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POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SOVIET MEDIA:
An Analysis of Channels and Patterns of Political
Communication in Soviet Journals

presented by

Steven Joe Green

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POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SOVIET MEDIA:
AN ANALYSIS OF CHANNELS AND PATTERNS OF POLITICAL
COMMUNICATION IN SOVIET JOURNALS

By

Steven Joe Green

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Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is an exploratory study of political communication in Soviet journals. It focuses on two political communication issues. First, what journals participate in political discussions on policy issues/events. Are policy discussions found in all Soviet journals? If not, what factors influence political communication in Soviet journals? Previous research on political communication and the Soviet media identify three journal characteristics that influence location, amount, and type of political communication. These characteristics are journal subject specialization, territorial-administrative level of sponsorship, and intended audience.

Second, identification of journal participants provides a list of political message sources and, consequently, permits a systematic analysis of their behavior. The purpose is to compare actual patterns of political messages to that assumed by competing paradigms of expected media patterns. Indirectly, the comparison of competing expectations may influence our understanding of the media and the policy process. Preliminary findings suggest that the major assumptions on factors influencing political communication channels

provide a useful guide to "mapping" journal sources. Political communication behavior is more complex with features of each policy model present under different political issues/events.

TO MY LOVELY DAUGHTER

I would like to thank Robert [unclear] and [unclear] for their comments on this project. I would also like to thank [unclear] for his assistance. Brian D. Silver, Marilee Dwyer, and [unclear] of the Michigan State University story at Michigan State University. I would also like to thank [unclear] for emotional support was provided by [unclear] and Rebecca Hendrick.

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INTRODUCTION

This is an exploratory study to test a number of propositions on political communication channels and patterns in Soviet journals (magazines, periodicals, serials, etc).¹ A common assumption by Western scholars is that the Soviet media are our "window on Soviet politics" and the primary source of information on the policy making process.² But there is little systematic inquiry into the media system and the policy process. Instead, most scholars assume the nature of the media system from their policy making model rather than examining the media as a communication system.

At best, the literature makes rather broad and untested assumptions concerning the media and its influence on Soviet policy making. Seldom have western scholars examined the basic communication

¹Carl Fagen, Political Communication (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966) pp. 18-20.

²An interesting argument for reading the Communist media as reflecting conflict over policy issue is from three Soviet scholars studying the Chinese media. They argue that policy orientations of various political personalities in Communist China can be ascertained by a careful review of the messages and the media source. See V. B. Bol'brus, G. G. Zarusiiia, G. S. Lonschchakov, "Iz opyta kachestvenno-kolichestvennogo analiza pressy KNR", Metodologicheskie i metodicheskie problemy kontent-analiza (Moscow: Institut sotsiologicheskii issledovani, 1973) vol. 2, pp. 56-57. This articles in discussed in William Zimmerman, "Distinguishing Advocacy and Policy in the Soviet Media: A Research Note," unpublished paper delivered at the Kremlinological Conference, Michigan State University, May 1979.

issues that are assumed to influence our perceptions of the policy process. Many questions essential for understanding political communications have not been systematically tested. What characteristics influence political information? Who are the sources of political information? In what journals is the information delivered? What are the implications of the media system for the policy process?

This thesis explores two political communication issues and their relation to various Soviet policy making models. First, it identifies journals that serve as channels of political communication and that participate in Soviet media discussion of a policy issue/event. Specifically, this dissertation identifies the characteristics that influence participation and distinguishes between political communication channels.

Descriptive accounts of the Soviet media suggest that three characteristics influence political communication channels: subject specialization, territorial-administrative level of sponsorship, and intended audience. Such characteristics have gained credence through selective investigation of a few leading media sources coupled with some commonly held assumptions of non-Soviet scholars. Chapter four tests these assumptions against the "real world" of Soviet political communication.

Three political events are selected to act as "fluorescent tracers" and "follow the primary channels of political communication."³ Similar to the radioactive dye used in tracing the human digestive system, these political events map political

³Fagan, p34.

communication channels across and within journals. Furthermore, they illuminate those characteristics assumed to influence political communications. It also has the practical advantage of identifying potential sources of policy information in journals. Failure to identify an important source may result in a misinterpretation of a policy issue. Future researchers may use the results of this study as a guide for location of political information in journals and, consequently, shorten the time necessary for identification of potential sources.

The theoretical importance of political communication channels is related to the second issue, political communication patterns. Identification of channels locates the raw material for examination of the pattern of political messages in journals. What is the pattern of Soviet political messages across journals? Who sets the agenda before an issue/event receives the attention of the appropriate decisionmaking organization? Who is entrusted with dissemination and interpretation of political information? There is little common agreement concerning these issues and the policy process. Currently, four policy models dominate the literature on Soviet policy formation: totalitarianism, kremlinology, institutional/social, and interest group.

Chapter Five and Six provide an indirect test of these policy models by comparing expected patterns of communication defined by each policy model with actual media patterns. Though this study does not represent a critical test of each policy model, investigation of political communication in relation to these models may reveal their strengths and weaknesses and raise new issues concerning policy formation and the Soviet media.

Another indicator of specialization is the source of information.

Journals and Political Communication play an extraordinary degree of content. Journals⁴ (periodicals, magazines, regular serials, etc.) are well-suited for studying channels and patterns of Soviet political communication. They are a multi-purpose medium with diverse subject specializations, possessing traits of both a mass and a specialized medium. Similar to the mass media (newspapers, television, radio), some journals' primary role is agitation, education, propaganda, organization, and mobilization to achieve policy goals or portray a positive image of Soviet society under party leadership.⁵ Rabotnitsa (Working Woman), Sovetskii Soiuz (Soviet Union), Partiinaia zhizn' (Party Life), Chelovek i zakon (People and the Law), Zdorov'e (Health) serve large audiences and often perform a task similar to other mass media. Other journals serve as a specialized medium. They usually have a narrower subject specialization, devote more space to a single topic, and appeal to a specialized/professional audience. This permits a more thorough and exhaustive treatment of an issue. Radio, television, and newspapers emphasize immediate, simplified coverage, appealing to a mass audience. Thorough, intricate analysis of issues is beyond the capability of a nightly news broadcast or a typical

⁴Mark Hopkins, Mass Media in the Soviet Union (New York: Praeger Press, 1964), pp. 182-224; Anthony Smith, The Soviet Press (London: Praeger Press, 1964), pp. 100-101.

⁵For newspaper sponsorship, see Leites, op. cit. pp. 100-101. For magazine sponsorship, see Leites, op. cit. pp. 100-101.

⁴For purposes of this study, journals are all those publications classified as such in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhya izdaniy, 1976-1980.

⁵Lenin o pechaty (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1959); Stalin o pechaty, (Sverdlovsk: Progress Publishers, 1932); Vladimir I. Lenin, Collected Works (New York: Progress Publishers, 1927) vol. IV, p. 114.

Another indicator of specialization is the source of information in journals. Mass media sources display an extraordinary degree of content similarity. The reasons for this are threefold. First, most political communications in the mass media originate from the two national news agencies (TASS and Novosti) or pattern political discussion after such national publications as Pravda and Izvestia. Little variation exists in content between general newspapers, radio, and television. Political discussion specific to one mass media source usually concerns local issues.⁶ Second, newspapers, television, and radio are more closely linked to the party and local government organization than journals.⁷ Most newspapers, especially below the All-Union and Republic level, are dually sponsored by the local party and government organization. Journal sponsorship, on the other hand, is quite diverse, with party and government sponsored journals comprising only a small fraction of all journals.⁸ Most are sponsored by specific government ministries, research institutes, universities, and public organizations. Only a small percentage are directly sponsored by the party or corresponding governmental organization.

⁶Mark Hopkins, Mass Media in the Soviet Union (New York: Praeger Press, 1972) pp. 182-224; Anthony Buzek, How the Communist Press Works (London: Praeger Press, 1964) pp. 80-92.

⁷For newspaper sponsorship, see Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsya izdani, 1971-1975, gazety vol 1.

⁸Most of these journals are agitator notebooks, journals for propagandists and local literary journals. Most journals are sponsored by specific governmental-party-public organizations not directly associated with territorial-administrative government organizations. For list of sponsors, see Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsya izdani, 1976-1980 (Moscow: Kniga, 1983).

Finally, most political information in the mass media is reprints of official communications or articles by professional journalists. Their content emphasizes political information on events and policy decisions (outcomes) for mass audience consumption. Journals tend more toward interpretation, analysis, and discussion of political issues, with less emphasis on only reporting politically relevant information.

Part I Sponsorship diversity, subject and audience specialization, authorship, and other characteristics distinguish journals from other mass media sources. But journals are similar to the mass media in other respects. Unlike other printed media (books, irregular serials, occasional papers, etc.), journals appear frequently and on a predictable schedule. This blend of specialization and mass media traits presents a unique opportunity for understanding Soviet political communication channels and patterns in both media.

Political Issues/Events and Political Communications

The "fluorescent tracers" selected to illuminate political communication channels and patterns are three significant political events with policy implications occurring in the early 1980's: the 26th Party Congress (February 1981), the Central Committee Plenum approving the Food Program (May 1982), and the ascension of Andropov as General Secretary (December 1982). These events and associated policy issues are selected because of their political importance, diversity of policy subject, and temporal proximity to one another.

The Party Congress is, perhaps, the single most important political event occurring at regular intervals in the Soviet system. Theoretically, it is the "highest representative body of the party" electing the Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Auditing Committee. Decisions, reports, resolutions and speeches discussed at the Congress consider the broadest and most important contemporary political issues and future policy directions. Furthermore, the Congress is announced several months in advance, allowing substantial prior as well as subsequent media coverage.⁹ Because of its political importance and subject diversity, examination of media coverage of the Party Congress should illuminate the widest channels of Soviet political communication. Journals not participating in discussion on this event are assumed to seldom participate in political communication, regardless of the policy issue. Unlike the single policy case study, this approach allows for investigation of political communication across policy issues. What emerges is a clearer understanding of political communication patterns under different policy issues and situations that in turn broadens our knowledge of Soviet policy formation.

The second policy issue/event is the Food Program and associated resolutions approved by the Spring 1982 Central Committee plenum. Though it is an issue with national significance, those affected by it are a much more restricted group than the 26th Party Congress. Agriculture is the general subject of the Plenum with specific topics

⁹Material published on the Party Congress cover several of the most important materials. See *Izvestia*, May 23, 1982. Material related to the Congress was published in *Izvestia* and *Pravda* during the Congress. English translations of these materials are in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, vol. XXXIII, no. 8, pp. 2-21 and Vol. XXXIII, no. 9, pp. 4-15, no. 23, pp. 11-13, 19; vol. XXXIV, no. 24, pp. 16-19; vol. XXXIV, no. 25, pp. 13-14.

including fertilizer production, animal husbandry, fruit and vegetable production, fish, auxiliary farm production and food distribution.¹⁰ This event permits the investigation of the effect of a more restrictive policy issue/event on political communication channels and patterns.

The ascension of Andropov differs from the other "tracers" because of the suddenness and unpredictability of Soviet leadership change. This is a common procedure for most of the recent transitions in leadership. The media only responds to the death of a leader and the subsequent events leading to the ascension of a new General Secretary. Prior discussion of leadership succession or the related issue of health are forbidden topics in the Soviet media.

However, the ascension of a new Soviet leader has significance for all segments of society and often is followed by new policy initiatives and programs. Furthermore, a new leader may signal a shift in political power and is usually followed by a series of significant personnel changes in other political positions. Few studies, however, examine the role of the media and political succession.

Analysis of Political Communications

A cross-sectional analysis with a restricted time frame was selected because of the limited prior research on Soviet political

¹⁰Material published on the Party Congress cover several days. For the most important materials, see *Pravda*, May 25, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 27, 1982, pp. 1-4; May 28, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 29, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 30, 1982, pp. 1-2. These are partially translated in *The Current Digest of Soviet Press* Vol. XXXIV, no. 21, pp. 1-13; vol. XXXIV, no. 22, pp. 7-15; vol. XXXIV, no. 23, pp. 11-13, 19. vol. XXXIV, no. 24, pp. 16-19; vol. XXXIV, no. 25, pp. 13-14.

communication. The message is the unit of analysis with the frequency of appearance on our various characteristics (variables) influencing channels and patterns of political communication. This approach is more appropriate than content analysis for a number of reasons. First, the focus of this dissertation is on location, amount and type of messages rather than the specific content of the message. Second, analysis of content probes only so far as to determine the general subject of a message. It is out of necessity to identify the content of messages in order to identify the general subject of message.

In this respect, content analysis of the messages is the next appropriate step in investigating political communication. But before this can be satisfactorily achieved, the characteristics influencing the location of political communications must be well understood. This study represents this first step, paving the way for more thorough content analysis.

Though few Western studies directly examine Soviet political communication in the media, a number of propositions and expectations exist in the literature. These can be divided into two categories: channels of communication and communication behavior of the message. The former is mostly concerned with location, type, and amount of participation by journals in political communication. Specifically, political communication channels are those that carry political messages to the various audiences serviced by journals. Channels of political communication are distinguished by amount, location, and type of messages across journals. Most Western scholars assume that political communication channels in journals are

influenced by three variables: subject specialization, level of sponsorship, and intended audience.

This part approaches political communication channels from an intentionally naive perspective. Since no recent studies have investigated this issue, even relatively well-known influences on communication channels are tested. For all characteristics, this study attempts to clarify and push beyond the generally accepted understanding.

Patterns of political communication focus on the appearance of the message within and across journals. Who are the major communicators of political information? What is the physical context of their messages? Is there a discernible pattern of communication as suggested by one of the dominant Soviet policy making models?

Assumptions regarding political communication patterns lack unanimity and depend on the specific policy-model used to understand Soviet policy formation. Differences among the four policy models are captured on three dimensions; dominant source, context, and homogeneity of political communications in journals. The crucial assumptions of each policy model address the issues of who are the dominant sources of political communication, what is the physical context of the message, and what is the pattern of message dissemination across journals (homogeneity)? Each of the policy models assumes a different interaction between these variables and political communications.

In the following chapters, I will survey the literature on the Soviet media and alternative policy models to formulate and test a number of propositions about the functioning of political

communication channels and I will develop a typology of political communication patterns. LITERATURE REVIEW OF SOVIET JOURNALS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The following survey of current literature on Soviet journals and the printed media is divided into two sections. First, I examine the substantial body of descriptive literature on those variables that influence channels of political communication. Second, I discuss alternative Soviet policy models and their different conceptualizations of political communication patterns. Each policy model assumes a unique and specific type of communication structure and policy goals.

Channels of Political Communication

Descriptive accounts on the Soviet media and journals focus on the mechanisms of party-state control (ownership, financing, editorial and management appointments, etc.), subject specialization and diversity, level of sponsorship, and audience differentiation. Though unconcerned with policy formation, these studies present a number of variables influencing communication channels. In contrast to a number of case studies on Soviet party journals, however, a parallel relationship between the variables and channels of political communication in journals.

11For few of the many discussions on these issues, see A. Vladimirov, "Glasnost: How the Soviet Censor Works," *Newsweek*, vol. 1, no. 1/4, pp. 31-43; John H. Miller, "The New Soviet Censorship Team?—A Note," *Soviet Studies*, vol. 19, no. 4, October 1977, pp. 590-598; Martin Devereux and Kenneth Kestell, *The Soviet Censorship* (Nottingham: Scarborough Press, 1975); *Sobremennia postsovetskii pravoslavnyi SOCP*, no. 16, 1984, p. 397.

Subject specialization is, Chapter I the most frequently discussed characteristic distinction. LITERATURE REVIEW OF SOVIET media sources JOURNALS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION and among different journal types.¹² All major works on the Soviet

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¹²For Soviet discussion on this point, see V. G. Gerasimov, "Mass Media and the Population at Present,"

¹¹For few of the many discussions on these issues, see L. Vladimirov, "Glavlit: How the Soviet Censor Works:", Index, vol. 1, no. 3/4, pp. 31-43; John H. Miller, "The Top Soviet Censorship Team?--A Note," Soviet Studies, vol. XXIX, no. 4, October 1977, pp. 590-598; Martin Dewhirst and Robert Farrell, The Soviet Censorship (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1970); Sobranie postanovlenii pravitel'stva CCCP, no. 19, 1966, p. 397.

¹⁴Markham, p. 225.

Subject specialization is, perhaps, the most frequently discussed characteristic distinguishing journals from other mass media sources and among different journal types.¹² All major works on the Soviet media present a similar nine category subject specialization typology: party-politics-economics, science-math, industry-technology, ~~and~~ in agriculture, medicine-public health, education, culture-art, press-and bibliography, and miscellaneous. This subject typology is the starting point of most descriptive studies.¹³

Of particular interest are journals with subject specializations in party affairs, politics, and ideology. This category, political and party journals, are singled out as an important general political communication channel. Markham argues that this subject specialization focuses on "high-level questions of Communist Party policy and ideology and the relationship of such matters to the Soviet government."¹⁴ Their distinguishing characteristic is a subject focus on contemporary political issues.

Examination of twenty single policy issue case studies reinforces this interpretation. Most case studies, regardless of the policy issue, use journals associated with party affairs subject specializations as a source of information on political communication. Some of the most commonly used journals are Kommunist (Communist),

¹²For Soviet discussion on this point, See V. Afanasyev, Social Information and the Regulation of Social Development (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978) p. 333.

¹³The use of this subject typology has dominated Western and Soviet discussions on journals since the Stalin period. See Boris Gorokhoff, Publishing in the USSR (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959) pp. 30-41, 239-243; James W. Markham, Voices of the Red Giant (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967) pp. 168-235; Buzek, pp. 74-79; Hopkins, pp. 225-230.

¹⁴Markham, p. 225.

Partiinaiia zhizn' (Party Life), Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo (Soviet Government and Law), Sovetskaia iustitsiia (Soviet Justice).¹⁵

Ploss, Ra'anan, Spechler, Zimmerman and Axelrod, Dinerstein, and Paul use these journals as a source for foreign policy communication.¹⁶ Stewart cites Kommunist and Partiinaiia zhizn' in discussing educational reform.¹⁷ Solomon's review of legal reform and McCain's measurement of attitudinal congruence in the legal profession cite all four journals.¹⁸ This category serves as a general channel of political communication on all current policy issues. Journals with subject specializations in party life, agitator notebooks¹⁹, ideology, politics, law, and government all fall into this category. Other subject specialization journals also serve as political communication channels. But their participation is more selective, dependent on the congruence of the policy issue/event and the subject

¹⁵The twenty non-random case studies reviewed are noted in the bibliography under Case Studies.

¹⁶Sidney Ploss, "Soviet Politics on the Eve of the 24th Party Congress", World Politics, XXIII, 1, 1970; Uri Ra'anan, "Moscow and the 'Third World'", Problems of Communism, 14, January-February 1965; Dina Spechler, Domestic Influences on Soviet Foreign Policy, (Washington, D.C. University Press of America, 1978); Herbert S. Dinerstein, The Making of a Missile Crisis: October 1962, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); David W. Paul, "Soviet Foreign Policy and the Invasion of Czechoslovakia: A Theory and a Case Study", International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 2, 15, June 1971, pp. 159-202; William Zimmerman and Robert Axelrod, "The 'Lessons' of Vietnam and Soviet Foreign Policy," World Politics, XXXIV, 3, 1981, pp. 1-24.

¹⁷Phillip Stewart, "Soviet Interest Groups and the Policy Process", World Politics, XXII, 1, October 1969.

¹⁸Peter H. Solomon, Soviet Lawyers and Criminal Policy: Specialists in Policymaking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Morris A. McCain, "Soviet Lawyers in the Reform Debate: Cohesion and Efficacy," Soviet Studies, January, 1982.

¹⁹This is a special type of journal that serves party propagandists and focuses on current policy decisions. See Gorokhoff, p. 34; Hopkins, pp. 225-226.

specialization of the journal.²⁰ Examples of selective participation related to subject specialization are numerous in the case study literature. foreign policy discussions.

Stewart relies on several educational journals in probing educational reform.²¹ Barry and Berman, McCain, and Solomon cite Sotsialisticheskaja zakonnost' (Socialist Justice), Sovetskaia kriminalistika (Soviet Criminology), and Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta: Seriya pravo (Herald of Moscow State University: Law Series) as well as the more prominent law journals cited above.²² Ra'anan and Kolkowicz use a common set of journals on international affairs.²³ Ploss and Judy, examining economic reform, use a number of economic journals.²⁴

But this relationship extends beyond policy-journal subject congruence. Subject specializations closely related to the subject of a policy issue or event also participate in political communication. This is most evident in foreign policy issues. Without exception, studies on foreign policy include military journals as a primary source of political communication. Diamant-Kass, Zimmerman and Axelrod, Ploss, and Spechler consult Kommunist vooruzhennykh sil

²⁰Hopkins, pp. 227-229.

²¹The educational publications cited in Stewart's study are Sovetskaia pedagogika and Uchitel'skaia gazeta.

²²Donald D. Barry and Harold J. Berman, "The Jurists", in Gordon Skilling and G. Franklyn Griffiths, Interest Groups in the Soviet Union (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971) pp. 291-334.

²³Roman Kolkowicz, The Red Hawks on the Rationality of Nuclear War (Santa Monica, Rand Corporation) RM-4899, 1966. The journals used by these scholars are Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, Novaia vremena, and World Marxist Review.

²⁴Richard W. Judy, "The Economists" in Skilling and Griffiths, pp. 209-252; Ploss (1970) pp. 61-81.

(Communist Military Affairs), Voennii vestnik (Military Herald), Morskoi sbornik (Naval Collection) and other military journals as sources for foreign policy discussions.

Another influence on channels of communication is level of sponsoring organization. Gorokhoff, Markham and Hopkins argue that the content of journals reflects the territorial-administrative level of a sponsor.²⁵ All-Union journals are the most prestigious and highest rank journals, focusing on national issues. Markham argues that they

...set the example for the rest of the country, serving as models of practice, form, and content for similar types of publications in each of the political subdivisions. They are the first and final source of the latest 'line' pronouncements from central party and government headquarters.²⁶

Republic and local journals are less concerned with national issues, serving instead as transmitters of their respective territorial-administrative region. Their discussion focuses on regional or local issues affecting a particular geographical area associated with the journal.

Sponsorship level affecting communications is reinforced by the Soviet journal subscription system. Though it is possible for a subscriber living outside a republic to subscribe to that republic's journals, it must be done through direct communications between the subscriber and the journal's territorial subscription agency instead of the local or All-Union subscription agencies.²⁷ This extra step

²⁵Gorokhoff, p. 30; Markham, pp. 111-113; Hopkins, pp. 224-226; Leo Gruliov, "How the Soviet Newspaper Operates," Problems of Communism, Vol. V, March-April 1956, pp. 1-15.

²⁶Markham, pp. 112-113.

²⁷Gorokhoff, pp. 30-31.

may discourage a significant number of casual readers from subscribing to journals of other republics or areas.

The case study literature suggests a similar pattern of political communication. With few exceptions, All-Union sponsored journals are cited more frequently than their republic or local counter-parts on national policy issues. Regional or local issues activate lower level participation. Examples of republic and local territorial level participation are Stewart's review of educational reform and Solomon's discussion of legal reform. In both cases, republic sponsored journals participated in a national policy discussion that clearly had implications for the republic or local level.

Finally, intended audience is often cited as another influence on channels of political communication. Hopkins, Buzek, and Markham distinguish between mass consumption and specialist journals. Because of their mass appeal, the former are similar to newspapers and other mass media channels of political communication. Their political content is restricted to reports of political events or as transmitters of policy decisions. Rarely does their content provide pre-event or indepth discussions on policy issues.²⁸

Specialist journals have a much broader role in policy discussions, including pre-decision and post-decision discussion. Unlike mass journals with a focus on information transfer, specialized journals are forums of discussion and exchange of ideas, innovations, and technical implications of policy proposals. Less emphasis is given to informing the audience than providing a forum of discussion.²⁹

²⁸Buzek, pp. 67-68; Markham, pp. 203-236.

²⁹Hopkins, pp. 231-232.

Journals appealing to mass audiences include the popular women's magazines Rabotnitsa (Woman Worker) and Krestianka (Peasant Woman), the popular international affairs journals Novoe vremia (New Times), Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn' (International Life), and Za rubezhom (Abroad) and other popular journals ranging from Sem'ia i shkola (Family and School) to Krokodil (Crocodile). Such journals are readily identifiable in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdani, 1976-1980. Subject categories with journals for mass audiences include literary, illustrated-literary, satire and humor, women, scientific-popular, and sports.

The foregoing discussion outlines three general characteristics or variables that influence political communication channels: subject specialization, level of sponsorship, and intended audience. They provide a basis for predicting the location, amount and timing of political communication in journals. This, as mentioned, forms the groundwork for understanding the pattern of political communication in these channels. But these characteristics tell us little regarding the pattern of the message within and across these channels.

Political Communication Patterns and the Policy Process

The pattern of political messages is a more theoretically interesting issue because of the assumed relationship between Soviet message patterns and policy formation. The media are our "window" on Soviet politics and the policy formation process. Western research using journals and other publications usually approaches the media from one of four policymaking perspectives; totalitarian, kremlinology, institutional/social, and interest group. Each

perspective assumes different communication behavior reflecting the policy model preference. Three concurrent issues on which these assumptions are based are the dominant source, physical context, and homogeneity of a message across journals. A crosscutting issue is the notion of timing. Some scholars argue that political communication patterns differ between pre-decision and post-decision time periods.

Totalitarian Policy Model. One of the oldest theoretical

approaches on the Soviet policy process and political communications is the totalitarian perspective. A fundamental assumption is that concerning political communication patterns. All media sources are policy decisions and discussions are monopolized by the party leadership or "Supreme leader" with little participation by other groups, institutions, or individuals.³⁰ The "Supreme leader" or designated party leader is the dominant source of all politically relevant messages.

The party is the instrument of control, allowing only uniform, unidirectional political communication. The function of the media is limited to educating and mobilizing support for policy decisions. This leads to the implicit assumption that differentiating among the media by characteristics such as type, sponsorship, language, editorial staff, etc. is unimportant for understanding political

³⁰For a discussion of this point, see Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Meridian Books, 1958); Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958); Alex Inkeles and Raymond Bauer, The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Nature of the Soviet System," Slavic Review, XX, October 1961; Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and William Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press) 1978.

communication and political decision-making.³¹

From this perspective, the only feature that distinguishes journals from other media is subject specialization, intended audience, and level of sponsorship. Markham argues that as

...a vehicle for opinion, the system presents for the most part only one sided arguments on all questions. Calm, balanced or unbiased analysis of the several sides of an issue on their merit alone is rarely in evidence and in most cases appears to be impossible to achieve.³²

Scholars adhering to this perspective share common expectations concerning political communication patterns. All media sources are controlled by the Party and serve as vehicles of unidirectional communications opposing factional leaders and communication from the leader to society. This control implies uniformity and consensus in political communication patterns across media. Political communications by the "Supreme leader" or his appointed lieutenants in the party dominate pre-event and post-event discussion, transmit messages in all channels of political communication, insure uniformity of message, and emphasize policy decisions rather than policy advocacy. Few others outside the party leadership and the party participate in political communications.

The totalitarian perspective fell under attack as political conflict became increasingly apparent during the Khrushchev era. Western scholars, recognizing a changing Soviet political system, offered alternative explanations of Soviet political conflict and its apparent reflection in the media. Three conflict models dominate the

³¹Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961) pp. 184-186.

³²Markham, pp. 233-234.

"political conflict" literature: kremlinology, interest group, and institutional/social (bureaucratic) group. Their common point of agreement is the refutation of uniform, unidirectional political communication behavior without political conflict. Instead, the media reflects policy conflict among differing politically relevant groups in the political system. Each policy model attributes political conflict in the media to a different set of political actors.

Kremlinological Policy Perspective. Kremlinology assumes that political conflict is a "struggle among political leaders" for power and acceptance of their policy preferences.³³ Through esoteric media communications, opposing factional leaders argue their policy preferences, seek support, and signal faction members to current policy preferences of the factional leader. However, the policy struggle remains within and between the top political leaders with others having no "direct political expression." They are casual observers with little ability to influence policy decisions.

Sidney Ploss has written extensively on Soviet policy conflict.³⁴ Ploss assumes that portions of the media are captured by contending leadership factions by examining sponsorship of a journals, its

³³Brzezinski and Huntington, pp. 195-197. See also Robert Conquest, Power and Policy in the USSR: The Struggle for Stalin's succession, 1945-1960, (New York: Torchbook, 1967), pp. 50-78 and Frederick C. Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, (Boston: Brown, Little and Company, 1966); Carl Linden, Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership: 1957-1964 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

³⁴Sidney I. Ploss, 1970 pp. 61-81; "Studying the Domestic Determinants of Soviet Foreign Policy", Canadian Slavic Studies, 1, 1967; The Soviet Political Process (New York: Waltham, Ginn and Company, 1971); Conflict and Decisionmaking in Soviet Russia: A Case Study of Agricultural Policy, 1953-1963 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

allegiance to a faction is revealed. Each faction uses its media resources as a vehicle of policy advocacy.

In his study of economic reform and the 24th Party Congress, Ploss identifies several major political factions based on different policy statements in specialist newspapers and journals. Kosygin, leader of the economic reformers, voiced his position in Planovoe khoziaistvo (Planned Economy), a journal sponsored by the State Planning Committee and Izvestia, a government sponsored newspaper. Brezhnev, an opponent to reform, advocated his position on economic development in Krasnaia zvezda (Red Star), a military newspaper and assumed ally of the non-reformers, and Voprosy istorii KPSS (Problems of History of the CPSU), a party journal sponsored by the Central Committee.³⁵

In the same study, Ploss applied a kremlinological interpretation to the famous literary debate between Novy mir (New World) and Oktiabr' (October). Novy mir, controlled by a liberal Politburo faction, argued for a lessening of State and Party interference in literature. A more conservative Politburo faction aired concerns over such freedom in Oktiabr'.³⁶

This dispute reached a climax in 1970. Several purported liberal members of Novy mir's editorial board were removed or resigned, including Tvardovsky. They were replaced by reputedly more conservative editors.³⁷ Ploss argues that replacement of Tvardovsky and other liberal editors represented a victory for the conservative Politburo faction.

³⁵Ploss (1970), pp. 63-66.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 75-77.

³⁷Ibid., p. 77.

Spechler, examining Soviet Middle East policy, links political factions with specific newspapers and journals.³⁸ Pravda, sponsored by the Central Committee, represents the views of the General Secretary and his supporters in the Party apparatus. Izvestia, a government publication, presents the position of Kosygin and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. Krasnaya zvezda, sponsored by the Defense Ministry, articulates the views of Marshal Grechko. The Komsomol, labor union, and Russian republic government newspapers express the views of Suslov, Shelepin, and Poliansky, respectively.³⁹ Spechler uses these publications as surrogate indicators of factional conflict over relations with the United States.⁴⁰

Kremlinologists share a number of assumptions concerning political communication patterns and the policy process. First, different publications are captured by opposing leadership factions. Each faction controls content and assures uniformity of policy position in its media outlets. Capture allows a leadership faction "to shape their treatment of the news in accordance with their own views and to appoint as editors individuals who would do that for them."⁴¹ Journals and other publications are assumed to be captured through institutions that are part of a leadership faction.

Second, factional leaders are the dominant communicators, with each using the media as one of many tools in policy issue struggles. These leaders set the political agenda and disseminate information on policy decisions. Participation by specialists, technicians, or

³⁸Spechler, p. 15.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 64-70.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 13-16.

academicians is minimal. Monopolization of political communication by the Party leadership allows little opportunity for policy discussion from this group. Periodic outbreaks of significant political conflict among leadership factions permit limited articulation, but only in support of a particular leader or factional policy position. Cues for policy position originate from the leadership through either direct communication by the leader, a closely associated individual, or through editorial commentary in newspapers or journals.

Institutional Policy Perspective. A second conflict model assumes that policy formation resembles institutional/social or bureaucratic policy conflict models.⁴² Political conflict and debate occurs between large institutional/social group elites rather than factions confined to the party leadership.

The media's role is quite distinct from that in the previously discussed theoretical approaches to policy formation. Sponsoring institutions instead of leadership factions control content of their publications. Through this control, only the policy preferences of institutional, organizational, or social elites appear in their media outlets. Journals as well as other media sources are captured and

⁴²For a discussion of this policy model, see Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications, in Raymond Tanler and Richard H. Ullman (eds.), Theory and Policy in International Relations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) pp. 40-80; V. V. Aspaturian, "The Soviet Military-Industrial Complex-- Does it Exist?", Journal of International Affairs, 26, 1, 1972, pp. 1-26; Jiri Valenta, "Soviet Decisionmaking and the Czechoslovakian Crisis of 1968", Studies in Comparative Communism, VIII, 1 and 2, Spring and Summer 1975, pp. 147-173; Lilita Dzirkals, Thane Gustafson, and A. Ross Johnson, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in the USSR (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1982), R-2869, pp. v-xii; Paul, pp. 159-202.

used by institutional/social groups as vehicles of institutional policy articulation.

Angell, Dunham, and Singer were among the first to use institutional/social elite group analysis. They identified six major institutional/social groups that influence policy formation: military, scientific, cultural, labor, government-party, and economic elite.⁴³ Their representative media form the following typology.

Specialized newspapers and journals are

Government-Party elite	<u>Pravda</u> (n) ⁴⁴ <u>Kommunist</u> (j) <u>Voprosy filosofii</u> (j)
Economic elite	<u>Voprosy ekonomiki</u> (j) <u>Sovetskaia trgovlia</u> (j) <u>Planovoe khoziaistvo</u> (j)
Scientific elite	<u>Vestnik akademii nauk</u> (j) <u>Vestnik vysshei shkoly</u> (j)
Military elite	<u>Krasnaia zvezda</u> (n)
Cultural elite	<u>Novy mir</u> (j) <u>Literaturnaia gazeta</u> (n) <u>Teatr'</u> (j)
Labor elite	<u>Sotsialisticheskii trud</u> (n)

These journals and newspapers represent their respective elite group attitudes and preferences during policy struggles. This is based on the implicit assumption that each group controls and monopolizes their media resources, denying other elite groups or opposing opinions access to their media. Journals and specialized

⁴³Robert C. Angell, Vera S. Dunham, and J. David Singer, "Social Values and Foreign Policy Attitudes of Soviet and American Elites," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 8, 1964, pp. 329-492.

⁴⁴Journals are marked by a (j) and newspapers by a (n).

newspapers are vehicles of institutional or occupational elite political communications.⁴⁵ Pravda and other publications are Milton Lodge offers a similar typology of five sponsored by institutional/social groups "to measure the degree to which specialist elites manifest the attitudinal orientation of active participants" in political communication. Each uses its media as a platform for advancing its policy preferences.⁴⁶ Specialized newspapers and journals are ...vehicles for the limited articulation of elite attitudes. Representing a functional sphere of activity in the political system, specialist journals primarily perform an instrumental role--authors, as experts elaborate on policies within their sphere of competence, suggest ways and means for improving implementation, mobilize support, and ...criticize shortcomings.⁴⁷ For example, party apparat values find expression in two Central Committee publications: Kommunist and Partiinaia zhizn'. Artists and the literary elite attitudes are expressed in three publications sponsored by the Writer's Union: Literaturnaia gazeta (Literature Newspaper), Novy mir, and Oktiabr'. The legal profession expresses preferences in Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo and Sovetskaiia iustitsiia. Each media outlet serves as a communication device for advocating policy preferences of institutional and/or social groups.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Angell, p. 335.

⁴⁶Milton C. Lodge, Soviet Elite Attitudes Since Stalin (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1969), pp. 1-10. Also, "Soviet Elite Participatory Attitudes in the Post-Stalin Period," American Political Science Review, 57, 3, 1968, pp. 827-839.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 6. The five groups are the Party, military, economic elite, legal profession, and the literary elite.

Diamant-Kass, examining Soviet policy toward the Middle East, agrees that Krasnaia zvezda, Pravda and other publications are controlled by their respective institutional/group sponsors.⁴⁹ This, she argues, leads to "a unified line vis-a-vis the lines propagated by other institutions" in relation to political communication.⁵⁰

A "unified line", however, is not indicative of opinion consensus in an institution. Intra-institutional conflict is common but rarely emerges in the media. Diamant-Kass argues that only the dominant faction expresses its policy preferences. Journals and specialized newspapers are vehicles of the "group currently in ascendancy within a given institution".⁵¹ Dissenting views are suppressed by the institutional leadership.

Though it is clear that Diamant-Kass implies non-institutional interest group activity within and, perhaps, across institutions, her argument maintains that political communication patterns reflects an institutional/social group perspective. Dissenting cross-institutional and factional groups within an institution are consistently denied access to the media and in effecting policy formation.

Zimmerman and Axelrod, using eight All-Union newspapers, three Republic newspapers and eight journals, examine the divergent lessons of the Vietnam War drawn by different Soviet institutions. Assuming direct institutional control of media sources, they plot publications along a left/right political continuum. Both journals and newspapers

⁴⁹Ilana Diamant-Kass, "The Soviet Military an Soviet Policy in the Middle East, 1970-1973", Soviet Studies, 26, October 1974, pp. 502-521.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 505.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 520.

have clear policy orientations that correspond to the expected orientation of their respective institutional sponsor.

Thus, the Americanists writing in SShA expressed an institutional interest in good US-Soviet relations. Kommunist vooruzhennykh sil and, to a lesser extent, Krasnaia zvezda, gave vent to the military perspective that the "imperialists haven't changed"... Although Literaturnaia gazeta cannot be said to represent an institution, it expressed distinctive views--views that were shared by a "stratum" of Soviet society for whom good East-West relations really matter...⁵²

Each institution has a vested interest in its particular perspective and uses its media resources as vehicles for expressing institutional/social group opinion.⁵³

Zimmerman, in a related study, offers one of the few typologies of Soviet political communication. Assuming institutional policy conflict, he distinguishes advocacy from policy in foreign affairs by three key variables. They are authorship, homogeneity across media sources, and physical context.⁵⁴

Physical context refers to the placement and form of an "utterance" in the media. In journals, authoritative statements include speeches at a Party Congress, editorial articles, and the first article. Though not foolproof, Zimmerman argues that they are the "main markers that usually designate policy pronouncements and...are not sources we look to primarily in seeking evidence of advocacy in the policy process."⁵⁵

⁵²Zimmerman and Axelrod, pp. 1-23.

⁵³Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁴Zimmerman, pp. 12-22.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 12.

According to Zimmerman, authorship is another criterion for measuring authoritativeness. Agreed-upon policy usually carries no markers of individual authorship. This includes reprinted resolutions passed by an organization or articles whose author's identity is not revealed. Less authoritative are "pseudonymously authored articles" using such code phrases as "observer" or "commentator." Below this are identified multiple authored articles. Finally, individually authored or articles "labelled as personal opinions" are the most closely associated with individual advocacy rather than policy statements.⁵⁶ Authority of an author depends on a combination of Party and institutional rank.

A final indicator of authoritativeness is homogeneity of an utterance. That is, how often does a political message appear in different media sources? Articles, speech reprints, or other material printed in a number of journals are indicative of policy statements while such material appearing in one source suggests policy advocacy. To delineate between policy or advocacy, Zimmerman suggests a search across media sources for frequency of appearance of an utterance.⁵⁷ Policy statements are more likely to appear in several sources. Advocacy, however, usually appears in only one media source.

Institutional/social group scholars argue that specialized newspapers and journals are captured by institutional or professional elite groups. The media is a vehicle of institutional elite group advocacy with conflicting opinions within institutions not permitted. The dominant sources of policy utterances are the institutional elites

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁷Zimmerman, pp. 9-13.

in official or non-official statements. Uniformity of these dominant sources is along institutional channels. The purpose of institutional capture is to reinforce policy advocacy in "closed forums."⁵⁸

Non-Institutional Interest Group Policy Perspective. A final conflict policy model assumes that a variety of interest groups use the media to influence policy decisions.⁵⁹ An intrinsic difference between this model and the others is the nature of group formation and advocacy on political issues. Groups coalesce around alternative policy perspectives and form loosely organized groups along and across institutional lines. These groups are more likely

to be active exponents of common attitudes than organized groups, and more likely also to assert demands for government or party action. In fact, such groups may come into existence because organized groups...do not perform their function adequately.⁶⁰

The media's role is assumed to be a forum of interest group articulation. Instead of a "captured" media system, it is a "market place of ideas" that "is neither a perfect monopoly by the party, nor

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 10-15.

⁵⁹For some applications of this approach to Communist systems, see Andrew C. Janos, "Interest Groups and the Structure of Power: Critique and Comparisons," Studies in Comparative Communism, XII, 1, Spring, 1979, 6-20; Gordon Skilling, "Interest Groups and Communist Politics," World Politics, XVIII, 3, April 1966, pp. 430-435; Joel Schwartz and William Keech, "Group Influence on the Policy Process in the Soviet Union," American Political Science Review, 62, 3, September 1968, pp. 840-885; Donald R. Kelley, "Interest Groups in the USSR: The Impact of Political Sensitivity on Group Influence," Journal of Politics, 34, 3, August 1972, pp. 860-888; William E. Odom, "A Dissenting View on the Group Approach to Soviet Politics," World Politics, XXVIII, 4, July 1976, pp. 542-567.

⁶⁰Skilling and Griffiths, p. 30.

entirely free competition, but an imperfect market reflecting pressures and counter-pressures by groups of varying strengths".⁶¹

The operation of this "free market," however, is a matter of controversy. Some scholars argue that publications are individually controlled by political interest groups who use those publications as vehicles of political advocacy and communication. The free market is a pluralistic media system with various interest groups controlling small numbers or individual journals and newspapers. This conceptualization is similar to the monopoly of control suggested by the three previous models. However, instead of factional, institutional, or large social group domination, media control is exercised by many diverse interest groups.

Others make no such assumption, suggesting that journals and newspapers are relatively neutral, providing access to a variety of contending interests. Hopkins argues that journals "perform as discussion clubs and testing grounds for controversial methods, views, raw information, and proposals".⁶² They allow relatively uninhibited discussion of proposals within a select audience of specialists.

Stewart, examining the repeal of the 1964 production education law identifies several interest groups.⁶³ Some form along institutional lines and use the media as a platform for policy advocacy. Other institutions, however, suffer from internal division and are unable to present a unified position. In such cases, the role of that institution's media becomes ambiguous, with opposing views in the institution appearing in the same journal.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 43.

⁶²Hopkins, p. 232.

⁶³Stewart, pp. 29-50.

Stewart cites as his example the controversy surrounding production education in the 1960's. Supporters of production education included officials of the RSFSR Ministry of Education, chief editor of Uchitel'skaia gazeta (Teacher's Newspaper), and two educational research institutions. Opponents advocated differentiated education and included members in the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences, editorial board of Literaturnaia gazeta, Izvestia, and the assistant editor of Uchitel'skaia gazeta.

Of particular interest in this conflict is the role of the specialized newspaper Uchitel'skaia gazeta. At first, the newspaper printed several articles and editorials supporting production education. Several of these pieces were written by the chief editor.⁶⁴ Within a few months months, however, this support dissipated and the journal published several editorials supporting differentiated education written by the deputy editor. This oscillation Stewart attributes to both interest groups having supporters in the RSFSR Ministry of Education and on the editorial board of Uchitel'skaia gazeta.⁶⁵ This permitted both interest groups access to Uchitel'skaia gazeta.

In contrast, Literaturnaia gazeta and Sovetskaia pedagogika (Soviet Education) permitted only articles and editorials favoring production education. Stewart argues that this indicates the sponsoring institutions of these journals enforced consensus support for differentiated education. As a result, differences of opinion failed to appear in journals sponsored by these organizations.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 38.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 40.

Institutional support for differentiated education originated from several institutions including the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and prominent members of the Academy of Science. This group also had members in the Ministry of Education and became strong enough to promote its views in the Ministry's newspaper even though the Minister opposed differentiated education. Through the use of the media, Stewart suggests that interest groups may form across or along institutional groupings. Advocates of differentiated education possessed both qualities. ⁶⁶

Stewart also examines the participants in the discussion over educational reform. He argues that the participants in the discussion were middle-ranking "prominent people" but not usually the leadership of an institution. Institutional and political leaders participated only if an issue became politically significant or controversial. Even then, however, their remarks were limited to support rather than leading or dominating discussion on educational reform. ⁶⁷

In another study of the literary debate between Novy mir and Oktiabr', Simmons disagrees with Ploss's kremlinological interpretation. The level of conflict was much lower than the Politburo. These two journals represented conflicting groups in the Writer's Union on a policy issue debated almost entirely within the Union. Politburo or party intervention was minimal. ⁶⁸

One faction, the liberals, led by Novy mir's chief editor, Tvardovsky, promoted literary freedom from the perceived harshness of

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 49.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 43-45.

⁶⁸Ernest J. Simmons, "The Writers," in Skilling and Griffiths, pp. 253-290.

censorship. The conservatives controlled Oktiabr', under the editorship of reputed neo-Stalinist Vsevolod Kochetov.⁶⁹ Simmons finds little evidence of party leadership interference or concern in this debate. The party "prefers to let the Union run its own affairs and its members as long as it does not wander outside the party orbit."⁷⁰ Liberal and conservative groups controlled separate media resources through editorial board selection. In turn, this control enables each group to use captured newspapers and journals as vehicles of interest group articulation.⁷¹ Simmons argues that Tvardovsky's removal as Chief Editor was a result of a loss of power by the liberals in the Writer's Union.

McCain employs a free market perspective in analyzing the impact of the Soviet legal profession on the adoption of criminal legislation between 1956 and 1958. He surveyed three leading legal journals, assuming that policy preferences, if detectable, originated with the author, not the journal.⁷²

He concludes that in cases of high cohesiveness and efficacy on a policy issue in the legal professions results in a relatively high success rate of policy adoption of those preferences. However, during periods of policy division in the profession, they enjoy considerably less success in influencing policy outcomes. Interest group activity, McCain concludes, does occur, but usually to the detriment of the profession's ability to influence policy.⁷³

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 271, 276-277.

⁷⁰Ibid., 281.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 271, 276-277. See also, Hopkins, p. 45.

⁷²The three legal journals are Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo, Sovetskaia iustitsiia, and Sotsialisticheskaia zakonnost'. McCain, pp. 3-22.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 20-21.

Interest group theorists share two assumptions concerning the media's role and political communications. First, journals and specialized newspapers serve as vehicles for articulation of interest group policy preferences. The level of policy conflict is not restricted to the Party nor to large institutional/social groups. Division and political debate among and within these organizations often occur and are reflected in the media. This suggests political communication patterns that allow the broadest range of discussion on policy issues. This "free market" encourages discussion, comment, criticism, and praise for adopted and proposed policy.

Second, political communication by individuals occurs across institutional boundaries, reflecting cross-institutional interest group formation. It would not be uncommon for a member of the Ministry of Agriculture to write an article in a non-Ministry sponsored publication expressing an alternative, opposition, or minority position in that organization. This, of course, is unlikely in a Kremlinological or institutional/social group media system. Opposition is prohibited from expressing an opinion.

However, considerable disagreement exists concerning the operation of the "free market" media system. Stewart and Simmons argue that journals and other specialized publications are captured by competing interest groups that use them as vehicles of advocacy. These groups control content, allowing only those articles that agree with their position. McCain, Hopkins, and Solomon contend that journals are neutral forums, encouraging discussion and presentation of conflicting or alternative views.

Summary

The previous discussion offers a number of assumptions regarding political communication channels and patterns. Channels of political communication are assumed to be influenced by level of sponsorship, intended audience, and subject specialization. These explicit assumptions are universally accepted by Western scholars.

There is little agreement among scholars concerning political communication patterns. On three dimensions (dominant source, context, and homogeneity), considerable variation exists between policy models. Such variation, however, does allow for the development of a typology of expected political communication patterns for each policy model. The following section formalizes the variables and assumptions thought to influence political communication channels and patterns into testable propositions and a typology of expected political communication patterns.

Chapter II

PROPOSITIONS ON POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

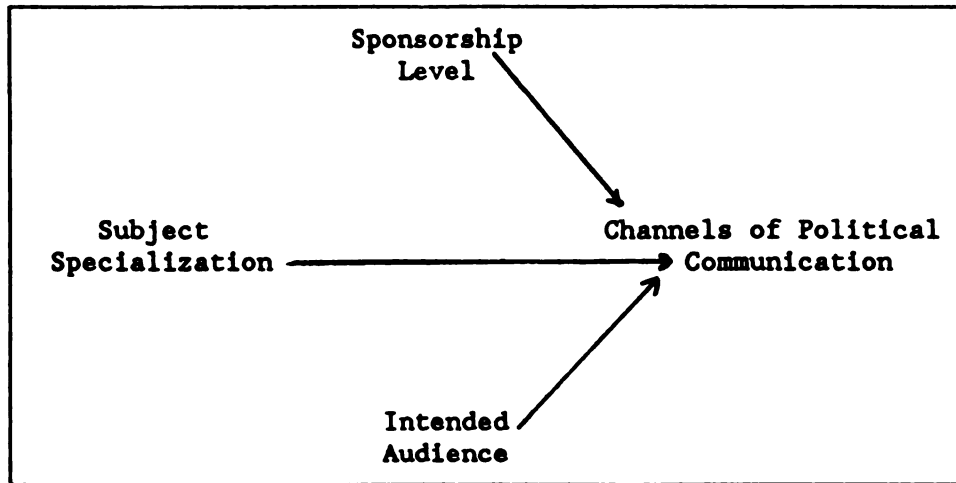
This section is divided into two parts. First, the assumptions in the literature concerning channels of political communication are formalized into a number of testable propositions. As mentioned, these focus on location, amount and timing of political communication. Identification of communication channels is a necessary prerequisite to investigate the second issue of this thesis, patterns of political communication. This section constructs a typology of expected political communication patterns based on the implicit and explicit assumptions of each policy model to be compared with actual Soviet communication patterns.

Propositions on Channels of Political Communication

Three variables are assumed to influence political communication channels: subject specialization, level of sponsorship, and intended audience. Through their interaction, these variables affect participation, amount, location, and timing of political communication on policy issues/events.

Figure 2.1 maps the causal relationship between the three independent variables and political communication channels. Implicit in the literature is the primacy of subject specialization. According to Buzek, Hopkins, and Markham, it governs the subject content of journals. A logical extension of this is that political content is also restricted by journal subject specialization and parallel non-political subjects in journals. Subject

Figure 2.1 Influences on Channels of Political Communication



specialization, therefore, is the primary influence on the location of political communications.

Territorial-administrative sponsor and intended audience, though independent of each other, are intervening variables affecting the primary relationship between subject specialization and political communication channels. Before discussing the expected overall influence on political communication channels, it is necessary to expand and refine the assumptions discussed in the literature into testable propositions.

Most Western scholars divide journals into three categories.⁷⁴ First, some journals specialize in contemporary political events and are expected to possess proportionately high amounts of political communication. These form the core channels of communication and "may be thought of as carrying on the system's continuing (political) business."⁷⁵ Journal subject specializations most often associated with contemporary political events are party affairs, Komsomol, Marxism-Leninism, philosophy, contemporary political studies, state, law, and judicial sciences.

In 1980, one hundred and sixty-six journals fell into this category. The majority were republic and local territorial/administration sponsored agitator notebooks (Bloknoty agitatora).⁷⁶ Though they comprise a small percent (13.0%) of approximately 1500 journal titles,⁷⁷ general political journals are

⁷⁴Hopkins, pp. 230-240; Buzek, pp. 67-79; Markham, pp. 203-235; Gorokhoff, pp. 30-33.

⁷⁵Fagen, p31. Parenthesis are by author.

⁷⁶Agitator notebooks are used as tools for oral agitators in the workplace. See Gorokhoff, pp. xiii.

⁷⁷There are a total of 1501 journal titles listed in 1980. However, several are different language editions of the same journal and not independent titles.

Table 2.1 General Political Journals by Territorial-Administrative Sponsorship Levels⁷⁸

Subject category	All-Union	Republic/local
Party	7	33
Komsomol	2	0
Marxism-Leninism	5	13
Agitator Notebooks	0	74
Philosophy	5	8
Contemporary Political Situation	3	0
State-Law-Judicial Sciences	9	7
Totals	31	135

source: Compiled from Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdani, 1976-1980.

⁷⁸These subject categories are adapted from Soviet subject categories in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdani, 1976-1980. there are 47 categories. Journals are referenced by all subjects of concern. For example, a university-sponsored journal with multiple subjects in law, history, and philosophy are listed under all three subject categories and a category for university journals.

cited in the policy literature proportionately more often, regardless of the political subject, than other subject specializations. Some of the most frequently used All-Union journal titles in Western research include Kommunist, Partiinaia zhizn', Politicheskoe samoobrazovannie (Political Self-Education), Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo, Voprosy filosofii (Issues of Philosophy), Sovetskaia iustitsiia, Obshchestvennye nauki (Social Sciences), Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka (Problems of the Far East), and Sotsializm: printsipy, praktika, perepekivy (Socialism: principles, practice, and perspectives).

Subject specialization in contemporary political events suggests that their content is devoted to current political issue/event discussions. This implies the first proposition.

PROPOSITION 1.0: Political communication is proportionately higher and more policy-subject diverse in general political journals than other subject specialization journals.

A second category are those journals with non-political subject specializations but designated by Soviet sources as containing political information.⁷⁹ These journals, though devoting most of their space to non-political subject matters, are expected to serve as secondary channels of political communication. Examples of journals of this type are Don, Znamia, and Pod'em. Political communications of importance but not necessarily related to the subject matter of the journal will appear. This implies the following proposition:

Proposition 1.1: Non-political journals designated as channels of political communication will contain less political information than core channels but more diverse political information than other non-political journals.

⁷⁹The most common designation for these journals is obshchestv. polit.

A final category identified in the literature are non-political subject specialization journals. This rather large, heterogeneous group has as its common characteristic subject specializations in non-political subjects and, consequently, content dominated by non-political subject matter. According to the literature, activation of these journals for transmission or generation of policy depends on the congruence between the subject of the political issue/event and subject specialization of the journal.

Another dimension of subject specialization congruence concerns journals with subject specializations closely related to a political issue. Both the case study literature and the journal sample demonstrate that journals specializing in subjects closely related to a political issue can be expected to participate in discussion on that issue.

But in policy subjects outside their subject specialization, these journals remain politically dormant. Non-political journals selectively participate in political communication if the journal and policy issue are subject congruent. This is formalized in the second proposition.

PROPOSITION 1.2: Political communication is proportionately higher in non-political journals that are closely associated with the subject of a particular policy issue/event.

A related effect of subject specialization is the topic of policy discussion in non-political journals. Though the literature is unclear, a reasonable extension to participation based on journal subject specialization and policy subject congruence is to assume that

the subject of policy discussion parallels the subject specialization of a journal. For example, an agricultural journal discusses policy issues closely related to agriculture but not on the issue of arms control.

This argument extends beyond merely activation of a specialized journal. Indeed, the full implications of subject specialization include an expectation of selective participation concerning the discussion of a broad issue by more specialized journals. For example, a broad array of issues is discussed at a Party Congress and included in the General Secretary's report or a part of the Five Year Plan. Specialized subject journals, however, only discuss those issues that are associated with their specialization. In this case, a journal specializing in irrigation is expected to discuss only those issues in agriculture associated with irrigation and not other agricultural issues such as crop rotation, fertilizer, or sheep raising.

These dimensions are summarized for non-political subject specialization journals in the following proposition.

PROPOSITION 1.3: In non-political subject specialization journals the subject of a political communication parallels the subject specialization of the journal.

Territorial-administrative level of sponsorship is another variable influencing channels of political communication. Its interaction with policy issues reflects the territorial-administrative level of the sponsoring organization of the journal. Buzek and Markham argue that All-Union sponsored journals focus their political

communications on national issues, Republic journals on republic issues, and local journals on local issues. Their discussion of policy issues/events is congruent with the territorial/administrative level of sponsorship. This is formalized in the following proposition.⁸⁰

PROPOSITION 2.0: In a subject category, political communication is proportionately higher in journals most closely associated with the territorial/political level of the policy issue.

Intended audience differs from the previous variables in that its influence is less concerned with location or amount but with type of political communication. Buzek, Hopkins, and Markham argue that mass audience journals contain less discussion on post discussion of policy issues before a decision with most political communication focused on policy decisions. In this regard, their coverage resembles other mass media sources emphasizing the reporting of political issues/events. Their function in relation to political communication is to inform, not discuss relevant policy issues. This relationship is formalized in the following proposition.

PROPOSITION 3.0: In mass audience journals, the highest proportion of political communication is reporting/informing its audience of an already rendered policy decision or political event.

Specialized audience journals participate in pre-decision policy discussion as well as reporting on and informing about policy decisions. Their overall coverage, therefore, is expected to be proportionally higher than mass audience journals. Furthermore, their

⁸⁰Buzek, pp. 67-74; Markham, pp. 110-115.

coverage begins well before a political event. Mass audience journals tend toward reporting events or policy decisions. This is formalized in the following proposition.

PROPOSITION 3.1: Specialized audience journals possess proportionately higher amounts of pre-decision discussion on political issues/events and overall higher amounts of discussion than mass audience journals on political issues/events.

Table 2.2 charts the expected outcomes of political communication patterns on a national policy issue by type and amount, assuming subject congruence between a journal and issue. The outcomes (high output, high input, etc) are the assumed influences that the interaction of the independent variables have on channels of political communication at various stages of the policy process.

This interaction is best illustrated by an example. One of the last major policy issues of the Brezhnev regime was the "Food Program." It was a noncontroversial, national policy issue⁸¹ approved by the All-Union Central Committee and concerned with the increase in the supply of food to the Soviet people.

Agriculture and related food industries are the subject of the policy issue. It is expected that contemporary political event journals and subject specialization journals associated with agriculture participated in policy discussion on the Food Program.

⁸¹For a discussion of the Food Program, see Archie Brown and Michael Kaser, Soviet Policy for the 1980s (Oxford: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1982) pp. 185, 266-270. Though Gorabachev did not speak during the Central Committee Plenum, he did discuss the Food Program during a meeting of relevant Party and State officials and in a article in the journal Kommunist, July 1982 entitled "Prodovol'stvennaia programma i zadachi ee realizatsii".

Table 2.2 Expected Type by Intended Audience and Level of Sponsorship

Intended Audience	Sponsorship Level		
	All-Union	Republic	Local ^a
Mass Audience	High output	Medium Output	Low Output
	Low input	Low Input	Low Input
Specialized Audience	High Output	Medium Output	Low Output
	High Input	Medium Input	Low Input

^aLocal includes all administrative-territorial levels below the republic, primarily in cities, provinces, cities and rural districts.

The bulk of discussion (high output, high input), especially concerning the All-Union components, should be found in journals sponsored by All-Union organizations in agriculture or general political subject specializations.

Participation and amount by other sponsorship levels depends on the potential effect of the Food Program in a particular territorial-administrative unit. That is, union-republic and local journals in agriculture and contemporary political events are expected to discuss the Food program in relation to the effect on their particular area. For example, irrigation and fertilizer production are of little concern to non-agricultural areas of Siberia. However, the transportation, distribution and price of food are of critical importance. Assuming that the previously mentioned proposition are correct, it is expected that discussion of the Food Program by Siberian journals will focus on the later issues of transportation and distribution than irrigation and fertilizer production.

Furthermore, location is restricted by journal-issue subject congruence. That is, journals are expected to specialize in accordance with their subject specialization the discussion of issues encompassed in the Food program. For example, the discussion of fertilizer production should be in journals related to fertilizer production, articles associated with livestock raising are expected to be in journals specializing in livestock production, and canning and packaging issues are assumed to be in journals associated with the food processing industry.

The amount and type of policy discussion are determined by level of sponsorship and intended audience, respectively. Mass journals with subject specializations in contemporary political events or agriculture are expected to possess more material on policy decisions and reporting the consequences of those decisions. In the case of the Food program, this means the reprinting of the Food Program, related resolutions, and relevant speeches at the Plenum session. The purpose is to report and inform an audience of a policy outcome. Specialized audience agriculture and general political journals present both policy input and output discussion.⁸²

In sum, the interaction of the political issue/event with the specific variables influencing political communication channels produce distinct content outcomes in journals. Journals specializing in contemporary political events are assumed to act as general channels of political communication, focusing on diverse policy issues/events. On national policy issues, journals with All-Union sponsorship and specialized audience journals are expected to possess a proportionately higher amount of political communication than congruent journal subject issue specialization sponsored by lower territorial/administrative levels and, of course, subject specializations unrelated to the policy issue. Furthermore, lower territorial/administrative sponsorship journals are expected to possess little or no discussion of the policy issue/event.

⁸²Policy input is defined as political discussion concerning an issue/event before a decision or event occurs. Policy output concerns the discussion of an issue/event after a decision or event occurs.

The distinction between mass and specialized audiences is the type of political communication. Mass audience journals tend to perform a similar function as their counterpart in newspapers. Information, education, and mobilization are the focus of their content. Specialized journals perform a dual role of pre-decision and post-decision policy discussion. Their function in the Soviet communication system differs from other mass media in that they provide a forum of discussion before policy adoption.

The overall importance of identification of political communication channels is to increase understanding of how policy issues/events are discussed in one of the few readily available sources to Western scholars. It is our "window on Soviet politics" that the above propositions are attempting to clean. Increased clarity increases our understanding and permits more sophisticated inquiries into Soviet political communication patterns and related issues.

Propositions on Political Communication Patterns

Identification of journals that are conduits for political communication serves the practical purpose of locating potential sources of policy information in Soviet journals. Researchers investigating a policy issue will have a guide to search for potential sources. Another useful purpose is the identification of journal sources as a preliminary step in analyzing political communication patterns of messages within and between differing political communication channels.

Based on the literature, this section formulates a typology of expected verses actual communication patterns of political messages across channels of political communication. The focus is on the systematic pattern of messages within and across political communication channels. To state this distinction more precisely, the preceding propositions address the issues of location, amount and type of political communication in journals. This section addresses the systematic pattern of those political messages across and within journals to compare with predicted patterns implied by the four policy models.

Comparing actual with expected patterns requires a blending of notions recognized as necessary for understanding political communication patterns within the Soviet media. The emphasis of most Western studies is on policy formation (input) while neglecting the dissemination of adopted policy information (output). Their assumptions concerning media patterns, therefore, center on policy input.

Variables indicative of Soviet media patterns are seldom the topic of lengthy discussions by scholars. However, the literature on communication theory⁸³ and the brief discussions of Soviet

⁸³The literature on interpersonal communication theory is quite diverse. Some works of interest are Ray Eldon Hieber, Donald F. Ungurait, and Thomas W. Bohn, Mass Media: An Introduction to Modern Communication (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974), pp. 77-89; Alexis S. Tan, Mass Communication: Theories and Research (Columbus: Grid Publishing, Inc., 1981) pp. 103-190; Harold Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in L. Bryson (ed.), The Communication of Ideas (New York: Harper and Row, 1948), pp. 37-51; Wilbur Schramm, "How Communication Works," in Wilbur Schramm (ed.), The Process and Effects of Mass Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954) pp. 3-26; Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949); Melvin L. De Fleur Theories of Mass Communication (New

communication patterns⁸⁴ suggest three dimensions influencing political communication patterns in journals: dominant source, physical context, and homogeneity.

Dominant Source. The dominant source (the communicator) of a political message is often discussed in the literature on communication theory and by the various studies concerned with Soviet policy formation. The source, through the use of written symbols, originates and encodes the political message into meaningful statements to the receiver (audience).⁸⁵ In relation to Soviet politics, source is of particular importance with each policy models assuming a different group, organization, or faction the dominant and most important source of political communication.

Identification of dominant authors, however, is only a first step and can only characterize communication patterns in relation to the other two variables. What is important for understanding this is the interaction of dominant authorship with other variables influencing political communication patterns.

Physical Context. A second dimension is physical context of the message. Is the utterance an official (report, reprint, news release, etc.) or unofficial communication (article, signed editorial, etc.)?

York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966); Lewis Anthony Dexter and David Manning White (eds.), People, Society, and Mass Communication (New York: the Free Press, 1964).

⁸⁴Some of the most useful works in this area are Dzirkals, Gustafson, and Johnson, pp. 63-88; Zimmerman, pp. 1-20; G. D. Hollander, Soviet Political Indoctrination: Developments in Mass Media and Propaganda Since Stalin (New York: Praeger Publishing, Inc., 1972); Afanasyev, pp. 1-37, 307-350.

⁸⁵De Fleur, pp. 91-93.

Official communications originate from sources in the leadership of a policy-making organizations or in organizations designated as political information sources. These include reprints of resolutions and other official documents, news agency releases, reports submitted to the policy-making organization and unsigned editorials/articles. Another type of official messages are speeches delivered at an event associated with policy approval. Zimmerman and others argue that speeches and reports delivered at a prominent political event often denote more authority or a greater official status than other forms of an utterance.⁸⁶

Unofficial publications are individually or collectively authored articles with no overt linkage to the policy-making body and whose authors may or may not possess expertise in a policy area. This presentational format connotes a less official communication. The mode of presentation is the single or multiple authored article and signed editorials by non-decisionmakers. An example of this type of communication is author identified articles and editorials.

Homogeneity. Homogeneity is the uniformity of a political message across and between journals of differing sponsorship. That is, what is the patterns of messages appearing in journals sponsored by different institutions (party, government, public organizations, etc.)? This, perhaps, is the most distinctive influence among the policy models.

⁸⁶Zimmerman, pp. 15-17.

For the purposes of this study, four distinct types of homogeneity are identified. The first type is complete uniformity. Consensus in political communication manifesting itself in uniform presentation of messages (i.e., printing of identical messages) across journals of assorted sponsors is the impetus behind complete uniformity. The most plentiful and, therefore, dominant sources are those from the "Supreme leader,"⁸⁷ a designated spokesperson, or the policy-making organization to which the policy issue is discussed or approved.

Factional uniformity recognizes a more diverse political communication system with the boundaries of uniform presentation of political communications being the political faction. The dominant and uniform source of communication is the factional leader or designated spokesperson of the faction. For this proposal, all Politburo and Secretariat members are potential factional leaders.

Institutional uniformity is similar to factional uniformity except that the boundaries of message uniformity are institutional. The dominant source of communication is the institutional leader and journal sponsorship is the key factor determining political communication patterns.

Non-uniformity is characterized by the lack of uniformity along any of the previously defined dimensions across journals but the potential for such uniformity among groups of journals. That is, it is possible for institutional or factional elements to appear in some groups of journals. However, a substantial portion of journals

⁸⁷For purposes of this study, the "Supreme leader" is the General Secretary of the the Communist Party.

display neither characteristic with the dominant source being a diverse group of communicators.

The linkage between differing homogeneity levels and the policy models is illustrated in Table 2.3. Dichotomizing homogeneity between and across institutional lines produces four distinct outcomes. Homogeneity of messages across and between institutional journals is indicative of a tightly controlled, completely uniform media as envisioned by the totalitarian perspective. Indeed, uniformity of messages across and between all media sources is the basic assumption of this perspective. Homogeneity between journals but not across institutional journals suggests an institutional political communication pattern. Sponsorship of a journal is the key to understanding political communication patterns.

The lack of homogeneity between and across institutional media is less clear. Both the kremlinological and non-institutional interest group model assume little or no relationship between sponsorship and political communication patterns. Factional homogeneity is not necessarily associated with institutional cleavages. Ploss suggests that factions may cross institutional boundaries as in the literary debate of the 1960's.⁸⁸

A similar assumption is offered by the non-institutional interest group perspective. Policy cleavages are expected between a single institution and these differences should emerge in their media sources. Homogeneity, therefore, provides a basic test between the totalitarian, institutional and factional/non-institutional interest group perspectives. However, to distinguish between the

⁸⁸See Chapter One, pp. 21-22.

Table 2.3 Homogeneity Across and Between Institutional Media

Homogeneity Across Institutional Media	Homogeneity Between Institutional Media	
	Yes	No
Yes	Totalitarian	Kremlinological/ Interest
No	Institution	Kremlinological/ Interest

kremlinological and non-institutional interest group perspective, other previously mentioned variables that influence political communication patterns must be considered.

Interaction of Variables. Each policy model implies a unique, interdependent combination of homogeneity, dominant source and context regarding political communication patterns. These variables are interlinked with the presence of one condition without the other two an insufficient indicator of a specific political communication pattern. It is the combination of these variables that allows for distinction between these policy models. This expected interaction pattern is outlined in Table 2.4.

The totalitarian model assumes that the major features influencing political communication patterns are monopolization of control, uniform policy communications, and full mobilization of the press to rally support for policy decisions with little pre-decision discussion by non-party elites. Political communication is unidirectional originating from the leadership and directed toward society. The dominant source of political communication is the "Supreme leader" or a collective, unified leadership group.

This perspective envisions a media dominated by official utterances, reports, speeches, and articles of the "Supreme leader" and/or other leadership members, assumed designated by the leadership to speak on policy. Journals of all types are vehicles of unidirectional leadership communication. Complete uniformity across journals in the form of multiple appearances of the "Supreme leader's"

Table 2.4 Expected Communication Patterns by Policy Model

Policy Model	Dominant Authorship	Context	Homogeneity
Totalitarian	Supreme Leader/Party	Official	Complete Uniformity
Kremlinology	Elite Party	Mixed	Factional Uniformity
Institutional	Elite Institutional	Mixed	Institutional Uniformity
Interest	Mixed Elite/Non-elite	Mixed	Non-uniformity

remarks or that of a selected discussant leader is a major feature of this perspective. Other political messages are little more than reflections on general themes set by the leadership.

Unlike proponents of the unitary actor model, kremlinologists suggest multiple channels of communication controlled and representing the viewpoints of various leaders and leadership factions in the upper echelons of the political system. Spechler, Ploss, and other Kremlinologists rely on the notion of capture and use of journals as a factional resource for policy advocacy. The dominant sources are factional leaders or those closely associated with a factional leader. Physical context is a mixture of official and non-official presentations.

The distinguishing feature of this model, however, is homogeneity. Unlike complete uniformity, factional uniformity occurs within the factional media. Factional leadership communications are expected to be reprinted uniformly in journals under factional control. For example, Brezhnev's statements are uniformly presented in his faction's media sources, party journals. Kosygin's utterances are uniformly presented in his faction's sources, government journals.

Institutional/social group theorists focus on institutional/social elites as the dominant source of communication. Zimmerman discusses the issue in considerable detail, suggesting that the key to policy conflict lies in examination of these dominant sources.⁸⁹ Understanding the intricacies of interest group conflict entails linkage between conflicting groups of authors and policy preferences. Dominant sources include a variety of elites and non-

⁸⁹Zimmerman, pp. 18-20 .

elites, technical-scientific, and academic authors. Political conflict occurs in a limited "free market" allowing relatively open discussion of policy orientations by loosely knit groups of individuals with like-minded policy perspectives.

The institutional perspective is similar to Kremlinology with respect to control of channels of communication through institutions. However, it differs in the expected type and location of political communication. An implicit assumption by most and an explicit assumption by Diamant-Kass and Zimmerman and Axelrod is that sponsorship is the mechanism for understanding political communication patterns.⁹⁰ Sponsoring institutions and their leadership control journal content.

The dominant sources are institutional elites providing both input and output discussion on crucial issues to the organization. In general, political communication sources are larger, more diverse and less uniform than those implied by the other policy models. Another distinguishing feature mentioned in the literature is the notion of uniformity and consensus within an institution's media. The implication of this suggestion is that political communications are institutional/social group specific. That is, all relevant political communication in a journal is authored by institutional/social group members. This rests on two assumptions.

First, institutional control through sponsorship allows only those communications reflecting the policy preferences of the institutional group. This prevents institutional members from

⁹⁰Diamant-Kass, pp. 504-506; Zimmerman and Axelrod, pp. 4-7.

suggesting opposing positions in the institutional elite controlled media. Second, institutional/social group loyalty deters dissenters from publishing in non-institutional sources. Such actions are tantamount to institutional/social group treason and undertaken with considerable professional risk to the dissenters.

The non-institutional interest group model assumes a more complex and pluralistic role for the media. Types of political communication are quite diverse with none of the previously mentioned patterns dominating the media. Considerable discussion by non-participants as well as semi-authoritative, authoritative and adopted policy communications appear in various media sources.

The distinguishing feature of this model is the cross-over of authors between institutions. The previous two perspectives emphasize institutional control of communication. There is no expectation that one would find authors from other institutions writing in the press of an institution. The only exception may be party advocates in the Kremlinology and Totalitarian perspectives to support a contending faction in the Politburo.

Most of the perspectives concern themselves with policy input while ignoring policy outcomes. The one exception is Solomon's consideration of legal issues. He argues that a difference exists between patterns of communication before an issue or event and after an issue or event. Policy output communications are dominated by Party officials with other actors participating only in pre-decision discussions. Solomon's observations, however, are restricted to a single policy issue only. It is quite possible that different policies or events may exhibit different characteristics. Therefore,

a specific hypothesis is difficult to construct. The material under examination will be divided into two time periods and the previous hypotheses formed from each policy model will be compared to each time period.

Summary

The general hypotheses allow for the construction and testing of some widely accepted assumptions regarding the location of political communication in journals. Combined with model-specific assumptions associated with type of communication, it is possible to construct and test a number of assumptions regarding channels of political communication and journals. Though one cannot regard the specific assumptions as an absolute test of the policy models, systematic testing of these hypotheses will shed some light on political communications and the policy process.

Testing the assumptions of each model on the policy process, generates insight into the policy process. This, of course, assumes that the media and, in particular, journals accurately reflect the policy process. There is always the possibility that such reflections are false images. Without sufficient access to the policy process, however, the use of the public media as a "window on Soviet politics" is our only source in understanding that process.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter outlines the methodological approach and research design. The general approach is a variation of content analysis using three critical events as the sources of information. Though most designs of this type focus on content analysis of messages in the media, this project focuses on channels of message transmission and the systematic pattern of those messages across journals. The events act as tracers following the channels of political communication. The messages allow for the comparison of expected verses actual patterns of communication.

The Sample and Time Frame

The inclusion of all Soviet journals would require enormous time and resources. Instead, a random sample of approximately twenty percent (200) of all journals is selected with the expectation that ten percent would be located and available for this study. The sample population is limited by a number of practical constraints. First, only those journals in Russian or English language, or that have a table of contents in one of these languages are included. This is not expected to bias the sample significantly since the vast majority of journals are in Russian, have Russian language editions, or Russian/English table of contents.

Another limitation is availability. Not all Soviet journals are exported to the United States. To avoid selection of non-exported journals, the population is limited to those listed in Mezhdunarodnaia

kniga (1980) as available for export.⁹¹ Journals that are reprints of foreign (non-Soviet) information are also deleted from the sample. Usually, these are translations of foreign journals. Most are reprints of scientific-technical manuals, such as Trudy Amerikanskogo obshchestva inzhenerov-mekhanikov (Works of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers).

Finally, many Soviet journals publish in several languages. For these multiple-language titles, only the Russian language version is included. One exception is journals that differ in content between languages. For example, the content of Sovetskii Soiuz (Soviet Union) content differs between the Russian and English language version. The format and general purpose is similar, but the specific content is not. Applying these restrictions results in a sample size of 1010 journals for 1980.

Of the two hundred journals selected, one hundred and sixty-three journals were located and surveyed for political information (see Table 3.1). Thirty-seven journals were unavailable for the target years under review. The number of journals located comprises twelve percent of all journals and sixteen percent of those journals in the sample population. This is well above the target sample of ten percent. However, closer examination of the sample by subject categories reveals some biases. In particular, the food industry (a key category for the Food Program), women, literature, and sports have significantly fewer journals in the sample than one would expect from

⁹¹1984 Catalog of Newspapers and Magazines of the USSR (Rockville: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1984). This list includes some 1904 periodicals, including journals, magazines, serials, pamphlets, etc.

Table 3.1 Number of Total Journals and Sample Journals
by Subject Category.

Subject category	Total Journals ^a	Sample Journals
Political (core)	142	16
Political (secondary)	97	9
History	9	4
Social Science	23	6
Religion	8	0 ^b
Economics	34	6
Physics, Mathematics	58	20
Chemistry	35	8
Biology, Botany	63	11
Geology, Meteorology	31	4
Mixed Natural Science	36	2
Cybernetics, Press, Information	19	2
Technology	30	5
General Industry	29	5
Mechanical Engineering	21	3
Radio Electronics	21	3
Mining and Metallurgy	28	3
Chemical Industry	16	1
Food Industry	30	0
Construction, Transport	65	3
Public Health, Medicine	109	15
Agriculture	116	8
Sports	15	0
Education	54	4
Culture, Art, and Sports	37	2
Philology	23	6
Literature	52	0 ^c
Youth	50	4
Women	23	1
Deaf and Blind	1	0 ^b
Military	15	2
Geography	7	4
University/Academy of Science mixed subjects	13	2
total	1310	162

^aThis list includes journals in non-Russian languages and without Russian or English table of contents

^bJournals with subject categories in Religion and Deaf and Blind were not selected for sampling.

^cJournals in this category fell into the non-political political category.

a random sample. This underrepresentation simply reflects the lack of availability of those journals selected in the sampling process.

Of the sample population, eighty-seven contain political information on one or more of the three critical events while sixty-seven had no information. The former provide the material for the second phase of the analysis (that dealing with political messages). This is the main data set used for testing the propositions on channels and behavior of political communication.

The time frame for the study depends on the event under consideration. For the Party Congress, collection of data begins with the announcement of the event in June 1980 and continues through November 1982. The Food Program begins fourteen months before the May Plenum in January 1981 and continues through December 1982. Andropov's ascension to General Secretaryship begins in November 1982 and continues through January 1983.

The total number of messages for all three events is 2103. Specifically, 1854 messages concern the Party Congress, 80 focus on the Food Program, and 169 address the succession of Andropov. In total, 86 journals had information on one or more of the critical events with 77 containing no information relevant to the events under review.

Contingency table analysis and frequency distributions are the main statistical techniques employed for analysis. For Table analysis, the statistics most often used are Gamma and Chi-square. The former measures strength and direction and the latter is a simple test against randomness.

Measurement of Political Communication Channels

The unit of analysis for political communication channels is the journal. Specifically, what journals possess, in what quantity and subject category, political communications on the three political issues/events? As mentioned in the previous chapter, three variables are the focus of these issues: subject specialization, territorial-administrative level, and intended audience. These are the independent variables assumed to influence the location, subject, and amount of political communication messages.

The amount of political communication was coded by the number of articles and space (pages) devoted to a political event. To standardize for comparison across journals, these two amounts were recorded as a proportion of the total number of pages/articles in a journal. This proportion represents the percentage of content devoted to an issue/event in relation to other types of communication.

For subject, territorial-administrative level, intended audience, and other journal characteristics, the primary sources of information are the journal and Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdaniy SSSR, 1976-1980. The latter lists by subject specialization all journals published in the Soviet Union. It provides information on sponsorship, title, single edition tirazh of press run, intended audience, ISBN code, language, and other descriptive variables for each journal.

This source is supplemented by a yearly update of the same source, which reports modifications in journal title, sponsorship, or language, as well as the elimination or establishment of new journals.

Unfortunately, this yearly supplement reports only journals that change one or more of their characteristics. Journals not undergoing change on one of these dimensions are not included in the yearly update. Hence, I assume that journals not listed in the yearly update maintain the characteristics listed in the 1980 primary source.

For 1976-80, Soviet sources list forty-seven separate journal subject specializations. Table 3.1 collapses these categories into thirty-four subject specializations. This presents a more concise yet simplified division of subject specialization. To test the propositions associated with subject specialization and political communication, this is further reduced to eleven categories.

The eleven subject categories for journals are political core, political secondary, social science, economics, natural science, industry, health, agriculture, education, culture, and the military. Political core journals are designated as the core channel of political communication. Examples of these journals are Partiinaiia zhizn', Politicheskoe samoobrazovanie, and Kommunist Lithuania. Drawing from the literature review, these journals include subject specializations in Party affairs, Marxism-Leninism, Scientific Communism, philosophy, international affairs, contemporary political events, state and government, and judicial sciences.

Political secondary journals are secondary channels of political communication. These journals are designated in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdani SSSR, 1976-1980, as containing political information but are not a subject specialization in political core journals. Examples of these journals are Don, Prostor, and Pod'em. Although political secondary journals are found

in many subject specializations, the majority are in social science, literature, youth, women, culture.

The final categories are specialized subject journals with no designated political information. Social science journals include history, ethnography, sociology, slavie and oriental studies, and geography. Economic journals encompass accounting, banking, commerce, economic sciences, trade and export, and demography. Natural science journals include subject specializations in physics, chemistry, mathematics, geology, astronomy, biology, and genetics. Industry-technology journals comprise energy, mining, metallurgy, radio-electronics, mechanical engineering, chemical industry, food industry, paper and forestry industry, construction, and transportation.

Medicine includes medical and health journals. Agriculture encompasses animal husbandry, veterinary medicine, crop raising, land reclamation, and agricultural machinery production. Education journals include all educational subjects, general university maintenance and philology sciences. Culture comprises literature, sports, artistic, youth, women, scientific-popular, art, and music. Military journals encompass all journals associated with the military and its function in Soviet society.

Messages are divided into a typology of subject of articles is necessary for exploration of subject diversity of various journals. Categorization of articles subjects is somewhat dependent on the event under consideration. For the 26th Party Congress, there are twenty-five specific subject categories in three general subjects. The general subjects are party matters, general messages, and substantive issues. The specific subject categories are as follows:

General Messages

1. The 10th or 11th Five Year Plan
2. General Articles on the Party Congress
3. Documents and Reports on the Party Congress

Party Matters

4. Other Party Congresses and Associated Meetings
5. The Party Congress in the Context of Soviet History
6. Party Leadership of the Soviet Union
7. Propaganda and Party Education
8. The People and Benefits Under Socialism
9. Patriotism

Substantive Issues

10. Social Science
11. Economics and Trade (external and internal)
12. International Affairs
13. State and Government
14. Military
15. Natural Science
16. Scientific-Technical Progress and Role of Specialists
17. Industry
18. Construction and Transportation
19. Agriculture
20. Health and Medicine
21. Sports culture
22. Education/University
23. Editors of Journals and the Role of Their Journal
24. Trade Unions
25. Regional Development and the Plan or Congress

For the Food Program, I employ the same basic typology but disaggregate agriculture into seven sub-categories and create two new topics associated specifically with the Food Program. Agriculture is sub-divided into general discussions, work of people in agriculture, the food supply, plant growing, animal husbandry and veterinary medicine, scientific work, and regional agriculture. The Food program is sub-divided into general discussion and party leadership in the Food Program.

The ascension of Andropov is divided into ten distinct subject categories. They are Central Committee eulogy for Brezhnev, other Brezhnev eulogies, Central Committee announcement of Andropov's appointment, unofficial announcement of Andropov's appointment, Andropov's speech to the Central Committee, Chernenko's speech to the Central Committee, picture of Brezhnev, picture of Andropov, and biography of Andropov. These few categories encompass all of the messages on Brezhnev's death and the ascension of Andropov.

Journal sponsorship is sub-divided into two territorial-administrative levels: All-Union and union republic. Classification depends on the highest level of journal sponsor. The highest level are journals with All-Union sponsors such as an All-Union Ministry, party, or public organization. Included in this group are journals sponsored by Moscow State University, Leningrad State University, or the Siberian branch of the Academy of Science.

The reason for the inclusion of journals sponsored by the two universities is that they are the two leading and most prestigious universities in the Soviet Union. Similarly, the Siberian section of the Academy of Science is a rather large sub-unit of the Academy of Science that publishes some of the leading Soviet journals in the sciences. All three possess an equal reputation with other All-Union publications and often set the tone for other journals in their subject specialization.

The second level are journals sponsored by Union Republic organizations or other universities. Local sponsorship comprises a large group of territorial/administrative levels below the Union Republic level. Except for university sponsored publications, all

journals published by organizations other than All-Union and Union Republic are classified in this category.

Intended audience stems from the classification system in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdaniy SSSR, 1976-1980. Soviet sources sub-divide journals into eighty-four types ranging from mass to scientific-technical audiences. For purposes of analysis, these types are dichotomized into two large categories; mass and specialized journals. The former category includes journals designated as mass, illustrated, satire and humor, literature, general political, popular science, etc. They are journals targeted for the bulk of Soviet citizens or a substantial sub-population such as women, youth, or workers. The total number of specific audience types is thirty.

The latter comprise journals identified as scientific, theoretical, technical, administrative-informational, etc. These are journals designated for specialized audiences such as scientists, academicians, or technicians. Seldom is the general population or a large subgroup of the population interested in these journals. They are restricted to a small group of professionals within an occupational specialization.

The journal sample and messages found in the sample journals provide the raw data to test all of the previously mentioned hypotheses. Of the three events, the Party Congress is the most issue diverse and expected to result in the most diverse set of journals participating in political communications. Virtually all subject specializations are potential participants.

Exploring this issue enhances our understanding of political communication channels on one of the most important issue/events in the Soviet political system. Subsequently, this event provides the greatest opportunity for testing the various propositions on channels of political communications. The ascension of Andropov to General Secretary performs a similar function, allowing for identification of the widest horizontal and vertical channels of communication.

The Food Program is a more restrictive issue and expected to activate a more specialized, narrower set of political communication channels. This permits the testing of channels activated by specialized policy topics, journal-message subject congruency, and territorial/administrative congruence of message and journals.

Measurement of Political Communication Patterns

Political communication behavior focuses on features of the message and the process of deliverance rather than the transmitting medium of communication. The focus is on characteristics of the message rather than the journal of transmission. Classification of political communication is a relatively straight forward process. Messages are classified according to authorship, subject, and physical context. This is accomplished through direct examination and coding of messages in the sample journals for the designated time period.

Authorship is an important variable for identification of the type of political communication and, consequently, identification of the policy making model most appropriate in explaining the media system. There are 1463 separate authors in the sample. Of these, approximately sixty percent were identified by position through a

variety of Soviet and Western biographic sources. The most commonly used biographic sources include Prominent Personalities in the Soviet Union, Deputaty Verkhovnogo soveta SSSR (various years), Ezhegodnik bol'shoi sovetskoi entsiklopedii, Directory of Soviet Officials, Vols. 1-3.

In addition, many journals list the profession and/or occupational membership of their authors. Though brief, these summaries allow for identification of current government/party position, membership in professional organizations and academic rank. Some journals provide two or three page biographies on prominent personalities in the profession on special occasions or awards received by the individual. These often contain extensive biographical material, otherwise unobtainable from other sources. Finally, obituaries are common for prominent people in some journals.

The communicators are categorized along four dimensions: (1) current political position, (2) occupational position, (3) professional memberships, (4) participant/non-participant in political event. Authors are divided into categories to reflect the particular policy model under consideration. For the Totalitarian model, there are only two categories. Brezhnev is the supreme leader by virtue of being General Secretary. The Totalitarian model assumes that the General Secretary will dominate the communication system, appearing in a large number of publications.

The Kremlinological model expands the dominant source category to include all members and candidates to the Secretariat and Politburo. This group is expected to dominate and lead discussion on all three events. Each factional leader will appear in many journals under his controlled media system.

Institutional leaders are identified not by their party rank but their rank in one of the major institutions. Specifically, there are eight institutional groups that play a significant role in the Soviet political system. They are the party, state, military, agriculture, science, education, culture, and economic elites. The leadership of these organizations are expected to dominate the media under their control.

Non-institutional interest group policy models suggest a much broader and diverse group of participants. Such a diverse group, however, poses a problem in terms of classification of authors. Classification requires not only a vertical division along occupational groups but a horizontal division within occupational groups according to position. This diversity is compounded by the duality of position among many Soviet authors. It is often difficult to identify the institution with which their loyalties lie. To rectify this, it is assumed that loyalty of an author is given to the organization that one has the longest association.

For example, high Party rank is achieved by advancement in the ranks of the Party apparatus or by achievements outside the Party. Those who achieve high rank outside the Party that permits an enhancement of Party rank are assumed to be loyal to the organization outside the Party. Party rank is a reward for achievements not associated directly with party work. However, if an individual's previous rise outside the Party is attributed to party work, the individual's loyalties are assumed with the Party.

Two other dimensions are the physical context and homogeneity across journals. The former is dichotomized into official and unofficial messages. Following Zimmerman's typology, official messages are those originating from the issue/event organization, unsigned editorials, reprints of resolutions, reports, and speeches that are part of the event, news agency reports and messages from attendants at the event. Unofficial messages are signed articles not attributed to the Supreme leader or leadership, messages by non-attendants, or signed editorials. Of these classifications, messages by attendants is further divided along institutional groups to further understand the relationship between institutions and the media.

As mentioned, homogeneity is measured by the number and type of journals that a message appears. There are four categories of homogeneity reflecting the four policy models: (1) Complete uniformity are political message reprinted across all channels of political communication; (2) Factional uniformity is the reprinting of a political message within factional channels of communication; (3) Institutional uniformity is the reprinting of political messages within institutional channels of communication; (4) Non-uniformity allows for reprinting of political messages but without a discernible pattern.

Factions are tentatively assumed to exist for each Politburo and Secretariat member or candidate. Institutional cleavages are reflected in journal sponsorship. Non-uniformity assumes no distinguishable pattern of author membership in a particular organization or institution, regardless of journal sponsorship. Sponsorship is readily determined in Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaushchikhsia izdani, SSSR (various years).

Identification of a particular pattern of homogeneity depends on a number of related features of the journal and characteristics of the authors as well as the subject under discussion. For Complete Uniformity, we would expect all journals to possess information emanating from the General Secretary or official reports from the event/issue under review.

Except for Andropov's ascension, each event is divided into two time periods: pre-decision and post-decision. The purpose of this division is to explore the argument by Solomon that political communication patterns differ between pre-decision and post-decision periods in relation to the above three variables. Pre-decision messages are communications transmitted before the event/issue decision has occurred. This is often referred to in communication theory literature as the agenda-setting stage that sets the parameters of decisionmaking. It is an attempt by interested and legitimate actors to voice their opinion on the importance of an issue and provide perspective on the issues that may influence the outcome of decisions.

Post-decision discussion is the information dissemination stage. The point of such discussion is to discuss the ramifications of an issue/event and persuade those affected that the decisions rendered are correct. Mobilization and persuasion are the essential features of this stage that distinguish it from the previous communication period.

Measurement of channels and patterns of political communication involves the coding of a number of features concerning the message and the medium in which they are presented. Channels of political

communication and related propositions require the coding of information on location, type, amount and subject specialization of journals and their messages. Patterns of communication focus on the author, homogeneity, and physical context of the message within and across messages. The general approach is critical event analysis following the channels of political communication and revealing the patterns of political communication.

Chapter IV

CHANNELS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

This chapter tests the propositions on political communication channels. It is divided into three sections. The first section summarizes the three political events and provides a general description of the parameters of Soviet political communications. The second tests the propositions on political communication channels against actual performance of the sample data set. Finally, the last section summarizes the parameters of political communication channels and builds a transition to the second major issue, political communication channels.

General Description

As mentioned in chapter three, eighty-six journals in the sample population participate in political message transmission on one or more of the critical events. The total number of messages⁹² is 2103. The Party Congress possesses the largest number of messages (1854) with an average of twenty-two articles per journal. Andropov's ascension is considerably smaller with one hundred and sixty-nine messages in twenty-nine journals and the Food Program encompasses only eighty messages in twenty-one journals.

Table 4.1 examines journal subject category with the number of issues and messages on the Party Congress. The purpose is to examine message penetration and saturation. Penetration is the percentage of

⁹²A message is any communication transmitted in journals on one of the three events. This includes editorials, unsigned and signed articles. See Chapter Three.

issues transmitting messages in participating journals. It measures the participation and penetration by journal subjects for the entire time period. Saturation is a measure of the number of messages transmitted in each participating issue. Linking saturation and penetration provides a general measure of journal subject participation by issue (penetration) and the average number of messages per issue in participating journal issues (saturation).

The number of journals participating compared to the sample size⁹³ for each journal subject indicates that political core (94%), political secondary (89%), education (63%), culture (92%), military (100%), agriculture (75%), social science (79%), economics (83%), and health (53%) journals have over fifty percent of their sample journals transmitting messages on the Party Congress. Less than fifty percent journal subjects are industry (30%), and natural sciences (13%) participate less in the communication process than other subject categories.

Those subject journals with the largest number of messages are political core, economics, industrial, social science, educational, and political secondary. Agriculture, culture, and military transmit a moderate number of messages. Those with few messages include health and natural science. They are more restrictive in the presentation of political communication.⁹⁴

⁹³See Table 3.1 in previous chapter for the sample size of each journal subject.

⁹⁴Journals in the same subject category but with different periodicity display similar frequencies and percentages as indicated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Journal Subject Category by Number of Issues and Messages for Party Congress^a

Journal Subject	Number Jour-nals	Number Issues	Total No. Messages	Total No. Issues with 1+ Messages	Pct. Issues with 1+ Messages	Ave. No. Messages/ Issue with 1+ Messages
Polit. core	15	479	1041	173	36.1	6.07
Polit. sec.	8	169	98	65	38.4	1.51
Soc. Science	11	150	116	71	47.3	1.63
Economics	5	145	144	60	41.3	2.40
Nat. Science	6	129	12	11	8.5	1.10
Industry	7	174	140	72	41.3	1.90
Health	8	172	38	27	15.7	1.41
Agriculture	6	159	64	36	22.7	1.78
Education	5	115	106	61	53.0	1.74
Culture	12	303	40	34	11.2	1.18
Military	2	87	55	40	45.8	1.36
Total	86	2086	1854	650	31.1	2.85

^aThe time period for the Party Congress is twenty-nine months. All calculations for number of issues for participating journals span this entire period. The number of journals are those journals participating in communication.

A number of different penetration and saturation outcomes occur across the eleven journal subjects. Economic and industry-technology possess high penetration and high saturation. The number of participating journal issues and the messages they transmit are among the highest of all journal subjects. Political core journals have the highest average number of messages per participating issue (saturation) but only a modest penetration level of issues. Though the rate of journal issues participating is only thirty-six percent, the transmission of messages in participating issues is quite high (6.07). Education and social science journals reverse a high percent of penetration and a moderate level of message saturation. The percentage of journal issues transmitting messages is quite high and the proportion of messages transmitted is moderate in relation to other journal subjects.

Political secondary journals have moderate penetration and saturation. These journals are close to the median for the percentage of issue participation and the number of messages transmitted in participating issues. Military journals have a moderate percentage of issues participating (penetration) and a low proportion of messages per issue. Agricultural journals possess a low percentage of issues participating and a moderate proportion of messages per issue. Three journal subjects, health, natural science, culture, have low levels of penetration and saturation. Few issues that are released during this time period participate in message transmission and few messages are transmitted in these participating issues.

Figure 4.1 is a visual presentation of messages over time. Messages begin shortly after the announcement of the Party Congress at the June 1980 Central Committee Plenum session. Gradually, the quantity of messages increases with the peak occurring in February and the preceding months of the Congress. From that point, messages gradually decline to less than a dozen in November 1982.

In general, the Party Congress stimulates journal participation in all subject categories. Economic and industry-technology dominate discussion on the Party Congress with the high percentages of issue participation and message transmission. Health, natural science culture possess low percentages of issue participation and message transmission. Other journal subjects are between these two extremes.

The timing of messages indicates that transmission increases slowly as the event approaches. The months immediately following the Party Congress have the highest level of message transmission. Afterwards, message transmission gradually declines but continues throughout the designated time frame.

The Food Program stimulates less overall discussion and activates fewer journals than the Party Congress. Only twenty-one out of the total journal sample transmit messages on the Food Program. Military, culture, and health transmit no messages on the Food Program.

Table 4.2 indicates that except for economic journals, participation by other journal subjects is less than fifty percent of the total of sample journals. This, in part, is attributable to the decreased significance of the event compared to the Party Congress. The Food Program is much more narrow issue than either the Party Congress or Andropov's ascension. Both have broad policy implications

that affect all areas of Soviet policy making. But the Food Program encompasses a narrower segment of Soviet policy making that is mostly confined to increasing the food supply.

Specific journal subjects vary considerably on the dimensions of penetration and saturation. Industry-technology and agriculture have high percentages of the total number of journal issues transmitting high proportion of messages per participating journal issue. High penetration and saturation in agricultural journals is expected since a major issue of the Food Program is agriculture. Industry-technology this high penetration and saturation is a result of participation by Ekonomika stroitel'stva. This economic-construction journal comments extensively on the Food Program. Most messages focus on economic issues, construction, and general discussion of the Food Program. These are also given a high priority in the Food Program.

Similar to the Party Congress, political core journals have a moderate level of penetration and the highest proportion of messages in participating journal issues. Natural science and education possess low levels of penetration and low proportions of messages in participating journal issues. Other journal subject categories are between industry-technology and educational journals.

Figure 4.2 indicates a similar trend to the Party Congress. There is a gradual crescendo of messages appearing before the May Plenum followed by a peak just after the Plenum. This is followed by another peak in the last time period surveyed, December 1982. This last peak of messages appears as somewhat of an anomaly with the pattern in other time periods.

Table 4.2 Journal Subject Category by Number of Issues and Messages for Food Program

Journal Subject	Number Jour- nals	Number Issues	Total No. Messages	Total No. Issues with 1+ Messages	Pct. Issues with 1+ Messages	Ave. No. Messages/ Issue with 1+ Messages
Polit. core	5	84	26	10	11.9	2.60
Polit. sec.	3	36	11	10	27.8	1.10
Soc. Science	2	24	3	3	12.5	1.00
Economics	3	24	3	2	7.3	1.50
Nat. Science	1	12	1	1	8.3	1.00
Industry	1	24	13	5	20.8	1.90
Health						
Agriculture	3	60	20	11	18.3	2.60
Education	3	60	3	3	5.0	1.00
Culture						
Military						
Total	<u>21</u>	<u>324</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>1.78</u>

^aThe time period for the Food Program is twenty-four months. Message transmission encompasses February 1981 to December 1982. The number of journals are those journals transmitting messages during this period.

Figure 4.1 Frequency of Message by Time

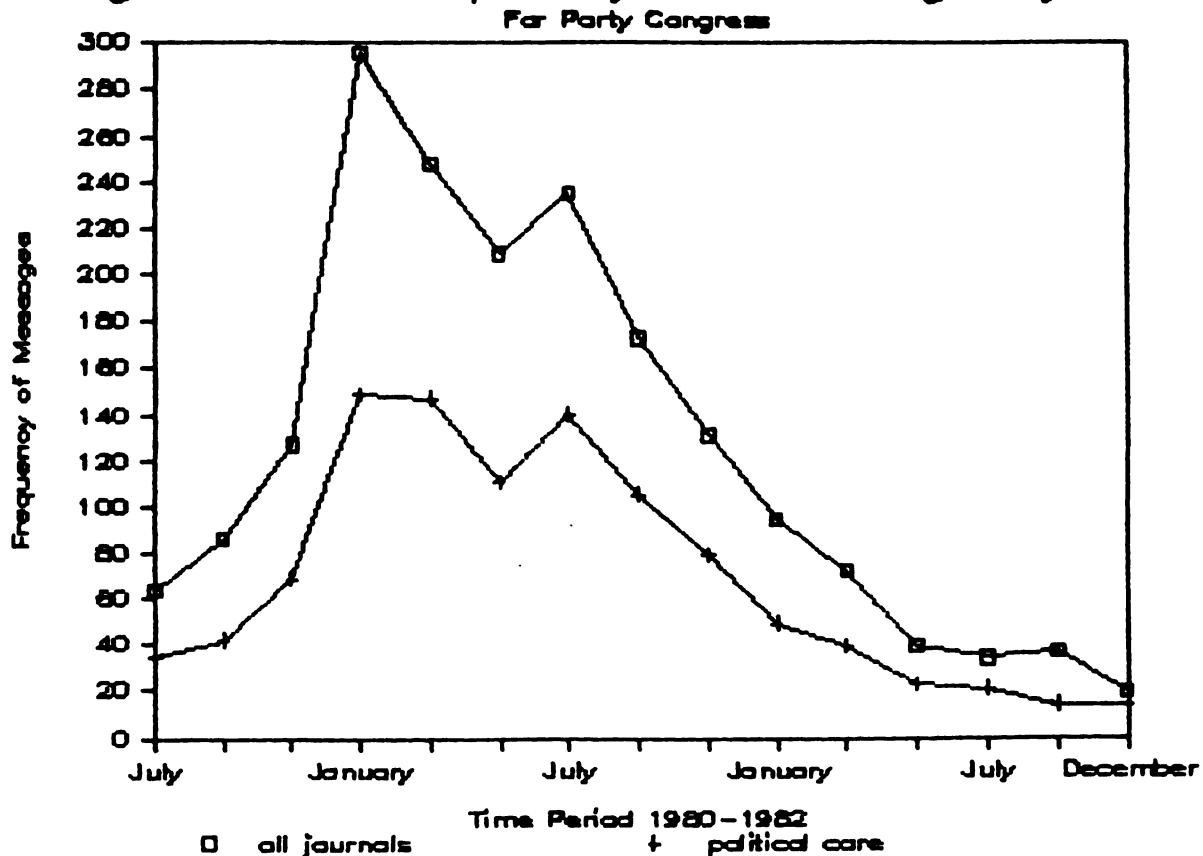
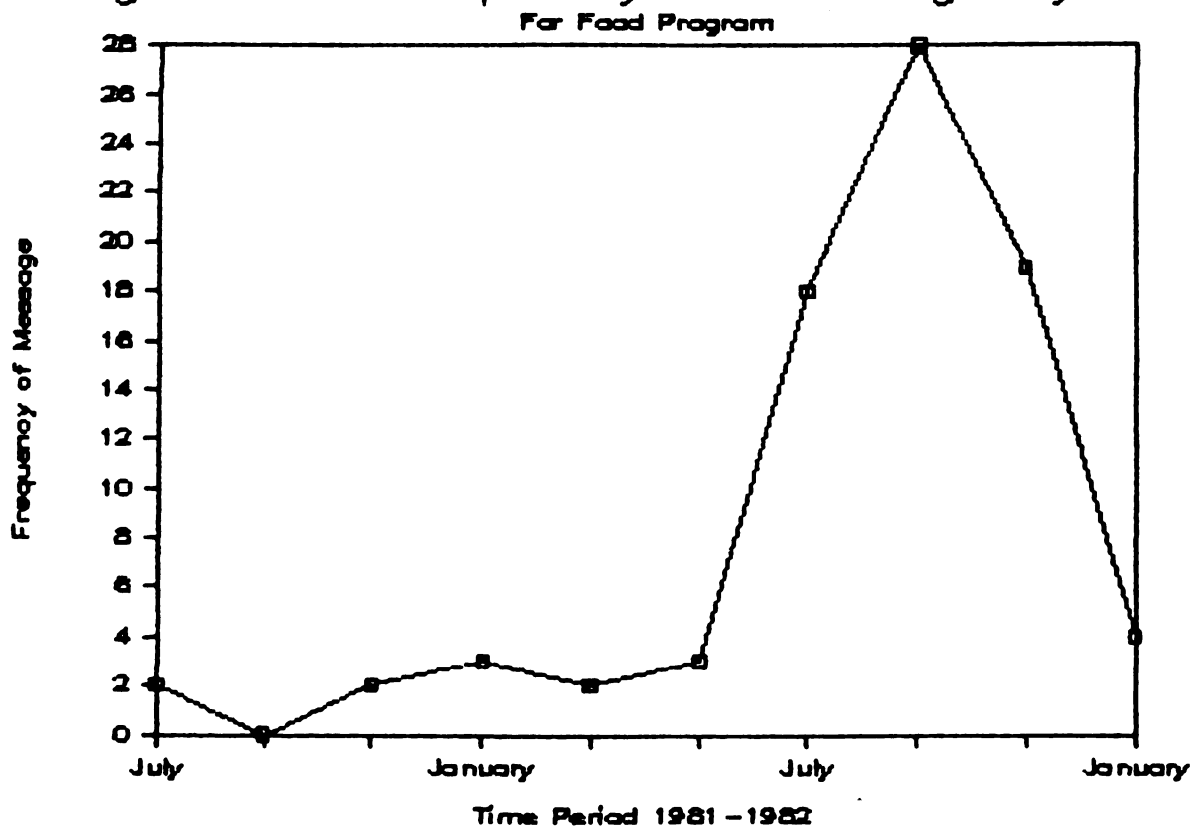


Figure 4.2 Frequency of Message by Time



Andropov's ascension activates twenty-nine journals with one hundred and sixty-nine messages. This event spans only three months with nine journals reporting his death in November. Most journals release information in December. A partial explanation is the frequency of the journal's publication schedule.

Most November messages occur in journals that are bi-monthly or weekly. Their publication schedule is more frequent, allowing less time between assemblage and printing. December is the peak communication period for monthly journals, with seventeen journals. The least amount occurred in January, 1983, with only two non-political journals transmitting messages on the event.

Those subject categories with over fifty percent journal participation are military (100%), political core (50%), and political secondary (89%). Political core and secondary possess the largest number of messages with fifty-two messages.

Journal subject categories failing to report Andropov's ascension include industry-technology, medicine, and agriculture. Those journal subjects with the largest number of sample journals participating are military (100%) and social science (36%). Culture (23%), economics (17%), and natural science journals (2%) participate to various lesser degrees.

Overall, fifty-four percent of sample journals participate in one or more events. Messages total more than two thousand, with the great majority on the Party Congress. The Food Program and Brezhnev's death stimulate considerably less message transmission than the Party Congress. A common feature of all events is the crescendo of message transmission in the months immediately preceding and following each event.

For the Party Congress and Food Program, the relative percentages and proportions of penetration and saturation remain constant in industry-technology, political core, and natural science. Industry-technology has high saturation and penetration, political core maintain moderate penetration and high saturation and natural science possesses low saturation and penetration. Other journal subjects vary on one or both dimensions across events.

Specific Propositions on Communication Channels

This section is divided into five parts, reflecting crosscutting issues in our test propositions. Each part examines the three events in relation to the test propositions under consideration.

Quantity of Messages. The first set of propositions predicts different outcomes among journal subjects on message subject diversity and quantity. Specifically, they predict that political core journals have greater subject diversity and devote proportionately more space to an issue/event than other journal subjects. Political secondary journals are assumed less diverse and contain fewer messages than core journals but substantially more than other subject journals. The latter are assumed to operate as specialized channels of communication, concentrating information on the subject specialization of the journal.

To test subject diversity and quantity, the sample is divided into three large subject categories: political core, secondary, and non-political journals. Table 4.3 breaks down these categories into percentage of articles, pages and number of participating journals for each month included in the study.

Table 4.3 Percentage of Messages and Pages by Month
for 26th Party Congress^a

	Percentage of Messages			Percentage of Pages			Number of Journals		
	core	sec.	other	core	sec.	other	core	sec.	other
1980									
July	28.8	5.1	8.5	31.9	5.2	15.8	4	1	5
August	20.5	10.0	10.9	16.3	12.3	10.8	6	1	8
September	16.3	4.9	12.8	19.5	3.7	10.3	9	2	12
October	22.5	2.8	11.0	24.0	8.5	10.3	6	2	10
November	24.5	4.7	10.5	31.8	6.1	10.2	8	1	17
December	22.2	18.7	7.9	37.2	8.3	6.5	7	3	14
1981									
January	35.7	16.9	10.1	41.2	8.6	12.6	12	5	38
February	44.1	14.5	10.0	60.5	7.5	9.6	8	5	26
March	34.1	8.7	10.8	35.2	5.3	12.7	12	3	28
April	52.7	6.3	9.8	51.5	5.7	10.4	8	4	19
May	34.1	12.6	11.5	35.4	8.4	15.3	12	5	24
June	38.2	5.3	10.6	41.9	4.7	10.6	6	3	15
July	59.7	10.5	13.9	47.8	5.8	14.5	11	3	25
August	46.3	10.0	11.4	35.6	6.3	9.2	4	1	15
September	48.9	6.5	11.9	35.3	6.0	14.4	8	2	25
October	54.7	6.6	7.5	52.1	5.5	7.1	4	2	14
November	28.7	5.4	11.0	25.8	1.0	8.1	11	2	16
December	52.1	6.1	11.9	42.4	5.0	9.3	4	2	11
1982									
January	27.2	5.3	9.8	30.8	5.5	13.3	6	2	16
February	45.7	10.5	11.0	47.2	8.0	13.2	2	2	7
March	37.9	5.4	8.8	36.0	5.6	12.0	4	2	13
April	56.5	10.1	9.3	63.4	7.3	9.2	1	3	6
May	26.9	6.7	10.0	31.1	6.3	12.4	4	1	5
June	20.0	7.0	6.4	36.4	4.1	9.3	1	2	6
July	8.8	6.8	6.8	11.2	2.9	8.5	4	2	5
August	27.1	0.0	7.0	28.7	0.0	8.7	3		4
September	15.9	4.8	9.3	28.5	4.5	13.4	2	1	7
October	18.5	2.4	4.8	18.8	3.3	7.1	1	1	1
November	44.8	5.3	4.8	26.6	1.4	11.3	2	1	1

Source: Compiled by author.

^aThe Party Congress occurred in February 1982.

In all months, political core journals consistently possess a higher percentage of articles and pages than political secondary and non-political journals. Excluding the initial announcement (July, 1980) there was a gradual crescendo in the proportion of pages and messages. The percentage of pages increases from 16.3% (August, 1980) to 37.2% (December, 1980). The month (February) of the Congress, the proportion of pages devoted to the Congress reaches a peak of 60.5%.

This precedes twelve months of relatively high percentage of pages in participating journals. This proportion varies from 52.1% in October to 25.8% in November, averaging around 40%. After April, 1982, a noticeable and consistent decline occurs until the percentage of pages in participating journals is less than twenty-seven percent. The percentage of messages and number of participating journals exhibit a similar trend.

Political secondary journals have lower percentages of pages and messages in comparison to political core and non-political journals. Seldom does the percentage of pages rise above 10% and average around 6%. Thus, they serve as rather limited channels of communication.

Contrary to our expectation, non-political journals have a consistently higher proportion of articles and pages devoted to the Party Congress than political secondary journals. However, a closer examination of the subject categories in non-political journals reveals the proportion of pages devoted to the Party Congress varies between subject categories. A consistently higher percentage of pages is in social science, economics, industrial-technical, education, and military journals. On average, each devotes more than 10% of its pages to the Party Congress.

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Journals in natural science, medicine, culture contain a substantially smaller proportion of pages and messages. Appearance of communications on the Party Congress is infrequent, with less than 5% of pages and messages devoted to the Congress for most months. Only the months immediately preceding the Congress do messages comprise more than 5% of all messages.

No discernible pattern emerges from the proportion of messages and pages for the Food program. Clearly, all three subject categories serve as channels of political communication. As in the case of the Party Congress, political core journals lead the discussion of the Food Program with a total of twenty-seven messages. The second leading subject category is agricultural journals with twenty messages, followed by thirteen in industry-technology and eleven in political secondary journals.

But the pattern of leadership by political core journals is less apparent than in the previous event. Though this category has the largest number of messages, they fail to lead discussion of the Food Program. Except for January 1982, political core journals appear in substantial numbers only after the May Plenum and passage of the Food Program. This seems unusual since the Food Program is a major policy reform of the agricultural sector and passed by the second highest party organization, the Central Committee. It is only after the May Plenum that political core journals take a leading role in message transmission.

Table 4.4 Percentage of Messages and Pages for the Food Program^a

		Percentage of Messages			Percentage of Pages			Number of Journals		
		core	sec.	other	core	sec.	other	core	sec.	other
1981										
February				5.5			5.6			1
July				12.5			11.9			1
August				8.3			6.6			1
December				7.1			2.5			1
1982										
January		10.0	7.1	9.1	7.8	4.9	0.7	1	1	1
March				5.0			0.8			1
April				5.6			3.5			1
May				5.6	3.9		5.1	5.0		1
June				4.3			4.9			1
July		50.0		5.3	92.5		9.1	1		3
August		20.0	4.3	9.1	18.0	6.5	2.3	1	1	2
September		11.4		9.0	14.3		13.2	4		4
October		14.6	4.8	12.5	9.8	5.3	9.0	2	2	3
November		6.9	15.8	5.9	8.1	4.1	12.1	2	2	3
December				34.7			25.6			2

Source: Compiled by author.

^aThe Food Program was passed at the May 1982 Central Committee meeting.

Political secondary journals publish political messages both before and after the event. The majority of messages are transmitted after the event, again indicating rather scant pre-decision discussion of the Food Program. However, their overall appearance in multiple time periods demonstrates more consistency in pre-decision discussion than political core journals.

In other subject categories, the largest number of messages and pages appears in agricultural journals. This is expected since the major thrust of the Food Program is increased agricultural production. Indeed, agricultural journals are the most consistent medium of message transmission on the Food Program.

Another category in which messages about the Food Program consistently appeared is industrial-technical journals. Messages in this category appear in almost as many time periods and in the same proportion as in agricultural journals. This, again is somewhat expected since part of the Food Program depends on the integration of farm machinery production, food processing, transportation, and construction with agricultural production.

The ascension of Andropov did not activate journal discussion until after the event. This, of course, is not surprising. Then, over a period of three months, various journals published announcements and supporting material on leadership transition. An examination of the messages reveals that there is little variation in the messages presented. Information appears in one basic pattern with the same number of messages and pages devoted to the event.

Table 4.5 Subject Category by Journals and Messages for Andropov's Ascension

Journal Subject	No Messages	Total Messages	Messages/Journals	
Political Core	8	8	52	6.5
Political Secondary	8	1	52	6.5
Social Science	5	9	29	5.8
Economics	1	5	1	1.0
Natural Sciences	1	45	3	3.0
Industry		23		
Health		15		
Agriculture		8		
Education	1	7	5	5.0
Culture	3	10	13	4.2
Military	2	0	14	7.0
Total	29	130	169	5.8

Table 4.6 Time Period and Type of Journal for Andropov's Ascension

	Number of Messages			Number of Journals		
	core	secondary	other	core	secondary	other
1982						
November	33	7	14	5	1	3
December	19	45	44	3	6	7
1983						
January			7			1
Total	52	52	65	8	8	12

As shown in Table 4.6, political core journals transmit messages first about the succession. Most messages occur in November, while the modal month for all subject categories is December. Political secondary journals transmit an equal number of messages but with the majority transmitted in December. Other journals follow the same pattern.

The overall proportion of messages and pages for all three events suggests a uniform trend in the quantity of messages across time and between subject specializations. In all subject categories, the event is preceded by a gradual crescendo in both pages and messages. This crescendo peaks in the few months after the event, followed by a gradual decline in the proportion of space for all subject categories. The Food Program and Party Congress entail pre-decision and post-decision discussion. However, Andropov's ascension enjoyed (not surprisingly) no pre-decision discussion.

Of all the subject categories, political core journals performed closest to our expectations. These journals dominate the quantity of information transmission on all three events and, except for the Food Program, dominate all time periods of the communication process. They are the core channels of political communication on significant political events.

However, that dominance is restricted by the relative political importance of a particular event. That is, political core journals dominate the unquestionably significant Party Congress and leadership transition. Both have the potential for affecting the entire Soviet

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policy spectrum. By comparison, the Food Program has less impact and, subsequently, commands much less attention by political core journals.

Political secondary journals pale in comparison to political core and non-political journals. On all but one event, other subject categories enjoy higher percentages of pages and messages.

Andropov's ascension differs, with the majority of messages occurring in political core and secondary journals. But this is not too surprising. Selection of a new party leader is exclusively a party affair. Therefore, communications on this event are restricted to those journals most closely associated with the party. This event activates only pure channels of political communication.

Subject Specialization Congruence. But it is unclear if journal subject specialization interacts with the subject of a particular event issue. According to our proposition, there is a congruence between the subject specialization of a journal and the subject of an event. That is, journal participation in an event is dependent on the congruence between the subject of the event and journal.

Table 4.7 divides messages by journal and message subject categories. As predicted, political core journals have the most diverse subjects. Of the twenty-five categories, political core journals have at least one message in every message subject category. They possess the greatest proportion of messages in twelve subject categories. This confirms our first hypothesis that Party journals not only devote quantitatively more space but also are the most diverse channel of communication for the Party Congress.

Table 4.7 Message Subject by Journal Subject
Category for Party Congress

Message Subject	Journal Subject Category		
	Political Core	Political Secondary	Other
General Messages			
The Plan	30	4	33
General Discussion	90	28	75
Documents and Reports	13	1	0
Party Matters			
Other Meetings	42	0	6
History and Congress	33	0	9
Party Leadership	162	8	42
Propaganda	148	2	21
The People	107	6	26
Patriotism	5	0	0
Substantive Issues			
Social Science	17	1	26
Economics	24	1	42
International Affairs	166	9	57
State and Government	18	0	9
Military	7	1	12
Natural Science	9	3	43
Scientific-technical			
Progress	13	0	14
Industry	22	7	59
Construction-Transport	8	4	60
Agriculture	36	2	50
Health and Medicine	1	0	31
Sports culture	13	0	37
Education	22	15	26
Role of a Journal	2	0	4
Trade Unions	48	0	28
Regional Development	2	6	3
Total	1041	98	715

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Political secondary journals fail in both quantity and diversity of presentation. Only ninety-eight messages appear in sixteen subject categories. This is less than the number of messages and subject categories than social science or economic journals even though the number of political secondary journals (9) is more than either other journal category. Furthermore, industry and economic journals transmit messages in an equal number of subject categories as political secondary journals. These journals do not perform up to the expectations of our propositions on both the quantity and message subject diversity.

Table 4.8 duplicates the above procedure for the Food Program. It indicates that political core journals serve a more selective role. Instead of transmitting the largest number of messages in the most message categories, they serve as communicators of general information on agriculture, the Food Program, and party leadership.

Political core journals are the least diverse, though possessing more messages than all other categories. Political core journals carry messages in only four out of nine subject categories. Their function suggests a more specialized role in participating in the Food Program than the Party Congress. Indeed, the largest number of messages are in the message categories of party leadership and general discussion of the Food Program.

**Table 4.8 Message Subject by Journal Subject
Categories for Food Program**

Message Subject	Journal Subject Diversity			
	Political Core	Secondary	Agriculture	Other
General Agriculture	7	4	2	2
Food Supply		1	2	
Plant Growing		1	1	
Animal Husbandry	1		1	
Scientific Work			7	2
Construction				9
Regions in Agriculture		2	4	
Food Program (general)	8	3	2	9
Party Work and Food	10			2
	—	—	—	—
Total	26	11	19	28

Political secondary journals transmit most of their messages on general agriculture and the Food Program. But they once again fail to numerically transmit a higher number of messages and appear in more message subjects than non-political journals. Quantitatively, they possess the fewest number of communications and transmit messages in only five subject categories. Agricultural journals, though transmitting fewer messages than other and political core journals, is the most message subject diverse channel of communication. This result confirms our expectation that political communication is proportionately higher in non-political subject specialization journals that are closely associated with the subject of a particular policy event.

Non-political subject specialization encompass the largest number of messages. But their message subject diversity is equivalent to political secondary journals. The majority of messages are on general discussions, the Food Program and construction. The latter is a result of many construction, economics, and industrial-technical journals commenting on rural construction as a specific need of increased agricultural production.

Andropov's ascension is an exception from the previous events. In all journals, there is a consistency in subject presentation associated with leadership change across journal subject specialization. Not only is there a consistency in subject specialization, but a consistency in the actual messages within these categories. Most messages are identical in content.

Table 4.9 Message Subject Diversity by Journal Subject
Diversity for Andropov Ascension

Message Subject	Journal Subject Diversity		
	core	secondary	other
Official Eulogy	6	7	11
Other Eulogy	3	3	1
Party Leadership Tributes	1		
Andropov Appointment	8	8	10
Andropov Speech	8	6	8
Chernenko Speech	7	5	7
Biography of Andropov	6	7	10
Brezhnev Picture	7	9	10
Andropov Picture	5	7	8
Total	52	52	65

Indeed, there is a striking similarity not only in content but in sequence of presentation. With few exceptions, the mode of presentation begins with a picture of Brezhnev surrounded by a black border. The actual picture varies from a Brezhnev completely gray and obviously aged to a more youthful, dark-haired Brezhnev. Other differences include the number of medals on his chest and the color of his suit. These variations, though interesting, are probably due to differences in the file picture of Brezhnev maintained by each journal.⁹⁵

Brezhnev's picture precedes a short, official Central Committee eulogy. Next is the official Central Committee announcement of Andropov's appointment as General Secretary. The official announcement precedes an abbreviated portion of

Andropov's speech to the Central Committee. Surprisingly, a speech by Chernenko follows Andropov eulogizing the fallen leader and commenting briefly on the virtues of Andropov. Chernenko held no outstanding rank except Secretary of the Party. This by itself seems an insufficient reason for inclusion of his speech. At any given time, there are ten or eleven members of the Secretariat but only Chernenko's remarks are included in the presentation.

After Andropov's death a year later, the meaning becomes apparent. Chernenko's speech is a signal of his prominent position in

⁹⁵This raises an interesting issue concerning the role of the media in leadership transitions. The course of recent Soviet events provides a unique opportunity to compare similarities or differences between leadership transitions. Do all transitions have similar presentations? Is Chernenko's role repeated by Gorbachev, possibly indicating the latter's political rank? These issues are, however, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

the political system, second only to Andropov. It would of interest to compare this presentation format to that of later leadership changes. If a similar pattern emerges with the leader's acceptance of General Secretaryship with another Politburo member's speech that eventually supersedes the preceding leader it may provide a helpful tool for predicting the relative rank of the current leadership.

Following the two speeches, a picture and a short biography of Andropov appears. His biography is of no particular significance and includes information readily available in other sources. As mentioned, the presentation of this information is almost uniform in each journal in which it appears.

The overall performance of journals on subject specialization suggests three distinct subject category patterns associated with the events. The Party Congress performs as expected for political core and non-political journals. But political secondary journals fail both numerically and message subject diversity to dominate as predicted. Also, political core journals transmit fewer messages and are less message subject diverse than predicted. Agricultural journals assume the role as general channels of communication with political core and secondary journals acting as congruent subject specialists or general discussants.

Andropov's ascension illustrates another pattern. Identical messages occur regardless of the journal category. There is little subject specialization or diversity across journal categories. This event indicates central control or supervision in the dissemination of messages across channels of communication. Andropov's ascension provides the best evidence of uniformity of political information

across political communication channels. Subject specialization, an important characteristic for the Food Program and Party Congress, has little bearing for Andropov's ascension.

Message and Journal Subject Congruence. Another proposition suggests that non-political specialized journals act as specialized channels, presenting communication in their particular area specialty. In part, this occurs in political core journals that lead discussion in party matters such as party leadership, propaganda, and benefits of socialism to the Soviet people. But these general channels of communication also carry topics on a host of other subjects and serve as non-specialized communication channels. What is the role of non-political journals? Do they act as general or specialized channels of political communication? If they are specialized channels, is their specialization congruent with the subject specialization of the journal?

Table 4.10 compares journal subject with message subjects for non-political journals. Non-political subject journals transmit the highest proportion of their messages in their subject specialization or closely related subject specializations. Together, they comprise sixty-five percent of all messages in non-political journals. Only nine percent of the messages focus on non-related subject categories. The remainder are in general discussion (15%) or party topics (11%).

Examination of each non-political journal category reveals a similar pattern. One slight exception are social science journals. They transmit proportionately more messages on party and non-journal topics than any other category. Coupled with a high frequency of

messages and considerable subject diversity, social science journals parallel political core journals. They are secondary channels of political communication.

Economic journals appear to deviate with only sixteen percent of messages on economic matters. But examination of related subject messages indicates that many combine substantive issues with economics. Of the sixty-three messages in related areas, most concern trade unions (3), agricultural production (7), industrial production (19), and international trade (25). Clearly, all of these topics are closely related to the economic well-being of the country. A similar pattern emerges for military journals. All of the related topic messages concern international relations, a relevant issue to the military.

A further analysis of unrelated subject topics across journal subject categories suggests that some message subjects receive attention by a larger group of journal subjects. Those transmitted in six journal subject categories include natural science, scientific-technical progress, industry, education, and trade union. Other

specific subject categories are transmitted in fewer journal subjects.

The performance of journals on the Party Congress indicates that non-political journals differ in the transmission of unrelated subject messages. Overall, journals tend to focus on their own subjects, general discussion, and party matters in discussing the Party Congress. In doing so, some are more restricted in this task than others. Science, culture, and medicine are specialized channels of communication, failing to transmit non-related message subjects.

Table 4.10 General Subject of Messages by Subject Specialization of Journal for Party Congress

Subject Journals	General Discussion	Party Matters	Non-Journal Subjects	Related Subjects^a	Congruent Subjects
Social Science	10	22	27	14	41
Economics	30	10	15	63	25
Natural Science	5				7
Industry	19	5	4	12	94
Medicine	4	2	1		31
Agriculture	10	5	5	4	39
Education	10	5		67	19
Culture	17	5	7		10
Military	8	18	4	11	10
Total	<u>105</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>171</u>	<u>276</u>

^aRelated subjects is a complex yet necessary category. Specifically, related subjects for social science are education and discussion on the people and their benefits under socialism. Related subjects for industry-technical include trade unions, construction, and transportation. Economics related topics encompass international affairs, industry, construction, agriculture, and trade unions. Education includes virtually all subjects that may pertain to educational training.

Social science, industry, education, and economic journals transmit higher frequencies of non-related subjects. These journals are more likely sources of non-related message transmission or, perhaps, subsidiary channels of political communication on many issues.

Table 4.11 discloses a similar pattern for the Food Program. Most messages are congruent subjects, with the only other significant category is general discussion. There is only one message in party matters and no messages in non-journal or related subject categories.

For all message subject categories, agricultural journals dominate message transmission on the Food Program. Industry-technical journals transmit the second highest number of messages. Economics, natural science and, education possess few overall and no congruent subject specialization messages. Their participation is mostly confined to general discussions without specific reference to their subject specialization. Military culture fail to transmit messages on the Food Program.

Non-political subject specialization journals act as specialized channels of messages for the Food Program. Most messages are in related and subject congruent categories. General discussion evokes a limited number of messages. Non-related message subjects appear infrequently.

Andropov's ascension is not susceptible to analysis on this dimension. Uniform message presentation results in parity across message subjects. The implication is that subject specialization is not a characteristic influencing political communication on leadership transition.

**Table 4.11 Subject of Message by Subject Specialization
of Journal for Food Program**

Subject Journals	General Discussion	Party Matters	Non-Journal Subjects	Related Subjects	Congruent Subjects
Social Science	1				2
Economics	3				
Natural Science	1				
Industry	4				9
Medicine					
Agriculture	2				18
Education		1			2
Culture					
Military					
Total	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>31</u>

Overall, journal and message congruence is an important influence on political communication channels. On major policy events, non-political journals act as specialized channels of communication. For the Party Congress, political core journals act as universal transmitters of messages, allowing message transmission in all specific message subject categories. But political core journals act as a specialized channel for the Food Program, with message transmission mostly confined to party matters.

An explanation for the differing role of political core journals is the political significance of each event. The Party Congress is politically a more salient event with a broader policy spectrum than the Food Program. It is the single most important regular political event, confirming new policy initiatives from the leadership, legitimizing the party leadership, and outlining the direction of Soviet society for the next five years. The Food Program is less significant and, consequently, the role of political core journals is restricted to a specialized function of defining the party's leadership in the program.

Territorial-administrative Level of Journal. Proposition 2.0 predicts that the territorial-administrative level of a journal influences the subject of messages. Specifically, journals with union republic sponsors transmit policy issues or information relevant to the union republic. To test this proposition (See Table 4.12), journals and messages in the sample are divided into two categories: All-Union and local. A more sophisticated division is not feasible since only one journal below the Union-Republic level is in the

sample. This is an ASSR journal for Dagestan. Other potential journals were either not included in the target sample or not located. Twenty-nine union republic journals are in the target sample.

The chi-squared statistic confirms the existence of a relationship at the .01 level of significance. Gamma (.65) suggests a positive, strong relationship between journal and message territorial-administrative level. Substantively, the majority of messages in both levels are on All-Union issues. But union republic journals tend to report more frequently than All-Union on union republic issues or topics.

Overall, both territorial-administrative levels are dominated by All-Union messages. But union republic journals serve as a channel of union republic messages while All-Union journals serve mostly as channels of All-Union issues. This suggests that union republic messages are most often found in union republic journals but as an additional and subsidiary function to All-Union messages. This partially confirms the propositions on territorial-administrative level. The predicted dichotomy between union republic and All-Union messages fails to materialize in their respective territorial-administrative areas. Instead, All-Union messages dominate in both territorial-administrative levels, while union republic messages most often occur in union republic journals.

The Food Program indicates a slightly different pattern. Of the eighty messages, only nineteen concern union republic issues. Furthermore, most messages, regardless of their territorial-administrative level are located in All-Union journals. But this is, perhaps, a result of the union republic journals available. Only two out of the twenty-one journals are union republic.

Table 4.12 Territorial-Administrative Level of
Journal and Subject for Party Congress

Journal Level	Message Level	
	All-Union	Union Republic
All-Union	1318	47
Union Republic	413	76
Total	1731	123

Gamma = 0.65

Chi-squared = 85.4

Table 4.13 Territorial-Administrative Level of
Journal and Subject for Food Program

Journal Level	Message Level	
	All-Union	Union Republic
All-Union	56	5
Union Republic	17	2
Total	73	7

Gamma = .13

Chi-squared = .624

Both statistics (Chi-squared and Gamma) disaffirm the presence of a relationship between journal and message territorial-administrative levels. Less than ten percent of all messages are on union republic issues. Of those messages, only two appear in union republic journals. But to conclude that territorial-administrative level fails to influence message transmission may be erroneous. As mentioned, the sample of participating journals is quite small. An expansion of the sample across more journals may produce different results.

The homogeneity of message transmission for Andropov's ascension precludes a satisfactory division between All-Union and union republic messages. Ten union republic journals participate out of a total of twenty-nine journals. This is the largest proportion of union republic participation on the events. Yet this contributes little to our understanding of territorial-administrative level and messages.

The evidence on coverage of the Party Congress suggests that there is a distinction between the territorial-administrative level of the communication and the journal. In all subject categories, All-Union journals tend to report information on All-Union aspects of an event/issue while union republic journals tend to emphasize their own territorial-administrative level. The Food Program is inconclusive. Participating journals and messages are too few to draw a conclusion on this issue. Based on the Party Congress, it is reasonable to suggest that our proposition concerning territorial-administrative level and message congruence is correct.

Mass Versus Specialized Journals. Propositions 3.0 and 3.1 concern the influence of audience on messages. Specifically, mass audience journals are hypothesized to differ from specialized journals on two dimensions. First, mass journals emphasize reporting and informing the public while specialized journals discuss issue/event. Second, mass journals contain proportionately more of their information after an event rather than before. They are expected to report the news and the decisions of an event.

Table 4.14 indicates that the majority of messages are transmitted after the event. The average for all participating journals in this twenty month time period is fifty seven messages per month. Those months transmitting the largest number of messages for all journals are January, February, and March in 1981. The average sum total of messages for these months is one hundred and forty-seven. Before the Party Congress, the average monthly total for messages is thirty-five.

Though chi-squared verifies an association, gamma indicates that the association is extremely weak. Furthermore, its negative direction is theoretically counter to our expectation of a positive relationship between audience and time period. Gamma suggests that there is little difference between mass and specialized journals across time. For mass journals there is an average of 13.3 messages per journal compared to 23.7 for specialized journals. Mass journals on average have substantially fewer messages than specialized journals.

Specialized journals transmit 63% of their total messages after the Congress, 22% the three months surrounding the Congress, and 15% before the Congress. Mass journals differ slightly with a decrease in the post-event period with 50% and an increase in the months surrounding the Congress with 34.7%. Except for this slight difference, there is a striking similarity in the proportion of messages for both categories. For both audience categories, the largest proportion of messages occur after the Party Congress.

This fails to support the proposition that mass journals deliver proportionately more communications after and during the event than specialized journals. However, there is considerable evidence supporting the proposition on subject of communications. Mass journals are expected to communicate messages on general issues reporting and informing a mass audience while specialized journals possess more specific discussion concerning the policy issues.

There is a significant difference between mass and specialized journals on reporting of subject topics on the Party Congress. Those subjects not discussed in mass journals include other meetings associated with the Party Congress, state and government, health and medicine, role of journals, and patriotism. Those subjects most often mentioned in mass journals reflects the same proportion of attention as specialized journals except in one critical area, general discussion of the Congress.

Across time, approximately twenty-one percent of all messages in mass journals are devoted to this topic. Except for international affairs, it is the largest category of subject in these journals. Other topics receiving proportionately greater amounts of attention

than specialized media include international affairs (91), education (24), party leadership (14) and, the people (10). Together, these six topics account for seventy-nine percent of all messages across time. For the most part, these messages discuss their respective issues in general terms. For example, most of the messages under international affairs discuss the peace plan, general international affairs, or superpower relations. These are very general issues of Soviet foreign policy.

In contrast, these same general subject categories account for forty percent of messages in specialized journals. Within these categories, discussion is more specialized. Using my previous example, messages in international affairs focus on general and specific issues. Many of the discussions include messages on Sino-Soviet relations in the post-Mao period, economic integration with CMEA and others, and international trade. These are more specialized than those in mass audience journals.

The Food Program reinforces this interpretation. According to Table 4.15, the post-decision time period has the largest number of messages in both categories. The fewest occur in the six month period before the Congress with only two messages. The second largest category are during the Plenum.

Furthermore, mass journals have a total of eleven articles for the entire period. This represents only 14% of the total number of messages. It is difficult to discuss a trend. However, the number of articles and trend present indicates that a similar pattern occurred as with the Party Congress. That is, mass journals fail to appear in greater proportions in comparison to specialized journals.

Table 4.14 Time Period^a of Message by Type of Journal for Party Congress

Audience	Time Period		
	Pre-Congress	Congress	Post-Congress
Specialized Journals	240	357	1016
Mass Journals	37	83	119
Total	277	440	1135

Gamma = .19 Chi-squared = 19.866

^aThe Pre-Congress time period spans from July to December, 1980. Congress includes three months in 1981: January, February, and March. Post-Congress communications start in April 1981 and end in December 1982.

Table 4.15 Time Period^a of Message by Type of Journal for Food Program

Audience	Time Period		
	Pre-Plenum	Plenum	Post-Plenum
Specialized Journals	6	1	62
Mass Journals	2	3	6
Total	8	4	68

Gamma = .15

Chi-squared = 6.51

^aPre-Plenum time period includes all months prior to April, 1982. The Plenum time period encompasses April, May, and June 1982. The Post-Plenum includes all months after June 1982 to December 1982.

A break down of the message subject category between mass and specialized journals reinforces previous information suggesting differences in subject specialization between these categories. Most messages in mass audience journals concern general discussions or reports on the Food Program or agriculture (7). Other topics include the Food Supply (1), Plant Growing (1), and regional development (2). Reports and general information dominate the communication process in mass journals.

Specialized journals have a more diverse function. A greater proportion of the messages discuss economic construction in the rural areas, increased productivity for food processing, and fertilizer production. As before, these messages are more specialized than those in mass journals.

Summary

In sum, we now have a clearer picture of the systematic dispersion of messages in Soviet political communication channels. Political core journals form the heart of the political communication system. They quantitatively dominate communication channels for all three events. Furthermore, political core journals possess one of the highest participation levels across the events.

But subject specialization is more complex than suggested by proposition 1.0. Political core journals act as broad message subject channel for the Party Congress. They dominate sixteen out of twenty-six subject categories and have at least one message in all subject categories.

However, the Food Program illustrates a more selective role in communication. Political core journals act as a specialized channel of communication, with only one message on a non-party issue. This suggests that the function of political core journals depends on the significance of the political issue/event. Since the Party Congress is the most important regular political event and a forum for policy initiatives for the next five years, political core journals act as general channels of communication. The Food Program, a less significant event, stimulates fewer overall and more specialized participation by political core journals.

Andropov's ascension illuminates a media system still dominated by political core journals but without message subject diversity or congruence between message and journal subject specialization. Political core journals possess the same subject message categories as other participating journals. Those participating journals present identical messages in slightly varying formats.

Overall, the function of political core journals depends on the significance of an event/issue. All-Union and most significant events with immediate and broad policy implications stimulate political core journals to act as quantitatively dominant and the most subject diverse. But less significant events with narrow policy implications suggest a much more restrictive role by political core journals. Their participation is confined to general discussion or party leadership over the policy. Significant political events without immediate policy implications restrict political core journals to the same presentation format and subject diversity as all other subject categories.

Political secondary journals fail to perform as expected in quantity and subject diversity. Except for Andropov's ascension, they are quantitatively less significant than many non-political journal subject categories. Political secondary journals are less subject diverse than several non-political subject categories on the Party Congress and Food Program.

Other journal subject specializations confirm the predicted quantitative and subject diversity of proposition 1.3. The Party Congress stimulates participation in all eleven subject categories. The leading participants are social science, economics, industry-technology, and education-university. The Food Program stimulates high participation in journal subject categories congruent to increased food production. Other unrelated subject categories fail to participate in discussion of the program.

In most non-political subject categories, there is journal and message subject congruence. Each journal subject category are dominated by related or congruence message subjects. Non-related subject categories perform poorly in all journal categories except social science, industry, economics, and education.

Territorial-administrative characteristics partially confirm our proposition on message and level congruence. The Party Congress suggests that there is a distinction between the territorial-administrative level of the communication and the journal. In all subject categories, All-Union journals tend to report information on All-Union aspects of an event/issue while union republic journals tend to emphasize their own territorial-administrative level.

The interaction of audience and timing on channels of communication predicted by our previous population is only partially borne out by the evidence presented in Tables 4.14 and 4.15. There is little difference in the proportion of messages by time period between mass and specialized journals for either the Party Congress or Food Program..

However, a closer examination of the subject specialization of the messages indicates that specialized journals encompass a much wider range of message subjects than mass journals. The latter are more concerned with broad, general issues such as international affairs, party leadership, benefits of the people, and education. Few messages attempt more specialized communication in the finer details of the Congress or Food Program.

Chapter V

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

This chapter compares actual with predicted patterns of communication in Soviet journals. The focus is on the appearance of the political message within and across journals. The assumptions regarding message appearance vary between the four policy models. Each model assumes a different interaction of three key variables: dominant source, physical context, and homogeneity.

It is divided into two sections. The first section is a general discussion of communication sources in journals. The second section compares predicted dominant sources with actual sources for the totalitarian, kremlinology, and non-interest institutional perspectives. To test possible differences in time, each section is divided into two parts. The first examines patterns for pre-decision communication and the second examines post-decision communications.

General Discussion

Table 5.1 categorizes different sources of communication by specific message subject categories for the Party Congress. The great majority of political messages are single or multiple authored messages (1408) with editorials and unsigned messages comprising less than one-quarter of the total messages. Authored messages dominate in all message subject categories except documents and reports and journal editorials.

Table 5.1 Message Subject by Source of Communication
for the Party Congress

Message Subject	General Source of Message			
	Editorial	Unsigned Messages	Signed Messages	Total
General Messages				
The Plan	3	21	43	67
General Discussion	18	74	103	195
Documents and Reports		13	3	15
Party Matters				
Other Meetings		30	18	48
Lenin/History	10	12	20	42
Party Leadership	14	57	141	212
Propaganda and Education	6	23	142	171
The People	5	13	121	139
Patriotism			4	4
Substantive Issues				
Social Science	1	12	31	44
Economics		7	60	67
International Affairs	7	26	201	234
State/Government	1	2	24	27
Military	1		19	20
Natural Science		18	37	55
Scientific Technical Progress	1	5	25	30
Industry	1	10	77	88
Construction/Transportation		14	58	72
Agriculture	1	12	79	91
Health		3	29	32
Sports-Culture		6	44	50
Education		6	57	63
Editors of Journal	3	1	2	6
Trade Unions	3	8	65	76
Regional Development		2	7	9
Total	<u>75</u>	<u>375</u>	<u>1408</u>	<u>1854</u>

Overall, the ten most frequent subject topics are international affairs (234), party leadership (212), general discussion (189), propaganda and education (171), the people (139), agriculture (91), industry (88), trade unions (76), construction (72), economics (67), and the 11th Five Year Plan (67). As one might expect, these categories reflect major policy issues or party matters of the Soviet political system. Substantive policy issues dominate the top ten categories and include international relations, agriculture, industry, trade unions, construction, and economics. Not unexpectedly, these message subjects reflect the major policy issues and are prominent themes in Brezhnev's official report and other speeches/reports to the Party Congress.⁹⁶

Three of the top ten subject categories discuss party matters, re-affirming the legitimacy of party leadership, the benefits of their leadership, and education of the people in party policies. They rank, however, higher than all substantive policy issues except international affairs. This suggests that legitimizing the party's role in Soviet society is a major function of sources communicating information related to the Party Congress. Stating the obvious, this is one of the chief functions of the Party Congress.

A similar pattern emerges with the Food Program. The majority of political messages are authored pieces, followed by unsigned messages and editorials each comprising twenty-five percent of the total messages. The most frequent message subject categories are general

⁹⁶For a record of the Twenty-sixth Party Congress, see XXVI s'vezd Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soiuza, vol. 1-3.

**Table 5.2 Message Subject by Source of Communication
for the Food Program**

Message Subject	General Source of Communication			
	Editorial	Unsigned Messages	Signed Messages	Total
General Agriculture		2	14	15
Food Supply			3	3
Cultivation			2	2
Animal Husbandry			2	2
Scientific Work ^a			9	9
Construction		2	7	9
Regional Agriculture			6	6
Food Program	3	8	11	22
Party Leadership	1	4	6	12
Total	4	16	60	80

^aScientific work includes two messages on the task of social scientists and Food Program. See for these articles .

discussions on the Food Program, agriculture, and party leadership. The substantive policy issues are scientific work, construction, and regional agriculture. All were prominently mentioned issues in discussions at the Plenum session.⁹⁷

As with the Party Congress, party leadership is the most frequent topic after general discussions on agriculture and the Food Program. Substantive issues such as construction, scientific work, and regional agriculture occur less frequently. Finally, there is a similar emphasis in message subject across the three general sources. Editorials, unsigned and signed messages have similar proportional frequencies on specific subjects.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Andropov's ascension illuminates a similar pattern of communication across different type of journals. Authored messages originate from Andropov and Chernenko, while most other messages are official messages reprinted across journals. The source of these messages is the Central Committee.

Overall, the Party Congress and Food program indicate a parallel between the agenda in the reports and documents produced by their respective events and issues discussed in the media. The Party Congress stimulates discussion on party leadership and its benefits, international affairs, agriculture, industry, trade unions, construction, the five year plan, and economics. All of these issues are discussed at length in Brezhnev's report and the five year plan draft proposal.

⁹⁷Pravda, May 25, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 27, 1982, pp. 1-4; May 28, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 29, 1982, pp. 1-2; May 30, 1982, pp. 1-2.

The Food program exhibits a similar pattern, with a congruence between frequency of message subject in journals and the May Plenum. Construction, science, party leadership, and regional agriculture are the major policy components of the program. Each is prominently mentioned in the documents and Brezhnev's report to the Plenum. Considering the congruence between the components of policy issues and the frequency of message subject, journals are a fairly accurate measure of Soviet policy priorities. The next logical step is to ascertain who forms this agenda and disseminates the decisions of the policy bodies?

Dominant Source

Who dominates the communication process is a key variable in testing our four policy models. Each policy model assumes a different group, organization, or faction as the dominant and most important source of communication. In general, a dominant source serves the function of discussing the major issues, sets the policy agenda, and interprets policy.

Three characteristics capture the specific type of domination pattern. First, political message sources are classified by institutional membership and elite/non-elite status of the author. Second, messages are categorized by institutional sponsorship group. Each model predicts a different pattern of message dissemination. Finally, diversity of message subjects examines the range of subject topics addressed by the expected dominant source. Dependent on these characteristics, each policy model implies a different pattern of dominate source.

Totalitarian Model. The totalitarian perspective envisions communication dominated by the Supreme leader in all time periods, channels, and policy subjects. Under this assumption, Brezhnev is expected to dominate communication on the Party Congress and Food Program. For leadership transition, Andropov is the expected dominant source for leadership transition.

Evidence for the totalitarian perspective is lacking. For the Party Congress, Brezhnev presents twenty-three messages, mostly in an official context as General Secretary or President of the Supreme Soviet. These official messages are reprints of speeches or reports to the Party Congress, Central Committee Plenum, the Supreme Soviet or another official event.

For example, Brezhnev's announcement of the upcoming Party Congress to the June 1980 Plenum appears in two republic and two All-Union level journals. Brezhnev's official report to the Party Congress appear in several journals. Their timing coincides with a specific political event. His role is as the authoritative reporter or interpreter of the Party Congress and related official events. This, of course, is an important role, allowing Brezhnev to interject a personal interpretation but not the more persuasive role of agenda setter and dominator of information flow to journals.

Only seven articles appear as personal, unofficial messages. These messages do not refer to his office or official meetings. They cover such topics as the role of trade unions, international affairs, party leadership, and propaganda and education. These hardly cover the spectrum of Soviet policy making, since they are concerned with only two substantive policy issue topics. The timing of Brezhnev's

non-official messages is split between pre-event and post-event discussion. Three are transmitted in January 1981 and are, quite possibly, attempts at putting parameters or establishing an agenda for the Party Congress.

But this late timing undermines Brezhnev's role as agenda-setter. Most pre-event discussion on specific subjects and policies has already occurred. Furthermore, three pre-event messages in two party journals hardly reach all potential audiences. At best, key party officials are informed of Brezhnev's opinions on the eve of the Congress.

Whether or not this affects their opinions and the outcome of the Congress is unclear. But such late timing and restricted issue discussion is hardly dominating the policy spectrum. Much more apparent are his official presentations, coinciding with other significant political events (i.e., Plenum Sessions, Supreme Soviet, etc.) and as his role of General Secretary.

Another potential dimension of a Brezhnev-dominated media system are tributes to his leadership. Recognition of Brezhnev as leader occurs rather frequently but most often in the context of recognizing Brezhnev as General Secretary. References to the leader's personal greatness, creativity, gifted leadership, keen theoretical insights, or his astute policy initiatives, so characteristic during Stalin's tutelage, are lacking. Finally, he communicates in only three of eleven journal subject categories: Party, secondary, agriculture. Most political messages are confined to Party sponsored journals.

Few messages, late timing, and lack of personal tributes indicate that Brezhnev hardly dominates political communication. His communications comprise less than two percent of the total messages on the Party Congress in only four of twenty-five subject categories and in as few as three journal subject channel of political communication. If a Soviet reader were not careful or failed to examine party journals, in particular, Brezhnev's messages would be unnoticed.

A similar trend emerges for the Food Program. Brezhnev's only message appears in a party journal and is a reprint of his report to the May Plenum. He plays no role in public agenda formation and is limited in his post event communications to reprints of his report to the May Plenum. This is quite unexpected, since the Food Program is the last major policy initiative of the Brezhnev era and one often associated with his leadership. But Brezhnev transmits only one message and in his official capacity as leader of the Central Committee Plenum session. Equally lacking is recognition or tribute to Brezhnev for such a "bold policy initiatives". Few messages refer to Brezhnev except as General Secretary of the party.

One possible explanation is the advanced age and declining health of Brezhnev. Afterall, Brezhnev was known to have trouble in public speaking and required assistance in walking. But this is not a sufficient reason for the lack of political messages. It is well known that Soviet leaders use ghost writers. This is most apparent during the long illness of Andropov. Days before his death and, presumably, while he was in a critically weak state, Andropov allegedly released several statements on a wide variety of topics and issues. Brezhnev could have easily employed a similar technique, relying on his personal staff in transmitting such communications.

The ascension of Andropov exhibits some communication patterns predicted by the totalitarian perspective. As mentioned, the messages on this event emanate from a single source and are identical in content across all media channels. But Chernenko's appearance in association with Andropov undermines the notion of one dominant source.

His speech is the same length and appears alongside Andropov's speech. Its subject is to give tribute to Brezhnev and praise selection of Andropov. This gives Chernenko equal status with Andropov and, perhaps, is a gesture of leadership unity among a suspected factional leadership. This interpretation is enhanced by Chernenko's ascension to General Secretary on the death of Andropov. His ability to assume leadership in such a short time is due to his predominant position in the political system.

The totalitarian model is ill-suited as an explanation of any of our events. Brezhnev's communication on the Party Congress and Food Program are minimal and mostly confined to his official capacity as General Secretary. By definition, the General Secretary is expected to produce quantitatively a great number of messages on diverse subjects and in all journal subject channels. The evidence on the Party Congress suggests that this assumption is somewhat lacking. Though he produces more messages than any other single actor, the quantity of messages is quite small in relation to the total number of messages.

Brezhnev's messages comprise only one percent of the total for both the Party Congress and Food Program. Andropov's ascension, though slightly different in overall presentation, also contradicts the

expected pattern of communication. The frequency of Chernenko's messages suggest that other leading political actors are important to leadership transitions.

Kremlinology Model. The Kremlinology model argues that the dominant source are are competing factional elites. Available to each factional leader are media channels or outlets controlled through journal sponsorship for monopolized communication of the faction. As mentioned, the potential leaders of differing political factions are the twenty-six Politburo and Secretariat members and candidates.

Table 5.3 discloses considerable diversity of message subject for the Politburo/Secretariat. Also, the subject priorities of elite messages differ little from the overall agenda. General discussion of the Congress is the most frequent message subject. Industry and construction are the only two top ten-message subject categories not discussed by the Party leaders.

Agenda-setting messages (pre-event) compose roughly half of the total political messages. But messages on substantive policy issues are infrequent. Over sixty percent of messages concern general discussion, other meetings, and related documents. Few messages appear on substantive policy issues. These subject message categories include international affairs, scientific-technical progress, and education.

Substantive policy messages increase to over fifty percent after the Congress. General discussion, other meeting, and related documents decline to less than thirty percent. Party matters compose the difference between these categories.

**Table 5.3 Messages on the Party Congress of Politburo/
Secretariat by Timing and Subject of Message**

Message Subject	Timing of Message		
	Before	After	Total
General Messages			
Other Meetings	7	4	11
Documents	2		2
General			
Discussion	7	4	11
Five Year Plan	1		1
Party Matters			
Party			
Leadership		2	2
Party			
Leadership		2	2
Propaganda			
and Education	3	2	5
The People		1	1
Patriotism	1		1
Substantive Issues			
International			
Affairs	2	7	9
Agriculture		2	2
Trade Unions		1	1
Economics		2	2
Scientific-			
Technical Progress	1		1
Education	1	2	3
Total	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>52</u>

This interaction suggests that the Politburo/Secretariat members are translators of events/issues rather than agenda setters. The message subject priority before the Congress focuses on general discussion and support documents. The agenda-setting function is delegated to non-party elite.

Investigation of individual messages reveals few messages per Politburo/Secretariat member. For the Party congress, there are fifty-two messages by Politburo and Secretariat members. In all, sixteen of the twenty-five members elected at the Party Congress communicate messages in the sampled journals. Those not transmitting messages include Zimyanin, Raykov, Grishin, Gromyko, Pelshe, Andropov, Ponomarov and Romanov.

The participants' messages appear in five of the eleven journal subject categories. Forty-two of the messages are transmitted in political core journals, with political secondary, and agriculture transmitting three each, social science transmitting two, and economics transmitting one. The subject of their messages varied considerably and suggests what might be termed a functional division of communication. Though not all policy categories are covered, certain individuals tend to comment in what might be loosely associated within their area of responsibility.

As mentioned, Brezhnev acts as a general communicator, with many of his articles devoted to official communications and reports. His individual communications are equally general, covering a few key policy areas of the Soviet system: the well-being of the people, international affairs, propaganda, and party leadership.

Suslov, chief ideology, discusses long-term socialist development and propaganda. Gorbachev, secretary in charge of agriculture, transmit two messages on agriculture. Tikhonov, Chairperson of the Council of Ministers, writes two pieces, one on patriotism and one on international trade. Ustinov, Minister of Defense, writes an article on disarmament and party leadership over the army.

All first secretaries of Union-Republics who are members of the Politburo transmit messages in journals. What is interesting is that their communications are mostly confined to either national or republic level party journals. Non-party journals, even in their own regions, fail to carry messages from these individuals. This, too, adds to the argument supporting specialization rather than domination in the media.

Kiseleva, First Secretary of Belorussia, is the most frequent communicator with three articles, all in the main Party journal in Belorussia, Kommunist Belorussii. Aliyev, First Secretary of Azerbaidzhan, and Rashidov, First Secretary of Uzbekistan, both have two articles, one each in their respective republic journals and one each in all-Union journals. Kunayev, First Secretary of Kazakhstan, Shcherbitskiy, First Secretary of Ukraine, and Shevarnadze, First Secretary of Georgia, each have one article.

But such few messages hardly dominate their respective union-republic journals and reflect the pattern of Brezhnev's messages. That is, these First Secretaries mostly communicate on other meetings or reprint official communications concerning these meetings. Seldom do they comment unofficially on substantive policy issues.

Further undermining the Kremlinological perspective is the lack of messages by Brezhnev's successor and suspected rival, Yuriy Andropov and other high ranking political leaders. One would expect Andropov, Romanov, and Grishin to communicate at least some messages to their respective factional loyalists. But they fail to produce a single message in journals.

The evidence on the Food Program further weakens the kremlinological perspective. Only Brezhnev transmits an official message after the May Plenum. Other Politburo/Secretariat members are silent. This is quite unusual considering that the Central Committee was the organization responsible for approving the Food Program. But responsibility for discussing this issue is left to lower-level officials.

Andropov ascension offers the most compelling evidence for the kremlinological interpretation. Chernenko's appearance alongside Andropov may be an indicator of his leadership of an alternative political faction. But an equally plausible explanation is that the appearance of Chernenko's messages was designed to demonstrate party unity. Chernenko, intimately associated with Brezhnev and a member of the Politburo and Secretariat, seems the most logical choice to demonstrate that unity.

For the three events, actual communications differ from predicted patterns of the kremlinological model. There are two potential explanations. First, factional leaders communicate messages in non-public media channels. Yet this contradicts the kremlinologist assumption that the media are the chief mechanism for factional communications. Also, how would factional leaders communicate with

their members? Word-of-mouth, memorandum, occasional publications may serve as channels for factional communication but there is little research or investigation into these restricted media outlets. Such alternatives seem awkward, haphazard, and restrict the ability of factional leaders to communicate with their followers.

The kremlinological perspective is little use in understanding political communication patterns. The role of Politburo and Secretariat members is indicative of functional specialization and dissemination of policy decisions rather than agenda setters. Before the Congress, the emphasis is on general communications while post-event communications, emphasize their respective functional specialization.

Institutional Non-interest Group Model. According to the institutional non-interest group perspective, the dominant group of communicators showed all major institutional/social elites. These elites perform the role of agenda-setting (pre-event) and information dissemination (post-event) in their respective institutional communication channels. They lead and dominate communications on significant policy issues. Another prediction is the exclusion of non-institutional members from participation in their journals.

Eight institutional/social elite groups form the basis for discussion on institutional domination: party, state, economic, military, science, agriculture, education, culture. As mentioned, elite status is the higher ranking members of a particular institution on the All-union or union republic level. We determination based on the interaction of institutional elites, journal sponsorship, range of subject message categories, and timing.

Table 5.4 aggregates specific message subjects into four general message groups: party matters, general messages, congruent and incongruent substantive issues. Congruent messages are those that are most closely associated with the messages of a particular institutional group. All institutional elite groups, except education, disseminate messages in these four general subject categories.

Overall, elite communications comprise forty-six percent of the total for identified messages. Forty-two percent of elite messages concern congruent substantive issues. This is followed by general discussion (25%), party matters (21%), and incongruent substantive issues (12%). This indicates an overall priority on congruent substantive issues associated with the institutional group's policy sphere.

Comparing overall elite to non-elite communications by general message subject indicates that the greatest proportion of elite messages occurs in general discussion (53%). Congruent substantive issues and party matters (40%) are proportionately the next largest elite message category with incongruent substantive issues (28%) comprising the smallest categories. This suggests that overall institutional elites perform the critical function of pre-event discussion of general messages and congruent substantive issues of the upcoming Party Congress. Elites, by numerical domination of these subject categories, maintain the ability to outline, influence, and establish a general and congruent subject agenda before the Party Congress.

Table 5.4 General Message Subject by Institutional Position of Author(s) Before Party Congress

Position	General Message Subject									
	Party Matters		General Messages		Substantive Issues congruent ^a incongruent				Total Messages	
	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total
Party	26	49	30	40	36	76	b	b	92	165
State	12	21	11	23	28	42	6	18	57	104
Economic	2	8	1	4	7	17	2	7	12	36
Military	6	13	1	2	1	4	2	8	10	23
Science	2	4	3	8	10	20	7	10	22	42
Culture	3	7	2	2	3	3	8	12	16	24
Agriculture	2	2	1	1	8	13	3	8	14	24
Education		13	1	5	7	13	2	8	10	59
Total ^c	44	110	45	83	59	148	25	90	177	431

^aThis category includes related subjects. See Previous chapter.

^bCongruent substantive issues for the party are all other events. This is due to the Party's parallel institutions that supervise all of Soviet society.

^cThe totals do not agree because of multiple counting of messages across institutional elite channel. Messages with authors of dual position or multi-authored pieces with different institutional membership. This phenomena is filtered out for these totals and an comparisons between general message subject categories.

Within institutional group, a mixed pattern of elite communications emerges with some groups numerically dominant while other groups have relatively few elite messages. Those groups with over forty percent elite communications include the party (56%), state (54%), culture (71%), agriculture (54%), military (44%), and science (43%). Economics (28%) and education (15%) elites communicate proportionately fewer political messages by comparison to non-elites. Three institutional elite groups numerically dominate and possess a strong presence in three other groups, and participate to a very limited degree in two other groups. This suggests that their ability to numerically dominate the media varies between institutional elite group.

But overall numerical dominance is only one characteristic. Each institutional group exhibits different patterns in the ratio of elite to non-elite communications within the four general message subject categories. Party, state, and agricultural elites follow the overall pattern of elite communication. The proportion of communications in each category is roughly equivalent to the overall pattern for these message subject categories.

Economic elites participate, proportionately, less than non-elite in every subject category with seventy-five percent of all messages transmitted by non-elites. Education exhibits a similar pattern with non-elites transmitting eighty-five percent of all messages. These former categories tend toward non-elite domination in all general message subjects.

Science culture illustrate a mixed pattern in comparison with general elite communication. Science maintains a similar proportion in party matters but deviates in all other categories. General matters and congruent substantive issues contain fewer elite messages than the overall while incongruent substantive issues receive considerably more attention than overall. In this case, elites act as a source for non-congruent substantive issues and party matters, leaving congruent substantive issues and general discussion to non-elites.

Culture, the largest overall proportion of elite communication, possesses an elite dominated media in all subject categories except party matters. In general messages, congruent, and incongruent substantive issues of elite messages nearly monopolize message transmission. Agriculture encompasses a similar pattern except for incongruent subject issues. The latter category evoke fewer elite messages than overall elite performance.

In general, institutional elite domination is message subject and institutional group dependent. The range of domination varies from limited participation by education and economic elites in all categories to domination of all message categories by elites in culture. The other five groups range between these extremes, with party and state emphasizing general messages.

Table 5.5 disaggregates the four general categories into twenty-five specific message subjects. This expands the range of specific message subject and elite communication. Specific message subjects receive varied attention across and within institutional groups.

The top nine specific message subjects are general discussion (29), party leadership (18), agriculture (17), international affairs (13), industry (12), other meetings (9), propaganda and education (9), the people (9), sports culture (6), and natural science (8). Five categories have similar rankings to the overall agenda for the Party Congress. However, the remaining four command substantially less attention than that given by institutional elites.

The most subject diverse and numerically largest group are party elites. They transmit messages in all but three specific message subjects and numerically dominate over other elites in ten subject categories. But their numerical domination is mostly restricted to general messages and party matters. Party elites only dominate numerically in three substantive issues: social science, international affairs, and scientific-technical progress.

State elites are the second most issue-diverse group, with messages in fourteen of twenty-five message categories. They numerically dominate in four congruent substantive issue categories and maintain the second largest group of messages in every general message and party matters specific message subject. Cultural elites transmit in ten specific message categories and in as many substantive issues as state elites. They numerically dominate in congruent issues, sports, culture.

Economic, agricultural, and educational elites transmit political messages in six specific subject categories. None of these groups, however, dominate in their respective congruent substantive issues. The least subject diverse is the military. They transmit messages in only six message subjects. Party matters, however, are over emphasized with sixty percent of all elite messages in that category.

Table 5.5 Specific Message Subject by National Institutional Elite Group Before the Party Congress

Message	Elite Position of Author								
Subject	Party	State	Econ.	Milit.	Scien.	Cult.	Agri.	Educ.	Total
General Messages									
The Plan	3	2			1				5
General									
Discussion	16	6	1	1	2	2	1	1	29
Documents	2								2
Other Meetings	9	3							9
Party Matters									
Lenin/History	3	3		1					4
Party Leadership	11	4	1	3			1		18
Propaganda and									
Education	6			2		1			9
The People	6	4	1		2	2	1		12
Patriotism		1							1
Substantive Issues									
Social Science	2	1						2	4
Economics	2					1		1	5
International									
Affairs	10	4	2			2			13
State/Government			1			1		1	3
Military	1			1					1
Natural Science	2				5	1		1	8
Scientific-									
Tech. Progress	3	1	1		1				4
Industry	4	8	2		1	1	1		12
Construction/									
Transportation		2							2
Agriculture	9	10	1	2	5	1	8		17
Medicine-Health									
Sports-Culture	2	1			1	3		3	6
Education	1					2			4
Ed. of Journals									
Trade Unions		5					2		5
Regional									
Development									
Total	92	55	10	10	18	17	13	9	173

Within substantive issues, agriculture possesses numerically the greatest number of messages and is discussed by seven of the eight institutional elite groups. It is followed by sports culture, and industry with five elite groups transmitting messages. Other substantive message subjects receive half or less attention of institutional elite groups. Three substantive issues contain no elite messages: health and medicine, editors of journal, and regional development.

Overall participation by institutional elites indicates substantial involvement in the agenda-setting phase for the Party Congress. Yet this high participation is less than universal across institutional elite groups and message subject categories. Party, state, and cultural institutions contain the highest proportions of elite communications and cover the broadest range of specific message subjects.

Agricultural elites transmit over fifty percent of all agriculture related messages. But, most of their messages focus on agricultural issues. In this case, the elite dominates institutional communications but fails to communicate on a wide range of issues. Though active, their participation is mostly restricted to issues associated with agriculture.

Science, economics, and education are institutional elites commenting on a relatively broad ranges of specific message subjects but that fail to numerically dominate in most general subject categories. These elites, though discussing a broad range of issues, have substantial non-elite communications.

The military elite possesses the narrowest specific message range but rather high elite communications. As with agriculture, however, this high level of communication is restricted. Sixty percent of all military elite messages focus on party leadership. This suggests that participation is restricted to one general message category while allowing non-elites a greater proportion of communication in other message subjects.

This mixed pattern provides only partial support for the institutional perspective. The strongest case for the institutional perspective is in party, state, and cultural institutional groups. Their elites are proportionately dominant and disseminate information on most substantive issues. Other institutional groups, however, show little support for this policy model. Their elites communicate proportionately less frequently and on a narrower, more select range of substantive issues. They are partially dominant. These include agriculture and the military. Science, economics, and educational elites fail to dominate the agenda-setting stage of communication.

A pattern of institutional elite communication is partially confirmed for the agenda-setting stage. But does this partial institutional elite pattern continue in the information dissemination stage? If so, is the pattern identical or are their differences within institutional groups across time?

Table 5.6 compares institutional position of author by general message subject after the Party Congress. All elite groups transmits messages in the four general subject categories. But there is a proportional decline in elite communication in all four general message subject categories. The greatest proportion of elite messages

occurs in congruent substantive issues (50%). General messages (32%) is the next largest elite message category with party (27%) and incongruent substantive issues (26%) comprising the smallest categories. This suggests that post-event institutional elites emphasize dissemination of information in congruent substantive issues from the Party Congress.

Within institutional groups, a mixed pattern of elite communications emerges, with some groups numerically dominant over non-elites while other groups have proportionately few elite messages. Those categories with over forty percent elite messages include the military (68%), state (60%), culture (60%), and agriculture (43%), and the party (42%). Science (36%), economics (23%), and education (13%) elites communicate proportionately fewer messages by comparison.

But high overall participation is only one characteristic. Each institutional group exhibits a different communication pattern in the ratio of elite to non-elite communications across the four general message subject categories. State, military, culture possess a consistently higher proportion of elite messages in all four general message subject categories. Party, science, and agricultural elites differ slightly from this pattern. Party elite messages are proportionately greater except in congruent substantive issues. However, their difference is slight. Agricultural elites send proportionately fewer messages in party matters. Scientific elites transmit fewer messages in general messages.

Table 5.6 General Message Subject by Institutional Position of Author(s) After the Party Congress

Position	General Message Subject									
	Party Matters		General Messages		Substantive Issues				Total Messages	
	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total	elite	total
Party	46	133	15	24	57	121	b	b	125	278
State	18	35	8	17	47	67	24	43	99	162
Economic	3	8	3	15	18	51		26	40	100
Military	8	9	1	2	11	18	2	3	22	31
Science	8	18	1	5	6	12	16	52	49	87
Culture	3	4	1	1	6	10	2	5	13	20
Agri.	1	5	2	3	4	7	2	6	10	21
Education	2	54	2	6	5	17	11	81	37	158
Total ^c	73	266	23	73	154	307	58	222	265	610

^aThis category includes related subjects. See Previous chapter.

^bCongruent substantive issues for the party are all other events. This is due to the Party's parallel institutions that supervise all of Soviet society.

^cThe totals do not agree because of multiple counting of messages across institutional elite channel. Messages with authors of dual position or multi-authored pieces with different institutional membership. This phenomena is filtered out for these totals and an comparisons between general message subject categories.

Other elite groups, however, vary in two or more categories. Economic elites participate proportionately less than non-elites in every subject category except party matters, with seventy-seven percent of all political messages transmitted by non-elites. Education exhibits a similar pattern with non-elites transmitting eighty-seven percent of all messages. These former categories tend toward non-elite domination in all general message subjects.

Information dissemination adheres to the general pattern of communication in the agenda-setting stage. There are, however, some marginal changes. The proportion of elite communications for military and state institutions increases over the agenda-setting stage. Elite communications in party, agriculture, and science declines as a proportion of all communications in these areas but remain relatively high in comparison to non-elites. Economics and education, the two lowest categories, decline slightly in the proportion of elite communications. Elite communication in the remaining groups varies between these extremes.

Examination of Party elite and non-elite messages casts in doubt Solomon's argument concerning the increasing role of the Party in the information dissemination stage (post-event). Party communications in this stage increase only slightly over pre-event discussion. In relation to all messages, party messages rise from twenty-four to twenty-six percent. This incremental increase hardly seems to fulfill the expectation of Solomon's mobilization model of party dominated post-event message transmission.

Table 5.7 disaggregates the four general categories into twenty-five specific message subjects. This expands the range of specific message subjects for elite communication. The top ten specific message subjects are international affairs (38), party leadership (33), industry (25), propaganda and education(24), the people (14), general discussion (14), economics (14), agriculture (14), education (12), and trade unions (10). Nine are in the highest ten categories comprising the overall agenda for the Party Congress.

The most subject diverse and numerically largest group is the party elite. It transmits political messages in all but four specific message subjects and numerically dominates over other elites in seven subject categories. But its numerical domination is mostly restricted to general messages and party matters. Party elites dominate in four substantive issues: social science, international affairs, sports culture, and education.

State elites are the second most diverse group, with messages in nineteen of twenty-five message categories. They numerically dominate in six congruent substantive issue categories and maintain the second largest group of messages in every general message and party matters specific message subject category. Scientific elites transmit in fifteen specific message categories and numerically dominate in natural science.

Military elites communicate in ten specific message subject categories and dominate in military matters. Economics, culture, agriculture, and education elites transmit in fewer than half of the specific subject categories. None of these groups, however, dominates

Table 5.7 Message Subject by National Institutional Elite Group
after the Party Congress

Message Subject	Elite Institutional Group							
	Party	State	Econ.	Milit.	Scien.	Cult.	Agri.	Educ.Total
General Messages								
The Plan	1	2	1		1		1	4
General								
Discussion	10	5	2	1		1	1	14
Documents								0
Other Meetings	4	1						5
Party Matters								
Lenin/History	1	1						2
Party Leadership	25	7		5		1		33
Propaganda and								
Education	14	7		2	5	1	1	24
The People	6	3	3	1	2	1		14
Patriotism								0
Substantive Issue								
Social Science	6	2			1	1		10
Economics	3	7	4				1	14
International								
Affairs	19	11	8	4	5	1		38
State and								
Government	1	2			1			5
Military	2			5	1			7
Natural Science	3	1			5			8
Scientific-								
Tech. Progress	3	5	1		1			8
Industry	2	22	2	1	1			25
Construction/								
Transportation	2	5	2	1	2			9
Agriculture	4	4	1	1	3		4	14
Medicine-Health								0
Sports-Culture	3	1						6
Education	4	2				6		12
Ed. of Journal								0
Trade Unions	5	9		1	1	1	1	12
Regional								
Development					1			1
Totals	118	97	23	21	31	12	9	265

in any one substantive issue category. The least subject diverse institutional elite is agriculture. These elites transmit messages in only six message subject categories.

Within substantive issues, international affairs possesses numerically the greatest number of messages and is discussed by seven of the eight institutional elite groups. It is followed by industry, agriculture, economics, and trade unions, with five elite groups transmitting messages. Other substantive message subjects attract the attention of half or less of the institutional elite groups. Three substantive issues stimulate no messages: health and medicine, editors of journal, and regional development.

Overall participation by institutional elites indicates substantial involvement in the agenda-setting phase of the Party Congress. Yet this high participation is less than universal across institutional elite groups and message subject categories. Elite participation numerically and across specific message subject categories is highest in the party, state, military, and science. These groups possess high frequencies and broad ranges of specific message subjects for their respective institutional elites. Their elite groups dominate institutional communications for information dissemination.

Agricultural and cultural elites maintain a high ratio of elite communications but are less specific message subject diverse. Most of their political messages focus on agricultural and cultural issues, respectively. In these cases, the elite dominates the communication process but fails to communicate on a wide range of issues. Though active, their participation is mostly restricted to issues associated with their respective institutions.

Economics, and education are institutional elites that communicate in many specific message subject but fail to numerically dominate in any specific or general message subject category. Military elites communicate a high proportion of political messages. But this high level is restricted to one general subject category: party matters. Over sixty percent of military elite messages focus on party leadership. This indicates that their participation is somewhat restricted to one general message category while allowing non-elites a greater proportion of communication in other message subjects.

Both time periods suggest that institutional elites play a significant role in the communication process. In both time periods, party and state elites have a high frequency of message transmission and communicate in most specific message subjects. Between these groups, they have the highest frequency in fourteen substantive issues for pre-decision discussion and twelve out of sixteen substantive issues for post-decision discussion.

Science, military, culture, and agriculture vary between time periods on one or both characteristics. Agricultural elites consistently discuss a narrow range of issues but decline in proportion of elite to non-elite communications over time. This, in part, is attributable to the growing importance and discussion of the Food Program, commencing in mid-1981. The Food Program, perhaps, eclipses discussion of agriculture and the Party Congress. This seems quite reasonable considering that the Food Program was an outgrowth of statements calling for a revitalization of the agricultural sector by Brezhnev at the Party Congress.⁹⁸

⁹⁸See Brezhnev's report to the Party Congress--cite

Cultural and military elites broaden their specific message subject range and increase the proportion of elite communications across time. Scientific and agricultural elites broaden their specific subject range but decline in proportion to elite communications across time. These declines, however, still maintain elite communications above thirty-three percent of all political messages.

Education and economic institutional patterns provide the sharpest contrast to an institutional elite dominated media. In both time periods, these groups failed to stimulate high proportions of elite communications in any specific or general message subject. However, their elites expand their specific message subject categories across time.

Overall elite communication casts doubt on Solomon's party dominated post-event political message transmission. As mentioned, the difference between pre-event and post-event message transmission is slight. In relation to all messages, party messages rise from twenty-four to twenty-six percent. This incremental increase hardly seems to fulfill the expectation of Solomon's mobilization model of information dissemination.

The Food Program exhibits similar communication patterns across time but with a lesser proportion of elite communications. Pre-event elite messages are proportionately less than the Party Congress. Five elite messages appear from three institutional elite groups: state, science, and agriculture. They represent forty percent of the total

Table 5.8 Message Subject by National Institutional Elite
Group Before (B) and After (A) the May Plenum

Message Subject	Elite Institutional Group													
	Party		State		Econ.		Scien.		Agric.		Educ.		Total	
	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A
General														
Agriculture	1	1							1	1			1	1
General Food														
Program	1				1								1	1
Party														
Leadership	1											1		2
Science and														
Agriculture				1			1	2	1	2			1	3
Regions and														
Agriculture							1	1	1	1			1	1
International														
Trade				2		1								2
Transport/														
Construction				1						1				1
Total	0	3	1	4	1	1	2	3	3	4	0	1	4	11

known authored pieces for the program and tend to reinforce the previous interpretation of elite message transmission in the previous discussion.

State elites discuss the Food Program as a general policy. One message from a mixed state-agriculture institutional elite focuses on general agricultural issues, a major but not exclusive component of the program. Two mixed scientific-agriculture elite messages discuss scientific work in agriculture. This division reinforces the notion of functional specialization with institutional elites in agriculture, science, and state discussing issues or perspectives on the Food Program most relevant to their institution. This also seems to be the criterion for pre-event participation, with only those institutions most closely associated with agriculture and research transmitting messages.

What is curiously lacking is participation in agenda-setting by any member of the decision-making body responsible for approval of the program. The Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat are conspicuously silent during this stage of communication. This varies significantly from the Party Congress, in which the party elite took a leading role in political message transmission and specific subject diversity.

Post-event discussion on the Food Program generates more authored pieces but proportionately fewer elite communications (23%) in relation to non-elite messages. Six institutional elites transmit messages on the Food Program. The military and cultural elites generate no messages. Oddly enough, no non-elite communications are present in these categories.

The data on Andropov's ascension fails to support the institutional perspective. The only two individual communicators, Andropov and Chernenko, can claim membership to only one institutional elite group. No other groups communicate messages on leadership transfer except through the seemingly official format found across all journals. If institutional elites have input on the appointment of the General Secretary, that issue is not discussed among them in the media. Of course, it has been a long standing tradition in Soviet politics that such issues are not discussed in public forums.

Summary

The evidence on communication about the Party Congress and Food Program partially support the institutional perspective. For the Party Congress, two institutional groups (party and state) have high frequencies of elite messages in the agenda-setting and information dissemination time periods. Out of sixteen substantive issues, these groups have the highest frequency in fourteen substantive issues for pre-decision discussion and twelve substantive issues for post-decision discussion. They perform the dual role of agenda-setting and information dissemination.

Science, military, culture, and agriculture vary between time periods on one or both characteristics. Agricultural elites consistently discuss a narrow range of issues but decline in proportion of elite to non-elite communications over time. This, in part, is attributable to the growing importance and discussion of the Food Program, commencing in mid-1981. Discussion of the Food Program,

perhaps, eclipsed discussion of agriculture in the context of the Party Congress. This seems a quite reasonable an explanation especially considering that the Food Program was an outgrowth for a call to revitalize the agricultural sector by Brezhnev at the Party Congress.

Cultural and military elites broaden their specific message subject range and increase the proportion of elite communications across time. Scientific elites broaden their specific subject range but decline in proportion to elite communications across time. These declines, however, still maintain elite communications above thirty-three percent of all political messages.

Education and economic institutional patterns provide the sharpest contrast to an institutional elite dominated media. In both time periods, these groups failed to stimulate high proportions of elite communications in any specific or general message subject. However, their elites expand their specific message subject categories across time.

Chapter VI

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION PATTERNS
AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL INTEREST GROUP PERSPECTIVE

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, it examines predicted with actual political communication patterns in relation to the non-institutional interest group perspective. Second, it compares predicted with actual physical context for each policy model. Finally, it compares different patterns of homogeneity with actual evidence of homogeneity.

Dominant Source and Non-Institutional Interest Group Perspective

The key distinction between the institutional and interest group perspective is the location of institutional member political messages across sponsorship groups of Soviet journals. The institutional perspective predicts that institutional messages are mostly transmitted by journals sponsored by the institution. The interest group perspective argues instead that there is considerable institutional sponsorship crossover of elite and non-elite messages. The key issues important for understanding this relationship concern the penetration of institutional members in other institutional journals and the role in their own journals.

Table 6.1 divides elite and non-elite institutional membership by institutional sponsor of journal. The results indicate considerable institutional crossover by elites and non-elites. But the amount and frequency varies between institutional groups.

Table 6.1 Elite (E) and Non-elite (N) Institutional Position by Sponsor of Journal Before Party Congress.

Journal Sponsorship	Party		State		Econ.		Milit.		Scien.		Cult.		Agri.		Educ.	
	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N
Party	54	30	26	21	4	3	4	2	1	5	5	3	8	3	4	11
State	1	3	3	5		1										
Economic	1		4	4	4	8										1
Military		4					4	10								2
Science	3	2	5	2	1	2			2	3	1				2	1
Culture	6	10	7	5		3					5	4	1	3		11
Agriculture	9	2	5				2	1	5	5			5	4		2
Education	18	20	7	9	2	7			14	7	5	1			4	21
Total	92	72	57	46	12	24	10	13	22	20	16	8	14	10	10	49

All institutional groups transmit political messages in party journals. Science and educational sponsored journals perform a similar function allowing participation by six institutional groups. Military and agriculture are missing from both sponsorship groups. The most constricted group is military sponsored journals with only three institutional participants: party, military and education.

Messages from elites dominate over non-elites in five of the eight institutional groups: party, state, science, culture, and agriculture. Of the eight sponsorship groups, agriculture (75%), science (58%) and party (57%) journals have the highest proportions of elite communications. Economics (41%), education (40%), culture (37%) journals have moderate proportions of elite messages. State (27%) and military (20%) transmit few elite messages as a proportion of all messages.

This pattern, however, differs across sponsorship and elite groups. Education and economic journals, two of the lowest proportions of elite message transmission, are moderately strong transmitters of elite messages in their journals. The military, a group with a moderately high proportion of elite messages, possesses a very high proportion of elite communications in their journals. As the table indicates, a large number of elites and non-elites transmit messages across sponsorship groups. This suggests that institutional groups fail to dominate their journals, and permit message permeation by other institutional groups.

Overall communications in the agenda-setting phase reveal four patterns of interaction between sponsorship and institutional member groups. Table 6.2 divides institutional categories by journal and

member patterns. First, party and education have journals that are permeated by most other institutional members and members of party and educational institutions transmit political messages in most other sponsorship groups. These groups (journals and members) act as universal transmitters and channels for political communication.

Specifically, party journals transmit political messages from every institutional group as well as many non-party multiple institutional positioned sources.⁹⁹ This parallels the role of Party institutional members in the pre-discussion phase. Although the highest proportion of party communications are in party journals (48%), party institutional members transmit messages in journals sponsored by all other institutions. In some sponsorship categories, party member messages outnumber those representatives of the institutional group sponsor.

Educational journals possess a high proportion of non-educational messages. All institutional groups, except agriculture and military, transmit messages in educational journals. Next to party journals, educational journals publish the greatest diversity types of authors, as defined by their institutional affiliation.

Education institutional members dominate communications in educational journals (44%) and enjoy a wide range of outlets for messages in non-educational journals. Their diversity parallels somewhat the diversity of their journals. Education specialists are second only to party institutional members in penetrating non-educational journals. As with party journals and institutional

⁹⁹Multiple institutional positioned sources are those authors that are located in two or more institutional groups. Pure members are those sources that are located in only one institutional member group. See Chapter Three.

**Table 6.2 Institutional Category by Pattern of Message
Interaction for Before the Party Congress**

Institutional Categories	Diversity of Journal in which members of Inst. Publish	Openness of Journals Sponsored by Other Inst.
Party Education	High	High
State Economic	High	Low
Agriculture Culture Science	Low	High
Military	Low	Low

members, education is a general channel of communication for a variety of non-educational members. Furthermore, educational institutional members are capable of transmitting messages in most non-educational journals.

It is clear that party and educational communicators have the ability to transmit political messages across sponsorship groups. Also, their journals act as general communicators, allowing a wide variety of other institutional messages. These journals and institutional members are thus universal transmitters of political communication.

Second, state and economic institutional members and journals display another pattern of communication. Their institutional journals are more restrictive, allowing only limited access by other institutional members. But members of these institutions penetrate most other institutional journals. Their journals serve as limited channels of communication, while their institutional members penetrate a large number of other sponsorship groups.

State journals transmit messages from only two other institutional groups: economic and party. Only eight percent of these messages are from state institutional members. However, state institutional members transmit messages in six other institutional journals. The highest frequency of state member messages (46%) are in Party journals. The only sponsorship group not transmitting state messages are military journals.

Economic journals act as relatively restricted channels of communication. Also, members of these institutional groups transmit political messages in few sources outside of their own group's

journals. Economic journals contain messages from persons with ties to economic, party, state and education. Military, science, culture and agriculture institutional members transmit no messages in economic journals.

Persons with ties to economic institutional transmit messages in all sponsorship groups except military and agriculture. One third of all messages from economists are transmitted in economic journals. Education (9) and party (7) journals also possess high frequencies of economists messages.

Third, culture, science, and agriculture institutional members and journals perform in an opposite direction. Institutional members are restricted in message transmission in other institutional journals. But these journals transmit messages of many other institutional members.

Cultural journals contain messages from all institutional groups except science and military. Cultural members dominate their own media and transmit a relatively high proportion of messages in education (25%) and party (33%) sponsored journals but transmit messages in only one other sponsorship group: science.

Agricultural journals carry political messages from all groups except economic and cultural specialists. These journals are dominated by party (11) and science (10) institutional member messages, with agricultural members transmitting only nine messages. Agricultural members transmit messages in only culture and party sponsored journals. Most of their messages are transmitting in party journals (46%).

Science journals permit political messages from all institutional groups except military and agriculture. The most frequent institutional group transmitting messages are state members. Scientists transmit relatively few political messages in their journals (12%), preferring instead education (50%), party (14%), and agriculture (24%) journals.

Finally, in the fourth pattern persons affiliated with the military transmit few messages in journals outside their fields. Correspondingly, their journals provide only limited access to persons affiliated with other institutions. Military journals transmit messages from three institutional participants: party, military and education. Military institutional members send messages in only three journal sponsorship groups.

Table 6.3 presents institutional elite and non-elite messages by institutional sponsorship of journals for post-Party Congress communications. Journals display less variation in the institutional members transmitting messages across sponsorship groups. All institutional groups participate in party and cultural journals.

Elite messages dominate in four institutional groups: state, military, science, culture. Of these groups, only state, science, culture are consistent with pre-event message transmission. Party and agriculture, elite dominated in pre-event communications, are dominated by non-elites. The military increases its proportion of elite communications from pre-event communication patterns. Other groups remain dominated by non-elite communications.

**Table 6.3 Elite (E) and Non-elite (N) Institutional Position
by Sponsor of Journal After Party Congress.**

Journal Sponsorship	Author's Position															
	Party				State				Econ.				Milit.			
	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N
Party	62	70	38	21	6	17	7	1	9	8	5	1	6	7	13	37
State	9	6	10	13	1	2	2		4	1						
Economic	5	1	22	11	22	24			3	4			1		2	3
Military	2	6				1	8	8	2						2	2
Science	6	1	6	1	5	9			11	9					1	3
Culture	12	6	9	6	3	2	4		6	3	7	2	1	2	4	8
Agriculture	2	4	1		1				3	2			2	2		
Education	18	63	13	11	2	5	1		11	11	1	4			15	68
Total	125	153	99	63	40	60	22	9	49	38	13	7	10	11	37	121

Comparing sponsorship groups indicates that culture (61%) has the highest proportion of elite verses non-elite communications. This is followed by science (58%) and economics (56%), agriculture (53%) State (50%) military (42%), party (48%), education (37%), have moderate proportions of elite messages. In comparison to pre-event communications, culture, military, state journals increase, while party, agriculture, economics, and education decrease their proportion of elite messages. The only category that remains consistent across both time periods is science.

This differs from pre-event communications in terms of the specific sponsorship groups and elite/non-elite institutional messages interaction. Culture, military, state journals increase the proportion of elite communications in the post-event time period. Party, agriculture, economics, and education journals decrease the proportion of elite messages. Only scientific journals are consistent across time periods. But fluctuations in elite communication fail to undermine the similarity in general patterns of communication.

In comparison with pre-event message transmission, there is a general expansion of institutional penetration across journals. Yet this increased penetration is relatively consistent across institutional groups. Table 6.4 indicates that most institutional groups perform consistently across time, with only agriculture and science institutional groups changing slightly their pattern of political communication.

Party and education continue as universal transmitters. This is consistent with the results of pre-event discussion. Party journals continue as general communicators, allowing messages from all

other institutional groups. Party institutional members dominate party journals. Party members also dominate communications in cultural and agricultural journals.

Education parallels party journals as general transmitters, allowing all other institutional groups except agriculture access to their media. These journals transmit messages from all other groups except state and agriculture. Educational institutional members transmit a preponderance and are the dominant communicators of political messages in educational journals (53%). They also transmit messages in all other institutional journals except agriculture and state.

Those institutions with restricted access to journals but penetration by their members in most other institutional journals are state, science, and economic groups. Economic journals allow only five non-economic institutional members access to their media. Economic institutional members, however, transmit messages in all sponsorship groups and dominate in their own journals. State journals are more restrictive, allowing only four other institutions access to state journals. State institutional members, however, transmit messages in all sponsorship groups and dominate in state journals.

Scientific journals allow access to four other institutional groups with military, culture, and agriculture institutional members not transmitting messages in these journals. Message transmission in state journals is dominated by education institutional members, with twenty-five percent of the total messages. Scientists transmit in all other sponsorship groups with the greatest proportion of messages transmitted in educational journals.

**Table 6.4 Institutional Category by Pattern of Message
Interaction for After the Party Congress**

Institutional Categories	Diversity of Journal in which members of Inst. Publish	Openess of Journals Sponsored by Other Inst.
Party Education	High	High
State Economic Science	High	Low
Culture	Low	High
Military Agriculture	Low	Low

Another communication pattern are groups with journals allowing access to most other institutional groups but with restricted message transmission by its members. Cultural journals transmit political messages from all other institutional groups. Journals are dominated by party institutional members followed by state and cultural members. But cultural members ability to penetrate other journal sponsorship groups is rather restricted. Cultural institutional members transmit messages only in party, culture, and educational journals. The former two are general communicators and with the easiest access by other institutional members.

Journals and institutional members with restricted institutional group transmission in their journals and institutional members with little penetration into other sponsorship groups are military and agricultural groups. The latter allows only four institutional groups access to their journals: party, state, science, and economic. Party institutional members dominate political message transmission. Agricultural institutional members transmit messages in party, agricultural, cultural, and economic journals. The greatest proportion are in party journals.

Military journals permit only four other institutional groups access. State, culture, and agriculture institutional members fail to transmit messages in military journals. Military institutional members dominate military journals but are limited to message transmission in only four non-military sponsorship groups. These sponsorship groups are except for state journals general channels of communication.

In comparison with pre-event communications, science and agriculture are the only two groups that alter their political communication patterns. Science changes from journals with high penetration from non-scientists and low penetration by scientists in other groups to high penetration by scientists in other groups and low penetration by non-scientist in scientific journals. Agricultural journals continue with low penetration by agricultural members in non-agricultural journals but increases in penetration by non-agricultural groups in agricultural journals.

There is little support for totalitarian or kremlinological assumptions regarding political communication patterns. Both perspectives fail to accurately predict their designated elites performance in journals. Brezhnev's messages, the dominate elite for totalitarian model, are mostly reprints of speeches and reports associated with his official position as General Secretary. Unofficial messages commenting on specific policy issues are few. The majority of his messages are transmitted in party journals. Overall, Brezhnev's messages are too infrequent and sponsorship restricted for effective domination of journal communications.

Politburo and Secretariat members, the dominant elite for kremlinology perspective, also fail to dominate the media. Only an average of two messages was found per member and in only a limited number of types of journals. Examination of specific messages suggests that the role of these political leaders is one of a functional specialization of message transmission, with very limited abilities for agenda-setting or information dissemination. This limited capacity that one must look elsewhere for the dominant source of political messages.

The evidence on the coverage of the Party Congress and Food Program partially support the institutional perspective. Elite message domination is present in at least half of the institutional groups in both time periods. Furthermore, elite communications dominate twelve substantive issues in both time periods. This indicates substantial overall elite domination in the agenda-setting and information dissemination stages. But other groups are much weaker in elite communications and substantive issue domination.

Cultural and military elites increase the frequency of messages and the number of substantive issues across time. Agricultural and scientific elites consistently discuss a narrow range of issues but there's a decline in proportion of elite to non-elite communications over time. The weakest case for institutional elite domination are education and economic institutional communication patterns. In both time periods, these groups failed to stimulate high proportions of elite communications in any specific or general message subject and maintain low proportion of overall elite messages.

The interest group discussion focuses in the interaction of institutional messages and journals. The interaction of these two dimensions indicates a consistent political communication pattern across time. Within institutional groups, however, considerable variation occurs in the specific pattern of communication. Specifically, no institutional group is free from penetration or whose members lack the ability to penetrate other sponsorship groups. Instead, four consistent patterns of communication occur across institutional groups.

Variation among these patterns are high penetration of institutional journals by other groups and high transmission of messages in other sponsorship groups to low penetration of journals by other groups and low transmission of messages in other sponsorship groups. This variation suggests that understanding Soviet political communication in journals requires an institutional division of journals and communicators coupled with an understanding that elites from these institutions only partially dominate the media. In half of our groups, elites comprise less than half of the total messages.

Physical Context Of Messages

Physical context refers to the proportion of official verses non-official messages. To test the level of officialness, messages on the three events are classified into four categories of officialness and one non-official group for each time period. Within these categories, political messages from attenders and non-attenders of an event is further divided into institutional groups to more closely investigate the effect of attendance on communication patterns across time and institutional groups.

Table 6.5 breaks down officialness of messages by time in relation to the Party Congress. In both time periods, all levels of official messages are proportionately less than unofficial messages. For the Party Congress, of the authored messages (1408), three hundred and eighty-one originate from attenders of the Congress. One hundred and fifty-nine occur before and two hundred and twenty-two occur after the event. Leadership speeches and reports account for twenty-one messages, and unsigned messages and editorials account for four

**Table 6.5 Officialness Level of Messages by Timing
for Party Congress**

Officialness Level	Timing of Message		
	Before	After	Total
Leadership Speeches and Reports	9	12	21
Reports and Speeches of attenders			0
Messages by attenders	159	222	381
Editorials	35	40	75
Unsigned Messages	177	198	375
Signed Messages by Non-attenders	337	705	1002
Total	717	1137	1854

hundred and fifty messages. Overall, official messages account for 46% of all messages.

There is a difference, however, between time periods. Before the Party Congress, official messages comprise 53% of the total. This drops to 39% in the post-event period. The decline in the proportion of official messages is due to a proportional decline in all official categories except speeches and reports by the leadership. The proportion of messages by attenders of the Party Congress drops slightly over time, with twenty-two percent commenting before the Party Congress and nineteen percent after the event. The proportion of political messages by non-attenders increases correspondingly from forty-seven percent to sixty-two percent after the Party Congress. Attendance at the Party Congress does not seem to be a criteria for communication in either the post-event or pre-event time periods. Indeed, post-event communications are increasingly dominated by non-attenders rather than official or attenders to the event.

Table 6.6 breaks down attendance by institutional position in order to examine potential differences across institutions in terms of attendance and communication. Are institutional groups uniform in messages sent by attenders to the event? Overall, only two groups have a greater proportion of their elites attend than not attend the Party Congress: party and science.

Other institutional elites have various degrees of attendance. However, in comparison with the total number of political messages, the number of attendant messages pale in comparison. Only one-hundred and twenty-eight messages¹⁰⁰ out of a total of seven hundred and

¹⁰⁰This total is not the same as Table because of dual position authors that allow for dual counting of some messages.

seventeen messages. This constitutes less than twenty percent of all messages. Overall, only one group, the party, transmits a predominance of their communications by attenders to the Party Congress. Of these groups, only science and the party have more messages by elite attenders than non-attenders. Other groups, however, have fewer than fifty percent of their messages from non-attenders in both elite and non-elite categories. The lowest proportion of attenders is in education with only nine percent of all messages published by attenders.

Table 6.7 presents a breakdown of institutional position by attendance for messages published after the Party Congress. A total of two hundred and twenty-two messages are transmitted. Elite attenders dominate in two institutional groups: military and party. For the state, economic, science, culture, and agriculture, greater than thirty percent of elite communications were by attenders. Education has the lowest proportion, with only ten percent of elite messages transmitted by attenders.

In comparison to pre-event patterns, non-attenders increase their overall proportion of political messages transmitted with none of the eight institutional groups dominated by attenders at the event. Non-elites, non-attenders dominate in all categories of message transmission except for the military and science. The former group is dominated by attendant elite messages while the latter is dominated by elite non-attenders. Only nine percent of the non-elite messages originated with attenders of the Party Congress.

**Table 6.6 Author Position by Attendance for Messages
Transmitted Before the Party Congress**

Institutional Position	Attendance at Party Congress		Non-Attendance at Party Congress	
	Elite	Non-elite	Elite	Non-elite
Party	67	15	15	56
State	22	12	31	37
Economic	2	1	9	24
Military	3	1	7	11
Science	16	3	15	12
Culture	5	1	11	5
Agriculture	6	2	8	8
Education	2	1	7	48
Total	123	36	101	201

**Table 6.7 Author Position by Attendance for Messages
Transmitted After the Party Congress.**

Institutional Position	Attendance at Party Congress		Non-Attendance at Party Congress	
	Elite	Non-elite	Elite	Non-elite
Party	91	17	25	142
State	35	14	62	51
Economic	9	3	14	74
Military	13	2	8	8
Natural Science	14	8	17	40
Culture	4	1	8	7
Agriculture	3	3	6	9
Education	2	3	18	135
Total	171	51	158	466

Across time, little difference exists in the proportion of attendant verses non-attendant communications. In general, non-attenders increase their proportion of message transmission in the post-event time period. Overall, only twenty-four percent of the the communicators participate in the Party Congress as delegates. Except for Party institutional members in the pre-event time period, all institutional categories are dominated by non-attenders. In most cases, the dominate non-attendant group are non-elites. Communication, therefore, on events associated with the Party Congress is not confined or dominated by attenders to the event. Furthermore, the addition of other official message categories still do not dominate over non-attenders. In both time periods, unofficial communications.

The Food Program generates few official communications. Unsigned articles, editorials, reports to the Plenum, and attendant messages account for account for only thirty-four percent of all political messages. Attenders of the May Plenum number only seven out of sixty signed messages. The bulk of messages in both time periods originate from authored messages by non-attenders.

Andropov's ascension generates almost exclusively official messages. As part of the systematic format of leadership transition, the messages are divided relatively equally between official communications collectively signed by the Central committee, Andropov's acceptance speech, Chernenko's speech to the Plenum session, and an official biography of Andropov. Only nine exceptions from this pattern exist.

Except for Andropov's ascension, overall communication patterns suggest an emphasis on non-elite, non-attendant message transmission. Both the Party Congress and the Food Program indicate domination by non-attenders, non-elites. This, in part, undermines the totalitarian and kremlinological perspective on communications. These two models emphasize the importance of official communications and, subsequently, envision a great proportion of their messages from official sources, including attending elites and non-elites.

The type of pattern suggested by physical context is more conducive to an institutional or interest group model of media communication. In particular, the dominate role of non-elites, non-attenders leans toward the interest group perspective of a free-market media system. The institutional perspective, however, emphasizes the dominant role of elites. But actual communication patterns are dominated by non-elite, non-attenders. The interest group perspective, therefore, offers the greatest insight into physical context of the communication process.

Homogeneity of Messages

Homogeneity is measured by the extent and location of duplicate messages across journals. There are four types of duplication: uniform, factional, institutional, and non-uniform. Each envisions a particular pattern of duplicated messages in journals. Messages are divided into two groups: authored and unauthored. For unauthored messages, there is little evidence for complete, factional, or institutional uniformity of messages. For the Party Congress, only

eight messages are duplicated in separate journals. One editorial is found in Problemy tuberkuleza and Problemy endokrinologii on the meeting of the Party Congress.

Unsigned messages include one on party leadership and one general article on the Party Congress both in party journals. The other articles focus on party leadership, agriculture, and general reports on the Congress. But these duplicated messages are only reproduced in two journals apiece. Widespread duplication messages either across all subject/sponsorship channels, within a single sponsorship or factional group are non-existent. Indeed, in the journals under consideration, none present two reproductions of different political messages. Duplicate messages are extremely rare, composing less than one percent of the total unauthored messages. The Food Program has no duplicate messages for unsigned messages or editorials.

Except for Brezhnev's report to the Party Congress, few authored pieces are duplicated in different journals. There are only six duplicated messages, usually reprinted in journals with similar subjects and identical sponsors. Two duplicated messages on fraternity of the Soviet people and education first appear in the party journal Politicheskoe samoobrazovanie and reprinted in the subject related journals Nauchnye doklady vsshei shkoly and Sovet pedagogika, respectively. Two political messages on agriculture appear in two agricultural journals. One duplicate message on philology appears in two philology journals. Authorship for all of the messages are from elites in their respective institutions.

However, the overall appearance of these duplicated messages appear to be more haphazard than planned by a central authority as expected by the institutional, kremlinological, and totalitarian perspectives. These reprinted messages are isolated, infrequent, and duplicated in no more than two journals.

The Food program has only one duplicated authored message. It is on agro-chemistry by V.G. Mineyev, correspondent member to Vashknii and member of the editorial board of one of the journals. Interestingly enough, this individual also transmitted duplicated messages on the Party Congress in the same journals. But duplication of messages is not related to Mineyev's status in the Soviet system. He is not a member of the party elite and occupies non-elite status in his profession, agriculture.

Andropov's ascension demonstrates almost complete uniformity. There are only a few political messages that deviate from the most common pattern of communication. In an event of leadership transition, a Totalitarian perspective may be acceptable. However, the presence of Chernenko's statements lends strong evidence to Kremlinological perspective. Chernenko being the leader of an opposition faction that Chernenko's communication signals his faction of agreement in leadership choice. If Andropov's messages appeared alone, this would lend more credence to the totalitarian perspective.

Summary

Examination of Soviet articles in journals within the boundaries established by each policy model reveals a complex media system which

fails to completely reflect any one policy model. Instead, actual communication patterns reflect features of both the institutional and interest group perspective. Assumptions related to the institutional perspective suggests that there are institutional differences in the transmission of messages by authors and journals.

Some institutional journals such as the party, state, and science act as universal transmitters of messages while other institutional such as the military are restrictive transmitters of messages, allowing only universal and military institutional members access to their journals. This use of institutional cleavages also aids in understanding the ability of different institutional members in transmitting messages in their own and other sponsorship groups. Once again, there are significant differences and capabilities of each institutional group in transmitting messages.

But the actual transmission of messages more closely reflects the interest group model of Soviet politics. Across sponsorship groups, there is considerable crossover of institutional members into other sponsorship groups. Furthermore, elites and non-elites comment on issues most relevant to their institution as well as issues unrelated. That is, considerable freedom exists concerning what an individual may discuss. The only restriction is a limited functional specialization of both authors and location of messages. Most substantive policy issues are found in journals most closely associated with the subject specialization of the message.

Physical context and homogeneity reinforce this interpretation with neither providing substantial evidence for the totalitarian or kremlinological perspective. Both indicate a diverse media system,

tilting towards a free market system of communication and an absence of strict central control.

Andropov's ascension is an exception to this general pattern. But leadership transition has always been a rather secretive matter, confined to the party elite. It is one of the unwritten laws of Soviet politics that speculation or discussion of leadership transition is forbidden. Furthermore, selection of a new leader has no immediate bearing on policy issues and emphasizes continuity of leadership rather than bold policy initiatives. Policy implications associated with leadership change usually do not appear for several months or years after such an event. This, in part, is the explanation for the highly centralized, completely uniform, and official nature of Andropov's ascension. It is an unusual, special event of little recognized concern for the average Soviet citizen and delegated to the Party elite.

Chapter VII

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

We now have a clearer picture of channels and patterns of Soviet political communication. For channels of political communication, political core journals quantitatively dominate communication channels for all three events. However, for the Food Program, the role of these journals is more selective than predicted by proposition 1.0. Political core journals act as a specialized channel of communication, focusing most of their messages on party leadership, with only one message on a non-party issue.

Andropov's ascension illuminates a media system still dominated by political core journals but without message subject diversity or congruence between message and journal subject specialization. Political core journals carry messages in the same subject message categories as other participating journals.

The function of political core journals depends on the significance of an issue. Significant events such as the Party Congress and leadership transition stimulate political core journals as predicted. But on less significant events such as the Food Program, political core journals act much in the same manner as non-political journals.

Political secondary journals fail to perform as predicted in proposition 1.2. Except for Andropov's ascension, they are quantitatively fewer and less subject diverse on both the Party Congress and Food Program. Other journal subject specializations partially confirm the predicted quantitative and subject diversity of proposition 1.3.

In most non-political subject categories, there is journal and message subject congruence. Each journal subject category is dominated by related or congruent message subjects. Non-related subject categories perform as expected in all journal categories except social science.

But this naive and expected interpretation of message journal subject congruence is not complete. For the Party Congress, there are universal message subjects that transcend the subject specialization of the journal. The most obvious are party messages and general discussion. Yet there are other specific message subjects that receive attention by the majority of journal subjects. These message subjects are natural science, scientific-technical progress, industry, education, and trade union.

Journal subject categories also vary concerning the transmission of non-congruent message subjects. Social science, economic, industry, and education journals transmit a larger group of specific message subjects. Culture, medicine, and natural science journals transmit no non-related message subjects. The latter focus only on congruent message subjects, party matters, and general discussion.

Territorial-administrative characteristics partially confirm our proposition on message and level congruence. The evidence on the Party Congress suggests that there is a distinction between the territorial-administrative level of the communication and the journal. In all subject categories, All-Union journals tend to report information on All-Union aspects of an issue while union republic journals tend to emphasize their own territorial-administrative level.

The propositions concerning the interaction of audience and timing on channels of communication is only partially confirmed. There is little difference in the proportion of messages by time period between mass and specialized journals. But a closer examination of message subject specialization suggests that specialized journals encompass a much wider range of message subjects than mass journals. Though not ignoring general discussions, a greater proportion also specializes in more specific topics of an issue. Mass journals are more concerned with broad, general issues.

Soviet political communication follows an overall communication pattern dominated by non-elite, non-attendant, non-uniform message transmission. Furthermore, institutional groups transmit messages quite frequently in other institutional journals. These are all characteristics of the interest group model of the media. However, a division of journals and sources into institutional groups reveals a more complex media system, exhibiting features of both the institutional and interest group perspective and, occasionally, changing features across time periods.

Though overall dominance in both time periods is by non-elites, some institutional groups are dominated by elite messages in one or both time periods. For the Party Congress, three institutional groups (science, culture, and state) maintain a high proportion of elite messages coupled with numerical domination in fourteen substantive issues for pre-decision discussion and twelve substantive issues for post-decision discussion.

Science, military, culture, and agriculture vary between time periods on one or both characteristics. Science culture maintain an elite dominated message pattern in both periods. Agricultural elites decline in proportion to non-elite messages and consistently address only a few specific message subjects. Cultural and military elites increase their proportion of elite messages and expand their specific message subjects across time. Science elites widen their specific message subjects but decrease their proportion of elite messages across time.

Education and economic institutional patterns provide the sharpest contrast to an institutional elite dominated media. In both time periods, these groups failed to stimulate high proportions of elite communications in any specific or general message subject. However, their elites expand their specific message subject categories across time.

The proportion of elite messages and specific message subject diversity lends only partial support with state, science culture groups maintaining the predicted elite dominance of the institutional model. Party and agriculture possess an elite dominant pre-decision pattern but a non-elite dominant post-decision pattern.

The military has a non-elite dominant pre-decision pattern and an elite dominant post-decision pattern. Party, agriculture, and the military partially support the institutional model concerning elite domination in at least one time period. Education and economics, however, are consistently dominated by non-elite messages in both time periods. These elites do not perform as predicted by the institutional model, reflecting instead an interest group model pattern of elite message transmission.

This mixed interpretations is reinforced by examination of the transmission of institutional members in other institutional journals and access by other institutional members in their journals. Four basic patterns of communication emerge across institutional groups. First, some institutional journals such as party and education possess "open" journals, allowing most other institutional members access to their journals. Also, these institutions have members that transmit messages in most other institutional journals.

Second, state and economic journals restrict penetration by other institutional members but have institutional members that transmit messages in most other institutional journals. Third, cultural journals allow access by most other institutional members but whose institutional members seldom communicate outside cultural journals. Finally, military journals allow restricted access by only a few non-institutional members.

The previously mentioned journals are consistent in these patterns in both the agenda-setting and information dissemination stage. Two institutions, however, change communication patterns over time: agriculture and science. The former changes from a pre-decision pattern of high penetration by other institutional groups and low transmission of its own members to a post-decision pattern of low other institution penetration and low message transmission in non-agricultural journals. Science changes from a high diversity of journals in which members of the institution publish and a low penetration in journals of non-institutional members to high penetration by non-institutional members and low diversity of journals in which members publish.

The overall interpretation of these patterns suggests that interest group assumptions concerning crossover of institutional members into other institutional journals exists in some but not all institutional groups. Journals sponsored by the party, educational, and cultural institutions act as a "free market", permitting access to most other institutional groups. Other institutions (state, economic, military), however, largely restrict access to their journals to members of their institutions. Two institutional groups (agriculture, science) oscillate from a pre-decision "free market" to a post-decision institutional media model.

Using institutional cleavages in journals and messages aids in the understanding of political communication patterns. But application of a strictly institutional perspective on the media is incorrect for many institutional groups. Of all groups, education is the clearest example of a predicted interest group medium.

There is considerable penetration by education specialists in non-educational journals, high penetration of non-educational institutional members in educational journals, and a predominant number of non-elite messages by educational specialists. All three of these characteristics are features of an interest group media system. All other groups, however, exhibit traits of both perspectives.

The evidence on physical context and homogeneity reinforces this interpretation with neither providing substantial evidence for the totalitarian or kremlinological perspective. It indicates a diverse media system, tilting towards a free market system of communication and an absence of strict central control.

Andropov's ascension is an exception to this general pattern. But leadership transition has always been a rather secretive matter, confined to the party elite. It is one of the unwritten laws of Soviet politics that speculation or discussion of leadership transition is forbidden. Furthermore, selection of a new leader has no immediate bearing on policy issues and emphasizes continuity of leadership rather than bold policy initiatives. Policy implications associated with leadership change usually do not appear for several months or years after such an event. This, in part, is the explanation for the highly centralized, completely uniform, and official nature of Andropov's ascension. It is an unusual, special event.

The above results raise some interesting political communication issues that need further clarification. One of the most important is the consistency of political communication channels and patterns across time periods. Are these results consistent in other periods of Soviet history? If not, what characteristics change and how does that change coincide with assumed changes in policy-making? Examination of this issue will allow for an indirect test of changes in Soviet policy-making.

Another crucial issue is political communication and leadership transition. Andropov's ascension produced a systematic and controlled flow of information, providing the strongest evidence for the kremlinological perspective. The appearance of Chernenko's speech and his later ascension to General Secretary lend support to the notion of high level political factionalism. But to further confirm this conclusion, further examination of other leadership transitions is necessary.

Finally, this study sets only the framework for a more complex and more theoretically focused study of elite and non-elite communication in journals. A more detailed probing of what elites communicate what messages in what channels will further enlightened western scholars on political communication and the policy process.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Alphabetic List of Journals in Sample

Agrokhiimi
Akusticheskii zhurnal *
Anesteziologiya i reanimatologiya
Astromicheskii zhurnal *
Avtomaticheskaya svarka *
Avtomatika *
Avtomatika i telemekhanika *
Barvinok
Biofizika *
Biokhimiya *
Defektoskopiya
Doklady Akademii nauk SSSR seriya general
Doklady Vsesoyuznoi ordena Lenina i ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo
Znamen akademii sel'skokhoziaistvennikov nauk um. V. I. Lenin
Don RSFSR Rostov
Druzhba narodov
Ekologiya *
Ekonomika i organizatsiya promyshlennogo proizvodstva
Ekonomika stroitel'stva
Elektrokhiimiya *
Elektrotekhnika *
Farmakologiya i toksikologiya *
Fizika i tekhnika poluprovodnikov *
Fizika nizkikh temperatur *
fizika tverdogo tela *
Fiziko-tekhnicheskie problemy razrabotki poleznikh iskopaemikh *
Fiziologiya cheloveka
Fiziologiya rastenii *
Genetika *
Geofizicheskii zhurnal *
Referativnyi zhurnal seriya geofizika *
Geografiya i prirodnye resursy
Geologicheskii zhurnal *
Grudnaya khirurgiya
Inostrannaya literatura
Inzhenerno-fizicheskii zhurnal *
Istorii SSSR
Izvestia Akademii nauk gruzinskoi SSR seriya biologicheskaya
Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR seriya Mekhanika zhidkosti i gazi *
Izvestia Akademii nauk Turkmenskoi SSR seriya biologicheskikh
nauk
Izvestia Akademii nauk Turkmenskoi SSR seriya fiziko-
tekhnicheskikh, khimicheskikh i geologicheskikh nauk *
Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR seriya fizika zemli *
Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR seriya Fizika, atmosfery i okeana *
Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR seriya geograficheskaya
Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR seriya matematicheskaya *

Izevstia visshikh uchebnikh zavedenii serii fizika *
 Izevstia visshikh uchebnikh zavedenii serii matematika *
 Kardiologiya
 Khimicheskoe i neftianoe mashinostroenie *
 Kibernetika *
 Klinicheskaya khirurgiya *
 Kolobok
 Kommunist Belorussii
 Kommunist (Lithuania)
 Koordinatsionnaya khimiya *
 Koster
 Kristallografiya *
 Kvantovaya elektronika fizika *
 Meditsinskii referativnyi zhurnal serii psixiatriya *
 Meditsinskii referativnyi zhurnal serii dermatologiya *
 Meditsinskaya parazitologiya i parazitavnye bolezni
 Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn'
 Mikrobiologicheskii zhurnal *
 Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya
 Moldavskii iazyk i literatura
 Molekulyarnaya biologiya *
 Molodoi kommunist
 Moskva
 Nauchnye Doklady Visshei shkoly serii nauchnyi kommunizm
 Nauchnye Doklady Visshei shkoly serii filologicheskie nauki
 Neftianoe khoziasstvo
 Neirofiziologiya *
 Novaya i noveishaya istoriya
 Novy mir
 Novoe vremya
 Obshchestvennye nauki
 Oktiabr'
 Ontogenez *
 Optiko-mekhanicheskaya promishlennost'*
 Osnovaniya, fundamenty i mekhanika gruntov
 Partiynaya zhizn'
 Pioneer
 Pis'ma v astronomicheskii zhurnal *
 Pochvovedenie *
 Pod'em
 Politicheskoe samoobrazovanie
 Poroshkovaya Metallurgiya *
 Prikladnaya matematika i mekhanika *
 Prikladnaya Mekhanika *
 Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka
 Problemy Endokrinologii
 Problemy Tuberculosis
 Problemy peredachi informatsii *
 Promishlennaya energetika
 Prostor
 Rabochii klass i sovremennii mir
 Referativnyi zhurnal serii voprosy tekhnicheskogo progressa
 organizatsii proizvodstva v mashinostroyeni *

Referativnii zhurnal seriia: geografiia
 Referativnii zhurnal seriia: Khimiia *
 Referativnii zhurnal seriia: Teploenergetika *
 Russkaia rech'
 Russkii iazik i literatura v shkolakh SSSR
 Russkii iazik i literatura v uzbekskoi shkole
 Russkii iazik za rubezhom
 Sel'skoe khoziaistvo Tadzhik
 Sel'skoe khoziaistvo Uzbekistana
 Siberskii matematicheskii zhurnal *
 Sibirskie ogni
 Sibirskii vestnik sel'skokhoziaistvennoi nauki
 Sovetskaia torogolia
 Sovetskaia etnografiia
 Sovetskaia literatura
 Sovetskaia tiurkologiia
 Sovetskaia zhenshchina
 Sovetskii film'
 Sovetskoe slavianovedenie
 Sovetskoe voennoe obozrenie
 Iadernaia fizika *
 Sovetskaia Meditsina
 Sovetskaia pedalogiia
 SSHA: ekonomika, politika, ideologiia
 Teoreticheskaiia i eksperimental'naia *
 Teoriia veroiatnostei i ee primeneniia*
 Tsement
 Tsvetnie metally *
 Ukrainiia istoriia zhurnal
 Ukrainskii istoricheskii zhurnal
 Ukrainskii matematicheskii zhurnal *
 Uspekhi khimii
 Uspekhi matematiki nauki *
 Vedomosti *
 Vestnik Akademii nauk UkSSR
 Vestnik LGU seriia istorii, iazik, literatura
 Vestnik LGU seriia math, mehanika, astronomiia *
 Vestnik MGU seriia filologiia
 Vestnik MGU seriia filosofii
 Vestnik MGU seriia geografiia
 Vestnik MGU seriia istoriia
 Vestnik MGU seriia psikhologiia
 Vestnik MGU seriia teoriia naychnogo kommunizma
 Vestnik MGU seriia vostokovelenie
 Vestnik MGU seriia zhurnalistika
 Vestnik sel'skokhoziaistbennoi nauki
 Vestnik statistiki
 Voенно istoricheskii zhurnal
 Voprosy ekonomiki
 Voprosy filosofii
 Voprosy iazukiznamiia *
 Voprosy istorii KPSS
 Voprosy neirokhirugii *

Voprosy pitanii *
Voprosy psikhologii
Visokomolekuliarnye soedineniia
Zdravookhraneniye Rossiiskoi Federatsii
Zernovoe khoziaistvo
Zhurnal analiticheskoi khimii *
Zhurnal eksperimental'noi teoreticheskoi fiziki *
zhurnal geografiia *
zhurnal neorganicheskoi khimii
Zhurnal prikladnoi mekhaniki i tekhnicheskoi fiziki *
zhurnal tekhnicheskoi fiziki *
Znaniia

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