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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN THE USSR: A STUDY OF
LETTERS, AUTHORS, AND POTENTIAL USES

By

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ABSTRACT

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This research is an analysis of letters written by Soviet citizens to newspapers. Four newspapers, two All Union papers and two republic level papers were coded for the years 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972. Letters and their printed follow-ups were coded for both letter and author characteristics.

A survey of the literature on letters, both Soviet and American, indicated three major directions for the research: (1) a study of author and letter characteristics and their correlation; (2) a study of the possible roles which letters to newspapers may have; (3) a study of the possible use of letters as a measure of public opinion.

The correlation of author letter characteristics indicated a "division of labor" among letter writers. Blue collar workers tend to write critical letters, usually concerning local goods and services. White collar professionals, usually Party members or apparatchiki, write suggestions or explanations, thus tending to answer the blue collar questions and criticisms.

In general, letter authors tend to be older, more urban, and more highly educated than the population. They are also overwhelmingly (90%) male.

The Republic level papers are more supportive of the regime and more ideological in their presentation of all material. In all papers, however, there is a drop in the use of ideology until 1972 when there is a reversal to 1952-1956 levels.

The study of the possible uses of letters indicated both that the letter authors expected and the papers attempted to be, problem solvers, forwarding the problems of the readership to individuals or institutions that could help.

A second possible use of the letters that appeared to have merit is the use of letters as a source of information for the authorities. Letter handling and follow-up procedures coupled with the range and number of complaints show this could yield a valuable body of information dealing with sources of discontent and poor administration.

For the U.S. researcher the letters provide a view of the problems of policy and administration at the local level as expressed by individuals frequently at the lower end of the SES scale, thus providing a valuable insight into the micro workings of the society--an insight that with a continuing lack of other sources of opinion data may provide information on an area which would otherwise remain relatively obscure.

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF GENERAL LITERATURE ON THE PRESS

On reviewing the available literature, the researcher is inevitably drawn to the conclusion that mass media influence on the political process cannot be overemphasized. The growth of mass communications is a major feature of industrial societies, and this factor makes its study one of central importance for any comparative work on large-scale social systems. Patterns of communication are a distinguishing feature of a society. These patterns also may play an important role as a channel for both dissent and reinforcement in the political system.¹ As Richard Fagen notes, the social scientist working in the area of mass communications immediately becomes aware that communications, as a process, pervades politics as an activity.² This pervasion is readily apparent in almost any aspect of the political process. Political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication, all are performed by means of mass communications.³ There is such an interdependence here, that many aspects of politics may be described as types of communications with definite channels, authors, targets, and modifiers.

In a modernized industrial society the media act as disseminators of information, the channels for messages from the elite

to the masses basically. However, as this paper attempts to show, this flow is not necessarily unidirectional. In addition to informing, the media also entertain audiences with various features dealing with humor, sports, everyday problems, etc. Closely intertwined with their activities of informing and entertaining, is the media's ability to educate and activate the population. Through its messages, the media can widen the horizons of their audience by providing information and entertainment of a more cosmopolitan nature, reducing the population's cultural isolation. This may have the effect of raising the aspirations of the target audience and creating markets for goods, services, and more information for further evaluation. By creating these new aspirations and focusing on specifics, a developing nation may fashion a powerful instrument for introducing change, and overcoming traditional biases and resistance to change.

This same instrument, by close management, may help to contain aspirations at a relatively low level. By information and entertainment restrictions, and focusing, the media can psychologically isolate the audience while activating them toward a limited number of desired practices.

In dealing with the study of communications and its relationship to politics, Lasswell's suggestion to find out "who says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect," is a good starting point. When looking at a nation-state in terms of its communication's pattern then, it can usually be assumed that the researcher will study the content and rate of flow of the information along various prescribed channels as it moves back and forth

between the rulers and the ruled. When dealing with Soviet politics, however, there is the added burden that the researcher must try to identify channels of information that flow from the masses to the rulers. Before discussing some possibilities for such channels, a brief digression to discuss the Soviet model of mass communications may be helpful.

Social Responsibility and Communist Models of the Press

Comparative journalism texts, while noting that there are often significant variations in basic newspaper types from country to country and, in some cases, between areas of the same country, note four basic, principle patterns of media design.⁴ Often noted as the four "theories," these patterns are classified as: (1) authoritarian; (2) communist; (3) libertarian; (4) social responsibility.

A problem in discussing the four patterns is their tendency to overlap, especially between the authoritarian and communist, and the libertarian and social responsibility patterns. The major difference between the first two models, according to the comparative journalists, is that while the communist press is owned and operated by the state, the authoritarian press is privately owned.⁵ A second major difference that is often mentioned is that control by government in the communist system is constant and uncompromising, whereas government control in an authoritarian system can change considerably with the particular leaders in power. This second point is overstated

and may give a false picture of the Soviet media system, as will be discussed later.

The other two theories, the libertarian and social responsibility, also overlap in many respects. Texts on the subject state that most nations which accept the libertarian theory consider responsibility of the media to the public as a part of the theory. Since in any society the social and political structure determines to a great extent what responsibilities the media owe its society, the media of every nation may consider themselves to be socially responsible, the responsibility pattern is usually described as an evolved form of the libertarian pattern.⁶ A very brief discussion of its most important aspects notes that it can be traced back to seventeenth century England and the American colonies. The libertarian theory rose from the view of man as a rational being with inherently natural rights, one of which was the pursuit of truth. In the eighteenth century, exponents of this view, notably John Milton and John Locke, insisted that those who would interfere with this right should be restrained, and governments should, therefore, not censor written materials.

Under this theory the press functions to uncover and present the truth, and therefore, cannot so function if subject to external controls. Truth is assured since it will be regulated by all members of the free society who will support those sources who furnish accurate reporting and refuse to support those who do not. The obvious faults in this logical reasoning led to the evolution of the social responsibility theory which is a mid-twentieth century

concept. It goes beyond the libertarian pattern in that it places a great many more moral and ethical restrictions on the media. "Responsibility" is to be emphasized instead of "freedom." Drawn, for the most part, from a 1947 report and a book published in that same year by a private group which studied the U.S. media, the Hutchins Commission asserted that technological change called for a change in media philosophy.⁷ According to this commission, the mass media, because of their pervasive impact in all areas, have gone beyond such "libertarian" concepts as the "search for truth," and the "press' right to access information." Instead, the new theory states that the importance of mass media in a modern society makes it absolutely necessary that an obligation of social responsibility be imposed on them.

In the original libertarian theory, the media are responsible for the role of informational link between government and people. Any break in the informational link caused by governmental censorship, or secrecy, or by deliberately falsified government news releases, tends to invalidate the concept of freedom of information. A libertarian system would measure its effectiveness by how well informed on government activity its public is. According to the Hutchins Commission, press freedom is limited by a social responsibility to report facts accurately and in a meaningful context. This implies a recognition by the media that they must perform a public service to justify their existence, and invites advocacy of a regulatory system to watch the actions of the media and keep them functioning properly.

Although the tension and obvious conflicts between these two systems have hardly been settled as recent developments show, this simplified outline can serve as a synopsis of present day thought on the ideal media systems as considered in the U.S. and Western Europe, and as a context for discussion of the communist pattern.

Marxist-Leninist theory sees the media as a channel through which the party can influence the masses, communicate with them, and direct them in the building of a new society. From Lenin, the present CPSU considers its position as resting upon a balance of coercion and persuasion.⁸ Because of the rapid change imposed upon the society, coercion has been, and is necessary, against segments or classes of the population who would threaten the party's program for progress. Persuasion is used to influence the larger remaining social groups. The media are used to correct a dichotomy which exists between the party and the masses.

In viewing the "toilers," Lenin had two basic views: (1) mankind has limitless possibilities for perfectibility, (2) the masses are lacking in class consciousness and organization. Because of the lack of consciousness and organization, the masses are unable, by themselves, to attain real progress toward their great potential beyond what is scornfully labeled as "trade unionism." To fill this void, the party offers itself as the "general staff of the working class," which through its access to basic historical truths and prognoses is able to view beyond what might temporarily, and falsely, be seen as the workers best interests, to programs that will truly benefit them in the future. The media are assigned the

task of both facilitating the CPSU leadership and mobilizing the minds of the workers toward a higher social evolutionary state.

With these dual tasks in mind, the tasks of mass agitator-propagandist, organizer, and critic, which are assigned to the media in almost every Soviet book or article on the subject are more easily understood. The media's task as mass agitator-propagandist is education with the ultimate aim of producing the New Soviet Man who is capable of living in harmony with his fellow human beings in the ideal society of Communism. Both agitation and propaganda are instruments of education but the message and target are different. The classic definition of the difference was given by Plekhanov though popularized by Lenin in What Is To Be Done? According to this definition the propagandist gives many ideas to a few, while the agitator gives a few ideas to many. Propaganda serves as a pre-condition for agitation and a legitimizer for the regime by acting as an interpretation of the sacred truths, thus attempting to influence behavior by affecting the manner in which a mass audience perceives and ascribes meaning to the world. Propaganda is therefore theoretical, profound, and understood in its entirety by only a few members of the media's audience. Because the vast majority of the masses can grasp only basic fundamentals of the intricate propaganda offerings, agitation is used as a complementary form of education. As propaganda requires profound thought and appeals to the intellect through logical constructions, agitation attempts to illicit a more immediate response by appealing to sentiment with quick, short,

concrete examples. Headlines, slogans, photographs, and cartoons provide useful vehicles for agitation.

The task of mass organizer is always given high priority by Soviet journalists in any discussion of press functions. Lenin always considered the establishment of a centrally controlled press as an object of top priority. He clearly expressed his feelings on the subject in an 1899 letter:

--we must have as our immediate aim the founding of a Party organ that will appear regularly and be closely connected with all local groups . . . without such an organ, local work will remain narrowly 'amateurish.' The formation of the Party--if the correct representation of that Party in a certain newspaper is not original--will to a considerable extent remain bare words. An economic struggle that is not united by a central organ cannot become the class struggle of the entire Russian proletariat. It is impossible to conduct a political struggle if the Party as a whole fails to make statements on all questions of policy and to give direction to the various manifestations of the struggle. The organization and disciplining of the revolutionary forces and the development of revolutionary techniques are impossible without the discussion of all these questions in a central organ, without the collective elaboration of certain forms and rules for the conduct of affairs, without the establishment--through the central organ--of every Party member's responsibility to the entire Party.⁹

Clearly, Lenin is following the call of Liebknecht to "Learn, propagandise, organize," all through the central organ. Through a central party press, revolutionary thought can be focused on the issues and tactics that the leadership desires, thus organizing a group with a common bond of ideas, tactics, and purpose. The idea expressed in this quotation and echoed in his What Is To Be Done? is that the paper can form the basic core around which revolutionary activity may be formed. This aspect of organization is clearly expressed in the following example:

A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this respect it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor. With the aid of, and around, a paper, there will automatically develop an organization that will engage, not only in local activities, but also in regular, general work; it will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods of influencing these events through the revolutionary party.¹⁰

Here the idea of the party organizer is clearly illustrated. The press has an organizing function for elites that is useful and necessary before, during, and after the revolution. For non-elites after the October Revolution, the collective organization function became one of economic re-education and reorganization of the masses. This function was to be performed by acquainting all citizens with the new economic programs, exchanging the various local experiences and techniques, and by comparison of local achievements, inspire competition. Lenin felt that the media were an extremely important and largely untapped resource in the field of economic development:

We have scarcely yet started on the enormous, difficult but rewarding task of organizing competition between communes, of introducing accounting and publicity in the process of the production of grain, clothes and other things, of transforming dry, dead, bureaucratic accounts into living examples, some repulsive, others attractive. . . . The press must serve as an instrument of socialist construction, give publicity to the successes achieved by the model communes in all their details, must study the causes of these successes, the methods of management these communes employ.¹¹

Through propaganda and agitation combined with central organization through the press, the population was to be mobilized and activated to accomplish the economic tasks ahead.

At the same time the press was to emphasize competition and emulation of successful examples of enterprise. The third function of the media, as a critic for the new society, became important. Party work had long been held up for scrutiny and debate under the policy of "kritika-samo-kritika," criticism and self criticism, but now the press presented examples of how not to do it, along with the "how to." The press was encouraged to "put on the 'black list' those communes which persist in the 'traditions of capitalism,' i.e., anarchy, laziness, disorder and profiteering."¹² The role of the media was to expose the deficient groups to criticism from below, assuming the role of guardian against the incompetent or immoral. In both forms of criticism there are obviously certain limits to the subjects and individuals that may be criticized. The regime, its ideological foundations and heros, and basic policies may not be criticized directly. Indirectly, criticism may be made by singling out local occurrences that point out difficulties with a certain program. The rule in handling such criticism is "Criticize But Don't Generalize."¹³ The result is that the media expose numerous examples of corruption, mis-management, incompetence, etc., but no general conclusion is drawn concerning them. The basic and most important instrument for the gathering of criticism and examples from the "grass roots," is the letter to the editor.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, whatever the theoretical pattern the media operates within, this basic activities are to inform, to entertain, to educate, and to activate. Obviously in the different media patterns the amount of emphasis put on each of these activities, and the form in which they are presented varies greatly. Soviet and Western journalists have varied opinions concerning what form education, information, and even entertainment could take. Concerning differences pertaining to forms of activation of the population, the literature on letters to the editor is surprisingly similar considering the theoretically opposite poles from which the two sides originate. Activation by direct participation is the substance of the letters in both patterns. From the libertarian/responsibility theory it is expected that the free, rational citizen, taking an interest in his social and political environment, will use the available channel to register his complaints and criticisms, and be seconded or criticized by others in the free market of ideas which the media are duty bound to provide. In the communist pattern, letters are expected as a natural and necessary adjunct to the tasks of agitation/propaganda, organizing, and criticizing. The media serve to answer questions on theoretical and practical matters that agitprop put before the population. Successes must be reported, competition and emulation fostered, and failures uncovered and the culprits unmasked.

The remainder of the paper will focus on a comparison of the letters of the two patterns of media. First a discussion of the literature and research on the subject in the U.S. and Western

Europe; then a discussion of the subject as presented in Soviet journalism and social science will be presented. Finally, a research project involving the collection and analysis of a much larger and more varied sample of Soviet letters than has previously been worked with by Western researchers will be offered.

Chapter I--Footnotes

¹Alex Inkeles and Kent Geiger, "Critical Letters to the Soviet Press," American Sociological Review, 17:694-703 (1952).

²Richard R. Fagen, Politics and Communications (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 8.

³G. A. Almond and James Coleman, The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 4-5.

⁴J. C. Merrill, The Foreign Press (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 20.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: 1947); William E. Horking, Freedom of the Press (Chicago, 1947).

⁸Alex Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), Ch. I.

⁹V. I. Lenin, "Letter to Würtemberg in 1899," Lenin Miscellany III (Moscow: 1970), pp. 50-1.

¹⁰V. I. Lenin, "Where to Begin May, 1901," Selected Works II (New York: 1943), pp. 19f, 21f.

¹¹V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Collected Works, Vol. 27 (New York: Praeger Books, 1965), p. 260.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹³Selected Works, op. cit., p. 370.

CHAPTER II

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR--U.S./USSR

Structure of the Press System--USSR

In any discussion of the Soviet press, it is necessary to preface an analysis of newspaper content with an overview of the structure of the system which certainly has a great effect upon the types of materials each paper prints, and may possibly affect the materials received from its readers. This factor is important, for as will be discussed in detail later in the chapter, a principle function of the newspaper is to continuously sample the opinions of its readers.

As with the Party and government apparatus, the Soviet newspaper system is structured in a number of geographic subdivisions:

1. The All-Union or Central level which prints national papers for distribution throughout the USSR.
2. The Union Republic level which prints papers for each of the fifteen republics.
3. The krai and oblast levels which print papers for the subdivisions of the republics, similar to provinces and counties.

4. The autonomous republic and autonomous oblast levels which print papers for subdivisions of republics which have identity as the territory of specific minority national groups.

5. The city level which prints papers for that specific metropolitan area. City raions (districts) may also publish their own papers.

6. The district and production administration of collective and state farm level which prints papers for the agricultural units in its area.

7. The press of the various industrial enterprises, educational institutions, and collective and state farms.¹ Papers below the oblast level are usually referred to as the "lower" press.

For each of these subdivisions, both the Party and government apparatus may have a paper serving as its official organ, or one paper may serve as organ for both simultaneously. Some state sponsored organizations may also have a paper, reflecting its administration at that level. The trade union and Komsomol are examples of such organizations. Generally, the higher the administrative level the more likely the group is to have a paper. Only the Party and government always sponsor papers at each level.

The All-Union papers, apart from their distribution throughout the USSR, also serve a function as a model of style and content for the papers of the other levels to follow. Thus the papers at the local trade unions would look to Trud, the union's national level paper, as a model for story selection, setup, and "line" to follow on sensitive matters. Other levels of the Komsomol

press should look to Komsomol'skaya Pravda for inspiration in such matters. All papers, however, defer to the influence and prestige of all central organ of the CPSU--Pravda, which serves as the ultimate authority for style and content.

Republic newspapers, officially the press representatives of Party and governmental authority, are usually offered both in Russian and the language's native to the republic. Hollander gives the following example of republic level papers printed in the Tadzhik republic in Central Asia:

Sovietskiy Tadzhikistan (Russian)
Tochikiston Soveti (Tadzhik)
Soveit Tochikistoni (Uzbek)
Komsomolets Tadzhikistana (Russian)
Komsomoli Tochikiston (Tadzhik)
Pioneri Tochikiston (Tadzhik)
Maorie va Madaniyat (Tadzhik)²

Suprisingly, the Russian, RSFSR Soviet Republic, by far the largest and most diverse of the fifteen republics, has generally fewer republic papers.³ The reasoning is that All-Union level papers serve the same purpose and therefore a large number of republic level papers would merely be wasteful redundancies.

The size of the Soviet journalistic effort is indicated by figures for the RSFSR which has over 3,000 newspapers printed, reaching over 61,100,000 readers, and the Ukrainian Republic which has over 2,000 papers reaching 16,500,000 readers.⁴ The leading Soviet daily, Pravda, is one of the world's largest papers, with a circulation of 7,500,000.⁵

In order to administer this vast press system, an extensive and elaborate bureaucracy carries on the planning, directing,

conducting, and supervising. The control over the content is both complex and often filled with redundancies. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of course the final authority on any issue. Officially, the State Committee of the Press, a body of the Council of Ministers, has authority over all publishing matters and thus serves as censor, but as a state body it is always subject to direction by the Party apparat. In fact, Central Committee guidance may take the form of directives to the editors on the necessity for certain "campaigns" where emphasis is needed, and the treatment of certain news items, both foreign and domestic. Specifically, as well, the Central Committee CPSU appoints 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 the republic, oblast and krai newspapers working under their control; city committees of the party; leading workers of city newspapers; raion party committees leading workers of local newspapers; factory, plant, higher educational institutions and other Party committees multi-copy newspapers."⁶

The power to appoint the editorial staff of every paper in the USSR is obviously a powerful check. The editorial staff's work is checked for positive work and criticized for its shortcomings by several devices; (1) Surveys of the press, an analysis of the content

of the paper over a specified period which the Party unit with jurisdiction sends to the editors; (2) Review of professional conduct by the Union of Journalists which may remove an editor for not meeting the standards of a vague code of ethics; (3) Local Party Central Commission, (the editor is very often a party member and therefore subject to this form of discipline); (4) Local government officials who are also usually Party members.⁷

Structure of Newspaper Content--USSR

Soviet papers are only four to six pages long, but with much more space for editorial type matter than comparable Western papers because they carry no advertising. The small size is probably due to factors including a general paper shortage and the difficulty of maintaining full control over the content of larger papers.⁸

Another of the more striking aspects of Soviet papers is the lack of what to most Westerners is news. Reports on events that occurred the day before, both national and international, take up only a small fraction of a Soviet paper, less than 20%.

The idiosyncrasies of the Soviet press tend to produce special reading habits among the public. To become informed, the public that is in the "know" reads the paper bottom up, from back to front. Opinion polls tend to confirm this. The readers tend to be interested in human interest, sports, social problems, morals, and less interested in ideological content.⁹ The readers remember the big events, such as the mid-air breakup of the TU-144 at Paris in 1973, Zhukov's ouster in 1957, Nixon's scheduled arrival time in

1972, and Solzhenitsyn's expulsion. These were all innocuous little items on the back page of Pravda.¹⁰ The back page also features sports, chess, cultural news, and occasional human interest features and satirical exposes of incompetence or malfeasance, and the TV listings.

In Pravda the principal foreign news appears on page five, with factual information coming from various Pravda correspondents. Usually, almost 25% of the page is devoted to daily and rather routine reports from Soviet allies in the "Socialist Camp." Another 25% usually goes to flamboyant articles concerning various struggles versus imperialists throughout the world. Authoritative commentary on world affairs also appears here along with short travel essays.

From page four onward, the going gets heavier in Pravda. On page four is often material continued from the front page, the text of official speeches or announcements, commentaries on international affairs, and long reports from foreign communists.

Page three carries domestic news on all subjects, often by guest writers on their fields of expertise. Letters to the editor and investigative reporting are also found here.

The second page contains the Party news, which is required reading for CPSU members. Articles by Party officials, staff members, and letters, discuss new methods and lessons from the past. The interpretations and emphasis given here are those that will tend to become adopted throughout the USSR by local Party groups.

The front page usually is dominated by one or two photographs of workers accompanied by an article on a particular farm

or factory, reflecting Lenin's view of the media as discussed earlier. These pictures and stories appear under a bold headline which reflects an agitational slogan--"Introduce and Assimilate Capacity More Quickly."¹¹ The first page also contains a daily editorial, important official news such as speeches and decrees, and short news items.

Structure of the Newspaper Staff--USSR

The staff of a Soviet paper is divided into functional departments responsible for a particular section of the paper. The number of departments may vary with each paper. All-Union papers may have fifteen or more departments, republic papers about ten, oblast and krai six to eight, and the lower press two or three.¹²

Each department is responsible for the material dealing with its subject. Examples of departments found in most general papers (as opposed to specialized papers) are: (1) Party Life which deals with Party articles; (2) Industry and Transport; (3) Agriculture; (4) Soviet Constitution; (5) Propaganda; (6) Culture and Daily Life; (7) Ideology; (8) Local Information; (9) Letters to the Editor; (10) Staff Correspondents; (11) Special Correspondents.¹³

Overseeing and coordinating the activities of the various departments are the editor-in-chief and the secretariat which usually consists of the secretary, a deputy secretary, a literary secretary, and two or three literary workers.¹⁴

The editor-in-chief is responsible for the ideological content and general effectiveness of the paper. He, along with

his deputies if the paper is large enough, draws up the plan by which the paper is to be run. He is responsible for the selection of personnel not selected by the local Party unit, and in addition to being responsible for coordinating the various departments, supervises the actual technical process of publication, and oversees financial matters.¹⁵

The secretariat appears to function as the actual coordinating center for all the work of the paper and final preparation of materials for publication. With this task, correctors, illustrators, photographers, and other workers dealing with the design and organization of the paper, are under the direction of the secretariat.¹⁶

In order to guide the editor-in-chief and his assistants in the selection of materials not directly submitted to them by the Party or government apparatus, the Party has furnished seven principles to serve as a guideline. Most of the principles can easily be interpreted as logical extensions of the tasks of the press mentioned earlier, and came from Lenin's ideas which were formulated during his experiences with Iskra, and the illegal underground Bolshevik press.

1. "Partiinost": or "party-ness" is the acceptance of the CPSU as the authority on all matters and the complete acceptance of these decisions. The paper, as an instrument of the Party, should strive to evaluate every event and social phenomena in light of Party policy. A Soviet journalism text describes "Partiinost" in the following way:

Lenin said that such nonpartisanship is a hypocritical invention of the bourgeoisie. . . . Partiinost 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.¹⁷

2. "Vysokaya Ideinost": or high ideological content means that the press has a major roll in the dissemination of propaganda and agitation for the education of the members of the society. This function includes the constant use of references to the "classics" of the communist movement, as well as current interpretations the leadership of the CPSU has given to current events and trends. The paper should not only reflect the interests of the Party, but should be permeated with the spirit of the Party, its teachings and its goals. As described by the Soviets:

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 bourgeoisie ideology; it leads the entergetic battle with the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people.¹⁸

3. Patriotism: the Soviets place a great deal of emphasis on recalling the great deeds of the past by Party, government, police, and military. The Second World War with its tremendous horrors and sacrifices, and its concomitant sense of purpose and solidarity is a favorite theme for "flashback" articles and features with recollections of old soldiers each year on the anniversary of important battles, such as Moscow, Leningrad, Smolensk, Kursk, Stalingrad, and Berlin.¹⁹ Each year as well brings stories and

letters from those who remember the various high points of the revolution. The press is also called upon to present the USSR as an object of international veneration and envy to rouse the pride of the Soviet people:

The press, radio, and television are called upon to daily inculcate in the 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 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.²⁰

4. Truthfulness: is the obligation to transmit information truthfully. This means that the journalist must give the correct interpretation to each event and story. Objectivity is a bourgeois concept and a fault in Western journalism which is not to be repeated. The Soviet journalist eschews ambiguity. Men, governments, programs, institutions, and events are either good or bad and must be correctly interpreted. It is the paper's duty, through the responsibility of the editor-in-chief, to ensure the necessary contacts with the Party organization to attain this "correctness" of interpretation.

The Soviet press is a truthful press. It follows the advice of V. I. Lenin in always demanding from colleagues and from the correspondents of the press the correct elucidation of events.²¹

5. "Narodnost": or "populism" is an expression of the need for a popular orientation of the press. This is expressed in the Soviet constitution as the right of each citizen to make use of the press. Materials for the exercise of this right are to be made

available to the citizens who wish them.²² In order to carry out this obligation practically:

In the Soviet Union the papers and journals, radio and television belong to the Party, soviets, komsomol, unions, and social organizations.²³

6. "Massovost": or "massness" combines with the concept of "narodnost" to mean that the paper is accessible to any citizen and maintains direct and constant contact with the masses. The papers are to literally function amid the people by encouraging actual participation by non-journalists in furnishing materials for the press. The use of "millions"²⁴ of the worker-peasant correspondents' (rab-selkors) reports and the vast numbers of citizen letters is an expression of "massness":

The massness of our press is expressed in the fact that broad strata of workers take an active part in it.²⁵

7. "Kritika i Samo-Kritika": criticism and self-criticism is a call to criticize the shortcomings of the Party organizations, the government, the society and the work of the media itself. As noted by Hollander, the process generally takes the following course: "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."²⁶ Because the journalist is an agent of the Party and has been "cleared" to do

the story, or has been instructed to do the story (as will be mentioned later, this is not always true), it would appear politically incorrect to challenge the process. The usefulness of the criticism, both from "above," i.e., from official sources, and "below," i.e., from common citizens, is given a great deal of emphasis by the Party. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy underline this concern by reminding the Soviet journalist that the Party Central Committee has ordered the use of *kritika-samo-kritika* for "a systematic and purposeful conduct of the battle . . . against idleness, bureaucratism, stagnation, bribery, (which) plunder national property."²⁷

Letters Literature--U.S.

In the United States, letter writing has always been a technique of political expression. Jefferson was a prolific letter writer and set the fashion for other elites to follow. The tradition of letter writing from the electorate to political figures also has a long tradition. George Washington, like Dwight Eisenhower, was urged to accept a draft for the presidency by a "deluge" of letters from private citizens.²⁹ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, only a narrow elite practiced political letter writing.

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the letter writing electorate had expanded its social base. Available information indicates that Lincoln's mail came from a great variety of social groups: "preponderantly Mr. Lincoln's correspondents were composed of the laity, that diverse, unclassifiable, resourceful, self-assumed and informal group which constituted the American public.

Of this last category many more were lowly, illiterate."³⁰ Because of a dearth of information, it is impossible to discover whether the expanded social composition of presidential mail during the Civil War was a temporary phenomenon or part of a long term trend. The available information does note that in the 1930's, however, the volume of mail received at the White House (and Congress) climbed to the high levels associated with such mail today. To illustrate; calculating the rate of presidential mail as the number of letters written annually per 10,000 literate adults in the population, Lincoln's rate during the Civil War was about 44, Wilson's mail during World War I was a little higher at 47, but Roosevelt's mail during the depression in the late 1930's was at a rate of 160. This high increase in quantity is even more pronounced when the rates during non-crisis periods are compared. During comparative periods of normalcy, McKinley's mail in 1900 represented a rate of 4.7, Hoover's mail before the crash measured 11.8, and Roosevelt's mail in the late 1930's represented a rate of 111. The size of FDR's political correspondence from the public was unprecedented, and importantly, this level has declined very little.³¹ The growth of literacy, mass media and information, the increasing impact of Federal level programs on the electorate's every day life, and the public encouragement of letter writing by leading political figures have probably all been factors in increasing the mail flow.

Leila Sussman in her study of mass political letter writing concluded that fifteen to twenty percent of the American electorate have at some time addressed a political letter to a public official,

and that the vast majority of the letters were spontaneous, and not stimulated by pressure groups.³²

As to its affect, a study by Martin Kriesberg showed that Congressmen ranked mail first and public opinion polls fourth among five sources of such information, whereas administrators did the opposite.³³ The fact that the mail comes from their own constituents, while the administrators, whos "constituency" is better measured by nation-wide polls, accounts for the difference. Sussman feels that the influence of mail on public officials, unless obviously pressure group mail, is enhanced by the fact that letters are not merely responsive, but may signal a clue to the existance of a new problem. For officials removed from personal contact with the electorate, these letters are sometimes the first indication that such a situation exists.³⁴

Like the studies dealing with mail to political figures, the literature on letters to the editor is about forty years old and suprisingly scanty.

In a 1937 study, Schuyler Foster and Carl Friedrich looked at letters printed in a Boston paper over a three month period, (N = 169).³⁵ The study was concerned with providing generalizations concerning letter writing and letter authors, and a variety of topics from child labor to the current African War were considered. The study attempted to discover whether the concern of the letter authors reflected the concern of a significant portion of the community, or were merely isolated individuals.

Two of their findings are echoed in Sussman's work on letter writing to public figures and in later studies on letters to the editor: (1) The newspaper itself provides the most frequent stimulus to write to the editor. The majority of published letters referred to news items, other letters or to editorials; (2) Most letters convey a negative response to something or someone.³⁶

This negativism in letter writing is found both in studies which deal with letters as a whole, i.e., without regard to specific topic, and studies which focus on particular issues. Because of such findings, a 1964 article in Journalism Quarterly entitled "Functions of Editorials and Letters to the Editor," formulated two propositions: (1) One of the functions of the newspaper editorial in a democratic society is to stimulate public debate and discussion of important issues; (2) One of the functions of the letters to the editor in a democratic society is that of catharsis.³⁷ A letter column gives the irate, the antagonist, and the displeased a chance to speak out and be heard.

The idea of the editorial functioning so as to foster debate and discussion is a logical outgrowth of the prevailing press theory and entirely compatible with it. The catharsis affect is less expected given the premises of libertarian/responsibility theory, from which one would, ideally, expect a constant flow of ideas, a positive and negative to flow across the letters page. Instead, it appears that individuals are stimulated basically by frustration and anger, often in reaction to something they've read in the same paper, to take the time and effort to write.

This finding is verified by the three other studies, Forsythe (1950),³⁸ Tarrant (1957),³⁹ and Vacin (1965),⁴⁰ which deal with the motivations of authors of letters to the editor. The studies use terms such as "blowing off steam," "getting something off my chest," and "a safety valve," to describe the motivations of the authors.

The majority of studies dealing with letter writing deal with demographic analysis of the author population. Only sixteen studies dealing with the characteristics of letter writers have been done, and only eight of these dealt with letters to the editor.

With so few studies done, it is both feasible and useful to look more closely at each of these eight letter to the editor studies. The other eight will be mentioned briefly, and their findings summarized along with the others in Table I for comparison.

Letters to the Editor--U.S.

1. Sydney Forsythe (1950)⁴¹ sent a short questionnaire to fifty-five people who had written letters to the editor to the Louisville Courier-Journal. His sample was taken by unspecified means from persons who had from one to twenty-three letters published during the previous year. The forty-four individuals who responded accounted for nearly 20% of all letters printed that year in the Courier-Journal: 385 out of 2,007, or about nine letters per person.

The median age of the authors was fifty-nine, and only two were under forty. There were forty-two men and two women, and all but two of the authors were native white Americans. Through an

unspecified process it was determined that the respondents tended to be conservative in their political, religious, and marital views.

The average letter writer had lived in the Louisville area for eighteen years, and was well educated with an average of one year of college. Thirty-five of the forty-two men were either business or professional men or white collar workers.

2. W. D. Tarrant (1957)⁴² interviewed forty people who had published letters in the Eugene, Oregon Register-Guard. He found that as the frequency of letter writing increased, so did factors such as conservatism, number of books read, age of writer, number of children, ownership of a house, and occasions of seeking public office. Two-thirds of those who had written to the newspaper had also written at least one letter to their congressman.

Compared to the general population, Tarrant found letter writers to be better educated, less mobile, more religious, more mature, more individualistic, and older.

3. As part of a study of the 1964 presidential election, Converse, Clausen, and Miller (1965)⁴³ conducted 1,400 interviews.

Among the questions asked was whether the respondent had written a letter to a newspaper editor during the campaign. It turned out that 15% of the sample had reported writing to a public official--a datum very close to the findings of several national surveys. Three percent had written to a newspaper.

However, when analyzed in terms of the total number of letters written, three percent of the respondents accounted for

two-thirds of the letters to public officials, and one-half of one percent of the people wrote two-thirds of the letters to the editor.

About 70% of the letter writers were supporters of Barry Goldwater, and 30% supporters of Lyndon Johnson. The non-letter writers were divided in about the same ratio as the actual vote: Johnson 60%, Goldwater 40%.

On two questions designed to indicate the conservative feelings of the respondents, the letter-writer appeared significantly more conservative than the non-writer. On an eleven-point scale of over-all ideology, the letter writers were heavily conservative--the most extreme conservative position being the mode--while the non-writer scored in the normal distribution.

The authors of the study classified the letter writers as being prosperous and well educated.

4. In an analysis of reaction to a 1962 controversy in Oregon as to whether communist Gus Hall should be allowed to speak at state-supported colleges and universities, H. Davis and G. Rarick analyzed editorials and readers letters on the issue in twenty-one Oregon daily newspapers.⁴⁴ The letters sample on the issue was 126; only letters actually printed were used.

An examination of the letters revealed that 81, or 64%, of them expressed opposition to Hall being permitted to speak at state-supported colleges. This was true even though eleven of the papers took the opposite stand editorially, while only six agreed with the majority, and four took no stand on the issue editorially.

Davis and Rarick found that the editors, no matter which side they supported publicly, printed approximately the same percentage of letters pro and con. Out of 108 letters published by the eleven papers "for" permission to Hall, 64% were against the policy. Similarly, eleven of seventeen (65%) of the letters in the "opposing" papers were against the visits.

No specific demographic information on authors was attempted by the researchers, but their analysis led them to believe that the highly negative nature of the letters indicate that a major function of letter writing was the psychological release or catharsis the author gained.

5. Gary Vacin (1965) studied letters published in three Kansas daily newspapers, the Topeka Daily Capital, the Wichita Eagle, and the Hutchinson News, during March of 1964 in research designed to discover both author characteristics and motivations.⁴⁵

Vacin mailed questionnaires to the 186 writers and had a response from 123 (66%).

All age groups were represented in the sample, but middle aged and elderly (exact age unspecified) predominated. Thirty-nine of the respondents were over 55 and only seven were 18 or younger.

The authors were well educated, averaging two years of college. Fifty-seven (46%) were college graduates and 24 (20%) had earned post-graduate degrees. Only 21 (16%) had not completed high school.

The sample was overwhelmingly (75%) male, and non-mobile in residence, having lived in their present residence an average of 20 years.

Almost half (47%) were classified as white-collar or professional, with housewives (17%) and retirees (13%) constituting the next largest occupational groups.

The letter writers tended to be politically active and Republican (46%) more than Democratic (28%). They were also very well read, 113 (92%) read at least one daily newspaper regularly.

Thirty-six letter writers had written only one letter to the editor; 28 had written more than ten, and one claimed to have written 2,000 such letters.

Vacin concluded that the authors were not "cranks" or "crack-pots" in their motivations for writing, but had the conviction that they were affecting events, either as a direct result of their letters, or of the public opinion they felt their letters helped to mold.

6. Sidney Verba, et al. (1967), utilized data collected by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago for a study of public opinion and the Vietnam War.⁴⁶ Using an interview sample of 239 letter writers and 1,251 non-writers, Verba compared the two groups views on an "Escalation Scale," a "De-escalation Scale," and on a scale of preference of alternative actions.

Following the previous literature, the author expected to find the letter writers to be more conservative and pro-escalation,

but in fact found no difference of scores between the letter writers and non-letter writers on any of the scales.

Verba and his associates realized that their findings in this regard are virtually unique and added that the complexity and ambiguity of the war could explain the similarity. And, to the extent that the war had involved the population more than any other issue in recent years, this type of event is probably unrepresentative.

7. David Grey and Trevor Brown (1970) utilized content analysis of two California newspapers, the Redwood City Tribune, and the San Mateo Times, for four time periods before and after the 1968 party presidential conventions, with a total of 721 letters.⁴⁷ The researchers estimated that the letters printed represent two-thirds of all the letters reviewed by the two papers.

The researchers found surprisingly little interest expressed in the Nixon vs. Humphrey campaign. The only two candidates who "excited" any volume of mail were Wallace and McCarthy. The general apathy was illustrated by the fact that the local controversies over sex education and a topless dancer's candidacy for student body president of Stanford University received more coverage.

Letters containing pro-republican comments were in the majority, although, the area tends to be liberal and democratic. Because the letters that were not printed remained unavailable, the researchers were unsure whether this reflected the authors of the letters or the bias of the editors.

The letters clearly tended to be negative rather than positive--i.e., against something--rather than for it or neutral. Although no specific data was presented, Grey and Brown suggest that their sample is older, richer, better educated, more rooted in their community, and more conservative than the general population. Characteristics which suggest an "articulate minority."

8. Byron Lander (1972) studied 188 letters sent to the Kent Record-Courier from May 7 to May 26, 1970, dealing with the killing of four Kent State University students by national guardsmen on May 4.⁴⁸ The author stated that he had chosen the Record-Courier because of its emphasis on local opinion and its policy of printing all letters it receives.

Lander assumes, based on past studies apparently, that the letter writers are "middle aged and middle class conservative white Americans."

Using content analysis the researcher found, apparently using key word and/or phrases (no method is specified), that a majority (51%) expressed hostility toward the students or youth, and praise for the guard (48%), while nine percent expressed sympathy for the students and six percent were critical of the guard.

Other Letters Data--U.S.

1,2,3. Each of the three major public opinion polling organizations has inquired briefly into letter-writing behavior. The data in Table I is based on the responses for the Gallup Poll, Roper Poll, and National Opinion Research Center (1957), to the

question of "Have you ever written to your congressman or senator in Washington?"⁴⁹

4. Martinez (1950) interviewed one-fifth of the 500 Italian-American families in Elmira, New York, to see whether they had responded to an Italian-American campaign to write letters to friends and relatives in Italy urging them not to vote Communist.⁵⁰

5. Jeanette Sayre (1939) studied 26,000 letters written to a popular radio program, "Town Meeting of the Air."⁵¹ On the basis of the quality of paper, the style and construction of the letter, and certain contextual factors, she attempted to glean author characteristics.

6. Leo Bogart (1949) analyzed 744 fan letters written to the New York Philharmonic Orchestra radio program during the 1948-49 concert season.⁵² About one-third of the letters were unsolicited, the remainder came in response to requests from the program's host to comment on certain aspects of the program.

Based on stylistic qualities of the letters (no methodology reported) he attempted to determine the social characteristics of the authors.

7. L. E. Gleek (1940) analyzed several hundred letters received by two congressmen over repeal of the arms embargo act in 1940.⁵³ Gleek attempted to develop demographic data by using the writer's name to divine sex and nationality, and socio-economic status from the quality of paper and the location of the writer's home.

8. J. A. Klempner (1966) interviewed 134 people who had written letters to Xerox concerning a \$4,000,000 series of programs on the United Nations which caused the ire of the John Birch Society. Seventy of the authors had written negative letters to Xerox, and 64 positive.⁵⁴

Summary: U.S. Letters Literature

In Table I the findings of the 16 studies are compared on their demographic findings.

From these few studies a few conclusions may be drawn concerning letter to the editor authors in the United States:

1. Writers of opinion-letters are older than the average of the general population.

2. Writers of opinion-letters have a higher income than the average of the general population.

3. Writers of opinion-letters are better educated than the average of the general population.

4. Writers of opinion-letters are more conservative, politically, than the average of the general population.

5. It seems reasonable to suspect, although there is no direct evidence, that letter writers are better informed on the issues on which they write than non-writers. The suspicion is based in part on the probability that letter writers are better educated, and on the fact that in order to write a letter it is necessary to have at least some information concerning the topic about which you are writing.

TABLE I.--Characteristics of Letter Writers Compared to the General Population, as Determined by
16 Research and Interview Studies.

Study	Method	Sample Size	Sex	Age	Income	Educa- tion	Political Views
Forsythe	Interview	44	Mostly Male	Older	Higher Than Avg.	High 13 yrs.	Conservative
Tarrant	Interview	40		Older	Higher Than Avg.	High	Conservative
Converse	Interview	42		Older	Higher Than Avg.	High	Conservative
Davis	Content Analysis	126					Conservative
Vacin	Questionnaire	123	Male	Older	Higher Than Avg.	High 14 yrs.	Conservative
Verba	Interview	239					Moderate
Grey	Content Analysis	721		Older	Higher	High	Conservative
Lander	Content Analysis	188		Older	Higher	High	Conservative

TABLE I.--Continued.

Study	Method	Sample Size	Sex	Age	Income	Educa- tion	Political Views
Roper	Interview				Very High	Very High	
Gallup	Interview					High	
NORC	Interview				High	High	
Martinez	Content Analysis	100	No Difference	Older		High	
Sayre	Content Analysis	26,000		Older	High	High	
Bogart	Content Analysis	744			High	High	
Gleek	Content Analysis	700			High	High	
Klempner	Interview	134		Older	High	High	Variable

6. Writers of opinion-letters tend to be male more than the average of the general population.

Concerning the reason people write in, there is far less research. The consensus of the few studies that do deal with this aspect of letters to the editor is that the individual receives a psychological release of tension from the act, i.e., "gets it off his chest."

Criticism and Letters to the Editor in the USSR

The idea of a spontaneous criticism from below in the Soviet media is an interesting one. To an American researcher, the letters offer a possibility of a source of "input" from the grass-roots level. To the Soviet researcher the letters serve an important function by embodying the principles of narodnost, massovost, and kritika-samo-kritika. They also provide the concrete examples of the political system in action that are always sought. In practice, however, there are several factors which operate against the pure spontaneity of public expression which would be necessary to realize fully the goals of either the American researcher or his Soviet counterpart.

The political realities of the Soviet system and the memories of the not-too-distant past are factors working against such open criticism. The difference between a citizen voicing criticism through an exercise of his rights as given in the constitution, and an "evil renegade" spouting hostile propaganda slandering the good name of the Soviet people and its institutions, is very slim and

often dependent upon the direction of the political winds. A combination of boldness and political sensitivity is required if an author of a letter ventures out of the usual areas of criticism. Letters of unsigned criticism, the "anonymkas" (anonymous ones) are viewed with suspicion and are less likely to find their way into print.⁵⁵

Any regular reader of Soviet newspapers knows the boundaries inside which criticism is safe and which subjects are not usually mentioned. Table II presents a partial list of a Soviet censor's forbidden topics.⁵⁶ In addition to the topics, are the much more obvious areas, such as, domestic political disputes or disagreements among the leadership, disagreements with other communist states, an unfavorable comparison of the standard of living of Western or other communist states with the USSR, as well as the basic personalities and propositions of communism, or current policy or leadership. Those crossing the line into forbidden territory may find themselves publicly scolded by name in the paper for opposing detente with the United States, for siding with Israel, for mentioning that the USSR has a class structure, or for expressing support for Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov, for example. The price for excessive enthusiasm might also be surveillance or a visit from the KGB.

Another limit on the institution is the functioning of the "gatekeepers," in American terms, the editors' function of selecting the letters to be printed from those sent. Even if the seemingly liberal figure of 28% for letters printed for a paper such as

TABLE II.--Partial List of Censor's Forbidden Topics.

The itineraries of trips and locations of stopovers or speeches of members and candidate members of the Politburo.
Information about the organs of Soviet censorship which discloses the character, organization and method of their work.
Activities of the organs of state security and Soviet intelligence organs. . . .
. . . The amount of crime, the number of people engaged in criminal behavior, the number arrested, the number convicted. . . .
Information about the existence of correctional labor camps. . . .
Facts about the physical condition, illnesses and death rates of all prisoners in all localities.
The number of illiterate people.
Reports about the human victims of accidents, wrecks and fires. . . .
Information about the consequences of catastrophic earthquakes, tidal waves, floods and other natural calamities. . . .
Calculations of the relative purchasing power of the ruble and the hard currency of foreign states.
The size of the total wage fund [that is, wages paid to the population], or the amount of money which comprises the population's purchasing power, or the balance of income and expenditure of the population. . . .
Information about hostile actions by the population or responsible officials of foreign states against representatives or citizens of the USSR.
The correlation between the cost of services for foreign tourists in the USSR and the selling price of tourist trips in the USSR.
Information about export to foreign countries of arms, ammunition, military technology, military equipment. . . .
Information suggesting a low moral-political condition of the armed forces, unsatisfactory military discipline, abnormal relations among soldiers or between them and the population. . . .
The number of drug addicts. . . .
Information about occupational injuries.
Information about the audibility of the radio stations of foreign states in the USSR.
Information about the duration of all-union [i.e., nationwide] training sessions for athletes; information about the rates of pay for athletes; information about the money prizes for good results in sports competitions; information about the financing, maintenance and staff of athletic teams. . . .

Izvestia is accepted, three-quarters of those received never are printed.⁵⁷

A Soviet study by S. I. Igoshin in 1966⁵⁸ dealt with letters published versus letters received by two major Leningrad newspapers. Leningradskaya Pravda, the official oblast publication of the Communist Party and government, and Vechernii Leningrad, the city's evening newspaper had the following record of letters received and published:⁵⁹

Paper	Years					
	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
<u>Leningradskaya Pravda</u>						
Letters Received	49,932	50,728	49,623	49,006	43,227	49,127
Letters Published	1,568	2,185	2,129	2,875	2,765	3,709
<u>Vechernii Leningrad</u>						
Letters Received	13,997	12,553	15,398	25,105	30,568	36,290
Letters Published	3,444	3,621	4,503	9,830	9,830	12,986

There obviously is a difference in policy (and function) between the two papers. The more official Pravda published fewer than 10% of the letters it received, while the less official and more popularly oriented Vechernii published between 25-33%.

A third limit to the use of the letters is the possibility that the printed letter is bogus, it may not have been written by the person who signed it, or a fictitious name may be affixed to a letter written by a staff writer.⁶⁰ The possibility that the letter

is part of a local Party campaign, and the author has been assigned to write his letter(s) as part of his Party duties, is present. All of these factors must be considered when considering letters as an indication of spontaneous grass-roots criticism.

Despite these problems, there is no doubt that Soviet papers take the subject of letters seriously. Almost all Soviet newspapers have a separate department for handling letters to the editor and it is often one of the largest and considered one of the most important politically. Pravda for example, has 45 people in the letter department.⁶¹

The editor and his deputy editors 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 of public opinion measurement. Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy mention several systems for the recording of letters that are used by Soviet papers including a journal, an alphabetical index, and a card file.⁶² Whatever the system of recording used or the size of the newspaper, however, theoretically there is a standard procedure that is expected in the processing of letters. Each day the letters staff opens the day's mail. Every letter is to be read by a member of the staff and the following information recorded:

- Theme of letter
- Number assigned to letter
- Name of writer
- Address of writer
- Contents of letter
- Who read the letter
- Where the letter was sent
- Whether published, and on what date and page
- What action was taken
- Whether the author received an answer⁶³

The paper thus retains a file of all letters containing the basic information which the letter contained.* The staff director then forwards a sampling of letters to the editor which he feels to be of sufficient social relevance, or may send it to an external agency for action. As noted above, a record is kept on whether this has been done and if the author has received any reply.

Letters which are to be printed are selected at a daily staff meeting when a dummy of the paper is laid out. When printed, the editors sometimes select one particular letter, run several together under a single heading referring to the topic, or use some (with authors mentioned) as the basis for an article or an editorial. Sometimes as many as 30 or more authors will be mentioned in an editorial.

In the larger papers in addition to the letters department, a staffed letters reception room administered by the letters section functions as an information center where individuals may ask questions, register complaints, or give their views on an issue. The room is regularly staffed, and each person gets individual attention. It was estimated by Izvestia that 40,000 people used these facilities in 1960.⁶⁴

A second new element is a telephone staff which receives calls dealing with the same material as the letter's reception room. Selected visitors to the reception room or callers may

*This is in direct contrast to many large U.S. papers. The New York Times, for example, which receives about one-tenth the number of letters that Izvestia does, has no procedure for estimating even the number of letters received.

have their questions recorded in a column. Vecherniya Moskva utilized such a telephone column starting at least in 1972.⁶⁵

There are three basic ways that the staff of letters section may try to get results for their readers in addition to the printing of the letter or a journalistic criticism through a column or editorial; it may call for the Party to investigate a local administrative, government or Party unit; it may ask the Party, government, or administrative agency involved for action; or it may turn the matter over to the NKVD-KGB. Actions dealt with in this latter manner are governed by detailed instructions issued by the Party and government for the collaboration of the press and justice authorities. In the late 1920's the Commissariat of Justice issued a directive establishing a three man commission for each region to guide these matters.⁶⁶ In practice, complaints of serious violations of the law such as corruption, bribery, or misappropriation of funds, are handed over to the police. A staff writer for Literaturnaya Gazeta told Hedrick Smith, "Once a month a KGB official comes to our office and goes through our letters. Always he takes some away with him, usually the anonymous ones."⁶⁷

The staff of a newspaper may ask Party authorities to investigate a local administrative agency, Party, or government unit if a large number of complaints are received from that particular area. For this purpose, Inkeles reported that the staff of Dawn of the East, a Georgian republic level paper, kept a map of the region of its circulation and recorded complaints on it with pins so that such a concentration could be easily ascertained.⁶⁸

The third method of attempting to get direct action is the forwarding of the letter to the responsible party or governmental administrative section asking for action on the matter, and a reply. A study dealing with the number of complaints forwarded to various public agencies showed that in 1964, Leningradskaya Pravda forwarded 65% of all communications (about 28,000) for action by the responsible authorities. Vechernii Leningrad sent on about 50% of its letters that same year.⁶⁹ The responsible agency is supposed to return an explanation of measures taken to remedy the problem, thus completing the kritika samo-kritika cycle. In fact, however, it seems that the number of replies received by a paper to its forwarded letters is directly proportional to the influence which it can bring to bare on the agency in question. Thus Trud, the central organ of the trade union movement, published 218 critical items during the first six months of 1962, but received only 129 replies.⁷⁰ Over 200 responsible officials from Party, government, and construction organizations failed for reply to criticism in Stroitel'naya Gazeta (Builder's Gazette).⁷¹ For the smaller papers with fewer resources and influence, the situation is far worse. Priirtyshskaya Pravda, in Kazakhstan, sent 800 letters from readers to various responsible officials in 1960, and received only 20 replies (2.5%).⁷² Periodically the Party will publish a decree from the Central Committee, or Pravda will editorialize against such lack of support, but the problem seems to be a chronic one.⁷³

Studies of Soviet Letters:
U.S. Researchers

The number and types of letters to the editor printed in the Soviet press have been the subject of several studies in the United States. Inkeles and Geiger used a sample of 270 printed in nine different Soviet papers in 1948 to examine some of their basic characteristics.⁷⁴ The nine papers used were chosen in an attempt to gain some degree of representativeness for the Soviet press as a whole. Pravda and Izvestia were chosen to represent All-Union papers, one representing the Party, and the other the government. Sovetskaya Belorussiya, Turkmenskaya Iskra, and Bakinskii Rabochii are republic level papers serving the White Russian, Central Asian Turkmen, and Azerbaidzhani Caucasus republics respectively. Krasnoye Znamya, the central paper for the far eastern maritime provinces, and Moskovskii Bolshevik for Moscow, were chosen to represent regional papers. Vechernyaya Moskva was chosen as a city newspaper.

The authors selected 30 critical letters from each paper, starting with the December 31, 1947 issue and continuing into the new year until the 30 letters were collected. The letters were coded for topical content, characteristics of the letter writers, and characteristics of the targets of the criticism.

The authors found a direct relationship between the level of the paper and the amount of criticism found. The lower the level of the paper the more frequently critical letters were printed,

ranging from one every other day in the city level paper, to every fourth day in the All-Union level papers.⁷⁵

The letters themselves dealt with purely domestic matters and fell into two broad areas of complaint, corresponding roughly to consumer functions, and production and distribution functions, with the distribution of the two types varying by newspaper level and the economic development of the region served by the paper. Consumer complaints were most frequent in Vechernaya Moskva (90%) and least frequent in the All-Union papers (48%).⁷⁶ This difference, as the authors note, highlights the fact that there is a basic variance in the assigned function of newspapers at various levels, and in their probable impact on readers. The more local the paper, the greater the attention given to the more personalized consumer problems and complaints. The more national the newspaper, the more emphasis on political issues and economic matters.⁷⁷

Within the consumer type complaints, the researchers found that half were critical of general communal and cultural facilities such as, lack of street signs, irregular bus schedules, lack of playground space for children, ect.⁷⁸

For production area complaints, about 44% dealt with industry, 35% with agriculture, and 20% each with extraction and trade. Of all complaints of this type, half were concerned with equipment problems, and 40% with raw materials, or rather the lack of them.⁷⁹

Little information was gathered on author characteristics other than noting that they were overwhelmingly male and from the higher prestige occupational groups. However, one of the most

interesting aspects of the study was a measurement of the relative power position of the critic and his target based on occupational ratings. The following table gave the results:⁸⁰

<u>Status of Critic</u>	<u>Status of Criticized Target</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	31	12	43
Low	31	53	84
TOTAL	62	65	

The author's analysis of the data was that there is a definite tendency for a larger proportion of those higher in power to be criticized by critics themselves higher in power. Critics low in power are more likely to select as objects of attack targets also lower in power rather than those higher in power. This certainly is an expected relationship in view of the differences already discussed between criticism from above and the criticism from below with its various hazards.

Based on considerations of style and tone, the content and diversity of complaint reported, the congruence between the complaint patterns and the known facts about Soviet society, coupled with the surprising lack of ideological content, Inkles and Geiger concluded that the vast majority of the printed letters were spontaneous communications from ordinary Soviet citizens. The allegations of personal deprivation and often strong indignation led to the conclusion that for the letter writers, and vicariously for readers,

the letters serve as a channel for airing personal grievances, a method of releasing tensions.

A much smaller sample of letters (80) was used by Gayle Durham Hollander to sample letter type and author occupation.⁸¹ The author sampled ten issues of Izvestia and Zarya Vostoka at random for the years, 1956, 1959, 1962, and 1965 to obtain the 80 letters. Table III shows the table on letter content. Eighty percent of the letters are negative, and all topics receive heavily negative coverage with the exceptions of agriculture and the handling of several problems which tend to be neutral rather than positive. The only topic with more than two positive comments is management and bureaucracy which is counterbalanced by eight times the number of negative comments.

Hollander was able to code occupations for 55 authors. The professions represented were:⁸²

Party/Govt. Workers . . .	5
Scientists/Engineers . . .	14
Technical Personnel . . .	10
Workers	9
Professors	5
Teachers	4
Economic Workers	2
Students	2
Tourist Employees	2
Housewives	2
<hr/>	
TOTAL	55

TABLE III.--Hollander's Letter Topics.

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.

The sample obviously is weighted toward the better educated and higher income groups as the samples of U.S. letters have also shown.

Studies of Soviet Letters: Soviet Researchers

Several Soviet studies have been done on the subject of letters. These studies provide an idea of the scope of the letters to the editors process in the USSR. Tables IV and V give an idea of the number of letters involved.⁸³

The tables show a great range in the number of letters received by the various types and levels of papers. The tables also show a significant increase in letters received over the ten year span covered by the data. Significant increases are shown by Soviet Belorussia, from 15,000 in 1956-57 to 50,000 in 1963-66, Izvestia from 52,000 in 1955-57 to 215,000 in 1960-64, Komsomolskiya Pravda from 86,000 in 1955-57 to 194,000 in 1960-64, and Kiev Pravda which doubled its 1955-57 letters figure of 6,000 in the period 1960-64. The tables note that not all papers share in this increase, however. Some papers such as Uzbekistan Soviet, Pravda and Soviet Ukraine actually had a decline in the number of letters received, 2-3,000 in each case. There are several reasons why letters may fluctuate by several thousand each year, although the general trend seems to be toward more letters, as noted by Davydchenkov in his study of letter trends at Izvestia.⁸⁴ Ivanova who was commissioned by Magadanskaya Pravda in 1966 to investigate such a decrease in editors' mail even though there had been a circulation increase,

TABLE IV.--Number of Letters Received: Average Number (In Thousands).

Paper	1956-57		1959-60		1963-66	
	Number Received	Number Pub.	Number Received	Number Pub.	Number Received	Number Pub.
Soviet Russia						14%
Soviet Belorussia	15	3 20%	23	10 43%	50	12 24%
Worker's Paper (Kiev)	15	5 34%	29	7 25%	15	3 23%
Uzbekistan Soviet	15	6 40%	17	8 45%	13	9 69%
Kalindrad Pravda	14	4 29%	17	6 33%	15	5 31%
Stravropol Pravda	13	4 30%	17	4 26%	18	5 26%
Young Leninist (Stravropol)	8	3 40%	9	4 41%	8	3 31%

SOURCE: V. N. Alferov, 1970, p. 272.

Numbers are rounded.
Percentages reflect actual figures.

TABLE V.--Number of Letters Received: Average Number (In Thousands).

Paper	1955-1957	1958-1959		1960-1964	
	Number Received	Number Received	% Change	Number Received	% Change
Pravda	250	299	+20	247	-17
Izvestia	52	76	+46	215	+182
Komsomol/Pravda	86	206	+140	194	-6
Pravda/Ukraine	25	27	+8	30	+11
Soviet Ukraine	25	22	-12	23	+5
Pravda of East		14		16	+22
Moscow Pravda	30			42	+39
Volgograd/Pravda	8			25	+233
Kiev Pravda	6	12	+107	12	0
Kursk Pravda	14	16	+18	20	+26

SOURCE: V. N. Alferov, 1970, pp. 234, 273.

Numbers are rounded.

Percentages reflect actual figures.

found that the editors had stopped printing as many letters as before, and this discouraged many potential writers who perhaps felt that the paper would not pay sufficient attention to their problems.⁸⁵

To put the figures of letters reviewed into perspective, in 1967, Izvestia, the daily organ of the Soviet government, with a circulation of 8.6 million, received 487,000 letters from citizens. By contrast, the New York Times, with a circulation of about 1.5 million, receives fewer than 50,000 letters a year, or only about half the number Izvestia receives when one controls for size.⁸⁶

Clearly, the flow of letters from citizens to the press is tremendous, and the authorities have always encouraged this method of communication. Letters have occupied a sacrosanct position in the Soviet press. As noted by Hopkins, the word "letters" tends to include any sort of communication from the masses. It therefore may state an opinion, provide a news item, issue a personal grievance, or point up a flaw in the mechanism of society.⁸⁷ Soviet researchers are lavish in their praise for the process of letter writing/handling. Thus, Davydchenkov writes: "The press in a socialist society is an ideological, organizational, and propagandistic instrument. From the first day of the birth of the press of the new Leninist type, the Communist Party has constantly perfected this instrument, reinforcing the arsenal of means, which make [use of] our press and expanded our connections with the masses. One of [the most] substantial channels of information are the letters of the workers to the papers."⁸⁸

Such statements always are included in the opening section of any Soviet study and paraphrase similar statements made by Lenin who often referred to the need to publish such materials; "We count on the aid of local organizations and the deputies of groups of workers . . . [for] encouragement and opinions, their articles and materials, information and observations keep Rabochaya Gazeta abreast of affairs."⁸⁹

Following Lenin's interest in letters as a useful part of the Soviet media system, research involving them started soon after the Civil War was ended and the educational system began to return to some semblance of normalcy. Contemporary researchers cite Ya. Shafir's Rabochaya Gazeta i ee Chitatel as the first study involving a mass polling of newspaper readers.⁹⁰

Shafir, in 1926, scanned over 50 magazines for a seven year period to discover if Soviet journals were paying sufficient attention to their readers. Shafir was able to conclude that after an inadequate beginning, the media were becoming responsible in this area. The data lists the number of articles from the 50 plus magazines devoted to studying their readers:⁹¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number Articles</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number Articles</u>
1918	3	1922	4
1919	1	1923	40
1920	0	1924	67
1921	2	1925	69

Shafir's first research from survey data was based on a questionnaire published in Rabochaya Gazeta in May of 1925. The major concern of the study was to correct the difficulty in ascertaining what the Soviet audience's preferences were, and the impact that the press was having upon them. The very same themes that caused the outburst of studies in the late sixties and early seventies.

The research involved the analysis of about 7,500 responses to the published questionnaire. Shafir was interested in a wide range of questions. First, he wanted to get a reader profile, including occupation, sex, and party affiliation. In addition, he was interested in the association of the elements of this profile with expressed preference in various sections of the paper. And, Shafir was interested in trying to develop a measure of the paper's performance.

The analysis yielded the following occupational breakdown:⁹²

Occupation of Readers of "Rabochaya Gazeta"
(Rounded %)

Workers	54%	Peasants	3%
White Collar . .	27%	Military	3%
Students	7%	Handicraftsmen .	2%
Unknown	4%	Housewives . . .	1%

In accepting these figures, two points are obvious: (1) Since the sample has a self-selection bias, i.e., is not based on any scientifically stratified sampling technique, there is a question of its representativeness; (2) Occupation is not defined by the

researcher but is apparently furnished by the respondent. At the time of the survey it would be considerably more fashionable to be a worker rather than any of the other occupational classifications. However, with these two factors in mind, the figures show nothing in themselves that would make them suspect. The figures for sex and party affiliation, however, show a considerable self selection bias, or a distinct readership. Only four percent of the sample was female. Some difference here may be due to the fact that the literacy rates for females in 1926 was only 43%, while for males it was 72%,⁹³ but this certainly is not a sufficient explanation. The Party figures show that 23% were members of CPSU, 13% were Komsomol, and 64% were classified as non CPSU. The Party figures are very high since at the time Party members were considerably less than one percent of the population.

In the limited attempt to match the demographic profile to interest in certain sections of the paper, Shafir found that the foreign news was the most popular section and that few people read either printed speeches or economic news; findings which are not very different from recent studies of reader preference.⁹⁴ The workers were particularly notable in complaining that the Party Life section was not worth reading because it "ignored negative phenomena in the party,"⁹⁵ and had no discussions of Party ethics.⁹⁶

Shafir proposed two indices of the extent to which a newspaper is successful, that is, the extent to which it has succeeded in establishing ties with its readers: (1) How often the readers consistently read the paper; (2) The percentage of the readership

which sends in a letter to the editor. Shafir's data showed that women and peasants scored very low on both of these indices. Fifteen percent of the respondents reported having written a letter to the paper, matching exactly the figure found in U.S. studies. To increase the paper's performance in this area, the researcher proposed that the paper should have a separate department for the handling of its letters. This would give more inspiration to write and help alleviate the feeling of helplessness that Shafir found in his sample.⁹⁷

After Shafir there was little published research on letters to the editor or their authors, as most studies dealt with the role of the paper itself and its effectiveness. Thus, for example, Kuzmichev in 1929, studied the effect of scientific interviews printed in the papers in causing a panic in the Crimea over a 1927 earthquake.⁹⁸ Khmara studied the relative weights of the various media in presenting information, and evaluated their respective usefulness in reaching various socio-demographic groups.⁹⁹ Kondrashov and Ivanova conducted a massive study involving 5,000 interviews and 100,000 written questionnaires to study Pravda's readership.¹⁰⁰

In 1967, however, the first of several published studies on letters appeared. Sergi I. Igoshin studied letters received by two Leningrad newspapers, Leningradskaya Pravda and Vechernii Leningrad.^{101*} Igoshin was interested in discovering how many letters were received, how many were printed, how many were actually forwarded to responsible

* See pp. 43, 46 for more information from this study.

agencies for action, and how many of the agencies took action. The research also looked at the types of letters which were received, and the topics which they dealt with.

The study spanned the period from 1960 to 1965. During this time from a fourth to half of all letters received by the Leningrad papers were "thank yous" for favors or services, a large number expressing gratitude to doctors. The study also revealed a considerable repetition of themes from year to year. In the spring and summer of 1964 and 1965 the papers received the same complaints dealing with noise, poor train service and schedules, and incompetent organization of the supply and sale of fresh fruit and vegetables. In the winter months of the same years the complaints dealt with poor heating of apartments and the deficiencies of public transportation.

Many of the letters were simple requests for information such as, how to find work after a military discharge, or how to find the address of a certain individual, information not readily available in the USSR.

Some of the "letters" were literary contributions, news items, memoirs, and photographs which were presented for publications. In the last six months of 1964, Leningradskaya Pravda rejected 250 poems and 350 other news or literary items.¹⁰²

As an example of the average mail, Igoshin included the following table of letters received by Leningradskaya Pravda in 1965:¹⁰³

<u>Theme</u>	<u>From 1,000 Letters</u>	
	<u>June</u>	<u>October</u>
Public Services	47	23
Living Conditions	10	212
Trade, Food Supplies and Preparation	96	136
Applications for Apartments and Passports	45	84

The study suggests that a large number of letters deal with the ordinary problems of daily life, many of them not complaints, but simply requests for information. Those letters that did complain centered on consumer services as shown in the following table for 1964:¹⁰⁴

<u>Theme</u>	<u>% of Letters</u>	
	<u>Leningradskaya Pravda</u>	<u>Vechernii Leningrad</u>
Public Services	7.1	5.0
Trade, Food Supplies and Preparation	10.6	7.5
Public Transportation	3.7	4.0
Living Conditions	29.0	8.7
TOTAL	50.4	25.2

The table shows that over 50% of the complaints for Leningradskaya Pravda and 25% of those from Vechernii Leningrad, dealt with public service type issues. The paper did not indicate whether any letters dealing with international politics, internal politics, or profound questions of philosophical nature were included in the sample. With such a time period, and the large number of

letters, there must have been some, but they certainly seem to be a small fraction at best.

A 1968 study dealing with letters to the editor in Magadanskaya Pravda agreed with Igoshin's findings. In an analysis of critical letters and their authors, Ivanova found that 67% of the critical letters dealt with problems that could be described as social. The major purpose of the study was to question the critical letter writers and find out why they had written in an attempt to increase the papers editorial mail which had fallen off.¹⁰⁵ Ivanova reported that the major motivation for writing in to the paper was the hope that the letter would trigger some action by the proper authorities. Eighty percent of the respondents gave this as the reason for writing.¹⁰⁶

The research was concerned with finding the letter writer's satisfaction with the results of his letter. Ivanova discovered a general dissatisfaction with the process, with only 55% reporting that they were fully satisfied with the paper's efforts to aid them in the solution of their problem, and 25% felt that the actions taken by Magadanskaya Pravda were not sufficient.¹⁰⁷ In his conclusion, Igoshin had also felt that both of the Leningrad papers had been deficient in their work on letters.¹⁰⁸

One of the most complete studies of letters was compiled by V. T. Davydchenkov, and dealt with Izvestia's mail for 1967. The researcher notes that the letters are a measure of a paper's effectiveness, recalling the early work of Shafir, and notes

Izvestia's increasing volume of mail even when the increasing circulation is taken into account:¹⁰⁹

Mail Received by Izvestia (1,000)

<u>1953</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
46.9	211	310	426	450	490	500	469	487

Circulation of Izvestia (1,000,000)

<u>1953</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
1.1	2.6	4.5	5.0	5.3	6.0	8.0	7.9	8.6	8.2

With a few exceptions, which are dismissed as minor fluctuations, Davydechenkov notes the steady growth in Izvestia's mail and cites this as a good measure of the popularity, and thus, effectiveness of the paper. With the increase in volume however, a smaller percentage of letters is published. In 1965 the editors were able to publish .32 of the letters, in 1966, .31 of the letters, and in 1967, only .28 of the letters were used by the editors.¹¹⁰

Content analysis of letters was used in an attempt to form a typology of letter types and the concerns expressed in them, and also to form a profile of the authors. Davydechenkov analyzed letters received from January through August, and September through October, in 1967 and used the following scheme to classify them:¹¹¹

<u>Category</u>	<u>Jan.-Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.-Oct.</u>
Complaint	63%	59%
Reference	10%	12%
Reflection	5%	6%

Comment	3%	4½%
Repeated	9%	11½%
Results	10%	7%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	100%	100%

In this chart a "reference" letter is one that asks for an explanation, i.e., requires further reference. "Reflections" are letters which include suggestions or offer articles for publication. "Comments" are reactions which have "concrete analysis" as opposed to the "softer" type of data which is included under the heading of reflections. "Repeated" are letters which are repeats of earlier complaints for which no satisfactory results have been noted. "Results" are reports of satisfactory handling of previous letters.

According to this study, there seems to be little seasonal change in the type of letter received, certainly nothing that could not be accounted for by chance fluctuation. The average breakdown seems to be about 60% complaints, ten percent each for repeats and letters of reference, about six percent each for reflections and results, and three to four percent for comments. The Soviet citizen, then, writes in to complain; a trait held in common with the U.S. citizen. This would suggest that the letters are perceived as either a practical way to get action, or at the least a way to "get it off your chest."

As in the Igoshin studies, the vast majority of letters received by the paper dealt with basic everyday problems, predominately consumer goods and services. Table VI shows the distribution of letters received by Izvestia by topic.¹¹² As with his analysis of

TABLE VI.--Topic of Letters Received by Izvestia, 1967.

Questions Concerning	Jan.-Aug.	Sept.-Oct.
Housing	20.5%	18.0%
Social Security	12.1	14.0
Legal Matters	12.2	12.5
Industry	9.5	8.0
Transportation	6.8	6.0
Personal	4.9	6.0
Public Health	4.9	4.5
Leisure	4.8	4.0
Public Services	4.1	3.2
Commerce	3.3	5.0
Ag. Production	3.2	1.5
Behavioral Norms	3.7	2.5
Schools	3.3	5.0
Work of Soviets	2.2	1.0
Propaganda	1.8	0.5
Literature and Art	1.6	0.5
Public Order	1.5	1.0
Communal Life	0.7	0.6
Children's Institutions	0.2	0.1
Science	0.5	0.0
Others	7.7	9.8

Sample N = Jan.-Aug. 266,700; Sept.-Oct. 6,382.

letter types, Davydchenkov's table of topics shows only minor shifts due to seasonal differentiation. Of the 20 topics listed, 13 clearly deal with domestic affairs, consumer goods and services and personal problems. In January thru August these topics add up to 83% of the letters and in September and October 82%.¹¹³ Because of the difference in labels and Igoshin's limited presentation of the topics in his study, the two studies are not directly comparable but the effect is to indicate the tendency of local domestic themes in letter writing.

Davydchenkov attempted to provide a profile of the letter authors based on age, education, and occupation. Dealing with the materials found in the letters rather than the more complete data which would be available from interviews, the analysis is based on data from about half the letters, i.e., only about half the letters contained the needed data.¹¹⁴ From this material, however, he constructed the data found in Table VII,¹¹⁵ which deals with age and education, and Table VIII which shows the distribution of occupations for the letter writers.

Davydchenkov's data clearly reveal a population which, in terms of age and education, matches those found in U.S. studies. Ninety percent of the authors are over 40, with almost half (44%) past 65. By contrast, less than three percent (2.5%) were under 25. Clearly, this fits the model of the U.S. writer as middle aged or older. In education as well the Soviet sample matches well, with more than half, and almost two-thirds (62%), of the letter authors having attended either a specialized technical school or

TABLE VII.--Education and Age of Letter Authors for Izvestia, 1967.

Age	% Total	Education	% Total
15-19	.5	1-3(yrs.)	3.0
20-24	2.0	4-6	5.0
25-30	5.0	7-9	15.0
31-40	4.5	10-11	15.0
41-55	14.0	Secondary Special	16.5
56-65	32.0	Incomplete Higher	45.5
65+	44.0	Complete Higher	

TABLE VIII.--Occupation of Letter Writers for Izvestia, 1967.

Occupation	Jan.-Aug.	Sept.-Oct.
Worker-Peasant	31.7%	29.5%
Rural Specialist	9.5	8.0
Teacher	3.0	3.0
Doctor	.8	.6
Scientific Worker	1.5	1.0
Student	1.0	.6
Professional	6.0	5.0
Gov. Apparatus	2.0	1.5
Military	1.5	1.5
Pensioner	18.0	16.0
Anonymous		3.2
Housewife		2.0
Indeterminate	24.3	27.4

received some higher education. The charts on Table VII reveal an almost perfect direct relationship between letter writing and age, and education. Like his American counterpart, the older and better educated a Soviet citizen is, the more likely he is to write a letter.

In occupation, however, there seems to be a wide variance between the two countries. The U.S. studies, specifically those of Forsythe and Vaccin, indicate that at least half, and probably more, of the American letter writers are white collar or professional.¹¹⁶ The respective representation of pensioners is close (13% U.S.--17% USSR) which, because of the similarity in the age profile, is to be expected. The mismatch elsewhere may be less than it first seems, however, when Davydchenkov's data are more closely examined. The largest single category is labeled worker-peasant, which in Soviet parlance may cover a variety of occupations. The term worker often includes non-manual professions which in U.S. studies would be labeled white collar. These non-manual professions (sluzhashchie) include a variety of occupations for those engaged in "mental labor." These may range from store clerks to cabinet ministers. Often the term "intelligentsia" is used to differentiate between the "mental workers" who have higher or specialized education. Since the tables fail to list a more precise breakdown by profession, the label worker-peasant may be suspect, a suspicion reinforced by the high educational level of the sample. As listed, the white collar professions total about 14% of the sample, with a quarter of the sample listed as indeterminate. Given this large group of unknowns, and the lack of precision in defining the other occupations,

it is not at all unlikely that the real figure for white collar-professionals could be closer to a third at least.

The effect of this massive study is to reinforce the findings of Igoshin and Ivanova that the typical letter to the editor deals with local domestic issues with which the author had had personal contact. It gives a portrait of the authors as older and better educated than the average Soviet citizen, and probably with a higher than average income and social prestige. The large number of complaints coupled with the topics written about seem to agree with Ivanova's study which indicated that the authors expected some action to result from their letters.

Data from two other studies tend to support the Davydchenkov profile of letter types and authors. An analysis of letters to the editor of Literaturnaya Gazeta about marriage and family problems raised by the paper showed a variety of author occupational backgrounds. Fourteen percent of the letters came from blue-collar workers, but 40% of the authors were professional people.¹¹⁷ This study, conducted by V. Shlyapentokh, indicated that half of the letter writers were female, an unusual sample by either U.S. or Soviet measures, and probably due at least in part to the particular issues involved in the study. The issue that received the most attention was whether computer dating services, or marriage bureaus, should be set up. About 80% of those who discussed the issue were in favor of both services. The larger the community from which the writer came, the more likely he or she was to support the idea of dating services. This issue was frequently tied up with the problem

of the increasing number of divorces. Many of the letter writers felt that the marriage bureaus might provide couples with more information about each other so that they might be better prepared to make their decision about marriage.

In a study dealing with letters to Komsomolskaya Pravda, A. Verkhovskaya also found that the authors of letters tended to be from the occupations usually associated in the West with higher pay and prestige. Through the use of a mailed questionnaire (response rate 48%), and a control group of subscribers from Kuibyshev, she was able to compare the various characteristics of writers and non-writing readers across a wide variety of variables.¹¹⁸ Party/Komsomol members furnished 30% of the subscriber group and 40% of the letter authors. Using a four-fold classification of letter types, response to previously printed material, request for information, complaint, and brief question, Verkhovskaya found that complaints tend to come from male blue collar workers, 19 to 39, with secondary or, usually, less education. A clearer picture of the letter writing population found in her sample is shown in Table IX.¹¹⁹ Unlike the Shlyapentokh sample, as expected, the sample is two-thirds male. Surprisingly, for a paper supposedly targeted for Komsomol youth, more than half (57%) are over 30, past the 28 year age limit for the group. As mentioned previously, workers (probably including farm workers) make up only 26% of the sample, while technical and white collar workers make up 44%. Considering the paper again, the 15% figure for pensioners seems high, but is almost identical with the figures for letter writers

TABLE IX.--Authors of Letters to Komsomolskaya Pravda.

Sex		Age	
Male	67.4%	16-18	7.4%
Female	32.6	19-24	14.8
		25-29	21.2
		30-39	15.9
		40-49	14.8
		50-59	14.5
		60%	11.4
Occupation		Education	
Workers	26.2%	Higher	21.9%
Tech.-Engineer	19.3	Incomplete Higher	13.1
Intelligentsia	10.0	Specialized Secondary	18.6
White Collar	15.0	Secondary	17.8
Students	10.5	Incomplete Secondary	6.6
Pensioners	14.8	7-9 Grades	13.3
Housewives	.7	4-6 Grades	6.0
		Less 4 Grades	2.8

in the other studies. The sample is very well educated, with 54% having had some specialized or higher education. As with the massive Davydchenkov study and like the American studies, the typical letter author is representative of an articulate minority of society which recognizes a channel for expression and utilizes it. Table X gives the percentage breakdown for sex, occupation, age, and education by letter type. More than two-thirds of the letters are either complaints (35%) or responses (35%) to earlier publications. The typical complaint writer is male. The table also shows that women who author letters tend to voice a higher percentage of complaints (41% to 33%) than their male counterparts. The technical workers and intelligentsia tend to answer questions (response type) while the white collar and workers send in the complaints. The elderly are more likely to ask for information, the middle aged to respond with the information, the young adults to complain, and the young to ask questions. A pattern that is also reflected, as would be expected, in the education section of the table with the better educated answering and the less educated asking. As also might be expected, Party members were a higher proportion of letter authors than among the non-writing subscribers of the paper as represented by the control group:¹²⁰

	<u>Party/Candidate</u>	<u>Komsomol</u>	<u>Non-Party</u>
Letter Authors	27.1%	27.4%	42.8%
Control Group	3.5%	28.0%	66.7%

TABLE X.--Authors of Letters and Letter Types to Komsomolskaya Pravda.

	Letter Type			
	Response	Information Problem	Complaint	Question
Total	34.5%	14.0%	35.2%	10.0%
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	35.7%	15.5%	32.5%	10.6%
Female	32.1	10.9	40.9	8.8
<u>Occupation</u>				
Workers	30.9%	10.0%	44.5%	11.8%
Tech. Engineer	38.3	12.3	28.4	13.6
Intelligentsia	47.6	16.7	23.8	4.7
White Collar	30.2	12.7	46.0	3.2
Students	29.5	13.6	27.8	18.2
Pensioner	41.9	24.2	32.2	3.2
<u>Age</u>				
16-18	29.0%	19.4%	12.9%	29.0%
19-24	25.8	8.1	40.4	17.8
25-29	28.1	13.5	46.0	10.1
30-39	35.8	14.9	38.4	6.0
40-49	45.2	8.1	30.7	4.8
50-59	45.9	13.1	27.9	6.6
60%	33.4	29.2	33.4	4.2
<u>Education</u>				
Higher and Incomplete Higher	42.2%	18.4%	27.2%	8.2%
Secondary	30.7	13.7	33.3	14.4
Less Than Secondary	30.5	9.3	48.4	6.8

The Party/Komsomol group thus forms one-third of the subscribers and 40% of the authors, not as much "aktivnost" as might be expected by some sources. The full and candidate Party members are very active, furnishing several times their numbers as represented in subscriptions in letters. Interestingly, Komsomol members, ostensibly the "target group" for the paper, furnished only the same proportion of authors as did non-Komsomol subscribers, and are even a little under-represented in the author category, a phenomenon which might have been expected given the earlier breakdown by age.

Verkhovskaya's major interest in her research was finding "who" writes letters. She also showed some interest in investigating the why. She concluded that the authors of letters, regardless of social/demographic factors, tend to feel the need to express themselves publicly, and in doing so, feel that they can actually have some impact on events,¹²¹ as Ivanova also discovered. E. U. Pronin in a 1971 study of letters to Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, concluded that most letters (65%) are written with the intent to improve things, and that agencies respond more to these letters than others.¹²² Given the totalitarian press model, or the functioning of the Soviet press as an influence through continuous information as suggested by Soviet social scientists,¹²³ the parallel between American and Soviet studies with respect to author characteristics and suspected motivation and perceived benefits, is very surprising.

Studies of U.S. and USSR Letters: Summary

Both sides picture the letter writing process as a valuable source of self-participation by the letter writer in the political system, an exercise in democracy, either a link with the masses or a measure of grass roots opinion depending upon the ideological grounding of the author. Some Western observers of the Soviet system in general and the media in particular, such as Hopkins and Hollander, agree with Ivanova and Verkhovskaya that letters to the editor do serve the writers both with a sense of participation (and effectiveness) and as a catharsis for pent-up emotions, as they apparently do in the U.S., and also allows the leadership to measure opinion. The letters also serve as a method of alerting the leadership to problems of misbehavior at local levels through complaints. The possibility of Soviet citizens' letters to the editor serving as a channel for "input" is therefore a very real one.

Chapter II--Footnotes

¹Gayle Durham Hollander, Soviet Newspapers and Magazines (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967), p. 2.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴Pechat 'VSSR 1964, Moscow, 1965.

⁵Zhurnalist #2, February 1968, p. 21.

⁶V. Bogdanov and B. Vyazemskiy, Spravochnik Zhurnalista, New Edition, Leningrad, 1965, p. 283.

⁷See Hollander, *op. cit.*, Ch. I for examples.

⁸See Ellen Mickiewicz, "Policy Applications of Public Opinion Research in the Soviet Union," *POQ*, 26:566-78, 1972-3.

⁹See Hedrick Smith, The Russians (New York: Quadrangle, The New York Times Book Co., 1976).

¹⁰Robert Kaiser, Russia (New York: Atheneium, 1976), p. 218.

¹¹Hollander, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹²Bogdanov and Vyazenskiy, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

¹³Hollander, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁶Bogdanov and Vyazenskiy, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-41.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 30, 34.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁹For an example see Kaiser, *op. cit.*

²⁰Bogdanov and Vyazemskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²¹Ibid., p. 37.

²²Ibid., p. 32.

²³Ibid., p. 33.

²⁴Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵Ibid., p. 41.

²⁶Hollander, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

²⁷Bogdanov, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁸James A. Farley, Behind the Ballet (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), p. 196.

²⁹Shelley Little, George Washington (New York: Minton, 1929), pp. 348-49.

³⁰David C. Mearns, The Lincoln Papers, Vol. I (New York: Doubleday, 1948), pp. 139-40.

³¹Leila Sussman, "Mass Political Letter Writing in America," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23 (Summer 1959), pp. 204-6.

³²Ibid., p. 206.

³³Martin Kriesberg, "What Congressmen and Administrators Think of the Polls," Public Opinion Quarterly, 9 (1945), pp. 333-7.

³⁴Sussman, op. cit., p. 208.

³⁵H. Foster and Carl Friedrich, "Letters to the Editor as a Means of Measuring the Effectiveness of Propaganda," ASPR, 31:71-9 (1937).

³⁶See Sussman, op. cit., David L. Grey and T. R. Brown, "Letters to the Editor: Hazy Reflections of Public Opinion," Journalism Quarterly, 47:450-563, 1970; Byron Lander, "Functions of Letters to the Editor: A Re-Examination," Journalism Quarterly, 49:142-3, 1972; Hal Davis and Galen Rarick, "Functions of Editorials and Letters to the Editor," Journalism Quarterly, 41:108-9, 1964.

³⁷Davis and Rarick, op. cit.

³⁸Sidney Forsythe, "An Exploratory Study of Letters to the Editor and their Contributions," Public Opinion Quarterly, 14:143-4, 1950.

³⁹William D. Tarrant, "Who Writes Letters to the Editor," Journalism Quarterly, 34:501-2, 1957.

⁴⁰Gary Vacin, "A Study of Letter Writers," Journalism Quarterly, 42:464-5, 1965.

⁴¹Forsythe, op. cit.

⁴²Tarrant, op. cit.

⁴³Phillip Converse, et al., "Ellectoral Mtyh and Reality: The 1964 Election," APSR, 59:321-3, 1965.

⁴⁴Davis and Rarick, op. cit.

⁴⁵Vacin, op. cit.

⁴⁶Sidney Verba, et al., "Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam," APSR, LXI:317-33, 1967.

⁴⁷Grey and Brown, op. cit.

⁴⁸Lander, op. cit.

⁴⁹Leila A. Susman, "Voices of the People; A Study of Political Mass Mail" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957).

⁵⁰C. E. Martinez and E. A. Suchman, "Letters from America and the 1948 Election in Italy," Public Opinion Quarterly, 14:111-125, 1950.

⁵¹Jeanette Sayre, "Progress in Radio Fan Mail Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 3:272-8, 1939.

⁵²Leo Bogart, "Fan Mail for the Philharmonic," Public Opinion Quarterly, 13:423-34, 1949.

⁵³L. E. Gleek, "Ninty-Six Congressmen Make Up Their Minds," Public Opinion Quarterly, 4:3-24, 1940.

⁵⁴J. A. Klempner, "People Who Write In" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966).

⁵⁵See Hollander, op. cit., p. 30.

⁵⁶Taken from Kaiser, op. cit., pp. 224-5, obtained in Moscow from "reliable sources."

⁵⁷Ellen Mickiewicz, Handbook of Soviet Social Science Data (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

⁵⁸S. I. Igoshin, "Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta," Seriya XI, Zhurnalistika, 4:43-50, 1966.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰See Hollander, op. cit., p. 30, for an example.

⁶¹Pravda has 45 editors working in their letter department and each is required to respond to at least 40 letters each day, from Luigi Long, et al., Problemi e Realtà Dell' URSS (Rome: Riconiti, 1958), p. 65.

⁶²Bogdanov, op. cit., p. 224.

⁶³Ibid., p. 271.

⁶⁴Antony Buzek, How the Communist Press Works (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 224.

⁶⁵The column was often placed on the front page and listed a number to call--3 to 5 questions and answers were usually listed.

⁶⁶Inkeles, op. cit., p. 213.

⁶⁷Smith, op. cit., p. 372.

⁶⁸Indeles, op. cit., p. 212.

⁶⁹Igoshin, op. cit.

⁷⁰Taken from Buzek, op. cit., p. 230.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Hollander, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷³Buzek, op. cit., p. 230.

⁷⁴Alex Inkeles and Kent Geiger, "Critical Letters to the Soviet Press," American Sociological Review, 1952, p. 293.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 249.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 296.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 296.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 299-300, a table of values is given.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 299-300.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 323.

⁸¹Hollander, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

⁸²Ibid., p. 33.

⁸³Other studies mentioned in V. Davydchenkov, Problemy Sotsiologi Pechati, Novisebirsk, 1970, also the papers themselves frequently make mention of this.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵R. F. Ivanova, "Early Days of Soviet Policy," Vestnik Seriya XI, Zhurnalistiki, No. 2, 1967.

⁸⁶Times figures given by phone from New York Times General Information Office.

⁸⁷Mark Hopkins, Mass Media in the Soviet Society (New York: Pegasus, 1970), p. 302.

⁸⁸Davydchenko, op. cit.

⁸⁹A. Verkhovskaya, Pismo v Redaktiya i Chitateh, Moscow University, 1972, p. 11.

⁹⁰Nils H. Wessell, "Newspaper Reader Surveys and the Effectiveness of the Soviet Press" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Columbia, 1970), p. 9.

⁹¹Mickiewicz, op. cit., p. 139.

⁹²See Ellen Mickiewicz, POQ, op. cit.

⁹³Wessell, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁹⁶Ivanova, op. cit.

⁹⁷G. I. Khmara, Avtoreferat of dissertation for the candidate's degree. "Konkretno--sotsiologichaskoe izuchenie sistemy politicheskogo prosveshcheniyq," Leningrad, 1966, in Wessel, op. cit.

⁹⁸Kondrashev and Ivanova, op. cit.

⁹⁹Igoshin, op. cit.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁰³See page 43 of this paper.

¹⁰⁴Ivanova, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Igoshin, op. cit., p. 51.

¹⁰⁷Davydchenkov, op. cit., p. 148.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 150.

¹¹⁰Davydchenkov, op. cit., p. 151.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 150.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 149.

¹¹³Industry, Agricultural Production, Work of Soviets, Propaganda, Literature and Art, Science, were not considered in this addition of percentages.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 150.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 152.

¹¹⁶See pages 34 and 37.

¹¹⁷V. Shlyapentokh, Literaturnaya Gazeta, May 7, 1969.

¹¹⁸Verkhovskaya, op. cit.

¹¹⁹This is a composite from several tables from Ibid., pp. 90, 96, 99.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 144.

¹²¹Ibid., pp. 136-37, see table and explanation.

¹²²E. I. Pronin, Pechat i Obshchestvennoe Mnenie, Moscow State University, 1971.

- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 45.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 45.
- ¹⁰²Ibid., p. 49.
- ¹⁰³See page 43 of this paper.
- ¹⁰⁴Ivanova, op. cit.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶Igoshin, op. cit., p. 51.
- ¹⁰⁷Davydchenkov, op. cit., p. 148.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 151.
- ¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 150.
- ¹¹⁰Davydchenkov, op. cit., p. 151.
- ¹¹¹Ibid., p. 150.
- ¹¹²Ibid., p. 149.
- ¹¹³Industry, Agricultural Production, Work of Soviets, Propaganda, Literature and Art, Science, were not considered in this addition of percentages.
- ¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 150.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 152.
- ¹¹⁶See pages 34 and 37.
- ¹¹⁷V. Shlyapentokh, Literaturnaya Gazeta, May 7, 1969.
- ¹¹⁸Verkhovskaya, op. cit.
- ¹¹⁹This is a composite from several tables from Ibid., pp. 90, 96, 99.
- ¹²⁰Ibid., p. 144.
- ¹²¹Ibid., pp. 136-37, see table and explanation.
- ¹²²E. I. Pronin, Pechat i Obshchestvennoe Mnenie, Moscow State University, 1971.

¹²³See Khmara in F. M. Burlatsky, et al., Problemy Sotsiologii
Pechati, Novisibersk, Nauka Publishing House, 1969.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research examines letters to the editor in the Soviet press. This chapter details the methods used in the examination and the difficulties faced by researchers dealing with content analysis of letters data. The chapter will first present a discussion of the two major problems of letters data, editorial and self-selection bias. Four possible functions of the letters will then be introduced. Indicators of these functions, and factors which affect the indicators will be discussed. A list of definitions assumptions, and hypotheses will be presented and coding procedures will be discussed in detail.

For this research a content analysis of over 8,000 letters and follow-ups was used as data. The letters and follow-ups were gathered for the time period 1952-1972 from four Soviet papers, Pravda and Izvestia at the All-Union level, and Bakinskii Rabochi and Pravda Ukrainy at the republic level. The letters were coded for characteristics of both letters and authors according to a format which borrows heavily from major Soviet studies on letters. By using labels and categories from these studies the characteristics of this sample can be compared and evaluated with those of other large scale research projects. Soviet research provides the only real source for information on letters since, as the last chapter

indicated, U.S. studies of Soviet letters are few in number and limited in scope. While the Soviet research projects are often massive in scope, they often either ignore or skim over questions of importance to U.S. researchers, such as those dealing with correlations of author characteristics and opinions on the subjects of criticisms. This research also goes beyond the Soviet research in that it extends over a 20 year time period and involves two press levels, national and republic, allowing for more comparison than has previously been possible. By combining the scope of the Soviet studies with the research interests of U.S. studies the potential of letters as data should be explored much more fully than has previously been done.

The Problem of Bias

Soviet letters to the editor are useful data for two major channels of inquiry. One theme involves the use of letters as a possible source of public opinion sampling. The second theme involves the description of letters as possible sources of feedback from the citizens to the authorities. The investigation of letters as a channel for feedback involves the use of letter and author characteristics and information provided by letter follow-ups. This analysis uses the interpretation of ratios and distribution of categories of these characteristics. The analysis of letters as a source of public opinion sampling also involves the use of author and letter characteristics. But this analysis necessitates basic assumptions concerning the validity of a generalization of the data sample and findings across a much wider population. For both of

these research themes there are two major sources of possible error. These sources are editorial selection bias and author self-selection bias. These sources of bias include the characteristics of the letter authors, and the editorial staff members who select letters for publication.

Editorial Bias

Because of the nature of the political system and the many controls on the media, there are definite limits on the letters which may be published in a Soviet newspaper. The limits of criticism in the Soviet press have already been discussed, and a list of censored topics are given.* Censorship concerns three major areas: ideology, policy, and Party/government personnel. Specifically, no criticism is allowed on any of the major themes or personalities which embody Marxiam-Leninism or the official version of the construction of the Soviet Union. In addition, no direct criticism of upper level decision-makers (CC at least), or their policies is allowed. To the Soviet journalist, however, critical letters serve an important function by embodying the principles of narodnost, massovnost, and kritika-samo-kritika. The critical letters published with their follow-up solutions provide concrete examples of the political system in action; examples of self-correction and improvement. Approximately two-thirds of the letters printed in Soviet papers are critical. At the All-Union level half of these criticisms deal with local goods and services. At lower levels, up

* See Chapter II.

to 90% deal with these subjects.¹ A majority of the remaining criticisms deal with questions of production, both industrial and agricultural.² The sample for this study should have a similar proportion of critical materials and based on the literature it should be expected that the sample will.

In selecting the letters to be printed, the editorial staff certainly must follow the dictates of censorship and current national policy. The staff must also, however, retain credibility with its readership. One of the major determinates of newspaper performance in the USSR is the volume of citizen's letters. This is a very real concern to the editorial staff. A glance at the Soviet sociological literature confirms this. Several studies have been financed by newspapers in an effort to discover why their mail has decreased. These studies indicate that Soviet citizens write their letters because they have a problem and they believe that the newspaper staff can help them.* If the paper is to maintain this feeling of trust it must display, in the form of follow-ups, an ability to get results for them. This argument does not, of course, preclude the use of "planted" letters, or contend that all problems are taken to the newspaper editors and solved there. It does claim that Soviet newspaper staff members are alert to the need to maintain credibility with the readership, a fact indicated by previous studies. Every study of Soviet letters notes the frequency of complaints and the local basis for them. In order to keep in touch with the population

* See Chapter II for examples of how this help is given.

the paper prints letters which deal with local problems and makes a real effort to help solve the problems.

Author Self-Selection Bias

In dealing with letters as a source of data concerning feedback from the general population to the authorities, it is the paper/reader relationship that is dealt with. In gathering this type of data the researcher is concerned with; (1) who is writing in to the paper; (2) what topics are being written, and; (3) what is done to help the letter writers. The process of feedback is then described. The sources of bias from both editor and author are expected parts of this process. In dealing with data in an attempt to measure public opinion, however, the data is taken beyond description. In order for letters to be a valid source of public opinion they must be shown to be representative of the population as a whole. In this form, the data must deal more firmly with the question of bias. In gathering this type of data the researcher is concerned with; (1) who is writing in to the paper; (2) what topics are being written on, and; (3) are these an accurate reflection of the opinions of the population as a whole. In dealing with public opinion the goal is accurate measurement rather than broad description. This is where the problem of author self-selection bias is most critical.

The characteristics of the letter writers have been recorded for this paper. Occupation, sex, CPSU membership, age, and education have been coded and may be compared to Soviet census data to help place the author sample in perspective. When dealing with

public opinion measurement, however, the special characteristics of the letter writers must be considered. What special characteristics do letter writers, a small percentage of the population, have in common which make them write in when their fellow readers do not? U.S. studies indicate that the feedback from letters is not an accurate reflection of public opinion.* Based on comparisons with survey data, the U.S. letter writer is much more conservative in his views than the general population. As noted in the previous chapter, the typical Soviet letter author, like his U.S. counterpart, is male, older, better educated, and has a higher income than the population as a whole. Based on these factors and the likelihood of editorial bias in the system, it is likely that the opinions expressed in the Soviet papers are more conservative than those of the population as a whole, but in the absence of more survey information this cannot be verified. The extent to which letter authors are more or less conservative in their opinions, of course, cannot be measured either. What can be done is to measure opinion for the author characteristics which we can code and make inferences across the population based on their representativeness, always aware of the probable error in the data. In studies of U.S. opinion this type of data is of relatively minor importance, in Soviet studies it may be the best source available at the present time.

* See Chapter II, especially the discussion of Converse and Miller.

Indicators of Bias

An indicator of the limits of editorial bias may be found by examining letter subject, coded opinion, and ideological references. Over the 20 year time span of this study, a variety of leadership styles and economic conditions have existed. These changes over time should be mirrored in the letters. A yearly, measurable variance would indicate that the editors, while certainly maintaining censorship within the limits discussed above, also allow for reflection of the changing anxieties and desires of the times to maintain contact with the readership.

Variance in subject and intensity may be indications of the limits of bias by editorial workers. By analyzing the characteristics of the author population in the sample, and comparing it with the characteristics of the author profile of letters received by Izvestia and Komsomolskaya Pravda, as presented in studies by Soviet researchers, a second indication may be gained. These studies indicate a predominance of young blue collar males among the authors of critical letters. They also indicate that the letter writing population as a whole, is older and better educated than the general population, and that men tend to write more often than women. By comparing these and other characteristics of letter authors which the Soviet studies have discovered, an idea of how representative printed letters are of all letters received can be gained. The Soviet researchers have also given us an idea of the proportion of various letter types. By adopting Davydechenkov's coding classification scheme of complaint-reference-reflection-comment,

a comparison can be made of the types of letters which get into print with those received. From Davydechendov's work we know for example, that 60-65% of the letters received by Izvestia during 1967 were complaints, a proportion which does not seem unusual judging from the work of Ivanova and Verkhovskaya on the same topic. By comparing the proportion of letter types printed with those from Davydenkov's work, another measure of the extent of editorial bias can be gained.

The work of Davydenkov also offers a check on the self selection bias of the letter writers. The profile of the Soviet letter writer, complemented and verified by other works on the subject, and the compilation of author characteristics in this study tell us "who writes," and about what; questions not fully answered in the Soviet research. These questions will be investigated by information on author sex, age, education, and occupation. American studies indicate that the typical U.S. letter writer is older, better educated, more articulate, and wealthier than the average citizen. This suggests the use of an established channel by established individuals. This need not be the case. In other political systems which do not offer as many effective alternative channels to obtain action on problems, the newspaper letter column might become an instrument for individuals without any influence to voice protest. Soviet studies hint that young blue collar workers are the major source of critical letters. If this is confirmed by my sample, it will suggest that within certain bounds, lower classes take the Party and journalists at their word on the subject of letters, and

use them to fully criticize aspects of their life that they are unhappy about.

Functions of Letters

Four possible functions that letters may serve for the political system have been posited in the literature: (1) letters may serve as a forum for public debate; (2) letters may serve as a channel for agitation/propaganda; (3) letters may serve as a catharsis for the authors and readers; (4) letters may serve as a link between the authorities and the masses. Indicators for three of the possible functions were developed and will be discussed. The concept of letters as a link with the masses involves the use by the authorities of information and opinions from aggregate letters, and ideas and suggestions from individual letters. These may be used to adjust and improve conditions for the general population. Because of a lack of quantitative data regularly available on this topic, a review of authoritative statements, usually C.C., was used along with available figures to discuss this possible function.

"Follow-Ups"

By the use of several indicators from content analysis of letters, three of these four possible functions may be examined in the context of the Soviet press.

If the letters are to act as a catharsis or a forum for debate, we would expect letters expressing discontent and frustration to be printed. The larger the number of these letters (percentage of all letters), the more "steam" that would be harmlessly released,

and the more debate allowed. As a complement to varying the number of letters which express discontent, the levels of intensity of opinion within each letter may also be varied for the same effect. In the Soviet press there is an added element which may be used here in the form of "follow-ups." Follow-ups are a printed "progress report" by the newspaper staff on action taken concerning a previously printed letter. As mentioned in the last chapter, there are three basic ways the staff of a letters section may try to get results for their readers in addition to printing the letter or an editorial criticism. It may call for a Party investigation of a local party or administrative group, it may ask the party group or governmental agency involved for action, or it may turn the matter over to the NKVD-KGB. Actions dealt with in the last manner are governed by detailed instructions issued by the Party and government for the collaboration of the press and justice authorities.

As the paper receives replies from these sources, it prints them as "follow-ups." Preliminary work concerning these follow-ups indicated that a high percentage relate to previously printed letters, though a follow-up might also pertain to unpublished letters, in which case a short introduction is added explaining the problem and circumstances. A brief study of Pravda and Izvestia letters printed from 1952-1955 indicated that more follow-ups than letters are printed.

An analysis of follow-ups offers an opportunity to explore several of the possible functions of letters. Follow-ups furnish a measure of the effort taken by authorities to correct problems

causing the original complaint. Follow-ups tell newspaper readers and the researcher whether any action is being taken, and how much effort is being made. Follow-ups also usually include the date of the original letter, which allows the lag time between complaint and action to be computed. From this lag time an implied priority system for action on various classes of complaints may be made. The fact that some problems obviously take longer to solve than others does not cause a problem here because a large percentage of the follow-ups simply promise that the authorities will implement corrective measures rather than report a completed correction. Using these elements it is possible either to consider the Soviet letters system as a means of obtaining action, or to conclude that it is basically a means by which the citizen can release built up frustration.

Factors Affecting Indicators of Possible Functions

Three major factors are expected to affect the indicators of possible letter functions: (1) level of newspaper; (2) issue under discussion; (3) regime in power. The level of the newspaper refers to whether the paper serves an All-Union audience (Pravda/Izvestia), or a more localized republic audience (Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi). All-Union papers, especially the two major papers included in this study, differ from all others in that they are expected to set trends which other papers are to follow. Their preeminent position imparts a great deal of prestige and implied authority to their actions, an authority lacking in other papers.

The level of paper can be expected to influence the type of letter printed. The literature suggests that the All-Union papers print fewer letters than other papers. They also print a smaller proportion of critical letters than other papers. There also appears to be a direct relationship between the prestige of a newspaper and its ability to gain results for its readers in correcting problems.

The subject discussed can also affect the range and intensity of criticism within letters. Previous studies have noted that letters which deal with consumer goods and services tend to exhibit both a high frequency and intensity of criticism; more than for other issues. Certain issues are certain to be accompanied by larger clusters of ideological terms than others. Because consumer related issues are more likely to be domestic in target, critical, local in nature, and written by less educated, blue collar workers, it is likely that they will be relatively non-ideological in nature. Other issues, such as international relations and Party affairs, are more likely to have a higher proportion of ideological terms. These subjects lend themselves to a more ideological interpretation, have a specific readership target, and tend to be authored by a select group of officials.

The regime, through its policies and political style, can obviously affect both the issues raised in letters and the extent to which ideology is used. As with American letter writers, a large number of Soviet letter authors are triggered by materials which they see printed in the paper. By concentrating on certain issues

and popularizing certain ideological terminology, the leadership can affect the characteristics of letters indirectly without the use of censorship. Regimes may also participate in an ongoing process over the entire span of the study. An example is the use of ideology, as will be discussed at length later in the chapter. The process is continuous over 20 years, with each succeeding regime acceding to the change out of necessity. The effect of regime may, therefore, be dynamic in the sense of sudden unique change, or it may accede to ongoing processes which bring slow but steady change.

Indicators of Possible Functions and Function
Definitions Public Forum

By coding for several different issues, the existence of a public forum for discussion is demonstrated by the variance in opinion expressed by different authors on the same issue. The literature indicates that the amount of variance in expressed opinions will be affected by: (1) level of newspaper; (2) issue under discussion; (3) regime.

It is expected that the number of issues for which there is a range of opinions is limited. Most standard U.S. journalism texts tend to deny that a forum is possible in the USSR. Experience shows, however, that on occasion varying opinions on certain technical issues have been presented. Also, Soviet papers occasionally invite opinion on questions involving social matters dealing with morals and mores.⁴ With this information, it is to be expected that there will be few forum type issues, and these will be confined to either highly technical issues, or domestic, social issues.

For each letter in the sample the author's opinion on the letter's subject has been coded on a 1-5 scale. In this scale a five is a positive score, indicating that the letter author greatly approves of the activity described in the letter, and a one indicates that he strongly disapproves of the activity described. An example would be the construction of a new block of apartments in Moscow. One letter author states that this is another proof of the love that the Party has for the people and a sign of the fulfillment of one of Lenin's dreams. This letter would be given a five or possibly a four depending on the actual words used by the author.* This high positive score indicates that there is strong approval of the issues being described and similar actions would be welcomed. A second author's letter, however, attacks the project, stating that the project is poorly placed for transportation and cultural activities, the workmanship is shoddy, and the local building trust is selling materials authorized for the project on the black market. This is obviously a highly negative opinion and would be coded as a one or possible two depending, again, on the actual wording of the letter.* This type of coding offers a measure of the attitude of letter authors on the 25 issues for which a letter can be scored.

Definition of Public Forum Function

Letters are used as a public forum to the extent that there is variance in the expressed opinions on an issue.

*For code one or five extremes must be used, i.e., "Great genius of mankind Stalin"; "Liquidate hyena wreckers"; etc.

Using the previous example of housing, if there are 20 letters on housing from one year printed in a paper, the variance in scores is checked. If eight letters are coded five, four letters are three, and eight letters are coded one, this would indicate that there had been a discussion of the present state of the housing situation, and a balance of opinions had been presented. If 18 letters are coded four and two are coded three, this would indicate that no balanced view of the subject had been presented. By observing an issue over an extended period of time, the ability of the paper to act as a forum on this issue can be measured.

Agitation/Propaganda

A measure of letters as agents of agitation/propaganda is the extent to which ideological references are used. For purposes of this study, ideology will be considered as a particular cluster of specific doctrinal propositions about values, or about the relationships of phenomena.⁵

The use of letters as a channel for agitation/propaganda is illustrated by the inclusion within letters of terms judged to have ideological significance. These terms are subdivided into "classical" terms, those requiring a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist literature, and "contemporary" terms, those requiring merely a familiarity with the jargon used by the present leadership in the media. As is the case with "public forum," it is expected that the number and type of ideological references will be affected by the level of the newspaper, the issue under discussion, and the regime in power.

It is expected that the republic level papers will contain fewer ideological references and fewer classical terms than the All-Union papers. This is predicted from literature on the subject which notes that the lower level papers print a higher proportion of complaints than the All-Union level papers. These complaints tend to come from young, blue-collar males who are complaining about local consumer goods and services. Because of the subjects of these letters, which lend themselves less readily to an ideological interpretation than Party or international affairs, there should be fewer such references. The fact that the authors are young, and less educated than the average author population, and have, therefore, had less contact with the complexities of Marxist-Leninist thought, would also influence the use of fewer ideological references, and the use of more contemporary than classical terms when ideological references are used.

Because of the question of ideology and an issue has not been explored before, it is impossible to make a specific prediction. Logically, some topics, such as Party affairs, history, international relations, and morals, will most likely use ideological terms more frequently than others, consumer goods, services, and ecology, for example. A more specific prediction would have no real foundation.

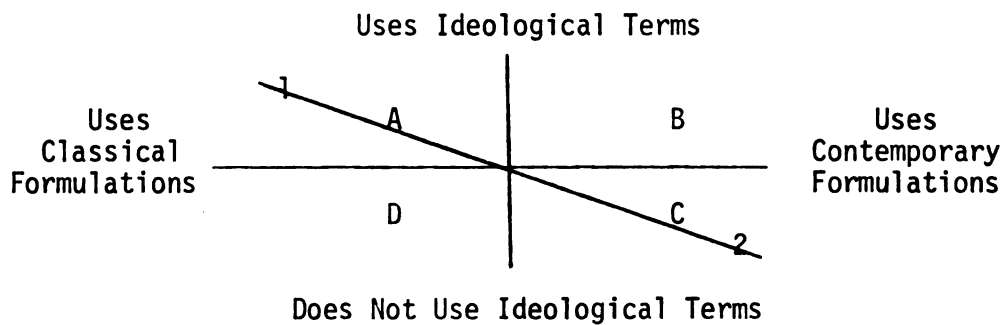
Regime is expected to affect ideology by reflecting a steady decline in the use of ideology throughout the period, as was discussed more fully earlier in the chapter.

For a letter to be considered an agitation/propaganda tool it should reflect and reinforce the values and judgments presented

by the CPSU. This reflection or reinforcement can be measured by coding key terms and phrases which are symbolic of the Party's view. A useful differentiation between these key terms is to consider one group as classical symbols and the other group as contemporary ideological symbols.⁶ Classical symbols are those which have meaning as a source of legitimacy throughout the time period of the study. These terms refer back to people and ideas from the revolution and pre-revolutionary days, and are symbols which are basic to Marxism-Leninism in the USSR.⁷ Contemporary symbols are those which have immediate, and possible temporary importance, because of their connection with the current regime's programs for the year. This classification of symbols uses terms such as fertilizer, corn, and Virgin Lands, which, due to emphasis by a Party Secretary, assumed an importance in the CPSU vocabulary which has since diminished. These words gain importance because they become symbols for policy. Thus, "fertilizer" has unique meaning during the 1960's since, under Khrushchev, it is symbolic of a dynamic agricultural policy. This extreme emphasis on fertilizer in the media elevates it to a special place in the political vocabulary of the time period.

In differentiating between these two types of ideological symbols it is possible to measure attitude toward the subject being discussed. It is to be expected that some subjects (Party affairs for example) will be described through the use of ideological terms more often than others (consumer goods for example). Likewise, certain segments of the population, especially CPSU members, are

more likely than others to use ideological terms in their writing. The use or non-use of ideological terms, however, represents only one dimension of an author's attitude toward a subject. Some writers will tend to use the contemporary terms. The qualitative difference between the two sets of terms is similar to that between agitation and propaganda. By this is meant that one set of terms (classical) and one method of "education" (propaganda) is more profound, and its use requires more understanding of the basic ideas of Marxist-Leninist thought. The other set of terms (contemporary) and educational method (agitation) are the "pop," or shorthand versions of ideology. To use or understand formulations of this type, no special study of ideological texts is necessary, only an acquaintance with the current Party programs and slogans used to popularize it. The two dimensions may be visualized as shown below:



Both authors and issues may be classified using this formulation. The writing of older Party ideologues, like Suslov for example, would probably be found in quadrant A, demonstrating a knowledge of the profundities of Soviet political thought and a

frequent use of ideological terms. By contrast, blue collar workers would be more likely to have had their writing placed in quadrant C as they are less ideologically "aware" than Suslov, and would tend to use only current popular catch phrases. Likewise, certain issues are more likely to fall in various quadrants than others. The line formed by point one and two may be seen as an operationalization of the ideological-instrumental continuum proposed by several Soviet specialists.⁸ Point one on this continuum indicates issues or groups tending toward Party dominance.⁹ Point two indicates issues or groups more likely to be involved in interaction and discussion. The extended time period involved in the study, and the large population of authors, make possible an analysis of any significant shifts in ideological references over time which reflect changes at the grass-roots level of Soviet society. This would allow for the testing of the belief that as Soviet society has become more modern, it has necessarily become less ideological and Party oriented, and more instrumental in its decision making. The letter column of a major newspaper offers a look at both input and output; questions and answers in societal decision making.

Definition of Agitation/Propaganda Functions

1. The greater the clustering of ideological references, the more useful the letters are as an agitation/propaganda instrument.

By including the classical/contemporary differentiation, a second definition can be presented:

2. Issues or authors are ideological and Party oriented to the extent that they use large numbers of ideological terms and these terms tend to be classical: issues and authors are instrumentally oriented to the extent that they use few ideological terms and those used tend to be contemporary.*

Catharsis

In considering letters as a possible catharsis, the major task is to differentiate between an actual problem solver and a system that merely collects expressions of dissatisfaction. An indicator of dissatisfaction is the ratio of critical letters to total letters on a given subject. The effectiveness of the newspapers as problem solvers is judged by the ratio of follow-ups claiming solutions to complaints, and the lag-time from complaint to solution. The literature is silent on the possible effect of regime or issue on either the collection of complaints, or their solution, so it is difficult to propose any hypothesis regarding them. As noted in Chapter II, the literature suggests that although the lower level papers print more expressions of discontent, the more prestige a paper has, the more effective it is in gaining results for its readership. From this it would be predicted that Pravda would be ranked as the most effective problem solver, and Pravda Ukrainy and Bakinskii Rabochi would probably be considered agents for catharsis rather than effective solution finders.

*Note: The actual process of selecting terms will be discussed below in the section dealing with public opinion measurement.

Definitions of Catharsis Functions

1. The higher the ratio of critical letters to total letters, the more potential as a safety valve the system has.

The reasoning here is that the purpose of a safety valve letters system is to put complaints in print. This gives a sense of relief to the letter's author, and also informs readers that the authorities realize that there is a problem and are doing something about it. As a supplement to this, the intensity of negative comments expressed in the complaints is also observed. An increase in the intensity of criticism would also have an effect on the system's potential to relieve reader frustration.

2. The higher the ratio of complaints to effective follow-ups, the more the system functions as a safety valve rather than as an actual problem solver.

By comparing the number of complaints with the number of complaints solved, the effectiveness of the letters system may be gauged. If, for example, nine out of ten complaints are solved by the local authorities, or receive Central Committee action, the letters must then be considered an effective petitioning channel for the population. By contrast, if very few of the complaints are actually solved, and nine out of ten follow-ups report that the problem is "being considered" or that "an investigation will be made," the letters system must be considered as functioning more as a safety valve for frustration than as an actual problem solver. By studying individual types of complaints, the analysis can be taken further:

3. Those categories of issues with the lowest ratio of effective follow-ups to complaints, and with the longest lag time between complaint and action, may be considered as the lowest priority issues. In coding the letters and follow-ups, complaints are classified by subject. The ratio of successful action to complaints, and the lag time for consumer goods letters can then be compared with those of local Party work, for example. By comparing subjects, a priority list of issues for action can be constructed. By combining the list of ratios of critical letters to total letters for each issue and this priority list, a measure of effective problem solving versus vicarious relief may be gained.

4. A combination of a high ratio of complaints to total letters and a low priority of action for a particular issue, defines a "safety valve issue." In contrast, an issue which combines either a high or low ratio of complaints to total letters and a high priority of action, defines an issue for which there is effective petitioning. The fact that the issue is of top priority for solution demonstrates the authorities' concern. The ratio of complaints demonstrates how "popular" the issue is. A lack of meat or dairy products is an example of a "popular" issue which is likely to lead to a quick response by authorities. By contrast, evidence of malfeasance within the Party ranks would not be a "popular" issue in that not many citizens would be aware of it, but is likely to draw a quick response from the authorities.

Link with the Masses and Public
Opinion Measurement

While empirical measures of letters as an agitation/propaganda tool, a forum for public debate, and a catharsis, may be devised, such a measure for letters as a link with the masses is difficult. In the absence of survey data on Soviet decision makers, no data for the utilization of letters comparable to that for the other functions are available.

There is, however, some information from Soviet journalists and official Party sources on the utilization of letters from Soviet citizens affecting the decision making process in the USSR. The sources usually give aggregate totals such as, "letters utilized for ideas" or "number of letters forwarded to the Central Committee for study." Several individual examples of ideas gleaned from a citizen's letter and put into practice are usually also included. A full discussion of this material will be presented for analysis on the possible use of letters as a link with the masses, and as a source for decision making alternatives.

After considering the possible uses of letters in Soviet society, the second task of this proposed research is to view them as a possible measure of public opinion for the student of Soviet affairs. The problem in dealing with any letters data is that of determining how representative the population is. Can any inferences made on the basis of the sample be generalized to the population as a whole? The answer to this question concerning letters both in the U.S. and the USSR seems to be that letter writers are an articulate

minority, not characteristic of the population as a whole. As argued earlier, however, this does not imply that no meaningful information concerning the opinions of that larger population can be gained. In the absence of extensive survey data, letters may prove to be the best available source of information on public opinion. This source must, however, be considered as an imperfect indicator a "hazy reflection" of opinion rather than as an accurate measurement.

One of the interests of this research is to explore the possibilities of public opinion measurement through letters. To do this two approaches are used. The most obvious is to cross-tabulate the various author characteristics, occupation, age, education, CPSU membership, sex, and urban/rural residence, with letter characteristics, subject, letter type, opinion direction and intensity, and use of ideological terms. This process, based on a large sample taken across a 20 year time span, offers insight into the basic features of the letter writing population's attitudes and methods of expression. By mapping out these basic features along with the general author profiles, some elementary questions concerning the usefulness of letters as public opinion data can be answered. Most of these questions relate to the two forms of bias discussed earlier in this chapter. Obviously, if age, sex, or occupation of an author has no affect on the subject of letters written, the opinions expressed, or the ideological references used, then, the utility of letters data for this purpose is suspect at best. If there are differences, these differences will then be displayed.

The second approach to opinion research involves an attempted synthesis of letters into several typical letters represented by the clustering of key terms through factor analysis. The exact procedure for this will be discussed in detail in the coding section of this chapter.

Author/Letter Assumptions

The literature does not offer much direct evidence to predict how the data will display either approach to attitude and opinion measurement. Based on the limited amount of information available, however, a number of assumptions can be made concerning the correlations between letter and author characteristics. The author characteristics, sex, education, occupation, CPSU membership, and residence will be taken one by one.

Sex

According to Verkhovskaya women write a higher proportion of complaints than men. Both sexes write a majority of their letters as complaints.

All studies indicate that domestic problems dealing with consumer goods and services form the majority of letters, especially of complaints. A study by Shlyapentokh suggests that women will write more frequently on social-moral questions.

Because women write a greater ratio of complaints than men, they will also tend to be more negative in their aggregate opinion coding.

Because of the larger percentage of men as CPSU members in the USSR and the expected visibility of CPSU letter writers, it is expected that men will tend to use ideology more than women.

Education

Verkhovskaya's work shows that class is inversely related to percentage of complaints. Therefore, the more education the lower the proportion of complaints.

Logically, well educated authors will write on the technical specialties while the less educated, writing more complaints, will deal with consumer goods and services.

Because Verkhovskaya shows that blue collar workers complain and professionals answer or comment, the less education, the more likely the attitudes are to be negative.

Logically, the better educated authors are more likely to use classical ideological references and total more ideological references in their letters due to more exposure and sensitivity to political affairs.

Occupation

The interdependence of education and occupation is obvious. The assumptions then are similar.

Working class members are more likely to write complaints than white collar professionals. They, therefore, will also tend to be more negative in their attitudes.

Working class members will tend to write on consumer goods and services more frequently than professionals who will tend to deal more frequently with scientific specialties.

Professionals will tend to use classical ideological references and total more ideological references than working class people.

CPSU Membership

Rigby's work has shown that the educational level of CPSU members has improved over this time span. Members should, therefore, follow the same pattern as authors who are more highly educated. It seems safe to assume that they will also tend to use more ideological terminology than non-members.

Residence

Rigby, Kassof, and Mickiewicz have noted that the rural population lags behind the urban population in education, CPSU membership, and general information. The urban/rural difference should manifest itself by the rural population tending toward non-Party-less educated norms as discussed above.

Attitudes and Public Opinion Hypotheses

The data in this study covers the time span 1952-1972. In 1953 the death of Stalin marks a milestone in Soviet domestic relations. The most obvious change is the demotion of the NKVD, secret police, and the lessened use of terror on the citizenry. The post-Stalin era is often characterized by American researchers as the era of change. This change is often considered to be toward a

polyarchial system, a "pluralism of elites."¹⁰ This theory posits a relative lessening of influence by the Party to members of economically and socially important interest groups. Lodge has tried to measure this trend using the specialist press of several interest groups.¹¹ This theory also notes that decision making, due to the inclusion of these specialties, has become more instrumental and less ideological.¹² Freedom from fear, polyarchy, loss of Party influence, instrumentalism (all in turn relative to pre-1953 norms, of course), are seen as continuing features of the post-Stalin USSR. These features are expanding, though not necessarily at a constant rate, with temporary set backs possible. The data in this paper was not designed specifically to measure the changes listed. But if letters are to be a useful measure of public opinion, then surely, they should reflect such major changes in the society given such a time period. Assuming that the letters do reflect public opinion/attitude at least to some extent, and that the USSR has undergone major changes since 1952 along the lines suggested above, the data should have distinct patterns over time. These patterns may be hypothesized in several general statements:

1. Over the 20 year span, there will be a decrease in the use of ideology, especially classical references.

This reflects the move toward instrumentalization and the lessening Party dominance.

2. Over the 20 year span more negative comments will appear and attitudes, as measured by the five point scale, will decrease.

This reflects the lessened fear and the greater pluralism.

3. Technical and professional people will over the 20 year span form a large proportion of the letter writers, and become more negative in their attitudes.

This reflects the emergence of interest groups and their increased ability to more freely express their opinions.

The null hypothesis to each of these three statements would be in the form of the Totalitarian model of Soviet politics; no interest groups, no changes even if the controlled press would allow it to be visible. The letters data, thus, may provide insight into the validity of differing interpretations of the post-Stalinist USSR.

Sample and Coding Procedure What is a Letter

In dealing with these translated data, one of the most obvious problems is what actually constitutes a letter to the editor? The answer for both U.S. and Soviet researchers is that a letter is a spontaneous communication to the newspaper from a private citizen who is not in the employ of the paper. In a U.S. paper, the difference between a professional journalistic comment and a private citizen's comment is usually quite clear. Stories are attributed to a news service or journalist, editorials are found on the editorial page, and non-professional material is limited to a specific labeled letters section, or a local news page where authorship is clearly assigned. In the Soviet paper the situation is more confused. Some sections are clearly professional, such as

the TASS reports from around the world and material signed by an editor. Also, a verbatim speech whose text is included in the paper is not a letter since the target of communication is not the newspaper. Daily columns printed in the paper written on a rotation basis by several authors, may also be dismissed from consideration. After these more obvious deletions, however, the problem becomes more difficult.

Soviet papers are expected to demonstrate their popular origins and continued ties with the "masses" (narodnost) by including materials from the citizenry. In practice this leads not only to a large number of letters included in a labeled letter column, but also to materials throughout the paper signed by milkmaids, factory workers, obkom secretaries, and chemists, or simply unsigned materials, obviously intended to be accepted as non-professional material. Some of these materials may consist of four or five sentences, others may be a third of a page long and continued for several issues. Are they all "letters"? The key question is, are they all spontaneous? No. As discussed in several Soviet letter's columns, some of the materials are solicited by the editors, often in a rather blunt, demanding manner. Similarly, an article may be written by a staff member and then signed by a non-journalist. Of course, the difficulty is to decide which materials have been solicited and which are spontaneous.

For my letter sample I used all signed materials included in the paper. This excluded speeches and addresses, obvious news stories, and articles by prominent individuals such as cosmonauts, entertainers,

sports personalities, and scientists. Materials by the paper's staff members, including worker/peasant correspondents,¹³ were excluded as well. Materials were included in the sample unless they obviously did not belong. Subject, placement of the material, and its length were clues used to discern a letter's spontaneity. In making a final judgment, each of these three factors was weighed. Because of the very limited space available in Soviet newspapers, and the limited scope of the subject matter, most letters consist of fewer than two column inches. So, unless clearly labeled by headline or author identification, materials of more than twice this length were suspect. As mentioned in Chapter II, there is a definite order to Soviet papers, certain types of materials are usually found in the same place, day after day. Because of this, materials found on the front page, international page, or last page, unless clearly identified as a letter, were also suspect. The third element to be considered is the subject of the letter. Past studies by Soviet and American researchers indicate that most letters deal with domestic subjects of a non-controversial nature. Therefore, reports on foreign affairs or ideological matters, especially those which make uncommon judgments or opinions, are likely to be professionally written. To be excluded from the sample, all three of these decision elements must be violated, or one or more broken in such an obvious manner that common sense eliminated the item from consideration. Thus, a two page article on the history of the black African struggle for freedom starting on the world news page would be excluded unless the heading, or author signature, indicated that it was a letter.

It would be excluded mainly because of its length, supported by the subject matter which is international and technical in content, and its placement, which would be unusual for a letter. If the same material, on the same subject, on the same page, was only four or five column inches in length, however, it would be included in the sample. It would be coded in a separate category labeled "probably not spontaneous," so that it might be considered separately from other letters in the analysis. Common sense was used to judge obviously non-spontaneous materials. If doubt remained, a letter was included in the study, but labeled so that it could be considered separately if desired.

Each letter was coded as spontaneous, probably spontaneous, or probably professional/requested material, as judged by the criteria mentioned above. The spontaneous letters included only those under labeled letter columns, the most "pure" letter type which provided a control to compare with the other materials.

Paper Sample

Four Soviet papers were chosen for this study: Pravda, Izvestia, Pravda Ukrainy, and Bakinskii Rabochii. These papers were chosen to provide some degree of diversity for the Soviet press as a whole, as these papers represent a variety of geographical, economic, and cultural regions. Pravda and Izvestia are All-Union newspapers serving the entire nation, Pravda being the central Party organ, and Izvestia the official newspaper of the federal government. Pravda Ukrainy and Bakinskii Rabochii are republic newspapers,

serving the Ukrainian and Azerbaidzhan Republics, including both the Party and government apparatus. The two levels and different republics that these four papers originate from also decrease the likelihood of uniform censorship.

This variety of papers is useful not only in attempting to gain a diverse selection of the press, but also because it allows for some comparison between types of letters received at different administrative levels and different economic regions. As mentioned earlier, Inkeles and Geiger found that more developed regions tended to produce letters concerning production problems. From the sample used for this research, then, it would be expected that Pravda Ukrainy's letters would be more consumer oriented than those of Bakinskii Rabochii, but as Azerbaidzhan becomes more developed over time, consumer letters would become more prevalent.

An attempt was made to include papers from lower administrative levels for comparison, but because of the difficulties in obtaining copies, the sample does not include any city or lower level papers. The sample is also unrepresentative in that all the newspapers are in Russian, even the two papers from the Ukraine and Azerbaidzhan. This is to make the translation burden somewhat more manageable. It has been noted, however, that the basic features of letters are similar across comparable administrative levels.¹⁴ So, while the selection of papers was chosen with the intent of providing a cross-section, considerations of availability and language restricted the choice.

Letter Sample

The sampling procedure includes letters and follow-ups for the months of January, April, July, and October. The same four months were used for all years to provide a stable basis for comparison of subjects. This is important since some months tend to produce a majority of letters on particular subjects. April for example, always has a large number of letters which deal with the planting of crops and agriculture. October has letters dealing with CPSU history and patriotic themes. All letters and follow-ups for these four months are included in the sample for every fourth year from 1952 through 1972. The sample, therefore, includes material from 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972. This time period spans a variety of domestic and international policy fluctuations and leadership periods, allowing for a thorough examination of the possible functions of letters, and for opinion shifts, if any, to materialize. The reduction of the sample by using every fourth year and only four months in the year, is due to the fact that preliminary research indicated that if all letters were used for this period, the sample could be as large as 130,000; clearly unmanageable. By the reductions indicated, the sample was reduced to about 8,000 letters. All of these were coded.

Coding Procedure

Each letter was coded according to a format modified from those developed in earlier studies. As can be seen from examples of both the letter and follow-up coding formats, a number of variables

were included in the study in an attempt to gather as much information concerning both letter and author as possible. The letter was coded for date, newspaper printed in, spontaneity, type, and subject, to gain a broad range of data points with which to study the letter. The letter type classification utilized by several Soviet researchers (see Chapter III) was used in order to allow comparison with these studies.

Letter "Type"

The classification divides letters into the following categories: Complaint, Reflection, Suggestion, Comment, or Repeated. A "complaint" is a letter which criticizes the status quo and asks for change. "Reflections" are letters which are basically philosophical in nature. A "comment" is a reaction which includes an opinion. The difference between the latter two is that a "reflection" is oriented toward what we would call "human interest" stories. An example would be a war veteran recalling the self-sacrifice of his comrades. "Comments" deal with current news stories or previously printed letters. If the war veteran had written his letter contrasting the exemplary conduct of Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia with the "criminal actions" of NATO troops in West Germany, for example, then, the letter would be a comment. "Reflections" deal with human emotions and the human spirit in a philosophical manner; "comments" are most often political explanations of events. "Suggestions" are letters which offer practical advice, usually in response to previous letters or editorials which noted a contemporary

problem. "Repeats" are letters which are repeats of earlier complaints for which no satisfactory results have been noted. According to Davydchenkov's work^{*} about 60% of the letters received by Izvestia are "complaints," 10% are "suggestions" and "repeats," with the other categories around 5% each. As mentioned earlier, the use of this system allows for a comparison of data important in the study of selection biases and generalization of findings.

Subject

To code each letter for subject, 25 numerical codes were eventually used. At the start of this study, 15 codes were used, these being derived from the work of Hollander and the Soviet researchers on letter subjects. As the work progressed, however, it was necessary to add ten more codes to gain additional clarity and precision. For example, the codes Leisure Time/Travel and Health Matters were added so that they need not be clustered with Public Services (for health) or Culture/Arts (for travel). To aid in a comparison of data, I attempted to use the same categories utilized in earlier studies. These additions were made only when a significant proportion (about 10%) of the letters concerning a subject and being coded under one heading, would be better represented with their own separate codes. These new codes could then be considered separately, or regrouped under the old code for comparison with other studies.

^{*} See Chapter II for a more complete explanation and presentation of results.

Opinion Direction

As mentioned earlier, a five point scale was used to code the author's opinion on each subject, "5" indicating a positive opinion, "1" indicating a negative opinion.

The letters were all hand-scaled since, although there might be advantages to machine scaling, especially in eliminating the need for reliability checks, there were several problems associated with it. An examination of available programs such as General Enquirer and Kentext, led to the conclusion that the amount of hand coding necessary for their use would not reduce the work load significantly. The added cost of such programs, and the difficulties encountered by previous researchers with them, also made them less attractive than hand-scaling. All scaling was done by one coder, but, a reliability rating of 92 was reached in checks.

Author Characteristics

To gather information on author characteristics, coding was done for occupation age, education, party membership, activist posts held, sex, urban or rural residence, geographic area of residence, and ideological references used. As with the subject codes, those for occupation had to be expanded and modified as the work continued, though the categories utilized by earlier studies were followed as closely as possible.

Coding for Opinion
Key Words

A third major coding effort was directed towards the extraction of a number of key words from each of the letters.¹⁵ The purpose of the category labels was to attempt to reduce the content of the letter down to its most basic and most manageable form. The original dictionary of key terms was modified throughout the coding of the data, and the number of terms was reduced to 100 (see enclosed list). Each word in a letter was considered free of context. Only nouns and noun-adjectives were included in the text. Within-letter redundancy was eliminated so that a key word was coded only once within a letter regardless of the number of times it appeared. Where several words had the same meaning, one word was chosen and substituted for all others.¹⁶ For example, the word "Stalin" was chosen although a letter in 1952 may refer to Stalin, the General Secretary, the "wise leader," the "Guiding Genius of Our Spoch," etc. Similarly, "consumer goods" may refer to such diverse items as pens and automobiles, all coded under this one heading. This is because the number of codes was limited to 100 by program limitations. It was quickly discovered that by using multiple titles, consumer products and agricultural terms would use the majority of codes if used individually, and their frequency was not great enough to warrant separate codes. The key words were chosen for their high frequency of occurrence, relevance, and descriptive value.

Factor Program

As a means of synthesizing themes for the thousands of letters, factor analysis was used on the population formed by the letters received by each paper for each year. The SPSS principal factoring, with interaction program and varimax rotation, was used for this purpose.¹⁷ Factor analysis is useful for this purpose, facilitating the management, analysis, and understanding of the occurrence of the key terms by reducing the 100 terms to a few common factor patterns.¹⁸ The factor loadings will give a measure of association between a key word and other words in its cluster. The orthogonal rotation of the clusters will help to define more clearly a definite pattern of relationship which should give the effect of typical letters found in the time period reduced to their most basic form.¹⁹ The related factors are also more amenable to further mathematical manipulation and analysis if this is desired.

The type of data expected from this analysis is shown in the following example taken from Roberts, Sikorski, Paisley, study:

<u>Cluster I</u>										
America .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.81
Vietnam .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.56
Military .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.54
People .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.42
War .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.40
Congress .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.31

This cluster represents key words from letters to Time from January to June of 1966. This cluster had the highest strength of association between its elements. The cluster reflects the most common letter

printed in Time in skeletal form. The letter obviously is concerned with the U.S. military action in Vietnam and domestic reaction to it.

This type of analysis used in concert with the analysis of letter subjects, including patterns and the five point scale, will hopefully provide a clue to changing patterns of public concern over time. While none of these measures alone, with their individual limitations, could hope to give an accurate assessment, it is hoped that a varied approach may lead to such insights. Combined with the volume of data on both the letters themselves and their authors, a more thorough understanding of letters to the editor as a source of opinion information will be obtained.*

* A note on transliteration: This paper uses the library of Congress system recommended for social science studies, and for proper names as noted in J. T. Shaw's The Transliteration of Modern Russian for English-Language Publications, University of Wisconsin, 1967.

CODING FORMAT: LETTERS

Column

1-2 Year

3-4 Month

5-6 Day

7 Paper: 1 Pravda; 2 Izvestia; 3 Pravda Ukrainy;
4 Bakinskii Rabochi

Spontaneous?: 1 Yes; 2 Probably Spontaneous;
3 Probably professional/requested

9-10 Subject:

- 01 Ideology
- 02 Party Work
- 03 Internation
- 04 Local Administration/Soviets
- 05 Science
- 06 Industrial Development
- 07 Agricultural Development
- 08 Consumer Goods/Housing
- 09 Public Services
- 10 Crime/Courts
- 11 Culture/Arts
- 12 Education
- 13 History of USSR/WWII
- 14 Labor Relations
- 15 Ecology
- 16 Military Service/Affairs
- 17 Morals/Mores
- 18 Life in the West
- 19 Reflection on Life/Mankind
- 20 Youth/Komsomol etc.
- 21 Thank Yous/Condolence
- 22 Leisure Time/Travel
- 23 Health Matters
- 24 Newspaper Work
- 25 Trade Union Affairs

11 Code: - less desired more desired +

1 2 3 4 5

- 12 Type of letter: 1 Complaint; 2 Reflection; 3 Suggestion;
 4 Comment; 5 Repeated
- 13-14 Subject (if repeated): As column 9-10
- 15-16 Author Occupation:
- 00 Party obkom+
- 01 Party less than obkom
- 02 Government oblast +
- 03 Government less than oblast
- 04 Worker
- 05 Rural Worker
- 06 Specialist/Foreman
- 07 Agricultural Specialist
- 08 Academic
- 09 M.D./Medical Worker
- 10 Student
- 11 Journalist
- 12 Military
- 13 Pensioner
- 14 Artist/Writer
- 15 White Collar
- 16 Housewife
- 17 Teacher
- 18 Factory Manager
- 19 Kolk. Chairman
- 20 Police/Court
- 21 Mass Organ Worker/Trade Union
- 22 Pro Athlete
- 23 Diplomat
- 99 Unknown
- 17 Holds activist post?" 1 Yes; 2 No
- 18 Age: 1 School children (HS-); 2 College age adult; 3 Adult;
 4 60+; 5 Unknown
- 19 Education: 1 High school -; 2 High school/incompleted higher;
 3 Completed higher; 9 Unknown
- 20 Party membership: 1 Party member; 2 Komsomol member;
 3 Likely Party member; 4 No or Unknown
- 21 Sex: 1 Male; 2 Female; 3 Mixed group of authors; 9 Unknown
- 22 Urban/Rural: 1 Urban (100,000+); 2 Rural; 9 Unknown
- 23 Geographic area: 1 Ukraine; 2 Baltic; 3 Trans Caucasus;
 4 Central Asia; 5 RSFSR; 6 Far East; 9 Unknown

25 Ideological references: 1 Classical; 2 Contemporary;
3 Both; 4 None

27-80 Key words

KEY WORD LIST

<u>Code</u>		<u>Code</u>	
00	Aktiv	26	Congress
01	Administration* 64	27	Cooperation
02	Aggression	28	Constitution
03	Agriculture	29	Consumer goods/Services* 52-72
04	Ag. equipment/MTS* 56	30	Corn
05	Ag. produce* 56-72	31	Court/Trial
06	Ag. worker/Peasants	32	Criminal
07	Arabs/Middle East	33	Criticism/Self criticism* 52
08	Atomic energy	34	CPSU
09	Automation/Mechanization* 60,72	35	Cult of the individual* 56
10	Building/Construction	36	Cultural/Arts
11	Brezhnev* 68,72	37	Democracy/Freedom* 56
12	Capitalism* C	38	Democratic centralism* C
13	Capital goods	39	Russian language/Culture
14	Central Committee	40	Drunkenness
15	Chemicals* 60	41	Disarm* 64
16	China/Mao	42	Discipline/Control* 52
17	Class conflict* C	43	DOSA AF
18	Coexistence/Detante	44	Economize* 52
19	Cold war	45	Education
20	Colonialism* C,64	46	Electrify
21	COMECON	47	Fascist/Hitlerite* C
22	Communication/TV/Radio	48	Fatherland/USSR
23	Comrade courts	49	Fertilizer* 60
24	Communist construction* C,60,64	50	Government
25	Competition	51	Housing

Code

52 Housing
 53 Incentives* 64
 54 Industry
 55 Imperialist* C,68,72
 56 Israel/Zionist
 57 Khrushchev* 56,60,64
 58 Komsomol
 59 Law* 64,72
 60 Lenin* C
 61 Liberation war* 68,72
 62 Marxism-Leninism* C
 63 Man/Citizen
 64 Mass organ
 65 Marx* C
 66 Military
 67 Ministry
 68 Nationality
 69 NATO
 70 Oil/Coal
 71 WWII
 72 Police
 73 Peace* 52-72
 74 People's control* 72
 75 Plan (5 year)* 68,72

Code

76 Quality/Assortment* 68
 77 October Revolution* C
 78 Repair
 79 Econ. reform
 80 Science
 81 Middle class
 82 Socialist morals
 83 Soviets/Elections
 84 Students/Young
 85 Space
 86 Specialization* 60
 87 Supreme Soviet
 88 Stalin* 52,57
 89 Success
 90 Third world
 91 Tourist
 92 Transport
 93 United Nations
 94 United States
 95 Virgin lands* 64
 96 War
 97 Warsaw Pact* 72
 98 Viet Nam/S.E. Asia
 99 Working class* C

* Indicates words used as indicators of ideological content.
 C = Classical; Year - Year used as indicator of contemporary ideological term.

CODING FORMAT: FOLLOW-UPS

Column

- 1-2 Year
- 3-4 Month
- 5-6 Day
- 7 Paper: 1 Pravda; 2 Izvestia; 3 Pravda Ukrainy;
 4 Bakinskii Rabochi
- 8 Type of follow-up: 1 Regular; 2 For unpublished letter;
 3 Column follow-up; 4 Reflection on
 letter
- 9-10 Subject: As column 9-10 for letter's format
- 11 Action taken:

 1 Problem declared solved
 2 Action promised
 3 Problem declared unsolved
 4 Explanation given
 5 Reader suggestions given
- 12 Lag time: 1 Two weeks or less; 2 3-8 weeks; 3 9-16 weeks;
 4 17+ weeks; 5 Unknown
- 13 Geographic area: As column 23 for letter's format

Chapter III--Footnotes

¹Inkeles and Geiger, op. cit.

²Ibid.

³For information on follow-ups, see Hollander and Buzek, both op. cit. The totals were: Pravda: 413 letters, 474 follow-ups; Izvestia: 456 letters, 474 follow-ups.

⁴See Foster and Friedrich, Brown, Lander, Davis, Forsythe, all op. cit., and Donald F. Roberts, et al., "Letters in Mass Magazines as 'Outcroppings' of Public Concern," Journalism Quarterly, 46:745-52, 1969.

⁵See Jan Triska, Soviet Foreign Policy (New York: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 106-117.

⁶The suggestion that a differentiation in ideological types might be an interesting variable to consider, was made by Ellen Mickiewicz.

⁷A complete list is given at the end of the chapter. The classical symbols were selected and modified from terms selected from several texts. The contemporary terms were gathered from the italicized sections of the 1st Secretary's Report to the Party Congress.

⁸See M. Lodge, Soviet Elite Articulation Since Stalin (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co., 1965).

⁹While in the past there have been completing groups such as the "Anti-Party" group which used ideological slogans in opposition to the established ruler, they never really questioned Party dominance, only which faction of the Party was to rule.

¹⁰H. Gordon Skilling, "Interest Groups and Communist Politics," World Politics, XVIII, # (June 1966), p. 449. Also Lodge, op. cit.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Worker/Peasant correspondents and their work is described in Hollander, op. cit., pp. 63-69.

¹⁴Inkeles and Geiger, op. cit.

¹⁵See Roberts, et al., op. cit., on how this has been done on a small sample of U.S. Magazines.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Norman Nie, et al., SPSS (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

¹⁸Nie, op. cit., and R. J. Rummel, "Understanding Factor Analysis," Conflict Resolution, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1967), pp. 444-77.

¹⁹Rummel, op. cit., pp. 475-76.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Letter Characteristics

The sample of letters for all four papers over the 20 year span was 6,020. The following table gives a breakdown by paper and year:

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pravda	208	398	247	445	603	722	2623
Investia	295	295	481	633	N.A.	410	2114
	<u>1952</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>Total</u>			
Pravda Ukrainy	204	246	224	674			
Bakinskii Rabochi	107	286	216	609			

Somewhat unexpectedly, the national level papers, even when considering differences such as size and frequency, have more annual letters printed than the more locally oriented republic papers. The literature, both Soviet and American, has suggested that the more local the newspaper, the more letters it would contain. However, several variables enter into the picture. The number of "spontaneous" letters as opposed to probably solicited materials will be examined shortly. The national papers also have extra space because of an additional full issue plus several six page issues a week, compared

to the four page issues of the republic papers. Considering these factors, the republic papers actually print more letters per available column inch than either national paper. The other noticeable factor is the drop-off in the number of letters printed for all but Pravda in 1972. While Ivanova and Davydchenkov have noted that letters tend to undergo minor fluctuations, both in those received and utilized, the common variation here cannot be called minor. The difference is due to a change of policy in 1972, in the printing of one particular type of letter in all four papers. The change is obviously due to a conscious shift in policy and will be noted later in the chapter.

As mentioned in the last chapter, the question of exactly what constitutes a letter for purposes of a study based on content analysis, is often a difficult one. Using guidelines as presented in Chapter IV, my sample showed a distinct difference in the proportion of spontaneity of letters at the two press levels used. The following chart illustrates the difference as measured by coding categories discussed in the last chapter:

Spontaneous Letter Writing

		<u>Probably Spontaneous</u>	<u>Probably Professional or Requested</u>
Pravda	1952	56%	44%
Pravda	1972	60%	40%
Pravda Ukrainy	1952	78%	22%
Pravda Ukrainy	1972	75%	25%

The table shows that at both the beginning and end of the time period under investigation, roughly three-quarters of the materials presented in the republic level paper in a "letters format," appeared to be materials actually presented by citizens. The corresponding figure for Pravda, the All-Union paper, is about 60%. This difference is a logical one based on the difference in audience and function of the two different papers. The republic level papers are meant to service a more homogeneous audience, and to reflect more local concerns than the All-Union press which is expected to serve the entire nation as an elite paper. The more technical the material, and the more frequent the need for recognized authorities on the subject, the more likely the material is to be solicited by the staff.

From this logic, it is to be expected that there would probably be a difference in subjects discussed by letters found at the various levels. Tables XI through XIII give a breakdown by letter subject for all four papers.* By consolidating several categories, the following comparisons for the total time period can be noted:

	<u>Pravda</u>	<u>Izvestia</u>	<u>Pravda Ukrainy</u>	<u>Bakinskii Rabochi</u>
Party/ Ideology	13%	6%	12%	17%
International Relations/West	13%	12%	3%	7%
Industry/ Agriculture	24%	22%	25%	31%
Local Government/ Crime	4%	11%	3%	1%
Labor Relations/ Consumer Concerns	<u>20%</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>15%</u>	<u>22%</u>
TOTAL	<u>76%</u>	<u>75%</u>	<u>59%</u>	<u>78%</u>

*Full tables included in Appendix A, consolidation given in text.

The most interesting element here is the similarity in subject matter over the time period. Pravda and Izvestia show the expected difference in balance on Party and Soviet appears but the other subjects are very similar in frequency. Rather than balancing between the two as might be expected from a joint Party/government organ, the two republic papers tend to ignore the subjects of local government and crime, and devote at least as much time as Pravda does to matters of Party affairs and ideology. The republic papers print few letters dealing with foreign affairs, concentrating almost exclusively on domestic issues, a rather stable trend except for a jump in 1960 due to a show of solidarity with Cuba, and the U-2 incident. Letters printed in the republic papers do not deal any more frequently with issues which can loosely be termed "public interest"; questions of consumer goods and services, and working conditions. Pravda Ukrainy in fact, as seen on Table XIII, has reduced drastically both the actual number and the proportion of letters dealing with public services. It is unlikely that the Ukrainians have decided there is nothing to complain about, especially since the studies of letters by Soviet sociologists indicate that the number of letters increases every year, and that the percentage of complaints is at best constant. In the other three papers, the tables show a solid consistency on these "public interest" subjects, especially consumer goods and services. While this drop in consumer letters might indicate a change in editorial policy for Pravda Ukrainy, it might also indicate a change by the letter authors, either to stop writing to the newspaper or to write

authors, either to stop writing to the newspaper or to write elsewhere to seek aid. Pravda Ukrainy seems to be a special case as is shown by the totals of the subjects both in the composite table above and in Table XIII. While the seventeen subjects in Tables XI through XIII total 100% for the other three papers, only 78% is totaled for the Ukrainian paper, meaning that a quarter of the letters deal with the subjects of ecology, reflections on life, youth groups, trade unions, journalism, and health hints. Each of these subjects received one to two percent of the total letters. These subjects, while not important as a proportion individually, furnish an outlet for topics not provided nationally. In concert with totals for the "minor" subjects, they form a considerable number of issues which may be primarily of local interest. The subject "ecology" most frequently deals with a complaint concerning pollution by a local enterprise or suggestions on how to curb it. "Reflections" is a hazy label which most often relates a story concerning the actions of a certain individual. Examples are a cab driver who selflessly guided two strangers in Kharkov to their hotel and then made sure they reached their meeting on time; of the Kiev cab driver who left some visitors in the rain when they refused to each give him a ruble "tip" to pick them up. Youth groups, trade unions, and journalism subjects most often deal with the activities of a spotlighted group's work for purposes of either emulation or kritika-samo-kritika. Health hints includes some information type letters from doctors on subjects such as the taking of vitamins, or the necessity for inoculations for school children,

but more often are questions or criticism dealing with health spas and sanitoriums. By going into these lesser areas Pravda Ukrainy presents a more local flavor.

The difference in letter spontaneity and the differing roles of the two levels of the press is shown in Table XIV. Pravda and Pravda Ukrainy are compared on the probability of professional journalists/requested materials which are used for each subject. The percentage is that percent which are probably not spontaneous. The number is the total number of letters the paper printed on that subject for that year. On almost every subject, Pravda has recruited professional opinions much more often than the republic level paper. This is true even though there seems to be a trend at the All-Union level to include fewer such letters and the tendency for Pravda Ukrainy to use more. It is very likely that the journalists are attempting to find a happy median between "narodnost"/"massovost" and the standards of professional journalistic writing and reporting which has caused criticism of the rabseikor type reporting.¹

An interesting comparison is the classification of the probable origins of letters with the positive-negative code used to measure the intensity of views held. The higher the value coded, the more positive the position held in the letter, i.e., the more supportive of the current policy or situation discussed. Again, comparing Pravda and Pravda Ukrainy, the difference is notable:

TABLE XIV.--Spontaneous Letter Writing X Subject.

Subject	Pravda				Pravda Ukrainy			
	1952		1972		1952		1972	
Ideology	100%	2	80%	15	57%	30	0%	1
Party Work	11%	35	19%	68	28%	18	25%	12
International Relations	92%	12	65%	43	57%	7	64%	11
Soviets	33%	3	46%	11	0%	3	0%	4
Science	88%	8	73%	41	0%	1	22%	9
Industry	47%	43	25%	77	17%	18	25%	32
Agriculture	36%	11	39%	66	6%	32	7%	29
Consumer Goods			26%	46	40%	6	0%	6
Public Services	22%	9	20%	54	8%	25	33%	3
Crime	67%	6	47%	17	0%	1	100%	2
Art	77%	13	70%	47	25%	8	62%	21
Education	40%	5	42%	33	33%	3	17%	12
History	43%	14	60%	37	23%	13	21%	29
Labor Relations	35%	17	19%	19	8%	38	0%	26
Military			71%	17			50%	4
Morals			56%	16			0%	4
Life in the West	100%	3	60%	10	100%	1	50%	2

		Coded Value of Position Expressed Letter is					
		<u>Spontaneous</u>		<u>Probably Spontaneous</u>		<u>Probably Professional/ Requested</u>	
Pravda	1952	2.5	(30)	3.6	(86)	3.4	(91)
Pravda	1972	2.9	(238)	3.1	(193)	3.4	(291)
Pravda Ukrainy	1952	3.3	(30)	3.8	(125)	3.8	(45)
Pravda Ukrainy	1972	3.4	(38)	3.8	(130)	3.7	(55)

Several things stand out in this chart. One is that Pravda Ukrainy is more supportive of policy than Pravda based on this measure. For all letters, Pravda had an average intensity coding of 3.2 for 1952 and 3.14 for 1972. The Ukrainian paper by contrast, was coded at 3.7 for both years. This difference indicates that there is more balance between positive and negative opinions in the national level paper. The coded value "3" is the neutral point in the scale, reflecting the view that nothing should be done, or that there are both good and bad aspects in the current policy. A "4" value, however, is a definite call for expanding or intensifying the current policy. Another interesting factor is that coding for the "probably spontaneous" group is always much higher than coding for the "spontaneous" group of letter authors, and is often equal to that of the non-spontaneous group.

Reasons for both of these occurrences is related to the type of letter printed. Table XV lists the letters printed by all four papers classified by type. In comparing Pravda and Pravda

TABLE XVa.--Letter Type: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda						
	Complaint	Reflection	Suggestion	Comment	Repeat	Total
1952	26% 55	0% 0	69% 144	4% 9	0% 0	208
1956	31% 122	1% 2	34% 136	35% 138	0% 0	398
1960	25% 62	0% 0	29% 72	46% 113	0% 0	247
1964	16% 69	0% 0	32% 140	53% 236	0% 0	445
1968	29% 177	0% 1	30% 180	41% 244	0% 0	603
1972	24% 172	1% 7	35% 251	40% 292	0% 0	722
						<u>2623</u>
Izvestia						
1952	14% 41	0% 0	81% 239	5% 15	0% 0	295
1956	18% 54	0% 0	24% 71	58% 170	0% 0	295
1960	37% 177	1% 6	25% 121	37% 176	0% 0	481
1964	24% 151	0% 2	32% 200	44% 280	0% 0	633
1972	29% 119	1% 4	42% 173	28% 113	0% 0	410
						<u>2114</u>

TABLE XVb.--Letter Type: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukrainy						
	Complaint	Reflection	Suggestion	Comment	Repeat	Total
1952	12% 24	0% 0	67% 136	20% 40	0% 0	204
1960	12% 29	0% 1	27% 66	60% 150	0% 0	246
1972	10% 23	0% 0	88% 196	2% 5	0% 0	224 674
Bakinskii Rabochi						
1952	21% 22	0% 0	56% 60	23% 25	0% 0	107
1960	11% 30	0% 1	26% 73	64% 182	0% 0	286
1972	10% 22	0% 0	85% 184	5% 10	0% 0	216 609

Ukrainy, the important factor relating to coding is the percentage of complaints versus suggestions and comments which are found in the letter sample. By definition, letters which are classified as complaints will be coded much lower than those which offer suggestions, and probably lower than those making comments. In fact, this is always the case as is illustrated in the following chart:

Average Coded Values of Letter Types

		Letter is			
		<u>Complaint</u>	<u>Reflection</u>	<u>Suggestion</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Pravda	1952	1.96		3.8	4.4
Pravda	1972	1.95	2.9	3.2	3.8
Pravda Ukrainy	1952	2.0		3.9	4.1
Pravda Ukrainy	1972	2.0		3.9	3.8

Although the suggestions and comments have decreased in coded value over the 20 year span, allowing some criticism and less platitudinous praise for policy and leadership than under Stalin, complaints still have only about half the value of the other two frequently printed types of letters. As Table XV shows, the two republic level papers tend to print fewer complaints than the All-Union papers, and more comments which have the highest coded value. This accounts for the higher overall values found in these papers. The fact that the "probably spontaneous" group of letter authors has as high a rating in many cases as the non-spontaneous group,

and a much higher coded value than the spontaneous group, is related to the type of letter that tends to come from each group. Table XVI shows this relationship for the two selected papers for 1962 and 1972. The table shows that a high proportion of complaints, almost half, came from the "spontaneous" authors, while less than a quarter came from the "probably" group which tends to be clustered in the suggestion type letter. The reason that "spontaneous" authors differ from both the "non" and "probably" authors is shown here. The "non-spontaneous" authors match the "probably" group in percent of complaints. The remaining letters written by the "non-spontaneous" group are mostly comment type letters which, especially in the republic papers, have nearly the same coded value as suggestions, which form the majority of letters written by the "probably" group.

In the first part of this chapter a drop in the total number of letters which appeared in 1972 was noted, a fact counter to a trend of a continuously increasing number of letters printed each year. Looking at Table XV it can be seen that one particular type of letter accounts for this drop. In the three papers that experienced the decline in total letters printed, each has experienced a very significant decline in the number of comments printed concomitant with a slight increase in suggestions. The difference between the increase in suggestions and the decrease in comments accounts for the decline.

One may only speculate about the reasons for this dramatic change in the types of letters printed. There are several possible

TABLE XVI.--Spontaneous Letter Writing and Letter Type.

		Letter Type		
		Complaint	Suggestion	Comment
Pravda	1952	35/15/51	8/52/40	0/33/67
Pravda	1972	53/22/26	21/41/28	22/18/60
Investia	1952	37/20/43	10/66/24	0/67/33
Investia	1972	40/24/36	17/46/37	12/13/74
Pravda Ukrainy	1952	42/29/29	13/73/15	8/48/45
Pravda Ukrainy	1972	44/22/35	15/63/22	0/20/80

1st percent given is percent of spontaneous letters in that type of letter.

2nd percent is percent of probably spontaneous letters in that type of letter.

3rd percent is percent of professional/requested letters in that type of letter.

reasons for the change. Comments tend to be longer than most suggestions appearing in the papers, using ideological terms and examples more frequently to make a point. The drop in comments may have occurred in order to allow more space for other materials.

A second possibility is that the drop in comments is the result of a shift in emphasis or subject. Table XVII examines the possibility of a shift in subject matter. The table indicates that over the 20 year span for the three papers which experienced a drop in the number of letters in 1972, there was a parallel drop in the comments dealing with both ideology and Party work. The drop is obviously significant and not accidental. There is also a decrease in ideology and Party work in suggestions for the three papers which had a letter decrease in 1972, while Pravda's suggestions and comments on these topics tend to be stable. This drop is the source of the decrease in Party/ideology letter percentages for the three papers. In absolute numbers, the increasing volume of letters on Party work in Pravda demonstrates its continued dominance over Izvestia on the subject. The Central Committee organ has also overcome the government paper's volume of ideological materials which in 1952, under Stalin, had been pronounced.

Pravda excepted, the drop in the number of ideology and Party work letters, combined with a significant decrease in the more ideologically oriented comment letters, suggests that letters may have become more pragmatic in tone and content over time. Table XVIII shows the changing patterns in the use of ideology in letters. The table shows a general drop in the proportion of letters printed

TABLE XVII.--Subject of Suggestion and Comments--Partial List.

Subject	Pravda 1952		Pravda 1972		Izvestia 1952		Izvestia 1972	
	Sug	Com	Sug	Com	Sug	Com	Sug	Com
Ideology	1%		1%	5%	14%	20%	1%	5%
Party Work	21%		20%	2%	6%	13%	2%	1%
Industry	27%	22%	13%	6%	8%	7%	15%	7%
Agriculture	4%	22%	9%	10%	11%	7%	12%	3%
Public Services	3%		4%	3%	8%	27%	6%	6%
Education	2%		8%	3%	6%		11%	1%
History	9%	22%	2%	11%	11%		1%	17%
Labor Relations	13%		22%	10%	10%	13%	8%	2%
Art	8%		4%	12%	7%	7%	5%	16%

	Pravda Ukrainy 1952		Pravda Ukrainy 1972		Bakinskii Rabochi 1952		Bakinskii Rabochi 1972	
	Sug	Com	Sug	Com	Sug	Com	Sug	Com
Ideology	7%	53%	1%		7%	24%	2%	10%
Party Work	10%		6%		17%	4%	13%	
Industry	11%	3%	16%		13%	4%	13%	20%
Agriculture	21%	5%	15%		27%	16%	14%	
Public Services	14%	3%	1%	20%	3%		6%	
Education	2%		6%		2%	4%	4%	
History	4%	18%	13%	40%	7%	24%	9%	30%
Labor Relations	23%	8%	12%		15%	8%	11%	
Art	4%	3%	11%		2%	8%	15%	20%

TABLE XVIIIa.--Author's Use of Ideology: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda						
	Classical	Contemporary	Both	None	Total	
					Used	Not Used
1952	6% 13	20% 42	32% 66	42% 87	58%	42%
1956	12% 47	26% 105	7% 28	55% 218	45%	55%
1960	7% 18	22% 55	7% 17	64% 157	36%	64%
1964	12% 51	16% 72	20% 87	53% 235	47%	53%
1968	23% 140	5% 32	5% 32	66% 399	34%	66%
1972	11% 80	17% 122	8% 55	63% 457	47%	53
Izvestia						
1952	11% 31	13% 37	21% 62	56% 165	44%	56%
1956	13% 37	25% 74	4% 13	58% 170	42%	58%
1960	9% 41	10% 49	3% 16	78% 373	22%	78%
1964	10% 62	14% 87	8% 48	69% 434	31%	69%
1972	8% 34	21% 86	7% 29	62% 254	38%	62%

TABLE XVIIIb.--Author's Use of Ideology: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukraine						
	Classical	Contemporary	Both	None	Total	
					Used	Not Used
1952	8% 17	17% 35	24% 49	50% 102	50%	50%
1960	8% 19	31% 76	14% 35	47% 118	53%	47%
1972	16% 36	25% 57	9% 19	50% 112	50%	50%
Bakinskii Rabochi						
1952	4% 4	21% 22	22% 24	53% 57	47%	53%
1960	4% 12	30% 87	13% 38	52% 149	48%	52%
1972	12% 26	35% 76	10% 21	43% 93	57%	43%

which use ideological references at the All-Union level. The significant drop in the percentage of letters which use both classical and contemporary references, combined with the decrease in coded values for all letters over time, also suggests that the concentration of ideological materials in letters which use such references may also have declined. This reflects the tendency to discuss some problems such as industry, agriculture, and international relations using contemporary ideological terms, while concentrating on classical references when dealing with art, education, and national history, for example. The two republic papers also demonstrate this tendency. However, the percentage of letters using ideological references has not decreased nor has the coded intensity values for the letters, indicating that while the national level papers have toned down, the lower level papers have not. The non-Soviet circulation of Pravda and Izvestia is probably not to be ignored when considering the difference between the two levels of the press. The drop in comments, then, at the republic level may be one of ideological subjects but is not due to a lessened emphasis in ideology itself.

A third possible explanation for the shift from comment letters may be that the desire for more professionalism in the press by Soviet journalists is being demonstrated. Non-professional materials are being limited to complaints and suggestions which tend to be simple and short, while comment and analysis, requiring and reflecting deeper insights (and more column inches) are reserved for professionals. The evidence here is mixed as shown below:

Percent of Letters by Type
Probably Professional or Requested

		Letter Type					
		<u>Complaint</u>		<u>Suggestion</u>		<u>Comment</u>	
Pravda	1952	51%	55	40%	143	67%	9
Pravda	1972	26%	172	28%	71	60%	292
Izvestia	1952	44%	41	25%	238	33%	15
Izvestia	1972	36%	119	38%	173	74%	113
Pravda Ukrainy	1952	29%	24	15%	136	45%	40
Pravda Ukrainy	1972	35%	23	22%	196	80%	5
Bakinskii Rabochi	1952	17%	22	7%	60	30%	24
Bakinskii Rabochi	1972	9%	22	25%	177	41%	17

In each cell, the percentage figure refers to the percent of letters of that type which probably were not spontaneously offered. The whole number is the total number of letters of that type received by the paper that year. Pravda Ukrainy shows an increase in "pros" for each type of letter. Izvestia and Bakinskii Rabochi show an increase in non-spontaneous authors in both suggestions and comments, but a drop in complaints. Pravda has a drop in non-spontaneous for each type. It would seem that Pravda is pushing for "narodnost" while the Ukrainian paper is moving toward professionalism, and Izvestia is moving toward spontaneous input and professional analysis. In looking at the percentage fluctuations, the major changes have been Pravda's movement in complaints and suggestions toward spontaneity, and the other three papers movement away from

it in their comments. Comparing the 1972 figures for all four papers, however, a permissible generalization is that complaints and suggestions tend to come from citizens, while comments and analysis tend to be from professional analysts. When percents involving less than ten letters are ignored, there is really not much spread between the figures, indicating movement toward a guideline set of figures with some variance due to editorial preferences. The drop in comments, then, may have reflected movement toward these guidelines. Like the other possible reasons for the drop in letters, the decrease in comments and a shift in subject, the movement towards professionalism cannot be either accepted or rejected merely on the basis of the information available.

Author Characteristics
Occupation

Table XIX shows the major occupations of the letter authors for each of the four papers over the 20 year span of the study.* All percentages are based on the total number of letters printed by the paper including those for which no occupation was listed. The unknowns made up about a third of the letters, which when compared to the response rate to Soviet questionnaires, is actually a very good response rate.² Based on the Davydchenkov-Verkhovskaya-Shlyapentokh studies mentioned in Chapter III, the population of letter writers would be expected to contain a good mix of

* Full table included in Appendix A--consolidation given in text.

professionals, blue collar workers, and pensioners, with the white collar/professional occupation leading the others. The tables confirm that the majority of letter authors are from occupations that are either white collar or professional. The charts below are a consolidation of XIXa-e and illustrate the point:

Pravda Occupations Consolidation						
	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party	18%	13%	7%	10%	10%	14%
Government	6%	6%	5%	7%	8%	6%
Blue Collar	11%	11%	15%	9%	7%	9%
Academic/Ed.	11%	10%	8%	14%	16%	15%
Arts	6%	6%	5%	8%	4%	2%
Journalist	1%	3%	4%	3%	2%	4%
Ind/Ag Manager	3%	7%	3%	5%	3%	4%
Izvestia Occupations Consolidation						
	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1972</u>	
Party	3%	1%	2%	7%	5%	
Government	15%	9%	6%	12%	15%	
Blue Collar	9%	9%	13%	9%	11%	
Academic/Ed.	12%	9%	11%	19%	15%	
Arts	5%	5%	0%	4%	5%	
Journalist	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%	
Ind/Ag Manager	2%	4%	1%	2%	4%	
Occupations Consolidation						
Pravda Ukrainy			Bakinskii Rabochi			
	<u>1952</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party	6%	24%	17%	11%	9%	10%
Government	5%	4%	4%	12%	4%	9%
Blue Collar	22%	15%	19%	16%	21%	16%
Academic/Ed.	7%	6%	12%	13%	3%	9%
Arts	4%	5%	1%	2%	2%	8%
Journalist	1%	2%	3%	2%	1%	3%
Ind/Ag Manager	5%	6%	4%	10%	7%	6%

One obvious difference between the All-Union and republic level papers is in the representation of blue-collar workers. The republic level papers percentage totals vary from 15% to 22%, while Pravda's proportion of workers is from 7% to 15%, and Izvestia's from 9% to 13%. The studies by Davydchenkov and Verkhovskaya indicate that between a quarter and a third of the letters received by Soviet papers are from manual workers. Since the proportion of letters printed to those received is apparently inversely related to the level of the paper, this really is not a surprising discovery. The All-Union papers, according to Davydchenkov, choose about one of three letters for printing. According to both Shafir's early work and Verkhovskaya's more complete and recent work, occupation with its attendant variables is highly correlated with certain subjects and types of letters. Thus, certain occupations are associated with particular subjects and letter types, such as complaints and suggestions. Since earlier analysis indicates that complaints in particular are limited within certain boundaries as a proportion to letters as a whole, this selection process certainly can be expected to influence the mix of author characteristics. A comparison of the population of printed authors with the data collected by Verkhovskaya and especially Davydchenkov's work with Izvestia's letters received, indicates that along with blue-collar workers, pensioners are highly under-represented in printed letters, while members of the Party and government apparat and scientific/academic communities are highly over-represented. The Komsomolskaya Pravda studies suggested that both of these under-represented groups

tend to be the authors of complaint type letters dealing with local services. Because of the nature of the suggestion and comment type letters which call for more informed (and instructed) opinion, it would seem logical that the over-represented groups would tend to be the authors of these types of letters. To explain the discrepancy between occupational representation, then, the data should show this correlation between work and letter type and letter subject. The data do show this relationship. Table XX displays occupation and letter types, and Tables XXIa through XXIr show occupation and letter subject.*

As expected, blue collar workers (i.e. workers, agricultural workers, and technical specialists) show a consistently high percentage of complaint type letters except for the Khrushchev years, 1960 and 1964, which were not vintage years for complaints by any group except in Izvestia. The blue-collar predilection for complaints on local matters is illustrated by Izvestia's uniqueness in 1960. In 1960, and to a lesser extent in 1964, Izvestia experienced an increase in complaints not shown in the other three papers. This increase was directly caused by a dramatic upsurge of complaints dealing with consumer goods and public services. As shown by Tables XXIe and XXIi, the blue collar groups account for this increase in terms of occupation.³ By comparing the relative figures from Table XV and XIX, the direct relationship between complaints printed and blue collar letters printed can be seen. On subjects of letters, the blue collar occupations cluster their

*Full tables offered in Appendix A, discussion offered in text.

communications on industrial and agricultural questions (usually either reports of success with methods used, or failures with finger pointing), consumer goods and services, and questions of labor relations--working conditions and leadership. The under-representation of workers in printed letters, then, probably stems mainly from limitations on the letter types and subjects which they tend to author. This general tendency for the blue collar worker to voice his displeasure in his letters more than other occupations is indicated in the chart on occupation x coded values, XXII. This shows a general indication of the total positive-negative tone of each occupation's letters. The values for workers over the years tend to be consistently lower than those for the other occupations.

The over-represented groups, the Party or government apparat, like the workers, make contributions on all subjects, but concentrate on several themes. Not surprisingly, these include Party work and work of the Soviets, industry, agriculture, and historical anecdotes, all subjects where authoritative comments are needed. In addition, Party apparat authors field the questions on consumer goods. As shown by Table XX, these individuals write primarily suggestion and comment type letters, answering the questions and complaints of other groups. Likewise, the academic/science occupation letter authors write in to make suggestions and comments. As Tables XXIf, XXI1, XXIo, and XXIr show, this group covers the full range of themes except for Party work and Soviets, which are left to the respective experts in these areas.

The tables indicate a "division of labor" in letter types and subjects according to occupation. Complaints and questions sent in by occupational groups which can be considered lower middle or lower class, are answered by letters from groups from higher occupational groups. Soviet studies indicate along with the data presented here, that there are many more questions than answers received by the Soviet press. It is in the selection of the relative frequency of questions to answers for publication, that the under and over-representation of certain occupational groups most likely takes place.

Sex

Table XXIII gives a breakdown of letter authors by sex. From earlier studies, both Soviet and American, it was expected that the sample would be predominately male. This is certainly the case, as the data shows that letter writers are, in almost every case, regardless of newspaper or year, 90% male. Pravda shows little variation throughout the 20 year span, the percentage of women letter authors varying only two percent as a maximum fluctuation, the proportion of women being from seven to nine percent of total authors. Pravda Ukrainy likewise demonstrates a constant rate of female authors, five percent of the sample both in 1952 and 1972. Bakinskii Rabochi is also fairly stable, but at a higher rate of female participation, about ten percent. Only Izvestia demonstrates any change over the time period. In both ninety-four and four percent respectively. By 1972 the percentage

TABLE XXIIa.--Occupation X Code: Pravda.

	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag Workers	Tec. Workers
1952	3.6 16	3.4 20	3.5 10	2.5 2	3.3 8	4.0 2	3.9 13
1956	3.8 23	3.4 27	3.7 14	2.9 9	2.7 25	3.7 12	2.9 23
1960	3.8 13	4.0 5	3.3 9	3.0 2	3.5 30	3.5 6	3.6 16
1964	3.8 28	3.9 19	3.8 23	3.9 7	3.8 18	3.9 13	4.0 8
1968	3.9 33	3.6 26	3.4 34	3.6 11	3.2 32	4.0 1	3.1 33
1972	3.5 47	3.4 48	3.0 35	2.9 7	2.9 48	3.1 9	3.4 39

	Academics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Kolk Chairmen
1952	3.8 20	3.0 2	2.0 1	3.7 12	2.0 1	2.8 5
1956	3.5 36	2.8 12	3.5 6	3.7 24	3.0 3	3.0 11
1960	3.2 17	3.7 9	3.5 2	3.6 11	4.0 2	2.7 6
1964	3.7 58	3.0 11	4.0 17	3.5 34	4.0 5	3.8 8
1968	3.7 85	3.0 10	3.8 14	3.8 21	3.4 14	3.4 10
1972	3.2 92	3.0 29	3.8 18	3.1 16	3.3 17	2.7 20

TABLE XXIb.--Occupation X Code: Izvestia.

	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag Workers	Tec. Workers
1952	4.0 4	4.0 6	3.6 23	3.4 21	3.6 8	4.0 1	4.0 17
1956	4.0 2	4.0 1	3.9 14	3.7 12	2.9 10	4.0 8	3.9 8
1960	3.5 2	2.8 4	3.6 18	3.8 8	3.2 26	3.0 1	3.4 37
1964	3.8 34	3.5 9	3.8 6	3.6 4	3.5 28	3.5 4	3.1 28
1968							
1972	3.7 12	3.3 7	3.5 32	3.5 28	2.5 17	3.0 2	2.8 23

	Academics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Kolk Chairmen
1952	3.7 31	0.0 0	4.0 2	3.9 16	3.0 2	3.3 3
1956	3.6 23	3.5 4	4.0 1	3.9 16	3.0 2	3.8 6
1960	4.0 2	3.0 8	4.0 2	4.0 1	3.8 4	3.0 2
1964	3.8 101	3.4 9	3.7 6	3.8 28	3.2 19	3.6 8
1968						
1972	3.2 54	3.6 11	3.9 7	3.7 19	2.8 9	3.3 9

TABLE XXIc.--Occupation X Code: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukraine										
	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag Workers	Tec. Workers			
1952	4.0	1	3.7	10	4.0	4	3.2	5	3.7	17
1960	4.0	13	3.6	11	3.6	5	3.7	4	3.8	12
1972	3.7	3	4.0	14	3.7	6	3.0	2	3.7	17
		Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Kolk Chairmen				
1952	3.8	14	4.0	2	0.0	0	4.1	8	0.0	0
1960	4.0	16	4.0	5	0.0	0	3.8	13	0.0	0
1972	4.0	20	4.0	7	4.0	8	4.0	3	3.8	6
Bakinskii Rabochi										
	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag Workers	Tec. Workers			
1952	4.0	1	3.7	11	4.0	4	3.5	8	3.7	6
1960	4.0	3	4.0	22	3.8	5	3.6	5	3.8	18
1972	3.0	3	3.9	20	3.9	14	3.8	4	3.9	15
		Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Kolk Chairmen				
1952	3.9	14	3.5	2	0.0	0	4.0	2	0.0	0
1960	3.9	21	3.3	3	0.0	0	4.0	5	4.0	6
1972	4.0	14	4.0	7	3.5	4	3.5	17	3.8	4

TABLE XXIIIa.--Sex: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda							
	Male		Female		Unknown		Both	
1952	84%	174	7%	15	6%	13	3%	6
1956	91%	363	7%	26			2%	9
1960	90%	221	9%	22	1%	2	1%	2
1964	92%	409	7%	29	1%	4	1%	3
1968	92%	553	7%	42	0%	1	1%	7
1972	90%	649	8%	58	2%	11	0%	3
	Izvestia							
1952	94%	277	4%	13			2%	5
1956	94%	276	4%	13			2%	6
1960	89%	427	11%	51			0%	2
1964	90%	570	10%	61			0%	2
1968								
1972	87%	356	12%	47			0%	1

TABLE XXIIIb.--Sex: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy							
	Male		Female		Unknown		Both	
1952	95%	194	5%	10				
1960	97%	241	3%	8				
1972	93%	209	5%	12	1%	2	0%	1
	Bakinskii Rabochi							
1952	90%	96	8%	8			3%	3
1960	87%	249	12%	35			1%	2
1972	90%	194	10%	22				

of female letter authors had increased to 12% with a proportional drop in male letter writers to 87%. While this is triple the representation presented in 1952, the sample is still obviously overwhelmingly unrepresentative in terms of sex.

Shlyapentokh's research indicated that there is probably a difference in author's sex based on subject matter. The data do indicate that in general, women letter writers do tend to write proportionately more letters on subjects concerning consumer goods and services, and education, at least to the national level papers. Over the entire 20 year time span of this study, Izvestia printed more letters dealing with these subjects (22% of all letters) than any other paper. By contrast, in Pravda 15% of the letters dealt with these subjects. This difference probably explains much of the variance between the two All-Union papers in terms of representation by sex, though a full cross tabulation of subject by sex is not really reliable due to the small number of women in the sample. Because of the sample size, the subjects often fluctuate in an irregular manner, however, in Izvestia consumer goods and services and morals/mores topics account for a good proportion (approximately 20%) of letters written by women. In the other three papers, Party work usually accounts for about the same percentage of letters by female writers. In all four papers, however, women usually account for between a quarter and a third of the letters written on art and education, reflecting their importance in the labor pool of these two occupations. Likewise, though, there is some fluctuation of letters on agricultural topics,

particularly those dealing with non-mechanical aspects, 50% are often authored by women. While this certainly reflects the male/female division of the labor pool much better than the overall proportions, in other areas in which women form a large percentage of the work force, such as medicine, student activities, and scientific work, they are seldom the authors of letters on those subjects. Logically, there should be a high correlation between educational attainment, occupation, and the subject of the letter written. The correlation between occupation and subject has already been explained. Unfortunately, the limitations of the data on educational attainment and the number of women in the sample, make a cross tabulation of female letter authors and education of limited value. Fortunately, however, the letters yielded more information on occupation than education, and it is possible to gain a measure of the proportion of women in the various occupations of the letter authors. Table XXIV shows the percentage of women in the occupations represented among letter authors.*

Below is a table of the occupations of women letter authors, only Pravda and Izvestia are listed because of the small N for the other two papers (Pravda Ukrainy had a total of only twelve women authors):

*Full tables offered in Appendix A, consolidated version given in text.

Occupation of Women Letter WritersPravda

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party	33%	14%	7%	14%	22%	24%
Government	8%			5%	11%	6%
Worker	8%	21%	50%	14%	6%	15%
Ag. Worker	17%	7%	7%	5%	17%	9%
Academia	8%	7%	7%		11%	6%
Artist	17%	14%		14%	6%	3%
Lower Ed.	8%	14%	7%	10%	6%	15%
NUMBER	12	14	14	21	18	33

Izvestia

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party	25%		5%	6%	4%
Government	25%		10%	14%	17%
Worker	25%	100%	25%	14%	17%
Ag. Worker				6%	4%
Academia	25%		25%	14%	22%
Artist				3%	9%
Lower Ed.			11%	26%	13%
NUMBER	4	1	19	35	23

With the expected fluctuations due to the small N, there are only three occupations in Tables XXIVa-XXIVc in which women consistently comprise more than 10% of the total population of letter writers; workers, agricultural workers, and non-university teachers. The table above, however, shows that these are not necessarily the dominant occupations of the women letter authors. This is especially true for the ag. worker category. In Pravda, after a regressive period during the Khrushchev era, Party professional becomes the

most frequent profession for women authors, while in Izvestia there is a similar phenomenon among government professionals. Like the author population as a whole, the average female letter author tends to come from the higher occupational groups. They form a prominent (for their size in the sample) proportion of only a few occupational groups, and these, workers, ag. workers, and teachers, are not the more desirable professions among the Soviet citizenry.⁴ The supposition that women do not write often on subjects concerning medicine, science, and student activity since they do not form a large percentage of the author groups that logically write these letters, is borne out. The logical question which follows is why don't they write more letters? Certainly, to attempt to answer this question would require more information than is available from the coding of printed letters. Since not much detailed information on the role of women in the various levels of the professions is known, this might reflect a relegation to the middle or lower levels of these occupations as the more prominent individuals would be more likely to venture an opinion or comment or be solicited for it. The writing of a letter requires interest in the issues, the time to write the letter, the self confidence to state publicly one's views, and perceived ability to have an effect on events. A study on the question of women authors would have to deal with the physical and psychological pressures that expectations of the dual role of women in the USSR has on them. The answer may be as simple as not having the time to write letters, or time to deal with deeper questions of self perception.

Age and Education

Table XXV gives the coded information obtained on author education, and Table XXVI gives the information on author age.* The two variables will be only briefly considered together because both have "unknowns" for two-thirds of the letters.

The picture emerging from the Soviet studies is one of an older and highly educated population. In Davydchenkov's study of Izvestia, fully 90% of the authors were 40 or older, half were over 65, and only three percent were under 25. Even in Verkhovskaya's research of letter writers to the All-Union youth paper, 57% of the letters were written by those over 30. Unless the information was offered in the letter, a determination of age could only be made by inference of occupation, references to pensions or participating in past historical events, and Party membership. For more prominent individuals, a biography in a suitable reference work can be used. Even using the broad labels shown on the table, only the most sketchy pattern emerges. The data tends to illustrate a picture of at least an adult population of letter writers, but it seems that both the younger and elder authors are underestimated and little can be profited by the information.

Like age, the data on education is both inferred and scanty. Davydchenkov's work suggests a well educated population (60% specialized or some higher). The information that has been attained, and is therefore the information reflected by the authors of

* Full tables offered in Appendix A, discussion offered in text.

themselves, indicates that letter writers are probably well educated. Over 90% of those with information available had a higher education, obviously an overestimation. Even those in the incomplete higher category were students working toward the completion of a degree.

Urban-Rural/Geographic Residence

The information on place of residence was much more complete than that of education and age, as most authors (about 60%) referred to their home town either in the body of the letter or at the end with their signature. The existence of urban/rural cleavage based on the advantages which urban living has over rural in material, cultural, and educational terms in the USSR is well known, especially by the young Soviet citizen who uses higher education and the military to escape the life of a collective farmer. As might be expected from a section of the population which is less informed, less well educated, and with less access to the media, they send fewer letters to the national papers than urban citizens, only one-third as many. Other studies have shown that the rural population participates in other activities, such as Komsomol or Trade Union activities, to a lesser extent than their urban counterparts. Since rural inhabitants also have a lower readership of All-Union papers, the lower proportion of rural authors is not surprising.

In the two republic level papers, the rural population actually has a larger percentage of letters than the urban inhabitants. Since both of these republics have extensive agricultural regions, it is tempting to assume that the rural population has

more inclination to write in to the local paper with their problems for solutions. The problem with this is that the proportion of unknowns is high and actually increases over the time period for both papers. In Pravda Ukrainy the percentage of both identified urban and rural letters decreases over time, though urban letters decrease at a faster rate.

In comparing content of the letters for the two groups of authors, the major difference in subject matter is that rural dwellers write extensively about agriculture (about 40%+), with labor relations, consumer problems, and Party work (15% each) making up the rest. The two groups are almost identical in other factors such as the type of letter, code value, and use of ideology. With the major preoccupation of rural authors on agriculture (the percentage by urban authors on agriculture is constant), if the proportion of rural letters actually increased over time, so would the percent of agricultural related letters printed. As earlier analysis of subjects showed (Table XIII) this was not the case, as they vary only from 13-18% with the lowest figure occurring in 1972. For Bakinskii Rabochi, the characteristics are essentially the same with the exception that rural dwellers have an even higher percentage of agricultural subjects for 1952 and 1960 (over 50%) which then drops to less than 40 in 1972 when the percentage of agricultural letters for the paper as a whole, which had been steady at 20%, drops to 12%. These figures indicate that the percentage of rural letters while probably larger in the republic papers than

the national level papers, is not nearly as extensive as the percentages first indicate.

Table XXVII shows the distribution of letters by geographic area. The two republic papers obviously serve only their populations as shown by the figures. The national papers are overwhelmingly RSFSR oriented as shown, with the small percentages from other areas fairly constant. The only change in this occurs during the Khrushchev era when there is a slight shift to materials from the Ukraine and Central Asia, probably an expression of the Virgin Lands and agricultural methods. Pravda and Izvestia then serve the USSR but with a decidedly Great Russian tilt since even the Khrushchev variations are minor. These figures indicate that either there is a bias against non-Russian letters, that Great Russians are much more prolific letter writers, or more probably, the other groups tend to turn to the lower levels of the press to accomplish their goals.

Party Membership

In obtaining a measure of Party membership a format similar to that of spontaneous letters was used. The letter authors were coded as Party members if they were mentioned as such in the letter or if a biography indicated that they were members. Authors were coded as "probably Party" if their occupation or experiences indicated that they were probably members. For example, all army officers, members of the police and court systems, and members of the professional government apparatus were coded as "probably party"

if no specific information was available. Likewise, an author who describes experiences such as fighting with the Red Guards and storming the Winter Palace, or being a political commissar for 40 years, was coded as "probably" unless more specific information was available. The figures shown in Table XXIX, then, are a fairly conservative measure of Party membership among letter writers. These compare very well with the Party membership figures for Verkhovskaya's study. About 57% of the letter writers in this research were CPSU members.

Two aspects of the CPSU membership figures stand out in the tables. One interesting point is the stability of the Pravda Ukrainy figures for the 20 year span. The Ukrainian paper shows a continuity of non-Party/unknowns displayed by none of the other papers. There is an increase in confirmed Party members in 1960 which is in direct contrast to the other papers. The very low membership figures for Izvestia 1952-1960, are also unique in the data.

In looking at the tables, it seems that only total figures for combined Party/probably and non-Party/unknown should be compared. The continuing fluctuations in confirmed and "probably" totals are one reason. The comparability of the non-Party/unknown figures for all papers, and their similarity to those found in Soviet studies, also suggests that really only these two figures should be seriously considered. When these figures are used, there are two patterns which emerge in Party membership: (1) Pravda Ukrainy which is stable over the time period; (2) The All-Union

TABLE XXIXa.--Author Party Membership: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda								
	Party		Probably Party		Komsomol		No/ Unknown	
1952	31%	64	15%	32	0%	0	53%	111
1956	27%	109	23%	90	0%	0	50%	198
1960	17%	41	26%	63	0%	0	58%	143
1964	32%	142	27%	118	0%	0	42%	185
1968	20%	123	36%	214	0%	0	44%	266
1972	22%	161	37%	268	0%	2	40%	287
Izvestia								
1952	9%	25	31%	91	0%	0	60%	177
1956	9%	27	20%	58	0%	0	71%	210
1960	8%	37	25%	120	0%	0	67%	321
1964	20%	124	38%	242	0%	0	42%	267
1972	13%	53	44%	180	0%	0	43%	175

TABLE XXIXb.--Author Party Membership: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukrainy								
	Party		Probably Party		Komsomol		No/Unknown	
1952	12%	24	27%	54	0%	0	61%	125
1960	20%	49	25%	62	0%	0	55%	138
1972	11%	24	35%	78	0%	0	55%	122
Bakinskii Rabochi								
1952	22%	24	42%	45	0%	0	36%	38
1960	16%	45	30%	85	0%	0	54%	155
1972	19%	42	39%	85	0%	0	40%	86

papers and Bakinskii Rabochi which show an obvious and dramatic increase in Party activity in letter writing which dates from 1964 and the installation of the new Brezhnev regime.

Within this second pattern there are variations in the pre-1964 years but very little after this year. Izvestia for example, shows a much higher percentage of non-party authors than either of the other two, though each shows a marked increase during the Khrushchev year of 1960. This is in keeping with Izvestia's relative lack of Party and ideological themes, and its generally lower ideology profile as was shown earlier. These same two indicators, themes and ideology, also forecast the rise in Party authorship after 1964--both increasing. When investigating the relationship between membership, subject, and use of ideology, the results are as expected, there is a direct relationship. The more likely the author is to be CPSU, the more likely he is to use ideological terms in his letter as shown in Table XXX. Here the increase after 1964 for the two Party categories is shown. For the two All-Union papers among the non-party group, there is a steady reduction in the use of ideological terms. A trend, however, not followed in the republic papers. In Bakinskii Rabochi the non-Party group reverts back to Stalinist levels, even though "ideological" subjects such as ideology, Party work, international relations, and history do not increase. The Ukrainian paper shows the highest levels of ideology for the non-Party/unknown group during the Khrushchev years. This is in direct contrast to the trend shown in the other papers. The Ukrainian figures are explained by the

TABLE XXXa.--Ideology Used X Party Membership: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda					
	Party		Probably Party		No/Unknown	
1952	73%	64	66%	32	48%	111
1956	62%	109	39%	90	39%	198
1960	56%	41	33%	63	32%	143
1964	64%	142	50%	118	32%	183
1968	53%	123	24%	214	33%	266
1972	50%	80	37%	121	27%	454
	Izvestia					
	Party		Probably Party		No/Unknown	
1952	80%	25	46%	91	37%	176
1956	70%	27	45%	58	38%	209
1960	62%	37	23%	120	17%	321
1964	58%	124	30%	240	20%	267
1968						
1972	68%	53	46%	174	18%	174

TABLE XXXb.--Ideology Used X Party Membership: Pravda Ukrainy/
Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy					
	Party		Probably Party		No/ Unknown	
1952	79%	24	61%	54	39%	124
1960	67%	48	53%	62	47%	138
1972	95%	24	53%	78	39%	122
	Bakinskii Rabochi					
1952	67%	24	42%	45	39%	38
1960	73%	45	54%	85	37%	155
1972	79%	42	61%	85	42%	86

increased volume of letters on international relations and agriculture, both themes among the subjects most highly loaded with ideological terms. The new enthusiasm for chemical fertilizers and corn in agriculture, and the U-2 incident produced letters from non-Party authors, the first filled with contemporary ideological references, the second filled with more traditional ideological catch phrases considered suitable for the occasion. When these two topics are taken out, the level of ideology used by non-Party would be close to the levels of the other two years--stable just like the proportions of Party to non-Party authors. In both republic papers the use of ideology hits new high levels in 1972 for CPSU members, again in contrast to the pattern of the two All-Union papers. We have already seen (Table XVIII) that these increases are due to increases in the use of contemporary terms. The conclusion must be that either the local populations, which are served by the two republic papers, are more ideologically oriented than the Great Russians, or that there are more selective editors at work at local levels, a more likely explanation.

As is to be expected, there is also a positive relationship between CPSU membership and both the writing of complaints and the general tone of letters.* The more likely the author is to be a member of the CPSU, the higher the positive coded values for his letter, and the lower the percentage of complaints in his letter.

*Full tables included in Appendix A.

Measures of the Possible Use of Letters
Letters as a Public Forum

In attempting to compare the systems of letters to the editor in the Soviet Union with U.S. letters, the factor which most observers consider of greatest importance in differentiating between the two, is the lack of real discussion and debate on issues allowed in the Soviet press. For the letters to fit the description of a forum for debate there must be more than a presentation of the issues, there must be a presentation of a variety of opinions on the subject. The measures of the usefulness of letters to the editor as a public forum is the extent to which there is variance in the expressed opinions on a given topic.

A first prerequisite, the presentation of a variety of topics in the letters, is available as shown earlier with 25 different themes coded. To get an idea of how varied the opinions on the topics are, the authors opinions on the theme as measured on the five point scale (1 = undesirable, 5 = desirable) is used. Thus, if the author feels that the present situation or policy concerning the theme is the best possible state of affairs it would be coded as a five. If an immediate overhaul is felt to be needed because the present situation is intolerable, the theme would be coded as a one. Tables XXXIIIa through XXXIIIc give the yearly average coded opinions for the themes most often used. Tables XXXIVa and XXXIVb display the range of expressed opinions for 1952, 1960, and 1972 for six selected topics on which some variance might be expected.*

*Full tables included in Appendix A.

Looking at the tables for the three selected years, it seems apparent that there is much more variety of opinion expressed at the All-Union level than for the two republic papers. This confirms an earlier conclusion that the "Gate-Keepers" are particularly contentious at the republic level. Bakinskii Rabochi has only one subject on which there appears to be any variety and that is consumer related topics. Pravda Ukrainy seems to be almost devoid of variance among letter authors on any topic. The theme of consumer goods and services is the closest to a public forum issue as both of the All-Union papers display some difference of opinion. As to be expected, people who write in are either for something, or against it, with few "3" scores indicating a neutral position. Likewise, there are few scores at the extreme ends of the scale, nothing is so bad that immediate, radical change is necessary, and nothing is so good that it can't be improved upon. In the Khrushchev years at Pravda and Izvestia this reaches a point where there are no "3" scores in Pravda and only ten in Izvestia. During the Stalinist year of 1952 there is little variation in either paper, exceptions being consumer issues in Pravda, with fewer than ten letters for the entire period, and interestingly, Party work. In Izvestia for that year only the work of the Soviets shows any range in scores with an almost even balance between them. In 1960, Pravda printed a variance in opinion on two issues, industry and consumer issues, both almost evenly balanced. Izvestia showed a variety of opinions on the work of the Soviets, consumer goods, agriculture, and to a somewhat lesser extent, industry. In 1972,

for Pravda there is some variation in each of the subjects except work of the Soviets, with the coding, although, still clustered at "2" and "4," there is a range over all five values. Izvestia does not show the same amount of variety in scores as the extremes are still not represented. The work of the Soviets, industry, and consumer goods are again represented and labor relations now shows some spread in scores. A simple rating of themes on the diversity of opinion expressed over time is given below. To score one "point," a theme must have at least half as many opinion scores on one side of the "3" mid-point as on the other, thus displaying some variation. There are four papers and three selected years, so the scores can range from zero to twelve for the issues, and zero to eighteen for the newspapers (3 years X 6 issues).

Consumer Goods/Services	8	Izvestia	8
Soviets	4	Pravda	7
Industry	3	Bakinskii Rabochi . .	3
Party Work	3	Pravda Ukrainy . . .	<u>3</u>
Agriculture	2		21
Labor Relations	<u>1</u>		
	21		

Consumer goods emerge as the topic on which the range of discussion spans a variety of opinions most frequently, far out-distancing the others. The work of the Soviets is the issue ranking second. This is somewhat similar to consumer goods, as it often

involves criticisms or suggestions for the improvement of public service problems. The total for industry is low, only three times did papers offer a variety of opinions. However, of the three scored variances, two occurred in 1972, one each for Pravda and Izvestia, indicating that perhaps the situation with respect to this theme is changing.

The data on consumer goods and services and other themes shows that over the years more letters have been printed on consumer topics which display a varied range of feelings than on any other topic, offering the closest thing to a public forum issue. Because of the non-specific character of the themes, which was necessary to insure continuity over the 20 year time span, and an adequate population for analysis, it is impossible to label the data as anything more than a general indicator. This indicator does show that over the time span a variety of people write in about consumer goods and say both the quality/distribution/variety of consumer goods is bad, change it, and that the present system is good/getting better, keep up the good work. Because of the level of analysis, it can say nothing about the specifics of the discussion or about the quality of the discussion. We do know that a large percentage of Soviet letters deal with complaints, and that a majority of these deal with goods and services. A glance at Tables XXXIIIa through XXXIIIc,* which give the coded opinions by theme, shows that consumer goods, services, Soviets, and crime, are consistently a full point below the coded values for other

* Full tables included in Appendix A.

subjects, indicating that the discussion of these topics are not merely supportive of policy. We also know that unlike other subjects, both positive and negative comments in some sort of balance, are frequent. From this it does seem logical to conclude that the letters do offer a forum for at least a limited discussion of the merits and faults of the nation's system of consumer goods and services.

Letters as a Safety Valve

The conception of letters as a safety valve for letting off steam in both U.S. and Soviet studies has already been noted. Social scientists in both countries have considered letters to the editor as a major form of catharsis for the population by providing a channel for the expression of dissatisfaction with various aspects of their lives, thus venting their frustrations in a harmless and socially approved manner. Studies by Soviet social scientists, especially Davydchenkov, Ivanova, and Verkhovskaya, also indicate that the major reason people write in to newspapers is because they expect answers to their questions and help in the solution of their problems.⁶ The question then becomes how effective are the papers in aiding Soviet citizens with their problems? Are the large letter's departments, and elaborate attention given to letters, part of a system which provides solutions and answers, or does it provide its major service in letting the authors "get it off their chest" and to feel better afterwards? Studies indicate that while intentions are good, the performance leaves letter authors unhappy.⁷

In trying to construct measures of the value of letters as either a safety valve or an affective means for gaining action, it is expected that the larger the number of letters printed expressing discontent and frustration (percentage of letters), the more "steam" being harmlessly released. The paper's follow-ups are useful here. Literature on Soviet journalism indicates that a major measure of a newspaper is its ability to solve problems for its readers. To gain the notice of readers and Party officials, it publishes its problem solving successes as follow-ups. Utilizing follow-ups on the letters concerning: (1) if any action is taken; (2) the intensity of action taken, and; (3) the lag time between the original complaint and the action, an idea of safety valve versus effective results may be gained.⁸ The higher the percentage of critical letters to letters as a whole, the more potential as a safety valve the system has. The lower the percentage of complaints to effective follow-ups, the more the system functions as a safety valve as opposed to effective petitioning for action. Those categories of issues with the lowest percentage of effective follow-ups and with the longest lag time between complaint and action, may be considered as the lowest priority category for action. A combination of a high percentage of complaint and low priority would be considered an issue for which the letters are a safety valve for discontent.

Tables XXXVa through XXXVc show the percentage of complaints for various subjects for all four papers over the 20 year time span.*

*Full tables included in Appendix A.

Tables XXXVIa through XXXVIc display the subjects of follow-ups for each of the papers and their proportion of follow-ups as a whole for that paper and year.* Tables XXXVIIa through XXXVIIc compare the percentages of complaints and follow-ups for each subject. In attempting this comparison unfortunately, the small annual number of letter follow-ups printed by the republic level papers makes such an attempt unprofitable since the percentages generated by their small numbers would be expected to fluctuate wildly, and would make any conclusions rather tenuous at best. The lack of follow-ups indicates that: (1) The two papers do not consider the publication of successful results necessary for their continued credibility; (2) They have very few successful actions to report; (3) They do not actually consider it a part of their job to solve problems and therefore see no need to publish progress reports. There is some reason to suspect that the second possibility is a likely answer. Igoshin's studies, along with Davydchenkov, Ivanova, and Verkhovskaya suggest that Soviet papers are less successful in gaining results than they would like to be, and than their letter authors had hoped.⁹ As noted earlier, Igoshin's work suggests that the level of the paper is directly related to the attainment of results. An analysis of the follow-ups that are printed clearly shows that the success rate of the two republic papers, even in those printed reports, is very low (see following table on action taken), lower than that for the other two papers. The literature on Soviet journalism places so much

*Full tables included in Appendix A.

emphasis on the paper as an activist in gaining results for its readers, with at least the implied idea that its ability to do so is a measure of the paper's success, that it seems unlikely that repeated success would not be reflected by the paper in these follow-ups. This is supported further by comparing the total number of follow-ups printed to the total number of complaints printed:

	<u>Total # Complaints</u>	<u>Total # Follow-Ups</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
<u>Pravda</u>	654	391	.59
<u>Izvestia</u>	548	364	.66
<u>Pravda Ukrainy</u>	76	41	.54
<u>Bakinskii Rabochi</u>	74	35	.47

These figures also tend to support the third possibility that the editors do not consider it necessary to go beyond the printing of the letters. This means of course, that the editors would see their paper's function as something other than problem solving. This is suggested by the lower percent of complaints printed among total letters for the republic papers when compared to the All-Union papers.¹⁰ The combination of low ratio of complaints to total letters, low ratio of all follow-ups, and poor success rate indicate that whatever their professed self-image, the two republic papers are neither successful problem solvers, nor channels for catharsis. Combined with the previously noted selection biases which limit the subject, type, opinion, and ideological

content of the letters in Pravda Ukrainy and Bakinskii Rabochi, letters in these papers seem to be considered as useful adjuncts to other news stories.

In considering the two All-Union papers, it is obvious that there is a great deal of potential for both as a safety valve and a problem solver. Several themes which are the most frequent subjects for letters also have among the highest ratios of complaints. In Pravda, Party work, industry, agriculture, and consumer goods/services have such potential in varied years, and Izvestia combines frequency of occurrence with a high percent of complaints for work of the Soviets, industry, crime, education, and consumer goods/services. Tables XXXVIIa and XXXVIIb compare the percentage of total new complaints that each subject contributes with the percentage of total follow-ups to previous complaints that each subject contributes. Along with the measures of specific action taken and lag time of action, this comparison provides an indication of the relative importance placed on action concerning the various subjects. For Pravda it is obvious that Party work gains the most relative attention, with the percent of follow-ups always being higher than that of complaints. Agriculture and consumer goods also received a high degree of attention, with industry varying from year to year. The action on industry is low in 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1972, and higher in 1964 and 1968. Public services, likewise, shows a varying amount of attention with emphasis in 1952, 1964, and 1968, and de-emphasis in the other years. A comparison of percentages for the six themes with the most potential

as safety valves is given below. The figures show the difference in complaint and follow-up percentages. Negative scores indicate that the subject constitutes a higher percentage of complaints than it does follow-ups.

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party Work	19	11	7	6	3	4
International Relations	-15	-15	-19	-36	-22	- 9
Industry	- 6	- 1	-13	5	3	0
Agriculture	- 3	13	3	15	8	1
Consumer Goods	13	3	13	8	- 2	3
Public Services	2	- 6	- 1	15	17	- 6

As can be seen, action is always reported on Party work, seldom on international relations which contributes the major source of difference between the two figures. Since 1952, consumer goods and agricultural complaints have always received attention. Industry is usually fairly low though in 1964-1968 it is always a positive value. Public services, while generally low, show a big positive spurt in 1964 and 1968 which were the two best years for the paper in terms of follow-ups. In 1972 the only negative figure (aside from international relations) is the public service figure which had the highest number of complaints of any paper for any year and may have provided just too many cases to follow-up effectively. It appears then, that there is an improvement in attempts to report on complaints after 1960. Although in terms

of comparison of whole numbers, between 50% and 60% of printed complaints are the subject of printed follow-ups.

For Izvestia, the following table gives the difference in percentages for several themes:

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1972</u>
International Relations	- 7	-32	-10	-21	- 5
Soviets	12	4	7	2	0
Industry	-12	-19	10	8	-11
Consumer Goods	9	9	- 4	2	7
Public Services	11	16	6	8	2
Crime	- 9	4	- 3	1	7
Education	- 4	- 2	- 3	- 4	- 1

As in Pravda, international relations is always negative, as is education. Likewise, industry moves to positive figures over the time span except for 1972. As was the case with Pravda's 1968 consumer goods score, this may have been a case of too many complaints to watch, and too many other authorities to depend on, as this is the largest single total of complaints for the span.

While Pravda's major concern was Party work, agriculture, and consumer goods, Izvestia's seems to be the work of the local governmental units, and consumer goods and services, which of course, are highly interrelated. Except for the anomalous figure for industry in 1972, it appears that there is an attempt for more attention to progress reports. A better idea of the actual

effectiveness of action can be gained by looking at the action taken, and the lag time of action.

Table XXXVII gives a total breakdown of the action reported in all follow-ups.* Table XXXVIII shows the action taken for each subject.* The table displaying the totals for action taken demonstrates that the majority of follow-ups are a promise of action rather than the report of an actual solution. In recent years, Izvestia in particular has also tended to use explanations of why things are, rather than reports on solutions or promises, although promises are still extensively used. A comparison of reported solutions indicates that the national papers wield more influence than the republic papers, and that Pravda tends to accomplish more than Izvestia. The exception is the period 1960-1964 when the editor of Izvestia was the First Secretary's son-in-law. Below is a consolidation of these two tables using only the high potential subjects minus international relations. Totals are given for comparison (first number is percent solved, second is percent promised).

Taking into consideration anomalies due to the small N for each cell, it seems apparent that the impression given by previous tables that the papers' performance as a problem solver is increasing, is reinforced. Pravda's record in 1968-1972 is particularly impressive with high "solved" percents for all subjects. When

* Full table given in Appendix A, consolidation given in text.

<u>Reported Action Taken in Follow-Ups</u>						
<u>Pravda</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
Party Work	0/100	60/ 40	0/ 75	0/100	60/ 20	33/ 20
Industry	50/ 50	0/100	0/100	0/ 75	91/ 0	17/ 67
Agriculture	0/100	0/100	0/100	40/ 40	89/ 0	25/ 56
Consumer Goods	60/ 40	33/ 67	13/ 63	0/100	71/ 14	27/ 50
Public Services	25/ 75	0/100	0/100	14/ 14	89/ 8	23/ 50
Total for Year	29/ 68	29/ 71	21/ 59	15/ 49	14/ 60	29/ 38
<u>Investia</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1972</u>	
Soviets	15/ 77	20/ 80	15/ 69	10/ 60	25/ 50	
Industry	0/100		25/ 69	13/ 56	11/ 44	
Consumer Goods	0/100	0/ 67	8/ 69	0/ 75	16/ 37	
Public Services	0/100	0/ 86	31/ 46	10/ 60	11/ 44	
Crime	100/ 0	50/ 50	86/ 14	57/ 29	21/ 0	
Education	0/100		50/ 50	40/ 20	0/ 50	
Total for Year	13/ 84	8/ 79	30/ 52	21/ 49	12/ 25	

similar subjects are compared, Pravda's relative effectiveness is apparent. It seems that during the Khrushchev era, Izvestia was the place to write to if you wanted action, any other time Pravda was the best choice. Obviously, Adzhubei's ties with Khrushchev caused the relevant authorities to treat the paper's inquiries with more respect during those years. Within its own sphere of influence, each paper has success, Pravda with Party matters, Izvestia with soviet and crime themes. With these major themes, both are fairly successful in extracting at least promises for action.

The amount of time between the printing of a complaint and the follow-up is another indicator of relative effectiveness. Table XXXIX shows the lag time for the entire period.* Table XXXXa and XXXXb show the lag time for each subject.* As with the action taken tables, Pravda generally gets faster action except for the period 1960-1964. Along with Pravda's increasingly successful results, increasing speed of results is shown. It seems that the papers that get results also get fast reactions from the responsible authorities. One interesting point is that in 1952, during the Stalinist period, relatively few successful solutions were obtained, but many promises, and they came very quickly as can be seen. While it seems that a quick response would lead to promises, and that solutions would take longer, except for the Stalin year, this does not seem to be the case. If you have the influence to get quick action, you also get positive results. This combination indicates that at the All-Union level, the papers attempt to be problem solvers and their letter system's usefulness as an instrument for catharsis is of secondary importance. When writing for assistance, Pravda is the best choice for CPSU matters and Izvestia for problems pertaining to the Soviets. For other subjects, the choice is best made depending upon the political influence that each wields, with Pravda usually superior.

* Full tables included in Appendix A.

Letters as a Source of Agitation-Propaganda

The measure of the extent to which letters serve as a useful source of agitation-propaganda, is the extent to which ideological references are used in the letters. As explained earlier, for purposes of this study ideology is considered as a particular cluster of specific doctrinal propositions about values, or about the relationships of phenomena. The major concern is to view ideology as it constitutes a set of relative value preferences which are set forth in letters as reinforcement to those presented by the CPSU. This broad view of ideology enables a differentiation between "classical" and "contemporary" references. This is a qualitative difference in the depth of understanding and use of Marxist-Leninist thought. The more the ideological terms cluster in frequently used themes, the more useful they are as an instrument of agitation-propaganda.

As shown in Table XVIII and discussed earlier, there is a general decline in the proportion of letters printed which use ideological references at the All-Union level. The significant drop in the percentage of letters which use both classical and contemporary references, combined with a parallel decrease in the coded opinion values of letters over time, suggests that the concentration of ideological materials in letters which still use such terminology may also have declined. Letters at the All-Union level, therefore, would tend to use both fewer ideological references as we move through the time period. Also, those that still use such references would tend to be less dogmatic. This reflects a tendency

to discuss some subjects such as industry, agriculture, and international relations by using contemporary ideological terms, while concentrating on classical references when dealing with art, education, and history. As shown earlier in this chapter, the two republic papers maintain a high level of ideology in their printed letters for all subjects. Their editorial selection biases are such as to consider propaganda-agitation as a major role of letters.

Tables XXXXIa through XXXXIc display the percentage of letters which include ideological references in them. While many themes show a drop in ideology over the time span, many still contain references in a third or more letters, and several show increases in 1972, reverting to older patterns. Subjects such as Party work, international relations, agriculture, and history have such references in at least half of the letters. Three subjects stand out for their relatively low proportion of letters containing ideological themes: consumer goods, public services, and industry. Although the last topic, industry, shows a substantial increase in 1972, indicating that this proportion is subject to change as it has in the past, especially in Pravda. The only subjects not really useful as agitation propaganda agents, then, are the consumer related topics. Although, each of these themes also tends to use contemporary slogan type ideological references in a quarter of the letters.

Until 1972 all subjects were moving toward the instrumental range on the ideological continuum. This was due primarily to a

TABLE XXXXIa.--Subject X % Ideology Used: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972						
Ideology	100%	2	90%	21	86%	7	92%	24	88%	32	93%	15
Party Work	71%	35	57%	30	80%	10	64%	22	44%	48	45%	65
International Relations	67%	12	70%	43	75%	32	50%	56	56%	64	91%	43
Soviets	67%	3	13%	8	20%	10	18%	11	6%	16	18%	11
Science	88%	8	25%	12	33%	9	40%	35	12%	33	32%	40
Industry	57%	44	16%	68	30%	40	56%	43	11%	63	25%	77
Agriculture	45%	11	95%	62	80%	5	72%	46	58%	43	41%	66
Consumer Goods	0%	0	19%	16	38%	8	22%	18	17%	30	16%	45
Public Services	11%	9	5%	21	0%	12	19%	16	6%	36	15%	54
Crime	0%	6	0%	10	0%	5	50%	2	18%	11	35%	17
Art	46%	13	16%	22	0%	10	28%	36	59%	34	36%	47
Education	20%	5	17%	11	11%	9	19%	16	20%	30	27%	33
History	93%	14	57%	14	47%	15	92%	24	46%	26	68%	37
Labor Relations	82%	17	57%	21	33%	46	67%	12	14%	28	35%	94
Military	0%	0	0%	2	33%	3	89%	9	83%	12	37%	16
Morals	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	5	7%	14	13%	15
Life in West	33%	3	19%	7	0%	2	18%	11	33%	27	20%	10

TABLE XXXXIb.--Subject X % Ideology Used: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1972
Ideology	89% 35	100% 7	60% 5	70% 20	75% 12
Party Work	47% 15	0% 1	0% 3	32% 9	100% 6
International Relations	100% 6	71% 52	58% 33	55% 65	62% 34
Soviets	36% 28	28% 25	13% 23	25% 44	40% 15
Science	60% 10	11% 9	10% 33	15% 66	19% 21
Industry	27% 26	7% 30	24% 58	25% 80	37% 56
Agriculture	23% 31	85% 53	44% 36	68% 38	54% 24
Consumer Goods	0% 8	7% 15	8% 51	20% 35	25% 24
Public Services	28% 25	13% 30	0% 45	17% 35	12% 33
Crime	17% 6	0% 5	15% 26	25% 20	31% 16
Art	29% 17	43% 23	20% 20	14% 44	26% 27
Education	29% 17	14% 7	22% 23	18% 39	43% 23
History	80% 25	75% 8	70% 23	81% 31	68% 22
Labor Relations	37% 27	12% 8	39% 18	29% 7	32% 19
Military	0% 2	100% 1	67% 3	100% 7	80% 5
Morals	0% 1	0% 0	0% 27	7% 29	13% 30
Life in West	67% 3	100% 1	11% 9	17% 12	37% 10

TABLE XXXXIc.--Subject X % Ideology Used: Pravda Ukraina and Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	Pravda Ukrainy			Bakinskii Rabochi						
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972				
Ideology	97%	30	100%	1	100%	10	75%	16	100%	7
Party Work	94%	18	92%	12	86%	14	67%	24	84%	25
International Relations	81%	7	91%	11	75%	4	76%	25	67%	9
Soviets	67%	3	50%	4	0%	1	100%	1	0%	0
Science	0%	1	22%	9	100%	1	22%	9	60%	5
Industry	44%	18	34%	32	8%	12	33%	36	50%	26
Agriculture	22%	32	79%	29	33%	21	86%	58	96%	25
Consumer Goods	20%	5	32%	6	0%	4	27%	23	38%	8
Public Services	16%	25	0%	3	12%	8	8%	24	29%	17
Crime	0%	1	50%	2	0%	0	45%	11	67%	3
Art	50%	8	9%	21	60%	5	11%	9	37%	30
Education	33%	3	8%	12	33%	3	0%	10	0%	7
History	67%	12	65%	29	90%	10	25%	8	68%	19
Labor Relations	37%	38	54%	26	17%	12	33%	6	55%	20
Military	0%	0	50%	4	0%	0	0%	1	50%	2
Morals	0%	0	75%	4	0%	0	0%	0	100%	1
Life in West	100%	1	50%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0

decrease in the number of ideological references. Some subjects such as art, history, and education, however, still retained the predominate use of classical references, although the total numbers are decreased. The subjects are still discussed primarily in more professional Marxist-Leninist terms.

In 1972, there was a reversal of the instrumental trend for several subjects such as science, industry, and international relations. For international relations the percentage of letters in Pravda, including some ideological references, rose to 91%. This is the highest level recorded for the period of this study. This may signal the end of the instrumental trend because of both the range of subjects included in the reversal, and the magnitude of the change.

Letters As a Link With the Masses

The concept of a citizen's letter as a channel for spontaneous grass-roots criticism permeates the literature on this subject.¹¹ The letter demonstrates narodnost, massovost, and kritika-samo-kritika in action. As noted in Chapter II, the editor and deputy editors of each newspaper are expected to keep a running tally on the content of letters which are received so as to have a continuous source of public opinion measurement. Large numbers of complaints centered in certain areas are reported to the relevant Party-government authorities for action.¹² But do the leaders use such data as a source of public opinion data on which to make decisions? Since the fall of Khrushchev, upper

levels of the regime have shown some interest in obtaining information on the attitudes of the citizenry. Several sociological studies dealing with survey data on public attitudes have been sponsored by Party officials since 1964 in an effort to assure more rational decision-making. This also implies that to receive funding and the use of other resources, Party approval is necessary.¹³ Some Soviet social scientists have recommended that local Party and Soviets base their decisions of resource allocation on citizen preferences as identified in surveys.¹⁴

In a nation where the work of the opinion sociologist is circumscribed by substantial limits on his ability to conduct polls, the newspaper letter must still be considered as an important source of information. Even with the more frequent use of radio and television as a source of news opinions, the newspaper is still the primary source for political information for a majority of the population. With this factor are the vast number of letters reviewed by the papers each year. The present newspaper system has potential for furnishing a steady stream of information which can be analyzed from a local perspective, or readily transformed into regional or national data sets. It seems logical that the leadership, which both emphasizes the importance of this system of information in its literature, and frequently issues directives with the announced intention of insuring its correct functioning, would make some use of its potential. That local Party organs and soviets make use of the letters, there is no question. The follow-ups printed in the papers contain

thousands of examples of Party and Soviet organs punishing and correcting on the basis of complaints, suggestions, and comments received and printed in newspapers. They run the gamut of seriousness from large scale black market profiteering, to the drunken kolkhoz chairman who downed a crop dusting plane with an empty vodka bottle, or to the local officials who cut telephone poles in half to use for lumber. Each case, however, is an example of a letter to the editor serving as a source of information upon which action is based. Unfortunately, the use of letters by higher level decision makers is less readily available, although there is evidence that citizens' letters are used by higher bodies as a source of information. It seems that Pravda regularly sends reports on the aggregate opinions to the Central Committee. More concrete examples were provided by the 24th Party Congress which reaffirmed the importance of letters as "an important . . . means of the expression of public opinion, kritika-samo-kritika, and a source of information."¹⁵ Several examples of cases which occurred in 1973 in which Party authorities had acted on complaints or suggestions provided in letters, were given.¹⁶ These cases dealt with public services, consumer goods, and housing. In the Tula oblast, the receipt of citizen's letters lead to an investigation and correction of problems in public transportation, and in Novosibirsk similar action was taken regarding deficiencies in the water system and the quality of apartment construction. The report stressed that local Party units must improve upon the systematic analysis of letters to provide for maximum effectiveness

in problem solving.¹⁷ The work of the Kalinin obkom committee, which made 356 reports on citizen's letters in 1973, was offered as a model for other committees to emulate. The report noted that letters directly to officials, to papers, and mass organizations can be a source of systematic information " . . . on actual political, economic, and cultural questions . . . ," and that this source of information should be utilized to avoid past problems with information scarcity.¹⁸

There seems to be little doubt that the information potential of letters from private citizens is taken very seriously by Party officials who often lack similar alternative sources of data on which to base decisions. The usefulness of the letters as a source of aggregate opinion data, of course, is dependent upon the future of Soviet opinion sociology. Because of the biases inherent in author self selection, the inferiority of letters data to a well constructed interview schedule and sample in opinion polling, is marked. In the absence of interview data, however, the letters provide a handy, quick reference to public attitudes, which is apparently one of their functions today. Even if supplanted in this role by survey methods in the future, the importance of letters as sources of information on limited, or local problems will remain, preserving their role as a "link with the masses."

Letters as a Guide to Public Opinion

What do the people really think about? What are their major concerns? In an attempt to answer these broad, but basic questions, pollsters occasionally include a question in the form of: "What problems or issues concern you the most today?" The respondents react in terms of crime, economic prosperity and inflation, war and so on. The opinion survey, with its careful sampling techniques, can provide a very reliable estimate of trends in the public mood. Although the poll has great validity in analyzing direct answers to direct questions, it also has some potential difficulties. If an issue is vague and offers no crystallized attitude which suggests quick, ready answers, it may be ignored for more easily distinguished issues. If an issue is too controversial, and the respondent fears that an "incorrect" or unconventional response may provoke public disapproval or worse, the usual, popular response, or a non-answer may result. The problem of getting direct answers to direct questions is a problem in the USSR as Soviet social scientists have discovered. Soviet scholars working on a readership survey for a newspaper had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining a response to the question, "Can you remember cases in the past when you did not agree with the newspaper's evaluation of certain facts or events?"¹⁹

Even with these defects, which are inherent in survey data, there is probably no other method of opinion measurement which is superior. When such data are too expensive, disruptive to the

subjects, incomplete, or in the case of the USSR, largely non-existent, letters to the editor may provide a readily available alternative. While the mere volume of mail on a certain subject may be an indication of public concern, studies of U.S. congressional mail have shown that a great influx of mail on a single issue is often artificial, stimulated by a pressure group and often contradicts valid opinion poll findings.²⁰ Leila Sussman noted a tendency for groups to write letters when they feel they are losing, and not to bother if they feel the outcome is secure.²¹ To gain more than a superficial insight into the value of letters, indications of concern within them may be more generalizable than aggregate data collected from the letters on theme or a tally of support and opposition.

The major problems with the validity of any letter's data are editorial bias and author self-selection bias. As expected from the analysis presented earlier in this paper, demographic characteristics of letter writers differ significantly from those of the population as a whole: it is overwhelmingly male, the writers as a whole tend to be more professional and upper middle class, they are better educated, older, and more likely to be members of the CPSU. However, several of these characteristics are modified if only complaints are considered. That there is editorial bias in selecting the letters was never doubted, but the data showed that it had a particularly heavy hand in the republic level papers. In spite of these difficulties it is obvious that letters are taken seriously by authorities, and are used as

sources of information by these leaders. While the characteristics of the author population must be considered, the letters are valued as a "thermometer" measuring potential "heat," or as "hazy reflections" of general public opinion. The letters are valuable since they are not merely responsive to a direct question but are a direct manifestation of concern which is likely to reflect a similar concern for a much larger number of citizens. Indications of the levels and direction of public concern among Soviet citizens as expressed in letters are tabulated and used by authorities as sources of information.

In this paper the letters have been measured for theme, direction and intensity, probable spontaneity, letter type, and ideological references. These are all aggregate measures of author concern and intensity of concern. As mentioned, such measures may be, and certainly are in the USSR, subject to influence by artificial influxes of letters written by small groups. The idea of gaining a measure of the expressed concern within the letters at a more basic level is appealing. In 1968 a study was conducted at the Stanford Department of Communications which attempted to measure expressed concern within letters by recreating from a mass of letters, typical letters reduced to their most basic form.²² While not totally successful, the study presented an interesting and novel approach to the analysis of letters data which I have applied to the Soviet letters.

The goal of the approach is to code each letter for certain key words chosen for their high frequency, political/social

relevance, and descriptive value. Each word (100 were used for this study) is coded only for its appearance, not for its frequency within each letter, the idea is to reduce the expressed concerns within each letter to its most basic form. By using factor analysis on these words the resultant factors and their loadings would in effect recreate typical letters which would indicate both themes and patters of concern among letter writers. Some examples from the Stanford study will illustrate the method:²³

America . . . . .	.81	Power . . . . .	.27
Vietnam . . . . .	.56	China . . . . .	.23
Military . . . . .	.54	Opposition . . . . .	.18
People . . . . .	.42	Asia . . . . .	.16
War . . . . .	.40	Media . . . . .	.16
Congress . . . . .	.31	America . . . . .	.33

These two clusters represent key words from letters to Time from January to June of 1966. The factor loadings represent the strength of association between key words in the cluster. The cluster on the left has a higher average association than the cluster on the right. Each cluster reflects a typical letter received by Time in its most basic form. Both letters are obviously concerned with the U.S. involvement in Vietnam and domestic opposition to it. Each cluster may be interpreted further by consulting references to the media reports and opinion polls of that period.

The number of factors represent the number of substantively meaningful, independent patterns of relationships, i.e., the number

of basic letter types for each paper per year. Within each factor, the loadings measure which words belong with which particular factor (letter). By grouping these words with a sufficiently high loading to make inclusion plausible (.15), a typical letter is formed. By using varimax rotation, the most distinct clusters of relationships would be delineated if they existed, thus ensuring the most clear and distinct "letters."

Such letters were constructed for each paper from the total number of letters for each year:*

MAJOR EVENTS 1952-1972

<u>1952</u>	10/	19th Congress Presidium enlarged to 25, Secretariat to 10
1953		Stalin dies, Malenkov and Khrushchev appointed to positions
1954		Virgin lands announced
1955		Malenkov replaced as President/Big 4 Conference at Geneva
1956	2/14- 25	20th Congress--secret report on "cult of personality"
	10/23- 11/4	Hungarian rising
1957		Sovnarkhozes created/Anti-party group crisis/1st Sputnik
1958		MTS dissolved/Khrushchev became Premier/Educational reforms/Ag. problems aired
1959		21st Congress/Khrushchev visits U.S.

* A chart of "Major Events 1952-1972" is included to aid in interpretation of the clusters.

<u>1960</u>	1/14	1/3 armed forces demobilized
	5/1	U-2 incident
	5/16	Paris summit collapses
	6/	Bucharest conference of Communist Parties
	7/17	Soviet experts recalled from China
	11/	Moscow conference of chiefs of 81 Communist Parties
1961		Berlin crisis/Khrushchev-Kennedy meeting in Berlin/22nd Congress
1962		Cuban crisis/Division of Party and Soviet apparatuses/Drive against modernist art
1963		Start of public feud with Peking/Test ban treaty/CC plenary on chemicals and fertilizers
<u>1964</u>	2/10-15	Plenary session on ag.
	7/15	Brezhnev replaced Mikoyan as President
	10/14	Khrushchev's fall
	11/16	CC plenary reunites branches of Party and Soviet apparatuses
1965		Industrial reform/Liquidation of many of Khrushchev's reforms
1966		23rd Congress - Brezhnev named Secretary General/Sinyavski-Daniel trial/France withdraws from NATO
1967		Semichastny replaced by Andropov/Mid East War/Red Guards attack Soviet embassy in Peking
<u>1968</u>	1/23	Pueblo seized
	2/18	TET offensive
	8/3	Bratislava talks
	8/20	Czech. invaded
	10/	Brezhnev notes ag. difficulties
1969		Soviet PRC boarder clashes/Solzhenitsyn expelled from writers union/SALT begins
1970		Econ. difficulties acknowledged/Ideological laxity denounced/NKVD restored
1971		24th Congress/100 Jews occupy SS building in Moscow
<u>1972</u>	4/16	4 Soviet ships damaged in Haiphong
	5/22	Nixon visits Moscow
	8/17	Central Statistics Office reports wheat harvest down 15% from 1971
	9/22	Prep. talks for Helsinki
	12/18	SS economic plan calls for consumer goods cuts.

Cluster Letters: Pravda1952

1		2		3	
Stalin	.73*	MTS	.68	CC	.65
Lenin	.64	Agriculture	.64	Culture/Art	.36
USSR	.44			CPSU	.30
CPSU	.28				
US	.21				
Science	.16				
CC	.15				
Government	.15				
4		5		6	
Stalin	.88*	Communist		Building	.49
CPSU	.56	Constitution	.46*	Industry	.43
Congress	.50	Science	.43		
Communist		Government	.30*		
Construction	.26*	Stalin	.23		
MTS	.16	USSR	.15		

1956

1		2		3	
Congress	.81	Agriculture	.79*	Science	.70
CPSU	.66	Ag. produce	.75*	Education	.68
5 Year plan	.60	Ag. machinery	.72	Specialization	.23
Industry	.28	CPSU	.15	Success	.19
Specialization	.28				
Success	.28				
Oil	.23				
4		5		6	
US	.69	Ministry	.56	CC	.58
West	.58	Industry	.38	CPSU	.46
USSR	.37	Building	.27	Government	.28*
Oil	.19	Transport	.23	Ag. Machinery	.21
		Oil	.15	Success	.20
		5 Year plan	.15	Congress	.16
7					
Art	.52				
USSR	.33				

*Ideological item.

1960

1		2		3	
CC	.81	Khrushchev	.59*	Education	.66
CPSU	.79*	USSR	.49	Science	.57
Khrushchev	.25	US	.43	USSR	.15
4					
Consumer Goods	.51				

1964

1		2		3	
CC	.79	US	.69	Science	.69
CPSU	.77*	West	.66	Education	.64
Khrushchev	.57	Third World	.48		
Communist	*	Military	.32		
Construction	.38	USSR	.19		
Agriculture	.35*				
Lenin	.35				
Science	.15				
4		5			
USSR	.55	Culture	.57		
Citizen	.37	Consumer Goods	.52		
Communist	*				
Construction	.28*				
Lenin	.24				
Military	.24				

1968

1		2		3	
CC	.76	US	.65	Science	.62
CPSU	.73	Military	.55	Education	.54
Congress	.62*	NATO	.49	US	.26
Lenin	.43	USSR	.38*		
Agriculture	.29	Lenin	.20		
Government	.24				
4		5		6	
US	.30	Culture	.33	Lenin	.20*
Agriculture	.23*	Agriculture	.27		
Lenin	.20				
Congress	.20				

1972

1		2		3	
CPSU	.81	Ag. Produce	.72*	USSR	.57
Congress	.68	Agriculture	.64	Government	.43
CC	.47*	Specialization	.27	CC	.26
5 Year plan	.26			Military	.18
Science	.20			Citizen	.16
Agriculture	.18				
4		5		6	
Education	.58	Agriculture	.54	Industry	.55
Science	.55	Ministry	.53	Quality	.32*
Specialization	.17	Building	.34	5 Year plan	.21
		Government	.34	Ministry	.16
		Congress	.18		
		CC	.15		
7					
Congress	.28				
Science	.28*				
5 Year plan	.24				

Cluster Letters: Izvestia1952

1		2		3	
Stalin	.78*	MTS	.66	Education	.58
Lenin	.61	Agriculture	.62	Science	.58
USSR	.42	Soviets	.39	Government	.22
Communist		Government	.32		
Construction	.35*	CPSU	.27		
CPSU	.34	Ministry	.19		
Electrification	.15				
4		5		6	
CPSU	.68	Specialization	.41	Building	.45
Congress	.65	Science		Soviets	.40
Communist		Electrification	.29	Government	.30
Construction	.41*	Communist		Electrification	.23
Stalin	.21	Construction	.22*	Communist	
USSR	.18	MTS	.20	Construction	.20*
Government	.16	Ministry	.20		

7	
Communist	
Construction	.48*
Ministry	.30
Government	.23
MTS	.22

1956

1	
US	.76
West	.66
Military	.59
USSR	.43
Third World	.40
Government	.20

2	
Ag. Produce	.75*
Agriculture	.63*
Ag. Machinery	.48
Ministry	.18
Government	.17
Success	.15

3	
Congress	.82
CPSU	.73
5 Year plan	.28
Ministry	.26*
Ag. Machinery	.23
Industry	.15

4	
Science	.74
Education	.69
CPSU	.20

5	
Building	.49
Culture	.40
Soviets	.37
Agriculture	.25
Citizen	.17

6	
Success	.59
5 Year plan	.37
USSR	.27
Ministry	.20
Citizen	.17
Science	.16

7	
Industry	.55
Science	.21
Building	.18
Ministry	.17
Success	.15

1960

1	
Education	.74
Science	.66
Ministry	.16

2	
Agriculture	.53
CPSU	.45
Ministry	.20

3	
USSR	.55
CPSU	.21

4	
Culture	.39
Consumer Goods	.30

1964

1		2		3	
CC	.79	Science	.64	Government	.63
CPSU	.71*	Education	.60	Building	.37
Khrushchev	.40			Ministry	.24
Agriculture	.33			Industry	.23
				Science	.19*
				Khrushchev	.16
				Agriculture	.16
4		5			
USSR	.60	Consumer			
Citizen	.40	Goods	.45		
US	.31*	Culture	.41		
Khrushchev	.28				
Government	.18				

1972

1		2		3	
CPSU	.89	Education	.63	Soviets	.62
Congress	.71	Science	.52	Agriculture	.58
CC	.69	Specialization	.30	Congress	.19
Brezhnev	.50			CPSU	.16
USSR	.38			Specialization	.16
Government	.25				
US	.22				
Quality	.15				
4		5		6	
Quality	.38	Ministry	.47	Culture	.52
Industry	.37	Building	.41	USSR	.19
Transport	.27	Government	.34		
Consumer		Industry	.16		
Goods	.21	CC	.15		
Ministry	.20				
Specialization	.20				
Congress	.16				
Building	.15				

Cluster Letters: Pravda Ukrainy1952

<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	
Congress	.73	Agriculture	.72*	Science	.64
Communist	.61*	Ag. Produce	.65	Education	.50
Construction	.59*	Science	.18		
CPSU	.55				
Stalin	.52				
USSR	.22				
5 Year plan	.16				
Science					
<u>4</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	
Consumer		CPSU	.60	Lenin	.61*
Goods	.57	CC	.56	Stalin	.36*
Culture	.46	Communist		USSR	.15
		Construction	.25*		
		Lenin	.23*		
		Stalin	.22		
<u>7</u>					
Industry	.46				
Ministry	.39				
Science	.15				

1960

<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	
Agriculture	.71*	USSR	.66*	CC	.70
Ag. Produce	.71*	Khrushchev	.60	CPSU	.65*
Corn	.60	US	.52*	Specialization	.25*
Ag. Workers	.40*	Peace	.41	Khrushchev	.18*
Ag. Machinery	.33	Citizen	.39	Ag. Machinery	.16
CPSU	.27	Government	.24		
		Military	.23		
<u>4</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	
Consumer		Science	.57	Komsomol	.54
Goods	.55	Education	.52*	Ag. Workers	.34
Culture	.50	Specialization	.37	Education	.22
Soviets	.44			CPSU	.18
Komsomol	.29				

<u>7</u>	
Military	.55
US	.23
USSR	.22

<u>8</u>	
Ministry	.47
USSR	.23
Industry	.22
Komsomol	.18
Culture	.15
Government	.15
Military	.15

1972

<u>1</u>	
Congress	.78
CPSU	.75
CC	.53*
Lenin	.35*
5 Year plan	.23
USSR	.16

<u>2</u>	
Ag. Produce	.84*
Agriculture	.54
5 Year plan	.42*
Automation	.32
Success	.24

<u>3</u>	
Education	.65
Science	.55
Specialization	.50
Ministry	.30

<u>4</u>	
Hitler	.68
WWII	.67
USSR	.24

<u>5</u>	
USSR	.49
Ministry	.35
Government	.30
Building	.28*
Lenin	.24
Science	.16

<u>6</u>	
Building	.48
Industry	.34*
Automation	.27
Congress	.21*
5 Year plan	.20*
Lenin	.15

<u>7</u>	
Transport	.61
Ministry	.24
Building	.19

<u>8</u>	
Automation	.51*
Specialization	.19
Agriculture	.17

Cluster Letters: Bakinskii Rabochi1952

<u>1</u>	
Stalin	.79*
Lenin	.72*
USSR	.65
Communist	.63*
Construction	.39
CPSU	.39

<u>2</u>	
Ag. Produce	.89
Agriculture	.70
MTS	.69
Congress	.28
Ag. Workers	.25
Success	.22

<u>3</u>	
Oil	.68
Success	.40
USSR	.29
Industry	.33
Science	.27
Government	.17

Government .20
 Congress .19
 Ag. Workers .15
 Success .15

Ministry .21
 CPSU .19

4
 Building .65
 Industry .45
 Agriculture .38
 Ministry .22

5
 Education .70
 Science .53
 Ministry .26
 CPSU .20
 Culture .19
 Oil .18
 Congress .16

6
 Culture .71
 Consumer Goods .35
 Education .17

7
 5 Year plan .60
 Ideological Workers .49*
 CPSU .40
 Congress .40

8
 Ag. Workers .50
 Government .38
 Consumer Goods .23
 5 Year plan .20*
 Stalin .16

9
 Specialization .52
 Science .21

1960

1
 Ag. Produce .81*
 Agriculture .70
 CC .42
 Automation .39
 CPSU .24*
 Specialization .20

2
 CPSU .79
 CC .64
 Communist Construction .44*
 Congress .39*
 Khrushchev .19

3
 Khrushchev .56*
 Government .56
 USSR .47
 CPSU .17
 CC .17
 Congress .15
 Citizen .15

4
 Science .70
 Education .49
 Oil .27*
 Specialization .25

5
 Culture .56
 Consumer Goods .54

6
 Citizen .39*
 Khrushchev .33
 Building .26
 Culture .17
 Communist Construction .16*

<u>7</u>					
Oil	.34				
Industry	.33*				
Automation	.25				
Science	.21				
CPSU	.21				
CC	.18				
<u>1972</u>					
<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	
CPSU	.80	Ag. Produce	.78*	Education	.65
Congress	.69	Agriculture	.59*	Science	.62
CC	.66*	5 Year plan	.36		
Lenin	.27	CPSU	.23		
Science	.16				
<u>4</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	
Culture	.47	Ministry	.57	5 Year plan	.47*
USSR	.34*	Quality	.24	Government	.30
Lenin	.30	Culture	.21	Congress	.17
Government	.22	Education	.16		
<u>7</u>		<u>8</u>			
Quality	.45	Industry	.51		
Specialization	.45	CPSU	.19		
5 Year plan	.19	Education	.17		
		Specialization	.17		

*Ideological items.

The previous analysis of letter themes indicates that the major topics relate to industrial and agricultural development and consumer goods. In addition to these topics, Party members also write in on Party work, and the work of local Soviets, depending upon the paper to which the letter is written. The cluster letters

certainly reflect the letters' preoccupation with domestic affairs. For some years there are no apparent standard, international themes. At most, only one cluster per paper, per year appears. This reflects the very small number of letters on international relations for these years, as in 1952 with six percent for Pravda and two percent for Izvestia. These stereotyped clusters always include the USSR, U.S. and/or NATO, and military, with oil or the Third World included sometimes. This indicates conflict or competition, with possible conflict between the USSR and the West. The letter outlined is a standard one, and depending upon the contemporary situation is either an expression of outrage at some recent action, or a "be friendly but keep your powder dry" type. A surprise, both in the international and domestic letters, is the lack of classical type ideological words such as capitalist, fascist, colonialist, imperialist, or the names Marx or Engels. "Communist construction" and Lenin are the only such terms which appear frequently, Lenin reappearing as a topic of conversation in Pravda after a lapse during the Khrushchev years. During his years in power, Khrushchev appears in conjunction with all general types of letters, international and domestic, industry, agriculture, political, and ideological, but never is named with Lenin. The word Brezhnev occurs only once, in 1972, in the broad first cluster "letter" for Izvestia. Obviously as a legitimacy instrument, or a measure of personal esteem, Stalin is often linked with Lenin in the clusters for 1952. There always seems to be the need to have a proper name to use with the broad, grandiose plans for the future

type letters. And since in 1972 the political situation was still fluid, Lenin was reintroduced instead. Other ideological terms used are production related, usually in agriculture.

In viewing the clusters over time, a number of distinct letter types reappear consistently. Apart from the basic international relations cluster mentioned earlier, there is an education-science-specialization cluster which appears throughout the period reflecting in each paper, the Soviet emphasis on a technically based education and the need for more skilled labor in all fields. Another continuing theme is that of agriculture/agricultural produce/agricultural machinery/automation, which emphasises the belief that consolidation of smaller kolkhozes into larger state farms, and the introduction of more automated procedures will solve chronic problems. When a letter complains of problems it usually places the blame on lack of machinery, and when success is reported it is due to its availability. A third continuing theme is the linking of Party themes with science and the 5 year plan, a call for improvement through the use of various technological/managerial/sociological techniques all labeled "science." There are constant themes in the two republic papers which differentiate them from Pravda and Izvestia. In Bakinskii Rabochi there is constant reference to the local industry which is oil, and the Ukrainian paper is dominated by agricultural clusters. One unique cluster occurs in Pravda Ukrainy in 1972; Hitler/WWII/USSR. The reason for the appearance of this letter was a remarkable series of articles and letters on the thirtieth anniversary of the great

battles that surged across the republic. There was a column in the paper for people who had lost relatives, or who simply wished to recall some memory of that time to write in. Industry and consumer goods show changing patterns over the time period. Industry is usually linked with building/construction industry. The construction of new industrial plants, and consumer goods are linked with culture, as in promising to raise the level of consumer goods and the general cultural level of the workers. Between 1952 and 1968, both are sometimes absent from any cluster for a paper even though, after CPSU, CC, and agriculture, they are the most frequently appearing words. The problem is that they do not cluster with the other key words in the list. A difficulty is that more specific terms in the case of consumer goods and obviously not the correct specific terms in the case of industry, have been included in the list. In 1968 the two terms often link with quality and transportation, reflecting the increasing voice of complaints dealing with the shoddy quality and faulty distribution of Soviet consumer products.

The results, then, must be seen as mixed. The key words clusters do give a good picture of typical letters. They are usually domestic themes, dealing with local concerns. They are often production oriented, citing successes and explaining failures to reach norms. And, they often invoke the name of the present leader and CPSU in rallying calls for improvement. Constant themes, such as technical education and agricultural automation expansion are clearly identified. Other problems in industry and consumer

goods however, are not clustered well, either because the general patterns of the letters are the same (usually complaints), or the individual cases are unique, or the correct key words were not chosen for the analysis. In general this form of analysis adds more flavor than substance to a search for measures of public opinion through the linking of ideological terms or the lack of them. Proper names may be especially useful in a study of the on going political process, although a Conquest or Tatu type name count might be just as effective for this purpose. Another idea might be to analyze each type of letter separately, though new word lists would still be necessary. Certainly, the technique is not sufficient by itself for an analysis of public opinion. And, the time and effort expended on extracting key words and coding them, makes the techniques unsuitable for a large scale study. For a spot study of a short time period, however, it could be useful as a check on other measures such as theme count, as well as adding flavor to a simple theme count.

List of Hypotheses--Data Evidence

In Chapter III a number of predictions concerning the data were made. These hypotheses involved correlations between letter and author characteristics, and the general patterns which the data would follow. As the data permitted, I have commented on the evidence available concerning these hypotheses. Because of the great amounts of data presented and the confusing number of tables, however, I will list these hypotheses in the order in which they

were given in Chapter II along with a very brief statement of the findings which related to them.

Indicators of Editorial Selection Bias

1. Variance in subject and intensity may be indicators of the limits of bias by editorial workers.

There is some fluctuation over time in subject matter and intensity in the All-Union level papers while there is less in the Republic level papers. All papers show a similarity of subject matter for the entire time period.

2. A second indication is the author profile when compared to the cited studies of letters received by Izvestia and Komsomolskaya Pravda.

Blue collar workers are under-represented and professional and Party-Government occupations are over-represented.

Sex

1. Women write a higher proportion of complaints than men.
2. Women will use ideology less frequently than men.

No conclusive evidence found because of a tremendous fluctuation from year to year probably due to the small N for women.

Education

1. The more education the lower the proportion of complaints.
2. The lower the education the more letters will deal with consumer goods and services.
3. The lower the education the fewer ideological references.

No conclusive evidence because of small N for non-college education. However, the evidence given next dealing with occupation does tend to confirm these hypotheses.

Occupation

1. Working class members are more likely to complain than white collar professionals.
2. Working class members are more likely to deal with consumer goods and services.
3. Working class members are less likely than white collar professionals to use ideology.

These hypotheses were confirmed by the data.

CPSU Membership

1. CPSU members will make fewer complaints than non-members.
2. CPSU members will use ideology more frequently than non-members.

These hypotheses were confirmed by the data.

Residence

1. Rural authors will tend toward non-Party/non-educated behavior when compared to urban authors.

This was not confirmed by the data. There was little difference between the two groups except that rural authors tended to write more frequently on agricultural topics.

Attitude and Public Opinion

1. Over the 20 year span, there will be a decrease in the use of ideology.

This is true from 1952 to 1968 with a reversal in 1972.

2. Over the 20 year span, more negative comments will appear and attitudes, as measured by the five point scale, will decrease.

The evidence is mixed for the All-Union papers, and the hypotheses are not confirmed for the Republic papers.

3. Technical and professional people will, over the 20 year span, form a larger proportion of the letter writers, and become more negative in their attitudes.

The evidence is mixed at both levels. There are fluctuations throughout the data on both occupation and attitude measurement.

In reviewing the possible uses of the letters as a PUBLIC FORUM, only letters with consumer related issues were discussed with any variance in view, limiting their usefulness in this sense. In looking at the letters as a SAFETY VALVE, it is apparent that the All-Union level papers have the potential to be either a safety valve and/or problem solver. In practice, they attempt to be a problem solver, with Pravda being the more successful of the two, although neither has an impressive success rate. As an AGITATION-PROPAGANDA AGENT, the letters provide another vehicle, with all subjects frequently using ideological terms (except consumer related themes). However, this use is continually decreasing. As a LINK WITH THE MASSES, the letters seem to be most useful. The

data from letters are praised for their potential value, and are actually utilized. In this sense letters are useful to the leadership as a guide to public opinion. For the researcher, the letters provide a view on problems of policy and administration at the local level as expressed by individuals frequently at the lower end of the SES scale, thus, providing a valuable insight into the micro workings of the society. The major value of this research has been to map out the parameters of the letters themselves and the population of letter authors, thereby allowing for some estimation of both the potential and the limitations of letter data. With a continuing lack of other sources of opinion data, the potential of letters data is worth the effort. With the limitations of author and editorial biases acknowledged, and the scope of these biases charted, the information gained may provide a source of information on an area which otherwise would remain relatively unknown.

Chapter IV--Footnotes

¹See Hollander, op. cit., for this problem, pp. 59-69.

²Compare for example with Davydchenkov's figures presented in Chapter III of this paper.

³Of course, Izvestia at this time was edited by Khrushchev's son-in-law, Aleksei Adzhubei. Given Khrushchev's unique ideas for democratization of Party and society, and his push for consumer policies, the political implications of this is obvious.

⁴See both Mickiewicz, op. cit., and Dave Lane, Politics and Society in the USSR (New York: Random House, 1971).

⁵Mickiewicz, Handbook, op. cit., pp. 1-49.

⁶See Chapter III of this paper for discussion.

⁷See Chapter III of this paper for discussion, especially on Ivanova.

⁸See Chapter IV of this paper for discussion of follow-ups.

⁹See Kaiser, op. cit., and discussion in Chapter III of this paper for problems facing the Soviet Journalist.

¹⁰See the first section of this chapter on letter characteristics for a discussion of this.

¹¹See Chapter III of this paper for a discussion of grass roots criticisms and Soviet literature.

¹²Inkeles, op. cit., p. 212.

¹³See Mickiewicz, Handbook, op. cit., pp. 29-34, and PDQ, pp. 574-76.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 577.

¹⁵Partiinaya Zhizn, "Rabota C Pismami Trudyashikhsya-Vazhnoe Partinoe delo," March 5, 1974, pp. 3-7.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 4-6.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 6-7.

¹⁹Cited in Mickiewicz, POQ, op. cit., p. 569.

²⁰Lewis A. Dexter, "Communications Pressure, Influence on Education?," People and Society and Mass Communications, ed. by Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning White (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 394-409.

²¹Sussman, op. cit.

²²Roberts, op. cit.

²³Ibid., p. 747.

APPENDIX A

TABLE XI.--Subject: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Totals
Ideology	1% 2	5% 21	3% 7	5% 24	5% 32	2% 15	4% 101
Party Work	17% 35	8% 30	4% 10	5% 22	8% 48	9% 68	9% 213
International Relations	6% 12	11% 43	13% 32	13% 56	11% 64	6% 43	10% 250
Soviets	1% 3	2% 8	4% 10	3% 11	3% 16	2% 11	2% 59
Science	4% 8	3% 12	4% 9	8% 35	6% 33	6% 41	6% 138
Industry	21% 44	17% 68	16% 40	10% 43	10% 63	11% 77	14% 335
Agriculture	5% 11	16% 62	2% 5	10% 46	7% 43	9% 66	10% 233
Consumer Goods		4% 16	3% 8	4% 18	5% 30	6% 46	5% 118
Public Services	4% 9	5% 21	5% 12	4% 16	6% 36	8% 54	6% 148
Crime	3% 6	3% 10	2% 5	0% 2	2% 11	2% 17	2% 51
Art	6% 13	6% 22	4% 10	8% 36	6% 34	7% 47	7% 162
Education	2% 5	3% 11	4% 9	4% 16	5% 30	5% 33	4% 104
History	7% 14	4% 14	6% 15	5% 24	4% 26	5% 37	5% 130
Labor Relations	8% 17	5% 21	19% 46	3% 12	5% 28	13% 95	9% 219
Military		1% 2	1% 3	2% 9	2% 12	2% 17	2% 43
Morals			0% 1	1% 5	2% 14	2% 16	2% 36
Life in West	1% 3	2% 7	1% 2	3% 11	5% 27	1% 10	3% 60
							2400

TABLE XII.--Subject: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1972	Totals
Ideology	12% 35	2% 7	1% 5	3% 20	3% 12	4% 79
Party Work	5% 15	0% 1	1% 3	1% 9	2% 6	2% 34
International Relations	2% 6	18% 52	7% 33	10% 65	8% 34	10% 190
Soviets	10% 28	9% 26	5% 23	7% 45	4% 16	7% 138
Science	3% 10	3% 9	7% 33	10% 66	5% 21	7% 139
Industry	9% 26	10% 30	12% 58	13% 81	14% 56	13% 251
Agriculture	11% 31	18% 53	8% 36	6% 38	6% 24	9% 182
Consumer Goods	3% 8	5% 15	11% 51	6% 35	6% 24	7% 133
Public Services	9% 25	10% 30	9% 45	6% 35	9% 36	9% 171
Crime	2% 6	2% 5	6% 27	3% 20	4% 18	4% 76
Art	6% 17	8% 23	4% 20	7% 44	7% 27	7% 131
Education	6% 17	2% 7	5% 23	6% 39	6% 23	6% 109
History	9% 25	3% 8	5% 23	5% 31	5% 22	6% 109
Labor Relations	9% 27	3% 8	4% 18	1% 7	5% 19	4% 79
Military	1% 2	0% 1	1% 3	1% 7	2% 6	1% 19
Morals	0% 1	0% 0	6% 27	5% 29	7% 30	4% 87
Life in West	1% 3	0% 1	2% 9	2% 12	2% 8	2% 33
						<u>1960</u>

TABLE XIXa.--Author Occupation: Pravda.

	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Totals
Party OB+	8% 16	6% 23	5% 13	6% 28	6% 33	7% 47	5% 160
Party Gorod-	10% 20	7% 27	2% 5	4% 19	4% 26	7% 48	5% 145
Gov. OB+	5% 10	4% 14	4% 9	5% 23	6% 34	5% 35	4% 125
Gov. Gorod-	1% 2	2% 9	1% 2	2% 7	2% 11	1% 7	1% 38
Worker	4% 8	6% 25	12% 30	4% 18	5% 32	7% 48	5% 161
Ag. Worker	1% 2	3% 12	2% 6	3% 13	0% 1	1% 9	1% 43
Forman/ Skilled	6% 13	6% 23	7% 16	2% 8	6% 33	5% 39	4% 132
Academic	10% 20	9% 36	7% 17	13% 58	14% 85	13% 92	10% 308
Student	1% 1	0% 1	1% 3		1% 6	0% 2	0% 13
Journalist	1% 2	3% 12	4% 9	3% 11	2% 10	4% 29	2% 73
Military	1% 1	2% 6	1% 2	4% 17	2% 14	3% 18	2% 58
Pensioner		2% 8	1% 2	3% 14	1% 4	1% 4	1% 32
Artist	6% 12	6% 24	5% 11	8% 34	4% 21	2% 16	4% 118
White Collar		2% 9	2% 4	1% 4	1% 3	2% 12	1% 32
Lower Ed.	1% 1	1% 3	1% 2	1% 5	2% 14	2% 17	1% 42
Factory Managers	2% 5	3% 11	2% 6	2% 8	2% 10	3% 20	2% 60
Kolk Chairmen	1% 2	4% 15	1% 2	3% 12	1% 6	1% 8	1% 45
							3023

TABLE XIXb.--Author Occupation: Izvestia.

	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Party OB+	1% 4	1% 2	1% 3	5% 34		3% 12
Party Gorod-	2% 6	0% 1	1% 4	2% 12		2% 7
Gov. OB+	8% 23	5% 14	4% 18	10% 62		8% 32
Gov. Gorod-	7% 21	4% 12	2% 8	2% 13		7% 28
Worker	3% 8	3% 10	5% 26	4% 28		4% 17
Ag. Worker	0% 1	3% 8	0% 1	1% 4		1% 2
Forman/Skilled	6% 17	3% 8	8% 37	4% 28		6% 23
Academic	11% 31	8% 23	10% 50	16% 101		13% 54
Student	1% 2		1% 5	1% 8		1% 3
Journalist	1% 2	1% 4	2% 8	1% 9		3% 11
Military	1% 2	0% 1	0% 2	1% 6		2% 7
Pensioner		1% 2	2% 11	1% 4		1% 2
Artist	5% 16	5% 16	0% 1	4% 28		5% 19
White Collar	1% 3	0% 1	1% 6	1% 5		1% 3
Lower Education	1% 2	1% 2	1% 4	3% 19		2% 9
Factory Manager	1% 3	2% 6	0% 2	1% 8		2% 9
Kolk Chairmen	1% 3	2% 5	1% 3	1% 6		2% 6

TABLE XIXc.--Author Occupation: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrayny			Bakinskii Rabochi		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Party OB+	1% 1	5% 13	1% 3	1% 1	1% 1	1% 3
Party Gorod-	5% 10	4% 11	6% 14	10% 11	8% 22	9% 20
Gov. OB+	2% 4	2% 5	3% 6	4% 4	2% 5	7% 14
Gov. Gorod-	3% 5	2% 4	1% 2	8% 8	2% 5	2% 4
Worker	8% 17	5% 12	8% 17	6% 6	6% 18	7% 15
Ag. Worker	6% 12	4% 9	5% 12	4% 4	9% 25	1% 3
Forman/Skilled	8% 17	6% 15	6% 13	6% 6	6% 18	8% 17
Academic	7% 14	6% 16	9% 20	12% 14	1% 3	7% 14
Student		0% 1	3% 7	4% 4	1% 3	6% 13
Journalist	1% 2	2% 5	3% 7	2% 2	1% 3	3% 7
Military			4% 8			2% 4
Pensioner		2% 4	0% 1		1% 3	1% 3
Artist	4% 8	5% 13	1% 3	2% 2	2% 5	8% 17
White Collar	1% 1	0% 1	0% 1	1% 1	2% 5	1% 1
Lower Education			3% 6		2% 6	2% 4
Factory Manager	5% 10	2% 4	2% 4	2% 2	3% 8	4% 8
Kolk Chairmen		4% 10	2% 4	8% 9	4% 11	2% 4

TABLE XXa.--Occupation X % Complaints: Pravda.

	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag. Workers	Tec. Workers
1952	6% 16	15% 20	10% 10	50% 2	25% 8	0% 2	8% 13
1956	0% 23	22% 27	7% 14	44% 9	44% 25	17% 12	48% 23
1960	0% 13	0% 5	22% 9	0% 2	23% 30	17% 6	13% 16
1964	0% 28	5% 17	0% 23	0% 7	11% 18	8% 13	0% 8
1968	0% 33	15% 26	6% 34	18% 11	38% 32	0% 1	42% 33
1972	9% 47	17% 48	6% 35	29% 7	31% 48	33% 7	15% 39

	Aca- demics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Factory Managers
1952	10% 20	50% 2	100% 1	8% 12	100% 1	40% 5
1956	19% 36	58% 12	17% 6	8% 24	33% 3	36% 11
1960	35% 17	11% 9	0% 2	9% 11	0% 2	67% 6
1964	5% 58	46% 11	0% 17	3% 34	0% 5	0% 8
1968	8% 85	50% 10	7% 14	10% 21	29% 14	20% 10
1972	12% 92	38% 29	0% 18	19% 16	12% 17	45% 20

TABLE XXb.--Occupation X % Complaints: Izvestia.

	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag. Workers	Tec. Workers
1952	0% 4	0% 6	13% 23	14% 21	13% 8	0% 1	6% 17
1956	0% 2	0% 1	0% 14	8% 12	40% 10	0% 8	0% 8
1960	0% 2	50% 4	17% 18	13% 8	42% 26	0% 1	30% 37
1964	0% 34	17% 12	8% 62	15% 13	21% 28	25% 4	43% 28
1968							
1972	0% 12	29% 7	13% 32	18% 28	65% 17	0% 2	39% 23

	Aca- demics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Factory Managers
1952	13% 31	0% 0	0% 2	6% 16	50% 2	33% 3
1956	4% 23	25% 4	0% 1	6% 16	50% 2	17% 6
1960	20% 50	20% 5	0% 2	0% 1	0% 4	50% 2
1964	8% 101	11% 9	17% 6	4% 28	32% 19	13% 8
1968						
1972	19% 54	18% 11	14% 7	5% 19	11% 9	22% 9

TABLE XXc.--Occupation X % Complaints: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukraine									
	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag. Workers	Tec. Workers		
1952	0% 1	0% 10	0% 4	40% 5	12% 17	0% 12	6% 17		
1960	0% 13	18% 11	20% 5	0% 4	8% 12	0% 9	0% 15		
1972	0% 3	0% 14	0% 6	0% 2	18% 17	8% 12	23% 13		

	Aca- demics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Factory Managers
1952	14% 14	0% 2	0% 0	0% 8	0% 0	10% 10
1960	0% 16	0% 5	0% 0	8% 13	0% 0	0% 10
1972	0% 20	0% 7	0% 8	0% 3	0% 6	0% 4

TABLE XXc.--Continued.

Bakinskii Rabochi									
	Party OB+	Party Gorod-	Gov. OB+	Gov. Gorod-	Workers	Ag. Workers	Tec. Workers		
1952	0% 1	9% 1	0% 4	25% 8	0% 6	0% 4	0% 6		
1960	0% 3	0% 22	0% 5	20% 5	6% 18	4% 25	11% 18		
1972	33% 3	0% 20	0% 14	0% 4	7% 15	0% 3	12% 17		
	Aca- demics	Journal- ists	Military	Artists	Lower Ed.	Factory Managers			
1952	7% 14	0% 2	0% 0	0% 2	0% 0	0% 9			
1960	0% 21	33% 3	0% 0	0% 5	0% 6	0% 11			
1972	0% 14	0% 7	25% 4	24% 17	0% 4	0% 4			

TABLE XXIa.--Party Occupation by Subject OB+: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	10	6	3	3	15	13	50
International Relations	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Soviets	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	3	2	2	3	3	2	15
Agriculture	0	11	1	3	3	8	26
Public Services	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Crime	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Art	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Education	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
History	0	0	2	7	1	6	16
Labor Relations	1	2	2	1	0	5	11
Consumer Goods	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	2	1	4	1	3	11
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	15	23	11	23	29	47	

TABLE XXIB.--Party Occupation by Subject OB--: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	17	9	1	10	14	25	76
International Relations	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Soviets	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	1	5	2	1	0	5	14
Agriculture	0	6	0	5	1	7	19
Public Services	0	0	0	2	4	1	7
Crime	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
History	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
Labor Relations	1	3	1	0	3	4	12
Consumer Goods	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	19	27	5	19	24	48	

TABLE XXic.--Government Occupation by Subject OB+: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
International Relations	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
Soviets	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Science	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Industry	6	5	4	10	9	6	40
Agriculture	2	3	1	1	7	5	19
Public Services	0	0	0	2	2	6	10
Crime	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Art	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Education	1	1	0	0	2	2	6
History	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Labor Relations	0	0	2	0	0	2	4
Consumer Goods	0	1	1	1	6	4	13
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Youth Groups	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	9	13	9	16	29	34	

TABLE XXId.--Government Occupation by Subject OB--: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
International Relations	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Soviets	0	1	0	1	2	0	3
Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	1	2	2	1	3	2	11
Agriculture	0	4	0	3	3	1	11
Public Services	0	0	0	2	1	2	5
Crime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
History	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Labor Relations	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Consumer Goods	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Komsomol	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	2	9	2	8	11	7	

TABLE XXIIe.--Occupation X Subject: Pravda.

Subject	Worker					Ag. Worker			
	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960
Ideology			3%	6%	9%				
Party Work				11%	14%	17%			
I.R.			10%		16%	8%			
Soviets					3%				
Science				6%					
Industry		40%	33%	28%	9%	13%			
Agriculture	25%	8%		6%		4%	83%	17%	
Consumer Goods		12%	3%		13%	6%	8%		
Public Services		12%	3%	17%	6%	4%			
Crime	13%	4%				2%			
Art						2%			
Education					3%				
History	13%						50%		
Labor Relations	50%	16%	43%	17%	9%	38%	50%	8%	67%
Military						2%			
Morals					6%				
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	8	25	30	18	32	48	2	12	6

TABLE XXIIe.--Continued.

Subject	Ag. Worker				Foreman/Skilled					
	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	
Ideology	15%						13%			
Party Work			11%					3%	5%	
I.R.			11%			6%	13%		5%	
Soviets					4%	6%		3%		
Science					4%	13%			3%	
Industry				85%	65%	31%	13%	33%	21%	
Agriculture	62%		33%		4%	6%	50%	3%	3%	
Consumer Goods	8%		11%					12%		
Public Services		100%	11%		4%			9%	5%	
Crime										
Art										
Education									7%	
History				8%	4%			6%	5%	
Labor Relations	8%		22%	8%	13%	38%	13%	18%	33%	
Military										
Morals								3%	5%	
Life in West									3%	
TOTAL # LETTERS:	13	1	9	13	23	16	8	33	39	

TABLE XXIf.--Occupation X Subject: Pravda.

Subject	Academic					Artist/Author			
	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960
Ideology		19%		3%	12%	8%		8%	9%
Party Work		3%				2%			
I.R.	5%	6%	12%	5%	2%	7%	9%	4%	
Soviets		3%		3%	1%	1%		4%	9%
Science	37%	19%	18%	28%	26%	29%			
Industry	21%	17%	12%	14%	14%	19%	9%		9%
Agriculture	11%	6%		10%	13%	8%			
Consumer Goods				3%	2%	4%			
Public Services	5%	6%	12%		2%	1%			
Crime					2%				
Art	5%	6%	6%	5%	4%	4%	9%	54%	27%
Education		6%	12%	9%	7%	8%		8%	
History	5%	3%			1%	7%	64%	8%	27%
Labor Relations		3%			1%	3%		4%	
Military									
Morals					1%				
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	19	36	17	58	85	92	11	24	11

TABLE XXIf.--Continued.

Subject	Artist/Author			Factory Manager/Kolk Chairman					
	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	3%	10%							
Party Work									10%
I.R.	3%	5%	13%				13%	10%	10%
Soviets								10%	
Science									
Industry	6%	5%		20%	91%	67%	25%	30%	30%
Agriculture				20%	9%				
Consumer Goods	9%	5%				17%	38%	20%	5%
Public Services		5%		20%					10%
Crime									
Art	50%	71%	87%						
Education									
History	12%							10%	
Labor Relations				40%		17%	13%	20%	25%
Military	3%								
Morals									
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	34	21	16	5	11	6	8	10	20

TABLE XXIg.--Party Occupation by Subject OB+: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	1	0	0	2		4	5
International Relations	0	0	0	0		0	0
Soviets	0	0	0	1		2	3
Science	0	0	0	1		0	1
Industry	1	0	0	2		0	3
Agriculture	1	1	0	11		2	15
Public Services	0	1	0	0		2	3
Crime	0	0	0	1		0	1
Art	0	0	0	1		0	1
Education	0	0	1	0		1	2
History	0	0	0	4		0	4
Labor Relations	1	0	1	1		0	3
Consumer Goods	0	0	0	5		0	5
Newspaper	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	4		0	4
Ecology	0	0	0	0		0	0
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0		0	0
	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>33</u>		<u>11</u>	
TOTAL	4	2	2	33		11	

TABLE XXIh.--Party Occupation by Subject OB--: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	0	0	0	1		0	1
International Relations	0	0	0	0		1	1
Soviets	1	0	0	1		1	3
Science	1	0	0	0		0	1
Industry	0	1	0	4		2	7
Agriculture	1	0	1	1		0	3
Public Services	0	0	0	1		0	1
Crime	0	0	1	0		0	1
Art	0	0	0	1		0	1
Education	0	0	0	0		0	0
History	0	0	0	0		0	0
Labor Relations	0	0	1	0		1	2
Consumer Goods	0	0	1	0		0	1
Newspaper	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ideology	2	0	0	2		0	4
Ecology	0	0	0	0		0	0
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0		0	0
TOTAL	5	1	4	11		5	

TABLE XXII.--Government Occupation by Subject OB+: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	3	0	0	0		0	3
International Relations	0	0	0	2		2	4
Soviets	3	4	3	16		6	32
Science	0	0	1	2		0	3
Industry	5	0	6	15		3	29
Agriculture	6	9	5	5		3	28
Public Services	2	0	1	2		5	10
Crime	0	0	0	0		2	2
Art	0	0	1	0		1	2
Education	2	0	0	2		1	5
History	1	1	1	8		5	16
Labor Relations	0	0	0	0		0	0
Consumer Goods	0	0	0	4		4	8
Newspaper	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	2		0	2
Ecology	0	0	0	0		0	0
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0		0	0
TOTAL	22	14	18	58		32	

TABLE XXIj.--Government Occupation by Subject OB--: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	Total
Party Work	3	0	0	1		0	4
International Relations	0	1	0	0		2	3
Soviets	11	6	1	2		4	24
Science	1	0	0	0		0	1
Industry	1	1	2	3		4	11
Agriculture	1	3	2	0		4	10
Public Services	0	0	1	2		4	7
Crime	0	0	0	1		1	2
Art	0	0	0	0		0	0
Education	1	0	0	0		0	1
History	1	0	1	1		1	4
Labor Relations	1	0	0	0		1	2
Consumer Goods	0	1	1	2		2	6
Newspaper	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0		2	2
Komsomol & Youth	0	0	0	0		0	0
TOTAL	20	12	8	12		25	

TABLE XXIk.--Occupation X Subject: Izvestia.

Subject	Worker						Ag. Worker		
	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960
Ideology	38%								
Party Work	13%								
I.R.			8%			18%			
Soviets		10%		11%					
Science				11%					
Industry		20%	8%	21%		29%			
Agriculture	13%	30%	4%				100%		
Consumer Goods		10%	15%	7%					
Public Services		10%	19%	4%		12%			
Crime			4%			6%			100%
Art			8%						
Education									
History	25%		4%				100%		
Labor Relations		10%	8%	11%		29%			
Military									
Morals			8%	7%		6%			
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	8	10	26	28		17	1	8	1

TABLE XXIk.--Continued.

Subject	Ag. Worker			Foreman/Skilled					
	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology				41%			4%		
Party Work									
I.R.			50%		13%	3%	18%		9%
Soviets						8%	7%		
Science					13%	3%	7%		
Industry				29%	25%	43%	36%		44%
Agriculture	50%		50%	6%		11%			4%
Consumer Goods	25%					5%	4%		13%
Public Services					25%	11%	4%		4%
Crime	25%								
Art						3%	4%		
Education					13%		7%		4%
History				12%	13%	3%			4%
Labor Relations				12%		8%			13%
Military									
Morals							7%		
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	4		2	17	8	37	28		23

TABLE XXII.--Occupation X Subject: Izvestia.

Subject	Academic					Artist/Author			
	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960
Ideology	13%			2%		13%	40%	6%	
Party Work	7%			1%			7%		
I.R.	3%	4%	2%	5%		9%	7%	13%	
Soviets	10%	4%	2%	4%					
Science	20%	22%	36%	44%		26%	7%	6%	
Industry	10%	13%	10%	14%		7%			
Agriculture	7%	9%		7%		9%			
Consumer Goods	3%		4%	1%		2%			
Public Services		4%	8%	3%		6%			
Crime	3%		2%	1%					
Art		9%		5%		2%	13%	56%	100%
Education	10%	4%	8%	7%		17%	7%		
History	13%	9%	4%	2%		6%	7%	13%	
Labor Relations				1%		4%	7%	6%	
Military									
Morals									
Life in West		4%	2%						
TOTAL # LETTERS:	30	23	50	101		54	15	16	1

TABLE XXII.--Continued.

Subject	Artist/Author			Factory Manager/Kolk Chairman					
	1964	1968	1972	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	11%		5%						
Party Work			5%						
I.R.	4%								
Soviets									
Science	4%								
Industry	4%		5%	33%	83%	100%	63%		78%
Agriculture					17%		13%		
Consumer Goods							13%		
Public Services	4%						13%		11%
Crime									
Art	57%		53%						
Education			5%						
History	11%		16%						
Labor Relations				67%					
Military									
Morals			5%						11%
Life in West			5%						
TOTAL # LETTERS:	28		19	3	6	2	8		9

TABLE XXIm.--Party Occupation by Subject: Pravda Ukrainy.

Subject	OB+				OB-			
	1952	1960	1972	Total	1952	1960	1972	Total
Party Work	1	5	0	6	6	3	9	18
International Relations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soviets	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Science	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Industry	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Agriculture	0	3	2	5	0	4	4	8
Public Services	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Crime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Labor Relations	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	3
Consumer Goods	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	1	13	3		10	11	14	

TABLE XXIn.--Government Occupation by Subject: Pravda Ukrainy.

Subject	OB+			Total	OB-			Total
	1952	1960	1972		1952	1960	1972	
Party Work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
International Relations	0	1	0	1		0	0	0
Soviets	0	1	1	2		0	0	0
Science	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Industry	1	1	2	4		1	1	2
Agriculture	1	1	0	2		0	1	1
Public Services	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	5
Crime	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2
Labor Relations	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Consumer Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	4	5	6		5	4	2	

TABLE XXIo.--Occupation X Subject: Pravda Ukrainy.

Subject	Worker			Ag. Worker			Foreman/Skilled		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology	18%			8%			24%		
Party Work			6%						
I.R.	6%	33%	6%		22%	8%		27%	8%
Soviets		8%	6%				6%		
Science									8%
Industry	12%	25%	41%				29%	33%	31%
Agriculture			6%		56%	33%	6%	13%	
Consumer Goods									
Public Services	6%	8%					18%	13%	8%
Crime									
Art									
Education									
History									8%
Labor Relations	59%	8%	29%	25%	22%	58%	18%	13%	23%
Military		17%							
Morals			6%						8%
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	17	12	17	12	9	3	17	15	17

TABLE XXIo.--Continued.

Subject	Academic			Artist/Author			Fac. Mgr./Kolk		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology	36%	6%	6%	88%	8%				
Party Work								20%	
I.R.		25%			62%			10%	
Soviets			6%						
Science		19%	28%						
Industry		6%	17%						
Agriculture	14%	6%	6%		8%		40%	70%	75%
Consumer Goods			6%						
Public Services									
Crime									
Art	14%	19%		13%	23%	100%			
Education	7%								
History	14%		28%				10%		
Labor Relations	14%	6%	6%				50%		25%
Military		13%							
Morals									
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	14	16	20	8	13	3	10	10	4

TABLE XXIp.--Party Occupation by Subject: Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	OB+			Total	OB-			Total
	1952	1960	1972		1952	1960	1972	
Party Work	0	1	0	1	6	9	9	24
International Relations	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Soviets	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	7	5	12
Public Services	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Crime	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Labor Relations	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	5
Consumer Goods	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	1	3	3		11	22	19	

TABLE XXIq.--Government Occupation by Subject: Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	OB+				OB-			
	1952	1960	1972	Total	1952	1960	1972	Total
Party Work	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	1
International Relations	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Soviets	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Science	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	1	3	4	2	0	1	3
Agriculture	3	1	2	6	2	1	0	3
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Crime	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Art	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	3
Labor Relations	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Consumer Goods	0	2	2	4	1	0	0	1
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	4	5	14		8	5	4	

TABLE XXIr.--Occupation X Subject: Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	Worker			Ag. Worker			Foreman/Skilled		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology		17%						6%	
Party Work		11%			4%			6%	
I.R.								33%	12%
Soviets									
Science		6%						6%	6%
Industry	33%	33%	27%				33%	22%	35%
Agriculture			13%	50%	76%		17%	11%	
Consumer Goods		11%			4%		17%		
Public Services		11%	13%		4%			6%	24%
Crime								6%	
Art			7%			33%			
Education									
History	17%		13%			33%	17%		6%
Labor Relations	50%		27%	50%		33%	17%	4%	18%
Military									
Morals									
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	6	18	15	4	25	3	6	18	17

TABLE XXIr.--Continued.

Subject	Academic			Artist/Author			Fac.Mgr./Kolk		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology	38%	24%	7%		20%				
Party Work			7%				11%		
I.R.		14%				18%			
Soviets								9%	
Science	7%	19%	7%						
Industry	7%	14%	7%						
Agriculture	14%	5%	21%				78%	91%	10%
Consumer Goods						6%			
Public Services	7%				20%				
Crime									
Art	7%		29%	100%	40%	53%			
Education	7%	5%	7%						
History	14%		7%			18%	11%		
Labor Relations		5%	7%						
Military						6%			
Morals									
Life in West									
TOTAL # LETTERS:	14	21	14	2	5	17	9	11	4

TABLE XXIVa.--Occupation X % Female: Pravda.

	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Party Workers	11% 36	2% 50	5% 18	6% 45	7% 59	8% 105
Government Workers	8% 12	0% 23	0% 11	3% 29	4% 45	5% 42
Workers	13% 8	8% 25	20% 30	17% 18	3% 32	9% 46
Agricultural Workers	50% 2	8% 12	17% 6	17% 18	100% 1	22% 9
Skilled Workers	0% 13	4% 23	6% 16	8% 13	0% 33	3% 38
Academic	5% 20	3% 36	6% 17	0% 8	2% 85	2% 92
Journalists	0% 2	8% 12	0% 9	10% 10	10% 10	8% 26
Artists	17% 12	8% 24	0% 11	9% 34	5% 21	6% 16
White Collar		11% 9	0% 4	75% 4	0% 3	30% 10
Lower Education	100% 1	67% 3	50% 2	40% 5	7% 14	29% 17
Factory Managers	0% 5	0% 11	17% 6	0% 8	0% 10	0% 20
Kolk Chairmen	0% 2	0% 15	0% 2	17% 12	0% 6	0% 8

Percent is the percent female of that occupation.

Whole number is the total number of authors of that occupation.

TABLE XXIVb.--Occupation X % Female: Izvestia.

	1952	1956	1960	1964	1972
Party Workers	10% 10	0% 3	14% 7	4% 46	5% 19
Government Workers	2% 44	0% 26	8% 26	6% 75	7% 60
Workers	13% 8	0% 10	19% 26	14% 28	12% 17
Agricultural Workers	0% 1	0% 8	0% 1	50% 4	50% 2
Skilled Workers	0% 16	13% 8	0% 37	4% 28	9% 22
Academic	3% 31	0% 23	10% 50	5% 101	9% 54
Journalists	0% 2	0% 4	0% 8	0% 9	9% 11
Artists	0% 16	0% 16	0% 1	4% 28	11% 19
White Collar	0% 3	0% 1	0% 6	40% 5	0% 3
Lower Education	0% 2	0% 2	50% 4	47% 19	33% 9
Factory Managers	0% 3	0% 6	50% 2	0% 8	0% 9
Kolk Chairmen	0% 3	0% 5	0% 3	0% 6	0% 9

Percent is the percent female of that occupation.

Whole number is the total number of authors of that occupation.

TABLE XXIVc.--Occupation X % Female: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukraine			Bakinskii Rabochi		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Party Workers	9% 11	4% 24	6% 17	17% 12	0% 25	4% 23
Government Workers	0% 9	0% 9	0% 8	0% 12	10% 10	5% 18
Workers	0% 17	0% 12	6% 17	0% 6	0% 18	10% 15
Agricultural Workers	8% 12	0% 9	17% 12	50% 4	44% 25	0% 3
Skilled Workers	0% 17	0% 15	0% 13	0% 6	6% 18	0% 17
Academic	0% 14	6% 16	0% 20	7% 14	14% 21	7% 14
Journalists	0% 2	20% 5	0% 7	0% 2	0% 3	14% 7
Artists	13% 8	0% 13	0% 3	0% 2	0% 5	6% 17
White Collar	0% 1	0% 1	0% 1	0% 1	20% 5	100% 1
Lower Education			33% 6		17% 6	25% 4
Factory Managers	0% 10	0% 4	0% 4	0% 2	13% 8	0% 8
Kolk Chairmen		0% 10	0% 4	0% 9	9% 11	0% 4

Percent is the percent female of that occupation.

Whole number is the total number of authors of that occupation.

TABLE XXVa.--Author Education: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda							
	High School or Less		Incomplete Higher		Higher		Unknown	
1952	1%	2	1%	2	23%	48	75%	155
1956	0%	0	3%	13	18%	72	79%	313
1960	0%	0	1%	3	19%	46	80%	198
1964	0%	2	4%	19	28%	123	68%	301
1968	0%	0	2%	9	38%	167	71%	427
1972	0%	1	0%	1	30%	213	70%	505
	Izvestia							
	High School or Less		Incomplete Higher		Higher		Unknown	
1952	0%	1	1%	4	21%	61	77%	228
1957	0%	1	1%	4	14%	42	84%	248
1960	0%	0	0%	0	20%	96	80%	384
1964	0%	0	2%	13	33%	206	65%	414
1968								
1972	1%	2	1%	3	31%	125	68%	279

TABLE XXVb.--Author Education: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy							
	High School or Less		Incomplete Higher		Higher		Unknown	
1952	0%	0	2%	3	15%	31	83%	170
1960	0%	0	1%	3	14%	35	85%	211
1972	0%	0	0%	0	27%	61	73%	163
	Bakinskii Rabochi							
	High School or Less		Incomplete Higher		Higher		Unknown	
1952	0%	0	0%	0	29%	31	71%	76
1960	0%	0	1%	3	18%	50	82%	233
1972	0%	0	0%	0	26%	57	74%	159

TABLE XXV Ia. --- Author Age: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda							
	High School/ Younger	Young Adult	Adult	65+	Unknown	Total	
1952	0% 0	0% 0	31% 64	2% 5	67% 139	208	
1956	0% 0	0% 0	33% 133	6% 23	61% 242	398	
1960	0% 0	0% 0	30% 74	5% 12	65% 161	247	
1964	0% 0	0% 1	26% 116	10% 46	63% 282	445	
1968	0% 0	0% 0	20% 119	5% 28	76% 456	603	
1972	0% 0	1% 5	34% 245	3% 18	62% 456	720	
Izvestia							
1952	0% 0	0% 0	23% 67	1% 4	76% 224	295	
1956	0% 0	0% 0	14% 40	1% 4	85% 251	295	
1960	0% 0	0% 1	15% 70	3% 14	82% 395	481	
1964	0% 0	0% 2	21% 131	5% 32	74% 468	633	
1968							
1972	0% 0	1% 2	21% 84	4% 18	74% 304	408	

TABLE XXVIb.--Author Age: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukrainy						
	High School/ Younger	Young Adult	Adult	65+	Unknown	Total
1952	0% 0	0% 0	28% 56	1% 1	72% 147	204
1960	0% 0	0% 0	19% 47	2% 6	79% 196	249
1972	0% 0	0% 0	25% 55	1% 2	75% 167	224
Bakinskii Rabochi						
1952	1% 1	1% 1	47% 50	0% 0	51% 55	107
1960	0% 0	0% 0	23% 66	1% 3	76% 217	286
1972	0% 0	0% 0	30% 65	2% 5	68% 146	216

TABLE XXVIIa.--Author Geographic Area: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda							
	Ukraine	Baltic	Trans Cau.	Central Asia	RSFSR	Far East	Unknown
1952	8% 16	3% 7	1% 3	4% 8	46% 96	1% 2	36% 75
1956	7% 27	6% 25	2% 6	7% 29	49% 195	1% 2	28% 111
1960	5% 13	6% 15	2% 5	6% 15	38% 94	1% 3	41% 102
1964	7% 30	4% 16	1% 3	3% 14	46% 205	1% 3	39% 174
1968	8% 49	2% 9	2% 10	4% 25	48% 291	0% 1	36% 217
1972	5% 37	6% 44	3% 24	6% 46	50% 363	3% 19	26% 188
Izvestia							
1952	6% 18	1% 4	2% 7	3% 9	61% 181	0% 1	25% 74
1956	7% 20	2% 7	2% 6	6% 17	42% 125	0% 1	40% 119
1960	11% 54	2% 11	1% 4	4% 19	51% 246	1% 6	29% 140
1964	9% 55	4% 25	3% 16	5% 29	47% 300	0% 1	33% 207
1968							
1972	7% 30	5% 22	0% 1	4% 18	49% 202	0% 1	33% 136

TABLE XXVIIb.--Author Geographic Area: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukraine						
	Ukraine	Baltic	Trans Cau.	Central Asia	RSFSR	Far East Unknown
1952	75% 153	2% 3	0% 0	0% 0	3% 5	0% 0 21% 43
1960	65% 162	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 1	0% 0 35% 86
1972	69% 154	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	1% 3	0% 0 30% 67
Bakinskii Rabochi						
1952	1% 1	0% 0	74% 79	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0 25% 27
1960	1% 2	0% 0	56% 160	0% 0	0% 1	0% 0 43% 123
1972	0% 0	0% 0	85% 183	0% 0	4% 8	0% 0 12% 25

TABLE XXVIIIa.--Urban/Rural: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda		
	Urban	Rural	Unknown
1952	50% 103	16% 33	34% 71
1956	50% 198	21% 85	29% 114
1960	42% 103	15% 37	43% 107
1964	46% 203	14% 63	40% 179
1968	50% 301	11% 64	39% 237
1972	52% 372	19% 138	29% 208
	Izvestia		
	Urban	Rural	Unknown
1952	48% 141	27% 79	25% 75
1956	40% 117	19% 57	41% 121
1960	54% 259	16% 75	30% 145
1964	54% 339	12% 73	35% 220
1968			
1972	49% 199	18% 73	34% 138

TABLE XXVIIIb.--Urban/Rural: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy					
	Urban		Rural		Unknown	
1952	41%	83	36%	74	23%	47
1960	32%	79	27%	66	42%	104
1972	12%	26	25%	55	64%	143
	Bakinskii Rabochi					
1952	15%	16	33%	35	52%	56
1960	12%	34	28%	81	60%	171
1972	19%	42	19%	41	62%	133

TABLE XXXIa.--% Complaints X Party Membership: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda		
	Party	Probably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	11% 64	19% 32	38% 111
1956	17% 109	36% 90	36% 198
1960	5% 62	25% 72	18% 113
1964	4% 142	4% 118	32% 183
1968	8% 122	20% 214	47% 266
1972	15% 161	16% 268	36% 287
	Izvestia		
	Party	Probably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	8% 25	14% 91	15% 176
1956	4% 27	10% 58	22% 210
1960	8% 37	27% 120	44% 321
1964	3% 124	17% 242	40% 267
1968			
1972	19% 53	21% 180	41% 175

TABLE XXXIb.--% Complaints X Party Membership: Pravda Ukrainy/
Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy					
	Party		Probably Party		No/Unknown	
1952	4%	24	11%	54	14%	121
1960	10%	49	5%	62	16%	135
1972	0%	24	9%	78	13%	122
	Bakinskii Rabochi					
	Party		Probably Party		No/Unknown	
1952	5%	22	27%	60	28%	25
1960	0%	45	11%	85	14%	155
1972	10%	42	5%	85	16%	86

TABLE XXXIIa.--Code X Party Membership: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda		
	Party	Probably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	3.5 64	3.5 32	3.2 111
1956	3.5 109	3.2 90	3.2 198
1960	3.7 41	3.3 63	3.3 143
1964	3.8 142	3.8 118	3.3 183
1968	3.7 122	3.5 214	3.0 266
1972	3.3 161	3.2 268	3.0 287
	Izvestia		
	Party	Probably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	3.8 25	3.6 91	3.7 176
1956	3.9 27	3.7 58	3.4 210
1960	3.8 37	3.4 120	3.1 321
1964	3.8 124	3.6 242	3.1 267
1968			
1972	3.4 53	3.2 180	3.0 175

TABLE XXXIIb.--Code X Party Membership: Pravda Ukrainy/Bakinskii Rabochi.

	Pravda Ukrainy		
	Party	Prabably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	3.8 24	3.7 54	3.8 121
1960	3.8 49	3.9 62	4.0 135
1972	4.0 24	3.7 78	3.7 121
	Bakinskii Rabochi		
	Party	Prabably Party	No/ Unknown
1952	3.9 24	3.8 45	3.0 38
1960	4.0 45	3.8 85	3.7 155
1972	3.7 42	3.8 84	3.6 86

TABLE XXXIIIa.--Subject X Code: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	3.0 2	3.6 21	3.6 7	3.8 24	3.9 32	4.1 15
Party Work	3.1 35	3.0 30	3.6 10	3.8 22	3.8 48	3.2 68
International Relations	2.5 12	3.1 43	3.2 32	3.1 56	2.8 64	2.9 43
Soviets	3.0 3	3.0 8	2.2 10	2.9 11	2.6 16	3.3 11
Science	4.0 8	4.0 12	3.8 9	3.9 35	3.9 33	3.6 41
Industry	3.7 44	3.2 68	3.1 40	3.7 43	3.4 63	2.8 77
Agriculture	3.5 11	3.6 62	3.6 5	4.0 46	3.7 43	3.3 66
Consumer Goods	0.0 0	2.4 16	3.0 8	3.4 18	3.0 30	2.6 46
Public Services	2.8 9	2.8 21	3.0 12	3.5 16	2.9 36	2.5 54
Crime	2.0 6	2.0 10	2.8 5	3.0 2	2.8 11	2.1 17
Art	3.7 13	3.9 22	3.9 10	3.8 36	3.9 34	3.4 47
Education	2.6 5	2.8 11	3.9 9	3.9 16	3.4 30	3.0 33
History	4.1 14	4.0 14	4.0 15	4.0 24	3.9 26	3.9 37
Labor Relations	4.0 17	4.0 21	3.9 46	4.0 12	3.4 28	3.5 95
Military	0.0 0	4.0 2	4.0 3	4.0 9	4.0 12	3.6 17
Morals	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.0 1	2.2 5	2.9 14	2.7 16
Life in West	2.0 3	2.0 7	2.0 2	2.0 11	2.0 27	2.7 10

TABLE XXXIIIb.--Subject X Code: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	4.1 35	4.0 7	4.0 5	3.7 20		3.5 12
Party Work	3.8 15	2.0 1	3.3 3	3.2 9		3.5 6
International Relations	3.0 6	3.3 52	2.9 33	2.9 65		3.0 34
Soviets	3.1 28	3.1 26	2.7 23	3.2 45		3.2 16
Science	3.7 10	3.9 9	3.9 33	3.8 66		3.9 21
Industry	3.5 26	3.3 30	3.4 58	3.5 81		2.9 56
Agriculture	3.7 31	3.9 53	3.3 36	3.8 38		3.7 24
Consumer Goods	3.9 8	3.7 15	2.7 51	3.4 35		2.7 24
Public Services	4.0 25	3.5 30	3.2 45	3.7 35		2.9 36
Crime	2.3 6	3.2 5	2.4 26	2.9 20		2.6 18
Art	4.0 17	3.8 23	3.8 20	3.7 44		3.9 27
Education	3.2 17	3.4 7	3.2 23	3.1 39		2.8 23
History	4.0 25	4.0 8	4.0 23	4.0 31		4.0 22
Labor Relations	3.8 27	3.6 8	3.5 18	3.3 7		3.4 19
Military	3.0 2	4.0 1	4.0 3	4.0 7		3.7 6
Morals	2.0 1	0.0 0	2.7 27	2.7 29		2.4 30
Life in West	2.0 3	3.0 1	2.1 9	2.0 12		2.1 8

TABLE XXXIIIc.--Subject X Code: Pravda Ukraina/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	Pravda Ukraina			Bakinskii Rabochi		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology	4.1 30	4.0 12	4.0 1	4.1 10	4.0 16	3.3 7
Party Work	3.3 18	3.7 17	4.0 12	3.5 14	3.9 24	3.8 25
International Relations	4.0 5	3.5 41	2.3 11	2.3 4	3.7 25	2.3 9
Soviets	2.7 3	3.0 6	4.0 4	2.0 1	4.0 1	0.0 0
Science	4.0 1	4.0 9	3.9 9	4.0 1	4.0 9	4.0 5
Industry	3.8 18	3.7 26	3.7 32	3.4 12	3.9 36	4.0 26
Agriculture	3.8 32	3.9 43	4.0 29	3.9 21	3.9 53	4.0 25
Consumer Goods	2.8 5	3.5 6	3.3 6	3.7 4	3.0 23	3.0 8
Public Services	3.6 24	3.9 22	3.3 3	2.4 8	3.6 24	3.1 17
Crime	2.0 1	2.7 7	3.5 2	0.0 0	3.0 11	3.7 3
Art	3.8 8	3.9 18	4.0 21	3.2 5	4.0 9	4.0 30
Education	4.0 2	3.7 6	3.7 12	3.3 3	4.0 10	3.7 7
History	4.0 13	4.0 2	3.9 28	4.0 10	4.0 8	4.0 19
Labor Relations	3.8 38	3.9 15	3.8 26	3.7 12	4.0 6	3.9 20
Military	0.0 0	4.0 6	4.0 4	0.0 0	4.0 1	4.0 2
Morals	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.3 4	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 1
Life in West	2.0 1	2.0 1	2.0 2	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0

TABLE XXXIVa.--Expressed Opinions on Selected Subjects: Pravda/Izvestia.

		Pravda														
		1952					1960					1972				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Party Work		10	10	10	15		2	2	8			1	15	25	26	1
Soviets			1		2		9		1			8			1	2
Industry		6	4	33	1		18		22			4	34	17	20	2
Agriculture		3			8		1		4				20	8	36	2
Con. Goods/Serv.		5	1	3			10		10			1	65	12	20	2
Labor Relations		0	24	17	77	1	0	43	0	88	0	1	22	13	47	12
												7	164	75	150	21
		Izvestia														
Party Work			3	12			1		2			1	1	1	4	
Soviets		12	2	14			14		1	8		5	3	3	8	
Industry		6	2	18			16		1	41		27	7	7	22	
Agriculture		3	2	26			12		3	21		1	6	17		
Consumer Goods			1	7			49		4	43		33	6	19	2	
Labor Relations		0	2	11	24	101	0	96	1	13	0	6	1	11	1	3
									10	128	0	73	24	81		

TABLE XXXIVb.--Expressed Opinions on Selected Subjects: Pravda Ukraina/Bakinskii Rabochi.

		Pravda Ukraina														
		1952					1960					1972				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Party Work		6	1	1	11		2	1	14			12				
Soviets		2			1		3		3			4				
Industry		2			16		3	1	22			3	3	3	26	
Agriculture		2	1	29			1	1	41			1		1	28	
Consumer Goods		7	1	21			2	2	24			3			6	
Labor Relations		4	1	33			1	12	14			2	1	23		
		0	23	4	111	0	0	0	5	118	0	0	8	5	99	0
		Bakinskii Rabochi														
Party Work		3	1	1	10				16			1	3	3	21	
Soviets		1							1							
Industry		3	1	8			2		34					1	25	
Agriculture		1		20			2	3	53					1	24	
Con. Goods/Serv.		6	2	4			15	2	30			10	4	4	11	
Labor Relations		1	2	9					6					2	18	
		0	15	6	51	0	0	0	5	140	0	0	11	11	99	0

TABLE XXXVa.--Subject X % Complaints: Pravda.

	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	50% 2	19% 21	14% 7	13% 24	3% 32	0% 15
Party Work	20% 35	40% 30	10% 10	9% 22	6% 48	15% 68
International Relations	67% 12	42% 43	38% 32	45% 56	61% 64	35% 43
Soviets	0% 3	38% 8	90% 10	55% 11	63% 16	55% 11
Science	0% 8	0% 12	11% 9	0% 35	3% 33	2% 41
Industry	14% 44	32% 68	38% 40	12% 43	25% 63	38% 77
Agriculture	27% 11	16% 62	20% 5	0% 46	7% 43	23% 66
Consumer Goods	0% 0	75% 16	38% 8	17% 18	50% 30	52% 46
Public Services	56% 9	57% 21	42% 12	25% 16	53% 36	63% 54
Crime	100% 6	100% 10	80% 5	50% 2	55% 11	71% 17
Art	15% 13	5% 22	0% 10	8% 36	6% 34	6% 47
Education	60% 5	55% 11	0% 9	0% 16	23% 30	9% 33
History	0% 14	0% 14	0% 15	0% 24	4% 26	0% 36
Labor Relations	0% 17	5% 21	7% 46	0% 12	29% 28	14% 95
Military	0% 0	0% 2	0% 3	0% 9	0% 12	0% 17
Morals	0% 0	0% 0	100% 1	80% 5	57% 14	25% 16
Life in West	100% 3	86% 7	100% 2	100% 11	100% 27	30% 10

TABLE XXXVb.--Subject X % Complaints: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	0% 35	0% 7	0% 5	15% 20		33% 12
Party Work	0% 15	100% 1	33% 3	33% 9		17% 6
International Relations	50% 6	33% 52	52% 33	51% 65		47% 34
Soviets	43% 28	35% 26	61% 23	31% 45		31% 16
Science	0% 10	0% 9	3% 33	6% 66		0% 21
Industry	23% 26	33% 30	26% 58	19% 81		41% 56
Agriculture	10% 31	2% 53	33% 36	3% 38		4% 24
Consumer Goods	0% 8	13% 15	65% 51	29% 35		50% 24
Public Services	4% 25	23% 30	36% 45	11% 35		47% 36
Crime	83% 6	40% 5	74% 27	55% 20		33% 18
Art	0% 17	9% 23	10% 20	9% 44		4% 27
Education	18% 17	14% 7	35% 23	39% 39		13% 23
History	0% 25	0% 8	0% 23	0% 31		0% 22
Labor Relations	7% 27	13% 8	22% 18	29% 7		21% 19
Military	50% 2	0% 1	0% 3	0% 7		17% 6
Morals	100% 1	0% 0	63% 27	52% 29		53% 30
Life in West	67% 3	0% 1	89% 9	100% 12		75% 8

TABLE XXXVc.--Subject X % Complaints: Pravda Ukraina/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	Pravda Ukraina			Bakinskii Rabochi		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology	0% 30	0% 12	0% 1	0% 10	0% 16	29% 7
Party Work	28% 18	12% 17	0% 12	21% 14	4% 24	4% 25
International Relations	0% 5	24% 41	82% 11	75% 4	16% 25	78% 9
Soviets	67% 3	50% 6	0% 4	100% 1	0% 1	0% 0
Science	0% 1	0% 9	0% 9	0% 1	0% 9	0% 5
Industry	11% 18	12% 26	6% 32	25% 12	6% 36	0% 26
Agriculture	3% 32	2% 43	0% 29	5% 21	3% 58	0% 25
Consumer Goods	60% 5	17% 6	33% 6	0% 4	46% 23	50% 8
Public Services	17% 24	4% 22	33% 3	75% 8	21% 24	35% 17
Crime	100% 1	57% 7	0% 2	0% 0	46% 11	0% 3
Art	13% 8	6% 18	0% 21	40% 5	0% 9	0% 30
Education	0% 2	17% 6	8% 12	33% 3	0% 10	0% 7
History	0% 13	0% 2	3% 29	0% 10	0% 8	0% 19
Labor Relations	11% 38	7% 15	8% 26	8% 12	0% 6	0% 20
Military	0% 0	0% 6	0% 4	0% 0	0% 1	0% 2
Morals	0% 0	0% 0	75% 4	0% 0	0% 0	0% 1
Life in West	100% 1	100% 1	100% 2	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0

TABLE XXXVIa.---Subjects of Follow-Ups: Pravda.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology			2% 1		1% 1	1% 1
Party Work	32% 12	21% 5	9% 4	9% 2	5% 5	10% 15
International Relations						
Soviets		8% 2	11% 5	3% 1	9% 8	4% 6
Science						1% 2
Industry	5% 2	17% 4	11% 5	12% 4	12% 11	11% 18
Agriculture	3% 1	21% 5	5% 2	15% 5	10% 9	10% 10
Consumer Goods	13% 5	13% 3	18% 8	12% 4	7% 7	17% 26
Public Services	11% 4	4% 1	7% 3	21% 7	28% 26	14% 22
Crime	5% 2	13% 3	14% 6	6% 2	5% 5	7% 11
Art	5% 2		2% 1	6% 2		3% 5
Education	8% 3			6% 2	9% 8	3% 5
History						2% 3
Labor Relations			9% 4	6% 2	9% 8	14% 22
Military			2% 1			1% 1
Morals			5% 2	3% 1	4% 4	3% 5
Life in West						1% 1
TOTAL	35	24	44	33	94	158

TABLE XXXVIb.--Subjects of Follow-Ups: Izvestia.

Subject	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Ideology	3% 1		2% 2			1% 1
Party Work	13% 4	4% 1	2% 2	6% 5		
International Relations						
				1% 1		8% 9
Soviets	41% 13	21% 5	15% 13	11% 10		4% 4
Science	3% 1	17% 4	4% 3	7% 6		2% 2
Industry	3% 1		19% 16	18% 16		8% 9
Agriculture	3% 1		1% 1	2% 2		4% 5
Consumer Goods	9% 3	13% 3	15% 13	9% 8		17% 19
Public Services	13% 4	29% 7	15% 13	11% 10		16% 18
Crime	3% 1	8% 2	8% 7	8% 7		12% 14
Art		4% 1	4% 3			11% 12
Education	3% 1		2% 2	6% 5		2% 2
History			2% 2			1% 1
Labor Relations			5% 4	7% 6		5% 6
Military						1% 1
Morals			4% 3	10% 9		3% 3
Life in West						1% 1
TOTAL	32	24	86	88	14	114

TABLE XXXVIc.--Subjects of Follow-Ups: Pravda Ukraina/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Subject	Pravda Ukraina			Bakinskii Rabochi		
	1952	1960	1972	1952	1960	1972
Ideology						
Party Work	46%	6	4%	1	13%	1
International Relations			4%	1		
Soviets			4%	1		
Science						6% 1
Industry	8%	1	50%	2	33%	8
Agriculture	8%	1			10%	1
Consumer Goods			17%	4	10%	1
Public Services	23%	3	4%	1	20%	2
Crime			4%	1	10%	1
Art						
Education						
History						
Labor Relations	8%	1	25%	1	21%	5
Military					25%	2
Morals					40%	4
Life in West	8%	1			6%	1
TOTAL	13	4	24	8	10	17

TABLE XXXVIIIa.--Subject of Complaints and Follow-Ups: Pravda.

Subject	1952 Comp-FU*	1956 Comp-FU	1960 Comp-FU	1964 Comp-FU	1968 Comp-FU	1972 Comp-FU
Ideology	2%	3%	2%	4%	1%	1%
Party Work	13%	10%	2%	3%	2%	6%
International Relations	15%	15%	19%	36%	22%	9%
Soviets		3%	15%	9%	6%	4%
Industry	11%	18%	24%	7%	9%	17%
Agriculture	6%	8%	2%	15%	2%	9%
Consumer Goods		10%	5%	4%	9%	14%
Public Services	9%	10%	8%	6%	11%	20%
Crime	11%	8%	7%	1%	3%	7%
Art	4%	1%	2%	4%	1%	2%
Education	6%	5%		6%	4%	2%
Labor Relations		1%	5%	6%	5%	8%
Morals			2%	6%	5%	2%
Newspaper Work	19%	3%	5%	1%	2%	3%
	54	122	62	69	177	172
	35	24	44	33	94	158

* Comp. = Complaints/FU = Follow-Ups.

TABLE XXXVIIb.--Subject of Complaints and Follow-Ups: Izvestia.

Subject	1952 Comp-FU*	1956 Comp-FU	1960 Comp-FU	1964 Comp-FU	1972 Comp-FU
Ideology	3%		2%	2%	3% 1%
Party Work	13%	2% 4%	1% 2%	2% 6%	1%
International Relations	7%	32%	10%	22%	13% 8%
Soviets	29% 41%	17% 21%	8% 15%	9% 11%	4% 4%
Industry	15% 3%	19%	9% 19%	10% 18%	19% 8%
Agriculture	7% 3%	2%	7% 1%	1% 2%	1% 4%
Consumer Goods	9%	4% 13%	19% 15%	7% 9%	10% 17%
Public Services	2% 13%	13% 29%	9% 15%	3% 11%	14% 16%
Crime	12% 3%	4% 8%	11% 8%	7% 8%	5% 12%
Art		4% 4%	1% 4%	3%	1% 11%
Education	7% 3%	2%	5% 2%	10% 6%	3% 2%
Labor Relations	5%	2%	2% 5%	1% 7%	3% 5%
Morals	2%		10% 4%	10% 10%	13% 3%
Newspaper Work	5% 3%	2%	1%	1%	
TOTAL NUMBER	41 32	54 24	177 86	151 88	119 114

* Comp. = Complaints/FU = Follow-Ups.

TABLE XXXVIIc. ---Follow-Ups--Action Taken: Pravda/Izvestia.

Pravda						
	Solved	Promise	Not Solved	Explain	Sug- gestions	Total
1952	29% 11	68% 26		3% 1		38
1956	29% 7	71% 17				24
1960	21% 9	59% 26	7% 3	14% 6		44
1964	15% 5	49% 16	9% 3	27% 9		33
1968	14% 13	60% 56	9% 8	13% 12	5% 5	94
1972	29% 46	38% 60	10% 16	18% 28	5% 8	158
Izvestia						
1952	13% 4	84% 27	3% 1			32
1956	8% 1	79% 19	8% 2		4% 1	24
1960	30% 26	52% 45	2% 2	13% 11	2% 2	86
1964	21% 18	49% 43	5% 4	26% 23		88
1968						
1972	12% 14	25% 28	8% 9	51% 58	4% 5	114

TABLE XXXVIIIa.--Follow-Up Subject X Action Taken: Pravda.

	1952			1956			1960		
	#	%S	%P*	#	%S	%P	#	%S	%P
Party Work	12	0%	100%	5	0%	40%	4	0%	79%
Soviets				2	0%	100%	5	20%	80%
Industry	2	50%	50%	4	0%	100%	5	0%	100%
Agriculture	1	0%	100%	5	0%	100%	2	0%	100%
Consumer Goods	5	60%	40%	3	33%	67%	8	13%	63%
Public Services	4	25%	75%	1	0%	100%	3	0%	100%
Crime	2	100%	0%	3	100%	0%	6	83%	17%
Education	3	67%	33%						
Labor Relations							4	25%	25%
Morals							2	50%	0%
	1964			1968			1972		
	#	%S	%P*	#	%S	%P	#	%S	%P
Party Work	2	0%	100%	5	60%	20%	15	33%	20%
Soviets	1	0%	0%	8	50%	25%	6	33%	17%
Industry	4	0%	75%	11	91%	0%	18	17%	67%
Agriculture	5	40%	40%	9	89%	0%	16	25%	56%
Consumer Goods	4	0%	100%	7	71%	14%	26	27%	50%
Public Services	7	14%	14%	26	89%	8%	22	23%	50%
Crime	2	50%	50%	5	40%	20%	11	46%	18%
Education	2	0%	0%	8	88%	0%	5	40%	40%
Labor Relations	2	50%	50%	8	63%	13%	22	41%	23%
Morals	1	0%	0%	4	0%	0%	5	40%	20%

* # = Total number letters; %S = Percent solved; %P = Percent promised.

TABLE XXXVIIIb.--Follow-Up Subject X Action Taken: Izvestia.

	1952			1956			1960		
	#	%S	%P*	#	%S	%P	#	%S	%P
Party Work	4	0%	100%	1	0%	100%	2	100%	0%
Soviets	13	15%	77%	5	20%	80%	13	15%	69%
Industry	1	0%	100%				16	25%	69%
Agriculture	1	0%	100%				1	0%	100%
Consumer Goods	3	0%	100%	3	0%	67%	13	8%	69%
Public Services	4	0%	100%	7	0%	86%	13	31%	46%
Crime	1	100%	0%	2	50%	50%	7	86%	14%
Education							2	50%	50%
Labor Relations	1	0%	100%				4	50%	50%
Morals							3	33%	67%

	1964			1972		
	#	%S	%P*	#	%S	%P
Party Work	5	40%	60%			
Soviets	10	10%	60%	4	25%	50%
Industry	16	13%	56%	9	10%	44%
Agriculture	2	50%	50%	5	0%	80%
Consumer Goods	8	0%	75%	19	16%	37%
Public Services	10	10%	60%	18	11%	44%
Crime	7	57%	29%	14	21%	0%
Education	5	40%	20%	2	0%	50%
Labor Relations	6	33%	67%	6	33%	0%
Morals	9	33%	11%	3	33%	0%

* # = Total number letters; %S = Percent solved; %P = Percent promised.

TABLE XXXVIIIc.--Follow-Ups--Action Taken: Pravda Ukraine/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukrainy									
	Solved	Promise	Not Solved	Explain	Sug- gestions	Total			
1952	15%	2	77%	10	8%	1	13		
1960			100%	4			4		
1972	17%	4	54%	13	4%	1	25%	6	24
Bakinskii Rabochi									
1952			75%	6	13%	1	13%	1	8
1960			70%	7	10%	1	20%	2	10
1970	12%	2	59%	10	29%	5			17

TABLE XXXIXa.--Follow-Ups--Lag Time: Pravda/Izvestia.

	Pravda				
	2 Wks	3-8 Wks	9-16 Wks	17+ Wks	Unknown
1952		82% 31			18% 7
1956	4% 1	21% 5	4% 1		71% 17
1960	2% 1	21% 9	9% 4		68% 30
1964		21% 7	9% 3		70% 23
1968		36% 34	22% 21	3% 3	38% 36
1972	1% 2	29% 45	25% 40	4% 7	38% 60
Izvestia					
1952	6% 2	34% 11		6% 2	53% 17
1956	4% 1	8% 2	8% 2		79% 19
1960	1% 1	27% 23	13% 11	5% 4	55% 47
1964	1% 1	27% 23	13% 11	5% 4	55% 47
1968					
1972		11% 13	19% 22	10% 11	59% 67

TABLE XXXIXb.--Follow-Ups--Lag Time: Pravda Ukraina/Bakinskii Rabochi.

Pravda Ukraina					
	2 Wks	3-8 Wks	9-16 Wks	17+ Wks	Unknown
1952	15% 2	39% 5		8% 1	39% 5
1960		25% 1			75% 3
1972		33% 8	33% 8	8% 2	25% 6
Bakinskii Rabochi					
1952	13% 1	63% 5			25% 2
1960		30% 3	10% 1		60% 6
1972		18% 3	12% 2		71% 12

TABLE XXXXa. --Follow-Up Subject X Lag Time: Pravda.

	1952					1956					1960				
					17+*					#					#
	#	0-8	9-16	17+		#	0-8	9-16	17+		#	0-8	9-16	17+	
Party Work	12	92%	0%	0%	0%	5	20%	0%	0%	4	25%	25%	0%	0%	4
Soviets						2	0%	0%	0%	5	20%	0%	0%	0%	5
Industry	2	100%	0%	0%	0%	4	25%	0%	0%	5	40%	20%	0%	0%	5
Agriculture	1	0%	0%	0%	0%	5	60%	0%	0%	2	0%	50%	0%	0%	2
Consumer Goods	5	100%	0%	0%	0%	3	33%	0%	0%	8	25%	0%	0%	0%	8
Public Services	4	75%	0%	0%	0%	1	0%	0%	0%	3	33%	0%	0%	0%	3
Crime	2	100%	0%	0%	0%	3	0%	0%	0%	6	17%	0%	0%	0%	6
Education	3	100%	0%	0%	0%										
Labor Relations										4	0%	0%	0%	0%	4
Morals										2	50%	0%	50%		2

	1964					1968					1972				
					17+*					#					#
	#	0-8	9-16	17+		#	0-8	9-16	17+		#	0-8	9-16	17+	
Party Work	2	100%	0%	0%	0%	5	0%	60%	0%	15	13%	20%	0%	0%	15
Soviets	1	0%	0%	0%	0%	8	50%	0%	0%	6	40%	0%	0%	0%	6
Industry	4	0%	0%	0%	0%	11	73%	18%	0%	18	33%	44%	11%	11%	18
Agriculture	5	40%	0%	0%	0%	9	33%	0%	11%	16	44%	31%	13%	13%	16
Consumer Goods	4	0%	25%	0%	0%	7	57%	29%	0%	26	40%	28%	8%	8%	26
Public Services	7	0%	0%	0%	0%	26	35%	31%	8%	22	36%	41%	0%	0%	22
Crime	2	50%	0%	0%	0%	5	20%	20%	0%	11	9%	18%	0%	0%	11
Education	2	50%	0%	0%	0%	8	13%	50%	0%	5	40%	40%	0%	0%	5
Labor Relations	2	0%	50%	0%	0%	8	25%	0%	0%	22	69%	14%	5%	5%	22
Morals	1	0%	100%	0%	0%	4	0%	25%	0%	5	20%	0%	0%	0%	5

* # = Total number letters; 0-8 = 0-8 Weeks; 9-16 = 9-16 Weeks; 17+ = 17+ Weeks.

TABLE XXXXb.--Follow-Up Subject X Lag Time: Izvestia.

	1952				1956				1960			
	#		1952		#		1956		#		1960	
	#	0-8	9-16	17+*	#	0-8	9-16	17+	#	0-8	9-16	17+
Party Work	4	0%	0%	0%	1	100%	0%	0%	2	50%	50%	0%
Soviets	13	46%	0%	8%	5	0%	0%	0%	13	30%	15%	0%
Industry	1	0%	0%	100%					16	13%	13%	0%
Agriculture	1	0%	0%	0%					1	100%	0%	0%
Consumer Goods	3	67%	6%	0%	3	0%	0%	0%	13	39%	8%	8%
Public Services	4	50%	0%	0%	7	14%	14%	0%	13	23%	8%	0%
Crime	1	100%	0%	0%	2	50%	0%	0%	7	29%	14%	14%
Education	1	0%	0%	0%					2	50%	50%	0%
Labor Relations									4	0%	25%	25%
Morals									3	0%	33%	33%

	1964				1972			
	#		1964		#		1972	
	#	0-8	9-16	17+	#	0-8	9-16	17+
Party Work	5	80%	20%	0%				
Soviets	10	20%	80%	0%	4	0%	50%	25%
Industry	16	31%	25%	13%	9	11%	22%	33%
Agriculture	2	0%	100%	0%	5	40%	20%	20%
Consumer Goods	8	25%	13%	0%	19	22%	39%	11%
Public Services	10	40%	20%	0%	18	11%	33%	11%
Crime	7	57%	43%	0%	14	0%	7%	7%
Education	5	0%	0%	20%	2	0%	0%	0%
Labor Relations	6	67%	0%	0%	6	17%	0%	17%
Morals	9	11%	33%	0%	3	33%	33%	0%

* # = Total number letters; 0-8 = 0-8 Weeks; 9-16 = 9-16 Weeks; 17+ = 17+ Weeks.

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