

Attachments (2 letters), usc
-attached Ris/An 14Nov


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| FORM  <br> 10  <br> 10.57  <br> (40) 53 | USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51.29 Which are obsolete | CLASSIFICATION <br> CONFIDENTIAL | Continued | $\begin{aligned} & \text { PAGE } \mathrm{NO} . \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

\$ilbur Schram

Ar. Bowlam Sargeant
Preelident
American Comaittee for Liberation
30 Elast 4 2nd 3 treet
Hew York

## Beas Hiowland,

I have now spent a weak at the Amorican Comittee headquarters in munch, and, as ulways, have lemraed far more from the people of the comitite than they oould poaibly have learned from me.
$v$ Thexe hag been no time to write a formal paper for you. There has been too much to sheort, too many people to talk to. Therefore, I am afraid that our liea of assembling a mall group to comalder a paper will have to wait until a loter time. However, I ehould be more than willing to take part in a kind of menting that might subatitute for the one you envisagua. For example, if you wented to manomble a group of four or 1 ive when max next comes to the States, to taik about what Audience Researoh in now doing and whet more it could do, then I could save time for the othox partickpants by having bocome familiar with the operation and by atearing the meoting toward the key quastions. I thould be delighted to have such a meeting at 3tanford, or to tuke part in it on the liast coast.

I want to sot dom, in the next fow pages, a fem notes on wy experiende in fiunich. Hy impreasion is that your Audience Research departmant is doing a ooraful and thorough job, and exerotaing considarable ingenaity and inagination. My impression ia, furthermere, that no recent discovery of nocial selence, or no tool tranaferred from weoterm audience research, is likely to make any megic ohange in the amount of information that bacomes avallable on your audience. Barring none unexpected net eource of intelifgence, what geeme to be colled for is a continuation of the ofreful sifting of deta, eeeking out of souroes, and inaightful interpretation.
 ditions under mich audience research has to be done hero. Hy the rules of the game. 95 per cent of all the aophiatioated methoda $\mathrm{m}_{\mathrm{c}}$ s.ailable to field researchers in watern countries are foreclosed from une. I described the process of RL avdiance reabarch to some nembers of the LL atalf the other day as being sbout like a man Pightag in a murky lake without any hook on his line. He is mable to see any Iish, and practionly unabla ever to atch a fish. Oaly occasionally, by being very attentive, be may feel a Pigh brush abainst hia angiing lino. Thia is the kind of job


For fins reason, we mat be oareful not to ask too mach of the resulta of kl audience remearch. wo have fue reaten to auspeat that our qoatacta ropreaent probability aadiple. Therefore, we have no right to mpply the unual statigtios of reliasility, and no scientific rifigh to ank questiona about olze of audience or oine of segmente winin it. fle mat. bu vory oareful in eaying anything about the "profile" of the audienoe. Heally about as far as we can confidently $\%$, on the basis of the contact evidence wo have, is to mey that at least those xinge of poonle are in the andienct.

Tut the importance of such izformation should not be underm oatimated. The iapressive thing about the audienoe mail and interview oontacts of $\mathrm{HL}_{\mathrm{L}}$, ap they now onn up, is the payy different kinds of persone who have identified thomadivea as listenerei. Thay are Joure and old, workers and farmers, from many different parta of the Soviet Union. They are not solely intellectuals or molely non-intellectuals. Indeed. falls has done fery clever thimg in analyaing the mail for literary quality mad oorrectnese. Thio literary rating is g geod refleotion of education. The significant thing about it is that the letters are alnoet evenly distributed over the four levels stipulated. In other worda, there is no reason to think that RL attracts poople of ofo oducational level only. In this as in other respecte, the outatandine thing rabut the eridence is the aiferaity of the people who, acoording to the best evicence we have, are in Eli' $\quad$ andience.

Mow, I Ehould like to invite you to reflect on this apparent diveraity. Does it mot aeem to mess that the RI nudiance is vesy anlilely to be one ethnic or relifiong or eduestional or geographicel anerity? I电 it likely to be an andience that holde attituden and beliefs which are at efeat variance with all the rest of the soviet people? And if there are many ifferent kinde of listeners, are there prebabiy not different inagea of Radio Liberty, or at least ia not the image likely to be very broad? It the audiance lmage of the railo not likely to be at variance fith the etereotyped evil inage mich the Soviat modia and party try to inculoate" I shall not earry thi speoulative analysis any furthar, but audifet thet you wight find it intaresting te consider some of the further inplications.

The tudionce data, whin their diveraity, whest some disproportions which axe of interast. Remenber that mat we are caying now is not acientific conclusion, but rather merely a speonlation on the best ovidence we have - augesstive rather than absolute, a Euiae line until be get oomething botter. Take, for example, the locstion of the audience. 品ere is the latest aL osinmate of recoiving sets in difiorent atates of the goviet Tinion, plotted againgt the kL ligtomer evidence of all kinde for the firmt two quarterm of 1962, and Geinst the sourcea of audience eail for the year enaine June 30,2962,

|  | $-3$ <br> Receivers (mil110ns) | Listenar ovidence, first 2quartarg. 1962 | Audience 組il July, 1961June. 1962 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| R.3.3.S.R. | 11.2 | 61 | 37 |
| Ukrainian \$SN | 3.2 | 48 | 55 |
| Byeloxumsian Sshi | . 3 | 6 | 7 |
| \%oldavian 39a | . 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Lithuaxian | . 3 | 11 | 10 |
| Latrian | . 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Matonian | . 2 |  | 1 |
| Georgian | - 2 |  | 1 |
| Hzarbaijan | - 3 |  |  |
| Arsmenian | . 2 |  |  |
| kawakh | . 5 |  |  |
| Urabek | . 5 |  |  |
| Kirghiz | . 1 |  | 1 |
| Tadxhik | . 1 |  |  |
| Turkmen | . 1 |  |  |

To the oxtent that this table is reliable, therefore, it appears that the RL ilstenerg who revealed themelves during thia reoent period have bean concentrated in tho western and the Hisltic provincea; and by coxparing the amount of ovidence aith the number of radio recelvers in each province, it can be seen that the proportion of listeners who have revealed themselves has been considerably higher in the Dkraine, Byelorussia, ifthumia and Latvia, than in the Fussian Republic iteolf. Can we beliove that this is a true minioture of the RL audience? No, because it may merely reflact the gase with which we cian make contact with the audiance. But it is at least a ougestive guideline. Fo can't belleve it in the ame way we belleve measurement made on a beientific sample, but we can balieve it more confidently than an armehair astimete. It is at least a grod guess that the audience is dispropertionately concentrated in these provinces.

The point I an making is that we have some suggeative guidelines If the videnoe, but no data such sa we usually axpect when we ak for a "profile" of an audienow, of the "luage" of a station or an ingtitution in the gest.

Fie can, therefore, make an ducated euess that the audience is diverae, and a omewhet shakier guese that it may bo concentrated more heavily in certain parte of the soviet Union than in others. pe areng itill shakior fround phen we try to gay anything about whet a broadeast does to the audianos. In general, the ovidence is onocuraging. There is reason to belleve the atation is getting through, at ane timen and ome placos, denpite tho jaming. audience mail is heavy for this type of gtation operating againet the extreae opposition RL faces. Mail and interviews incioate that

hroadcastal. Eiverythind indicatea that the soviet fovernment and party are not grateful for then. Hut we aust not try to build grest clatins of offect on buch small foundations. Rathor the procedure mant be, as in the past, to make (a) the best analysis We can make of conditions, attitudee, and needs in the Soviet Union, and of how RL's broadcasts fit into thea, (b) the best snalyais wo can wake of the slowly grouing heap of direct contacto with ifsteners, (a) use (b) to illuminate and inform (a) and then fuel back into broadeastimg polioy and practioe.

Let me direct your attention to one or two little mugsets in Max's ovidence which should be very encouraging to a person like you who cesposibio for an international broadcast. This is something that Max is probably too modent to toll you about himself. It coman from ano interview he obtained with a group of repatriates from the Soviet Jnion. I underatand that the fact of the existence of these interviows is not something we telk about at present, and tharefore I shall not identify them further. The interesting part of the data, from our present point of view, relates to how much theso people knew about oventa outside the Soviet Union, and what attituder they formed toward weatern policies or Cold far contentions. during the time they wer in the Soviet Union. The central fact is that the people in this group who listened to western broadcasta not only knew much more about ovents outside the V.S.S.K., but also had formed attitudes which were mach more favorable to our pelicise and pointe of view.

This, of course, does not prove caumality. 简 don't know. from that ovidence alone, whether these people were aimply more alert and better informod anyway, and therefore listened to meatern broadoasts, or whether the western brondcaste made them better informed, or whether thero wan mome intor action. But lat us analyme the situgtion ilttie further. Mere the listenera previously better informed and more alert? The begt evidence wave concerntay that is their educational level. Better ducated people usually read more, and are more interested in publio affairs and distant events. Therefore, lat us hold the educational level of theze people constant, and see whether there is atill differenoe between 1isteners and non-listenars to western broadcasts. Rere is atable which we put together from sax'a data. In reading it, you should compare, in each enucational level, inatenere with the non-liateners.


Thia ia a vary intwranting table, beamane it makaa clear that the Ileteners had different knowledge and attitudes from non-listonars, regardieas of eduoation and of the different reading habita, interesta, and alertness that te with more oducation. So wo ere ilitia zore conifient that periaps listenits to vestern broadoasta doas make difference. But there in another olesent. sit least, that might enter into this interaction. That is political alertness some people nay simply be aore alert politically, and therefore will aebk more political information in all ways. The beat way we have to control thet olement is to defide tho sample into individusls who had once been partimang and those wo hat not. Wo oan suppose, ith somo confidence, that the Partisans would retain mere political intereetnesa and alertness than the othare. So let us continue to hold ciucational differences constant. and see whethar it is only the Partisans who show aifferance between attitudes and information in listencon and non-listenerv. sere is the table, put together from Max'm datat
givention
3 7eare 由r 1000
Partigans:
Listonare
Mon-Listaners
wox-part18ans
H1申taners
Fion-L1stanars
3 throuth 6 yoark
Partimana:
Listeners
Hom-1.1steners
Hon-Partianns:
Jistenara
Forminititenera:
hon-I, it tenere
than 6 yoars
Wore than 6 yoara
Partianne:

|  | 16 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hon-Listencre | 1 | 1. | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

non-partisams:
Listenern
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Fon-Listenara } & 4 & 0 & 3 \\ & 2 & 0 & 2\end{array}$

| 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |

## - 7 -


#### Abstract

If you will look at that table, comparine in each case the 1isteners with the non-liateners, you will ege that Wherever a comparison in peasible the same difference appesrs: the listeners regardies of eduoation and of Partisan political activity know sore than the non-listeners mbout foreign events and have more favorable attitudes toward the weat.

There is anothar element whach aight enter ino: It is the different role played by the sexes in some cultures. That is, In some zocieties momen are not expected to seek political information of have politionl ldeas. It ia, of course, trua that there are different proportions of women in the $21 s t e n e r a$ and the nonlisteners. Therefore, wo continued to hold education oonstant, but also compared the male listeners with the male non-liateners, and the female listonere uith the female nom-1isteners. I shall spare you haviag to road another table. The result man exactly as befora. Regardiese whether the listen re were men or women,  and held more favorable attitates teward the fert.

Thene are not necesanarily the only variables that enter into the relationship have found. But what we have been able to do is to oliminate several of the most powerful variables that apart from liatening to western radio -- might make for these attitudinal and knowledes difforences. In other words, it looks ge though the act of 11 steaing has more to do with the situstion than do the personal elpmenti in the aituation. It is very hard, therefore, looking at these dats, to say that listenine to wotern raio does not sake a difference. And it meens to me that the implicntions of this littie bit of ovidence out of your fudience Research iviaion ought to be immonsely encourag ing to you in your ranponsibility as a weatern broadcaster.

Now let me turn to a part of the hudience Researoh activity phare we cen speak more positively. This concerns the panel avaluations. fiax and I have talked this ovar at great length, and I went to a meoting with the Radio people which mostly concerned the same problem. I don't believe there is ans essential disagroement with the following positions


1. Frogram evaluation is maential. Lackine the feaback a westarin station gets from darect audience contacta, you need the best posilbl substitute for it, in ordor to keep from plaging blindaan's buft.
2. Hovever, you probably nood two kinds fi program ovaluation. One is chicily for the use of the men who are building or rebuilding prograns, and coneiste of olose etudy of several consecutive appearances of the ame proaram. Thic is difficult thing to cet done witia the kind of panels you have available. It requites panolists quilified for the particular program, and apecial question rolated to the program. But it is clearly usorul, and $X$ should think you might otart on it with anelyses of e日veral programs in the next few months.
3. There is also a second kind of panel valuation you noed, whioh wight be called quility control. An the proceding type ia woetly to help programers anc procucert, wo this socond kind is for tho general quidance of the administrators end supervisory board of RL. As the preceding type should concontrate on single programe, so this latter type should concentrate on the programs as thay hopafully are heard -- that is, seefont of broaccast time. This, too, is vory vieeful; and, in fact, I don't beliove you could sleop well at nights without the aasurance that it is going on.
(The present panel ovaluations attempt to do both these tanks, but are perhaps more ueaful for guality control timb for individual program *tudy, Inasmuoh as they may pick up only one ajpearance or a few seastared appearancea of a given program. In any case, you know some of the problems of $80 t t i n f$ oritical information into the "blood atream" of produation organisation, and you know therefore thet cxiticism mich is dasired by the user, and which he holps to order, will be more litely to be accoptad than criticiam which aema to come from the outaiae. This itaelf mould be a good reason to try the evaluationa of individual program - number (2).)
4. Howeyer, if you are going to uee quality control, you may as woll uge the mothod of gunlity oontrol wich dietion fndustry has almost univeranily wdopted - that is, probability sampling of the output. lax knowe how to do this, and there ia a good chance that it might ane you some of the tiac presently givan to evaluation. gax cen toll when the results reach the point of atability, and deternine ox that basia how large abenple is needed.

I have oae more thing to eay about evaluation. During this last year, kax syateaixed all previous panal evaluations of the program into ten "malen" or "most ooman fanlts:" This is in inportant dovelopment, bacaup it represents a move from the empiricim and chanceability of individual criticism toward the stability and broad applicability of theory. I don't think you ought to lose that advantrego. ihy not have a special 申valuation aometime this year Aasemble a panel to atudy $\quad$ weak of $B L$ in term of how well theae ten common faulta are beime aroided. If the rooord is clean-fino. If it ien't, which faulte are stili being foume snd then get out a short version of the ten commandmanta" with examples, for all mew programors - and poriaps for old oneg, too.

This latter is already too long. Let mo oncluie by saying simply that I think you have a solld Audience Research operntion, working under great difficultiea. I moe no changes in methode that would make a muden and sectacular difference, and I thiak your Director is well ware of the chief targets, the road toward them, the ways those roade ann be made a bit swoothor and more direct. It in almays helpful to expose the problem to nor oyes, and for that reason such a meeting an I auggented might be useful. But I feel you can be nonficent that work is going forward in a solid and intelligent way, no olains are being made that ahould not be mede, nid the effort is in good hands.

Sincerely yours.

Wilbur Schwama
4i3/mo
cos [ $\underset{M r}{ }$ Bertrandias

## COWHDEN: il

## AMCONFIDENTIAL

October 24, 1962

Mr. Andre Yedigaroff
Ambrican Committee for Liberation
30 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Dear Andre:
I am enclosing herewith our narrative for the
President's Annual Report.
Best regards.

Sincerely,
[]

MR/me
Encl.

DRAPH

Aghichen Recearioh
In the fow manmer vecka fren july to Septombor thie year more than 25 million ooplos of soviat datiy, reaniy, ame mentinly publioation carrited Firalent attacke on the American Cennittoe. These attucka ware not by any means 11 mited to minerf regional pubileakions, Dat oonsistel in asm caces of fenr or fivemoolum mxtale in anch koy Party organs bs
 nof ink was aparel in the Party propagandists' attanfo to
 the ati-8oviet mativition of the Amerienn comitstee.

In the mist of temesonomic dificultios, particulariy In agriculture, the payokologioal alimate in the Reviet Fnion during the oummer of 1962 was marizet by alach betweon the popular proseuret for relmantion and Liberallmation on the
 and Party 1 evels on the othor. Withis this context, soviet
 the pattern of Seviet defentivo behavier as do the increaged Jaming of Fostom broadoagts, tho apparent intengificution of Soriet canoorahip, and the significant raduesion in geviet tourisin to an western countrien. Finder these rexoral conditions researeh into the forelga radio listenting bohavior and payohologionl maxemp of fadio Liborty' andiente hat the target argas face now odds in the oourge of the latat tivive moxithe.

Beopite these dificultien, hewevar, over 30 per ont more eqidemces of $210 t e n i n g$ to Rodic tiberty were obtalued luring the pariod between Hovamber, 2962, and october, 1962, than in the cengarable pertod last jear. mia bringe the munder of Radio IAberty Iiatemer reactione gethered durim the paet
 munber of reaction to BEO Muntimm-langege broadonate,


Juat over half the remotiona to Ralde hiberty prograins reperded thit year are mail reaponsed from listemery in the
 over the total volune of listener mall that reached ne lact yehr. Despite ovillmoe of inertased madi interception, 205 lettorm or peotoards wore meesival in $j$ mot mader a year. In the month of Pobruary, 1962 the rate was more than one letter m day, whorean in Pobruary, 1962 Iive letterw renohed ue, and in Pobruaxy, 1960 mome. This mariked imoreese in mail reaponaex, moreover, wat acoompanied by a mumber of brave and onoouraging setiona by soviet oxtzmone.

A Iisteaer in the Lithuanian ssh, for inttance, onolosed two bellote from the Mareh 28, 1962, oleotiong to tine guprome Soviat in an envelope mailed to ladio wberty. On the ballot forma he had oroseed ont the manes of the official candidates und had mbekitrated inetoad the wort "Liborbs". An equally heartenine mossage vas resaivad from a ilatenez mear Mosern, whe wrotel

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-3-
$$

Yon prit an ond to my opirituml searehinge and gaffortige. It is a pity thet our libarty and domearagy will atop thia pieoe of pmyer at the frentier barrier...""

In a bimilar voin a Iintrenter frow the Boriet aspital writues
"Heed I may how pleasant it in to hear a mative Russian voloe, when one urdenly feels the breath of humanthy, of porvading hope, of a searehing and a oroving te find the path for whiok we are all looking as equale...I want to thank yeu noble initiators ex zach a seanible work..."

Evidence that fedie Liberty' breadeaste are maving a crowing and lasting impagt in the target area ia shown in two letters reonived duriag the part fow monthe. In one. dated Septembar 12, 1962, from a group of 1iateners in Kiev, we read:
"Percemally, end on bohalf of $m$ friende: I ahould line to thmak you fois mach for your woriteotour talk and odvice are boing ranemionel and are giviar ug atroncth mad hope in a bettor future. Bo not spare Joxif offorta fox ut young people; they are worth more than gold. Do not garadge your Woxit - our geni is the same. Fe believe that this holl Will some to an ond, and that Jou, Joureelf, wil Live to remile the fraits of your woris "


#### Abstract

-4*                          other liatemory ant ocenciomally mayly the otation with addithomal mmanition for ite theore. Fowe dialogues have the


GROUP 1: Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification



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not all of the recruits have hesra Westexa stationo, but those
mo have oontaminate the otherg, and thim we have to stopo"
        A reeent study on the forelga radio listening nabsts
0f Soviet citizens, condmeted by an Amorioan Committee taman at
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previous audience remearoh findinge to the effeot that
ogamunists are al likely to be found in gadio Liberty's audience
ag non-commmiats. Durimg thin featival, which mas held
between July }28\mathrm{ and Auguet 6, 1962. more than 500 Soviet
aftizene were contacted by our Pield taam, and the topic of
foreign radio listening was discageed with l21 of these. of
thi& latter group, Sl permons adnitted listening to Radio
Liberty. Two reverling findinge in this connection were that
the majority of theae respondents appeared to be staunch
supporters of the joviet rogime, and that listenimg to lHadio
Liberty wag gdmitted more frequently amons Party officiale mad
profeaaionsl men such as lawfers and deators than among membore
of any other oocupatiomal eroup.
    The quegtion of Soviot jamming of foreigm radio stations wes
a frequent toplc of discusgion both in audience mail and in
ocnvergations with soviet citizens. Nimoreas otrong jamming
of fadio Liberty was confirmed by lietenere located in widely
gcattered aread of the USSH, Inoreaging ovidence vas received
that many Soviat 0itimena have developod anti-jamming levioon
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## Frouram Eraluation

One in five of the Fuasian-langugge protrame broadoast by Badio Liberty during the past twelve monthe was submitted to outside reviewers for critical evaluation. In all, a total of 76 days programing was reviawed in this way. Porty of theae programe rere auaitioned and feviewod by an average of 20 Soviet Affaire specialieta or formar soviet cicizens who left
the USSA winin the last six yeare Phis Jear our panel of former soviet citigens was strencthened by the adition of three new members, two of whom laft the Soviet Union an recently as 1961. One of the new additions ia a high-level Sotist engineer who defected from hie assignment with UNESCO, andther is a filmeproducex who arrived in the Feat only 10 monthe ago, and the third is Rusisian-language toscher who worked in sowiat achools until 2960.

Altogether 4465 separato pros raming parts nert reviewed by our ovaluation panela duriag the year. yo are at present צorking on a scheme to streamine this rouftine program gyaluation effort by introducint a quality control syatem baseat on the random seleotion of audition days. Concurrently. ispecial eveluation atudien of programing serien are being prepared to meet the needs of themprogrammers in gathering datailed reactions to such refular festurea as: "The Land Awaita" and "Mussia Yestaray, Today and womorro" It is axpectod that these sarien onn be improved as a result of detcilad analytical reviems by 8 number of panellata.

The program evaluation effort during the paet your was not linited to routine reviews by panolse A number of outside conamitenta $x l$ co contributed to this woris and made many wortmmile susfestions for impreving the offactiveneag, content, and delivery teohniquen of the atation's daily outpat. A farvard Un:vermity mistorian gpecialiaing in goviet minorities, Professor Richard 11 pes, reviewed blocks of programs emanating
from Radio Liberty's Hoslem desks and mado yome oncouragine programaing suggestions. Professor Ithicl de sela Fool of M.I.T., who syecializes in Americen-Soviet relations and comanications media, aet dow his impressions of a number of the station'e Rusuian-language acripts.

A ataff atudy, entitled "Obvicue and Hiddon Flaws in Radio Liberty Fuosian Programe" attempted to synthesize panel evaluations over a tenmonth period and to move from the ampiridism and ohangeability of individual criticism toward the stability and broad applieability of theory. one of the benefite gained from this last analysis of over 2600 individual evaluations of speciric program parta, based on 127 day of fadio liberty'g Rutistan broadosista, wan the provibion of a yardetick for mequriag futare prograsmag performance. It is intended that nemple programe ahould be toated on those lines every six monthe.

