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NEWS BROADCASTING ON SOVIET  
RADIO AND TELEVISION

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Radio and Television

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and International Security

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## Preface

The present paper is one result of several months' research on radio and television broadcasting in the Soviet Union. It is viewed by the author as a preliminary survey of the subject, which will be expanded and developed in the coming months. In addition to a general updating of material on policy and mechanical actualities, more attention will be given to the proportion of different types of news which are broadcast, and to the personnel who handle news. Of extreme importance is the position which news broadcasting occupies in the process of informing the individual Soviet citizen. This aspect will be considered as part of a general study on information-gathering in Soviet society.

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I. Introduction: The Soviet Conception of the Functional Role of Broadcasting Media and News

Preliminary to a discussion of news broadcasts on Soviet radio and television, several remarks are in order concerning factors which have crucial bearing on the forms and content of those broadcasts. The first of these is the conception of the functional role of broadcasting media in Soviet society. The second concerns the Soviet conception of "news" as related to Soviet propaganda and agitation theory. The third is the consideration of the functions peculiar to radio and television and their specific potentialities for news broadcasts as seen from the Soviet viewpoint.

We may gain a direct insight into the Soviet conception of the functions of radio and television from the following explicit statements made in a resolution by the Party Central Committee:

The main task of Soviet radio broadcasting and television is the mobilization\* of our country's working people for the successful implementation of the Seven-Year Plan and the entire program of the comprehensive construction of Communism in the USSR for raising labor productivity and stepping up progress in all branches of the national economy...Radio and television must inculcate in all Soviet people a Communist attitude toward labor and the need for participation of every Soviet person in socially useful work. Radio and television must demonstrate the people's condemnation of loafers and good-for-nothings who try to live

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\*Italics are author's

at the expense of others and must describe in concrete terms how labor becomes a need of Soviet people.

Radio broadcasts must help people to think through the historical changes in the life of mankind that have occurred mainly through the heroic deeds of the Soviet people who are building the most advanced and just society. It must tell of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, unmask the falsity of imperialist propaganda, and train Soviet people to be irreconcilable toward bourgeois ideology. It must educate them in a spirit of pride in their motherland, and in their work, and in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism.<sup>1</sup>

The very verbs used to indicate the functions of these two media show the breadth of influence which they are expected to play in the lives of their listeners. Far from being instruments of passive entertainment or of education in an informative sense, radio and television in the USSR are pledged to act as active instruments of socialization for Soviet citizens in order to speed up the formation of the "future Communist society." They are viewed as instruments of indoctrination in Communist values and ideology as interpreted by the Party leadership at any given time, and as translated into economic, social, or political policy; further, they are agents of agitation for implementation of those policies. Not surprisingly, newscasts as a component part of "political broadcasting" play a leading role in this propaganda and agitation. In order to grasp a realistic understanding of the newscast in Soviet broadcasting, then, we must separate ourselves from the tacit conception of news broadcasts as simply informative transmissions of events of current interest.

Not only are the general functions of the media outlined

by the Party, but specific means are indicated for transforming them into reality, depending upon current ideological and political emphases:

There must be regular, consistent, and profound radio propaganda of the decisions of the Party congresses and plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee, explanations of the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union, and elucidation of the people's struggle to complete the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule, and to create an abundance of material and spiritual values and of the growth of the forces of Communism. Special attention must be given to propagandizing the peace loving policy of the Soviet Union and its unflagging struggle for universal and total disarmament.<sup>2</sup>

Specific tasks of radio and television are elsewhere indicated:

To base radio and television work on the resolutions of the 22nd CPSU Congress; to provide systematic and deep analysis of the ideas of the new Party program, to fight actively for its realization; to publicize remarkable and positive events constantly; to propagate new and better examples of life and labor among the masses; to extol the work of the builders of communism.<sup>3</sup>

The most definitive statement of the practical approach to radio and television news broadcasts was presented in 1963 in a pamphlet published as a guidebook to those preparing such broadcasts:

Information in editions--not the impartial photographing of that which occurs on our enterprises and construction sites, on our collective and state farms, in scientific institutions and higher educational institutions. It is a question of the purposeful, directed selection of those facts and events, which represent the broadest social interest, which graphically, convincingly propagandize the policy of our Party, mobilize the people\* for the successful construction of the Communist society.

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\* Author's italics.

In other words, information by radio should bear a militant aggressive character.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, in preparing news broadcasts, from organization to selection of content, the following considerations should always guide the decisions of the editorial boards:

- (1) The rearing of the "new man" who possesses a Communist morality and attitude toward society and labor.
- (2) Agitation for the fulfillment of economic plans.
- (3) Emphasis on international and internal events which illustrate historical and social trends predicted by Soviet ideology, as interpreted at any given time by the current Party leadership.
- (4) Emphasis on and support of specific international and domestic policies of the party, based on the selection of events. (See Chart 3).

The specific place of radio and television in the network of mass media which report news has fluctuated considerably from time to time, depending upon the rigidity of censorship at any given period. Thus, for example, complaints were rampant during the early and middle fifties that news broadcast on radio and television was simply a rehash of those items which had appeared earlier in the pages of Pravda and Izvestia. The reasons for this are related to the sources of information and mechanisms of clearing of content of broadcasts. At certain times the main source for approach and commentary, and often for the actual news item itself, was the official Party organ, Pravda. Whatever items Pravda selected for emphasis, and whatever view Pravda took for presentation and interpretation served as the governing approach for radio and later, television newscasts as well. Thus, radio could not perform

the functional role in news reporting which it has traditionally occupied in the Western mass media system--that of being able to present the news almost as soon as it happened, "ahead of the headlines." Complaints of the tardiness of broadcast news became widespread, not only among members of the populace at large, but increasingly among members of the radio and journalistic professions. Gradually the complaints crystallized, and the result was the official, published resolutions of 1960 stating the following change in policy:

The central radio stations in Moscow must first of all assure timely broadcasts of important political information, effective commentary on domestic and foreign events, and the organization of various artistic programs...Because radio should give the population the important news before the newspapers do, TASS has been instructed to transmit news immediately to central and local radio stations.<sup>5</sup>

The handbook prepared by the State Committee on Radio and Television, published in 1963, specifically states: "Radio should communicate to the population all important news earlier than do the newspapers."<sup>6</sup> Recent audience research has indicated that news broadcasts now rank among the most listened-to programs. Because of their frequency and because news begins and ends the broadcasting day, for most citizens the news provides a framework for the entire broadcasting day.

Besides providing the population at large with information on and interpretation of events, news broadcasts also serve the very influential function of acting as an important source of interpretation for the widespread network of Party

agitators and other specific segments of the population. These agitators learn a great deal about selection of items for emphasis and Party policy from the approach which a radio newscast or commentary takes toward any specific event. Thus the news items broadcast are expanded, amplified, and elucidated by the personal efforts of agitators.

## II. Radio News Broadcasting

### Mechanics of News Broadcasts

#### Schedules of News Broadcasts

Formerly various programs\* of Moscow Radio were individualized according to geographic region or content of broadcasts. The First Program was the Central, all-Union program, and its content may be characterized as "informational-political." The Second Program, designed for the European part of the RSFSR, apparently had a separate staff which created its broadcasts independently of the First Program. The Third Program was exclusively a cultural program, primarily literary and musical and contained almost no informative materials. The Fourth Program, beamed to Central Asia, Siberia, and the Soviet East, was composed of material selected from the First and Second Programs. Due to the time change in the target area, these selected broadcasts were, however, transmitted on the Fourth Program approximately three hours earlier than on the First and Second Programs. The Fourth Program may be said to represent a unification of two programs, one for the Far Eastern Siberia, and one for Central Asia. The Fifth Program consists of special broadcasts for "persons at sea," for emigres, and so on; only recently it began to have a more or less unified character and to broadcast news on a frequent

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\*The term "program" here is roughly comparable to the Western "station." The word "broadcast" will be used in the Western sense of "single program."

basis. In discussing news broadcasts, we will concern ourselves primarily with the First, Fourth and Second Programs, devoting a modicum of comment to the Fifth Program's new character.

In comparing news broadcasting on Radio Moscow during the past few years, we have chosen--partly for reasons of availability--three schedules operating at different time periods: October, 1962; April, 1963; and November, 1963.

The new program schedules on October 15, 1962, introduced several radical changes in regard to news broadcasting. News-casts were now given almost every hour, from 3 a.m. to 11:35 p.m. In most broadcasts some international items were included. A new feature at that time was the review of republican, krai, and oblast newspapers. The "Radio Interview" was another innovation which featured such interesting figures as Professor Liberman (leading exponent of the price incentive plan for industrial enterprises).<sup>7</sup> Other programs with some news content included "From the Teletype Tape," and "A Popular Talk About Questions of Internal and Foreign Policy." The great increase in news broadcasts and the addition of more items about happenings outside the Soviet Union and Eastern European "People's Democracies" has been attributed to a new policy toward Western propaganda broadcasts to the USSR and East Europe and their effects on listeners in those areas. This change of attitude was brought in by M. A. Kharlamov, the then new chief of broadcasting.<sup>8</sup> Kharlamov's consistent policy was to decrease jamming of Western broadcasts progressively and to increase international news and commentary on Soviet-operated

stations.

The following spring (April), the time of the second schedule under review, a further series of changes was introduced. After a short period of observation by a monitoring staff<sup>9</sup> the conclusion was made that the changes were of a temporary nature, related to the implementation of ideological directives of the Party's Central Committee. The changes noted by the monitoring team indicated that Kharlamov's experiment in modernizing the programs and in emphasizing speed in the delivery of information was somewhat soft-pedalled during this transitional period before the CC CPSU plenum on ideology.<sup>10</sup> On the annual "Radio Day" an article by Kharlamov appeared in Pravda. The article, entitled "A Mighty Weapon of Our Ideology" criticized radio broadcasting in general and touched upon news broadcasting in particular. Evidently too much political responsibility had been imposed upon the broadcasting editorial board; the system of news broadcasting at that time provided little opportunity for Party control. A decrease was evident in frequency and total minutes devoted to newscasting, press review, and commentary. (See Charts 1-4).

The third broadcasting schedule surveyed November, 1963, showed a number of changes which apparently had origins in the criticism mentioned. A number of organizational adjustments were made in the two week period following the introduction of the new schedule as well. The changes related to news broadcasting were as follows:

- (1) Increase of broadcasting and topicalization of content on the First Program, which now began to broadcast 24

hours per day, and included "For Soviet Citizens Abroad," (including Cuba), the "Homeland" program (for emigres and Soviets abroad) and "For Those at Sea."

- (2) Increase in quantity of news broadcasts including increase of total broadcasting time.
- (3) Increased topicalization of news broadcasts.
- (4) Schedule changes. (Comparison of Charts 1 and 2; and of Chart 3, columns 2 and 3.

Audience reports from various sources indicate that the most popular newscasts were those which fall between 7 and 10 p.m. This includes the 30 minute newscast at 8:30 which was apparently the most popular news broadcast on radio. Shift workers also listened to the 4 p.m. frequently which was a 25 minute broadcast.

Chart I

Weekly Number of News Content Broadcasts  
on Radio Moscow, First Program

|              | October 1962<br>Schedule | April 1963<br>Schedule | November 1963<br>Schedule |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| News         | 109 times                | 69 times               | 91 times                  |
|              | 950 minutes              | 870 minutes            | 1230 minutes              |
| Press Review | 28 times                 | 26 times               | 19 times                  |
|              | 420 minutes              | 305 minutes            | 230 minutes               |
| Commentary   | 21 times                 | 14 times               | 8 times                   |
|              | 315 minutes              | 270 minutes            | 170 minutes               |

Note: In compiling this chart as well as others in this chapter, the following divisions have been used:

News broadcasts: Newscasts, Newscasts for arctic regions  
 (Charts 1 and 2)

Press Reviews: Press Reviews, Surveys of the Press,  
 Materials from Newspapers

Commentary: Commentary, weekly News Interview,  
 International Survey.

The summations on Charts 3, 4, and 5 are based on Charts 1 and 2, and on the Radio Liberty Research Note of October 25, 1962, entitled "Eight-Day Analysis of New Programmes on the Soviet Radio."

Chart IITypical Daily News Broadcasts on  
Radio Moscow, First Program

|                  | October 1962<br>Schedule | April 1963<br>Schedule  | November 1963<br>Schedule |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| <u>Wednesday</u> |                          |                         |                           |
| News             | 17 times<br>135 minutes  | 12 times<br>160 minutes | 15 times<br>195 minutes   |
| Press Review     | 4 times<br>60 minutes    | 4 times<br>45 minutes   | 3 times<br>35 minutes     |
| Commentary       | 3 times<br>45 minutes    | 2 times<br>30 minutes   | 1 time<br>20 minutes      |
| <u>Sunday</u>    |                          |                         |                           |
| News             | 12 times<br>115 minutes  | 10 times<br>130 minutes | 9 times<br>125 minutes    |
| Press Review     | 4 times<br>60 minutes    | 2 times<br>25 minutes   | 2 times<br>25 minutes     |
| Commentary       | 3 times<br>45 minutes    | 2 times<br>40 minutes   | 2 times<br>50 minutes     |

Chart IIINews Content Broadcasts  
Radio Moscow, First ProgramOctober 1962 to November 1963

| Time*<br>O'clock | October 1962                   |        |          | April 1963           |         |          | November 1963               |             |                |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|
|                  | Days                           | Type   | Min      | Days                 | Type    | Min      | Days                        | Type        | Min            |
| 1                |                                |        |          |                      |         |          |                             |             |                |
| 2                |                                |        |          |                      |         |          |                             |             |                |
| 3                | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 15       | Mon-Sun 3:05         | N       | 10       | Mon-Sun 3:05<br>Tu-Sun 3:50 | N<br>PR     | 10<br>10       |
| 4                | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 15       | Mon-Sun 4:05         | N       | 10       | Mon-Sun 4:05                | N           | 10             |
| 5                | Mon-Sun                        | PR     | 15       | Mon-Sun              | PR      | 10       | Mon-Sun                     | N           | 10             |
| 6                | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 10       | Mon-Sun              | N       | 15       | Mon-Sun                     | N           | 15             |
| 7                | Mon-Sun                        | PR     | 20       | Mon-Sat<br>Sun       | PR<br>N | 10<br>15 |                             |             |                |
| 8                | Mon-Fri                        | N      | 55       |                      |         |          | Mon-Sat                     | N           | 10             |
| 9                | Mon-Fri                        | N      | 55       |                      |         |          |                             |             |                |
| 10               | Mon-Sun                        | PR     | 15       | Mon-Sun              | PR      | 15       | Mon-Sun                     | PR          | 15             |
| 11               | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 5        | Mon-Sat              | N       | 10       | Mon-Sat                     | N           | 15             |
| 12               | Mon-Sun                        | PR     | 10       | Mon-Sat              | N       | 30       |                             |             |                |
| 13               | Mon-Fri                        | N      | 5        |                      |         |          | Mon-Sat<br>Mon-Fri 13:30    | N<br>N      | 5<br>30        |
| 14               | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 55       | Mon-Sun              | N       | 10       | Sun 14:20                   | C           | 40             |
| 15               | Mon-Fri<br>Mon-Sun 15:30       | N<br>C | 15<br>25 | Sun<br>Mon-Sat 15:30 | C<br>PR | 30<br>10 | Mon-Sat<br>Sat 15:30        | N<br>PR     | 5<br>15        |
| 16               | Mon-Sat<br>Sun                 | N<br>N | 55<br>10 | Mon-Fri<br>Sat       | N<br>N  | 15<br>10 | Mon-Sun<br>Mon-Fri 16:50    | N<br>PR     | 25<br>10       |
| 17               | Mon-Sun 16:05<br>Mon-Sun 16:50 | C<br>C | 10<br>10 | Sun<br>Mon-Sun 16:50 | N<br>C  | 20<br>10 |                             |             |                |
| 18               | Mon-Fri                        | N      | 5        | Mon-Fri              | N       | 5        | Mon-Fri                     | N           | 5              |
| 19               | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 5        | Mon-Sat<br>Sun       | C<br>C  | 20<br>10 | Mon-Fri<br>Sat<br>Sun       | C<br>C<br>C | 20<br>25<br>10 |
| 20               | Mon-Sun                        | N      | 30       | Mon-Sun              | N       | 30       | Mon-Sun                     | N           | 30             |
| 21               | Mon-Sun<br>Mon-Sun 21:55       | N<br>N | 55<br>5  |                      |         |          | Mon-Sun 21:50               | N           | 10             |
| 22               |                                |        |          | Mon-Sun 22:05        | N       | 10       |                             |             |                |
| 23               | Mon-Sun<br>Mon-Sun 23:55       | N<br>N | 5<br>5   | Mon-Sat<br>Sun 23:55 | N<br>N  | 10<br>5  | Mon-Sun<br>Mon-Sun 23:55    | N<br>N      | 10<br>5        |
| 24               |                                |        |          | Mon-Sun 23:55        | N       | 5        |                             |             |                |

\*12-24 hours refers to 1-12 p.m.

During the summer of 1964 a further, more radical change was introduced in the form of a new program, "Mayak." "Mayak," with its completely new format of light music and news, provides much more frequent and interesting information on news events in a further effort to compete with Western stations in these areas. It is in operation around the clock. At the beginning of each of the twenty-four hours, there is a summary of "Latest News;" in the middle of each hour follows more news, commentary, reportage, interview, or survey of the press. This format of forty-eight news broadcasts a day is interspersed with light musical selections. Thus, for the first time, a Soviet citizen must wait a maximum of twenty-five minutes for a news broadcast. As to content and selection of items, these remain approximately the same as the more liberal periods under Chairman Kharlamov.<sup>11</sup>

As might be expected, the new program has had some effect on news broadcasts on other programs. The following schedules have been noted for Autumn 1964. Newscasts have been reduced to seven times a day in Moscow. Moscow and Leningrad receive "Mayak" as a second program.

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\* "Beacon"

Chart IV

News Content Schedules: Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev

Moscow, Program One

8 a.m. News, 15 minutes  
9 a.m. Survey of Pravda, 15 minutes  
12 noon "Latest News," 10 minutes  
6 p.m. "Latest News," 20 minutes  
6:20 p.m. Survey of Izvestia, 10 minutes  
9 p.m. "Day of our Planet" (International News) 15 minutes  
9:30 p.m.  
10 p.m. "Latest News," 30 minutes

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Total 7 newscasts per day 115 minutes per day

(Source: "RADIO-PROGRAMMY" no.48 (955), Sunday,  
November 29, 1964)

Leningrad, Local Program

6:03 a.m. "Latest News" from Moscow  
6:45 a.m. Leningrad "Latest News"  
7 a.m. Press Review  
8 a.m. "Latest News" from Moscow  
8:35 a.m. Leningrad "Latest News"  
9 a.m. Press Review  
10:45 a.m. Press Review  
12 noon "Latest News" from Moscow  
5:30 p.m. Leningrad "Latest News"  
6 p.m. "Latest News" from Moscow  
8 p.m. Reportage or Interview  
9 p.m. "Day of Our Planet" (International News)  
10 p.m. "Latest News" from Moscow

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Total 13 newscasts per day

(Source: Radio: TELEVIDENYE, no. 33(435)  
August 15, 1964)

Kiev, Local Programs

- I. 1 - 2 a.m. Mayak, including news broadcast at 1 a.m.  
and commentary at 1:30 a.m.
- 5:02 a.m. "Latest News"
- 6:02 a.m. "Latest News"
- 7 a.m. Survey of Pravda
- 8 a.m. "Latest News"
- 9 a.m. Survey of Pravda
- 12 noon "Latest News"
- 12:45 p.m. "Latest News"
- 4 p.m. "Latest News"
- 9 p.m. "Latest News"
- 10 p.m. "Latest News"
- II. 10 p.m. "Latest News"
- 12 p.m. Commentary on Themes of the Day
- (Source: "GOVORIT KIYIV," no. 40 (399), October 2, 1964)

### Planning of News Broadcasts

The high percentage of planned broadcasting on Soviet radio and television is reflective of the characteristic Soviet belief in a planned society. The concept of planned broadcasting, facilitated by pre-recordings, is applied with particular concern to the sphere of news broadcasts which constitute the bulk of "political broadcasting." While the planning procedure for news broadcasts must be more complex and at the same time, more flexible than that of other thematic departments, content and selection must be closely supervised.

News broadcasts on radio are planned on a weekly basis, as opposed to the monthly planning schedule of other departments. This weekly plan takes into account not only announcers and illustrative materials, but most important, the basic themes of news broadcasts for a given time period. Considering the functions of Soviet news broadcasting as illustrations of ideological trends or current Party policies, this seems quite logical. The handbook for preparation of broadcasts for the "Latest News" explains the situation thus:

The advantage of weekly plans, is, of course, obvious. The editorial board has the possibility of forseeing (sic) in them all of the most important events, measures, about which they already know. And not only that. They are able to plan also such materials which, strictly speaking, do not carry a clearly expressed eventful character, but actually, topically, express the important manifestations and processes of our life. This is news in

the broad sense of the word, although, at first glance, it does not have a topical foundation.<sup>12</sup>

The above statement is illustrated by its author in such a way that nothing is left to the imagination. He indicates that listeners must regularly be informed of progress of certain facets of the development of the Communist Society; e.g., by publicizing one person's overfulfillment of a local factory plan the "great progress of the Soviet people toward an ever increasing enthusiasm for creative labor" is illustrated. Presumably the thematic plan may be altered to accommodate abundance or shortage of illustrative manifestations in the life of the people.

It is not difficult to see why such subjects as accidents and criminal court proceedings have difficulty in finding their way into a Soviet news broadcast. Usually news of such items, even if they involve domestic occurrences, have traditionally been transmitted by word of mouth or by foreign radio broadcasts. Recently there has been public recognition of this problem among Soviet journalists:

We must respond promptly to various, perhaps unfavorable, phenomena and incidents that occur in our life. Or else it turns out that, while we keep silent, the people learn about them from foreign radio broadcasts, and; furthermore, learn about them in incorrect and distorted interpretations. We still consider ourselves to have a monopoly in the field of information. But this isn't so. After all, by lagging in information, we sometimes involuntarily orient people to foreign radio, and once any false version begins to circulate it is difficult to stamp it out.<sup>13</sup>

In planning news broadcasts, it is recommended that it is unwise to overload the program with an abundance of themes. Three or four "topical" questions constitute the most effective news broadcast. Particular emphasis may be placed on one or another of these questions, depending upon the weekly thematic plan, and the dictated handling of that question in a given time period. We may gain some idea of the comparative emphases on certain questions as well as the type of themes selected for a given plan by using the example of one weekly plan compiled for use at Leningrad Radio.

Weekly Thematic Plan of the Evening Edition  
of the "Latest News" on Leningrad Radio.

Monday

1. In honor of the Elections in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. "Yesterday and Today in the Dachnoye Workers' Settlement" (sketch).
2. "The Izhorites Take a Running Start" (reportages from brigades, including the initiative of the Kirovites in speeding up the tempo of the creation of the material-technical base of Communism).
3. "A Cultivation System--Key to Abundance" (presentation of the Chairman of the XXIst Congress Collective Farm).
4. "Latest News Signals" (from Listeners' Letters).
5. "We See, We Hear, We Know" (interview with the Main Conductor of the Kirov Theatre of Opera and Ballet concerning impending premieres).

Tuesday

1. "Good Omens" (story of a Correspondent about the changes which the agitator found in the apartment of a worker at the time of the impending elections in the Supreme Soviet USSR).

2. "People of the Seven-Year Plan" (reportage from the working place of an innovator from the Zaitsev Automobile-Garage Equipment Plant).
3. "In the Laboratories of Leningrad Scientists" (Institute of Electro-mechanics. Interview with the Academician Kostenko on the Creation of a single electro-energy system for the country).
4. Five Thousand New Apartments in a Year (at the Polyustrovskii Housing Construction Combine. Correspondence).
5. New Exhibitions of Leningrad Artists (information).

#### Wednesday

1. In Honor of the Elections in the Supreme Soviet USSR. On the New Electoral Circle in the Vyborg Region of Leningrad (presentation of the Chairman of the Leningrad Raion Executive Committee).
2. "Plant News" (repeats of news of the editorial board of the steel-rolling mill recorded on tape).
3. On Public Principles (conversation with the Honored Teacher Shkorbatova about the first steps of the non-staff school sector).
4. "Greetings, Leningraders" (presentation of the director of the Moscow Musical Theatre named for Stanislavskiy and Nemirovicha-Danchenko who is visiting Leningrad).

#### Thursday

1. Radio-Flash of the "Latest News" (on the early launching of a new ship--of the fish conservation factory).
2. The First Group of Volunteers has Left for the Construction Sites of Siberia (information).
3. Experience of T. Svetlichniy--to all Leningrad Sugar-beet Growers (communication on the decisions of the oblast committee of the CPSR).
4. Moral-Ethical Council in the Shop (story of the correspondent with inclusion of a short presentation by the secretary of the shop Party organization).
5. Let's Talk About Daily Life (How does the urban transportation serve you? Critical reportage).

Friday

1. To the Plenum of the CC CPSU. "By Order of Agriculture--The Green Street" (outline on the sessions of regional economic councils).
2. This Did Not Happen During the Last Elections (correspondence with new electoral participation in the Nevskii Post).
3. In the Traces of our Actions (word by the Chairman of the Smolensk Raion Executive Council).
4. Student Holidays (meeting with the youth of seven universities in the country).

Saturday

1. Eighteen Years from the Day of the Liberation of Leningrad from Hostile Blockade (reportage from the brigade of construction workers--former soldiers who in wartime held the defense of Leningrad on those boundaries of the city where today they are constructing new living quarters).
2. "Along the Roads of the World" (Leningrad machines for export. (correspondence).
3. "Joy of the Metal Worker Ivanov" (his first rationalizing suggestion is accepted). (sketch).
4. "Pushkin Days in Leningrad" (presentation of Academician Alekseev).
5. Theatrical Survey (tape).
6. Pages from the Free Day (selection of materials in which it is suggested how Leningraders might spend their Saturday evenings and Sundays).<sup>14</sup>

These broadcast plans are prepared for the evening edition of the news, since in most oblasts where news is broadcast only once a day, it is transmitted in the evenings. In other regions which broadcast news two or three times a day there are also morning editions, noon editions, and so on. Morning editions should contain information on events which

have occurred during the night; when news is re-broadcast, however, the evening edition should most closely resemble the edition of the following morning rather than that of the preceeding morning.<sup>15</sup> Sunday editions should differ from those on weekdays in that they should be longer, more interesting and more clear in thought. In Leningrad the morning edition of the news, broadcast at 8:45 a.m., includes news which has come into the studio to the editor on duty up to 8:00 a.m. The material, consisting of events chosen from happenings during the previous night and current morning, is pre-recorded, then broadcast over the radio network.

#### The Newsgathering Apparatus

The political orientation of Soviet news broadcasting is immediately evident in the primacy given to Party and government organs as sources of news. According to official instruction<sup>16</sup> Party Committees and Soviet organs of government are to be considered the ultimate and primary source of important news. Other government and social organizations follow in order of their importance: Councils of the National Economy (Sovnarkhozy); Trade Union and Komsomol (Young Communist League) organs. Secondary sources of information include the daily bulletin of local information, published by TASS, the official Soviet telegraph agency; broadcasts of factory, plant, and raion (a city division) editorial boards of radio broadcasting; low level circulating and wall news-

papers; communications from listeners. The official view of the hierarchy of news sources may not be completely accurate in practice, but it is a valuable indication of the intricate measures used to insure that the "correct" news is broadcast and that the proper organs have the final word on any given matter. Obviously the organs listed provide information on their specific topics, and since they are almost all Party, government, or economic organs it can be safely assumed that the content of news broadcasts emerges as dominated by these three categories of items.

The reasons stated by the State Committee on Radio and Television for such close cooperation between editorial boards of news broadcasts and Party and government organs are interesting in that they provide a valuable glimpse of the control sequence:

The closest link between the editorial board of the "Latest News" with leading Party and government organs allows the editorial board to concentrate its attention on the most important questions which are being decided in oblast, and municipal Party and government organs.

Let us show several examples:

One of the correspondents planned in his weekly plan a discussion with the chief engineer of the factory "Red Triumvirate,"--on the introduction of new technology in this enterprise. It is an actual and completely worthy theme. However, in the city Party committee the editorial board learned that the question of introduction of new technology in several enterprises, among them the "Red Triumvirate," was to be discussed at the next session of the bureau of the city Party committee. On the basis of the materials which the bureau brought forth, it became clear that "Red Triumvirate" did not belong to the number

of the factories which are most progressive in the automatization and mechanization of production. This allowed the editorial board to avoid mistakes.

One of the non-staff authors, enjoying the confidence of the editorial board who happened to be in the studio of a famous sculptor, wrote an interesting "note" on the monument for Vasilievsky Island in Leningrad. The note was rejected. And here is the reason. The non-staff correspondent of the editorial board in the executive committee of the Leningrad City Council communicated that the artistic design of the sculptor had not yet received approval."<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, one can imagine the complications involved if there were no close cooperation between the Party and correspondents! The sequence of control is of a prophylactic nature, characteristic of the post Stalinist regime, in contrast to the earlier rolling of heads for mistakes of the type indicated in the above passages.

In order to fully understand the newsgathering procedure, it is necessary to know not only the sources for news items but also the hierarchy through which these items find their way from insignificant obscurity into the functional role for which worthy items are destined. The editorial board of a news department, or news division of the political broadcasting department, is assisted by a network of correspondents who operate on two functional levels. Staff correspondents are responsible for a particular activity or region. In the case of Leningrad Radio broadcasting division of "Latest News," for example, they are each responsible for one field of economy plus one raion (a municipal administrative subdivision). Thus, for example, one staff correspondent is responsible for

the local Council of the National Economy and for Petrogradskiy Raion; another is responsible for the Leningrad Institutes of the Academy of Sciences USSR and for Vasilyostrovskiy Raion. These staff correspondents, who are paid employees of the radio broadcasting committee, are assisted on the primary level by a network of non-staff "volunteer" correspondents. These supernumeraries are usually representative of a particular plant, factory, collective or state farm, Party organization. They are responsible for news within this area, and report to the staff correspondent within whose region and in whose field they represent an organ. Thus, there seems to be a system of double checking, although it is difficult to assess just how effectual it is.

From its primary sources information travels through the system of correspondents until it reaches designation as broadcasting material. This information is then reworked and written in such a way that it will be suitable for radio news broadcasting. This operation is completely independent from that of the newspaper correspondent network. The TASS daily bulletin, on the other hand, is written specifically for the newspaper network and is used only peripherally by the radio news staff. The information, however, is apparently broadcast in much the same as its original form on the TASS bulletin, with little or no consideration for the peculiarities of the broadcasting media.<sup>18</sup>

Local radio news is gathered by the city radio news editor directly through the local editor of the factory or farm

news broadcasting station or radio-uzel (wired-network system).<sup>19</sup> Usually a certain newscast is chosen, recorded, edited and reworked to fit into a four or five minute time space, and then rebroadcast over the city network. Such features are commonly used to inject local color into the news. Letters from listeners are usually treated under certain headings, such as "Our Listeners Write to Us" or "We Answer the Letters of Listeners." Sometimes letters suggest news items which take up more time than can be devoted in one edition, so that the contents are treated in several editions. Often such letters evolve into the writer's becoming a sort of low grade "non-staff" correspondent.<sup>20</sup> In addition to letters, telegrams and telephone calls from listeners also constitute another, albeit rather rare, source of information from the public.

#### Party Influence in News Broadcasting

We have already indicated certain situations in which the Party clearly manifests a great deal of influence over the gathering and selection of news. An over-all view of Party control over news broadcasting will help to place these situations in a proper perspective for evaluating the extent to which the Party actually influences the gathering, selection, and broadcasting of news on Soviet radio and television.

On the all-Union or national level, the basic means of influencing news content is the general decree issued by high

Party organs, such as the Presidium of the Central Committee, or by government organs, such as the Supreme Soviet. The first usually takes the form of a policy resolution by the Central Committee of the Party at a plenary session. The second, a decree by state or government organ, usually has its origins in party decisions but has a specifically formal character. Either type of decree may be covert or publicly announced and may take any one of the following forms:

- (1) Directions as to the general emphasis of information and propaganda for a certain time period (i.e., a campaign against formalism in the arts, a campaign in support of chemicals for agriculture, etc.). These are usually presented overtly and publicly.
- (2) Directions as to the treatment of a certain news item. This may mean in practice the censoring of all news on a domestic item such as the death of a high Party official, for a temporary period; playing up of certain actions of foreign governments considered hostile to the Soviet Union; or other restrictive or influential measures. This form of influence is usually transmitted within the Party and broadcasting apparatus, and is not necessarily made public even to the general ranks of Party or broadcasting workers.
- (3) Directives governing the make-up and organizational structure of the news departments of radio or television stations or administrative organs. This may be in the form of government decree, but is often engendered by Party policy.
- (4) Directives governing the frequency and length of news broadcasts, the proportion of foreign to domestic news, and so on. This type of decision would be implemented by the administrative apparatus, and would probably be semi-public.
- (5) Directives governing the sources of news content and the order in which radio broadcasts news in relation to it, press publication. This would probably have a semi-public character and would be both Party and governmental in character.
- (6) The setting aside of thematic days. Such days are usually decreed by administrative organs as prompted by the Party. A particular theme, such as "A Tribute to Soviet Space," is chosen; all programming for that day would have as its

basic content something to do with space exploration and the achievements of Soviet space in particular. News broadcasts concentrate attention on new developments in space and relate these developments to the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist, for example.

On a local or sub-national level, the Party exercises more day-to-day control over news broadcasting. Not only does the local Party organ have responsibility for the broadcasting and other propaganda media in its geographical area, but it also has Party-State control organs which maintain the Party policy in all organs within its jurisdiction (i.e. all institutions and organizations in its geographical range). News departments, being part of political broadcasting, fall very naturally into the area of prime concern. In addition, we have already mentioned the instruction that all editorial boards of radio and television are to maintain close contact with the Party and government organs. The party organ of a particular region may influence content, not only by indirect means, through personnel selection, personal influence, and other organizational means, but it also can initiate local campaigns for certain propaganda purposes. In speaking of Party-organizational work in radio and television, the Party organization of one region stated:

With a consciousness of the enlarged mid-Volga economic region...we received the opportunity of organizing radio and television broadcasts about the progressive experience of Volga oil workers, chemists, about the achievements of science and culture, in the new economic region. Now almost every edition of the "Latest News" includes materials under the rubrik "In the Mid-Volga Economic Region."<sup>21</sup>

The obvious implication here is that by establishing a certain category for news the Party assures that there will be items in each broadcast under that rubrik, in this case, local economic life.

## Content of Broadcasts

### Characteristics of News Broadcasts

The previously mentioned functions of radio and television news broadcasts relate directly to the preparation of the actual output and may be considered the guiding principles for preparation of broadcasts. Leaders of Soviet radio and television, however, have taken care to discuss thoroughly the more specific qualities which impart the decisive form and content to news broadcasts. From a review of these discussions, one can extract certain explicit statements which indicate the qualities which the model newscast should possess. In addition, these discussions indicate certain implied characteristics essential to newscasts in Soviet society.

Among the explicit characteristics of the model newscast, the most important is always listed as "operativnost;" this adjective may be translated roughly as "topicality," but with the connotation that the topicality is effective in getting across the idea of the information broadcast. The broadcast must also carry a certain clarity, or be easily comprehensible to the average listener. Also of especial importance is that the newscast have "concreteness," or that it should contain such factual material as will make the manifestation real to the listener.

Directly related to the functional role of newscasts is the quality of "purposefulness." "Purposefulness" should be

indicated immediately, so that the listener will gain the main thought of the information. This purposefulness is directly linked to the characteristic of "pravdivnost" or "truthfulness." The best illustration of what is meant by "truthfulness" is a quotation from Maxim Gorky:

..Fact-- that is not yet truth. It is only the raw material from which one must smelt, extract the actual truth...One must not roast the chicken with its feathers, and worshipping the fact leads us to confuse the accidental and the immaterial with the fundamental and typical. One must learn how to pluck the unessential plumage of the fact, one must know how to extract the thought from the fact."<sup>22</sup>

Cousin to "purposefulness" and "truthfulness" is the quality of "convincingness." "A durable political impression should be made, one item standing out and remaining in the listener's memory to stimulate action. The principle underlying this characteristic is 'A newscast is not a mirror, but a magnifying glass.'"<sup>23</sup> Thus the agitational function is fulfilled.

Aside from the above qualities which are listed as desired characteristics of newscasts, there are at least two implicit ones. First, the newscast, although it should be up-to-date, is to carry neither an atmosphere nor an actuality of spontaneity. It should always be approved, be part of the plan, and just for safety's sake, it is usually pre-recorded. Secondly, there is an appeal for what might be called "human interest" in the news. The remarkable aspect of Soviet "human interest" is, however, that it carries a distinctly didactic connotation. It is as symbols of social

phenomena, most specifically as evidences of the evolution of the "new man," that persons are presented in the news:

It is the greatest misfortune that many radio correspondents see in the plant, the factory, only machines, and do not notice people who create these machines, the creators of the new; they do not make even short note of showing the man himself, his rich spiritual world, his high moral outlook."<sup>24</sup>

The newscast is also called upon to cover many themes, and contain information "necessary and interesting to all strata of the population." It should also be delivered in a friendly, sincere, conversational tone, and various items are to be joined with a sense of continuity, giving an organic unity to the broadcast.

As one reviews the above qualities, implicit and explicit, which are considered to be the characteristic features of a good newscast, one cannot but wonder about the degree of success with which they are implemented. One way of assessing this success is by surveying criticisms which have been made of newscasts by the people and by the news personnel themselves. The following is a list of typical criticisms of the newscasts together with some of the suggested remedies:

- information is dull, narrow in scope;
- newscasts are overloaded with statistics, and percentages of plan fulfillment;
- radio and TV are slow in reporting important political information;
- not enough attention is given to widening the source of news materials; this criticism was taken to mean that the network of non-staff volunteer reporters was faulty. Measures were taken to increase its numbers and to pay more attention to the close review of each

correspondent's work;

--newscasts were weak on international news; not enough material is presented from the foreign press, and too few interviews with foreign guests are presented. The remedy for this seemed somewhat inadequate in view of the detail of the criticism. The only step taken was to recommend that more foreign materials from TASS, the Soviet press agency, be used;

--news is presented in a repetitive manner.

### Forms of News Broadcasts

In order to achieve some variety in news transmissions a rather wide range of forms is used in presentation. Our reference to news broadcasts has included those broadcasts which have primarily a news content, although they may not be listed explicitly on Soviet program sheets as news broadcasts. In this category are included the following types of programs: Survey of the Press; Press Review; Weekly Interview; Commentary and Talk; International Survey; and broadcasts which are explicitly labelled as "news broadcasts," as the "Latest News." Of course, without making an on-the-spot coverage of all programs on Soviet radio and television, it is almost impossible to say how much news is broadcast on non-news-content programs. These types, however, are the principal kinds of programs which relay news to the population over the broadcasting networks. The forms used for these different broadcasts are utilized and supplemented on a smaller scale within the explicit news broadcast.

(1) "Chronicle Communique"--this term indicates presentation

of the news item in the most condensed form, with no particular effort at explanation.

- (2) "Note"--this is one of the most usual forms of presenting the "Latest News;" it consists of one fact or description of an event, together with a few details about the item. Often a newscast will unite several notes under a single theme, such as "Today in the Fields of the Oblast," "News of Cultural Life." These "Notes" may also be a selection of items unified by a geographical location such as "News of Vyborg," or "News from Borisoglebsk."
- (3) "Extended" or "Developed" Information--this is one of the most characteristic forms of news broadcasting in the Soviet Union. Its official explanation is: "a communique, in which the event, manifestation, or fact, is not only told, but also its thought, its social-political significance is disclosed. The information attains great power to convince and effectiveness when the author finds supplementary details which illustrate the basic, central fact, constituting its foundation." This form of reporting is wholeheartedly encouraged by the administration: "We should emphasize that extended communication can never be over-used."<sup>25</sup>
- (4) Correspondence--this genre of news presentation is one that is widely used in the Soviet press, but frequent complaints indicate that it is used all too little in radio newscasting. It is considered to be a real elucidation of an item; the facts are reported and commented upon, but further, they are deeply analysed and results and conclusions are presented. The item discussed should be one of "great social-political significance." Typical subjects for a "correspondence" would be: life of an enterprise or collective farm; activities of Party organizations on a certain region; outstanding people of the Seven-Year Plan; or some equivalently charged political topic.
- (5) Guest Appearances by Important Personages--usually such persons are leaders of the Party, or of some social, cultural, or economic institution or organization. The object is for the visitor to speak simply and from the heart about his own experiences. A typical guest appearance would be a factory director who speaks about movement for Communist labor in his factory, about technical innovations, the best rationalizers, or simply about production. It is stressed that visitors should confine themselves to a small range of topics in order to avoid dispersing this influence. Agitation on one issue is more effective and more in keeping with the purpose of news than is the propagandistic mention of many phenomena. Such an appearance

is usually limited to two or three minutes in length.

- (6) Interview--the interview is usually between the radio correspondent and one person who is usually one of the types mentioned in "guest appearances." He is supposedly a responsible, informed person of industry, agriculture, science, culture, or such, who is capable of discussing his field and generalizing his own experience for the benefit of others. The correspondent should be able to argue or supplement the interviewee, and may even recommend answers to his own questions if he sees fit!<sup>26</sup>
- (7) Narration by the Correspondent--this form of reportage is more or less an eye witness account on the part of the correspondent who saw an event. He simply tells his fresh impressions of the incident or item which is the subject. Usually he gives some background of the region or phenomenon, and often the narration is illustrated by some documentary recording of sound or visual film.
- (8) Short Commentary--addenda to a news item which has been reported. There have been some indications that the administration is dissatisfied with the low incidence of commentary by oblast and regional newscasters. Often the commentary will occupy only a small portion of the total news broadcast. An example is that of Estonian Radio; here, the evening newscast "Echo of the Day" consists of thirty minutes of news of which only four minutes is commentary.<sup>26</sup> Although one would suppose that political commentary would be an important part of political broadcasting of news in the Soviet Union, this has thus far not been the case. It is by selection of facts and slant of reportage of news that the propaganda or agitational value is attained, not by overt commentary on the news. It is also worth noting that many of the other genres discussed here, especially those which call for supplementary material or "analysis" actually contain a great deal of what we would call commentary.
- (9) Radio-Feuilleton (a satirical presentation)--this is one of the least used forms of news reporting. A traditional device of the Soviet newspaper, it has attained some degree of popularity but is not a form which is particularly adapted to the short time span available for radio news. Feuilleton is a part of the larger sphere of radio programming, however, and often news topical subjects are dealt with in this manner, outside of the actual newscast itself.
- (10) Reportage--the most endorsed form of news presentation by officials, reportage is described by the State Committee on Radio and Television as: "The most militant,

operative, effective genre of radio broadcasting, the clearest and most convincing means of illuminating events. In reportage radio's specific quality is expressed most fully." Reportage is the narration by the eye witness of an event on an actual theme. The following forms of presentation are considered variations of reportage:

- a. Reportage transmitted from the location or event.
- b. Appearance at the microphone of the correspondent, who has just returned from the location of the incident.
- c. Collective discussion, in which participate several of those who may testify to the event.
- d. Reportage-outline; or reportage-composition; a combination of written text and sound recordings of persons taken at the scene of the incident; verses and music may be added.
- e. Reportage-lecture: read by a specialist, engineer, scientist, from his place of work, about a new machine, a new experiment, a geological party, and so on.
- f. Reportage-commentary: journalist comments on some subject, supplementing his talk with some sound recordings made by himself.
- g. Round table discussion-conference interview.

- (11) Radio Roll-Call--this, a new form of reporting news, seems to relate primarily to economic news, and is being encouraged as a way of interesting people in production and plan fulfillment. It consists of a number of persons of one occupation or another, who either gather together for a discussion of their field, or whose comments are recorded for comparison with the comments of others in their field on similar or related questions. Recently, for example, one such "radio roll-call" was held including members of the Moscow and Leningrad Regional Economic Councils. Directors of enterprises, chiefs of shops, brigade leaders, all appeared. Others are arranged between leading workers of the two regions, and so on, giving the listeners an idea of the inner working of one industry or another.

### Types of News

The content of actual broadcast days of news can be seen from the selections in the appendix to this paper. Very few generalized remarks can be made concerning the proportion of different types of news on Soviet broadcasting media. Since no verbatim monitoring reports are readily available, and since no domestic study has been published concerning these proportions, we are unable to quantify our observations. We can, however, make certain inferences from the general impressions of news broadcasting that we have gained through our survey.

Heavy emphasis is placed on domestic news coverage. Not only is discussion of domestic news more immediately necessary for supplementing the other media and interpersonal oral communication, but its treatment in a certain way carries a highly useful didactic purpose. By interpretation and selection of already known events, or by informing the population of local happenings, the regime can quite effectively implement its own policies and enlist support for them.

Domestic news is primarily economic and political with little of incidental interest. There is a noticeable absence of what we would call "human interest." The people in the news are not simply individuals who have been involved in a newsworthy event. They are symbols of phenomena which illustrate the development of the society. As such, there is little mention of items which are common news subjects in the West:

traffic accidents, crime, riots, and so on.

Foreign news is selected and interpreted in a manner similar to that employed with domestic news. Events and speeches which illustrate imperialist tendencies and warnong traits of Western countries or leaders are reported with appropriate commentary, while other items are underplayed or omitted entirely. This same selection procedure is evident in the choice of sources for foreign news: "Surveys of the Foreign Press" reports items only from Western Communist newspapers. It is hardly likely, then, that news which does not illustrate Communist viewpoints or the evolution of ideologically predictable trends would receive much attention. Similarly, TASS, the Soviet news agency, provides a large bulk of material as previously mentioned.

The third major source of foreign news is a relatively recent one. Beginning on December 20, 1962, Radio Moscow adopted a new format for its 9:00 newscast, under the title "On the Shortwave." The program is ostensibly a "radio review of what the broadcasting stations of the world are saying." The first broadcast opened with the commentator saying:

In the evening when the little green eye of the radio set lights up and voices burst into the room through the noise and crackle from thousands of kilometres away, I am always somewhat offended that I don't know tens of languages so that I could understand all that is being said in the world's ether. Maybe this feeling has also been felt by many of you, Comrade Radio Listeners. So let's try with the aid of translators and technicians of the all-Union radio

to take a trip through the ether and learn what was said today if only by a few of the radio stations of the world."<sup>27</sup>

The next voice in the broadcast was that of a BBC correspondent reporting in English from Nassau about the Kennedy-MacMillan talks. After a few moments, the voice faded, and the Soviet announcer digested the information. Similar reports were used from the "Netherlands Radio," "Rome Radio," "Radio Washington," all of which dealt with the talks, which subject occupied three-fourths of the broadcast. Other events reported were: a miners' general strike from Rome radio; London radio report on a big fire in Cyprus which destroyed an army depot; and about a big storm which closed sea and air traffic in Beirut, Cairo, and the Suez Canal.

The reporting of news from such sources may have the effect of legitimizing foreign radio broadcasts as a source of information. The sharp decrease in jamming combined with improvement of programming on domestic radio in competition with foreign broadcasts has broadened the range of information sources for the Soviet citizen. As mentioned in the discussion on planning, Soviet journalists are now becoming aware of the problems of providing information which is both functional from the Soviet viewpoint and which can compete for the attention of citizens over whose sources of information they no longer have a monopoly.

### III. Television News Broadcasting

Our knowledge of news broadcasting on television is somewhat more limited, both because of its youth as a media, and because of the difficulty in monitoring broadcasts from outside the USSR. In addition, the functional role of television as related to radio has not yet been clearly defined in Soviet society. This is evidenced not only by a cursory comparison between the programming on both media, but by the frequent discussions by Soviet broadcasting personnel of the subject. In another society one might say that the purpose of television lies primarily in the sphere of entertainment. On the basis of our previous findings, however, this assumption does not necessarily hold true in the Soviet system of communications.

Television is regarded as much as an instrument of agitation and propaganda as is radio, albeit with different qualities, and hence, different emphases. Certain of these are obvious; the presence of the visual portion of the broadcast imparts to the media two important qualities which are pivotal in determining the functional role of television. One of these is the increased difficulty in slanting news by selection. On a purely oral media, this presents no problems; cropping serves the purpose. Understandably, however, cropping a motion picture of an event is not quite so effective in some cases, and is more difficult to achieve with the clarity and continuity which convinces the viewer. By the

same token, however, visual "agitation" on television is considered one of its strongest points. To believe what one sees is an almost universal habit, and television offers the viewer the opportunity of seeing with his own eyes the glorious achievements of Soviet space scientists, or "imperialist provocateur actions" of one country or another. News selection is basically similar to that of radio, with less commentary in general, and more descriptive detail.

#### Times of Broadcasts

Although some of our information on news broadcasting on Soviet television refers to 1959,<sup>28</sup> it may help to give the reader some idea of comparative broadcasting on this medium. At that time, the news was broadcast eleven times per week: at the beginning and end of the broadcast day on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday; on Thursday at the end of the broadcast day and at 7 p.m. a commentary on international questions; on Saturday at 7 p.m. "News of the Day;" and on Sunday at the end of the broadcast day, "The Latest News." These news broadcasts lasted about fifteen to twenty minutes and contained anywhere from four to five items each on domestic issues and from three to four on peripheral areas and foreign countries. Usually the second newscast of the day was considered the important one, containing more pithy information on the items reported earlier, and supplementing the previous broadcast with reports of more recent events.

Among the news content programs of that time, there was not only the "Latest News," of which the schedule is indicated above, but also the following programs: International Chronicle; filmed interviews with important governmental and political figures; "Through the Native Country," a film "magazine" of domestic events broadcast two times a week for ten minutes; "News of the Week," on Saturdays for twenty minutes; and various demonstrations and talks from the television studio. There were also special editions of the "Latest News" at times of Party congresses or other national events. Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States was also the occasion for round-the-clock news coverage. Space flights usually bring about an abundance of news broadcasts which may occupy most of the broadcasting day during the few days immediately following them.

The following chart is a summary of recent comparative schedules of news broadcasts in five Soviet cities. Although the schedules are from three separate time periods, no significant program policies were introduced during the interims and they may be considered to represent one general period.

Chart VWeekly Schedule of Television News Broadcasts  
In Selected Soviet Cities, 1964

| <u>City</u>                 | <u>Mon</u> | <u>Tues</u> | <u>Wed</u>        | <u>Thurs</u> | <u>Fri</u> | <u>Sat</u> | <u>Sun</u> |
|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Leningrad<br>(August 24-30) | 6*         | 6           | 6                 | 6            | 6          | 5          | 5:45       |
| I                           | 10 min     | 10 min      | 10 min            | 30 min       | 10 min     |            | 15 min     |
|                             | 9:30       | 9:30        | 9:30              |              |            | 9:30       | 10         |
|                             | 30 min     | 30 min      | 30 min            |              |            | 30 min     | 30 min     |
| II                          | 7:40       | 7:35        | 7:45              | 6:35         | 10:20      | 7:30       | 7:10       |
|                             | 20 min     | 20 min      | 20 min            | 20 min       |            | 20 min     | 20 min     |
|                             | 10:40      | 10:25       | 10:30             | 7:45         |            |            |            |
|                             |            |             |                   | 10 min       |            |            |            |
|                             |            |             |                   | 10:20        |            |            |            |
| Moscow<br>(December 7-13)   | 6:20       | 5:20        | 5:50              | 6            | 6          | 5:20       | 3:20       |
| I                           | 10 min     | 10 min      | 10 min            | 10 min       | 10 min     | 10 min     | 10 min     |
|                             | 9:30       | 9:30        | 9:30              | 9            | 9:30       | 9:30       | 9:30       |
|                             | 10 min     | 30 min      | 30 min            | 30 min       | 30 min     | 30 min     | 30 min     |
| II                          | 8          | 8           | 6:10              | 8            | 8          | 8          | 8          |
|                             | 30 min     | 30 min      | 20 min            | 30 min       | 30 min     | 30 min     | 20 min     |
| Kiev<br>(October 5-11)      | 9:30       | 5:35        | 5:55              | 6:15         | 6:45       | 5:30       | 9:30       |
| I                           | 10 min     | 15 min      | 15 min            | 15 min       | 15 min     | 30 min     | 30 min     |
|                             |            | 9:30        | 9:30              | 9:30         | 9:30       | 9:30       |            |
|                             |            | 30 min      | 30 min            | 30 min       | 30 min     | 30 min     |            |
| II                          |            |             | No News Scheduled |              |            |            |            |
| Odessa<br>(October 5-11)    | 9:30       | 5:35        | 5:45              | 5:20         | 5:40       | 4:50       | 8:30       |
| I                           | 30 min     | 15 min      | 15 min            | 10 min       | 10 min     | 10 min     | 30 min     |
|                             |            | 9:30        | 9:30              | 9:30         | 9:30       | 9:30       |            |
|                             |            | 30 min      | 30 min            | 30 min       | 30 min     | 30 min     |            |
| Lugansk<br>(October 5-11)   | 5:50       | 5:30        | 6                 | 6            | 5:30       |            | 8:30       |
| I                           | 10 min     | 10 min      | 10 min            | 10 min       | 15 min     |            | 30 min     |
|                             | 9:30       |             | 9:30              | 9:30         | 6:00       | none       |            |
|                             | 30 min     |             | 30 min            | 30 min       | 10 min     |            |            |
|                             |            |             |                   |              | 9:30       |            |            |
|                             |            |             |                   |              | 30 min     |            |            |

Sources: Leningrad; Radio:Televideniye, August 22, 1964  
Moscow; Tsentrainoe Televideniye, December 17, 1964  
Other Cities; Govorit Kiyiv, October 2, 1964

\*Times given are p.m. unless otherwise indicated

### Forms of News Broadcasts on Television

The forms of news on television do not differ significantly from that on radio, with obvious necessities of adaptation to the medium. Reportage using mobile television stations usually covers important events known ahead of time. Interviews or personal appearances of important persons, round table discussions between guests, a personal film report by a certain reporter, montage from historical and documentary films, and oral communiques from the teletype are common forms of presentation. Photos from TASS photo-chronicle series, similar to the daily bulletin, also form the basis for news programs.

### News Preparation

The organization of news personnel and their respective functions plays a determining part in the final preparation of news. The personnel of the news department not only constitutes the administrative machinery of the news preparation, but is also the personal and formal link between the Party and the newscast.

Editorial boards of the news department of the Central Television Studios in Moscow as of 1959<sup>29</sup> were the following: Party and Soviet Life; Industry and Construction; Agriculture; Culture and Science; Sports; and Peripheral News and "News of the Week." The last two categories are the responsibility of an editor-at-large; the former ones are that of a particular

editor. The editor of each board maintains communications with organizations in his fields as well as supervises the production of news on his topic through contacts with authors, amateurs, film makers, and so on. Thus, the editor of Industry and Construction would maintain contact with the Party organizations of that field, the trade unions in those industries, other social and political organizations, as well as economic and administrative organs related to industry and construction in any way.

There are two editor-producers who work from 9 a.m. to the end of the broadcast day. At 12 noon, taking into account the films and shots which are on hand, the producer makes up a final plan of broadcasting for the broadcasting day and submits it to the editor-in-chief, who then approves it and submits it to the director of the studio. This plan is then given to the monitoring and reviewing group, and then to the montage or continuity group. The duty of the editor-producers is to define continuity, determine the variety and quantity of subjects to be covered, edit texts of broadcasts, verify factual material, create subtitles, and design microphone folios for broadcasts.

The director of the studio, his assistants and aides are responsible for the formation of the broadcast and its actual transmission over the broadcast network. In fifteen or twenty minutes he must prepare an edition of news, including personnel to be involved, tapes, oral communiques, and often the utilization of the mobile station.

In addition to the daily plan, there is, contrary to the radio news practice, a monthly thematic plan. Preliminary plans by the week are composed for each editorial board, then put together to form the monthly plan for all subjects. The weekly plan period begins on Tuesdays, when the plan is reviewed by the editorial boards and directorate of the studio.

### Summary and Conclusion

The role which news broadcasting is expected to perform in Soviet society determines its basic forms and content. Broadcasting is conceived as didactic in orientation, and news viewers as an illustrative medium in that didactic process. It is by means of selection of sources, personnel which handles news, and finally, individual news items, that this is achieved. The broadcast of news on radio and television is not an isolated source for information, however. Particularly in Soviet society, it occupies a defined position in the system of communications which is supplemented, expanded, and interpreted by other mass media, by personal and group agitation, and by individual word of mouth.

Recent changes in the broadcasting of news have reflected increasing demands made upon the domestic broadcasting media to respond to listeners' needs and demands for information in the face of increased competition with non-domestic media. These changes include increased frequency of news-broadcasting, more rapid reportage of events, broadening of sources and subject matter for news, and innovations in forms of presentation. Journalism has become more of a developed profession, emerging from a status subordinate to the agitational network to one more distinguished, and more demanding of its participants. Increased recognition has been made of the peculiarities of different media in the reporting of news, the result being a trend toward evolution of the particular

form of radio and television journalism; formerly this field was considered more or less a repository for unsuccessful newspaper journalists.

The broadcasting of news is a prime area for observation of prevailing political and administrative dynamics. Trends are reflected however, less in terms of content and commentary actually presented than in form, and above all, selection of news items. Omissions or emphases are generally far more significant and graphic indications of the status quo. Chairman of the State Committee on Radio and Television Mikhail Kharlamov, under Khrushchev, was responsible for many of the liberal or modern developments noted. Nikolai Mesyatsev, the present chairman, a long-term Komsomol official with a primarily political background, has indicated his plans to continue Kharlamov's basic policies. These include above all, negative amount of jamming of foreign broadcasts and competitive level of newscasting on domestic media. These factors should contribute to continued improvement of quantity and variety of news available to the Soviet citizen; hopefully, an improvement on quality will also result from this process.

Footnotes

1. In the Party Central Committee: "On Improving Soviet Radio Broadcasting and on Further Developing Television." Partiinaya Zhizn, no. 4, February, 1960, pp. 26-34.
2. Ibid.
3. "Measures for the Further Improvement of Radio and Television." A resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSR, June 6, 1962, RNRL 8019, p. 2.
4. Boglovskii, T. and L'vov, Z., Posledniye Izvestia po Radio (The "Latest News" on Radio), published by the Scientific-Methodological Department of the State Committee on Radio and Television, USSR, 1963, p. 6.
5. "On Improving...." Partiinaya Zhizn, op cit.
6. Boglovskii, op cit, p. 5.
7. From Boiter, A., "Radio Moscow's New Broadcasting Schedule." Radio Liberty Research Memorandum, 1962.
8. For details on Kharlamov and his policies, see Durham, F. Gayle, Radio and Television in the Soviet Union, Monograph, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1965.
9. Radio Liberty Monitoring Section, RL Committee, Munich.
10. Kubik, L.G. Memo June 10, 1963 to Director of RL Division, entitled: "Short Analysis of the Changes on Soviet Radio-Broadcasts in Connection with the Change to the Spring-Summer Program Schedule."
11. "Mayak" was instituted under the chairmanship of Kharlamov, and represents his policy.
12. Boglovskii, op cit, p. 10.
13. "The Publicism of High Ideas," All-Union Creative Conference of Publicists, Sovetskaya Pechat, no. 7, July, 1964, pp. 1-17, translated in Current Digest of the Soviet Press, vol. XVI, no. 42, p. 13.
14. Boglovskii, op cit, p. 10.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 66, "Istochniki" (Sources).

17. Ibid., pp. 66-67.
18. Ibid., p. 67.
19. See Durham, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
20. Boglovskii, op. cit., p. 25.
21. "Aktiv radio i televideniya," ("The Active of Radio and Television"), Partiinaya Zhizn, No. 13, July, 1963, p.75.
22. Boglovskii, op. cit., p. 4 .
23. Matuz, Rose "TV News in the Framework of Television Political Programmes," Radio and Television (Prague), No. 2., 1963, pp. 3-6.
24. Boglovskii, op. cit., p. 45.
25. Ibid., p. 17.
26. Ibid., p. 68.
27. Radio Liberty Research Note no.1750, January 2, 1963, p.1.
28. Mushnikov, N., "Televisionnaya informatsiya," (Editor-in-chief of the Central Television Studio, Moscow), Sovetskoye Radio i Televideniye, No. 4., 1959.
29. Ibid.



(50)

Appendices



Appendix One: Monitor Summaries of Newscasts for Selected Days, 1963. (Source: Radio Liberty Monitoring Staff)

January 1, 1963

15.00 GMT 29.12.62 - 09.00 GMT 31.12.62

President Kennedy's Miami Speech had aroused alarm and bewilderment in Washington, according to Sagatelyan, the Tass correspondent there. "Does Kennedy intend to try again to bring the world to the brink of a military conflict?" This question was now being asked by well informed observers in the US capital, the correspondent said. In an earlier dispatch Sagatelyan said that the ransomed Cubans, "obviously forgetting the great humanity and tolerance" shown them by "revolutionary Cuba", had "at once resumed where they left off", Manuel Artime, their "ringleader", having told a press conference that they would continue "to fight for the so-called liberation of Cuba". Sagatelyan noted that this statement had been made immediately after Artime and four associates had been received by President Kennedy, who had told them that he hoped some time to visit a "free" Cuba.

Khrushchev's 'Daily Express' Interview Tass circulated the text of Khrushchev's replies to questions put to him by the 'Daily Express' and printed in that paper on 31st December.

Germany and Berlin Foreign reactions to Khrushchev's letter to Adenauer continued to evoke comment. German listeners were told that in press statements both von Hase, on behalf of the Federal Government, and Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin, had completely disregarded the question of a German peace treaty and had rejected Khrushchev's proposals for normalising the situation in West Berlin. Listeners in North America were told by Sashin that Adenauer had been trying to sow discord between the USA and the Soviet Union in order to bring about a clash between the two countries. In a talk for this country, Aleksandrov asked why London invariably said "No" to the USSR's proposals for Germany and West Berlin. This was evidently due to the British Government's policy of concessions to Bonn designed to ease Britain's entry into the Common Market, he concluded.

USSR's 40th Anniversary From surveys of the central press circulated by Tass and broadcast in home service radio programmes, the press on 30th December gave much prominence to the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR as a federal State. 'Pravda' and 'Krasnaya Zvezda' were said to have devoted their leading articles on that day

to the occasion, and other newspapers were reported to have carried articles on various aspects of the Soviet multinational State, the successes of which had proved the correctness of Lenin's nationalities policy. An 'Izvestiya' article by Brezhnev, read for the home service audience, which underlined the Leninist principles of the nationalities question, also dwelt on differences on this issue between Lenin and Stalin on the lines developed by Zevin in 'Pravda' of 29th December (Report No. 1136). Home service features in connection with the anniversary included a broadcast by N. P. Bogdanov, an old Bolshevik who had been a delegate to the First All-Union Congress of Soviets (1922) who also condemned Stalin's sponsorship of Republican autonomy and other "gross violations" of Leninist norms in Party life and of socialist legality during the period of the personality cult, including the destruction of the Freedom Obelisk in Moscow. The only meeting reported was a session of the Learned Council in the Moscow Institute of Marxism and Leninism at which a paper "Lenin - the Founder of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was read.

The New Year All Moscow broadcasts during the period reviewed bore an "end of the year" look, containing reports of Soviet production successes, and political comment which called attention to the crises of 1962 and expressed the hope that 1963 would bring greater tranquility in world affairs and the prospect of lasting peace. In foreign-language broadcasts Soviet relations in 1962 with the countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America were reviewed, and in broadcasts for North America the hope expressed that the coming year would see a further development of Soviet-US cooperation in science, culture, and other fields. The past year was described in broadcasts in Serbo-Croat as having been one in which Soviet-Yugoslav friendship had been consolidated in the interests of peace and socialism.

February 23, 1963

09.00 GMT 21.2.63 - 09.00 GMT 22.2.63

Soviet Army and Navy Day Comment on Army and Navy Day (23rd February) figured prominently in transmissions on 21st February. In a home service interview Marshal Biryuzov spoke of the development of rocket weapons and said that the USSR had "a sufficient number of launching pads, rockets and warheads in case of need to wipe any aggressor off the face of the earth at whatever point of the globe he may be and whatever military power, territory or economy he may possess". The USSR had also solved the problem of destroying enemy rockets in flight. Citing the successful space flights conducted by the USSR as proof of the reliability and precision of its rockets, the Marshal said that it had "now become possible to launch rockets from a satellite at a command from the earth - and this at any time desired and at any point of the satellite's trajectory". The USSR had never been so powerful militarily as now, but it would never be the first to take up arms or to use them in action; it needed peace, but it could "not forget the aggressive plans of the imperialists". Tass quoted Adml. Gorshkov as having described the USSR's atomic submarines, "with their long-range missiles for various purposes", as "absolutely new and incomparable vessels" which could travel at a very high speed and remain submerged at great depths for a long time and, "being practically invincible", could search out enemy ships everywhere in the world and fire their missiles without surfacing. A 'Pravda' leader, broadcast in the home service, after remarking that imperialism was "losing ground both economically and militarily" every year, said: "The stronger the Soviet State and the entire camp of socialism, the greater is the chance of restraining the imperialist aggressors, ensuring peaceful coexistence and excluding war from men's lives." The USSR's Leninist foreign policy enjoyed "the fervent support of the peoples": "we are striving to defeat capitalism not through war but by way of peaceful competition".

The Skripov Case Listeners in Britain were told that it was on the basis of "absolutely unfounded" and "fabricated" charges that the Soviet diplomat Ivan Skripov had originally been asked to leave Australia. Seeing that these charges were "completely unconvincing", however, the "provocateurs" had "decided to try another professional trick". A bomb hoax had been used to bring down the aircraft carrying Skripov from Sydney to Jakarta in an unplanned landing at Darwin. Here a security service agent had employed both "promises of great wealth" and "pitiful attempts at blackmail" in a vain attempt to persuade Skripov to remain in Australia as a political refugee.

Cuba: Incidents at Sea Tass reported that "to add fuel to the anti-Cuban hysteria in the American Congress", the Pentagon had announced that Cuban military aircraft had attacked an American fishing vessel on 20th February. This "provocative report" had immediately produced "a string of firebrand anti-Cuban speeches by the 'wild men' who were only waiting for this cue", such as Senators Sparkman and Aiken. Tass also quoted 'Trud' for a report that since 21st February the Soviet ship Lgov, which was carrying a consignment of agricultural machinery to Cuba, had been shadowed by the US destroyer Saufley, while the US submarine Spikefish followed on a parallel course. The Soviet ship had not altered course.

Iraq Recordings of speeches made at a protest meeting at Moscow University against the "bloody terror" in Iraq, condemning the new regime there as fascist and reactionary, and as being the agents of colonialism and the oil companies, were broadcast in Arabic. Tass dispatches reported messages of protest and sympathy from student and other bodies in a number of countries. An Arabic broadcast quoted the US press for indications that foreign monopolies were behind the new Iraqi regime.

Finnish Premier's Visit Khrushchev and Karjaleinen were reported to have spoken at a luncheon given on 21st February in the Finnish Premier's honour. Other engagements during the visit included a meeting at the Kremlin on 22nd February at which the two leaders were said to have discussed the international situation and the expansion of friendly relations between their countries.

#### Press Articles Broadcast or Mentioned in Reviews

21.2.63 'Izvestiya': leader on democratic nature of Soviet elections; article by Marshal Grechko on Soviet Army and Navy Day; article on manufacture of synthetic fabrics; review of reactions to Soviet proposal for non-aggression pact.

22.2.63 'Pravda': leader on Soviet Army and Navy Day; Gen. Yepishev on the Party as the life-giving force of the armed forces; statement by Leuschner on CMEA Executive meeting in Moscow; Czechoslovak Minister Pucik on the Druzhba oil pipeline; review of protests about treatment of Communists in Iraq; Prozhogin from Algiers on developments in the Algerian countryside; Borovskiy on rapprochement between de Gaulle and Franco. 'Sovetskaya Rossiya': leader on Army and Navy Day; article by Marshal Biryuzov. 'Krasnaya Zvezda': whole issue on Army and Navy Day, including article by Marshal Zakharov. 'Trud': Skomorokhov on plans for Malaysia Federation.

June 8, 1963

09.00 GMT 6.6.63 - 09.00 GMT 7.6.63

NATO and Bonn On the anniversary of D-Day Ayzman told listeners in the UK that, although many British families had lost their dear ones in the battle against nazism, this had not prevented Britain's politicians from welcoming Hitler's former general, Speidel, who had drawn up the plans for Operations "Barbarossa" and "Sealion" and countersigned notices giving instructions relating to the intended German occupation of Britain. Speidel's visit had coincided with that of Adml. Ricketts, whose mission was to induce Britain to take part in the NATO multilateral nuclear force. Ayzman said it was "nothing less than blasphemy to the memory of the war dead to take this decision to make nuclear missiles available to the former Hitlerites and to give this pompous welcome to Hans Speidel". A Tass commentator said that the "rather evasive" official communique on the talks with Adml. Ricketts did not answer the question whether the British Government had agreed to the creation of a nuclear surface fleet manned by mixed crews, paving the way to the nuclear arming of Western Germany. Although the British Government was "rather wary of Bonn's military build-up", Ricketts had promised more military orders to Britain as the price for agreement, and there were persistent rumours in Whitehall that "Britain has agreed in principle 'not to desert' the United States in carrying out this project". In a talk for German listeners Aleksiyev said that for the Federal Government loyalty to NATO, provided, of course, that it granted Bonn the right to dispose of nuclear weapons, had become "the supreme and only virtue", while hatred of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries had become "Bonn's eleventh commandment".

US Racialism Commenting for the home audience on President Kennedy's speech at the International Congress on Nutrition in Washington, Zorin said that US leaders were alarmed by the world-wide indignation caused by the racial clashes in the USA. After "airing his concern over the lot of millions of starving people", President Kennedy had extolled the various American foreign aid programmes. But, said Zorin, American aid was a "noose of economic and political strangulation", as the people of Ceylon had found out. Reporting President Kennedy's speech at San Diego College, California, a Tass correspondent noted his statement that young Negroes were the first victims of the shortcomings of the American educational system. A Tass commentary (in English) accused Sulzberger, of the 'New York Times', of resorting to "malicious tales about imaginary 'racial problems' in the socialist countries",

in order to "divert attention from the disgraceful rampage of racist terror in the United States". According to Tass, Sulzberger had falsely stated that any traveler arriving in Tashkent could not fail to notice "the separation of the Slavonic minority from the Asian majority which resembles the isolation of the British officials in British India".

The Situation in Iran Moscow radio and Tass continued to give reports on the situation in Iran. A broadcast in Persian quoted an 'Izvestiya' article which attributed the troubles in Tehran and the big religious centres to a group of reactionary Muslim religious leaders. They, like the big landowners, were going over from propaganda to action.

Khrushchev was reported to have received the Indonesian Government delegation on 6th June. A message which he had sent to Kenyatta congratulating him on KANU's election victory and on his assumption of the office of Prime Minister was widely reported.

#### Press Articles Broadcast or Mentioned in Reviews

6.6.63 'Izvestiya': leader on use of wide-cut harvesters; editorial on 75th anniversary of Kuybyshev's birth; first part of Castro's speech on 4th June (1 1/2 pp.); letter from a worker on delay in building Volgograd chemical works; "May Spain be Free!" (article by L. Kamynin on Week of Solidarity with Spain with photographs and statements by political prisoners); report by K. Vishnevetskiy from Damascus on his interview with Syrian Premier and head of Ba'th Party.

7.6.63 'Pravda': CPSU message to Uzbek silkworm farmers (instead of leader); second part of Castro's speech on 4th June (3 1/2 pp.). "Buy Your Suit-Cases, Sir Roy" ("Note" by "Comrade Poleshchuk"); article by "Comrade Vishnevskiy" on Alabama disturbances. 'Trud': feature on Week of Solidarity with Spain, including article by L. Saillant. 'Komsomolskaya Pravda': letters from Spanish political prisoners. 'Krasnaya Zvezda': article by V. Polyanskiy on Adml. Ricketts's visit to Britain.

November 7, 1963

09.00 GMT 5.11.63 - 09.00 GMT 6.11.63

The October Revolution Anniversary Podgorny, in Khrushchev's presence, made the speech at the meeting held on the eve of the anniversary (6th November), a direct relay of which from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses began at 14.00 (GMT). A Tass announcement stated that the anniversary parade in Red Square on 7th November would be under the command of Army General Beloborodov and reviewed by Marshal Malinovskiy.

The approach of the holiday was marked by a number of broadcasts with an ideological theme, outstanding among which was a 'Pravda' article in which Otto Kuusinen gave his reminiscences of how Lenin in the Comintern had treated the infantile disorder of Left-wing communism. Kuusinen spoke of the over-enthusiasm of some early revolutionaries who spelt "revolution" with a capital "R", almost ascribing to it elements of divinity, instead of soberly assessing when and in what circumstances revolution was possible. Lenin's classic work on Left-wing communism had had a salutary effect on the communist movement of the day, and had made it clear that his advocacy of "reformist action" did not imply any abandonment of the fundamental position of revolutionary Marxism. Tracing the struggle against Left-wing groups in the communist movement, Kuusinen went on to mention the problems which faced the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, arising from the attitude of some German, Italian and Hungarian comrades, and Lenin's declaration that the whole movement would be doomed unless Leftist "stupidities" were eradicated from it. The Left-wingers of those days were not "ultra-factionists", Kuusinen said in their defense; their error was their failure to understand the main task confronting their Parties; the "ultra-Leftists" were the "unprincipled petty bourgeois bawlers" who, with the Trotskyites, spread malicious anti-Party and anti-Soviet slander, trying to undermine the unity of the world communist movement.

The Berlin Autobahn Incident was described by Viktor Babkin in a home service news comment as a "provocative demonstration" carried out "the very day after it had been officially announced that the Western Powers would comply with the established rules of inspection" at Soviet checkpoints. Although Western propaganda was speaking of a "Soviet blockade" and of deliberate attempts to create difficulties for the Western Powers on their access routes to West Berlin, the Western press itself had revealed the real reason for the incident when it had reported that the US convoy had been sent "to test the intentions

of the Russians'" and that a special plan had been worked out with the British, French and West Germans. Glazunov told listeners in North America that the Americans were using a road that belonged to the GDR, but they wanted to lay down their own traffic rules. According to the Western Commandants in Berlin, the Soviet checkpoint could control Western military columns only when they gave permission. Anyone could see the absurdity of this. Those in the West who were "always trying to exaggerate" the incidents on the Berlin Autobahn were "clearly pursuing provocative aims", and one could only regret that the US State Department had a hand in this. Apparently, there were still very strong forces in the USA which were ready to use even the slightest pretext to disturb the international atmosphere.

The Anniversary of the Liberation of Kiev Further prominence given to the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Kiev included a broadcast for the home service audience by Marshal Moskalenko and for foreign audiences by Marshal Malinovskiy, and reports of meetings in Moscow, where Marshal Grechko was the main speaker, and in Kiev, where Army General Lomsky, Czechoslovak Defense Minister, was reported to have been present. Moskalenko and Malinovskiy both paid tribute to the part Khrushchev, in his capacity as a member of the War Council of the Ukrainian Front, had played in the operation which led to the capture of Kiev, calling attention to his comradeship with the troops and his readiness to share hardships and danger with them.

Canadian Wheat The home service audience was told of the arrival in Leningrad of 10,000 tons of Canadian wheat in a Yugoslav ship and of other cargoes of Canadian wheat having arrived in Norwegian and Soviet vessels.

Khrushchev Received the American Businessmen who are touring Europe under auspices of 'Time' magazine, in Moscow on 6th November, Tass reported.

#### Press Articles Broadcast or Mentioned in Reviews

5.11.63 'Izvestiya': leader "The Most Wonderful Energy" (efforts of the builders of communism); "Mankind Glorifying the Land of the October Revolution!" (statements by Tsedenbal, Cyrankiewicz, Polish writer, Mexican Senator, Indian Minister, and from 'Life' and 'Tribune'); "Lenin Marches along the Volga" (Maksimov; expansion of chemical industry); "Kurmangazy's Song" (advance of Kazakhstan under the Soviet regime); articles on

the historic significance of the October Revolution (E. Szyr; Lombardo Toledano; and Harry Freeman); the liberation of Kiev (Marshal Moskalenko); the building of the first Soviet tractors works (Bruno Honey).

6.11.63    'Pravda': leader "Along Lenin's Path towards Communism"; material on the October Revolution anniversary; fourth page devoted to foreign visitors' comments on the anniversary (Fanchon, Warnke, James Robertson, Ali Ramli, Dange, Loga-Sowinski); influence of the October Revolution in Hungary (Istvan Dobi); article in the Moscow Automobile Works (Boris Galin); "Following Lenin's Behests" (progress in the "Vladimir Ilyich" works); "The Revolution is a Creative Force"; summary of leader on the anniversary in 'Cuba Socialista'; "The Scope of Siberia" (Mikhaylov); "How Lenin and the Komintern Cured the Infantile Disorder of Leftism" (reminiscences of O. Kuusinen).    'Trud': text of 13th Soviet Trade Union Congress resolution.    'Krasnaya Zvezda': life of Soviet rocket troops (Lt-Col. A. Zgibnev); "The Daily Life of Soviet Space-Rocketeers" (Lt-Col. Melnikov).

December 20, 1963

09.00 GMT 18.12.63 - 09.00 GMT 19.11.63

Ghanaian Student's Death Tass and broadcasts for African and other foreign audiences reported the death of the Ghanaian student Edmund Asare-Addo, but there was no reference to the matter in home service broadcasts monitored. Tass and the external services also reported the African students' meeting with the USSR Minister of Higher Education and stated that the students received with satisfaction his assurance that they would be informed of the results of the investigation into the matter. Reports on the Ghanaian Ambassador's press conference included one broadcast for West Africa (and later for North America) stating that he had said that the dead student's fellow countrymen studying in Moscow had expressed their feelings with "a traditional memorial march" which had "met with no obstacles on the part of the Soviet authorities." All Tass and Moscow radio reports denied that there was any evidence of violent death and said that the student had been drunk and had died of exposure. This was supported in a statement to Tass by the Moscow Prosecutor's Office, which suggested that because he was drunk the student had felt ill on the train while traveling back to Kalinin from Moscow, had got out at Khovrino station, had taken off his coat because he felt hot, and had succumbed to the cold. "Wild stories" spread by Western papers and agencies were denounced in the Moscow reports and a broadcast commentary as part of a slander campaign inspired by fear of growing Soviet-African friendship.

Soviet Afro-Asian Conference It was announced that the second Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference would be held early in May 1964 in Baku.

Algerian Delegation's Visit The arrival of an Algerian Party and Government delegation in Moscow was reported on 18th December. Tass stated on 19th November that Khrushchev had received them next morning and afterwards had attended a luncheon given by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in the delegation's honour.

NATO and the Soviet Defense Cuts The early conclusion of the NATO Council meeting was attributed in a widely broadcast foreign language commentary to the Council's failure to resolve the differences between its members and to the "confusion" caused by the news of the reduction of Soviet military expenditure - for, it said, "the policy which created NATO, and which

this military alliance pursues, is coming increasingly into conflict with the demands of the times, which rule out the military solution of international problems." A 'Krasnaya Zvezda' article summarised in the home service likened the news of the cuts to "a fresh wind...that scattered the papers and muddled up the cards of the Atlantic speakers holding forth on their favourite subject of 'the Kremlin's aggressive intent.'" A commentary for Britain said that in affecting to be surprised by the cuts and suggesting ulterior motives for them some Western commentators were seeking to justify increased military expenditure by the West. In fact, the cuts had been planned "many months ago". Seeing that Mr. McNamara claimed that the USA now had military superiority over the USSR, why could the West not cut its own defenses? Better even than reciprocal action, however, would be joint action to carry the detente further.

USSR Supreme Soviet The meeting of the Supreme Soviet ended on the morning of the 18th December with a joint session of the two Chambers at which speeches were reported to have been made by Lomako (on the 1964/65 State plan) and Garbuzov (on the 1964/65 Budget), and the law on the plan and the Finance Bill adopted. Preliminary reports gave the final figures for the Budget as adopted as: 1964 - revenue R.91, 925, 536, expenditure R.91, 385,282; 1965 - revenue R.101,180,084, expenditure R.100,375,821. The defense expenditure figure for 1964 was given as R.13,289,000.

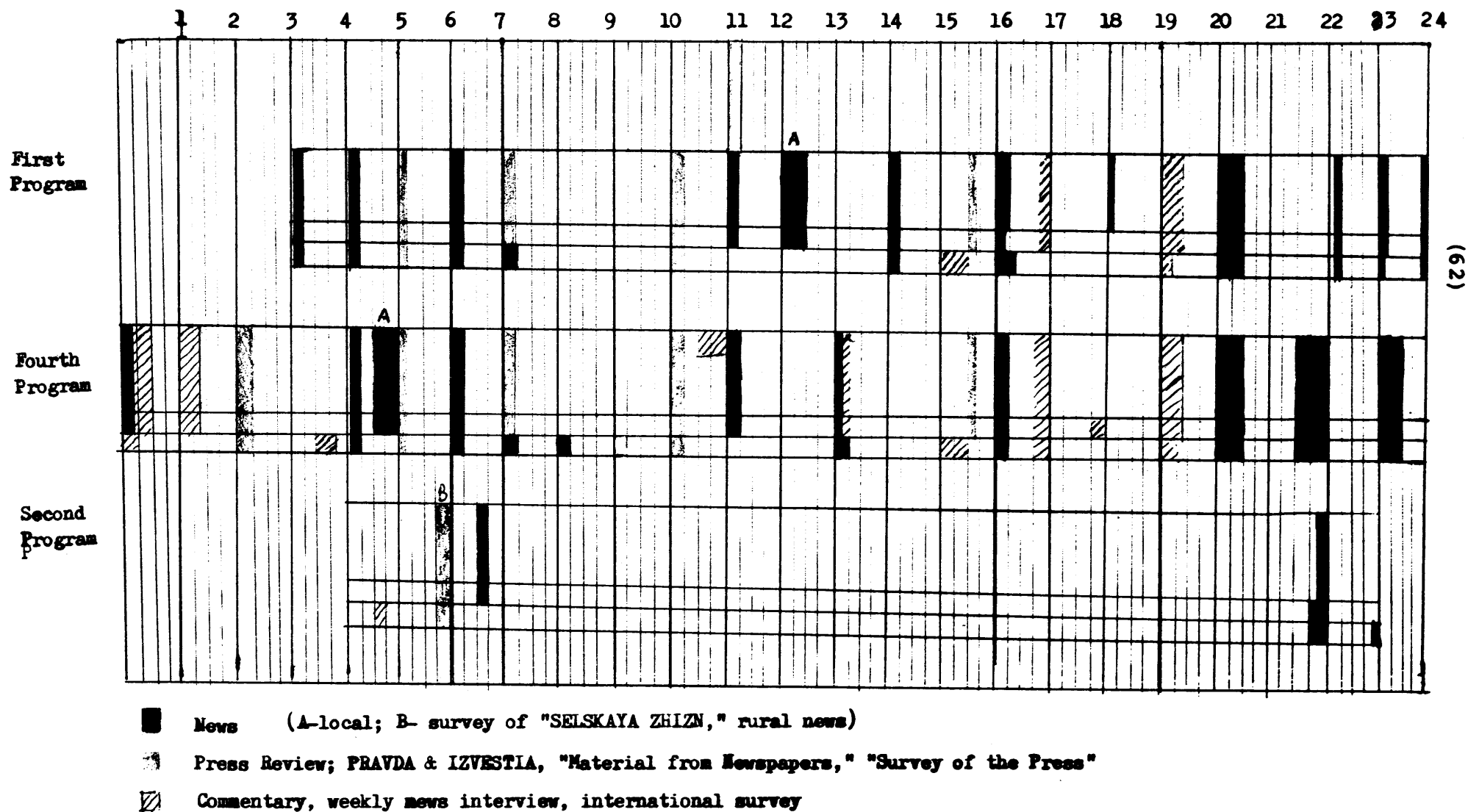
Press Review: Compiled from Agency and Radio Surveys

18.12.63 'Izvestiya': Supreme Soviet reports (4 out of 6 pp.); articles on OAS's hearing of Venezuelan complaint against Cuba (Matveyev), Ganefo Games in Jakarta (Torsuyev, Secretary of Komsomol Central Committee) and Dallas (translated from 'L'-Express').

19.12.63 'Pravda': leader on last two years of Seven-Year Plan; Supreme Soviet reports (3 pp.); dispatch from Kenya on independence celebrations; interview with Maydar, Deputy Chairman of Mongolian Council of Ministers; articles on foreign reactions to Khrushchev's winding-up speech at CPSU Central Committee Plenum (Mayevskiy), transfer of US Seventh Fleet to Indian Ocean (Pastukjov) and NATO Council meeting (Gavrilov). 'Sovetskaya Rossiya': article on NATO Council meeting (Dadyants); interview with Nigerian Ambassador. 'Krasnaya Zvezda': article on NATO Council meeting (Leontyev). 'Trud': interview with V. Krestyaninov, head of a Moscow trade union delegation just back from Tokyo.



Appendix II: Chart: Broadcasts on Moscow Central Radio with Specific News Content  
(April, 1963)





# Appendix III. Chart: Broadcasts on Moscow Central Radio with Specific News Content

( November, 1963)

