulsion is taken by those same organizations to which is delegated the right of acceptance into the Union. Note: The decision on expulsion of members of the Union who are members of administrations and inspection commissions of the Union of Journalists, USSR, of unions of journalists of union and autonomous republics, of Moscow city and Leningrad oblast organizations and inspection commissions, is carried out by the corresponding administrations or bureaus of the Union.

7) A member of the Union of Journalists, USSR, has the right:

- to elect and be elected to all organs of the Union, to conferences and congresses;
- to participate in the discussion of questions being reviewed in meetings of members of the Union;
- to place before organs of the Union of Journalists questions on the activity of the Union, its local organizations, establishments and enterprises; to make critical comments and introduce suggestions for improvement of their work;
- to demand personal participation in all instances when decisions on his activity or behavior are being made;
- to participate in the creative commissions and sections, meetings, appointments; in cultural and social enterprises, competitions, exhibitions; in the work of courses, seminars, circles, and so on organized by the Union;
- to receive all-round assistance from the Union in the carrying out of his professional work;
- to make use of all types of cultural and material provisions and services which are at the disposal of the Union of Journalists.

8) A member of the Union of Journalists is obligated:

- to fulfill the demands of the Regulations and instructions of organs of the Union;
- to participate in the work of the Union on solving problems before them;
- to actively participate in the Soviet Press, to collaborate in the improvement of newspapers, magazines, information agencies, radio, television, publishing houses;
- to raise constantly his own ideo-political level and professional mastery;
- to set an example in the fulfilling of social duty; to be an active, principled, objective, truthful, progressive fighter for the objective of the Communist Party;
- to assist in forming and educating the man of the Communist society; to introduce through the press, radio, and television progressive experience; to disclose courageously shortcomings; to repulse any attempts at suppression of criticism; to oppose any actions bringing detriment to the state; to manifest sensitivity and attention to people; to respond in time to the demands and needs of the workers;
- to assist the creative growth of young journalists and worker-peasant correspondents, to pass on to them his own experience;
- by his work and behavior to strengthen the authority of the member of the Union of Journalists, USSR;
- to observe the journalistic ethic;
- to pay the annual dues in the first quarter of each year.

The Organizational Structure of the Union of Journalists, USSR

1) The highest ruling organ of the Union of Journalists is the All-Union Congress which is convened once every four years.

The standards of representation and the order of election of delegates to the All-Union Congress are set by the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

Note: Members of the Administration and members of the Central Inspection Commission of the Union of Journalists, USSR, not selected as delegates to the All-Union Congress participate in the work of the Congress in an advisory capacity.

The All-Union Congress:

a) Determines the immediate tasks and organizational standards of activity of the Union of Journalists, USSR;

b) Hears and approves the accounts of the Administration and the Central Inspection Commission of the Union of Journalists, USSR;

c) Adopts the Statutes of the Union of Journalists, USSR, and introduces into them clarifications and changes;

d) Determines the composition and chooses by secret ballot the Administration and the Central Inspection Commission of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

2) In the intervals between the Congresses, the direction of the activities of the Union of Journalists, USSR, is carried out by the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR. A Plenum of the Administration is convened according to need, not less frequently than once a year.

The Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR:

a) Carries out decisions of the All-Union Congress and checks their fulfillment;

b) Defines in the intervals between congresses the tasks of the Union of Journalists, USSR, in individual questions of the work of the Union as well as in the long-term tasks;

c) Directs the activity of local organizations of the Union of Journalists;

d) Discusses creative problems of Soviet journalists;

e) Represents the Union of Journalists, USSR, in all state and public organizations;

f) Carries on communications with the International Organization of Journalists and with organizations of journalists of foreign countries;

g) Defines the terms of the convocation of ordinary and extra-ordinary All-Union Congresses.

3) For directing the current work of the Union, the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR, elects by open ballot a Chairman, his deputy, and the Secretariat.

The Secretariat of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR:

a) Directs all daily ideological-creative work of the Union, its establishments, organs of the press, sections, commissions;

b) Carries out checks on the fulfillment of the decisions of the Congresses and of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR;

c) Defines the structure of the Union of Journalists, USSR, and of the staff of its organizations and enterprises;

d) Hears the reports of the Administration of the Unions of Journalists of the union and autonomous republics and the bureaus of oblast or krai organizations of the Union of Journalists;

e) Together with trade unions takes part in the solving of questions connected with the job security and labor payment of the journalist;

f) Defines the order of registration of the members of the Union;

g) Confirms the estimate of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR;

h) Represents the Administration of the Union of Journalists in state enterprises and public organizations.

In its activities the Secretariat is accountable to the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

4) The Central Inspection Commission selects from its membership a Chairman, his deputy, and secretary. The Central Inspection Commission controls the financial-economic activity, the condition of registration and of the bookkeeping of the Administration and the enterprises and establishments within its jurisdiction, and also checks work with letters addressed to the Union of Journalists, USSR.

5) Members of the Central Inspection Commission participate in the work of the plenum of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR, in an advisory capacity.

6) Resolutions of the All-Union Congresses of Journalists, decisions of the Administration of the Union of Journalists, USSR, are binding on all members of the Union of Journalists, USSR, of primary, city, oblast, and krai organizations of the Unions of Journalists of the union and autonomous republics.

Republic, Krai, Oblast, and City Organizations of the Union
of Journalists, USSR

1) Unions of Journalists of union and autonomous republic, krai, and oblast organizations of the RSFSR enter into the Union of Journalists, USSR, with the rights of local organizations of the Union of Journalists, USSR.

2) The highest organ of the Union of Journalists in the oblast, krai, or republic, is the oblast or krai conference and the republic congress.

The administration or bureau of the organization should announce the convention and agenda for the congress (conference) not later than one month in advance of the congress (conference).

3) Delegates to oblast, krai conferences or republic congresses are elected at meetings of members of the Union according to the standards established by the administration or bureau of the organization. Congresses in union republics

are convened not less frequently than once in four years. Krai and oblast conferences, congresses in autonomous republics are convened not less frequently than once in four years.

4) Oblast, krai conferences and republic congresses of journalists hear the reports on the activities of the bureau or administration of the organization; define everyday tasks of the journalists' organizations of the oblast, krai, or republic; elect by secret ballot the administration of the Union of Journalists of the republic or bureau of the oblast (krai) organization and the inspection commission, and also delegates to the All-Union Congress.

5) The administration of the Union of Journalists of a republic and a presidium elected by them in open ballot and also the bureau of an oblast or krai organization carry on the direction of all activity of the Union of Journalists of republic, oblast, and krai organizations emanating from tasks before the Union of Journalists, USSR.

6) The Inspection Commission of the Union of Journalists of republic or oblast (krai) organizations checks on the financial-economic activity of the Union of Journalists of republic or oblast (krai) organization and of organizations and enterprises under their jurisdiction.

7) City organizations of the Union of Journalists may be created in large cities which have no fewer than 100 members of the Union of Journalists and in cities with a lesser number of members of the Union, but which are territorially distant from republican or oblast (krai) centers, by permission from the Administration of the Union of Journalists of the republic and bureau of oblast (krai) organizations of the Union. City organizations elect their bureau by secret ballot at conferences or meetings.

Note: Krai, oblast or city organizations numbering more than five hundred members elect an administration and an inspection commission at conferences.

Primary Organizations of the Union

1) Primary organizations may be created at the place of work of members of the Union--in editorial boards of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, in information agencies, publishing houses and also in creative groups where there are not less than three members of the Union of Journalists.

2) For the carrying out of daily work among members of the Union a general meeting (of members of the editorial board, of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, agencies of the press and publishing houses) selects a secretary for the primary organization. In large organizations, where there are more than forty members of the Union, there may be elected a bureau headed by a secretary of the journalism organization. The secretary and the bureau of the organization are elected by open ballot for a period of two years.

3) Primary journalism organizations where the number of members exceeds forty have the right to take journalists into the Union and exclude them from the Union providing a subsequent statement on these decisions is transmitted to the higher ruling organs of the Union.

The activity of all organs of the Union of Journalists, USSR, is built on the foundations of collective leadership, of strict observance of democratic principles, and of personal responsibility of each member for the entrusted goal.

Funds of the Union of Journalists, USSR

Funds of the Union of Journalists, USSR, consist of:

- entrance fees and annual dues of members of the Union;
- income from publishing activities and activities of organizations and enterprises belonging to the Union of Journalists, USSR.

Property and Legal Rights of the Union of Journalists, USSR

1) The rights of juridical body are granted to the Union of Journalists, USSR, and to the Unions of Journalists of union republic, oblast, and krai organizations and also to city organizations numbering more than five hundred members.

2) The Union of Journalists, USSR, and organizations and enterprises under its jurisdiction and also exhibitions, photo-exhibits, soirees, concerts, and plays arranged by it are exempt from state and local taxes, collections, and duties.

3) The Union of Journalists, USSR, can be liquidated by a resolution of the All-Union Congress.

After the liquidation all remaining funds are passed on to the organs designated in the resolutions of the congress.

SOURCE: The Second All-Union Congress of the Union of Journalists, USSR, Supplement to No. 11, 1966, of *Sovietskaya Pechat*. (Translated by Gayle D. Hollander)

Appendix C-2

Course Outline for Students of Journalism in State Universities on the Subject: "Theory and Practice of the Party and Soviet Press"

From: Pel't, V. D., and A. L. Mishurs, Teoria i Praktika
Partiinoi i Sovetskoi Pechati, Moscow University, 1962,
pp. 7-14.

Order of the Course

The study of the subject "The Theory and Practice of the Party and Soviet Press" by correspondence students begins in the second course and ends in the fifth; in the sixth course students write a graduation thesis and prepare themselves for the state exams.

Distribution of Themes by Years of Instruction

Course II

Subject, method and goals of the course "The Theory and Practices of the Party and Soviet Press."

Marxism-Leninism on the role of the periodical press in the life of society.
Journalism as one of the forms of social-political activity.

The basic principles and functions of the Party-Soviet press.

The press and other means of information about the Soviet Union.

a) Central and local newspapers;

b) Magazines;

c) Book publishing houses;

d) Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and the Agency of the Press

"Novosti" (APN);

e) Radio broadcasting and television.

Organization and Planning of the Work of the Editorial Staff of Newspapers

Organization of the work of the editorial staff.

Planning of the work of the editorial staff.

Mass work of the editorial staff. Newspaper and worker and peasant correspondents.

The personal correspondent.
Principles of editing of newspaper materials.
Headlines in the newspaper.
Illustrations in the newspaper and magazine.
The techniques of the output of newspapers.

Genres of Publicism

Notice.
Outline.
Interview.
Reporting.
Correspondence.
Letter as a genre of publicism.

Course III

The article and its aspects.
a) Lead article;
b) The theoretical and propagandistic article;
c) The problem article;
d) Publicistic commentaries.
Survey.
Survey of the press.
Review.
Outline.
Satirical genres.
Literary-artistic materials in the newspaper.

Course IV

Departments of the Newspaper

Department of Party Life.
Department of Soviet Construction.
Department of Propaganda of Marxist-Leninist Theory.
Elucidation of Questions of Industry, Transport, Construction and Trade.
Department of Agriculture.

Course V

Department of Culture and Everyday Life.
Elucidation of Questions on Science, Schools and Universities.
Elucidation of Questions of Literature and Art.
Criticism and Bibliography.
Elucidation in the Newspaper of International Life.

**Department of Letters. Work with Letters of Workers.
Department of Information in the Newspaper.
Distribution, Dispatching and Delivery of Newspapers and Magazines.**

* * * *

For all educational assignments in the given discipline in the correspondence department 190 hours is expected.

Forms of Educational Work

- a) Established lectures, group consultations on basic divisions of the program.
- b) Survey lectures, lecture-consultations, usually on previous exams, tests on a given course.
- c) Practical class-group training (analysis of control work, of materials of newspaper practice) conducted in a period of laboratory-examination session.
- d) Control works.

The Order of Carrying out Control Works

In the second course: one control work in correcting and literary editing of newspaper materials. This control work consists approximately of the following: presentation of 2-3 unpolished manuscripts. Originals of any type of material coming to the editorial board of a newspaper or magazine, and these same materials in polished form. Both the originals and materials prepared for the press, are checked by the editorial staff, in order that the teacher of the faculty is able to determine the actual results of the work of the student as a literary editor and corrector. Students also perform educational correcting of several texts suggested by the faculty of journalists.

In the third course: two control works (in the 5th semester). Correspondence and survey of the press.

In the fourth course: two control works (in the 7th semester). Lead article (editorial) and a propaganda or problem article.

In the fifth course: two control works (in the 9th semester). Outline, review, feuilleton (by choice).

Themes of the control works without fail should be acceptable to the Faculty of the Party and the Soviet Press.

The Faculty of the Party and Soviet Press in individual cases reserves for itself the right to change the character and direction of these control works.

All control works must be presented to the dean of the faculty within the term indicated in the working plan.

Without carrying out control works the correspondence-course student cannot receive an evaluation, and without the evaluation he is not allowed to take the examination.

The purpose of the control works is to verify how successfully the student has mastered the newspaper genres, how his knowledge of the theory of the Party and Soviet press, in particular the theory of the newspaper genres, has been translated by him into the practical skills of editing newspaper material, writing an article or correspondence, or outline story for the newspaper, etc.

It should be especially emphasized that control works are prepared not as abstract class compositions, but represent materials intended specially for the newspaper, and as a rule, for publication.

Control works are verified by the teacher conducting the course, several of which are examined in practical assignments during the session.

e) Group and individual consultations are supposed to give help to the correspondent-student in preparation for the examination and test in writing control works on a selected theme.

f) Special courses and special seminars

In the system of studies of the correspondent course students great importance is attached to the special courses and special seminars. Each correspondent-student is obliged in the 4th and 5th years in the period of examination sessions to listen to special courses in the history, theory, and practice of the Party-Soviet press.

The goal of the special courses and special seminars is to broaden and deepen the knowledge of the students in mastering and studying one of the divisions, one of the most important problems of the course, to cultivate the initial skills of independent scientific-research work and help in writing the graduation thesis.

A list of the special courses and special seminars, and also the themes of the course works are made up by the faculty of the Party and Soviet press for each year.

Special seminars are announced in the 4th and 5th courses. The themes of the special seminars are fairly varied and provide a fuller satisfaction of the scientific and creative interests of the students.

In the 1961-62 academic year, for example, in the 4th course of the Faculty of Journalism MGU [Moscow State University] the following special seminars were announced:

The Basic Principles and Functions of the Party-Soviet Press;
Questions of Communist Education in the Press;
Reporting and Interviewing in the Newspaper and Magazine;
Correspondence in the Newspaper.

In the fifth course the students were able to choose one of the following entitled special seminars:

Leninist Publicism After the October Period;
Elucidation of Party Life in the Newspaper;
Bolshevik Press in the Period of the Preparation and Execution of the Great October Socialistic Revolution;
Publicistic and Journalistic Mastery of the Greatest Soviet Writers (M. Gorky, A. Serafimovich, A. Tolstoi, D. Furmanov, M. Sholokhov, I. Ehrenburg and others);
Outline;
Magazine-Newspaper Satire in the First Years of the Soviet Epoch;
Feuilleton;
Questions of Soviet Literature and Art in the Newspaper.

In every university, depending on the goals of the local press and the presence of the teaching cadres, of course, special seminars can be announced on other themes which will help the professional specialization of the students.

The basic goal of the special seminars is to further a deeper study of the history, theory and practice of our press, and to train the student to independent creative research work.

To be more specific, every seminar must strive to fulfil the following goals:

- to arm the student in the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the field of journalism;
- to help the student receive a profound knowledge in some comparatively narrow theme;
- to further a mastering of methodical scientific research, to learn to work independently;
- to help the student in the perfection of a professional mastery.

Working in a special seminar, the student is obliged to independently study the literature on the program, which is the theoretical and methodological base for all of the participants, to give a report in one of the theoretical questions connected with the course research, to take part in the discussion of reports on problems which have been raised in the seminar, to write a course thesis.

Seminar work--this is mainly independent work by the students on a selected theme.

A record is kept for each student for his study of special literature and for participation in the discussion of problems at special seminars, and also an evaluation of course work.

Course work can be summed up as independent assignments of the students. What demands are usually presented for this?

The course work must show the knowledge of the problem studied and of all of the special literature. It is necessary to expose this fully and in a methodologically correct manner. In the exposition it is necessary to clearly formulate the principal thoughts, to confirm the theoretical attitudes with concrete material, to indicate precisely all the quoted sources and supplies.

Finally the course work must be written grammatically, that is without semantic, stylistic and grammatical mistakes, and it should also be outwardly well organized.

At the end of the work a bibliographical index of all utilized literature should be attached.

The special course is read by lectures. The students listen to lectures, study the recommended literature and thereupon pass an examination.

In 1961-62 at the Faculty of Journalism of MGU [Moscow State University] in the Department of Party and Soviet Press for students of the third year of instruction the following special courses were announced:

- Questions of information in the press;
- The secretariat of the editorial staff;
- Technical design of newspapers;
- The pamphlet genre of satire and publicism.

For students of the fourth course:

- V.I. Lenin--Editor and Publicist;
- Master of Bolshevik Publicism (M. S. Ol'minskiy, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov and others);
- The Soviet Press in the Years of the Great Patriotic War;
- M. Gorky--Journalist;
- The Bolshevik Press of Moscow up to the October Revolution.

The listed special courses are given usually both in the evening and in the Correspondence Departments. Depending on his preparation and inclination, the student himself chooses and listens to the special course which interests him. A record of the auditors at the special courses is usually carried out in the educational part of the Correspondence Department.

The themes of the special courses and special seminars are revised every year. Their programs are published.

g) Practical work of the student

It is suggested that the correspondent course student of the Faculty of Journalism be a worker in a newspaper, magazine or publishing or in the process of his education it is obligatory that he be directly connected with a defined press organ. At the end of 3, 4, and 5th years of study (concrete terms defined by the dean of the faculty) the correspondent course student is

obliged to give an account of his practice work, and also materials published or accepted by the press. An indispensable condition of passing on to the following course is a positive appraisal and presentation of characteristics by the teacher of practice materials.

(Programs of practice work for the correspondent course students will be specially published.)

Without presenting an account and the materials of the practice work the correspondent course student is not allowed to take the examination for promotion.

In the sixth course the student writes a graduation thesis in one of the journalistic disciplines or a creative thesis and takes a state examination in the History of the CPSU and in a specialty (History of Russian Journalism, History of the Party and Soviet Press, History of Foreign Communist and Worker's Press, the Theory and Practice of the Party and Soviet Press).

Themes of the graduation thesis are supplemented by the student in connection with his passing from the fifth to the sixth course (that is, at the end of the tenth semester).

At the end of the first half year of the sixth course in session the correspondent course student is obliged to present for consultation with a scientific leader a complete plan and the first chapter of his graduation composition, and bibliography.

Thus, during during the time of training at the Faculty of Journalism the correspondent course student is obliged in the course "Theory and Practices of the Party and the Soviet Press" to write 7 control works, 1-2 course compositions, to hold 3 practice jobs, to take 3 exams. The final stages of the training of the correspondent course student are the graduation thesis and the state examinations.

The basic type of work in the course "The Theory and Practice of the Party and Soviet Press" is independent work, in the process of which the student not only studies recommended literature, but also writes control and course compositions, and prepares himself for tests and exams. One must not forget in this existing side of individual study a systematic reading of periodical organs of the Party and Soviet press; of the leading central newspapers, magazines, newspapers of the republic, krai, oblast, raion, city where the student-correspondent works. For the combining of theoretical training with daily practice the correspondent-course student is always in the course of social-political events, the international and internal life of the country, systematically takes part in the press, studies the forms of the presentation of the material and newspaper genres, understands what's new in newspaper work, in the current activity of our press, studies the best forms of materials of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, etc.

The magazine SOVIETSKAYA PECHAT can give the correspondence-course student serious help in specialization. In its resolutions of the CC CPSU [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], directions on improving the Soviet press, radio and television are published; articles of editors of the largest newspapers and magazines, leaders of publishing; questions of the journalism trade, work of the newspaper, magazines, radio-broadcasting, publishing, and also problems of strengthening the material-technical base of the press are clarified.

Special attention must be turned to the leading articles of the magazine, in which is systematized and generalized the great experience of our press, placing before the press the basic goals emanating from the decisions of the Communist Party.