

# ENDNOTES

## Preface

1. The survey was carried out by Vox Populi on 11–12 September 1991 with a sample size of 1,000. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents said they listened to foreign radio broadcasts during the crisis: 30% heard Radio Liberty, 18% BBC, 15% VOA and 7% Deutsche Welle. The results were published in “Crisis Compendium: Analyses of Media Use in the USSR During the Coup Attempt,” Report #1017/92, January 1992, Media and Opinion Research, RFE/RL Research Institute. Other studies carried out by local research institutes in the USSR published in this compendium showed high rates of listening to Radio Liberty’s Russian service during the coup: Kiev 24%, Tbilisi 18%, Tallin 17%, Riga 38%, Yerevan 30%, Lithuania 35%. Listening was also high for broadcasts in the local languages (Ukrainian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Armenian and Lithuanian) but generally lower than in Russian.
2. Based on a telephone survey of 704 members of Moscow-based political and intellectual elites carried out by Vox Populi between September 15 and 23, 1991. The report, Research Memorandum 1010/91 is published in the “Crisis Compendium” cited above.
3. “Yeltsin’s Vital Radio Link With the Russian People,” Leslie Colitt in the *Financial Times* of August 22, 1991.
4. See “Report from Moscow: An Eyewitness View of Soviet Putsch,” Iain Elliot in the August-September 1991 edition of “Shortwaves,” the RFE/RL in-house organ.
5. “How Radio Liberty Informed the Soviet Population,” Dirk Schütz in *Die Zeit*, August 30, 1991.

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6. "An Imprisoned Gorbachev Tuned into the World via Radio" by Thomas B. Rosenstiel in the *Los Angeles Times* of August 23, 1991.
7. The decree was printed in both the original Russian and in English translation in the August-September 1991 issue of "Shortwaves."

### Section One: Measuring the Audience to Western Broadcasters in the USSR

1. For a short history of how this interviewing effort developed see R. Eugene Parta. "Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research (SAAOR) at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, in *Western Broadcasting Over the Iron Curtain*, K. R. M. Short, ed. Croom Helm, London/Sidney, 1986, pp. 227–244.
2. Audience Research at Radio Liberty was founded in 1954 by Dr. Max Ralis who continued in this position until his retirement in 1981. He was succeeded as Director by R. Eugene Parta, who had been working with Ralis since 1969. Dr. Ralis, who came to Radio Liberty from Cornell University, was a pioneer in developing a wide range of techniques, both qualitative and quantitative to study Soviet audiences to Western broadcasts. Audience research was located at RFE/RL headquarters in Munich until 1970 when it moved to Paris. It was known as Audience Research and Program Evaluation until 1981 when it took the name Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research (SAAOR).
3. For details on the MIT simulation methodology as well as for more details on the interviewing procedure used in the 1970s see R. E. Parta, J. C. Klensin, I. S. Pool: "The Short-wave Audience in the USSR: Methods for Improving the Estimates," *Communications Research*, Vol. 9, No. 4, October 1982, pp. 581–606. Interviewing methods in the 1980s took on a more formal aspect.

### Section Two: Trends in Listening to Western Broadcasters in the USSR: 1970–1991

1. See Dr. Ithiel de Sola Pool, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Soviet Audiences for Foreign Radio." USIA R-17–76, September 1976. With summary prepared by the Office of Research, United States Information Agency.
2. *Ibid.*, p ii.
3. R. Eugene Parta, John C. Klensin, Ithiel de Sola Pool: "The Shortwave Audience in the USSR," *op. cit.*, p. 603.

4. See R. Eugene Parta, "Weekly Audience Estimates for Major Western Broadcasters to the USSR: January 1973-June 1980," AR 10-80, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. December 1980. This report added separate estimates for the "urban population" as well for the four major broadcasters.
5. Michael Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens. The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War*. Brassey's, London, 1997. p. 20.
6. Ibid., Nelson, p. 116.
7. Rimantus Pleykis, *Radiotsentsura*. An article based on the author's earlier (1998) book, *Jamming*. The article contains updated material from 1998-2000 from information in Soviet archives. "Radio Baltic Waves," Vilnius, Lithuania, May 2002. p. 6 and p. 37. Pleikys notes that stations were placed in 3 categories according to their perceived hostility: The first category included Radio Liberty, Kol Israel, Radio Tirana and Radio Peking. They were jammed round-the-clock with special noise-producing jamming transmitters. The second category included BBC, Deutsche Welle and VOA which were jammed by signals from the Soviet musical station "Mayak," which was not as effective as the noise-producing jammers. The third category included Radio Sweden, Radio Canada, Radio France International, Yugoslavia, Egypt, etc. which were not jammed at all after 1968. Radio France International never reported being jammed.
8. A favorite method to enhance audibility under conditions of jamming was to add the 16 and 19 meter bands to Soviet sets which generally did not include meter bands below 25 meters. Audibility was often better on these bands. The "twilight immunity" effect also meant that at certain times of the day jamming was considerably less effective than at other times. In urban areas "dacha listening" in the countryside was a favorite way to escape the heavier ground wave jamming in the cities.
9. Nelson, op. cit., p. 95.
10. Mark Rhodes, "Effects of Jamming on Listening Behavior," RM 10-85, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. October 1985.
11. Dawn Plumb, "Has the Nuclear Threat Increased? Some Soviet Citizens' Views," AR 1-84, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc., February 1984. The data showed an increasing trend from July-September 1982 when 47% replied yes to the title question to October-December 1983 when 65% answered in the affirmative. 43% of the 2,983 Soviet citizens queried ascribed this to an "aggressive Western policy." Western radio listeners and non-listeners were of the same opinion that the nuclear threat had increased: 56% in each case.

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12. Mark Rhodes and Amy Corning, "Radio Liberty Attracts Many New Listeners in 1989," RM 1-90, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. March 1990.
13. SAAOR Staff, "*Glasnost*' and the Soviet Media Environment: Implications for Western Radio," AR 1-88, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. March 1988.
14. Sallie Wise, "Soviet Citizens on *Glasnost*': High Expectations, Limited Impact." AR 5-87, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. December 1987. p. 16.
15. Mark Rhodes, "*Glasnost*' Has Not Diminished Importance of Foreign Radio," Research Memorandum 2-89, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. July 1989, p. 2.
16. See AR 2-87, R. Eugene Parta, "Trend Analysis 1986. Listening to RFE/RL and other Foreign Stations Among Core Audiences in the USSR." and AR 1-90, R. Eugene Parta, "Trend Analysis July-December 1989. Listening to RFE/RL and Other Western Stations in the USSR." Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
17. R. Eugene Parta and Ree Dawson, "Revised Geographic Listening Estimates to Foreign Radio in the USSR: Introduction of Log-linear Imputation Techniques for Geographic Estimates," AR 2-90, June 1990. Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-14.
19. In 1988-1989 Radio Liberty broadcast to the USSR in Armenian, Azerbaijani, Belorussian, Georgian, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Russian, Tajik, Tatar-Bashkir, Turkmen, Ukrainian and Uzbek. Additionally RFE broadcast in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian. VOA broadcast in Armenian, Azerbaijani, Estonian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Ukrainian and Uzbek. BBC broadcast only in Russian. Deutsche Welle broadcast in Russian and Ukrainian.
20. For the sake of convenience, only those four major broadcasters which had the largest audiences are being included here. Of course, there were many other international broadcasters to the USSR, among them Radio France International, Radio Canada International, Radio Sweden, Radio Vatican, etc. but their audiences were generally smaller and because of this difficult to deal with in the MIT simulation.
21. The Moscow-based independent research institute ROMIR conducted the surveys during the period 1993-2001. They were published in RFE/RL's Media and Opinion Research Report series in 1993 and 1994 and thereafter by InterMedia Research Institute, the successor organization to MOR.

### Section Three: Who Were the Listeners and What Did They Hear?

1. Here the Soviet Census definitions for rural and urban are used. "Urban" areas may go down to settlements as small as a few thousand people.
2. R. Eugene Parta, "Civil Liberties and the Soviet Citizen: Attitudinal Types and Western Radio Listening," AR 6–84, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. This was SAAOR's first attempt at putting together a typology of the Soviet population in order to better understand the position of Western radio listeners in the larger society. The analysis was based on a factor analysis of the data that isolated five questions (from a total of 14 that had been used during the survey period) that correlated highly on the issue of civil liberties to build an attitudinal scale which was then projected onto the urban population of the USSR using the MIT computer simulation methodology. The questions dealt with attitudes about issues such as freedom of speech, dissent, legality, the right to emigrate and racial tolerance. The methodology is explained in greater detail on pp. 16–29 of the report. Later, more sophisticated work, in looking at attitudinal patterns and types in USSR and later Russian society involved the application of the Agorametrie perceptual mapping methodology, the RISC segmentation (International Research Institute on Social Change) and the PSE Expert model, developed with Prof. Jan Jerschina of Cracow University and Central European Market Research. This work will be examined in a subsequent study.
3. Mark Rhodes, "Perceptions of Western Radio: How Soviet Citizens View Radio Liberty, VOA, BBC and Deutsche Welle." AR 3–85, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
4. Mark Rhodes and Patricia Leroy. AR 4–87, "Comparative Audience Perceptions of Major Western Broadcasters to the USSR," Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
5. Data for this chart are taken from AR 3–78, R. Eugene Parta, "Listening to Radio Liberty in the USSR: 1976–77" and AR 3–87 Mark Rhodes, "Patterns of Listening to the Russian Service of RL," Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
6. Data for these charts are taken from AR 3–85. "Perceptions of Western radio: How Soviet Citizens View RL, VOA, BBC and DW" and AR 4–87, "Comparative Audience Perceptions of Major Western Broadcasters to the USSR: January 1985—June 1987," Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.

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1. R. Eugene Parta and Mark Rhodes, "Information Sources and the Soviet Citizen: Domestic Media and Western Radio," AR 5–81, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. This study carries an extensive section on comparisons of the SAAOR data with Soviet studies on media behavior, showing that they come to essentially the same findings, with the exception of Western radio listening, data on which was not published in the Soviet studies.
2. In analyzing communication in totalitarian societies, Prof. Ithiel de Sola states that reliance on word-of-mouth ". . . reflects a massive lack of confidence in the national media . . .," and that "foreign radio listening is a second choice for use when credible domestic sources are lacking." See "Communication in Totalitarian Societies," in *Handbook of Communication*, Ithiel de Sola Pool and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Rand McNally, New York, 1974, p. 470.
3. *Agitprop* comes from "agitatsiya and propaganda" and in this context refers to the structured organization of meetings, briefings and lectures held in local Party organizations, at the workplace and in other public venues. This was a highly developed system in the USSR and served as a channel for the Party to get its views and positions across to its membership and to the larger population.
4. Parta and Rhodes, "Information Sources . . .," op. cit., p. 7. The scores for Party members for Western radio listening were 59 vs. 61 for non-members. These scores are the totals of use of Western radio for national and international news.
5. Ibid., pp. 21–27.
6. See Pool, Schramm, pp. 470–471.

**Section Five: Western Radio and Topical Issues: Six Brief Case Studies**

1. Sallie Wise, "The Soviet Public and the War in Afghanistan: Perceptions, Prognoses, Information Sources," AR 4–84, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
2. Sallie Wise, "The Soviet Public and the War in Afghanistan: Discontent Reaches Critical Levels," AR 4–88, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
3. Ibid., pp. 12–13.
4. Sallie Wise, "January 1989 Data on the Aftermath of the Afghan War," Internal SAAOR Memorandum, February 23, 1989.

5. See Peter Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union*, American Heritage Press, New York 1972.
6. R. Eugene Parta, "Samizdat, The Soviet Public and Western Radio." AR 9–77, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
7. R. Eugene Parta and Kathleen Mihalisko, "The Korean Airliner Incident: Western Radio and Soviet Perceptions," AR 4–84.
8. Sallie Wise and Patricia Leroy, "The Chernobyl Disaster: Sources of Information and Reactions," AR 4–86. Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
9. Sallie Wise, "Soviet Citizens on Glasnost: High Expectations, Limited Impact," AR 5–87, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
10. Sallie Wise, "Soviet Citizens on Gorbachev's Domestic Policies: Continuing Support But Growing Skepticism," AR 5–88, October 1988, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
11. Ibid.
12. R. Eugene Parta and Mark Rhodes, "Soviet Citizen Attitudes Toward Poland Since Martial Law: Agitprop, Western Radio and the Evolution of Opinion," AR 6–82, September 1982, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.

## Section Six: Some Provisional Conclusions on the Impact of Western Broadcasting to the USSR

1. Maury Lisann, *Broadcasting to the Soviet Union: International Politics and Radio*, Praeger, New York, 1975, pp. 164–165.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 33, citing deputy chairman of the state committee, A. Rapokhin in "Radio, Man and His World," *Sovetskoye Radio i Televideniye*, May 1958, pp. 5–7.
4. Mark Rhodes, "Soviet TV Innovations Aimed at Reducing Western Radio Audiences," RM 1–87, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. April 1987. These changes consisted of greatly increasing the amount of live television programming, instituting a new "breakfast show" along the lines of "Good Morning America," and introducing a new, less formal late night news program aimed specifically at a younger audience. The main evening TV news magazine "Vremya," which had come under criticism in *Pravda* for being dull, monotonous and slow, was also revamped to make it more competitive with Western radio on international news topics. The *Pravda* article ("Vremya on the Screen: Remarks on Television News," May 19, 1986) also offered guidelines on how to tackle the problem of



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providing increased coverage of the West. While calling for broadcasts describing Western technological and scientific achievements, *Pravda* noted that they should point out the lack of significance of these achievements for ordinary workers under conditions of capitalism and should highlight “problems facing women and old people and the increase in crime and terrorism in the Western world.” It was now acceptable to be positive about some aspects of Western life (e.g. fast-food restaurants and the interstate highway system) but they should still be presented in a largely negative context.

### Section Seven: Epilogue. A Comparison of SAAOR Findings with Data from the Archives of the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences: Late 1970s and early 1980s.

1. Dr. Elena I. Bashkirova, “Measuring the Foreign Radio Audience in the USSR During the Cold War.” Paper delivered at the Conference on Cold War Broadcasting Impact co-organized by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, and the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, with support from the Center for East European and Eurasian Studies, Stanford University and the Open Society Archives, Central European University, Budapest. October 13–15, 2005. The paper will be published as part of a 2-volume publication on the conference under the auspices of the Central European University Press, Budapest, Hungary.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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### Appendix A: SAAOR Survey Methodology: Interviewing Soviet Travelers

1. See “The Method of Comparative and Continuing Sampling,” Audience and Public Opinion Research Department, Radio Free Europe, Munich, January 1976.



## Appendix C: Data Validation: Comparison of SAAOR Studies with Internal Soviet Studies

1. Mark Rhodes, "A Study of SAAOR Data Validity: Behavior and Opinion Measurement," AR 5-84, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. This paper was presented at the 1983 annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Kansas City, MO, USA.
2. R. Eugene Parta, "Listening to Western Radio and Viewing Television in the USSR," AR 2-75, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc. March 1975.
3. Boris Firsov, *Televidenie Glazami Sotsiologa*, Iskusstvo Publishing House, Moscow, 1971.
4. Parta and Rhodes, "Information Sources....", op. cit.
5. Mark Rhodes and R. Eugene Parta, "Attitudes of Some Soviet Citizens to Andrei Sakharov: Comparison of SAAOR Data with Unofficial Soviet Poll," AR 11-81, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
6. An article describing the purpose, methodology and results of this poll appeared in the *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt* of September 24, 1981 under the pseudonym "Viktor Maxudov." A translation of this article appears in the appendix of AR 11-81.
7. R. Eugene Parta, "Andrei Sakharov and the Nobel Peace Prize." AR 2-76, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc.
8. The results of the unofficial Soviet poll were published in the Danish newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende* of March 21, 1982.
9. Internal SAAOR memo of 27 July 1988, Mark Rhodes to R. Eugene Parta. The CBS-New York Times Poll was published in the *New York Times* of May 17, 1988 by Bill Keller: "Muscovites, in Poll, Are Split On What Their Future Holds."
10. See Mark Rhodes, "The Recent Joint Soviet-French Opinion Polls and SAAOR Data," AR 9-87, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research, RFE/RL, Inc., November 1987.
11. Vesevolod Marinov, "What the Comrades Say," *Time*, April 10, 1989. The sample consisted of over 1,000 residents of Moscow and was conducted March 6-14, 1989.
12. Sallie Wise, "Comparisons of SAAOR Data and *Time* Poll," Internal SAAOR memorandum, April 14, 1989.
13. Mark Rhodes, "Comparison of SAAOR Data with CBS-*New York Times* Poll," internal SAAOR memorandum, November 15, 1988. The CBS-NYT poll was conducted on 14-15 May with 939 residents of Moscow. The results were printed in the *New York Times* of May 27, 1988.

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14. Alexei Andreyev, "Kto, Kak I Zachem Slushayet Radio 'Svoboda'?" (Who, How and Why Listen to Radio Liberty?), *Reiting*. No. 14, St. Petersburg, June 1992.
15. R. Eugene Parta, "Comparative Baltic Survey Figures," Internal RFE/RL memorandum from Gene Parta to William W. Marsh, June 25, 1990.
16. Radio Free Europe broadcast in vernacular languages to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Radio Liberty broadcast in Russian. SAAOR conducted research in the Baltic States for both the RFE and the RL broadcasts.