

THE COMMUNICATION CONNECTION

CMU 203W/ENG 102

CAROL DOIG

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(and by appointment)

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(and by appointment)

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THE COMMUNICATION CONNECTION combines Cmu 203W--Mass Media and Society--with English 102--Language and Research to create a course which joins the study of language information and mass media. You will have an opportunity to explore the history and dynamics of human language, the history and role of mass media in America, and to do research on two topics related to the course.

One research assignment will be presented in written form following the guidelines of the current MLA style sheet. The other will be an extended group project to be presented both orally and in writing.

You will be able to gain more control over your own language and reduce the power of others to influence your opinions through your study of the following:

- the nature of human language;
- the social and historical bases for the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of information;
- the role and nature of technological changes which have affected the transfer of information from the earliest history of cave paintings through the modern use of computers and satellites;
- the linguistic and visual techniques of popular persuasion in politics and advertising;
- the roles of language and media in oppression of minorities;

- the moral and ethical dilemmas of a society built on a need for freedom of information;

and

- the techniques of research: developing a hypothesis about a topic, working skillfully in a library; drawing conclusions; organizing information; following MLA documentation procedures; making formal written presentations; and informal oral presentations.

TEXTBOOKS: To assist your study of this broad area of language and mass media are five texts. You will need to purchase a copy of each one.

John Gage: The Shape of Reason: Argumentative Writing in College

D.M. Potter: People of Plenty

M. Hairston and J. Ruskiewicz: The Scott-Foresman Handbook

Neil Postman: Conscientious Objections

S.L. Wilson: Mass Media/Mass Culture

ASSIGNMENTS AND TESTS: During the course of the quarter, you will complete various reading and writing assignments.

1. reading as assigned from the texts
2. one short research paper, written and revised in and out of class
3. one major research project--group participation, oral and written presentation
4. various short exercises
5. short quizzes, final test

GRADES: You will earn credit for both Eng 102 and Cmu 203W and will receive the same grade for both. All grades for the course will be decimal. If you prefer the pass option, you will need to complete the necessary paper work by the end of the fourth week of the quarter.

Points will be awarded on assignments and tests and converted to a decimal grade at the end of the quarter according to the table included in this syllabus.

The percent of grade accorded to each portion of the course will be as follows:

1. short research paper	120 pts.	15%
2. group project	360 pts.	45%
(paper 30%, oral presentation 15%)		
4. tests <i>2 @ 50. FINAL EXAM 100.</i>	200 pts.	25%
5. preparation and participation	<u>120 pts.</u>	<u>15%</u>
TOTAL-----	800 pts	100%

DECIMAL CONVERSION TABLE

750	4.0
735	3.9
720	3.8
705	3.7
690	3.6
675	3.5
660	3.4
645	3.3
630	3.2
615	3.1
600	3.0
585	2.9
570	2.8
555	2.7
540	2.6
525	2.5
505	2.4
495	2.3
480	2.2
465	2.1
<u>450</u>	<u>2.0</u>
	<u>CUT-OFF FOR P</u>
435	1.9
420	1.8
405	1.7
<i>390</i>	<i>1.6</i>
<i>375</i>	<i>1.5</i>
360	1.4
345	1.3
330	1.2
315	1.1
300	1.0
285	0.9
270	0.8
255	0.7
totals of less than 255	0.0

You may earn a small amount of extra credit during weeks 2-8 for Enterprise Presentations (first come, first served) of news and other info related to what we're doing in class. For credit, you'll need to fill out an Enterprise form and arrange for a time to make your in class presentation.

In special circumstances, students may also receive one of the following grades:

W--for students who formally withdraw during the first four weeks of the quarter;

V--for students who register but do not complete the course and do not formally withdraw from the class (counts as 0.0 in the GPA);

Z--for students who are passing the course and encounter an unexpected hardship which prevents their completing the quarter. Students must have a conference with the instructors as soon as the difficulty arises in order to discuss eligibility for the Z grade. A Z grade will not be granted under the conditions described for the V or for the 0.0 grade.

I--for students who are unable to complete the assignments of the class within the quarter due to some special circumstance. The student must discuss the situation with the instructors in order to determine eligibility for the I grade. A contract must be signed by the student and the instructors.

Plagiarism, the intentional submission of another person's ideas as your own without proper attribution, will result in a 0 for the assignment or a 0.0 for the course at the instructors' discretion.

A student who receives a V, a 0.0, or any other grade that s/he finds unsatisfactory may elect to take the course(s) again. To make sure the transcript change is made, a Repeated Course Notice must be filled out at the grade change/transcript window in the registration area.

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

The reading outlined below should be completed by the beginning of the week for which it is assigned. In some cases, the text material is intended as background for additional work we will do in class; in others, it will constitute the substance of class work; and sometimes, it was just too interesting to pass up even though we may not get to it directly during class. Be prepared for any of these possibilities. Changes to this schedule will be announced in class.

<u>Week of</u>	<u>Schedule</u>
Jan. 2	Language, Mass Communication and Culture Wilson--chapters 1 & 2 Postman-- <i>Preface, Social Science as Moral Theology, Columbusity</i> Getting Started on Research Scott Foresman--Chapters 1 & 22A pp 579-584 Gage-- <i>Introduction</i>
Jan. 8*	Press Theories. Constitutional Uses of Information Wilson--chapter 3 Potter-- <i>Introduction</i> to Part II, Chapter III Postman-- <i>Defending Against the Indefensible</i> Gathering Information Scott Foresman--Chapter 22B-C pp 585-605 Gage--Chapter 2
Jan 15*	Print Media: Books Wilson--Chapter 4 Potter--Chapter IV Writing Research Papers Scott-Foresman--Part I <i>The Writing Process</i> , 22D-E pp 605-618, 23 and 24
Jan. 22*	Print Media: Magazines and Newspapers First Research Paper Due Wilson--Chapters 5 & 6 Potter--Chapter V Postman-- <i>A Muted Celebration</i> The Critical Paper--Thesis Gage-- <i>Introduction</i> , Chapters 3 and 8
Jan 29*	Broadcasting: The FCC Radio Wilson--Chapters 8 and pp. 361-369

Potter--Chapter VI
Advancing an Argument based on Sources
 Gage--Chapters 1 and 4

Feb 5*

Broadcasting: Television

Wilson--Chapter 9
 Potter--Chapter VII
 Postman-- *The News, The Conservative Outlook, Remembering the Golden Age. The Disappearance of Childhood*

Organizing the Project

Gage--Chapter 5

Feb 12*

Language and Advertising

Wilson--Chapter 11
 Potter--Chapter VIII
 Postman-- *The Parable of the Ring Around the Collar, Alfred Korzybski*

Preparing the Presentation

Scott-Foresman--Part II Style
 Gage--Chapter 6

Feb. 19*

Public Relations, Politics and Language

Wilson--Chapters 12 and 13
 Potter--Chapter IX
 Postman-- *The Naming of Missiles, My German Question, The Educationist as Painkiller, Megatons for Anthromegs, Safe Fail*

Writing and Revising

Gage--Chapter 7

Feb. 26*

Trends in Media Technology and Language

Wilson--Chapter 14
 Postman-- *Future Shock, My Graduation Speech*

March 5

Projects and Presentations

March 12

Projects and Presentations

*Enterprise presentations possible during this week.

The final exam is scheduled for 8-10 am on Thursday,
 March 16.
 15

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION VERSUS FORCES OF REPRESSION

Yesterday, CARol read us parts of an I.F. Stone interview with himself. He asked himself how he planned to use his retirement. The answer focused on his interest in studying freedom of thought and expression under pressures of the latest excuses for repression, bound to arise in every generation.

What an interesting pursuit. I can't wait to retire to talk about it.

Group discussion seems a reasonable place to begin such an inquiry.

The questions below may help you work on the subject.

1. What do you think today's agents of repression of thought and expression are?
2. What do we/they/you want to repress? Why?
3. By what means does that repression take place? What evidence do you have?
4. As that repression ebbs and flows with the passage of time what have been the positive and negative results? In other words, would you want to argue for unlimited freedom of thought and expression, or are there reasons to impose limits?

The Power of Language in Shaping + maintaining the values / Ethics of a society, especially as presented in mass media.

Kids: Sticks + Stones
Take that back
Cross your heart + hope to die.

Adults: I promise
"Guilty"

I now pronounce you man + wife.
This is an X paper.

Kill the infidel.
I'm sorry.

Knock on wood
Gesundheit.

The attempt is to create an extensional world to match our intensional world. To have some control over others. To create a world that makes sense + suits our needs + hopes.

Problem: One person's desires come in conflict with another's.

Legal Codes - must, or must not

Solution: Ethics (behavioral agreements that promote social cohesion + longevity) of current interest - ^{Channel 9} Research Papers

Questions: { When must you subordinate your desires to the larger goals of society?

How do we pass along our codes of ethics?

Who is responsible? { How do we enforce ethical codes?

How do we communicate to control the future

Education: informational language (report level)

Persuasion: information = report + inference reasoning

Propaganda: judgment, emotion

Entertainment: amusement

} Directive Language of advertisers or politicians

Collective Sanction = Ethical Ceremonies to socialize

Problems exist when we confuse these aims + they do not have collective sanction ~~to~~ and we behave as though we were dealing with [gullibility] the extensional world. → disappointment [cynicism]

THE COMMUNICATION CONNECTION #2

This is a two-part essay, one part of which is a discussion of your ideas and information and the other part of which is the writing of your ideas.

Read the questions below and underline the central concepts in them.

Move into groups of three to discuss the questions for 15 minutes. Share ideas, questions, observations with each other as a way of warming up and planning your writing.

Make a written plan of your essay at the bottom of this sheet.

Write your essay on plain notebook paper or a bluebook with blue or black ink. Possible 25 points.

Study the ad you have been given for a couple of minutes and then analyze it in such a way that you can answer the two questions below in a 2-part essay.

How does this ad trade on the fears, anxieties, and the emotions to create a perceived need in the consumer?

If the consumer accepts the ad as an accurate map of real territory and acts accordingly, what might be some of the negative consequences that ensue?

As you answer use as many specific concepts from the course as you can. Consider Hayakawa, the Rank Schema, Whetmore and Potter in particular as you discuss this issue.

Solution lies in understanding & critical analysis.

" " " asking questions & seeking answers.

- Do advertisers have the responsibility to communicate informationally or is it OK to use directive language?
- Do politicians have the responsibility of creating laws to govern what we ought to do as well as what we must or must not do? *if a personal nature*
- Do reporters have the responsibility to reveal information that might damage the career of a politician & would otherwise remain unknown to the public.
- Do citizens in a democratic society have the responsibility to seek information so that they can recognize how others use language to shape reality?

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Naive

I. COMMUNICATION: interchange of information by:

1. speech
2. writing
3. signs

II. LANGUAGE: a tool to communicate with others also for:

1. thinking
2. talking to ourselves
3. expressing feelings whether to an audience or not

Nonverbal
Verbal
Paralinguistic - pitch
 - intonation
 - speed
 - stress

III. SIGN: an immediate response to a stimulus

instinctive gestures
↳ paralinguistic

{icon
index
symbol}

1. no language used
2. no thinking involved
3. the world of nature: plants and animals
4. body language--posture, gesture, facial expression, walking style
5. sounds: dolphins, whales, human groans, sighs, screams, gasps

IV. SYMBOLS: arbitrary convention which stands for something else

semiotic gest

1. words
2. bring something to mind or produce a thought, not just a quick response.
3. vocal symbols are readily available, efficient, flexible--language

V. ABSTRACTION: process of selecting essential characteristics and seeking similarities among members of a class

1. symbols are abstractions; the greater the separation between the word and the reality, the more difficult it is to learn the word
2. all words are symbols--all symbols are abstractions

VI. Classification: grouping through abstraction

LANGUAGE DEFINED

Language is a means of communication by
arbitrarily agreed upon sound symbols (words).

It consists of voluntarily agreed upon conventions
which are learned.

It is a means by which we think and which shapes our perceptions ^{of} reality.

It is flexible and
culturally adequate.

Name

1. Communication sender → message → receiver

2. Interchange by signs or symbols

A. Signs 1:1 correspondence association
no thought
limited reaction

1. Animals

a. dog hears master's name

b. bees Von Frisch 1967
round dance

2. Humans

a. gestures esp facial 6-7 universals of species importance
Ekman + Friesen
anger fear disgust surprise happiness sadness

b. grunts + groans = laughter

c. paralinguistics
speed pitch intonation

B. Symbols learned - arbitrary - associational

1. Animals: primates + sign language

2. Humans: most of language
words + rules for expression

3. Language

Universals: vowel / consonant / syllables
sound pool everyone draws from

structural categories for noun phrases
verbs
objects

provision for questions
or statements

} syntax
or
inflection

Production of language

- words in a stream
- with discrete units (words)
- in a sequence (syntax)
- with particular groups (grammar)
- based on certain categories "
- with dependence relationships "

The old man left, didn't!

ENGLISH 102 - 5
Shoreline Community College
Winter 1994

Professor: Carol Doig
Office: 2227
Office Hours: M-Th 10:30
and by appointment
Phone: 546-4729

TEXTS: Hayakawa, S.I. Language in Thought and Action. 5th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990.

Gibaldi, Joseph and Achtert, Walter S. MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers. New York: Modern Language Association, 1988.

Two complete issues of either The New York Times or the Wall Street Journal for any two dates between January 3 and 7.

English 102 focuses on the English language and on procedures which culminate in a 2500-word research paper. In this particular section, the topics will be drawn from categories suggested by the instructor.

The course will require consistent and considerable work, since the instructor has planned for the traditional five hours in class each week, and 10 hours of outside work for each student. That's average, of course, with some variation from week to week, and it presumes college-level reading, writing, and organizational skills. To be successful in this class, please consider the following:

1. To begin with, you must be able to write prose easily and well.
2. You must want to do this work, which sometimes is difficult and, at the research level, sometimes frustrating.
3. You must have concentrated hours of time available, outside of class, for research and writing.
4. Because of the continuity required, you must be prepared to get to class all the time, on time.
5. In your own best interests, you should unfailingly turn in assignments no later than the earliest deadlines.
6. Become a member of this temporary community by undertaking full intellectual participation.
7. Work with the instructor to solve problems promptly.

The following schedule provides an outline of the course work. Considerable discussion of ideas can be expected, and you can expect additional handouts as necessary.

Week of Readings and Assignments

- January 3 Diagnostic writing.
Introduction to the course and to semantic study.
Introduction to library research: Library 116 on Wednesday.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 1, 2 and 3.
Preface and
- QUIZZES should be expected at the start of any session from January 6 onward.
- January 10 The importance of contexts and connotations.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 4 and 5.
ASSIGNMENT: Finding a topic of interest.
- January 17 M.L. KING DAY holiday on Monday.
Asking questions and generating ideas.
READING: MLA: 1.1-1.3, and 4.0-4.8.16.
- January 24 Social cohesion and social control.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 6 and 7.
ASSIGNMENT: Narrowing a research topic and preparing a thesis statement.
- January 31 Affective communication and the abstraction ladder.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 8 and 9.
MLA: 1.4.
ASSIGNMENT: Researching the topic and preparation of bibliography cards.
- February 7 Classifications, good and bad.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 10 and 11.
MLA: 1.5-1.73 and 2.6.
ASSIGNMENT: Preparation of note cards.
- February 14 Two-valued and multi-valued orientations.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 12 and 13.
MLA: 1.8
ASSIGNMENT: Preliminary outline with revised thesis.

Week of

Readings and Assignments

February 21

PRESIDENTS DAY holiday on Monday.
Drafting the research paper.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 15 and 16.
MLA: 1.10-1.11.
ASSIGNMENT: a complete preliminary draft.

T, Feb. 22 sentence outline

February 28

Advertising and intensional orientation.
READING: MLA as needed.
ASSIGNMENT: revising and editing the research paper.

T, Mar. 1 First 4 pages of paper

March 7

Television, cultural lag and order.
READING: Hayakawa, Chapters 17, 18 and 19.

DEADLINE: Research paper due on Monday at 9:30 a.m.

March 14

Classes end Monday. Preparation for final exam.
Instructor will respond to questions.

FINAL EXAMINATION: Thursday, March 17 from 8 to 10 a.m.
The instructor is required to give the exam as scheduled.

GRADING

Each student has the option of generating points from the following possibilities. The scale at right indicates grades applicable to various point totals.

Maximum Points Possible		Minimum Points <u>Earned</u>	Course Grade <u>Earned</u>
170	QUIZZES, IMPROMPTU ASSIGNMENTS AND BONUSES. Unannounced quizzes should be expected. A variety of in-class assignments also are possible. Credit may be earned only by being present when the quiz or assignment is given.	745	4.0
		730	3.9
		715	3.8
		700	3.7
		685	3.6
		670	3.5
	PRELIMINARY RESEARCH. Six separate assignments will be included in this point total. The possibilities will be explained in detail in a separate handout.	655	3.4
250		640	3.3
		625	3.2
		610	3.1
		595	3.0
		580	2.9
200	COMPLETED RESEARCH PAPER. Credit for this assignment is available only after all preliminary research assignments have been completed successfully.	565	2.8
		550	2.7
		535	2.6
		520	2.5
		505	2.4
		495	2.3
175	FINAL EXAMINATION. An essay exam will cover the main points of semantic study.	480	2.2
		465	2.1
		450	2.0
		435	1.9
		420	1.8
		405	1.7
	TOTAL POINTS AVAILABLE	390	1.6
		375	1.5
		360	1.4
		345	1.3
		330	1.2
		315	1.1
		300	1.0
		285	0.9
		270	0.8
		255	0.7
		255.....	0.0
	Accumulated total of less than	255.....	0.0

PLAGIARISM

College policy requires that each instructor explain her policy on plagiarism and other forms of cheating. Since these violate the basic standards of academic life and are inherently reprehensible, the normal penalty will be failure in the course. Plagiarism means the use of any material other than one's own without giving full credit to the source. Statements from sources should always be clearly attributed. If you have any questions whatever about proper procedures, ask the instructor.

COURTESY AND DECORUM

A college classroom is an adult learning community, worthy of all of the courtesies that implies. Being on time to class is important, as is paying strict attention once class has started. Personal conversations before and after class are entirely appropriate; during class they are entirely inappropriate. Each student's active participation in class discussion is welcome but must be part of the public dialogue.

WITHDRAWAL POLICY

1. A student may withdraw at any time during the first four weeks of the quarter and receive a grade of W.
2. Beyond that point, a student will receive a Z or V withdrawal, in accordance with college policy.

Communications 203W and 285W
Winter 1988
Reading assignments

Shoreline Community College
Professor Carol Doig

Texts: People of Plenty, David M. Potter, University of Chicago Press, 1954.
Amusing Ourselves to Death, Neil Postman, Penguin Books, 1985.

<u>Week of</u>	<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Learning Community's Focus</u>
January 5	Potter III and IV.	Judging the Accuracy of Information
January 12	Potter V, VI and VII.	
January 19	Potter VIII and IX.	
January 26	Postman 1, 2 and 3.	Delivering Information: communication systems
February 2	Postman 4 and 5.	
February 9	Postman 6, 7 and 11.	
February 16	Postman 9.	Assessing Linguistic Choices
February 23	Postman 8 and 10.	
March 1	none	
March 8	none	
March 15	none	

ENGLISH 102
Professor Doig

Evaluation of Research Paper

INTRODUCTION

- Announces thesis.
- Sets direction of development.
- Sets academic tone.
- Provides concise background,
as needed.

BODY

- Gives reasons that
 - are logically ordered
 - are connected to each other by
appropriate transitions
 - include alternate points of view.
- Provides evidence that is
 - diverse and from standard research
sources.
 - relevant to the thesis.
 - timely.

CONCLUSION

- Returns to thesis.
- Discusses significance of issue or points
to unanswered questions.

Linguistic Choices

- Clarity: Words successfully communicate
with audience.
- Tone: Word choices establish consistent
scholarly tone.

Mechanics

- Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and syntax
conform to standard English usage.

Documentation

- Modern MLA citations are given for
works consulted.
- Parenthetical citations are provided as
needed.

Name _____

100%	200 = 4.0
90%	180 = 3.5
80%	160 = 3.0
70%	140 = 2.5
60%	120 = 2.0
50%	100 = 1.5

Glasnost and its Effects on the Soviet Press

Emily Routledge

The Communication Connection

February 15, 1989

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Will 'Glasnost' Succeed?.....	pg. 8

"We are 50 to 100 years behind the leading countries. We must make up this difference in 10 years. Either we do it or we go under."

Joseph Stalin, 1931 (Powell 324)

Nearly 60 years after Stalin spoke these words the situation in the Soviet Union has improved very little. Food shortages and waiting lines are commonplace. Especially rare is the commodity of sugar (Yevtushenko 26). Grievances have been raised due to inefficiency and mismanagement in the workplace, causing much strife.

The lumbering Soviet bear can no longer afford economic hibernation. The need for economic reform has been mandated by a deteriorating standard of living.

Into the middle of this economic winter is thrust the General Secretary of the Supreme Soviet and President of the Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev. As leader of a superpower, Gorbachev has had to live with the stigma of being the "world's most developed underdeveloped country" (Powell 324). Recognizing the need for major reform in the Soviet system, Gorbachev has stated: "We cannot remain a major power in world affairs unless we put our domestic house in order" (Church 29).

Growing unrest among Soviet citizens has forced Moscow to implement measures that would bring about a healthier economic outlook. Practical solutions were essential, but time was needed

to ensure their success. As a result, the Soviet system has been forced to allow unprecedented freedoms that were once unthinkable. Specifically, the Soviet Union has been forced to create more freedoms within the press to help in their effort to achieve economic stability.

The Need for Economic Reform (Perestroika) through Openness (Glasnost)

The economic situation in the Soviet Union has forced Soviet officials to do some careful thinking and re-evaluating of their system. While military, scientific, and technological aspects of the Soviet Union are on par with the West (as evidenced in the arms threat they pose and in their space program), more pressing issues such as the lack of food and waiting lines have put them far behind (Lewis 31). Modern conveniences and technologies taken for granted in the west (such as personal computers) are unavailable to the average Soviet citizen. Being light years behind has taken its toll; reform was essential for survival.

It has been said, "The first reason for reform in the USSR has been economic stagnation...the Soviet system long ago lost its ability to compete economically with the West (Orlov 25).

As a result, Gorbachev has implemented the policy of 'perestroika,' a demanding new system of economic reform which, roughly translated, means 'restructuring' (Laqueur 13).

Walking hand in hand with 'perestroika' is the new policy of

'glasnost' which has been translated to mean openness, candor, or publicity (Powell 321) and public disclosure (Brand 54). While 'perestroika' applies to economic reform, 'glasnost' applies to political reforms such as the lifting of restrictions on speech and social organization (Satter 18). Gorbachev summed this up by stating:

The (Communist Party) is firm in its conviction that the people should know everything. Openness, criticism, and self criticism and control carried out by the masses will guarantee the healthy development of our society (Powell 321).

The challenge for Gorbachev lies in the ability to accomplish 'perestroika' while maintaining the integrity of the Soviet system. In Gorbachev's view, the shortcomings of Soviet communism can be attributed not to fault in the doctrines of Lenin, but rather, "the way the Leninist state was allowed to degenerate," referring, in part, to Stalin's reign of terror (Crozier 29). One critic has stated: "He and Stalin must be depicted as polar opposites to preserve the legitimacy of the system" (Satter 19).

While Gorbachev considers himself a true "Leninist" (Crozier 29), he must be subtle in carrying out this very "western" approach of reform. The term "democracy" is the new buzz-word in Soviet vocabulary, its definition, however, differs greatly from that of western value. "Soviet officials are careful to present 'glasnost' as part of the democratization (demokratizatsia) of their system, rather than as a sign of transformation into a democracy" (Powell 321).

Gorbachev must carefully manage this transformation to avoid an insurrection by the long-repressed people that the new openness was meant to allay. While there are many facets to 'glasnost,' the Soviet mass media is Gorbachev's greatest tool.

New Freedoms in the Soviet Press

The means to accomplish 'perestroika' is most visibly seen in the new freedoms accorded to Soviet mass media, the press in particular. As of late summer in 1987, the "first major breachings of the press blockade" were evident, showing that the Soviets were ready to deal seriously with this notion of 'glasnost' (Flaherty 21). In June of 1988 it was reported:

The most important aspect of 'glasnost' has been the change in the press, which in 18 short months has probably published more critical articles than in the entire previous 60 years (Satter 18).

Soviet newspapers such as 'Pravda,' the official Communist Party daily and 'Komsomolskaya Pravda,' the youth version, have found new freedoms in what they are able to cover ("Battle" 61, Jackson 28). 'Glasnost' has also brought about freer discussion in the press of formerly forbidden topics such as exploitation, drug and alcohol abuse, class conflict as well as conflict among population groups (Powell 321).

Referred to as the "flagship of 'glasnost,'" (Sharansky 29), 'Ogonyok,' an illustrated weekly publication, has been given more latitude in addressing social problems and has published long-suppressed poetry (Church 29). The literary monthly 'Novy

Mir' and the weekly 'Nedelya' have published criticisms of the atrocities that were rampant during the Stalin era (Satter 19).

Artistically, photographers have been given more freedom in capturing Soviet daily life through the eye of the camera. Following the lead of 'A Day in the Life of America,' a photo anthology of the U.S. taken in a single day in 1986, Moscow gave the go-ahead to photojournalists from around the world to shoot 'A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union' in 1987 (Bolle 35).

Also emerging on the Soviet scene are previously banned works of literature by such authors as Platonov, Zamyatin, Pasternak and Bulgakov. Even western literature such as George Orwell's '1984' is now available to Soviet readers (Satter 19).

Perhaps the most striking example of press freedoms was the full press coverage given to the 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference which was held June 28, 1988. From television broadcasts to newspaper coverage, speeches were reprinted and delegates were interviewed in a manner never done before (Jackson 26).

These new press freedoms, however, are just the tip of the iceberg as Soviet society, as well as the rest of the world, is learning exactly what 'glasnost' means.

Limits of 'Glasnost' in the Soviet Press

While 'glasnost' in the Soviet press is indeed evident, many limitations still apply and censorship is still apparent. This can be seen primarily not in terms of what is censored, but rather, in how much is actually allowed.

Under prior Soviet regimes, all criticism was disallowed. Under the Gorbachev regime, some criticism is allowed.

The Soviet definition of 'glasnost' remains unclear and ambiguous to many critics of the system. Chief among these: 'glasnost' means whatever Gorbachev wants it to mean.

Where, exactly, the boundaries of 'glasnost' lie is a question that is difficult to answer. What is known, however, is that 'glasnost' is not what Americans would interpret as freedom of speech or the press (Powell 321). It has been stated:

Freedom of the press as defined in the West is still a foreign notion in the Soviet Union. Rather, discussions among Soviet journalists about a free press concentrate on how much editorial independence is needed to help Gorbachev in his efforts to modernize the economy and revitalize the country (Brand 54).

Natan Sharansky, the famous Jewish-Soviet dissident, stated: "Glasnost is not a form of freedom. It's just a new set of instructions on what is and isn't permitted" (Sharansky 29). Another critic has stated that 'glasnost' is a clever political tactic used to "purge" one way of thinking only to be replaced by another (Powell 344). In other words, 'glasnost' exists as long as it is supportive of 'perestroika.'

In the press, relatively few topics are now forbidden unless

they analyze the underlying causes that might expose weaknesses inherent in the current Soviet system (Satter 19). An example of this is that letters to the editor in 'Pravda' now allow for criticism of the repression under the Stalin regime but direct criticism of the Gorbachev regime is not permitted ("Battle" 61). While many literary books have been made available to Soviet citizens, works by Solzhenitsyn, among other authors, are still banned due to their direct criticism of Lenin (Satter 19).

In 1987, Gorbachev warned Soviet journalists that 'glasnost' does not mean "permissiveness." This implies that economic reforms "beyond socialism" will be censured, private lives of top party officials are not to be covered, and criticism of Soviet arms control is strictly taboo (Brand 54). Gorbachev has even gone as far as implicating negative press as the blame for 'perestroika's' woes, stating:

In some speeches and publications, you almost get the idea that restructuring has aggravated the economic situation, thrown finances out of balance, worsened supplies of food and goods and sharpened housing and other problems (Taubman A1 col. 2)

This statement could have been spurred, in part, by a regional poll taken by 'Ogonyok' which reported that "30 percent of the population is for 'perestroika,' 50 percent is undecided, and 20 percent is against." As a result, editor Dmitri Biryukov was censured and demoted ("Glasnost" 9).

Such measures indeed question the motives of 'glasnost' and its ability to create more harmony among the Soviet people. The destiny of 'glasnost' will depend on how well Gorbachev can

persuade the Soviet people that what is being accomplished is for their own good.

Will 'Glasnost' Succeed?

If the Soviet Union is to remain a socialist nation, the leadership will have to convince its citizens that a brighter economic future lies ahead. While 'glasnost' has indeed allowed more freedoms in the press, at the same time government still has the final say in how the portrait of 'perestroika' is to be painted.

In mid 1988 it was reported that 'perestroika' itself was to blame for the food shortages, waiting lines, unrest and declining standard of living (Powell 344). If this is the case, then economic reform simply cannot be accomplished without calling into question the competency of Soviet leadership. This has many Soviet leaders worried who claim that insurgents will use the cover of reform to "usher in an 'orgy of democracy' and push changes 'beyond the boundaries of socialism'" (Flaherty 20).

This has created a 'Catch 22' situation. By allowing the press too much freedom and unlimited criticism, an intellectual revolt could call into question the very system that freed it. On the other hand, if the press were to be stifled, with no freedoms whatsoever, an uninformed populace will rise in revolt to a system they cannot question and from whom they receive little or no benefit.

Gorbachev has had to take the middle road on this issue, one that ensures some form of expression while not totally opening 'Pandora's Box.' Keeping criticism to a minimum this will give him the necessary time to work his plan for 'perestroika' as, hopefully, the economy improves.

In light of the current economic situation in the Soviet Union, it has been stated:

In Lenin's view communism was supposed to bring universal abundance. It wasn't supposed to produce, seventy years after the event, years of actual decline in the country of its revolutionary birth (Crozier 28).

The limited freedoms of the Soviet press are meant to pacify the Soviet people, giving Gorbachev the necessary time to see if the ideal vision of Lenin is indeed feasible.

Gorbachev has loosened the rope that, for years, has bound the Soviet voice. One day that rope may be untied; or it may create the noose that hangs them.